

# Sarum Liturgical Printing in Tudor London

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## DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Jenifer Raub, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Date: 9<sup>th</sup> September 2011

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis consists of an archival study of early liturgical printing in Tudor London, focusing specifically on contextual and bibliographical examinations of the printed books of the Sarum rite (Use of Salisbury). Chapter 1 provides an introduction and background to Sarum liturgical books and the early book trade. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the work of two early London printers, Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, and include biographical and bibliographical surveys, as well as case studies of each printer's liturgical printing. Chapter 4 presents evidence of individual and institutional ownership of liturgical books and analyzes the market for liturgical books. Chapter 5 considers the last manifestations of Sarum liturgical printing, examining the impact of the liturgical reforms of the late Henrician and Edwardian churches, as well as the re-imposition of Catholicism under Mary I, on the production and provision of Sarum books. The three appendices present a database of printed copies of Sarum liturgical books and the total printed output of Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- BMC* British Library Department of Printed Books, *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Library. BMC, Part XI, England*. 't Goy-Houten: Hes & de Graf, 2007.
- BRUC* A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- BRUO* A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957-9.
- BRUO1540* A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford from A.D. 1501 to A.D. 1540*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- EEBO* Early English Books Online [<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>]
- ODNB* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition [[www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)]
- STC* *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to examine a number of contexts for early printed Sarum liturgical books, including their production, ownership, market, and history. Liturgical books' specialist content, specialist production techniques, and specialist markets automatically differentiated them from other books produced by early printing houses. In their primary role as functional books necessary for a variety of liturgical rites, these were books with a specific field of users (members of the clergy and singers/choirs). Certain categories of liturgical books also found secondary markets among the religious laity, as demonstrated by present-day evidence of ownership. Prior to the advent of printing, liturgical books in their manuscript versions arose within the specific ecclesiastical and scribal cultures of oral transmission unique to the history of the book, and it is against this background that their early printed liturgical editions found their particular niche. Throughout this study, focus has been placed on the Use of Salisbury ('Sarum'), the predominant rite of Tudor England, and thus other secular and religious Uses have been sidelined.

Liturgical books have been scrutinized as a part of incunabula studies (particularly for their examples of early music printing);<sup>1</sup> however, a clearer picture of early liturgical printing can be gained by examining Sarum books over the complete chronology of their production, from the advent of printing

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Meyer-Baer 1962 and Duggan 1992.

in Europe to the establishment of printing in London and through the religious and liturgical upheavals of mid-sixteenth century England. Against this historical backdrop, this thesis seeks to examine the place of liturgical books within the English Church and society in a context not sought previously. In addition, taking a complete and chronological view of Sarum printing, one encounters the major early printers in England and many of those on the Continent, thus helping to place Sarum printing within both Latin liturgical printing and wider book production in general. This thesis's historical view of liturgical printing in England also seeks to explore the relationship between English Church and State and the alignment of power under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I and thus make some contribution to studies of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in England. The examination of evidence of ownership and market of early printed Sarum books within this thesis broadens the context of liturgical printing further and allows for a small and rare glimpse at what became of printed Sarum books once they left the printers' shop.

Six categories of Sarum liturgical book are considered in this study. These include books for the Mass (the Missal and Gradual), books for the Office (the Breviary, the Antiphoner, and the Hymnal), and the Processional.<sup>2</sup> Psalters and Books of Hours (Primers) have not been included in this study on the basis of their status as paraliturgical and private, devotional books (particularly in the

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<sup>2</sup> A 'walking-book' with music used for a variety of special services (STC, vol. 2, p. 69).

case of Books of Hours), on account of their numerous editions, and on the grounds that most do not contain musical notation. As this thesis focuses primarily on the production of Sarum books in England, most Sarum books produced on the Continent for the English market (especially in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII) have been kept on the periphery, except for those with a particular connection to the discussion of domestic liturgical printing. By keeping the Continental dominance of Sarum liturgical printing at a distance, this thesis seeks to explore the rôle played by printers in England as well as the domestic milieu of Sarum books. As a result, the larger chant books, the Antiphoner and Gradual, produced solely on the Continent, remain somewhat peripheral to the discussion. In this study, greater emphasis has been placed on the Sarum books produced on the Continent in the reign of Mary I in order to construct the most complete picture possible of the brief return to Sarum liturgical book production.

Discussion of the musical repertory of early printed Sarum liturgical books has also had to remain at the periphery, as has any consideration of matters liturgical. While musical and liturgical studies were beyond the scope of this particular project, this thesis presents fertile ground for further research into both areas. The majority of the editions of Sarum liturgical books can be found across the collections of the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Cambridge University Library, as well as a number of the Oxbridge college libraries, and it is these collections which served as the primary source

materials for this project. In addition, images of microfilms of many of the Sarum editions are available via *Early English Books Online* (EEBO).

This thesis seeks to establish the place of liturgical printing within the overall printed output of the two most important early printers of Tudor London, Wynkyn de Worde (d. 1534/5) and Richard Pynson (1449/50 – 1529), whose workshops produced the majority of early printed Sarum liturgical books. Chapter 2 is a study of the liturgical printing of Wynkyn de Worde. De Worde's association with and inheritance from William Caxton have been well-documented in the literature. Caxton himself had dabbled in the production of three editions of the Sarum Breviary (based on extant editions, 1480, 1490, and 1491) among the widely varied output of his Westminster press. While specific details surrounding the production of these Breviaries are not known, Caxton most likely relied on his Continental connections for the manufacture and exportation of these books. Based on the output of his press in comparison with Caxton's, de Worde appears to have inherited from Caxton not only a physical printing house but also a model for the printing business. In his hands, de Worde's press produced a range of texts similar to Caxton's across the broad educational, literary, and religious genres. As Latin liturgical books also came from de Worde's press, a bibliographical survey of de Worde's total printed output and the place of Sarum books within it provides a perspective for their production. Appendix 2 presents de Worde's total, extant printed output and updates the previously published 1969 catalogue of

de Worde's output by H. S. Bennett.<sup>3</sup> As de Worde was active not only in the physical manufacture of Sarum liturgical books in London but also in their importation from the Continent via collaboration with several Continental printers, further investigation into the details of de Worde's Continental connections in this study helps to shed new light on early printing in England. Furthermore, an examination offered here of de Worde's activities as a collaborator with a number of Continental printers helps to inform the study of both the early book trade and the various markets for early books, in England and on the Continent. A case study from specific copies of three Sarum Missals commissioned by de Worde through collaborations with other printers, both domestic and abroad, further elucidates de Worde's business activities beyond the work of his own printing press and gives a glimpse into the workings of the other printing houses connected with the Missals' production (these being Parisian printers Gering & Rembolt, the London printing house of Notary & Barbier, and Parisian printers Cousturier, Bienayse, and Ferrebouc, in addition to Facques in London). Little is known of the specific details surrounding the collaborations between any of the early printers in London or on the Continent, and thus this case study contributes to knowledge of the interplay between printing houses and offers insight into the role of printers as entrepreneurs within the early book trade. A second case study of de Worde's own liturgical printing (here his production of Sarum Hymnals is examined) establishes not only the state of printing technology in England, compared with that on the

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<sup>3</sup> Bennett, 1969.

Continent, but also for offers further evidence of de Worde's continued response to the developing book market. This study of Wynkyn de Worde's liturgical printing helps to illuminate aspects of book history further, in terms of both the physical manufacture of Sarum books and the context in which they were produced.

Chapter 3 examines the liturgical printing of Richard Pynson, the other major printer of early Sarum books in Tudor London. As with Wynkyn de Worde, book historians have devoted some study to Richard Pynson's biography, principally his origins and his early career. Like de Worde, Pynson is believed to have emigrated to England in the late fifteenth century, where he first made contact with the emerging printing trade in London. My study of Pynson's work seeks to establish a more complete picture of Sarum liturgical printing overall and allows for the possibility of comparisons between de Worde and Pynson's various approaches to their in-house production of books, their connections with the Continent, and their apparent responses to the growing book market in England. No published catalogue of Pynson's complete printed output exists; therefore, the bibliographical survey offered in Appendix 3 sheds further light on Pynson's work and stands as a reference for book historians and musicologists. Pynson's press produced works across the literary, educational, and religious genres, much like that of de Worde; however, Pynson's duties as King's Printer and Printer to the City of London meant that his output also included legal publications and various Royal

printings. Hence, although the output of both de Worde and Pynson's presses were varied, Pynson's was somewhat less limited in scope. My research into the place of Sarum printing within Pynson's total printed output offers evidence of Pynson's perceived response to both the market for liturgical books in England and his foreign competition's exportation of Sarum books to the English market. My case study of Pynson's printing of *Officia Nova* Breviaries sheds light on his early work and offers some new details of his workshop practice, including his use of type and paper stock. My second case study, placing Pynson's 1504 Missal against four other religious works from Pynson's press within a few years either side of 1504, compares his use of type, paper, and illustration, and thus reveals further evidence of his workshop practice. A textual comparison of Pynson's 1502 Processional with two subsequent editions makes up the third case study. Although little is known of the business practices of London's early printers, evidence from various legal proceedings in which Pynson was involved help to elucidate specific details of edition sizes of his liturgical printing. This data can potentially be extrapolated and applied to Pynson's other printing, liturgical and otherwise, and may provide the basis for further research into edition sizes within early printing in general.

Chapter 4 offers the first account of hitherto unknown personal inventories, including those of both clergy and laity, from the National Archives PROB 2 series of inventories (associated with the wills of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury), spanning the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Evidence of

personal ownership is also considered in a case study of the provenance of the Marian editions of the Processional. The chapter also refers to existing scholarship on book ownership in London parish churches and presents a new analysis of evidence of book ownership as given in parochial visitation records in Kent (1511-12). This new data on individual ownership and new analysis of institutional ownership are then used to draw conclusions about markets for particular liturgical texts.

Chapter 5 examines the last manifestations of Sarum liturgical printing and the impact of the liturgical reforms of the late Henrician and Edwardian churches, as well as the re-imposition of Catholicism under Mary I, on the production and dissemination of Sarum books. While many Reformation studies discuss these liturgical reforms at both broad and specific levels, to view the influence of these reforms on Sarum liturgical printing, in effect the agent of many of the reforms, provides new detail. The final stage in the history of printed Sarum books is encountered in the re-issue of liturgical books in the return to Catholicism under Mary I. As Continental importation of Sarum books also resumed in earnest during this period, a new set of London printers sought to compete again with Continental printers for their share of the liturgical book market. The role of Sarum books of the Marian period in the re-establishment of traditional Catholicism has not been sufficiently studied, and thus my examination of the particular categories and editions of re-issued Sarum liturgical books (based on extant copies) sheds light on the possible

markets for these books. Evidence of the markets for Sarum books during this period then suggests how well-supplied and well-received was the return to traditional religion, in order to determine how effectively Sarum books may have served as an agent of change for the Church.

Appendix 1 offers a chronological output (spanning circa 1475-1558) of editions and copies of the six categories of Sarum liturgical books mentioned above. Here, current information on extant copies of the Antiphoner and the Marian editions of the Processional supplement the data found in the *Short-Title Catalogue* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition).

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also indebted to Dr. Andrew Wathey for his early supervision of this project. My thanks also go to Dr. Julie Brown and Dr. Jim Samson for their advice and comments on aspects of the thesis and to Dr. Helen Deeming, in particular for her advice on various passages of Latin translation and for her substantial comments on the first draft of the thesis.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Background

#### THE USE OF SALISBURY AND SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

Before considering liturgical printing, it is necessary to provide background on medieval liturgy in England and its various liturgical books.

In use between the thirteenth century and the Reformation, the Sarum rite was one of several local variations of the medieval Roman rite ('Sarum' being a corruption of the standard Latin abbreviation for 'Sarisburiensis'). The secular (non-monastic) chapter of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury adopted the rite early in the thirteenth century, and it quickly and almost completely replaced other local rites over most of England, including those of York, Lincoln, Hereford, and Bangor. Several religious orders also took up the Sarum rite,<sup>1</sup> which also radiated to Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Portugal.<sup>2</sup>

The early thirteenth-century Ordinal and the Consuetudinary (circa 1210), both probably written by Richard Poore, dean of Salisbury (and later Bishop), are the chief extant sources of information about the Use of Sarum, giving details of the ritual texts and ceremonial of the cathedral's services, principally

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<sup>1</sup> See Pfaff 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Sandon 2001, p. 160.

the Mass and the Divine Office.<sup>3</sup> The Ordinal, frequently updated to include new feasts in the liturgical calendar and changes in ceremonial, saw complete revision circa 1350 and later as Clement Maydestone's *Directorium Sacerdotum* (printed by both de Worde and Pynson). William Caxton first printed the 'Pica' or 'Pie', a simplification of the rules of ceremonial, in 1487. After a lapse of the Use under Edward VI, the Sarum rite saw a short revival under Mary I (1553-1558), but was officially abolished by the Act of Uniformity of April 1559.

Sarum rite melodies differed in detail from their Roman counterparts, although they presented essentially the same music. While the Sarum rite held many of its 94 sequences in common with other rites, nine troped *Kyries* and one troped *Gloria* were unique to Sarum. A sequence of magnificent processions for Evensong and before the Mass, frequently including exultant melodies for the choir and its soloists, were also a unique feature of the Sarum rite. Numerous pieces of English polyphonic choral music, such as festal masses, votive antiphons, and responsories, took their liturgical framework, ritual texts, and plainsong themes from the rite of Sarum.<sup>4</sup>

### Sarum liturgical books

The rite of Sarum and its liturgical books attracted much academic interest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in England, following the

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<sup>3</sup> For a complete discussion of the history of Sarum use, see Pfaff 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Berry 1980, pp. 512-13.

Oxford/Tractarian Movement and amid new-found focus on medieval liturgy. In this period, W. H. Frere,<sup>5</sup> F. H. Dickinson,<sup>6</sup> W. G. Henderson,<sup>7</sup> F. Procter,<sup>8</sup> C. Wordsworth,<sup>9</sup> J. W. Legg,<sup>10</sup> and their collaborators all produced a variety of facsimile editions of medieval English liturgical books, primarily of Sarum Use, but also taking in the York and Hereford Uses. Much of this early research now demands re-examination and clarification in the light of new sources and new evidence.<sup>11</sup> The twentieth century has also seen a number of facsimiles and editions, including the Sarum Processional<sup>12</sup> and Manual,<sup>13</sup> as well as the ongoing Use of Salisbury.<sup>14</sup>

The medieval Roman rite and the other local rites of the Catholic Church required an array of books to collect the vast number of ritual texts for services and for the rubrics of ceremony. Texts and music for the Mass and the Divine Office, the Church's principal services, were located in a variety of liturgical books, which will be enumerated below.

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<sup>5</sup> Frere 1894, 1898 and 1901, 1901-24, 1904-15.

<sup>6</sup> Dickinson 1861-83.

<sup>7</sup> Henderson 1874, 1875, 1882.

<sup>8</sup> Procter et al 1879-86, 1905.

<sup>9</sup> Wordsworth 1901, 1904.

<sup>10</sup> Legg 1916.

<sup>11</sup> Pfaff 2009, pp. 412-3.

<sup>12</sup> Rastall 1980.

<sup>13</sup> Collins 1960.

<sup>14</sup> Sandon 1984-2000.

**Table 1.1: Issue of printed Sarum liturgical books**

BOOK	PERIOD	EDITIONS EXTANT
Antiphoner	1519-1520	1
Breviary	ca. 1475-1556	68
Gradual	1508-1532	4
Hymnal	1496-1555	36
Missal	1487-1557	66
Missal (Special Offices)	ca. 1520-ca. 1555	2
Processional	1501-1558	27

Table 1.1 gives the period of printed issue and the extant editions for the various types of Sarum liturgical books printed in England and on the Continent. The Breviary and Missal were the first Sarum liturgical books to be printed. Both books were issued throughout the Henrician period and reissued with the return to Catholicism under Mary I. The Hymnal was the only other Sarum book to be issued in the fifteenth century, and the Processional followed in the early years of the next century; both books saw Marian re-issue. The Antiphoner and Gradual, however, were each printed in limited periods in the sixteenth century and never reprinted under Mary I.

### Books for the Mass

#### *The Missal*

Containing all of the necessary material for the celebration of Mass, the Missal brings together elements previously found in various other liturgical

books, including the Ordinal, the priest's Sacramentary, the deacon's and subdeacon's Lectionary or Epistolary and Evangeliary, and the musicians' Gradual. Used by a priest or bishop to celebrate the Mass, the Missal therefore gives all the texts the celebrant would be required to say or sing, including prayers, readings, sentences, versicles and responses, and the formulae for opening and closing the Mass. Thus the lessons to be read by a deacon or subdeacon and the plainsong chants of the Proper and Ordinary sung by the choir are also included. Thus, the complete, single-volume, noted Missal undoubtedly served the needs of small parish churches and small monasteries, in which one book could be used by the celebrant, his ministers, and the singer(s). Noted Missals were included in the major liturgical revisions of the period, including the 13<sup>th</sup>-century establishment of the Use of Sarum and the reorganization of liturgical books under Pope Innocent III (1198-1216).<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the first fifteenth-century printed Missals began to replace the single-volume noted Missals commonly found in churches and monasteries, and, like their manuscript counterparts, early printed Missals were usually arranged into sections, beginning with the liturgical Kalendar of fixed feasts (which in Sarum books also include blessings for salt, water, and bread).<sup>16</sup> The Temporale, services for seasonal festivals, followed the Kalendar; this section covered the period from the first Sunday of Advent to the last Saturday in Trinity and also

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<sup>15</sup>Huglo and Hiley 2001c, pp. 757-759.

<sup>16</sup> For the form and content of the Sarum Missal, see Harper 1991, pp. 204-5.

included the *Ordo missae*, which was often given distinction by its printing on vellum and/or in different type font than the rest of the book. After the Temporale came the Proprium Sanctorum, services for fixed festivals, commencing with the eve of St. Andrew's Day (29<sup>th</sup> November). The Commune Sanctorum, services common to a number of occasions (e.g., saints, apostles, martyrs) and the marriage service, followed the Proprium Sanctorum. A variety of additional material, including Marian votive masses, other votive masses, the Mass for the Dead, Aspersion, Mass for the dedication of a church, and occasionally the Ordinary of the Mass, was found at the end of the Missal, following the four main sections.<sup>17</sup>

The earliest complete Missals to combine the Sacramentary, Gradual, and Lectionary as one book with neumatic notation given above the chant texts were first produced in tenth-century Italy, and this type of book continued to appear throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries over most of western Europe. Music on staves began to replace neumatic notation in these complete missals in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; however, by the fifteenth century, notation was given for very little of the music. On the eve of the advent of printing, manuscript Missals frequently contained musical notation limited to the celebrant's Preface, the *Pater Noster*, and the intonations of the

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<sup>17</sup> Hughes 1982, p. 158.

Mass Ordinary, and it was primarily this notation that found its way into print.<sup>18</sup>

Throughout their printing (1487-1557), Sarum Missals saw issue primarily in folio format, with some editions in quarto format and a relative few in octavo format. This pattern appears to have been established in the incunable period and corresponds directly with the production of Continental Missals pre-1500.<sup>19</sup> Figure 1.1 shows an example of musical notation from Richard Pynson's 1500 edition of the Sarum Missal.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Huglo and Hiley 2001c, p. 759.

<sup>19</sup> Duggan 2003, p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> STC 16173.

In purificatiōe beate marie

in lucem dilecti filij tui et regnum.

Per quem exortum est in tenebris.

lumen rectis corde: et gaudium salu-

tis eterne. Et qui iussi symeonis im-

plesti expectatiōem: ut non prius vi-

deret mortem. q̄ eiusdē xpi filij tui

visibilem incarnationē totius mun-

di lumen et salutem. nos lumine tue

claritatis sic repleas. ut omnes infir-

mitatis tenebras a nobis repellas.

Et sicut seruū tuum hodie dimisit

in pace. sic nos in pace ecclesie tue sā-

cte digneris gubernare: ut portū de-

itis eterne valeamus intrare. Quati-

nus radijs vere lucis perfusi: ibi in

die examinis. leti cū hymnidicis an-

gelorum choris. valeamus videre fa-

ciem indefessi solis. uis et regnat in  
hic mutet vocē  
sua quāsi legen-  
do. Qui tecū vi-  
 unitate spiritus sancti deus. Per oīa  
 secula seculorum. Respondit Amē  
hic aspergantur candelæ aqua bene-  
dicta et thurificentur. Deinde sequat.  
 Dñs vobiscum. Orētus. Oratio.  
**D**omine sancte pater omnipo-  
 tens lumen indeficiēs. qui es  
 conditor omnium luminū. bene + dic  
 Amen

Figure 1.1 Sarum Missal 1500, sig. Uiiij, printed by Richard Pynson for Archbishop Morton (STC 16173), showing early printed musical notation. [Image from Early English Books Online]

F. H. Dickinson and J. W. Legg's three scholarly editions of the Sarum Missal<sup>21</sup> (dating from 1861-1916) aimed to provide definitive versions of the Missal from fifteenth-century manuscript and early printed Sarum Missals. However, the differences in detail (particularly among early printed Sarum Missals) are complicated by the friction between printing's tendency to standardize texts and the early printer's commercial strategy of continually marketing new, improved editions of liturgical books (as will be seen in the liturgical printing of both de Worde and Pynson). Thus, there can be no singular, standard Sarum Missal.<sup>22</sup>

### *The Gradual*

A book for use by the choir (or soloists), the Gradual contains the plainsong chants for the Proper of the Mass and, more recently, those of the Ordinary. The earliest Graduals, dating from the late eighth century, were usually found in a single volume with the Sacramentary and included approximately 560 sung elements of the Mass (70 introit antiphons, 118 gradual responses, 100 alleluia verses, 18 tracts, 107 offertory chants, and 150 communion antiphons), originally without musical notation. As the Gradual evolved, pieces which were originally movable and had been left to the precentor's choice began to be fixed and placed in an unchanging order for each church; this new, fixed order continued until the advent of printing. A great increase in the number of

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<sup>21</sup> Dickinson 1861-83, Legg 1891-7 and 1916.

<sup>22</sup> Pfaff 2009, pp. 417-8.

alleluia verses was also a feature of the Gradual's development between the ninth and twelfth centuries, with the number of texts increasing more than the number of chant melodies (new texts were frequently adapted to existing melodies). In the eleventh century, the Gradual saw its last major additions as the chants of the Ordinary were incorporated with those of the Proper.<sup>23</sup>

The evolution and development of the Gradual occurred in distinct, regional eastern and western groups which differ in details of textual and musical criticism, the eastern group taking in German-speaking and Slav countries and the western group encompassing the Romance-language countries and the major religious orders. The Graduals of northern Italy, north-western Switzerland, Alsace's western diocese, and England have their roots in both of these eastern and western groups. Influences on Sarum chant stem from both the Norman and Germanic traditions, and, despite the variety of influences, early notated Sarum Graduals present a high degree of unity in form and notation.<sup>24</sup>

The first printed Graduals appeared in Germany and therefore made use of Gothic neumatic notation; the first printed Graduals with Roman notation (square notes on red staves) appeared a few years later. As with manuscript Graduals, printed Graduals included the music, texts, and rubrics for the Mass and other services at the altar and followed much of the organizational pattern

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<sup>23</sup> Huglo and Hiley 2001b, pp.253-5.

<sup>24</sup> Huglo 1980b, pp. 606-7.

of the Missal.<sup>25</sup> The Temporale, Proprium Sanctorum, and Commune Sanctorum are only occasionally preceded by the Kalendar and are followed by the same variety of additional material as found at the end of the Missal, including the Ordinary of the Mass.<sup>26</sup>

Over the span of their printing from 1508-1532, Sarum Graduals were issued only in folio format, undoubtedly for the purposes of the singers who would use the book in the liturgy. Figure 1.2 shows a sample opening from the 1527 edition of the Sarum Gradual featuring seasonal chants for Advent.

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<sup>25</sup> See Harper 1991, pp. 212-14, on the form and content of the Sarum Gradual.

<sup>26</sup> Hughes 1982, p. 158.



## Books for the Office

### *The Breviary*

An abbreviated handbook for clergy officiating at the Divine Office, the Breviary contains the psalms, lessons, hymns, and prayers required for the recitation of the Office in choir or in private; it was the only liturgical book from which the Office could be recited complete, particularly in its noted form that included the neumatic notation found in the choir's Antiphoner (none of the surviving printed Sarum Breviaries, however, is noted). Before the appearance of the first liturgical Breviaries in the eleventh century, a variety of different liturgical books had been required for the recitation of the Office, including books of plainsong (Antiphoner, Psalter, and Hymnal), books of lessons, books of chapters, and the Ordinal. Breviaries for travelling clergy often had shortened lessons and responsories; the recitation of the Divine Office was an obligation of travelling monks under the Rule of St. Benedict.

As with early Missals, some early Breviaries offered a juxtaposition of books rather than a combination; this type of Breviary was gradually replaced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the more convenient method of presenting all of the necessary components in their liturgical order. During the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries, the Breviary accumulated various additions, including legends and apocrypha introduced into the lessons, as private devotion and devotions to the saints increased in popularity. The

Breviary consequently saw many reforms and revisions in and after the fifteenth century.

The Breviary was organized along the same lines as the Missal and included the following major sections: Kalendar, Temporale, Psalter, Commune Sanctorum, and Proprium Sanctorum.<sup>29</sup> These sections could be ordered differently, and three categories of Breviary appeared: (1) Kalendar, Psalter, Temporale, Proprium Sanctorum, Commune Sanctorum, (2) Kalendar, Temporale, Psalter, Proprium Sanctorum, Commune Sanctorum, and (3) Temporale, Kalendar, Psalter, Proprium Sanctorum, Commune Sanctorum or Temporale, Kalendar, Psalter, Commune Sanctorum, Proprium Sanctorum. Sarum Breviaries fell into the third category above, making use of either order.<sup>30</sup> From the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Breviary's liturgical material was divided into two volumes so as to make it more manageable. The Temporale and Proprium Sanctorum were each separated into a winter part (*Pars hiemalis* or *P.H.*) and a summer part (*Pars estivalis* or *P.E.*), and these were combined with the Kalendar, Psalter, and Commune Sanctorum. In Sarum Breviaries, the *Pars hiemalis* included the Temporale from the first Sunday of Advent to the week following Pentecost, the Proprium Sanctorum from the eve of St. Andrew's Day (29<sup>th</sup> November) to the feast of Marcus and Marcellus (18<sup>th</sup> June), plus the Kalendar, Psalter, and Commune Sanctorum complete. The *Pars estivalis*

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<sup>29</sup> On the content and function of the Sarum Breviary, see Procter and Wordsworth 1879-86, introduction to vol. 3, as well as Harper 1991, pp. 203-4.

<sup>30</sup> Hughes 1982, pp. 239-42.

contained the Temporale from the eve of Trinity, the Proprium Sanctorum from the feast of St. Dunstan (18<sup>th</sup> May) to the festival of Saturninus and Sisinnius (29<sup>th</sup> November), plus the Kalendar, Psalter, and Commune Sanctorum again complete.

The first printed Breviaries across the various rites appeared circa 1490, and the Breviary ran to more than 520 editions before 1500, 14 of which were Sarum books. The earliest Sarum Breviaries were printed on the Continent, principally in Paris and Venice, but also in Rouen and Cologne. While the first Sarum Breviary printed in England was issued in London circa 1500, the printing of Sarum Breviaries in Paris continued until 1556. Early printed Breviaries frequently offered evidence of the practice of local churches and/or cathedrals as the manuscript exemplars for some Breviaries often retained the liturgical peculiarities of individual congregations, including churches' calendars and chants.<sup>31</sup>

As with other liturgical books, early printed Breviaries were issued in portable quarto format for personal use, singers supplying the chant either from the Antiphoner or from memory.<sup>32</sup> In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Breviaries had been copied in folio format with larger staves and square notes to allow for several singers to sing the chant at sight. Noted Breviaries

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<sup>31</sup>Huglo 2001a, p. 336.

<sup>32</sup> Memorization of liturgical chant was probably not the norm, however, as suggested by the inventory of Leicester Abbey (see Webber and Watson 1998).

contained the antiphons and responsories for the entire liturgical year, in addition to some notated lessons and, occasionally, the Easter play (*Visitatio sepulchri*).<sup>33</sup>

The Sarum Breviary was printed in as many as four formats over its period of production (circa 1475-1556). Octavo and quarto formats predominated, with several editions printed in folio format<sup>34</sup> and a few appearing in sexto-decimo format.<sup>35</sup> Printers likely recognized in the Breviary the need for more portable sizes of book, but also provided for the liturgy with folio printings. As with the Missal, the issue pattern of formats of the Breviary closely matches that established on the Continent pre-1500.<sup>36</sup> Figure 1.3 shows two pages from the sexto-decimo format STC 15819, the verso the end of the liturgical calendar and the recto a table of dates (including Septuagesima, Easter, and the first Sunday of Advent) for the years 1525 to 1552.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> For example, STC 15800 (printed in Venice), STC 15802 (printed in Rouen), and STC 15805.5 (printed in Paris).

<sup>35</sup> This very small format appears (based on extant copies) to have become popular with printers after 1524, when a small flurry of them was produced from Antwerp (1524, STC 15818.5), Paris (1525, STC 15819 and STC 15821a), and Rouen (1525, STC 15820 and STC 15821).

<sup>36</sup> Duggan 2003, p. 73.



Regnault,<sup>39</sup> which preserves the most complete and most complex form of the later Sarum office.<sup>40</sup>

### *The Antiphoner*

The Antiphoner contains the antiphons, responds, hymns, and other choir chants sung in the services of the Divine Office. The earliest Antiphoners, dating from the eighth century, often included both the antiphons of the Office and the antiphons of the Mass (introit and communion), with the Responsorial containing the Office responsories. These earliest Antiphoners reflected the early Roman system of liturgical organization, one book for each type of chant; the Gregorian system later collected chants for the Office (both antiphons and responsories) into the Antiphoner and chants for the Mass in the Gradual. From the ninth century, most Antiphoners gathered the chants into Offices based on the liturgical calendar for the period from Advent to Easter.

Two categories of early Antiphoner, secular and monastic, are distinguished by the number of chants contained for Matins, the Little Hours, and Vespers. Secular Antiphoners, used by clergy, canons, and thirteenth-century Franciscan and Dominican friars, carry nine antiphons and nine responsories in groups of three for Matins, a responsory for the Little Hours, and five Vespers psalms. Used in Benedictine, Cistercian, and Carthusian

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<sup>39</sup> STC 15830.

<sup>40</sup> Pfaff 2009, p. 426.

monasteries, monastic Antiphoners offer 12 antiphons and 12 responsories, in groups of four, in addition to an antiphon for the Old Testament canticles, for Matins, plus four psalms for Vespers, with no short responsories for the Little Hours.

For an examination of their evolution and development, Antiphoners may be categorised into the same eastern, western, and transitional groups as Graduals, although the Antiphoners of religious orders may be grouped together separately. As with English Graduals, English Antiphoners have connections to both the eastern and western groups and were subject to many Continental influences, including Norman traditions from Rouen and Bayeux.<sup>41</sup>

Early printed Antiphoners followed the same 2-volume pattern as the Breviary. While the majority of Continental Breviaries followed the organizational pattern of *Temporale*, *Proprium Sanctorum*, *Commune Sanctorum*, most English Antiphoners contained the same sections in the same order as English Breviaries, frequently adding in the *Kalendar* and the *Psalter*.<sup>42</sup>

The first printed Antiphoners appeared in Germany in the late 1490s (the 1495 Augsburg Antiphoner and the Antiphoner of Würzburg, between 1496-9) and, like the first printed Graduals, these books made use of the German Gothic musical notation. During the same period, Antiphoners with square Roman

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<sup>41</sup> Huglo 1980a, p. 486.

<sup>42</sup> Hughes 1982, p. 242. On the form and content of the Sarum Antiphoner, see Harper 1991, pp. 209-12.



## The Hymnal and the Processional

### *The Hymnal*

The Hymnal contained a repertory of hymns, strophic poems praising God, set to a repeating plainsong melody (which may or may not have appeared with the text), sung in the services of the Divine Office. The medieval hymn repertory was quite large and variable, and some monastic rules, including the Rule of St. Benedict, assigned a hymn to each service of the Office. Scholars<sup>44</sup> mark the ninth-century break in the hymn's tradition by distinguishing between two forms of an 'Old Hymnal' and one form of a 'New Hymnal'. Hymns from the two forms of the 'Old Hymnal' date from the sixth through ninth centuries and may represent early monastic traditions in France, England, and Germany. Continental manuscripts from the ninth century present evidence of the 'New Hymnal' repertory, with the earliest surviving English example of this type dating from the tenth century. Notated melodies began to appear in Hymnals in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, long after the establishment of the 'New Hymnal' repertory of texts, and, unlike the texts, the melodies occasionally varied widely.<sup>45</sup>

Early printed Sarum Hymnals took two forms; the first, the *Expositio Hymnorum*, printed in England and on the Continent from 1496-1530, was

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<sup>44</sup> See Helmut Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1968) and Gneuss, 'Latin Hymns in Medieval England: Future Research', in *Chaucer and Middle England: Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. B. Rowland (London, 1974), pp. 407-24.

<sup>45</sup> Boynton 2001, pp. 19-21.

intended for educational use<sup>46</sup> and contained hymn texts from the Breviary, sequences from the Missal, and glosses ('*expositio*'), but lacked musical notation. The first Sarum Hymnal was printed in Cologne in 1496 by Quentell,<sup>47</sup> with Richard Pynson printing a supplement in London in the same year<sup>48</sup> and new editions in 1497 and 1498.<sup>49</sup>

The second kind of Hymnal, the *Hymnorum cum notis*, contained both hymn texts and melodies and was used as a liturgical book. The first printed Sarum Hymnals with music were arranged in the same pattern as the Breviary (Temporale, Commune Sanctorum, Proprium Sanctorum) and provided music (from the Antiphoner) for each stanza of a hymn (rather than the more usual custom of providing music for the first verse only). All Sarum Hymnals with music were printed on the Continent (in Paris, Rouen, and Antwerp) between 1518 and 1541. The first two editions were both issued in 1518, one from Kerver in Paris (sold by Birckmann in London)<sup>50</sup> and the other from Rouen.<sup>51</sup> Further research may reveal whether or not these first editions of the Hymnal represented a co-ordinated venture on the part of these two Continental printing houses or simply direct competition. The only edition of the *Hymnorum cum notis* printed in England (based on extant sources) was that of

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<sup>46</sup> See Figure 2.1.

<sup>47</sup> STC 16110.

<sup>48</sup> STC 16111.

<sup>49</sup> STC 16112 and 16113, respectively.

<sup>50</sup> STC 16129.

<sup>51</sup> STC 16129.3.

Kingston and Sutton in 1555.<sup>52</sup> Hymns (without music) were also printed as a part of the printed Sarum Psalter.

Over the span of its printing (1496-1555), the Sarum Hymnal was issued exclusively in quarto format (with the single exception of the octavo format edition of 1519<sup>53</sup> printed on the Continent). Printers probably sought to meet both the liturgical and devotional needs of the books' users with their quarto format editions. In Hymnal editions without music, a gloss on the text followed each hymn verse; in Hymnals with music each hymn verse carries musical notation. Figure 1.5 and Figure 1.6 display hymns for Advent in editions of the Sarum Hymnal with and without musical notation.

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<sup>52</sup> STC 16134.

<sup>53</sup> STC 16128.2.

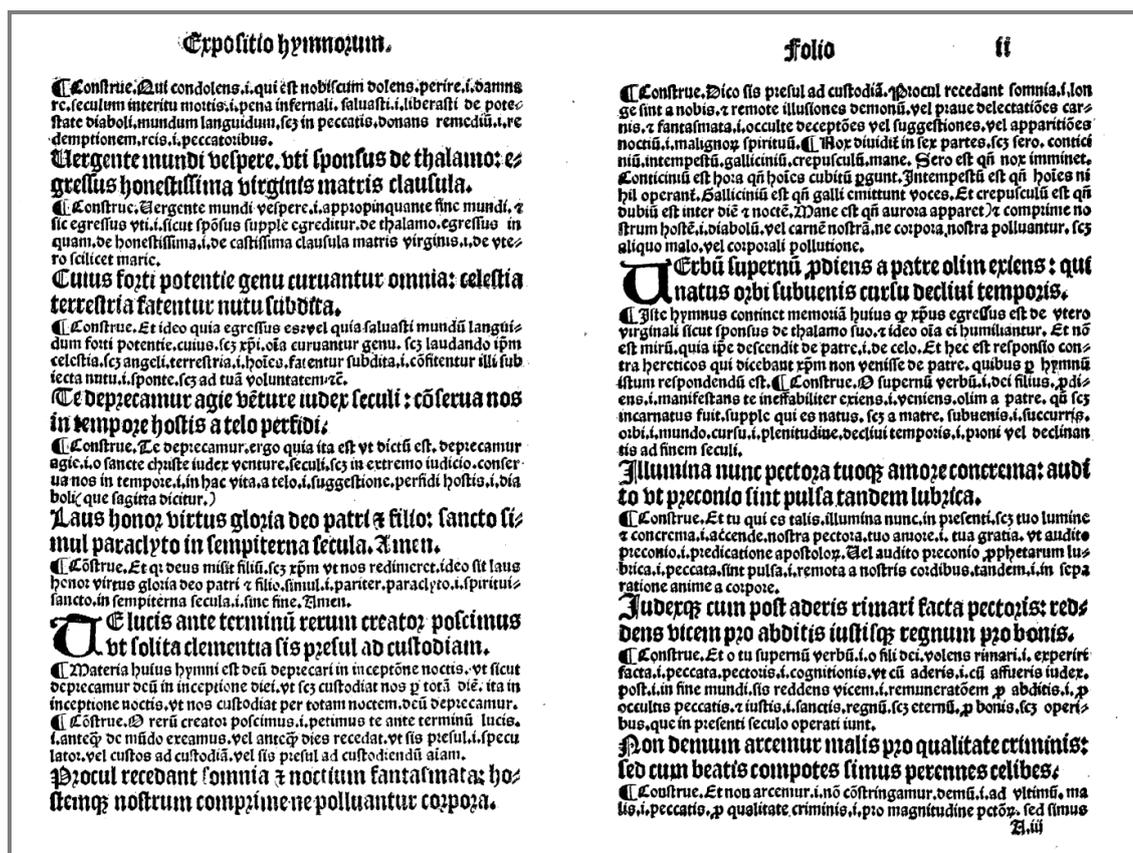


Figure 1.5 Sarum Hymnal 1502 (STC 16116a.5), sig. A iii, printed by Richard Pynson in London, featuring Advent hymns *Conditor alme siderum* and *Te lucis ante terminum* (verso) and *Verbum supernum* (recto). Each hymn verse is followed by a gloss on the text. [Image from EEBO]

The image shows two pages from a medieval hymnal manuscript. The left page is titled "Officia. s. aduentus." and contains the text of the hymn "Conditor alme siderum". The right page is titled "Officia. s. aduentus. Fo. iij." and contains the text of the hymn "Verbum supernum". Both pages feature square musical notation on four-line red staves, with Latin text written in a Gothic script below the notes. The text on the left page includes: "forti potētie / genu curuant omnia : celestia / terrestria / fatēf nutu subdita. De Depre- / camur agye / bēture iudex seculi : cōserua / nos i tēpore / hostis a telo perfidi. Deus / honoz virt<sup>9</sup> gloria / deo patri & filio : sācto / simul paraclyto / in sēpiterna sc̄la. Amē. / Erbū<sup>9</sup> supernū pdiēs / a patre olim". The text on the right page includes: "extens: qui natus orbi subuenis / cursu de- / cliui tēporis. Illumina nūc pectora / tuo- / q̄ amore cōcrema: audito vt p̄conio / sit pul- / sa tandē lubrica. uderq̄ cū post aderis / rimari facta pectoris reddēs vitē p̄ additis / iustisq̄ regnū pro bonis. Q̄ d̄ demū arte- / mur malis / p̄ q̄ualitate criminis: sed cū b̄tis / A. iij."

Figure 1.6 Sarum Hymnal 1518 (STC 16129), sig. A iii, printed by Thielman Kerver in Paris, showing music and text for the Advent hymns *Conditor alme siderum* (verso) and *Verbum supernum* (recto). [Image from EEBO]

### *The Processional*

A small, portable liturgical book, the Processional contained the plainsong chants (antiphons, verses, rhymed Preces, and polyphonic chants), collects, and rubrics necessary for liturgical processions. The earliest copies dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (and therefore a relatively late addition to the corpus of liturgical books), the Processional contained additional music not found in other books, as well as chants more suitable for inclusion in a portable, walking book. Previously, Processional antiphons had been found as part of

the Gradual and occasionally in the Antiphoner or Breviary. Some early manuscript Processionals presented the collects and rubrics for each station of a procession but contained only incipits for the chants; some examples of this type of Processional date from as late as the fifteenth century and include at least one Sarum manuscript.<sup>54</sup> Processional chant incipits also occasionally appeared in the Ordinal.

Most noted manuscript Processionals were produced in a small and portable format (to be carried in procession throughout the liturgical year) and were usually organized on the pattern: Temporale, Proprium Sanctorum, followed by chants for various non-liturgical processions. Many early manuscript Processionals with notation also carried some non-processional chants (particularly for the Triduum) as a matter of convenience. A separate book was often devoted to the processions of Corpus Christi and their various local customs. Each religious order maintained its own Processional, and these survived in later printed editions.<sup>55</sup>

With the establishment of the See of Salisbury and the Use of Sarum in the thirteenth century came a very extensive Sarum Processional, originally designed for the processions and 19 altars of Salisbury Cathedral but later

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<sup>54</sup> This fifteenth-century manuscript was edited by Christopher Wordsworth as *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, 1901.

<sup>55</sup> Huglo 2001b, p. 390.

modified by local churches for their own use on a smaller scale.<sup>56</sup> In the early period of manuscript Processionals, in which music for processions was found in the Gradual, Antiphoner, or Breviary, polyphony also became a feature of processional music, with early examples of organum seen in processional antiphons and responsory verses (in, for example, the Winchester Troper). Chants sung in *faburden*,<sup>57</sup> such as *Salve festa dies* and those for the Litany of the Saints, appeared in the Sarum Processional;<sup>58</sup> the St. Paul's choir was noted in the 1531 London Chronicle for 'singing the litany with *faburden*'.<sup>59</sup>

The later period of manuscript Processionals, in which Processionals became a separate volume, is preserved in the first printed Processionals. Here the processions are arranged following the pattern of the Missal: Temporale, Proprium Sanctorum, Commune Sanctorum.<sup>60</sup> Some early editions of printed Processionals offer woodcut illustrations depicting the various clerical participants in the processions.<sup>61</sup> The first printed Sarum Processional, edited by R. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was printed in London by Richard Pynson in

<sup>56</sup> For the layout of Salisbury Cathedral, see Harrison 1958, p. 89.

<sup>57</sup> For important studies of *faburden*, see Trowell 1978, Harrison 1962, and Stevens 1955.

<sup>58</sup> Manuscript evidence of *faburden* in procession can be seen in Sarum Processionals and Hymnals, including the manuscript Processionals GB-Ob. Liturg. 408 (dating from the second half of the fourteenth century) featuring *Salve festa dies* and GB-Ob. Rawlinson Liturg. e. 45 (dating from the early sixteenth century) containing four litanies. GB-Ob. Auct. T. inf.. 3.17, a printed Processional dated ca. 1525, also contains four litanies in *faburden*. The fifteenth-century Hymnal GB-Lbl Harl. 2951 offers 32 hymn *faburdens*, and GB-Lbl Pr. Bk. C.52.b.51 (Ruremond's 1528 Sarum Hymnal) contains nine Magnificat *faburdens* and ten hymn *faburdens*. [Source of information: DIAMM (Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music), [www.diamm.ac.uk](http://www.diamm.ac.uk), accessed 16 August 2011]

<sup>59</sup> Huglo 2001b, p. 392.

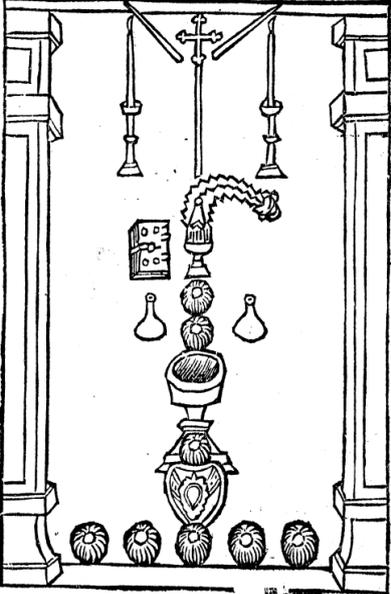
<sup>60</sup> See Harper 1991, pp. 214-16, on the form and content of the Sarum Processional.

<sup>61</sup> See Bailey 1971.

1501, and later editions of the Sarum Processional were regularly printed in London, Paris, Rouen, and Antwerp between 1502 and 1558.

Apart from a few editions issued in octavo format, the Sarum Processional appeared primarily in quarto format throughout its period of printing (1501-1558). As with the Breviary and the Hymnal, printers were most likely aware of the relationship between the books' format and its liturgical, as well as functional, requirements. Figure 1.7 shows a woodcut illustration of the order of the participants in the procession (including a crucifer, candle bearers, and a thurifer stationed in front of a baptismal font) and chant for the Easter Vigil from the 1519 edition of the Sarum Processional.

**In vigilia**



**pasche.** fo. lxxxii.

nre humilitatis gerendū est / ministerio tue virtutis impleatur  
effectu. Per dominū nostrū Iesū christum filium tuū qui  
tecū vivit et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti deus. De  
omnia secula seculorū. Amen. Dominus vobiscū. Et cū spi  
ritu tu o. Sursum corda. Habemus ad dominū. Gratias  
agamus domino deo nostro. Dignū et iustum est. Vere  
dignū et iustum est equū et salutare nos tibi semp et vbis  
gratias agere domine sacte pater omnipotēs eterne de⁹ qui  
inuisibili li potenti a sacramentozum tuozū mirabiliter

**C** Statim dum cantatur letania ad fontes in vigilia pasche  
Deinde executor officij ad fontes dicat sic.

**D**ominus vobiscum. Cho. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oramus.  
O mps sempiternē de⁹ adepto magne pietatis misericordis  
adepto sacramētis et ad recreā dos nouos ppos quos  
tibi sōs baptis matis parturit spūm adoptiōis emitte: vt qd

Figure 1.7 Sarum Processional 1519 (STC 16235), folio lxxxii, printed by Hopyl in Paris, featuring a woodcut illustration of the order of and participants in the procession for the Easter Vigil. Musical notation is given for the chant of the accompanying prayer. [Image from EEBO]

Processionals and Processional chants were a particular focus of nineteenth-century scholars, such as Wordsworth and Henderson, who produced editions of Maydeston's Sarum Ordinal,<sup>62</sup> the Sarum Processional,<sup>63</sup> and the York

<sup>62</sup> Cooke and Wordsworth 1901-2.

<sup>63</sup> Henderson 1882.

Processional.<sup>64</sup> The 1502 edition of the Sarum Processional (printed in Paris)<sup>65</sup> has seen a more recent facsimile edition.<sup>66</sup>

## MANUSCRIPT TRADITIONS

The manuscript versions of Sarum liturgical books in use before the advent of printing and their scribal traditions influenced the design and typography of their subsequent printed editions. The earliest printers of Sarum liturgical books relied on manuscript exemplars of particular texts (and their music) as editions of liturgical books found their way into print. Given the extent of variation among manuscript versions of early liturgical books, the first printed books of the Sarum rite propagated this variation while establishing some degree of uniformity of text. The earliest printers of liturgical books also introduced adaptations of the manuscript versions for the ease of printing. For example, the production of books in type meant a gradual simplification of scribal conventions, i.e. a reduction in the number of ligatures, contractions, and abbreviations, as typefounders sought to limit the presentation of graphic forms to a smaller number of typographical sorts.<sup>67</sup> Ultimately, however, the use of manuscript exemplars by the earliest printers of liturgical books meant a final product (the printed book) that was instantly recognizable and useable to its

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<sup>64</sup> Henderson 1875.

<sup>65</sup> STC 16175.

<sup>66</sup> Rastall 1980.

<sup>67</sup> Hellinga 1999, p. 71.

potential buyers. Thus, the earliest printers of liturgical books imitated certain scribal conventions, such as the use of a hierarchy of initial letters as a guide to the liturgical organization of a particular book. Because manuscript book production co-existed for some time alongside early printed book production, the earliest printers of liturgical books most likely sought to create a product that would capture a place in the newly-emerging market for printed books.

### Books for the Mass

Scribes employed basic patterns of size and colour of text, as well as placement of capital letters and initials and position of rubrics to establish the layout and organization of liturgical books. These principles can be seen in the presentation of the hierarchy of Masses for Christmas Day in manuscript Graduals. With the largest initial letter used to identify the beginning of the Masses for Advent Sunday and the main Mass of Christmas Day, the intervening Masses (3 ferial Masses for Ember Days, a Vigil Mass, and the two lesser Christmas Day Masses) are given a smaller initial (Hughes' 'size 2', spanning two lines of normal script)<sup>68</sup> at their beginnings, and smaller size initials set out the first item of each individual Mass (usually the introit). Rubrics identify the various Masses.

Containing texts not found in the Gradual (principally the collects and readings) and therefore more complex in format, the Missal paradoxically offers

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<sup>68</sup> Hughes 1982, p. 124.

a visual presentation simpler than the Gradual. Unlike the Gradual, in which all texts are set to plainsong, the Missal's sung texts are usually more distinct, set off by a smaller size of script and by the presence of plainsong in noted Missals. The hierarchy of initials used as a system of liturgical organization, as seen in the Gradual, appears much the same in the Missal. In addition, most manuscript Missals set apart the *Ordo Missae* following a standard pattern, with full-page pictorial decoration preceding the Canon of the Mass and large, elaborate initials used at *Te igitur* and the three doxological paragraphs each beginning with the letter 'P'.<sup>69</sup> In both manuscript Graduals and Missals, the sections devoted to the Sanctorale and Common of Saints are organized by the hierarchy of initials similar to that seen elsewhere in both books.

### Books for the Office

In both manuscript Antiphoners and Breviaries, the hierarchy of initials employed by scribes sets apart the first responsory of Matins and the first antiphon of Lauds, with the more important feast days receiving the emphasis of four large initials. Hymns, when they appear, are treated within this scribal hierarchy in an analogous manner to the Gradual's sequences and tracts. There is, however, considerable variation in the presentation and organization of

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

material for the Office within individual manuscript Antiphoners and among different sources as a result of varying repertoires of 'proper' and 'common'.<sup>70</sup>

Smaller script and the presence of plainsong staves mark the texts in the manuscript Breviary which are also found in the Antiphoner and set apart the other texts (e.g., readings and prayers for a variety of memorials and votive offices) which the (manuscript) Breviary alone carries. The presence of this additional material and its rubrics means that the presentation and liturgical organization of the Breviary is more complex and varies more than other types of liturgical books, although the scribal conventions of recurring patterns of script and notation are evident in the recurring patterns of spoken and sung texts.

### The Hymnal and the Processional

The organization and presentation of hymns in manuscript sources varies little, whether the hymns feature in a separate section of the Breviary or in an individual bound volume. A large initial begins the text, and musical notation, if present, is given only for the first stanza (although music for all stanzas would later be given in the first printed Sarum Hymnals); subsequent stanzas follow, with alternating, coloured capital letters. Sections of the Hymnal

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 162.

dedicated to the Temporale, Sanctorale, and Common of Saints are usually not set apart by large initials.<sup>71</sup>

The surviving manuscript Processionals are of two types: complete and abridged. The complete manuscripts contain, in addition to the entirety of the liturgy, extra liturgical material, principally for the services of Holy Week and not a part of Sarum processions, owing to the Processional's portable format. With a reduction in the number of rubrics and material not specifically connected with the processions, the abridged manuscript Processionals would have occasionally required supplemental material from other liturgical books.<sup>72</sup> Scribal conventions relating to the use of size, colour, and placing of capital letters and initials and the position of rubrics established the layout and organization of Processionals along the same lines as the other major types of liturgical books.

Scribal traditions of manuscript liturgical books found their way into Sarum and other liturgical printing from the outset, both in England and on the Continent. Printers adapted scribal patterns of text into various sizes of founts and maintained liturgical organization of books with woodcut illustrations and the continued use of red ink for rubrics. With the exception of the Antiphoner and Breviary, which both saw some simplification and standardization of

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

<sup>72</sup> Bailey 1971, pp. 3-4.

layout in print, early printed liturgical books mirrored much of their manuscript counterparts.

## **EARLY PRINTING IN ENGLAND**

The technique of printing from moveable type arrived in England some thirty years after its invention by Gutenberg circa 1440 by way of printers trained on the Continent. William Caxton (circa 1422 – circa 1492) and his successor, Wynkyn de Worde (d. 1534/5), Richard Pynson (1449/50 – 1529), and others developed a book trade in England almost solely dependent on techniques, skills, and materials acquired abroad. Caxton, who first came across printing in Cologne, encountered an extensive Continental market for books in Latin. In late 1475 or early 1476, upon returning to England and opening his printing shop in Westminster, Caxton began to focus on producing that which the Continental firms could not easily provide – works in the vernacular and Latin books for use exclusively in England. By focusing on this subset of the book trade, Caxton established a pattern for English printers which would last several centuries and helped to create an English book trade with a strong national identity.<sup>73</sup>

Manuscript books continued to be produced alongside printed books in England during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and many of the first

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<sup>73</sup> Hellinga 1999, p. 67-68.

printed texts were also copied in manuscript.<sup>74</sup> The transition from manuscript books to printed books was a gradual one as the scribe and the printing press were not considered to be conflicting methods of book production. Manuscript and printed material existed side by side for some time as scribes supplied manuscript books for that part of the book market not satisfied by the printing press, particularly in the fifteenth century. Scribes (specifically rubricators and illuminators) were often required to add the decorative capital letters and illuminations to early printed books, as printers were still developing their technology. Scribes may also have been able to satisfy the demand for texts translated into different languages more quickly than the earliest printers.<sup>75</sup> Ultimately, the design and layout of hand-written books influenced most aspects of early book production, including conventions of textual and musical typography. An examination of the history of early printed liturgical books requires consideration of textual and musical typography as both forms of printing were significant features of liturgical books.

Early English printers maintained connections with the small number of expert Continental punchcutters and typefounders who supplied them with appropriate type. Most printers used several type founts of differing designs and size to distinguish between titles, chapter headings, commentary, marginalia, etc. Scribal conventions of manuscripts such as contractions,

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<sup>74</sup> Sarum manuscript books which may have been copied after the introduction of print include British Library Royal 2 A XII, British Library Add. 17001, and British Library Eg 2,677.

<sup>75</sup> Blake 1989, pp. 403-419.

ligatures, and abbreviations were reproduced by early typefounders in an effort to maintain continuity for the reader. Within the first few decades of printing, two categories of type emerged – short-lived founts with extensive type-cases (necessary to achieve the scribal conventions of manuscripts) and founts with many fewer characters which continued to be used for long periods. Founts of type with longer lives required greater skill in manufacturing and were a greater investment for the printer, and, as the practice of producing this category of fount predominated, a simplified display of graphic forms was required.<sup>76</sup>

Although manuscript books had adopted several styles of script (associated with a book's intended purpose and regional variations), early printed Latin works were printed in one of two predominant styles: 'rotunda' (or 'venetica', as it was sometimes known by its contemporaries) for traditional Latin works and 'roman' typeface (invented by Venetian and Roman printers in the 1470s and related to humanist fifteenth-century script) for works of 'modern' learning and classical texts. Variation in style was required for the printing of Latin liturgical works, which continued to display some regional features, and printing in vernacular languages, which often required the procurement of suitable type in the absence of punchcutters.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Hellinga 1999, pp. 70-71.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

Caxton made use of several typefaces in his early Continental printing (most obtained from Johann Veldner), and while in Bruges, Caxton experimented with his first English type. He brought several sizes of bastarda type to England, and its durability influenced English printers for the next decade. Caxton also employed a textura typeface (Caxton Type 3) for contrast and headings; this type was occasionally used for ecclesiastical Latin works (e.g., *Ordinale Sarum*) by both himself and his successor, Wynkyn de Worde. In the 1490's Caxton began to use a textura type (Type 8) then popular with many printers in Paris and Rouen.<sup>78</sup> This Parisian type quickly gained popularity in England as well, although bastarda type remained in use in England for some time. Soon after its introduction in England, this Parisian typeface was also in the hands of de Worde and Pynson, and it later developed into the sixteenth-century 'black-letter' style, the main type for vernacular printing for some time to follow. Italic type, of Venetian origin, first appeared in England in the works of de Worde, and Pynson introduced a roman fount in 1509. Both of these types were used for the printing of Latin, and, in the case of italic, for other languages as well.<sup>79</sup>

Water-based inks used for writing were unable to adhere to metal type and were absorbed by paper under the weight of the printing press. The oil-based inks of early fifteenth-century Flemish painting, in a modified form, became the

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<sup>78</sup> For discussion of Caxton's typography, see Blades 1861-63 and Barker 1976.

<sup>79</sup> Hellinga 1999, pp. 72-78 and Carter 1969, pp. 79-88.

ink used for printing. Each printing firm most likely had its own exact formula for printing ink and made up small quantities at any one time. In addition to the regular use of black ink, red ink was also used and appeared frequently in liturgical works, often requiring a double impression of the printing press to achieve the two colours.<sup>80</sup>

Traditionally used in the making of books, vellum was used in medieval manuscripts until replaced by paper as a less expensive option. Early printers made much use of vellum in the first decade of the trade; however, paper soon became the standard medium. For both manuscript and printed books, vellum remained in use for luxury works (particularly for presentation or commissioned copies) and those which would see much wear, including indulgences, liturgical works, and school books. Overall, English printers made little use of vellum in general work. Pynson's use of vellum for the printing of his many Sarum liturgical works between 1500 and 1520 most likely represents the largest quantity of English printing on vellum in the period. While Pynson may have become a specialist in printing on vellum, other printers, including Caxton, William de Machlinia, de Worde, and Julian Notary, also made use of vellum for printing Sarum Books of Hours, in competition with Parisian printers and, to some extent, each other.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Hellinga 1999., pp. 92-93.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

Paper had been used in the production of manuscript books for more than a century before the invention of printing. The Normandy, Champagne, Genoa, and Piedmont regions were the major sources of paper supply for the early English printers. Several attempts at paper production in England were short-lived as a result of direct competition with the Continental paper trade; the works of de Worde preserve the majority of the paper produced by John Tate in England.<sup>82</sup>

Following the tradition of manuscript books, the earliest printed books often carried hand-painted decoration and illustration, although woodcuts, incorporated into the work of the printing press, gradually became the chosen form of illustration, most frequently in vernacular language books. Woodcuts were also the primary form of illustration in printed Sarum liturgical books.

The earliest printed books rarely present illustrations in metal engraving, copper engraving becoming a favourite choice for book illustration, particularly in anatomical texts, in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>83</sup> Regional characteristics of woodcut blocks developed, and these encouraged the establishment of individual, national styles for early printed books. Woodcuts were the most prevalent medium for book illustration among English printers until circa 1540. These woodcut blocks were frequently commissioned and stood alongside type as a significant investment and asset to the printer. Unlike type, however,

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<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-107.

woodcut blocks were rarely imported from the Continent; instead many were copied on commission by a series of woodcutters in the employ of Caxton, de Worde, and Pynson, although often not to the high standards of the original.

Outside London, early English printers rarely included illustration; however, printers in Westminster and London adopted the convention of starting a text with a major woodcut in some of the earliest printed books, establishing a pattern for the development of the title page in the early sixteenth century. Early printers of liturgical books both on the Continent and in England often made use of large, full-page woodcut illustrations to mark the beginnings of various sections of the book, particularly in editions of the Missal.

Thus, the earliest printing in England fostered a market for books in Latin, particularly those Latin books exclusively for use in England, of which Sarum liturgical books were a major component. Connections with the Continent remained vital to this Latin book trade, both for the supply of editions already in production on the Continent and for basic materials such as type and paper required for the domestic production of Latin books in England. However, unlike other Latin texts, the production of Latin liturgical books also required more specialized materials and more specialized printing skills for the reproduction of musical notation.

## EARLY MUSIC PRINTING IN ENGLAND

Twenty years after the first printing of books of text, Continental printers had begun to master the printing of musical notation. As with the printing of text, music printing calls upon principles of horizontality; the horizontal spacing between words could easily be applied to musical notation. Unlike the printing of ordinary text, however, the vertical dimension in music printing is of equal significance. The vertical alignment of two or more notes, the vertical relationship between notes and the syllables of the music's textual underlay, and the concepts of distance and proportion necessary to the reader (who may be reading music at a greater distance than one would read text) all posed new challenges for early printing. Thus, compared with the letters of a word, the design, shape, and spacing of musical notes demanded from the printer a greater degree of complexity.<sup>84</sup>

Music in early printed liturgical books appeared in one of three forms: (1) blank space left for both staves and notes, filled in by hand, (2) printed staves (often printed using a wooden or metal block, the metal block being favoured over a wooden block as it was less likely to split under pressure), with notes filled in by hand, and (3) 'double' and 'single' impression printing of both staves and notes, with this third option certainly being the most common.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> King 1964, p. 8.

<sup>85</sup> Historically, the 'double impression' method was in use first, with the invention of the 'single impression' method circa 1525.

Only one English example of blank space left for staves and notes is extant, Higden's *Polychronicon*,<sup>86</sup> printed by Caxton in 1482 and by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495. The 1489 edition of the Sarum Missal,<sup>87</sup> printed by Michael Wennsler in Basle, features musical notation added by hand. Notary and Barbier's 1498 edition of the Missal (printed for de Worde)<sup>88</sup> remains the sole English example of printed staves with manuscript notes.<sup>89</sup> Figure 1.8 shows an example of annotated musical notation in a copy of Notary and Barbier's 1498 edition found in the National Library of Scotland.

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<sup>86</sup> This work of universal history and theology briefly covers music and offers the occasional musical example.

<sup>87</sup> STC 16165.

<sup>88</sup> STC 16172.

<sup>89</sup> Steele 1903, p. 1.

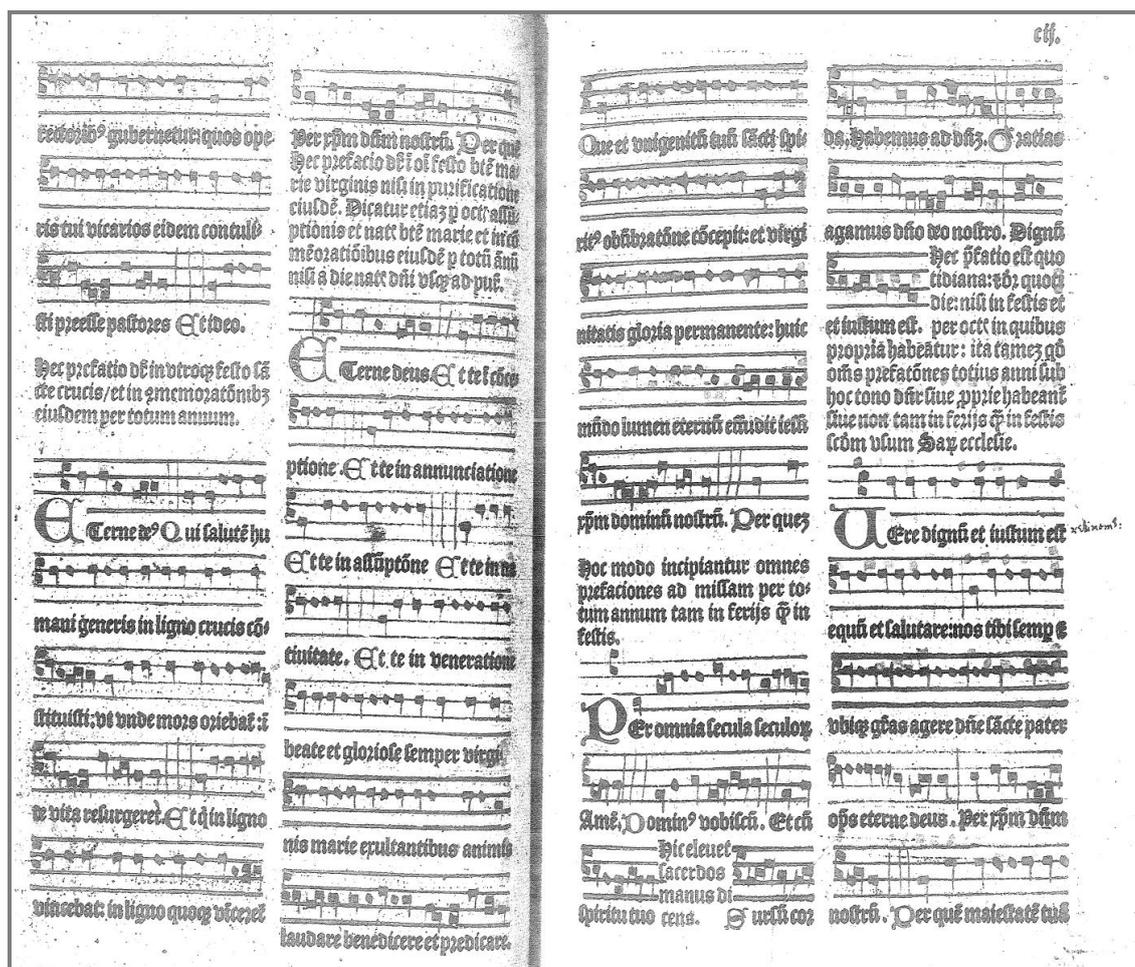


Figure 1.8 Sarum Missal 1498 (STC 16172), folio cii, printed by Notary and Barbier (for Wynkyn de Worde). The figure shows annotated musical notation on Notary and Barbier's printed staves. The musical scribe also appears to have added vertical lines as section breaks. [Image from EEBO]

In England, the printing of liturgical books with plainchant notation marked the first printing of music and remained the only commercial music printing before 1557 (apart from a very small quantity of secular music for amateurs). Music printing was centred in the printing trade in London, and no music whatsoever was printed in this period in Scotland, Wales, or Ireland.<sup>90</sup> In the incunable period, printers, continuing to use the manuscript book as a

<sup>90</sup> Milsom 1999, p. 548.

model, were beginning to master the printing of plainchant notation but had not yet solved all of the problems associated with the printing of polyphony. How great the early demand for printed polyphony may have been is unclear; however, liturgical polyphony was certainly in use and therefore at least a small market for it probably existed. In England in particular the early market for polyphony remained confined to professional musicians who preferred manuscripts. While the earliest printers of music frequently used blocks of either wood or metal for printing musical examples in texts of music theory and instruction, they preferred the use of movable type for liturgical plainchant, initially via the double impression method.<sup>91</sup>

At the advent of printing, four styles of plainchant notation were in use in Europe. The square 'Roman' form predominated and was used throughout England; however, northern, central (Germanic) Europe favoured the 'Gothic' style, with the 'Byzantine' form in use in southeastern-most Europe. 'Ambrosian' notation was used only in small region around Milan.<sup>92</sup>

Table 1.2 gives the basic Roman form plainchant neumes which were cast in metal type (imported from the Continent) in fifteenth-century England and their modern transcription.<sup>93</sup> Neumatic notation served a dual purpose: it symbolised the direction of melodic motion, often in groups of pitches, and it

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<sup>91</sup> King 1964, p. 9.

<sup>92</sup> Duggan 1992, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>93</sup> Duggan 1992, p. 6 and Apel 1966, pp. 99-112.

aligned melodic movement with the syllables of the underlying text. Scribes of manuscript books and early printers varied in the degree to which they managed to co-ordinate neumes and textual underlay, with the less careful of both professions dividing neumes into isolated virgas to indicate pitch only, thereby obscuring the role of notation as a marker of syllables.

**Table 1.2: Roman Plainchant Notation<sup>94</sup>**

BASIC NEUMES			Modern transcription
1-note	punctum		
	virga		
2-note	podatus		
	clivis		
3-note	climacus		
	scandicus		
	torculus		
	porrectus		
LIQUESCENT NEUMES			
	cephalicus		none
	epiphonus		none
	virga-plus-oriscus		with ornament
REPERCUSSIVE NEUME			
	bivirga		
CLEFS	C clef		substitute G clef
	F clef		
OTHER	B rotundus		
	B naturalis		
	B quadratus		
	custos		none

<sup>94</sup> Adapted from Duggan 1992, p. 5.

Variation within the basic forms of neumes posed new challenges for the creators of music type; for example, the basic time value of plainchant could be represented by either the virga or the stemless punctum. In addition, liquescent neumes (used to indicate ornamentation) and the ambiguous virga-plus-oriscus were necessary for the liturgical books used by the choir (Processionals, Antiphoners, and Graduals).

Once the musical symbols had been cast into metal type, the printer then faced the problem of co-ordinating staves, neumes, and textual underlay. If staves, clefs, neumes, and text were all to be printed from moveable type, a 'double impression' method was employed. The first impression required the alignment of a block of metal (or, not infrequently, separate lengths of rules) for the staves with the text (the textual underlay for the plainchant and any rubrics required) within the forme. The forme was then inked in red. Once all of this type had been removed from the forme, the printer then replaced it with the clefs and the neumes, carefully set with exact spacing so that the impression would centre them on the required line of the staff and would align the neumes with the appropriate syllables of the textual underlay, inking the forme in black for this second impression.<sup>95</sup>

The double impression method was a slow and costly process for the printer. Music type was expensive and manipulating it successfully required of

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<sup>95</sup> Pattison 1939, pp. 392-3.

the printer at least some musical knowledge. Thus, the addition by hand of neumes, staves, or both was often advantageous for the printer. If the music were added by hand, European printing houses could market the same liturgical book to countries and regions outside of their particular liturgical usage; for example, a liturgical book printed in Rome with space left for plainchant could be sold elsewhere and plainsong of any 'use' added by a scribe.<sup>96</sup>

The first Continental use of moveable type for the printing of music by the 'double impression' method within liturgical books is found in a Gradual which lacks both a printing date and the name of the printer. The type used for printing its text bears great similarity to that of the 'Constance Breviary', at least one copy of which was rubricated in 1473. Thus, this Gradual is thought to have been printed circa 1473, either in Constance or elsewhere in southern Germany. The plainchant was printed in Gothic notation, and some of the coloured initials were added by hand. The second use of movable type for the printing of music within liturgical books, and the first to carry a date, is a Missal printed in Rome by the German Ulrich Han in 1476; the plainchant was given in Roman notation and coloured initials were again added by hand. The use of movable type and the 'double impression' method for the printing of liturgical books became widespread on the Continent. In January 1500, Richard Pynson

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<sup>96</sup> King 1964, pp. 10-11.

produced the first example of such work in England with the printing of a Sarum Missal (the 'Morton' Missal).<sup>97</sup>

Circa 1525, French type-founder Pierre Hautin invented a 'single impression' method, cutting punches for each note with part of the staves attached. French printer and publisher Pierre Attaignant was most likely the first to use Hautin's type and method, with John Rastell's press being the first to make use of the 'single impression' method in England. Both Attaignant and Rastell specialized in the printing of secular music.

## **THE EARLY BOOK TRADE IN LONDON**

An established community for the manuscript-book trade was in place in certain areas of London (principally St. Paul's churchyard and Paternoster Row, plus the vicinity of Holborn and Chancery Lane) by Caxton's 1476 return to Westminster. Archival documents relating to the City of London suggest that at least 254 professional manuscript-book craftsmen and stationers were at work in London between 1300 and 1520,<sup>98</sup> with a common fraternity of book artisans formed in the City of London in 1403. These manuscript-book artisans worked in one or more fields including textwriter, limner (illuminator of manuscripts), bookbinder, parchmener, stationer, or apprentice, and the creation of a manuscript-book would have involved each type of artisan at

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Christianson 1989, p. 88.

some stage in its production. Evidence suggests that bookbinders, of all of the specialist manuscript-book artisans, were the most successful in making the transition from trade in manuscript-books to that in printed books; limners and textwriters most likely did not go on to work in printers' shops.<sup>99</sup>

In the decade preceding 1476, small numbers of printed books from the Continent had been arriving on English shores in the hands of English travellers. Following on Caxton's heels, various Continental printers also saw the potential in London's emerging commerce in printed books; many, including the partnerships of Henry Frankenbergh and Bernard van Stondo (of Utrecht) and John Lettou and William de Machlinia (of Machlin in Flanders), quickly located new businesses in the City, for the importation and sale of books, for their printing, or both. Important markets for books existed in London, including the educational and scholarly institutions of the City, the grammar schools at St. Martin-le-Grand and St. Mary-le-Bow, the educational foundations associated with St. Paul's Cathedral, the London centres for the convents of Greyfriars, Whitefriars, and Blackfriars, in addition to the legal trade established in the vicinity of Holborn and Chancery Lane.<sup>100</sup>

From its outset, then, London's printed book market was dominated by foreigners and by books printed abroad. A proviso to the parliamentary Act of

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<sup>99</sup> Christianson 1999, pp. 142-3.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

1484 (which regulated the activities of foreigners in business in England)

permitted free trade in books:

‘this Act or any parcel thereof, or any other Act made or to be made in this said parliament, shall not extend, or be in prejudice, disturbance, damage, or impediment to any artificer or merchant stranger, of what nation or country he be, or shall be of, for bringing into this realm, or selling by retail or otherwise, any books written or printed, or for inhabiting within this said realm for the same intent, or any scrivener, illuminator, binder or printer of such books, which he hath or shall have to sell by way of merchandise, or for their dwelling within this said realm for the exercise of the said occupations.’<sup>101</sup>

Thus, the 1484 Act enhanced and helped to sustain the foreign dominance of the London book trade.

Several studies have documented the individual acquisition of printed books by Englishmen abroad in the years before 1476,<sup>102</sup> and thus these purchases represent the first printed books in England. Many of these Continental customers were those who required books for their professions: lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters, and clergymen. As the trade in printed books from the Continent began to develop in the 1470s, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy took the lead in supplying books to England; France and Basle (as a centre of intellectual printing) began to dominate the trade in the early sixteenth century. Two studies by Lotte Hellinga and Margaret Ford<sup>103</sup> of early printed books with British ownership up to about 1530 demonstrate that Italy and

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<sup>101</sup> As given in Plant 1965, pp. 27-8.

<sup>102</sup> Armstrong 1979; Pollard and Ehrmann 1965.

<sup>103</sup> Hellinga 1991 and Ford 1999.

German-speaking countries were the leading sources of early book importation, with France following as a close third and the Netherlands producing only about 10 percent of the total.

For the English book market, the most important city centres of printing beyond Westminster and London included Venice, Paris, Basel, Cologne, Lyons, Strasbourg, and Nuremberg, and most of these cities specialized in certain types of books aimed at the English market. Before the true establishment of printing in London, Rome and Venice were the sources of books for higher academic (university) learning (primarily classical works in Latin and Greek) and the professional classes (medical and legal texts in particular). Basel was a centre for humanist printing and Lyons the major source of Bible production. Monastic houses, secular clergy, and other ecclesiastical clientele would have also acquired books printed in Venice, in addition to the German centres of Nuremberg, Basel, and Strasbourg. Early in the sixteenth century, Lyons, Paris, Rouen, and Antwerp also produced books aimed at this particular segment of the English market, including liturgical books of Sarum use.<sup>104</sup>

Prior to 1500, the first printed Sarum liturgical books (which were limited to the categories of Breviary and Missal) originated in Cologne, Venice, Paris, and Basel. Printed in Cologne circa 1475, the first Sarum Breviary (STC 15794) was

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<sup>104</sup> Ford 1999a, pp. 179-93.

followed by a second edition printed in Venice by de Novimagio in 1483. The Sarum Breviary of 1495 (STC 15801) was the last Venice-printed English liturgical book. The first two editions of the Sarum Missal (based on extant copies) originated from Paris in 1487 and Basel in 1489. Nearly a decade later, 1498 brought out the first Sarum Missal produced in England, printed by Julian Notary and Jean Barbier for Wynkyn de Worde. Unlike that of Richard Pynson, much of de Worde's career would focus on collaborations with other, primarily Continental, printers.

Thus, before 1500 Continental printers found a market in England for Sarum use liturgical books. These, and Books of Hours, were imported in large quantities, as the demand for both kinds of book exceeded the supply that early printers (including de Worde and Pynson) could produce. Demand for liturgical books certainly would have been set by secular cathedrals and parish churches, and the large number of chantries in both institutions may well have kept demand at a constant level. Cathedrals of monastic foundation in England may have required the liturgical books of their particular monastic orders, rather than those of Sarum use; however, these institutions undoubtedly benefited from the new book trade with the Continent.<sup>105</sup> Neither ecclesiastical nor royal authority in England controlled the right to print or sell liturgical books; neither did any authority in England give preference to a particular

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<sup>105</sup> For a discussion of printed service books for religious orders in sixteenth-century England, see Pfaff 2009, pp. 550-2.

edition of any given liturgical book.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, the Church's 'imprimatur' (approval from a civil or ecclesiastical authority for the printing or importation of books) was not established in England until 1586. Hence, when both de Worde and Pynson began printing in London, they found an established market for Sarum liturgical books and no limitations on the printing of them.

### **SARUM BOOKS AND DEBATES ABOUT PRINT CULTURE**

The introduction of printing for liturgical books raises questions about the transition from manuscript to print, a topic much discussed since Elizabeth Eisenstein's 1979 book, *The printing press as an agent of change: Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe*. While Eisenstein describes for the advent of printing two seemingly incompatible models of change ('evolutionary gradualism' and 'abrupt revolution'), she notes the prevalence within the historical literature of the former model over the latter (much to the detriment of studies of the historical impact of the invention of the printing press).<sup>107</sup> An examination of early printed Sarum liturgical books against these two models of change supports Eisenstein's paradox of the simultaneously continuous and broken line. Continuity existed both in the physical nature (appearance) and the essential content (liturgical practice) of Sarum liturgical books in their gradual shift from script to print; discontinuities presented

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<sup>106</sup> Armstrong 1979, p. 278.

<sup>107</sup> Eisenstein 1979, pp. 33-36.

themselves as London and Continental printers began to respond to the market for printed Sarum books in their use of different formats (for example, folio vs. quarto, possibly for different sectors of the book market) and the use of differing exemplars. In addition, London-based printers of Sarum liturgical books faced technical challenges in the printing of music in which their Continental counterparts were already expert.

In her study of the shift from script to print, Eisenstein remarks that 'early print culture is sufficiently uniform to permit us to measure its diversity.'<sup>108</sup> My study of Sarum liturgical books in Tudor London supports this statement, in that, although the printing press brought to printed liturgical books a certain degree of the uniformity and synchronization to which Eisenstein points, a combination of variables contributed to an underlying degree of diversity within liturgical printing. Among these variables were the required and ongoing connections with the Continent, required for the supply of materials (type, paper, etc.) to early London printers and ongoing as Continental printers, such as Thielman Kerver and Robert Valentin, continued to seek their share of the market for liturgical books in England by producing books specifically for England's Sarum rite.

While Eisenstein hypothesises a 'communications revolution' as a result of the advent of printing and 'the shift from script to print', liturgical printing

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

stands somewhat apart from this revolution. Factors such as increasing rates of literacy, which influenced the production of other types of books, probably exerted less of an influence on the production of liturgical books, whose destined market had already established literacy in Latin. The secondary market for liturgical books among laity may well have been affected to a greater degree, and thus strengthened, by increasing rates of literacy from the introduction of printed books and into the sixteenth century. Indeed Latin liturgical books were certainly a category of book for which 'audience' (actual readership) and 'public' (speculative market seen by authors, publishers, and printers)<sup>109</sup> appear to be nearly the same, unlike most other categories of early printed books.

Eisenstein, however, also emphasizes the importance of the identical duplication of visual aids (images, maps, and diagrams) to early printed technical literature and to the 'communications revolution' overall.<sup>110</sup> In this aspect, Sarum books do play a part, with their woodcut religious images scattered throughout most categories and formats of liturgical book (see, for example, Figure 2.5); the diagrams of processions for various liturgical celebrations found in the printed Sarum Processional (see, for example, Figure 1.7) may even be seen to 'make possible new forms of interplay between diverse

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 53-55 and 81-82.

elements'<sup>111</sup> (for a very specific audience) as did other visual aids in early printed books.

The presence of printed music in Sarum books, however, offers a further challenge to this concept of interplay between elements. Was the printed music found, for example, in the Missal simply an *aide memoire* for a priest (who would have learned the music as a part of his liturgical training) celebrating the Mass? Or can one view the printed music of liturgical books as more than a visual aid and regard it as a specialist language of its own? Music printing not only represented a specialist skill for early printers, but was also aimed at a specialized market; these two factors also interacted in a number of ways.<sup>112</sup> In any case, the printed music (and indeed the musical annotations found in some copies and editions) of Sarum books represents a synthesis of image and language unique to early printed book production. In fact, printed liturgical books, particularly as used in their functional context, support Eisenstein's argument that print did not silence the spoken word and that sight did not become favoured over hearing.<sup>113</sup> Even after the introduction of printing, the interplay between sight and sound continued in liturgy as it always had.

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>112</sup> Boorman 1986, pp. 224-237.

<sup>113</sup> Eisenstein 1979, pp. 68-70.

Eisenstein also stresses the importance of the 'exactly repeatable pictorial statement'<sup>114</sup> for establishing fixity of texts and standardization of editions. These claims have been long been challenged<sup>115</sup>, and more recently<sup>116</sup> Eisenstein has cautioned against equating standardization with fixity. Here again printed Sarum liturgical books appear to contradict her argument for fixity of texts. A detailed examination of editions of Sarum books across the liturgical categories reveals much less fixity and standardization than probably occurred with other types of early printed books. Although certain woodcut religious images appear to have been circulated among printing houses (so that the same image occasionally appears in different editions, different books, and from different printers), the illustration found in Sarum books varies considerably. Continental printers, who most likely had a larger and more diverse stock of woodcuts than their London-based counterparts, seem to have been better at relating woodcut illustration to a section of liturgical text (for example, images of the Annunciation included in the section of the Missal devoted to Christmas or Crucifixion scenes with the Holy Week and Easter portions of the book). Therefore, with differing visual aids in place, different editions of the same Sarum book carried different messages to their users/readers and thus resisted complete fixity and standardization of text. In addition, the technical challenges presented by music printing meant that for both London-based and

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 84 and pp. 113-115.

<sup>115</sup> Grafton 1980, Johns 1998.

<sup>116</sup> Eisenstein 2002.

Continental printing houses the duplication of music was often a hit-or-miss affair. Whether the music of liturgical books is viewed as image or language, fixity of text was simply not possible for liturgical books which carried music. For example, the London printing house of Notary and Barbier, unable either to acquire or use music type, offered an edition of the Sarum Missal<sup>117</sup> with only blank staves (thus establishing the possibility that musical annotations could record, reflect, and perpetuate music differently within different institutions). Even in editions from technically competent Continental printers, various types of errors in transmission of music can be seen.<sup>118</sup> Thus, from the earliest printed Sarum liturgical books to those re-issued under Mary I, the presence of music in Sarum books prevented absolute fixity of text and standardization of editions.

Eisenstein's discussion of the role of the printing press in the move toward liturgical uniformity appears to centre on the European Catholic Church, and thus when she states that 'the same texts could be recited and the same ceremonies performed, in the same way, throughout the Catholic world'<sup>119</sup> she seems to have ignored the English Church and the Sarum rite completely. While the printing press undoubtedly assisted Sarum Use in becoming the dominant rite in England (over lesser rites such as those of Hereford and

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<sup>117</sup> STC 16172.

<sup>118</sup> For example, in the 1508 edition of the Sarum Processional (see Chapter 3) or Kingston & Sutton's 1555 edition of the Sarum Hymnal (see Chapter 5).

<sup>119</sup> Eisenstein 1979, p. 313.

York),<sup>120</sup> the Sarum rite remained distinct from the Roman rite of the Continent, and several Continental printers (principally in Paris, Rouen, and Antwerp) specialized in the production of Sarum rite books for export to England. In addition, some London printers, including Wynkyn de Worde, made the importation of these liturgical books produced on the Continent a major component of their printing house business.

Although the printing of English and Continental Protestant propaganda is outside the scope of this thesis (and indeed many studies,<sup>121</sup> including Eisenstein's, have already sought to establish the role of the printing press in the English and Continental Reformations), further light can be shed on the role of English and Continental printing presses in the re-establishment of Catholicism under Mary I. This examination of the Sarum liturgical books reissued under Mary Tudor helps to illustrate the particular Catholic liturgy to which Mary sought to return (i.e., that of the 1520s of her father's reign, as opposed to the modifications made by Henry VIII in the 1530s and 1540s immediately preceding and following the Act of Supremacy).

Hence, this present study of Sarum liturgical books brings additional issues to bear on Eisenstein's analysis of 'the shift from script to print' with the advent of printing. Considered at both broad and detailed levels, Sarum liturgical

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<sup>120</sup> The domination of the Sarum rite, while aided by the advent of the printing press, can be seen as a part of a larger political programme under Henry V. See Catto 1985, pp. 97-115.

<sup>121</sup> Newman 1985 and Scribner 1981, among others.

printing (in Tudor London and on the Continent) supports Eisenstein's theory of diversity within uniformity and the paradox of simultaneous continuity and discontinuity. However, Sarum liturgical books, over the duration of their production, can be shown to lack the fixity of text and the standardization of editions that she points to as the most important outcomes of the invention of the printing press. In addition, because of its closed and specific nature, Sarum printing appears to have stood somewhat apart from the post-printing press 'communications revolution' which Eisenstein advocates, serving a specialist market with a specialist product.<sup>122</sup>

Many aspects of Sarum liturgical printing support Adrian Johns' arguments<sup>123</sup> against Eisenstein's definition and establishment of a 'print culture'. As noted above, fixity, standardization, and a revolutionary new pattern of dissemination (the foundations of Eisenstein's 'print culture') were not particular features of Sarum liturgical printing. Johns' study of the history of the early printed book disputes Eisenstein's definition of print culture, particularly with regard to the concept of fixity of texts. He regards fixity as a transitive idea, rather than an inherent one, and states that 'we may adopt the principle that fixity exists only inasmuch as it is recognized and acted upon by people – and not otherwise'.<sup>124</sup> Johns' definition of print culture is clearly more fluid than Eisenstein's, 'a *result* (Johns' emphasis) of manifold representations,

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<sup>122</sup> See also Boorman 1986.

<sup>123</sup> Johns 1998.

<sup>124</sup> Johns 1998, p. 19.

practices, and conflicts', rather than a 'cause'.<sup>125</sup> It is against this background and definition of 'print culture' that Sarum liturgical printing, with its lack of fixity and lack of standardization, would seem to fit more securely, particularly with Johns' assertion that 'print entailed not one but many cultures, and that these cultures of the book were themselves local in character'.<sup>126</sup> The specialist nature and markets for Sarum books would seem to fit into a more localized definition of print culture as Johns describes it.

Johns also points to issues surrounding the problem of the trust that an early modern reader gave to printed materials when he states that 'a central element in the reading of a printed work was likely to be a critical appraisal of its identity and its credit'; he also notes that 'questions of credit took the place of assumptions of fixity'.<sup>127</sup> For the users and readers of Sarum liturgical books, could there have been any 'questions of credit' over the newly printed editions of liturgical works? Did the users of liturgical books have any reason to doubt the content of a newly printed edition of a work they had most likely seen in an earlier manuscript form? Because liturgical printers had manuscript versions, and in some cases earlier printed editions, of liturgical works to employ as exemplars and because they chose to model the layout, typography, etc. of printed liturgical books on these exemplars (essentially modelling newly printed liturgical books on what was already in circulation and that with which

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<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

users/readers were already familiar), it is likely that those who encountered newly printed liturgical books had very little reason to doubt the book itself or its text.

One may also wonder if the close connection liturgical books had with the sacred and divine (liturgy) also afforded them an additional measure of protection from readers' doubt. However, it is possible that those into whose hands fell the newly printed editions of liturgical works initially regarded them with a greater degree of scrutiny than other types of books might have seen, scrutiny necessary to ensure that the sacred and divine were preserved and protected by the new art of printing. In the wake of much piracy of texts and information in early printing and the subsequent issues of credibility that ensued, Sarum liturgical books may have stood apart from other categories of early printed books. Johns notes that 'printers and booksellers were manufacturers of credit'<sup>128</sup> (i.e., they had the responsibility to produce a printed work in which the reader could place trust), and that 'fixity was in the eye of the beholder'.<sup>129</sup> Thus, for printers who undertook liturgical printing, the modelling of newly printed editions on that which was already in circulation not only provided an easy frame of reference for layout, format, typography, etc., but also provided a certain amount of insurance in questions of credibility of text. If the eye of the beholder regarded the newly printed liturgical book as

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

something which seemed very much to be a seamless continuation of scribal and liturgical tradition, then an at least outward display of fixity served both the purposes of the printer and his intended market; the printer had created a product in which the user/reader could place his faith, both literally and figuratively. Had early printers of liturgical books departed radically from that which had gone before, based on the nature and function of the texts concerned, it is quite likely that newly printed editions of liturgical books may have at the very least drawn suspicion and at the very worst fostered major liturgical dispute.

Johns also notes the role that anonymity of the printer or printing firm played in issues of credibility of printed knowledge, remarking that printers 'stayed just sufficiently in the background to avoid suspicion of either subterfuge or authorship'.<sup>130</sup> In the case of printed Sarum books, however, particularly those produced in London, the books' association with the printer may well have offered both an additional level of credibility and also a selling point for buyers. Wynkyn de Worde's inheritance of Caxton's business and reputation and Richard Pynson's position as King's Printer may well have afforded them a certain level of trust in the eyes of English buyers of liturgical books and perhaps given the sales of their Sarum books an advantage over those imported from the Continent.

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

Johns also questions whether or not the importance of print lies in its ability to transcend local contexts and permit communication across distances.<sup>131</sup> Viewing Sarum liturgical printing within these parameters, one may conclude that the advent of printing served the Sarum rite well; the great proliferation in the numbers of service books as a result of printing secured for England the dominance of the Use of Salisbury over more local rites. The dissemination of these liturgical texts brought some degree of uniformity to pre-Reformation liturgy and also assisted the re-establishment of Catholic worship under Mary I. However, because the Sarum books produced on the Continent were only ever exported to England and were not in Continental liturgical use, the importance of print for Sarum liturgical books does not appear to lie in increased communication over distances. For Sarum liturgical books, the importance of print is found in a strengthening and securing of local context. Although greater distances were involved in both the Continental supply of printing materials to London's liturgical printers and Continental printers' own supply of liturgical books to the English market, for Sarum liturgical printing these distances do not appear to have fostered a greater dissemination of knowledge as was the case with most other types of early printed books (see Chapters 2 and 3).

In his recent study of the 'printing revolution' of the early modern period, David McKitterick stresses the significance of the period of overlap between

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

manuscript and print, a period in which he regards manuscripts and early printed books serving not as substitutes for one another but as complements to one another. This overlap can certainly be seen in an examination of Sarum liturgical printing. Evidence of institutional ownership shows churches in possession (and presumably use) of both manuscript versions and printed editions of liturgical books. For the Sarum Antiphoner, manuscript versions of this book must have stood in churches side-by-side with printed editions of the other categories of liturgical book, as the first edition of the Antiphoner did not see its first printing and importation from the Continent until after 1519 (based on extant copies).<sup>132</sup> This present study of Sarum liturgical printing clearly supports McKitterick's view of the overlap of manuscript and print; some extant copies of Sarum books contain manuscript insertions and additions. Further research in Sarum liturgical printing might seek to determine the prevalence of printed insertions in manuscript books.

McKitterick also takes issue with one of the widely-held viewpoints of book historians, who assert that 'early printers certainly tried to make their books look as much like manuscripts as possible';<sup>133</sup> he argues instead that the design and layout of the printed page by early printers was not achieved so that a printed book resembled a manuscript but 'because that was expected of some

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<sup>132</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>133</sup> McKitterick 2003, p. 36.

kinds of books, for some audiences, markets or individuals'.<sup>134</sup> Although this is a subtle distinction, it may well be true for Sarum books. While early printed liturgical books closely resembled their manuscript exemplars, McKitterick's view that the layout of certain types of printed books might be essential to the reader can be shown of Sarum books. Because certain types of liturgical books (for example, the Missal) had readers who were also users and, to some extent, performers, these are books which would seem to provide evidence for McKitterick's premise; indeed the 'expectations of manuscripts' did endure into printed books both in layout and use.

Therefore, my study of Sarum liturgical printing, particularly with evidence of both institutional and individual ownership, would appear to support McKitterick's view that, both in terms of aspects of production and actual use, manuscripts and printed material were on an even footing in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and that printed books were not seen as being superior to their manuscript counterparts.

Thus, when examined against recent debates about the introduction of printing, Sarum liturgical printing finds both correspondence and divergence. While on a broad level, aspects of fixity of text can be seen, at a more detailed level, for Sarum books, fixity of text and standardization of editions were not entirely possible. If, as Johns states, assumptions of fixity were in fact replaced

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

by questions of credit, the role of the printer in establishing the credibility comes into play. Was greater credibility established in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by knowledge of and co-existence with manuscript versions of liturgical books, especially for books whose readers were also users? The specialist nature of Sarum books, their specialist markets, and the specialist techniques required of at least some of their production sets them as much in unfamiliar territory as on common ground within the history of the book.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Printers & Publishers I:

#### Wynkyn de Worde (d. 1534/5)

As direct successor to England's first printer, William Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde developed early printing in England from strong foundations. He expanded Caxton's business model, which was largely dependent on patronage, to establish new markets within the book trade and to include a wide range of printed output and the production of texts for the general public. In addition to augmenting Caxton's business methods, de Worde also brought his expertise as a printer to Caxton's shop, improving the printing methods as 'England's first typographer'.<sup>1</sup> As one of England's earliest printer/publishers, de Worde was responsible for the production of some of the earliest printed liturgical books of the use of Sarum. Although liturgical books represented only a small percentage of de Worde's overall printed output, as will be seen in this thesis, de Worde's liturgical printing is representative of his printing work overall, both in terms of printing methods and workshop practice and in terms of his approach to business and the early English book market. Unlike his main domestic competitor in liturgical printing, Richard Pynson, de Worde made use of many avenues for the production and sale of liturgical books, including in-house production, collaboration with other printers both domestic and foreign,

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<sup>1</sup> Haley 1992, p. 15.

commissioned work from both England and Europe, and Continental importation. De Worde's liturgical printing can be seen as a microcosm of his work and philosophy as a printer.

## **BIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY**

The life of Wynkyn de Worde illustrates one of the crucial dynamics in the early English book trade, namely its symbiotic relationship with Continental printers and publishers. De Worde was born and possibly also trained on the Continent, but was assisting William Caxton (who had himself trained in Cologne and Bruges) possibly from as early as 1476. However, little is known about the exact details of Wynkyn de Worde's life and career before his arrival in England or about his early work with William Caxton. Since the early twentieth century, bibliographers have debated De Worde's exact origins, citing him variously as German, Belgian, or Dutch. Previous scholars of early printing, including E. Gordon Duff, considered de Worde to be German by birth, while William Blades, biographer of Caxton, labels de Worde as Belgian.<sup>2</sup> However, James Moran points to de Worde's position as a subject of the Duke of Lorraine, owing to the facts that during de Worde's lifetime Lorraine remained an independent Duchy and that de Worde never became a fully naturalized English citizen.<sup>3</sup> The difficulties in pinpointing de Worde's place of

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<sup>2</sup> Blades 1971, p.95.

<sup>3</sup> Moran 2003, pp. 17 and 19.

birth arise from both the early documentation of de Worde in Westminster (for example, the details of his 1496 letter of denization as well as the various forms of his name presented in contemporary documents) and the shifting political and geographical positions in the region of Alsace and Lorraine in the later Middle Ages. On 20 April 1496, a letter of denization was issued to one 'Winando de Worde de ducatu Lothoringie oriundo impressori librorum', and generations of scholars, relating 'Lothoringie' to Lorraine and discounting the fact that 'Worde' proves problematic as a place name in that region,<sup>4</sup> presented de Worde as a native of the city of Wörth in Alsace. Eric Vickers later presented the possibility of the town of Woerth, a bailiwick of the county of Lichtenberg (part of the German Empire, rather than the Duchy of Lorraine), as de Worde's birthplace.<sup>5</sup> Documents from St. Margaret's Church (Westminster) and the muniments of Westminster Abbey relating to William Caxton, his contemporaries, and his successors give de Worde's name as 'Winandus' or 'Wynkyn'; however, the monks of Westminster Abbey responsible for collecting de Worde's rents listed his name in a German form as 'Johannes' or 'Jan Wynkyn' (probably treating 'Wynkyn' as his surname and 'de Worde' as a place of origin).<sup>6</sup> Recent research by Lotte Hellinga, however, points to de Worde's listing as 'Winandum van Worden' (a Dutch form) in accounts for

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<sup>4</sup> BMC 2007, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Vickers 1977, p. 269.

<sup>6</sup> Nixon 1976, p. 322.

the payment of Sarum rents<sup>7</sup> to the Abbey and, by presenting specific evidence from de Worde's printed works, suggests that de Worde's early life was most likely in the city of Woerden in Holland, rather than in Alsace-Lorraine.

Hellinga's analysis of de Worde's earliest printing, based on the typographical evidence offered by typefaces and woodcuts, shows that de Worde may have had direct contact with Dutch typesetter Govert van Ghemen and the 'Gouda Typesetter' circa 1492-3 and again circa 1496-7, thus corroborating the theory that de Worde's earliest connections with printing came from Holland, rather than elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, de Worde's 1534/35 will (National Archives PROB 11/25, quire 22) gives his surname as 'de Wourde', a spelling and pronunciation closer to 'Woerden'.

As the new art of printing spread outward from Gutenberg in Mainz throughout western Europe, de Worde may have encountered the trade as an apprentice. Scholars such as Henry Plomer, Howard Nixon, Lotte Hellinga, and James Moran speculate that de Worde met Caxton in Cologne, following him to England to act as Caxton's assistant shortly after Caxton had established his Westminster press at the sign of the Red Pale in 1476.<sup>9</sup> With the first documented record of de Worde (together with his wife) appearing in the muniments of Westminster Abbey in 1479, more recent research (particularly that which sheds new light on de Worde's origins) has concluded that it is

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<sup>7</sup> A group of tenements in the Abbey precincts, see Nixon 1976, p. 308 and pp. 322-23.

<sup>8</sup> Hellinga 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Plomer 1925, Nixon 1976, Hellinga 1999, Moran 2003.

currently not possible to know precisely where de Worde learned the craft of printing or where he may first have met William Caxton. Caxton was known to have conducted business in the Low Countries and may have first encountered de Worde there. De Worde may not have learned printing until he came to work for Caxton in Westminster.<sup>10</sup> While Caxton was primarily a merchant, who learned the art of printing on the Continent as a commercial venture, de Worde was most likely a craftsman from the start, a printer by training. De Worde probably served Caxton as assistant for fifteen years, until Caxton's death in 1491. As Caxton most likely had no son and heir,<sup>11</sup> de Worde inherited Caxton's Westminster printing house, materials, and business as both printer and bookseller. While records indicate that in 1491-2 de Worde took over the lease of Caxton's shop outside Westminster Abbey's Chapter House and stayed there until 1499, there is currently no evidence to confirm whether or not de Worde maintained the location of Caxton's press (which may or may not have been at the sign of the Red Pale, just outside the Abbey's grounds). However, with de Worde using the imprints 'In domo caxton' and 'In Caxtons hous' in some of his earliest printing between 1496 and circa 1499, we may assume that de Worde maintained some connection with one or both of Caxton's previous business premises. While in Westminster, de Worde also rented a small space in the tenements of the 'Sarum Rents' (from 1495 to 1500)

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<sup>10</sup> BMC 2007, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Moran 2003, p. 20.

and later a larger space in the tenements of the 'Westminster Rent' (from 1499 to 1500).<sup>12</sup>

Following Caxton's death, de Worde's first two years in business (1492 and 1493) saw only a handful of publications. De Worde may have had little business at this early stage in his career (as suggested by Duff) or may have been involved in legal issues surrounding the transfer of the business from Caxton's estate (as suggested by Plomer and others).<sup>13</sup> The final settlement of Caxton's estate was protracted and ultimately challenged in court, as a result of the failure of the marriage of Caxton's daughter and heir, Elizabeth. However, in the years up to 1500 de Worde's business began to steadily increase, and it was perhaps this growing trade which led him in late 1500 or early 1501 to move to new quarters. De Worde probably re-located his business to the City of London, to a house (the sign of the Sun)<sup>14</sup> at the end of Fleet Street near Shoe Lane (then a rather suburban part of the City of London), sometime between Michaelmas 1500 and May 1501.<sup>15</sup> As Caxton had been the first to import printed books and sell both imported books and those of his own press, de Worde continued all of these branches of the business both in Westminster and later in Fleet Street, where he remained until the end of his life.

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<sup>12</sup> *BMC* 2007, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Duff and Plomer in Moran 2003, pp. 20-1.

<sup>14</sup> For a thorough discussion of de Worde's premises at the sign of the Sun and its occupants 1500-1560, see Blayney 2003.

<sup>15</sup> Blayney 2003, p. 2.

De Worde's immediate neighbours in Fleet Street included the Dominican Priory of Black Friars and the Carmelite Priory of White Friars, both of whom may well have been a ready market for de Worde's liturgical and religious publications (although most likely de Worde's imported Continental liturgical books, rather than those of the Sarum or York rites particular to England). At his new shop in Fleet Street, de Worde was also nearer to the bookselling trade centred in St. Paul's churchyard, as well as to fellow printer Richard Pynson, whose printing house at the sign of the George stood further along Fleet Street, opposite the Temple Church. Either in Westminster or in Fleet Street, de Worde encountered the printer Julian Notary (circa 1455 – circa 1523), who with his associate Jean Barbier (d. 1515), produced for de Worde an edition of the Sarum Missal in December 1498.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY**

### De Worde's Printed Output

With no surviving documentation recording the business transactions between Caxton's executors and de Worde, the details of de Worde's eventual ownership of Caxton's enterprise remain entirely a matter of conjecture. Henry Plomer and Howard Nixon note that, with the court challenges to Caxton's estate claimed by Gerard Crop (estranged husband of Caxton's daughter and

heir, Elizabeth), several years passed before probate was completed.<sup>16</sup>

However, de Worde did resume printing from Caxton's business within about one year after Caxton's death, and thus de Worde may have attained complete ownership of Caxton's business gradually over several years rather than immediate, full ownership of the business directly on Caxton's death.<sup>17</sup>

The output of de Worde's press in the first few years following Caxton's death was largely limited to reprints of religious and literary texts. De Worde may well have seen a guaranteed market for these texts already established by Caxton. The year 1495 saw the beginning of de Worde's educational printing (primarily Latin texts for schools), a category of printing that would become a mainstay of his press and that accounts for nearly 40 percent of his overall printed output. De Worde also issued Jerome's *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum* in 1495, a translation by Caxton from the French edition of 1486 that the latter finished, according to de Worde's colophon, on the last day of his life. In these early years of his press, de Worde also printed an English translation of the *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, in which de Worde pays homage to Caxton and his Continental training in the epilogue, asking the reader to 'call to remembraunce/The soule of William Caxton, first prynter of this boke/In laten tonge at Coleyn.' Unlike Caxton, who frequently edited texts and produced his own translations of works into English for printing, de Worde

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<sup>16</sup> Plomer 1925, pp. 45-7, and Nixon 1976, p. 317.

<sup>17</sup> BMC 2007, p. 12

appears to have lacked these more scholarly skills and relied on his assistants for translations from French.

Early scholars of the history of printing, including E. G. Duff and Henry Plomer, point to de Worde's overall lack of skill as a printer and suggest carelessness in composition and press work in much of de Worde's output.<sup>18</sup> However, de Worde's legacy lies in his literary and religious (primarily devotional) printing; many of the titles in these two categories from de Worde's press were printed for the first time by de Worde (based on texts which have survived); and, many literary titles in particular survive only in de Worde's editions. As romance literature became popular with the early reading public, de Worde clearly saw a ready market for such texts. He produced many such works, including *Apollonius of Tyre* (1510), *Melusine* (c.1510), and *Olyver of Castylle* (1518), all three of which were exclusive to de Worde's press.<sup>19</sup>

While an accurate picture of book production cannot necessarily be established from extant copies, of the total estimated book production in England in the period 1476 to 1501, at least one quarter was in Latin.<sup>20</sup> The categories of early books printed in Latin can be identified with three major groups of readers, all connected with learning: university scholars, teachers and pupils below the university level, and the clergy. Liturgical books form a sub-

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<sup>18</sup> Moran 2003, p. 48.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>20</sup> BMC 2007, p. 44.

category of Latin books for the clergy which, beyond liturgical texts, ranged from indulgences to priests' handbooks to other Latin, devotional material. In de Worde's earliest (fifteenth-century) career, as much as 20 percent of his total output was in Latin,<sup>21</sup> and this figure increased (probably to as much as 50 percent, primarily from the production of Latin schoolbooks) as de Worde's business developed into the sixteenth century.

Table 2.1 presents an analysis of de Worde's printed output throughout his career (1492 to 1535) within the various categories of publication (Almanac, Calendar, Educational, Indulgence, Legal, Literary, Liturgical, Religious, Royal, and Yearbook).<sup>22</sup> Some of these categories derive directly from the *STC* (Almanac, Calendar, Indulgence, and Yearbook), while the other categories (Educational, Legal, Literary, Liturgical, Religious, Royal) are my own. Here 'Liturgical' works are those required by clergy or singers for use in the liturgy (Missals, Breviaries, Processionals, Antiphoners, Graduals, and Hymnals). 'Religious' texts are taken here as para-liturgical books (including Books of Hours and Psalters), as well as texts of a devotional nature. The survey of de Worde's printing presented here brings up to date H. S. Bennett's 1969 catalogue of de Worde's work<sup>23</sup> by including the most recent dating of de Worde's works (from both the printed edition and on-line version of the

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Appendix 1 gives specific details of de Worde's published works. Source of data: A. W. Pollard, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd ed., 1976.

<sup>23</sup> Bennett 1969 (specifically his 'Handlist of publications by Wynkyn de Worde').

*Short- Title Catalogue*) and also groups all of de Worde's printed output into distinct categories (which Bennett's catalogue does not).

As Table 2.1 demonstrates, de Worde published continuously between 1492 and 1535, with peaks of great activity every few years (the peaks at 1499/1500, 1510, 1520, 1525, and 1530 may not accurately represent the total number of publications in these years, following the STC's approximate dating of several works). Liturgical books did not come from de Worde's press in great numbers (indeed many of de Worde's liturgical works were produced by other presses and printers, as a result of commissions and collaborations). However, beginning with the publication of his first liturgical book, the 1497 Missal, de Worde produced or commissioned this category of book steadily over his career, although with a decline from the 1520s until his death.

Table 2.1 Publication categories of de Worde's printed works by year

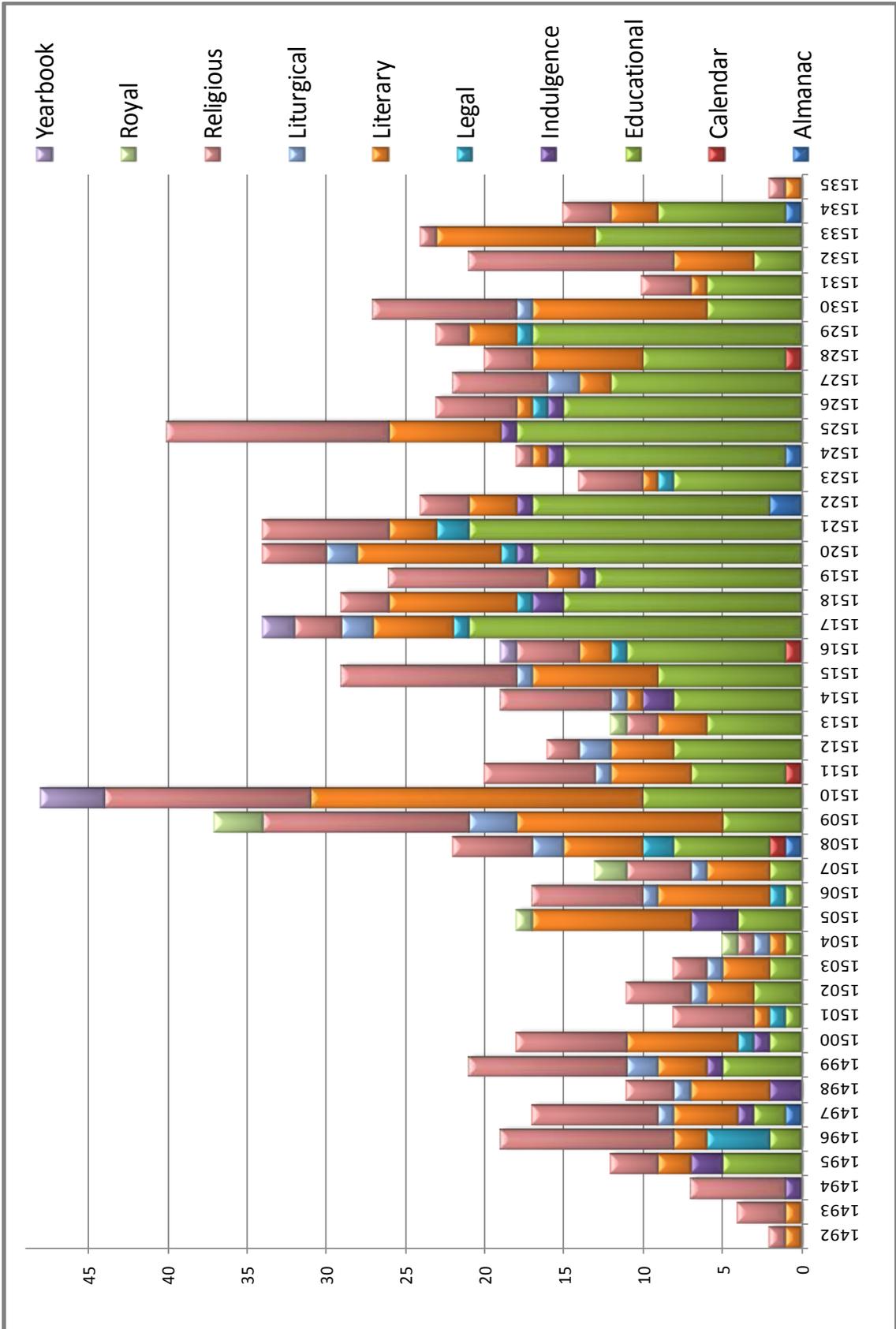


Table 2.1 also demonstrates that within the major categories of literary, educational, and religious printing de Worde's production remained fairly consistent over his career. De Worde must have been able to tap these broad markets for books initially established by Caxton and then continued to widen the range of texts his press produced in these large categories. Even within the smaller categories of his extant output (primarily legal, liturgical, and indulgence printing), de Worde appears to have remained relatively constant in production until the end of his life. De Worde therefore must have had a small but reliable market (in both Latin and English) for these more specialist categories of printing as well. Thus Table 2.1 shows de Worde as a printer of a quite varied range of texts, but also a printer supplying both broad and specialist markets for books throughout his career.

Table 2.2 displays the different categories of publications in terms of percentage of de Worde's total, extant, published output.

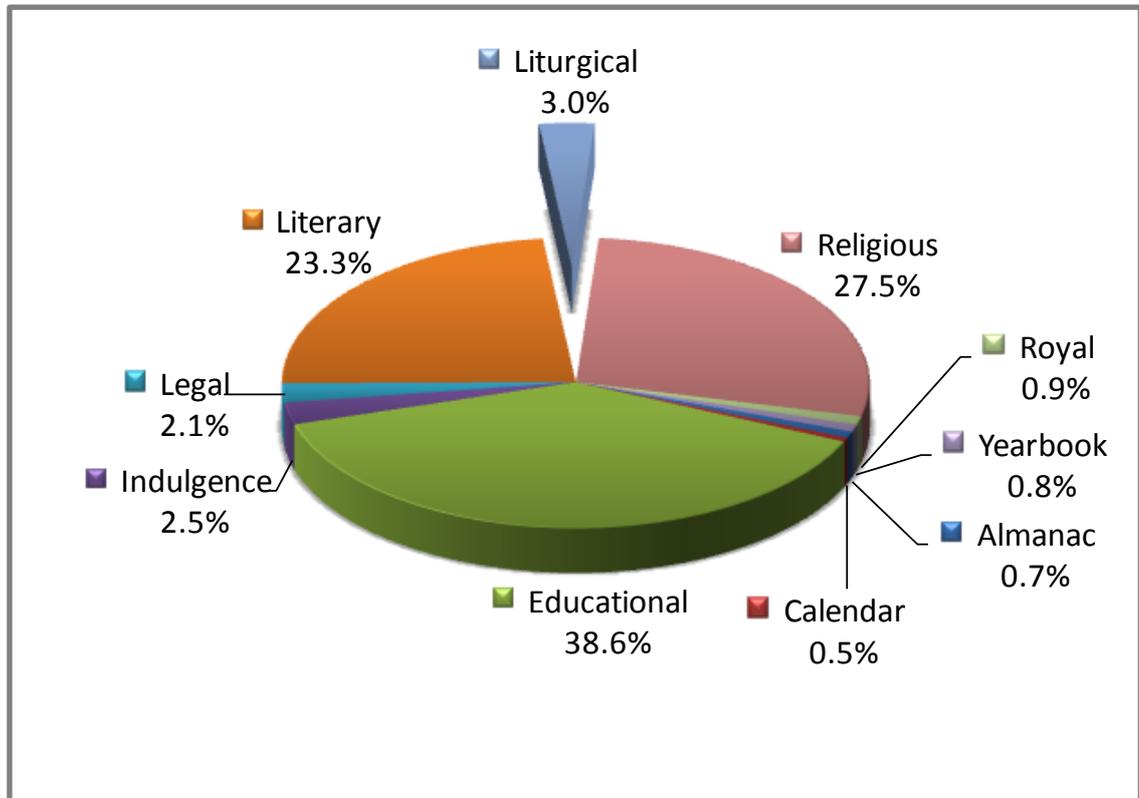
**Table 2.2 De Worde's total output by publication category**

Table 2.2 shows that educational, literary, and religious texts together represent almost 90 percent of de Worde's total output and that liturgical books represent three percent of his surviving production. Despite representing such a small proportion of his output, de Worde's liturgical books are nonetheless representative of his printing.

### De Worde's Liturgical Books

By the time de Worde had inherited William Caxton's business, Caxton had begun to dabble in the market for Sarum liturgical books, both by printing in-house at Westminster and by commissioning work from Continental printers who were experts in the more elaborate aspects of some liturgical texts,

including printing in red and the printing of music. While Caxton's in-house abilities extended to the printing of a 1477 Sarum Ordinal<sup>24</sup> (a book which gives directions for the ordering of services), he commissioned Guillaume Maynal in Paris to print both a 1487 Sarum Missal<sup>25</sup> and a 1488 Sarum Legenda<sup>26</sup> (which contains the readings for all of the services).<sup>27</sup> Particularly in the case of the 1487 Missal, Maynal's expertise with red and black printing, as well as his capability in handling the Missal's musical requirements (here, blank, red staves), would have made Maynal an ideal collaborator for Caxton. It is Caxton's 1477 Ordinal which confirms the location of his shop (most likely a shop which sold books, while printing took place at Caxton's other premises within the Westminster Abbey grounds<sup>28</sup>) at the sign of the Red Pale; in the same year Caxton printed a small flyer<sup>29</sup> advertising this liturgical book for sale in 'westmonester in...the almonesrye at the reed pale'. While it is unclear whether or not there would have been an immediate and nearby market for a Sarum Ordinal in the monastic foundation of Westminster Abbey, perhaps the Abbey itself offered a central location for a liturgical book market focused on the clergy and Caxton with his flyer sought to take advantage of this position.

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<sup>24</sup> STC 16228.

<sup>25</sup> STC 16164.

<sup>26</sup> STC 16136.

<sup>27</sup> Based on extant copies, these two commissions were probably Caxton's only work with Maynal.

<sup>28</sup> Blayney 2003, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> STC 4890.

Following his two Parisian commissions, Caxton returned to the in-house printing of several *Officia Nova* Breviaries before his death in early 1492.

Therefore, de Worde was probably quick to see that a printer would find a market for liturgical books in the environs of Westminster Abbey, and, thus, after inheriting Caxton's business, de Worde may simply have continued to produce them alongside many other types of book as a sound business decision. De Worde followed Caxton's model with regard to the production of liturgical texts, printing the simpler books at his own press and commissioning other printers (all Parisian, with the exception of Westminster's own Julian Notary & Jean Barbier) for the more complicated liturgical printing. Once printed in Paris, de Worde's commissioned liturgical works would have to have been imported from the Continent, a practice in which he was actively engaged and in which he followed Caxton. De Worde would undoubtedly have been aware of the potential foreign competition from the production of Sarum books by other printers on the Continent (in Paris, Rouen, and Antwerp in particular), and this knowledge may have guided his decisions in choosing to commission some liturgical books from Paris in order to be able to sell liturgical books of similar quality.

Although most of de Worde's liturgical book production was designated for the Sarum rite, several of de Worde's liturgical publications were designated for York use. De Worde appears to have been in partnership with John

Gaschet,<sup>30</sup> a French bookseller and bookbinder in York (1509-17), having commissioned an edition of a Manual of York use in 1509 from Jacques Ferrebouc in Paris.<sup>31</sup> Several of the Psalters from de Worde's press were intended for both the Sarum and York rites.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, de Worde was most likely attempting to reach beyond the London-based market for Sarum books with the production of several liturgical texts that would have found a place in churches following York use.

De Worde produced most of the types of liturgical books over his career, with the exception of the Antiphoner, and, based on surviving copies, appears to have concentrated largely on the production of Hymnals and Psalters from his own press. De Worde commissioned his first liturgical book, a 1497 Missal<sup>33</sup> from Paris, a full five years after inheriting the business from Caxton, in what was one of his most productive years to that point. The following year de Worde commissioned another edition of the Sarum Missal<sup>34</sup> in conjunction with Westminster printers, Notary and Barbier. James Moran suggests that this collaboration of printers was necessary because de Worde had much work laid on that year;<sup>35</sup> however, based on his extant, yearly printed output, 1498 does

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<sup>30</sup> For Gaschet's biographical details, see Davies 1868, pp. 21-28; Duff 1948, p. 52, and Sessions 1976, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> The 1509 Manual's title page describes the book as '*per w. de Worde pro J. Gaschet et J. ferrebouc sociis*' (by W. de Worde on behalf of J. Gaschet in association with J. Ferrebouc).

<sup>32</sup> STC 16255, 16256, 16259.5, and 16259.7.

<sup>33</sup> STC 16169.

<sup>34</sup> STC 16172.

<sup>35</sup> Moran 2003, p. 37.

not appear to have been an overly busy year for de Worde. Several editions of both the Sarum Hymnal and the combined Sarum-and-York use Psalter were issued from de Worde's press between 1499 and 1504.<sup>36</sup> 1506 saw de Worde's first publication of the Breviary,<sup>37</sup> in conjunction with Parisian printer, Thielman Kerver (fl. 1497-1522<sup>38</sup>); de Worde commissioned another edition of the Breviary<sup>39</sup> from Paris the following year. After a ten-year hiatus in the production of Missals, de Worde published a 1508 edition<sup>40</sup> (unfortunately only fragments of 4 leaves of this survive), while also producing a Hymnal<sup>41</sup> in the same year. An edition of the Breviary<sup>42</sup> and the York use Manual<sup>43</sup> were commissioned from Paris in 1509, while in-house de Worde printed an edition of the Hymnal;<sup>44</sup> this was clearly the busiest year in de Worde's career for liturgical book production. After commissioning the 1511 Missal,<sup>45</sup> de Worde issued only Hymnals and Psalters for the remainder of his career, with the exception of de Worde's only printed Gradual<sup>46</sup> in 1527. From 1520 onward,

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<sup>36</sup> STC 16114, STC 16254, STC 16116a, STC 16255, and STC 16256.

<sup>37</sup> STC 15805.5.

<sup>38</sup> *STC Index*, p. 97.

<sup>39</sup> STC 15806.

<sup>40</sup> STC 16182a.5.

<sup>41</sup> STC 16120.

<sup>42</sup> STC 15808.

<sup>43</sup> STC 16160.

<sup>44</sup> STC 16121.

<sup>45</sup> STC 16189.

<sup>46</sup> STC 15863.

de Worde's production of liturgical books declined sharply, while his output in religious, literary, and educational texts continued steadily.

Based on the surviving copies, overall de Worde was responsible for the production of 4 editions of the Sarum Missal, 6 editions of the Psalter (4 of combined Sarum and York uses), 12 editions of the Sarum Hymnal, 3 editions of the Sarum Breviary, 1 edition of the York use Manual, and 1 edition of the Sarum Gradual. De Worde may have been aware of the direct competition from Parisian printing houses in the production of Antiphoners and Graduals, and it is perhaps noteworthy that he commissioned one edition of the Gradual later in his career, possibly in an attempt to gain a share of the market already supplied directly by the Continent.

## **DE WORDE AND THE EARLY BOOK TRADE**

De Worde's inheritance from William Caxton included not only an established printing house and its materials (various founts of type and their matrices, woodcuts and initials, unused paper stock, ink, etc.), but also an established place in Westminster and London's early book trade and strategies for operating within the book market. As noted previously, Caxton himself had encountered the new art of printing in Cologne in the 1470s, as the technique spread outward from Gutenberg's pioneering invention in Strasbourg in the 1440s. Caxton's early efforts in Cologne resulted in the publication of three

texts in Latin,<sup>47</sup> and, although each of these has links with England, there is no evidence to suggest that Caxton intended the works for sale in England.<sup>48</sup>

However, with his move to Bruges in 1473, Caxton appears to have centred his attention on printing in English and for the English market, and it was here that Caxton found the patronage of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy. In his capacity as a Merchant Adventurer, Caxton no doubt saw the immediate possibilities in connecting the fledgling Continental book trade with London, and he set up his printing shop in Westminster in late 1475 or early 1476. From here, and with his knowledge of and connections with the trade in Latin books on the Continent, Caxton focused on printing texts which could not be found elsewhere, primarily translations and vernacular texts (e.g. the Recuyell of the histories of Troy and the *Canterbury Tales*), in addition to works in Latin intended for use in England (such as Sarum use liturgical books and Books of Hours). Caxton's two-fold business approach established a pattern for the printed book trade in London which would remain in place for the next several centuries.<sup>49</sup>

With Caxton's death in 1491, de Worde continued Caxton's business strategy and, having already spent some fifteen years in the trade, de Worde undoubtedly had an idea of how the market for books was developing. From

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<sup>47</sup> Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and Walter Burley's *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*.

<sup>48</sup> Hellinga 1999, pp. 66-7.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p. 68.

his time with Caxton, de Worde probably must have known the public appeal of a variety of English texts, including romances, children's books, and instructional texts on subjects of manners, marriage, husbandry, etc., and therefore made these categories of books a mainstay of his press. In fact, de Worde's move from Westminster to Fleet Street premises may have been an attempt to establish himself with the beginnings of the popular press there.<sup>50</sup> Religious and devotional texts, many of which were imported from the Continent, had also found a market in Caxton's early business, and these continued to be printed by de Worde. While much of the religious material printed in England prior to 1530 was of a traditional nature, there was a great deal of variety in the religious publications which came from the presses of both de Worde and Richard Pynson. Much of this popular literature was in the form of small pamphlets on subjects ranging from death-bed literature to information for pilgrims travelling to particular shrines (for example, Walsingham); for printers, these small publications offered quick sales for little work.<sup>51</sup> De Worde must also have seen the rise in the need for educational school texts, mostly in Latin, and directed a considerable portion of his press work to this category of books. In his work with Caxton, de Worde may also have recognized the important advantages of patronage; in 1508 de Worde gained an official appointment to Lady Margaret Beaufort, the Countess of Richmond and Derby

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<sup>50</sup> Moran 2003, p. 48.

<sup>51</sup> Duffy 1992, pp. 78-79.

(also the King's mother and grandmother to Henry VIII).<sup>52</sup> De Worde may have requested this new title in response to Richard Pynson's appointment as printer to the King,<sup>53</sup> as de Worde had printed several works for the Countess prior to 1508 with no official recognition as her printer. Indeed, de Worde may have commissioned his 1507 edition of the Sarum Breviary from Paris in direct competition with Pynson, who in the very same year printed a Sarum Breviary under the auspices of Lady Margaret. Lady Margaret's interests in and patronage of literary and religious texts created new markets within the early book trade within which de Worde (more so than Pynson) was eager to work.<sup>54</sup>

From Caxton, de Worde would also have learned the side of the business which centred on the importation of books from the Continent. While Caxton, one of many Merchant Adventurers, is known to have imported books in 1488, this English group of overseas traders as a whole may not have played as important a role in the importation of books into England as previously thought, preferring instead to deal in larger and more valuable merchandise (as noted by Paul Needham).<sup>55</sup> The groundwork for later, large-scale importation of printed books had been laid in the years between the 1450s and Caxton's arrival in Westminster in 1476. Specialization and standardization within the

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<sup>52</sup> For the biography of Lady Margaret Beaufort, see Jones and Underwood 1992. For a discussion of the Lady Margaret and her connections with the book trade, de Worde, and Pynson, see Powell 1998.

<sup>53</sup> Moran 2003, p. 41.

<sup>54</sup> Edwards and Meale 1993, p. 117.

<sup>55</sup> Needham 1999, pp. 161-3.

fifteenth-century manuscript book trade meant that a book market based on speculation was already in place at the advent of printing.<sup>56</sup> The earliest printed books to arrive on English shores were largely those purchased on the Continent, in single copies, by individuals. Indeed, the acquisitions of individual, English consumers brought about the introduction of printed books to England.<sup>57</sup> With the vast majority of these printed texts in Latin, they were required for the professional classes of scholars, schoolmasters, lawyers, physicians, and the clergy. By the 1470s, the printed book trade had begun on a broad scale. Immediately after Caxton's establishment in Westminster, other printers and booksellers from the Continent arrived in London, and these foreign printers and booksellers soon dominated the early book trade. This situation was furthered by the parliamentary Act of 1484 which exempted foreigners in the book trade while constraining the activities of all other foreign merchants. Continental printers sought to satisfy England's early book market, channelling many books printed elsewhere on the Continent through Rouen; early importation of books via Rouen may well have served as the origin of the London wholesale book trade before 1520.<sup>58</sup> Following Caxton, de Worde soon dominated the import trade, continuing to focus on the importation of texts produced by Continental printers for Continental markets, texts that were not readily available in England.

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<sup>56</sup> Ford 1999, p. 179.

<sup>57</sup> Armstrong 1979, p. 268.

<sup>58</sup> Hellinga 1991, p. 219.

Much important evidence on the importation of Continental books into England is found in the customs rolls of the port of London for this period.<sup>59</sup> Many of these London customs documents have not survived and many gaps exist; for example, there are no surviving records for London between 1495 and 1502 or between 1522 and 1531 for the 80 Exchequer years between 1475 and 1554.<sup>60</sup> However, the fact that the two separate accounts of Subsidy and Petty Custom existed helps to fill in gaps for years from which one or the other roll does not survive. The Subsidy, a 5 percent tax (1s on the £), was levied on all merchants, both foreign and native. However, the Petty Custom, a 1¼ tax (3d on the £), was levied only on foreign merchants. Thus, the importation of books by foreigners was recorded as a part of both Subsidy and Petty Custom, whereas book importation by native merchants was recorded only in the Subsidy rolls. The collection of these two taxes separately and their recording on separate rolls has meant a greater chance of survival for this documentation.<sup>61</sup>

In the period 1503 to 1531 (which represents the majority of de Worde's printing career), Wynkyn de Worde's name appears the most frequently among the 98 alien citizens documented to have been importing books; he is shown to have imported 29 shipments of books in this period, at a total value of £147

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<sup>59</sup> See Christianson 1999 and Needham 1999.

<sup>60</sup> Needham 1999, p. 156.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 153-4.

10s.<sup>62</sup> Thus, in this period de Worde averaged one importation shipment per year; however, because the customs documents offer no detail as to specific copies/editions, one can only speculate as to which books were imported by de Worde in any given shipment. In addition, a cargo ship's point of origin was not recorded in these London rolls, which further decreases the likelihood of identifying copies/editions from specific Continental sources.

Almost all of de Worde's imported books were most likely a vital part of his thriving business and did not cause him any professional difficulties. However, in 1524, de Worde was one of several printers and booksellers officially warned by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, against the importation into England of Lutheran books. All future imports by de Worde were required to be presented for approval by either the Bishop of London, the Lord Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of Rochester.<sup>63</sup> As public readership grew, and in a climate of religious change, the Church became more aware of the role of those individuals importing books from the Continent in the spread of seditious or heretical material.

Evidence suggests that de Worde's activities within the early book trade extended beyond London to the provincial centres of York, Oxford, and Bristol. In addition to de Worde's commission of the 1509 Manual from Paris for Gaschet in York as noted earlier, de Worde appears to have had connections

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<sup>62</sup> Christianson 1999, p. 140.

<sup>63</sup> Moran 2003, p. 42.

with York printers, Hugo Goes (who worked with a set of de Worde's types) and Gerard Wansforth (or Freez) (who left de Worde a bequest in his 1510 will).<sup>64</sup> De Worde, Goes, and Wansforth/Freez may well have been part of a small Dutch network within the early printing trade. Oxford printers John Scolar and Charles Kyrforth also appear to have worked with de Worde, supplying him with some printing materials,<sup>65</sup> and de Worde may have had some connections with printing (or at least bookselling) in Bristol.<sup>66</sup>

Overall de Worde can be seen to have sought out new markets for books and to have expanded the existing markets that he inherited from Caxton. As will be seen more clearly in Chapter 3, de Worde, unlike his rival Richard Pynson, took a broad approach to printing and publishing, making use of collaborations, commissions, and patronage. De Worde also established connections within the printing trade (both at home and on the Continent) that would prove important for the trade as a commercial venture.

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<sup>64</sup> Edwards and Meale 1993, pp. 121-2.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>66</sup> Erler 1988, pp. 109-111.

## DE WORDE'S LITURGICAL PRINTING

### Latin liturgical books

As noted previously, the market for books printed in Latin served three groups of learned readers (clergy, university scholars, and schoolteachers and their pupils). Caxton, de Worde, and Pynson produced works for all three categories of Latinate readers, although some books (e.g. Books of Hours, Psalters, and other devotional and paraliturgical material) would have found a market with more than one category of reader in the world of Latinate men and women. Among the schoolbooks and classical Latin texts that early printers produced, there were also various types of Latin works aimed specifically at the clergy (for example, Maydeston's *Directorium sacerdotum*,<sup>67</sup> de Monte Rochen's *Manipulus curatorum*,<sup>68</sup> and Lyndewode's *Constitutiones provinciales*<sup>69</sup>). Unlike the majority of early book production aimed at a learned and Latinate market, however, printed liturgical books from their earliest production had a ready market with individuals (largely clergy) and ecclesiastical institutions, established before the advent of printing.

Although the earliest production of printed Sarum liturgical books saw only Breviaries and Missals (based on surviving copies) printed on the

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<sup>67</sup> First edition printed by Caxton in 1487.

<sup>68</sup> First edition printed by Pynson in 1498.

<sup>69</sup> First edition printed by T. Rood in Oxford in 1483.

Continent, Caxton and Egmont & Barrevelt in London had been quick to see the possibilities inherent in commissioning Sarum Missals from the Continent (Caxton from Paris in 1487 and Egmont & Barrevelt from Venice, curiously in both a folio and an octavo edition, in 1494). With his own liturgical printing and commissioning, de Worde must have sought to give English printers a further place within the Sarum book trade.

Although the survival of printed books cannot give an accurate view of production, based on existing copies, de Worde's liturgical printing may be characterized by his collaborations (with Parisian printers and York booksellers) and his in-house production of the smaller books without musical notation (which probably had a broader market among both clergy and laypeople). As has been noted previously, de Worde followed Caxton's model in commissioning, in conjunction with Michael Morin and Pierre Levet in Paris, a Missal from Parisian printers Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt in 1497;<sup>70</sup> this was the sixth edition of the Sarum Missal in print and the second edition printed in Paris. No documentation exists to give the details of this commission and de Worde's collaboration with the other printers, but one may assume from the text of the title page<sup>71</sup> that de Worde, Morin, and Levet shared the great expense of Gering and Rembolt's elaborate liturgical book. De Worde was, after all, newly established as a printer and may not have possessed the capital

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<sup>70</sup> STC 16169.

<sup>71</sup> 'impensis w. de Worde & Michael morin necnon P. leueti'

to finance the book's production on his own. At the very end of the same year, Gering and Rembolt produced another missal for use in Paris (and thus not of Sarum use). De Worde's collaborator, Levet, worked as both a printer and publisher in Paris between 1485 and 1503<sup>72</sup> and had previous experience printing at least one Sarum liturgical book. Little is known of de Worde's other collaborator, Michael Morin.<sup>73</sup> He may have been related to the Rouen printer, Martin Morin (fl. 1490-1523),<sup>74</sup> also active in the production of Sarum liturgical books. Michael Morin appears to have had connections with England and English books, and he later re-located to London.<sup>75</sup>

Perhaps anxious to establish a place for English printers in the emerging Sarum book trade, as previously mentioned, de Worde quickly commissioned a new edition of the Sarum Missal from Notary & Barbier in Westminster in 1498. The first edition of the Sarum Missal to be printed in England, this book was preceded by eight known previous editions printed on the Continent. This domestically-produced book may have been a less costly venture for de Worde to finance himself. A native of Vannes in Brittany, Julian Notary worked as a printer, bookseller, and bookbinder in London from 1496 to 1497, re-locating to Westminster in 1498 to 1500, and returning to London circa 1503 to 1523.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 107.

<sup>73</sup> Michael Morin may have worked as a bookseller in Paris in 1497 and worked in London 1504-6. See STC, vol. 3, p. 121.

<sup>74</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 121.

<sup>75</sup> Painter, Rhodes, and Nixon 1976, pp. 162-4.

<sup>76</sup> STC vol. 3, p. 128.

There is little documentation of Notary's partner, Jean Barbier; their partnership appears to have ended after the production of the 1498 Missal. The only details of the collaboration between de Worde and Notary & Barbier reside in the technical aspects of the 1498 Missal's production; de Worde loaned various woodcuts, initials, and his device to the Westminster printers for their printing of the Missal. Further discussion of both the 1497 and 1498 Missals, as well as de Worde's 1511 Missal, also commissioned from Paris, will be found in Case Study I.

Another collaboration between London and Paris, de Worde's most extensive, was required for de Worde's production of the 1511 Missal.<sup>77</sup> The book itself was printed in Paris by Raoul Cousturier (or Sutor). Little is known of Cousturier and his workshop, apart from the fact that he worked as a printer from 1499 to 1511/12.<sup>78</sup> The Missal's title page, in the term 'impensis', lists de Worde and French-born London printer and bookseller, Richard Facques, as those financing the edition, in effect as publishers. Facques, who worked in London circa 1507 to 1531, owned a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard.<sup>79</sup> In addition to these London firms, the 1511 Missal also bears the names of two Parisian publishers, Jean Bienayse and Jacques Ferrebouc (with whom de Worde had collaborated on the York use Manual two years earlier). Bienayse worked as a printer, typefounder, and bookseller from 1506 to 1521

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<sup>77</sup> STC 16189.

<sup>78</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 47.

<sup>79</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 61.

and was known to be an exporter of books to London early in the sixteenth century.<sup>80</sup> Ferrebouc is not named in his capacity as a printer on this liturgical book, and, with the other Parisian publishers, may well have shared the expense of the book's production. It is unclear, however, exactly why a Sarum Missal should have two Parisian publishers. Perhaps Bienayse and Ferrebouc's expertise in printing, typefounding, and, in Bienayse's case, exportation, were required by Cousturier to bring the 1511 Missal to completion. In any case, that a Sarum Missal should have two London printers and two Parisian printers working together indicates the complex collaborations required to produce this particular book. Further discussion of the 1511 Missal will be found in Case Study I.

In the following years up to 1506 de Worde may have seen a place in the market for several editions of Sarum Hymnals and Psalters, undoubtedly finding it quicker and easier to produce these quarto and smaller format books which lacked music. De Worde must have recognized the sales potential in Psalters designed for use with both the Sarum and York rites, producing a quarto format edition in 1503 and a smaller format edition the following year.

De Worde's 1499 edition of the Sarum Hymnal was his first liturgical book printed in-house. Based on surviving copies, de Worde's 1499 Hymnal was the third edition of the Hymnal to have been printed in England (the first two

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

editions having been produced by Pynson in 1497 and 1498). This domestically-produced edition of the Hymnal was preceded by a 1496 edition printed in Cologne by Quentell. Thus, as with other types of liturgical book, de Worde (and Pynson) were quick to establish themselves in a market previously supplied only by the Continent. De Worde continued to print new editions of the Hymnal in 1500 (although this may be a 'ghost'<sup>81</sup>), 1502, 1508, 1509, 1512 (2 editions in this year), 1514, 1515, 1517, 1527, and 1530. It is unclear why Hymnal production was clustered between the years 1512 and 1517; perhaps by this point de Worde had recognized the sales potential of these quarto format books, to both the clergy and the laity. All of these Hymnals contained only the text of the hymns (without musical notation), together with a gloss or 'expositio', and thus this material would have been suitable for both clerical and lay owners. De Worde's 1527 and 1530 editions of the Hymnal were the last two printed editions of this book (based on extant copies) and two of the three editions printed after c. 1520. With the seeds of the Reformation within the English Church (and the 1534 Act of Supremacy) being sown in the late 1520's (primarily as a result of the 'Reformation Parliament' of 1529), it is possible that these developments caused printers to re-consider the sales potential of Latin liturgical books at this time. This scenario may be an explanation for the decline of de Worde's liturgical output later in his career

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<sup>81</sup> 'Ghost' is a bibliographic term used to describe a non-existent publication which nonetheless appears in bibliographies. The STC (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) lists de Worde's 1500 edition of the Hymnal as a ghost.

and his steady increase in the production of religious, literary, and educational works.

Six editions of the Psalter came from de Worde's printing house. De Worde appears to have taken a broad approach to his Psalter printing, offering a variety of formats and 'uses'. Caxton produced the first printed edition of the Sarum psalter circa 1480, and after Pynson printed the second edition circa 1496, de Worde produced in 1499 a third edition. While Caxton's first edition was produced in quarto format, later printers tended to favour the smaller-sized octavo format for the Psalter, including four of de Worde's six editions (1499, circa 1517, and the two editions circa 1520). De Worde also printed a quarto edition in 1503 and a curiously small sexto-decimo (16°) format Psalter in 1504. Of the various liturgical texts finding their way into print in Tudor London, the Psalter was probably the most marketable text for printers and booksellers; it was required by clerics for the daily recitation of the Office and was a personal and devotional text for pious lay people (the Psalter was considered to be so fundamentally at the core of daily religious practice that it was exempt from restrictions on translation into the vernacular in the mid sixteenth century). Thus, the smaller quarto, octavo, and sexto-decimo formats chosen by early printers would have suited the special, individual nature of this particular liturgical text.

As well as editions of the Psalter specifically for the Sarum rite, de Worde also produced Psalters for the combined Sarum and York 'uses'. While the primary differences between Sarum and York use Psalters lie in the antiphons and not the psalm texts themselves, perhaps de Worde saw a broad sales potential for these books in both the south and north of England. De Worde's connections with York printers and booksellers would have meant a ready market for liturgical books of York use and for the Psalter in particular (for the reasons outlined above).<sup>82</sup>

De Worde's 1509 edition of the York use Manual also involved collaborations with Paris and with York. Printed by Jacques Ferrebouc (Parisian printer and bookseller, 1492 to 1530<sup>83</sup>), this York use Manual may have been specifically designated for sale by John Gaschet, a French bookseller and bookbinder in York.<sup>84</sup> Based on extant copies, the 1509 Manual was the first book in England with which Gaschet was connected. As has been noted with his other categories of liturgical book, perhaps de Worde specifically sought out French collaborators in England to assist with the joint production of books with Paris. De Worde, Gaschet, and Ferrebouc's 1509 York Manual was the first printed edition of the book; a second (and final) edition of the book was not produced until circa 1530 (printed in Rouen for Gaschet in York). The period

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<sup>82</sup> For a discussion of the book trade, including liturgical books, in early seventeenth-century York, see Barnard and Bell 1994.

<sup>83</sup> STC vol. 3, p. 63.

<sup>84</sup> Gaschet worked in York, 1509-1517, in Hereford, 1517, and later in York, 1526-1535. (STC vol. 3, p. 68.)

circa 1505 to 1510 saw at least five editions of the Sarum Manual printed in Rouen and Paris (although Richard Pynson printed the first edition in England in 1506). De Worde may well have chosen to produce the York Manual in 1509, having established contacts in York for its sale, to gain a different market at a time when Sarum editions of the work were plentiful.

De Worde may well have seen the potential in offering Breviaries in different formats; in conjunction with Kerver and other Parisian printers, de Worde published folio, octavo, and quarto editions of the Breviary in 1506, 1507, and 1509, respectively.<sup>85</sup> As with the production of the earlier Missals, de Worde relied on the printing expertise of his Continental colleagues for these more complicated liturgical books. As different formats of books may well have been associated with different users, folio editions would have been appropriate for institutional use, with octavo and quarto formats suitable for personal use. As Roger Chartier has argued, even with these simple variations in the presentation of the text, its frame of reference and its manner of interpretation could well have been changed for the book's different users.<sup>86</sup> The reader/user's expectation and experience of liturgical books may well have been affected by their format.

Because of the specialist skill required for the production of the Breviary, de Worde relied on his Parisian contacts for the three editions of the Breviary

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<sup>85</sup> STC 15805.5, 15806, and 15808.

<sup>86</sup> Chartier 1994, p. 11.

which bear his name. The 1506 edition of the Breviary, produced in Paris by Kerver also lists Michael Morin of London, 'merchant', as a collaborator. If indeed he was related to the Rouen printing family of the same name, Morin, who also collaborated with de Worde on the production of the 1497 Missal, may well have been de Worde's intermediary with France and here with Kerver. De Worde and Morin may together have borne the expense of printing this folio format edition of the Breviary. By the time Kerver printed this edition, at least 14 previous editions of the Sarum Breviary had been printed, all on the Continent. As only three of those previous editions had been in folio format, perhaps de Worde specifically requested this large, decorative edition from Kerver to set it apart from the previous (primarily octavo) editions of the same book. In the following year de Worde collaborated again with Paris (with an as yet unnamed printer) for the production of the 1507 octavo edition of the Breviary. If indeed it was de Worde who chose the book's format and not Kerver himself, De Worde most likely chose this smaller book so as not to duplicate the previous year's production and to diversify the potential sales of the book. The smaller format book was most likely a less costly venture, which de Worde was able to undertake on his own. Richard Pynson also produced a quarto format edition of the Breviary at about this time, and, had de Worde been aware of this, this knowledge may also have guided his decision in choosing the octavo format to sell in London. 1509 saw de Worde's final collaboration with an unnamed Parisian printer in the production of the Breviary, this time in a quarto format edition. As with his own production of

Psalter, de Worde appears to have specifically chosen to have several different formats represented within the same liturgical book. Further research may determine if the 1507 and 1509 editions of the Breviary also came from Kerver's workshop or were the work of another Parisian printer.

It is noteworthy that de Worde choose to commission an edition of the Gradual in 1527; de Worde's 1527 edition (printed in conjunction with Parisian printer, Prevost, and London printers, Reynes and Sutton) stands as one of only four extant editions of the Sarum Gradual (which required considerable amounts of musical notation) printed in the sixteenth century. While the majority of de Worde's liturgical printing centred on editions of the Hymnal and Psalter, de Worde may have seen a strong enough commercial demand for the 1527 Gradual to justify the commission of such a large and complicated liturgical book; de Worde may have thought the market ready for a new edition of the Gradual, the first and only printing of the text having been made in 1508.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, there must have been enough of a market for this new edition of the Gradual in 1527 to prompt London-based printer and publisher Franz Birckman (a native of Cologne who was also heavily involved in the book import trade) to issue a 1528 edition of the Gradual<sup>88</sup> in association with the same Parisian printer. Birckman may have simply commissioned Prevost to re-

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<sup>87</sup> The 1527 edition of the Sarum Gradual was derived from the 1507-8 edition of the work (including the title page's woodcuts and borders), printed by Wolfgang Hopyl (Prevost's father-in-law).

<sup>88</sup> STC 15864.

issue the 1527 edition with a new title page; further, close examination of both editions may shed light on this hypothesis.

De Worde's 1527 Gradual was the product of a partnership between Parisian printer, Nicolas Prevost, and two of de Worde's London colleagues, John Reynes and Lewis Sutton (Suethon). Prevost, who worked in Paris from 1525 to 1532,<sup>89</sup> printed the 1527 Gradual as only the second printed edition of this liturgical book (the first having been printed in 1508, also in Paris for London booksellers). A bookbinder and bookseller with a shop in St. Paul's churchyard,<sup>90</sup> Reynes, a Dutch immigrant to London by 1510,<sup>91</sup> may have been known to de Worde through connections with their homeland. Little is known of London bookseller Lewis Sutton, even the location of his bookshop is uncertain. Based on extant copies, the 1527 Gradual appears to be the only book with which Sutton's association is documented.

Thus, de Worde appears to have centred his liturgical book printing on the production of smaller format texts which lacked music (primarily editions of the Hymnal and Psalter) and relied on his Continental connections with Parisian printers for the production of the larger (folio) format, more elaborate liturgical books containing music (the Missal, Breviary, Manual, and Gradual). For a busy printing house, the production of Hymnals and Psalters would have

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<sup>89</sup>STC, vol. 3, p. 137.

<sup>90</sup> For a study of the bookshops of St. Paul's churchyard in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Blayney 1990.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

been a quicker and easier task than the larger liturgical books and would not have required the specialist skill of music printing. De Worde may have based his decisions on which categories of liturgical book to produce simply on ease and speed of production. In addition, while his Missals, Breviaries, and Gradual were most likely intended for institutional use, de Worde may have seen a new selling potential for liturgical books developing among wealthy, literate laypeople, and he may have chosen to produce the smaller format Hymnals and Psalters to meet this emerging market.

De Worde's liturgical printing may be seen as a microcosm of his business practice overall. His broad approach to printing almost all varieties of liturgical book mirrors his method of printing in all genres and meant potential sales in several different markets. De Worde printed in-house those small, liturgical books without musical notation for which his shop had the capability and sought partnership with expert liturgical printers in Paris, and his bookseller colleagues in London and York, to capture his share of the market for the larger books with musical notation and for books of York use. De Worde chose to produce a variety of formats for particular liturgical books, with a wider market and greater sales in mind.

#### Type/Paper/Illustration

De Worde inherited Caxton's supply of types, and, while he remained in Westminster, de Worde continued to use at least 5 of Caxton's founts while

bringing in 4 of his own. Caxton's Type 4\* modified, and Types 8, 6, 7, and 3 came into de Worde's use (as his Types 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6, respectively).<sup>92</sup> New to de Worde's workshop were 95 mm,<sup>93</sup> 103 mm, 93 mm, and 53 mm types (de Worde Types 4, 7, 8, and 9, respectively). Only two of de Worde's fifteenth-century types remained in consistent use after 1500, one textura type (Duff 8) (95 mm) and one rotunda (Duff 9) (53 mm). Like Caxton before him, de Worde depended on his Continental connections for his supply of type; all of de Worde's type founts came from either France or the Low Countries.<sup>94</sup> Caxton's use of a variety of types, including 'bastarda' (a Roman type influenced by the scribal traditions of manuscripts) and 'textura' (fount based on the 'hand' of German liturgical manuscripts), set a pattern for type use which de Worde and his contemporaries followed. Liturgical texts were almost always printed in one or more of the textura founts; de Worde (and other English printers) would often be forced to cut their own w's, as these would normally be lacking in a fount produced in France (although a lack of w's was rarely a problem for the production of a Latin text). Although liturgical books only required a variety of textura type founts for Latin, de Worde, at the forefront of early printing, also made use of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic types in

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<sup>92</sup> Duff 1917. Duff's numeration of fifteenth-century types is the bibliographical standard.

<sup>93</sup> The size of types is given as the number of millimetres covering 20 lines of text.

<sup>94</sup> Moran 2003, p. 33.

several of his educational works, and he introduced the use of italic type in England in the later years of his career.<sup>95</sup>

Early English printers also relied on Continental importation for their supply of paper, and de Worde was no exception. De Worde did, however, also make use of a short-lived supply of paper from the mill of John Tate near Hertford in the several years before 1500. This English – made, ‘Bastard’ sized paper was slightly larger than the ‘Chancery’ sized paper regularly in use. Most of Tate’s paper, and its watermark (an eight-pointed object described variously as a flower, star, or wheel), survives in four folio works produced by de Worde’s press: Bartholomaeus’ *De proprietatibus rerum* (1495), de Voragine’s *The Golden Legend* (1498), Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* (1498), and Lydgate’s *The Assembly of the Gods* (1498).<sup>96</sup> None of Tate’s paper, however, appears to have found its way into de Worde’s liturgical books. The paper stock for de Worde’s liturgical (and general) printing would have had its origins in France or the Piedmont region of Italy. The watermarks from many of de Worde’s books can be traced to paper made in the Champagne and Normandy regions of France.<sup>97</sup>

The majority of illustration found in books from de Worde’s press came from woodcut blocks. De Worde undoubtedly inherited the nearly 400 woodcuts used by Caxton in his works, and over the course of his career,

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<sup>95</sup> Hellinga 1999, pp. 72-8.

<sup>96</sup> Stevenson 1967.

<sup>97</sup> Heawood 1929-30, pp. 427-54.

de Worde brought in over 1000 additional woodcuts to his workshop use. Julian Notary appears to have been the recipient of much of de Worde's woodcut stock when de Worde made the move to Fleet Street; former Caxton and de Worde woodcuts are later found in works from Notary's press.<sup>98</sup> Several of the woodcuts acquired by de Worde were imported from the Netherlands,<sup>99</sup> and the sheer number of his woodcut purchases suggests that he placed great importance on illustration as a visual guide to the text.<sup>100</sup> De Worde's use of woodcuts in liturgical printing is no exception, and de Worde may well have used illustration as a part of a book's visual appeal (and, thus, marketing potential). Moran notes that 'any illustration was better than none for de Worde',<sup>101</sup> as he frequently repeated the same woodcuts in a variety of different books. Several of the woodcut illustrations found in de Worde's educational printings are found in his editions of the Hymnal. For example, the scholar and pupils woodcut<sup>102</sup> on the right-hand side of Figure 2.7 appears to be the most common woodcut to be found in five editions of the Sarum Hymnal (1508, 1509, 1512, 1514, and 1515), as well as numerous educational (primarily Latin) texts published between 1505 and 1518. Figure 2.1 shows another scholar woodcut<sup>103</sup> which de Worde employed in the 1517

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<sup>98</sup> Moran 2003, p. 33.

<sup>99</sup> Hellinga 1999, p. 102.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>101</sup> Moran 2003, p. 31.

<sup>102</sup> Hodnett 920.

<sup>103</sup> Hodnett 927.

edition of the Hymnal in addition to several educational works. De Worde also seemed to attach importance to the use of decorative printer's devices, and the use of several of his printer's devices can be traced throughout his liturgical printing (both printing done in his own shop and that done on his behalf by other printers).

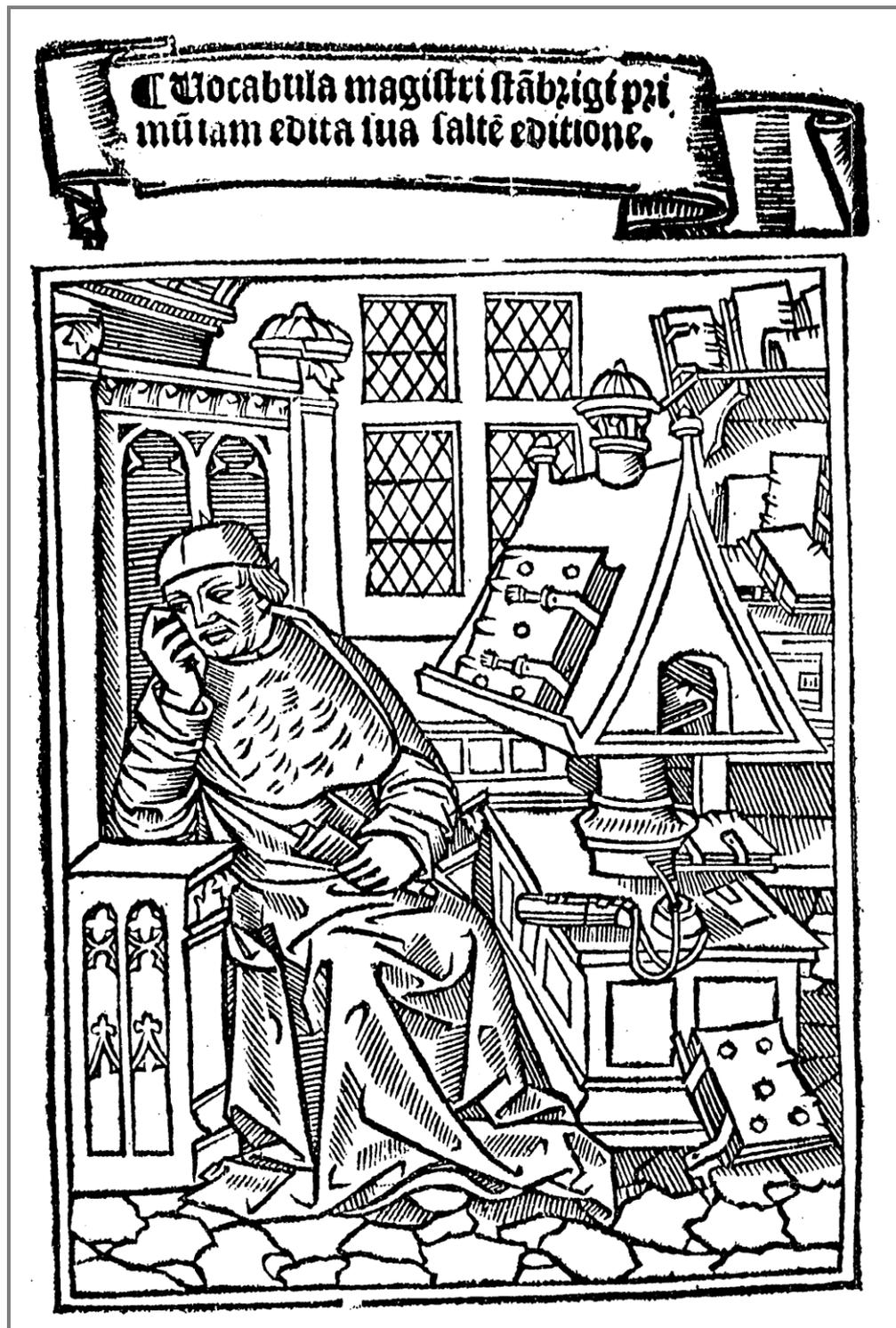


Figure 2.1 'Scholar' woodcut (Hodnett 927) from the title page of Stanbridge's *Vocabula*, 1520 (STC 23181.2). This woodcut also appears in several other educational printings by de Worde, as well as his 1517 edition of the Sarum Hymnal. [Image from EEBO]

Although de Worde had been credited with producing late in his career ‘the best piece of music printing of the century’<sup>104</sup> in *XX Songes* of 1530, this set of partbooks<sup>105</sup> is now believed to be the work of another as yet unidentified printer.<sup>106</sup> Based on extant sources, music printing was not a technique that de Worde’s workshop had mastered, and the typographical evidence presented by *XX Songes* does not link the work to de Worde. In addition, the surviving fragments of *XX Songes* confirm their printing in London not at de Worde’s workshop but ‘at the sign of the Black Morens’. Although no printer has yet been identified at this address in 1530, *XX Songes* may be the work of a specialist music printer the rest of whose output has now been lost.<sup>107</sup>

#### **CASE STUDY I: THREE MISSALS COMMISSIONED BY DE WORDE**

In addition to the physical production of liturgical books, de Worde and other early printers were responsible for the transmission of liturgical texts. Thus, liturgical books can be examined as an overall production of the printing house, but also as a sum of the book’s constituent parts, including the physical parts (paper, type, etc.) and the texts themselves.

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<sup>104</sup> Steele 1903, p. 5.

<sup>105</sup> The British Library holds the Bassus part and the first leaf of the Triplex part (BL Music K. 1. E. 1); a fragmentary title page and colophon leaf of the Medius part are held by the Westminster Abbey Library.

<sup>106</sup> Krummel 1990, p. 483.

<sup>107</sup> Nixon 1951, pp. 33-4.

As noted earlier, the 1497 Sarum Missal<sup>108</sup> which de Worde commissioned from Parisian printers Gering and Rembolt involved a partnership which also included Michael Morin and Pierre Levet. This Missal represents de Worde's first liturgical book commissioned from Paris and also his only such commission in the fifteenth century. As mentioned previously, de Worde, Morin, and Levet appear to have financed jointly Gering and Rembolt's production of the book. De Worde and Morin (once he re-located to London, sometime between April 1497 and July 1504<sup>109</sup>) would then free to sell the Missal in Westminster and London. It is not known how many copies of this book were produced by Gering and Rembolt and if de Worde and his fellow publishers received the entire edition produced (or if perhaps the Parisian printers and Levet also received copies to sell in England). With no extant documentation surrounding the financial transactions of the Missal's production, one may speculate that de Worde may have imported the entire quantity of Missals to sell in England, later giving some agreed share of the profits to Morin and Levet.

The printing house of Gering and Rembolt was responsible for several liturgical works and at least three for Sarum use. In addition to de Worde's commissioned Missal in 1497, Gering and Rembolt also printed a Missal for use

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<sup>108</sup> STC 16169, Weale-Bohatta 1394.

<sup>109</sup> Painter, Rhodes, and Nixon 1976, p. 164.

in Paris at the end of the same year. They produced a Sarum Manual in 1498,<sup>110</sup> and Rembolt alone printed another edition of the Sarum Missal in 1513.<sup>111</sup> As noted above, the 1497 edition of the Sarum Missal, completed 2 January 1497, was the sixth edition in print and the second edition to be produced in Paris (based on surviving copies). The first edition of the Sarum Missal, commissioned by Caxton from Guillaume Maynal in 1487 (STC 16164), has been described in the *BMC*,<sup>112</sup> and this commission by Caxton led to further collaborations between the two printers. Further research may determine which manuscript version of the Sarum Missal Maynal used as his exemplar for the first printed edition. With at least 5 editions in print by 1497, it is likely that Gering and Rembolt took as their exemplar one of the previous printed editions of the book (with one exception, an octavo edition printed in Venice in 1494, all of these previous printed editions were folio format). The 1497 Missal is folio format; the copy held by the British Library is 268 leaves numbered in two sections, I-CCIII and I-LVI. The signatures run as : [\*10] A-I<sup>8</sup> k L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>6</sup> N<sup>4</sup> O-X<sup>8</sup> y Z<sup>8</sup> AA-CC<sup>8</sup>, a-g<sup>8</sup>. The British Library copy lacks signatures M6, N1-4, O1, and O8. The text is printed as two columns of 39 lines, and the music is printed as black neumes on red, four-line staves. Based on Mary Kay Duggan's formula for the description of music type in her work on Italian music incunabula,<sup>113</sup> the

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<sup>110</sup> STC 16138.

<sup>111</sup> STC 16191.

<sup>112</sup> *BMC*, pp. 307-8.

<sup>113</sup> Duggan 1992.

roman plainchant notation found in the 1497 Missal may be characterized<sup>114</sup> as 15: 3<sup>2</sup> x 7. Figure 2.2 gives a sample of the Missal's printed plainsong notation.

Figure 2.2 1497 Sarum Missal (Paris) (STC 16169), sig. Miiii.  
An example of the printed plainsong notation used by printers Gering and Rembolt. [Image from EEBO]

<sup>114</sup> Duggan's formula for the description of roman plainchant music type: staff height in mm/no. of lines if not 4: virga notehead dimensions squared in mm without point (or with points) x height of stem in mm without points (or with points). [Duggan 1992, p. 79.]

Printed on paper throughout, the Missal carries a watermark of an 8-pointed sun or star. This does not appear to be one of the more common French watermarks; further evidence is required to establish from which particular region of France Gering and Rembolt may have obtained their paper stock. Gering and Rembolt used only a few woodcut illustrations in their production of the 1497 Missal. The woodcut found at the opening page for the first Sunday of Advent (11 recto), priests saying Mass at an altar with worshippers gathered on both sides, has been documented as one of the most widely used woodcuts in French liturgical printing (see Figure 2.3). Its use has been traced from the Verdun Missal (produced in Paris in 1481) through to other Parisian printers in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>115</sup> A smaller woodcut of St. Andrew (157 recto) shows damage and thus must also have seen previous use.

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<sup>115</sup> Painter, Rhodes, and Nixon 1976, pp. 162-3.

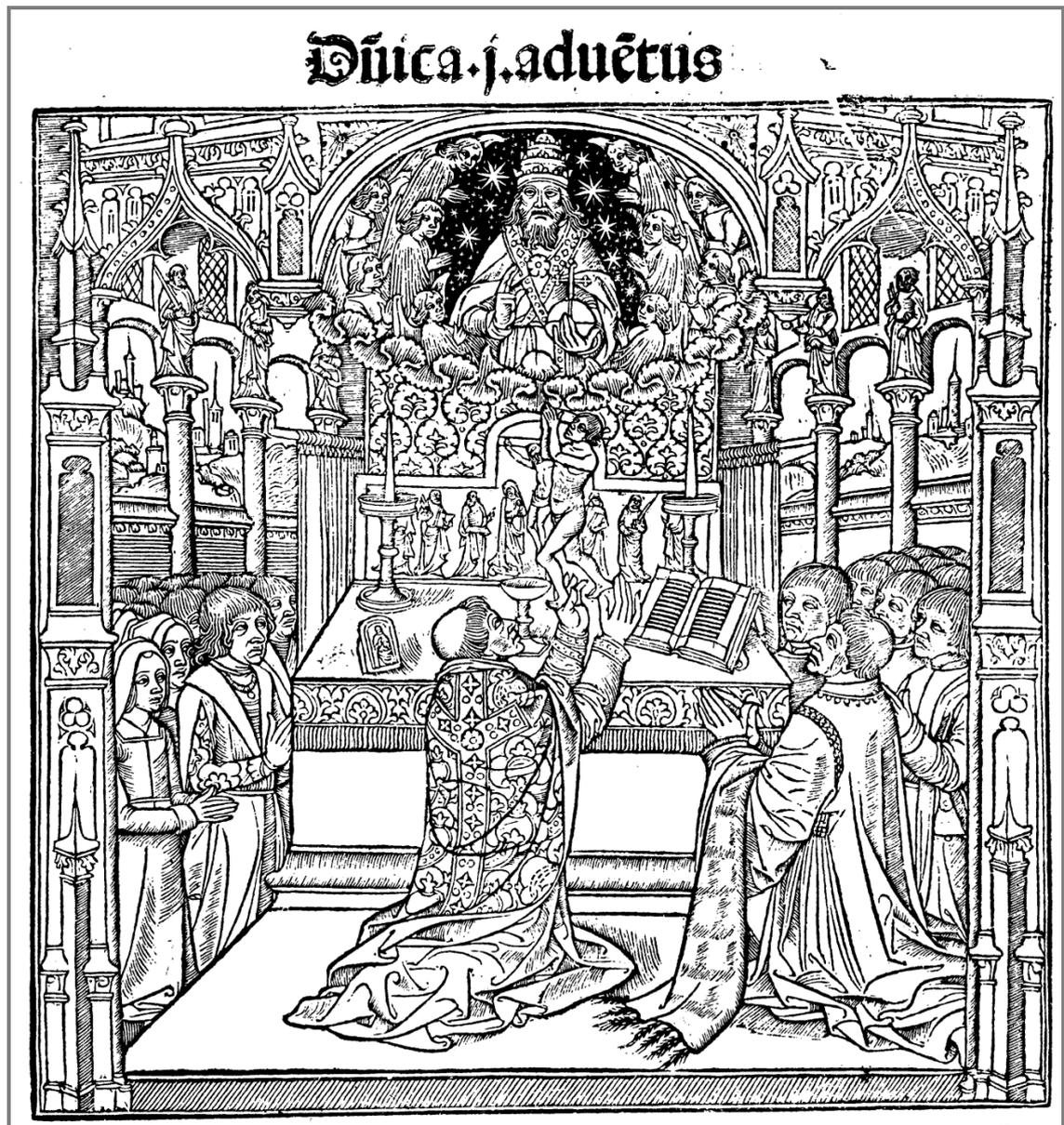


Figure 2.3 Woodcut illustration from 1497 Sarum Missal (STC 16169), sig. A1. One of the most commonly used woodcuts in French liturgical printing through the mid-sixteenth century, this woodcut was used by Parisian printers Gering & Rembolt in their collaborative work with Wynkyn de Worde. [Image from EEBO]

Notary and Barbier's 1498 Sarum Missal,<sup>116</sup> the first known edition of the Missal printed in England, has been fully described in the *BMC*.<sup>117</sup> Completed 20 December 1498, this edition of the Missal is folio format, and the British Library copy is 292 leaves, pages a1 – H7 numbered as i-cclxxxvi, with text in two columns of 37 lines. Unlike previous editions of the Missal, the 1498 edition presents only red printed staves for the musical notation (printed from blocks 12 mm deep and 65 mm wide) and lacks printed neumes. With the musical notation thus needing to be supplied by a scribe, musically literate priest, or singer (most likely after the book's purchase), the possibility exists that the sung music could differ (probably only slightly) between ecclesiastical institutions. Thus, although the printing press quickly brought uniformity to liturgical practice, the greater technical demands of music printing meant that complete uniformity in musical practice may have taken slightly longer to achieve. The copy of the 1498 Missal found in the British Library lacks the requisite annotated musical notation; therefore this copy was most likely never used for its liturgical purpose. Indeed, the book's provenance,<sup>118</sup> private ownership, from John Cole and William Hewyn<sup>119</sup> in the sixteenth century through to William Maskell<sup>120</sup> in the nineteenth century (after which the book

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<sup>116</sup> STC 16172, Weale-Bohatta 1395, Meyer-Baer 184.

<sup>117</sup> *BMC*, pp. 231-2.

<sup>118</sup> Taken from British Library records and annotations within the copy.

<sup>119</sup> This John Cole may be one of three men who appear in the ordination registers, either ordained Deacon in the Diocese of York in 1500, ordained acolyte in the Diocese of London in 1508, or ordained in the Diocese of Norwich as Subdeacon in 1510 and Deacon in 1511. William Hewyn is as yet unidentified. See Davis 2000.

was acquired by the British Library), would seem to confirm that the book was never in the hands of a church or other ecclesiastical institution. Certainly one of the book's private owners could have been a priest, but the lack of musical notation and the book's generally good state suggest that this copy remained in the hands of book collectors for several centuries.

Little is known of the nature of the collaboration between de Worde and Notary and Barbier. De Worde's printer's device A, as well as sets of initials and two woodcuts from his workshop (some of which he had inherited from Caxton), were all used by Notary and Barbier in their production of the book. The use of de Worde's recognizable printer's device would of course create the impression for buyers of the book that the work was printed by de Worde's workshop, and de Worde may have seen this as a selling point. The woodcut illustration of the Resurrection (Hodnett 327) used by Notary and Barbier was first used by Caxton in 1486 and 1490 in his *Speculum vitae Christi* and again in 1494 by de Worde when he re-printed the same work.<sup>121</sup> The woodcut of the Crucifixion (Hodnett 465) appears to have seen its first use with Notary and Barbier for de Worde; de Worde used this woodcut again in 1510 and 1521 in two editions of *Floure of Commaundements*, by which time the woodcut was

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<sup>120</sup> The Reverend William Maskell (1814?-90), liturgical scholar and book collector, offered his collection of liturgical books to the British Library in 1847. These works became the core of the British Library's previously limited liturgical collection. See Harris 1998, p. 211.

<sup>121</sup> Hodnett 1935, pp. 147-8.

beginning to show damage.<sup>122</sup> The woodcut illustration of the Mass of St. Gregory (Hodnett 2080) most likely came from Notary's own stock of woodcuts yet does not appear in any of Notary's other printed books.<sup>123</sup>

It is unlikely that Notary and Barbier used the 1497 Paris-printed edition of the Missal as their exemplar in 1498. Notary and Barbier's use of a slightly smaller format of paper meant a different page layout from the 1497 edition. In addition, Notary and Barbier's Missal tends to handle the Latin abbreviations within the text differently, generally (and perhaps in certain cases of better line justification) expanding the scribal abbreviations into their full text. Thus, while Notary and Barbier's workshop may have had a specialist, Latinate compositor at work on the Missal, the English workshop most likely used a different exemplar for their edition of the Missal. In addition, both the 1497 and 1498 editions differ to some degree with respect to the printing of rubrics. For example, following the 'Exultet' portion of the Easter Vigil, the Paris edition of the Missal presents much more extensive instructions to the priest than those found in the London edition; the Paris edition also contains the occasional, additional rubric within the Ordinary of the Mass, not found in the 1498 edition. In general the 1498 edition of the liturgical text presents a slightly more distinguished Latin (and possibly an earlier form of text than the 1497 edition); for example, within the Canon of the Mass the Paris edition offers the rubric

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 408.

text '*Hic elevet sacerdos manus ita dicendo*',<sup>124</sup> whereas the London Missal carries '*Hic elevet sacerdos manus dicens*'<sup>125</sup> (1498 Missal folio 102 recto, column 1).

However, the London edition does offer some additional text and rubrics of its own within the Canon of the Mass (e.g., n2 verso, following '*peccatis et offentimibus nostris*'), to include the guidance '*Et chorus cantando respondeat*',<sup>126</sup> possibly aiding the timely responses of the choir. The Paris edition of the Missal presents a greater number of the endings of the various Proper prefaces in full, whereas the 1498 edition generally cuts short the formulaic endings of the prefaces which follow '*Et ideo cum angelis*'. Unless now lost from the British Library copy of the 1498 edition, the London Missal makes no provision for the various settings of '*Ite missa est*' at the end of the Mass, as contained in the 1497 edition.

Thus, the 1497 and 1498 editions of the Sarum Missal transmit slightly different versions of the same liturgical text. Notary and Barbier's less expert abilities as printers meant not only cosmetic differences within the text (for example, they made no use of decorative blue ink in initials as did the first Parisian printers of the book), but also differences in the book's ease of use for its liturgical purposes. The lack of printed musical notation would have required the work of a scribe or musically-literate priest to complete the book before its first use within the liturgy (see Figure 2.4), whereas the 1497 edition of

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<sup>124</sup> Translation: Here the priest raises his hands, thus saying...

<sup>125</sup> Translation: Here the priest raises his hands saying...

<sup>126</sup> Translation: And the choir responds singing

the Missal not only presents the necessary music but also a somewhat more complete set of the variable and formulaic responses and endings, primarily within the Canon of the Mass. Hence, while de Worde may have found a quicker and less expensive Missal commission in Westminster in 1498 than he did from Paris in the previous year, one may speculate that the less 'user-friendly' version of the book produced by Notary and Barbier would perhaps have been a less popular choice than the 1497 edition of the Missal among clerics and churches required to purchase a Sarum Missal.

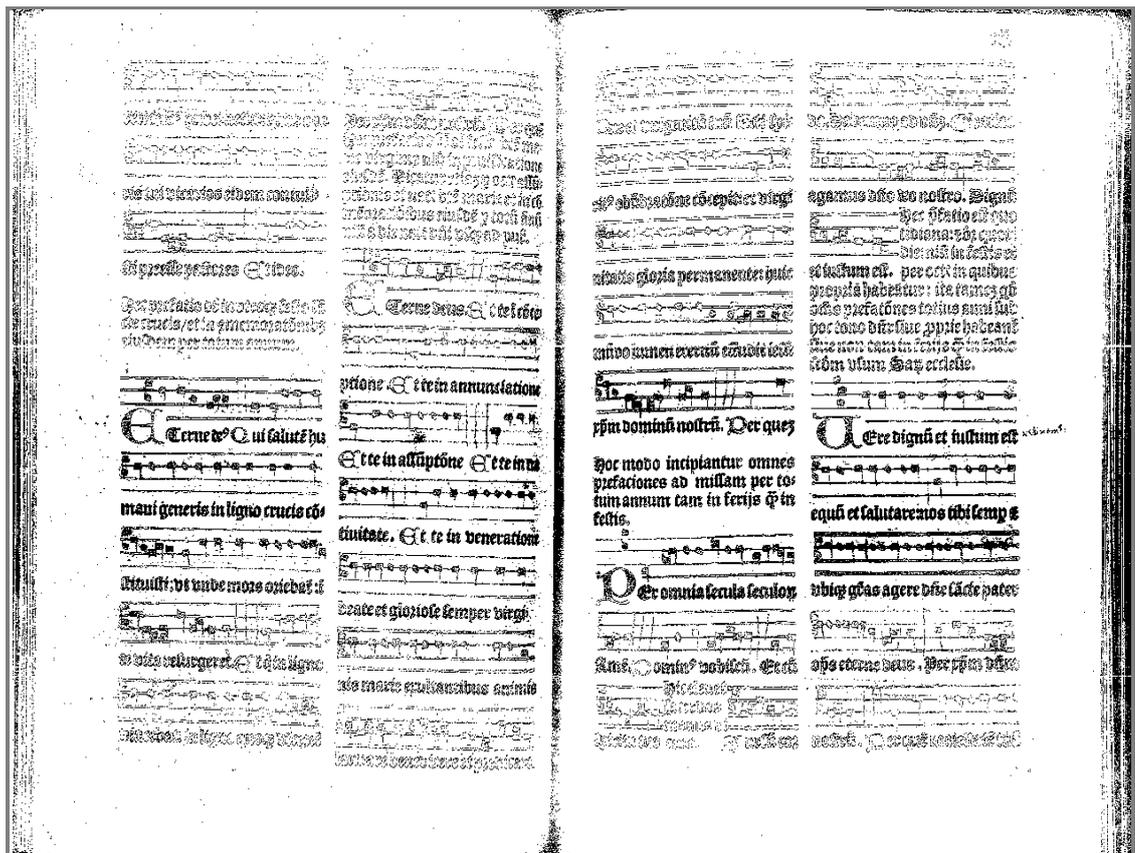


Figure 2.4 1498 Sarum Missal (Notary & Barbier) (STC 16172), sig. nvi. An example of the scribal insertions of musical notation required for liturgical use of this edition of the Missal. [Image from EEBO]

Completed on 26 April 1511, the 1511 edition of the Sarum Missal<sup>127</sup> is printed on paper throughout, with the exception of the Canon of the Mass printed on vellum (as was common with this much-used section of the Missal). The copy held in the British Library has 226 leaves, with signatures as ✕<sup>8</sup> a-m<sup>8</sup> n o<sup>10</sup>; A-G<sup>8</sup>; A-E<sup>8</sup> F<sup>6</sup> and lacks one leaf. Like the 1497 Sarum Missal, the 1511 edition involved de Worde in what was probably a complex collaboration with printers and publishers in both London and Paris. As stated earlier, Parisian publishers Bienayse and Ferrebouc may have offered expertise in printing, typefounding, and, in Bienayse's case, exportation, to Cousturier's workshop in its production of the Missal, while de Worde and Facques were responsible for the book's sale in England upon completion and importation. The Missal carries one of de Worde's printer's devices (McKerrow 24) which was clearly in use by Parisian printers working for de Worde. This same device appears in the Manual of York use printed by Ferrebouc for de Worde two years earlier, and the device's printing in 1511 shows damage to its lower right edge consistent with its previous use in 1509. Prior to its use in the York Manual this same device can be seen in de Worde's 1507 Paris-commissioned Breviary. De Worde's well-travelled device also appears in an edition of classical author Sulpicius, printed and completed in Paris earlier in the same month (April 1511).<sup>128</sup> This device's use in the 1511 Missal appears with the phrase 'Sane hoc

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<sup>127</sup> STC 16189.

<sup>128</sup> Painter, Rhodes, and Nixon 1976, p. 167.



The music of the 1511 edition is presented on red, 4-line staves, with a staff height of 13 mm (see Figure 2.5). The description of the music type used by Coustier's workshop as per Duggan's formula<sup>129</sup> is 13: 3<sup>2</sup> x 5-6. Thus, the virga noteheads are the same size in both the 1497 and 1511 editions, while both stems of the notes and the staff height in the 1511 edition are slightly shorter than in the 1497 edition. In addition, the 1497 edition uses a diamond-shaped virga, compared with the square virga of the 1511 edition. The 1511 edition also carries slightly more music than 1497's Missal, for example offering the musical notation for the 'officium beate marie' on folio xviii, where the 1497 edition carries only the text.

At least 23 editions of the Sarum Missal were produced between de Worde's 1497 commission and the collaboration which produced the 1511 edition. Thus, it is unclear which edition of the Sarum Missal may have been used by Coustier's workshop as an exemplar. When compared with the 1497 edition of the Missal, the 1511 edition presents the same text and the same use of red ink for the various rubrics, although the two editions differ in the way in which they handle the text's Latin abbreviations throughout, largely to accommodate end-of-line justification. The compositor(s) of the 1511 Missal appear to have made a finer job of adjusting the text (and its abbreviations) for ends of lines and made better placement of initial letters for the beginning of the new paragraphs within the text. Thus, they were either working from a very

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<sup>129</sup> Duggan 1992, p. 79.

good exemplar or were possibly Latinate (although the former is more likely the case).

Thus, the three surviving missals that de Worde commissioned from other printers' workshops represent slightly different transmissions of a liturgical text. Clearly more than one version of the Missal text was in use prior to the Reformation, differing primarily in the extent of guidance to the minsters offered by the rubrics. From an examination of these three Missals, it appears that subsequent editions of the Missal generally expanded on the extent of the rubrics (and some music) provided and gradually began to decrease the Latin abbreviations within the text. Further study of the Sarum Missal's other editions may offer additional evidence for this theory. It is possible that these developments within the Missal text are a reflection of the growing rate of literacy in this period among both the clergy and the laity.

De Worde's three commissioned Missals present two of the three forms of early printed music notation. The two Paris-printed editions (1497 and 1511), with their full musical notation, offered to the books' owners a more 'user-friendly' version than the 1498 London edition which lacked music. Notary and Barbier's failure to print the music in their edition of the Missal meant that, while printing was beginning to standardize texts (both liturgical and otherwise), the same did not occur immediately with music. In addition, as the plainsong melodies were one of the major variants between the different 'uses'

of the Church, without these in place, a printed liturgical book such as the 1498 Missal lacked much of the Sarum rite advertised in its title. Hence, for early print culture, de Worde's Missals are an example of large-scale fixity with underlying variation. Textual variants, in this case a direct result of the limitations of the printing press, meant that absolute fixity was impossible to achieve and that the reader/user's experience and expectation of the texts would have varied.

#### **CASE STUDY II: HYMNALS FROM DE WORDE'S WORKSHOP**

The period 1512 to 1517 was a particularly active one in de Worde's workshop for the production of hymnals; the Hymnal was in fact the only category of liturgical book printed by de Worde in this period (based on extant copies).

An examination of the Hymnal editions of 1514,<sup>130</sup> 1515,<sup>131</sup> and 1517,<sup>132</sup> all found in the British Library, offer some evidence of de Worde's workshop practice, both within his Hymnal production and overall. Based on his workshop's use of type, woodcuts, and printer's devices, de Worde may have regarded the Hymnal more as an educational text than a liturgical one.

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<sup>130</sup> STC 16125.

<sup>131</sup> STC 16126.

<sup>132</sup> STC 16128.

All of de Worde's editions of the Hymnal were produced in quarto format, and as a category they are an example of de Worde's non-musical liturgical printing, the Hymnal offering the text of the hymns with a gloss ('*expositio*') but without musical notation. The music for the hymns would either have been previously studied and memorized by the book's user (particularly in the case of clerical and monastic users) or would have been found notated in the Antiphoner. As the monumental task of printing the Sarum Antiphoner was not accomplished until 1519/1520 (in Paris for Birckman of London), users of these Hymnals would have needed to consult a manuscript copy of the Antiphoner if they required musical notation.

As mentioned previously, de Worde (and Pynson) were quick to take up the printing of the Hymnal following the book's first edition (1496) printed in Cologne by Quentell. The Hymnal, in its small format and without musical notation, was undoubtedly easy for both de Worde and Pynson's workshops to accommodate in their printing schedules. De Worde and Pynson dominated the production of the Sarum Hymnal through its last edition in 1530. Julian Notary produced several editions of the book as well, further strengthening the London printers' hold on the market for this liturgical book; only a handful of Hymnal editions were ever printed on the Continent.

For the 1514, 1515, and 1517 editions of the Sarum Hymnal de Worde's workshop consistently used his Type 8 (a 95 mm textura) and Type 9 (a 53 mm

rotunda), types which de Worde had used from his earliest, pre-1500 work and brought with him to his new workshop in Fleet Street.<sup>133</sup> De Worde used both Types 8 and 9 (along with his Type 6, originally inherited from Caxton) in his first production of the Hymnal in 1499/1500 and thus established a model for his workshop's production of the book, the smaller 53 mm rotunda type used as a contrast to the larger textura fount. Small changes in de Worde's Type 8, his most frequently used sixteenth-century type, can be seen in variant letter forms (primarily 's', 'w', and 'y') among the 1514, 1515, and 1517 editions of the Hymnal and are largely consistent with Isaac's study of de Worde's types. De Worde's 1514, 1515, and 1517 editions of the Hymnal transmit identical texts (which in fact also agree with de Worde's 1508 edition of the Hymnal<sup>134</sup>), the only differences among the editions being those of the compositors'. For example, the spacing of lines appears to have been an issue for the compositor(s) of the 1514 Hymnal when the arrangement of the book's 'Tabula' (Table of Contents) is compared with the 1508 edition from de Worde's workshop, in which the Tabula is laid out more neatly and efficiently.

Following the Tabula in the 1514 edition, de Worde includes four lines of text not present in his 1508 edition (see Figure 2.6):

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<sup>133</sup> Isaac (1930), 'Wynkyn de Worde'.

<sup>134</sup> STC 16120.

*Habes lector explanationes hymnorum secundum usum (ut dicant) Sarum/diligenter castigatas et auctas. Impressas Londonij per wynandum de Worde...*

[You, the reader, have explanations of hymns following the use of (as they say) Sarum, diligently edited and increased. Printed in London by Wynandum de Worde...]

<b>Tabula.</b>		
Jesu redemptor omnium.	xl.	Quem terra pontus ethera. eodē.
Jesu corona virginum.	xli.	Rector potens.
Inuentor rutili.	xliij.	Rerum deus.
Jesu dulcis memoria.	xliiij.	Rerum creator optime.
Jesu auctor clementie.	eodem.	Rex gloriose martyrum.
In anne puerperio.	li.	
Lucis creator optime.	xi.	Saluator mundi domine.
Lux ecce surgit.	xviij.	Sancte dei preciose.
Lustra sex qui iam peracta.	xxv.	Somno relectis artibus.
		Splendor paterne.
Magne deus potentie.	xviiij.	Summe deus clementie.
Martyr dei qui unicum.	xxviij.	Summi largitor premij.
Mundi saluo affutura.	xlx.	Sermone blando.
		Sanctorum meritis.
Nocte surgentes.	ix.	Salve festa dies.
Nunc sancte nobis.	x.	Sacris solēnijs.
Nox et tenebre.	xvi.	
Nox atra rerum.	eodē.	Telucis ante terminum.
		Telluris ingens.
O pater sancte mitis.	xxx.	Tu trinitatis.
O lux beata trinitas.	xxxi.	Tu christe nostrum gaudium.
O gloriosa domina.	xxxiij.	Tu christe splendor.
O q̄ glorifica.	xxxvi.	
O iator rerum reparator.	xlvi.	Uox clara.
O nata lux de lumine.	eodem.	Uerbū supernū pdiens a patre.
O salutaris fulgens.	xlx.	Veni redemptor gentium.
O maria noli flere.	li.	Vexilla regis prodeunt.
		Veni creator spiritus.
Primo dierum omnium.	vij.	Urbs beata hierusalem.
Plasmator hominis.	xviij.	Ut queant laxis.
Pange lingua gloriosi prelii.	xxiij.	Virginis proles.
Pange lingua gloriosi corporis.	xliij.	Uerbū supernum prodens nec patris linquens.
Quod chorus yatum.	xxxij.	

**Chabes lector explanationes hymnorum scdm vsu(m) Sarum dāigent  
ter castigatas et auctas. Impressas Londonij per wynandum de worde cōmorā  
tem in vico vulgariter nuncupato the fletestrete) in signo solis. Anno dñi m<sup>o</sup>lles  
simo quingentesimo decimo quarto. duodecima die mensis Junij. Claus deo**

Figure 2.6 1514 Sarum Hymnal (STC 16125), printed by de Worde, final page. This edition of the Hymnal concludes with a short text directed to the reader not found in de Worde's earlier editions. [Image from EEBO]

In the same location in the *Sequentiarum* bound in with de Worde's 1517 edition of the Hymnal, de Worde offers a short message to the reader:

*Ad lectorem./Splendidum pulchri specimen libelli./Lector inspectans:  
animos fauentes/Sume wynando merito reponans/Era de Worde.*

[To the reader: a shining, beautiful specimen of a book. Reader, when looking at it, take favourable thoughts of deserving de Worde when you put it down.]

It is possible that by making these statements to the reader de Worde recognized the ways in which the Hymnal might be owned and used or simply sought to make the books more appealing to the reader (or both). His 1514 incipit may imply the reader's ownership of the book, or at least the ownership of the text; whereas in 1517 de Worde seems to be more aware of the book as an object, used but not necessarily owned, and wishes the reader to remember his role in its production. In addition, de Worde's emphasis on the 'editing and augmenting' of the 1514 edition of the Hymnal brings this feature of the edition to the reader's attention. While many editions of Sarum liturgical books featured somewhat formulaic statements regarding a book's newly issued or newly corrected status, de Worde's missive to the reader here, calling attention to his role as printer/publisher is rather atypical. As previous editions of the Hymnal came from Pynson's workshop (in 1511 and 1515), perhaps de Worde felt that some self-advertisement was necessary to set his books apart from those of his competitor. De Worde's use of 'sales pitch' in these editions of the Hymnal illustrates Adrian Johns' assertion of the importance for the printer of acquiring the reader's trust, both in the text on offer and of the printer

himself.<sup>135</sup> Although Johns' arguments centre on a slightly later period in the history of early printing, it is interesting to note that these concerns about the reader's trust in both text and printer, even for established texts such as liturgical books, were present virtually from the beginning of printing.

An examination of watermarks across de Worde's 1514, 1515, and 1517 editions of the Hymnal is somewhat inconclusive. The paper of the 1514 Hymnal carries a watermark of an 8-pointed sun or star in the early part of the book, and later carries a cross-shaped watermark. Thus, in the production of the book, one supply of paper may have run out and a new supply of paper was begun. The sun or star watermark is not dissimilar to that found in Gering and Rembolt's 1497 Missal. Hence, it is possible that de Worde's Parisian connections extended beyond the commissioning of books to the more day-to-day supply of workshop materials. Only a partial, unidentifiable watermark is visible in the 1515 edition of the Hymnal, and no watermark can be seen in the book's 1517 edition.

The 1508 Hymnal carries one of de Worde's 14 devices; in three sections, it displays a sun and the letters 'W' and 'C' (for 'Worde' and 'Caxton?'), with 10 flowers on the lower border. Moran notes that de Worde initially used versions of Caxton's devices and later incorporated Caxton's initials into his own

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<sup>135</sup> Johns 1998, pp. 30-1.

devices,<sup>136</sup> and this idea is clearly visible in the device of the 1508 Hymnal. De Worde's workshop was consistent in its use of this device throughout the production of Hymnals in this period. The device is similar, but not identical, to that used in the York Manual<sup>137</sup> (1509). In the 1508 Hymnal, the device shows a small, non-printing area on the top border (see Figure 2.7), and, used again in 1514, the same device shows a much more heavily inked impression overall. The same degree of heavy inking is present in both the 1515 and 1517 editions, and by 1517 the device shows damage to the lower left edge of its border (see Figure 2.8). Thus, this particular device of de Worde's must have seen a good deal of use in the practice of the workshop, as by 1517 the device clearly shows its wear.

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<sup>136</sup> Moran 2003, p. 47.

<sup>137</sup> STC 16160.

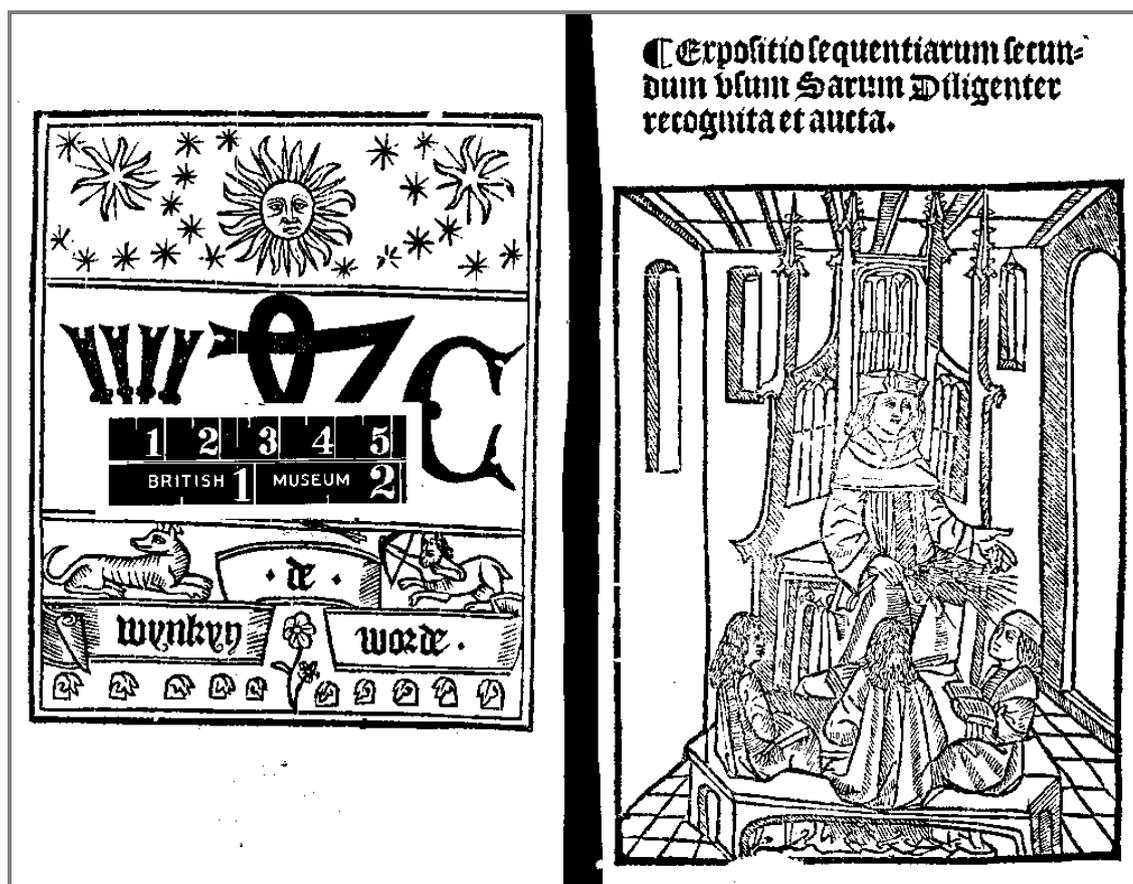


Figure 2.7 1508 Sarum Hymnal (STC 16120), de Worde's printer's device and title page. This device was frequently used by de Worde's workshop in the production of editions of the Sarum Hymnal. [Image from EEBO]

**C**ompositio hymnorum totius anni secun-  
 dum usum Sax diligentissime recognito-  
 rum multis elucidationibus aucta. Impres-  
 sa Londini p Wynnandum de Worde in par-  
 rochia sancte brigide in vico anglice nuncu-  
 pato (the fletestrete) ad signum solis con-  
 morantem.



Figure 2.8 1517 Sarum Hymnal (STC 16128), de Worde's printer's device and title page. When compared with the use of this same device in 1508, the 1517 printing shows heavier inking and damage to the lower left edge of the device's border. [Image from EEB0]

Copies of the Hymnal in this period bound with the *Expositio Sequentiarum* feature one of several similar woodcut illustrations from de Worde's educational, 'school master' set,<sup>138</sup> depicting a teacher and his three pupils. Hodnett 920 appears to have been used quite frequently in de Worde's workshop between 1505 and 1518,<sup>139</sup> primarily in school texts, but also in the 1509 and 1512 Hymnals and the *Sequentiarum* editions accompanying the 1512, 1514, and 1515 Hymnals. De Worde's choice of this woodcut illustration for editions of the Hymnal, rather than one of his many religious woodcuts, shows his workshop's awareness of the educational nature of this liturgical book (hymn texts accompanied by a gloss or 'expositio') and that the workshop most likely considered the Hymnal to be an educational text rather than a liturgical one.<sup>140</sup>

Thus, as with other categories of liturgical books from de Worde's press, his production of Sarum Hymnals does not demonstrate the uniformity which Elizabeth Eisenstein argues was one of the major consequences of the establishment of the printing press. In addition, de Worde's use of woodcuts in the various editions of the Hymnal may have helped to create the expectation of an educational text for the reader/user.

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<sup>138</sup> Hodnett nos. 918-921.

<sup>139</sup> Hodnett 1935, pp. 264-5.

<sup>140</sup> Indeed, in De Worde's earliest extant edition of the Hymnal from 1502, which exists only as a fragment, is found another of De Worde's educational woodcuts, either Hodnett 926 or 927 (there is very little difference between the two). This may be the earliest appearance of this woodcut, which used again from 1517 onward almost exclusively in the production of educational texts. See Figure 2.3.

Little evidence exists to suggest details of de Worde's specific workshop practice, and an examination of de Worde's possible workshop practice in the production of his 1514 and 1515 editions of the Hymnal is hampered somewhat by the fact that, of the 20 books produced by de Worde's workshop in 1514, definitive completion dates are available for only 9 books (based on the dates given in the books' colophons), while most, but not all of the remaining 11 books can be positively dated only to the year 1514. With the available facts, however, it is possible to identify trends in the workshop's 1514 production, particularly in the latter half of that year. De Worde's workshop completed part I of the 1514 Hymnal on 12 June and part II on 8 July (according to the books' colophons). These completion dates represent the smallest gap in the production of the 2 volumes of the Hymnal for de Worde's workshop up to that point, and thus may indicate that the workshop may not have had much other work running concurrently. De Worde's overall production for the year 1515 is even more complicated, owing in part to the STC's approximate dating of books to circa 1515 and in part to a lack of specific completion dates given in de Worde's works known to have been printed in 1515. However, with part I of the 1515 Hymnal finished on 14 June and part II actually completed first on 8 June (a smaller production gap than even the 1514 Hymnal), enough evidence exists to suggest a few works which were most likely in production just before or concurrently with the 1515 edition of the Hymnal.

D. F. McKenzie's studies of printing house practices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries offer evidence that, although printing house procedures were subject to constant change as a result of a variety of factors (including a shop's fluctuating workload and press crews' distribution of work), the practice of concurrent printing was the most effective method of operating a printing house, and therefore printing houses regularly had several books in production simultaneously. While little primary documentation exists of printing house practices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even less so for the sixteenth century, McKenzie's work further concludes that throughout the period of the hand-press printing house procedures were largely alike overall, the major differences being the size of the printing houses and their numbers of presses.<sup>141</sup> Thus, while the 1514 and 1515 Hymnals were in production by de Worde's workshop we can suppose that several other books were also underway concurrently and that many of the workshop practices documented for printing houses a century or so later were also in use in de Worde's workshop.

The production of de Worde's workshop in 1514 was primarily divided between religious and educational texts, apart from the two Indulgences also printed in that year. The majority of de Worde's 1514 religious and educational printing was in quarto format, and thus the edition of the Hymnal in that year would have fit very easily into concurrent production with other quarto texts.

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<sup>141</sup> McKenzie 2002, pp. 13-85.

With the completion of two educational works (Garlandia's *Equivoca* and *Synonima*, STC 11608 and 11616) on 29 July and 16 August respectively, it is easy to hypothesize a logical progression of production within the workshop from the two parts of the Hymnal to the Garlandia texts (all in quarto<sup>8.4</sup> format), amid other works on which the printing crews may also have been working. De Worde's compositors used the shop's Types 8 and 9 for both parts of the Hymnal and both Garlandia texts, and this consistent use of types, in addition to the shared format, would have made for a seamless production flow for these works.

The year 1515 for de Worde's workshop saw production evenly divided between religious, educational, and literary texts. Examples of all three of these genres may be seen in three works produced in de Worde's workshop, in May, just before the production of the Hymnal's 1515 edition: John Mirk's *Liber festivalis and Quatuor Sermones* (STC 17972), Alexander's *Grammaticus* (STC 320.5), and *Information for pilgrims unto the holy land* (STC 14082). All of these works, in quarto format, would have provided a smooth transition for the compositors and pressmen alike to the production of the 1515 Hymnal. The compositors setting both the 1514 and 1515 Hymnals most likely set all of these texts by forms and thus with the use of type (particularly Type 8) in common may have been limited in speed of composition by the overall supply of type.

## CONCLUSION

While little is known about the details of De Worde's earliest life and career, his association with and inheritance from William Caxton are well-established. Recent scholarship confirms the older theories of de Worde's connections with the printing trade in Holland; this connection with the Continent was important throughout de Worde's printing career, both for the importation of books commissioned from the Continent and for the supply of printing house materials such as paper and type.

Throughout his printing and publishing career (1492 to 1535), de Worde's workshop produced a varied range of texts, with educational, literary, and religious works together totalling approximately 90 percent of his printed output and Latin liturgical works accounting for three percent of his production. After inheriting Caxton's business, de Worde followed his model for the production and acquisition of liturgical books from the outset, printing the simpler books in-house (for de Worde, primarily Hymnals and Psalters) and relying on commissions (all but one from Paris) for the more complicated liturgical printing (editions of the Missal, Breviary, Manual, and Gradual). Although the majority of de Worde's liturgical printing was designated for the Sarum rite, de Worde sought to reach beyond the London-based market for Sarum books with the production of several York use liturgical texts, including an edition of the Manual and several editions of the Psalter.

De Worde's inheritance from Caxton included not only a physical printing house, but also a model for business which offered some ready-made markets for printed books. Importation of books from the Continent was an important aspect of de Worde's inheritance from Caxton which he was quick to exploit. Evidence of the importation of Continental books into England from the customs rolls of the port of London indicates that de Worde dominated this aspect of the early book trade, averaging one shipment per year in the period 1503 to 1531.

De Worde's three editions of the Sarum Missal (1497, 1498, and 1511), commissioned from printers in Paris and Westminster, present slightly different transmissions of a liturgical text. While very few specifics are known of de Worde's collaborations on these editions of the Missal, the use of his printer's device clearly meant a more marketable book for de Worde to sell in London. These three editions of the Missal offer two of the three forms of early printed music notation, and the 1498 edition printed in Westminster without musical notation represents a less 'user-friendly', and possibly less saleable, version of the book.

This examination of the editions of the Hymnal produced by de Worde's workshop suggests that, with his particular use of types, woodcuts, and printer's device, de Worde may have considered this book to be more educational than liturgical. De Worde's workshop may have worked on

editions of the Hymnal in 1514 and 1515 in concurrent production alongside other educational and religious texts.

With regard to the discussion in Chapter 1 centred on the arguments of Eisenstein and Johns, the liturgical book production of Wynkyn de Worde clearly does not illustrate both the fixity of text and standardization of editions which Eisenstein promotes. As can be seen from the two case studies in this present chapter, textual differences between editions of Sarum liturgical books abound within de Worde's liturgical output. In addition, the inclusion of only the printed staves for the music in some editions of the Missal automatically prevents any fixity of musical text. Eisenstein also points to the role of the printing press in achieving liturgical uniformity; however, as can be seen from de Worde's work in both the Sarum and York uses, his printing press was actively fostering liturgical diversity. Adrian Johns points to the inherent instability in texts and editions within early printing, and much of this can be seen in this thesis's examination of de Worde's liturgical book production and its context. Johns also stresses the necessity for the printer in gaining the reader's trust, and this can be demonstrated in the study of de Worde's hymnal production (case study II). The earlier forms of de Worde's printer's devices (one of which can be seen in his 1508 edition of the Hymnal) may well have been designed to connect de Worde to Caxton in the eyes of his books' owners and readers, and de Worde's notes to the reader in the 1514 and 1517 editions of

the Hymnal extol the virtues of those particular editions as well as de Worde's role in their production.

As will be seen in greater detail in Chapter 3, Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson both served a small but steady market for liturgical books; while focusing their printing output on religious, educational, and literary texts. Both printers devoted a small part of their work to the production of liturgical books; however, de Worde and Pynson responded to the market for liturgical books in different and important ways.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Printers & Publishers II:

#### Richard Pynson (1449/50-1529)

Richard Pynson stood as the chief rival to Wynkyn de Worde and in many ways surpassed him typographically and technically to become the unparalleled printer among his contemporaries in England. Known throughout his career as a leading printer of law texts, Pynson also worked extensively in the printing of books in English, thereby influencing the early standardisation of the vernacular. While Latin liturgical books represented only a small percentage of Pynson's lifetime printed output, his typographical and other technical work in these books is characteristic of his exceptional skill overall. While Pynson's corpus of work has featured in studies by both early and current book historians, little examination has been made of specific aspects of his overall printed output. Neville's 1990 study<sup>1</sup> of Pynson's printing of propaganda for Henry VIII has brought to light Pynson's contributions in the King's political domain. My study of Pynson's liturgical printing brings into focus his work in the ecclesiastical realm, also offering the opportunity for comparison with the work of Wynkyn de Worde both in terms of overall printed output and the specifics of both printers' liturgical printing and business strategies.

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<sup>1</sup> Neville 1990.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

Several studies focus on the career of Richard Pynson and the published output of his printing house and shed light on the place of liturgical books within Pynson's overall production.<sup>2</sup> A London printer, bookseller, and bookbinder, Pynson was Norman by birth and became a naturalized English citizen circa 1493.<sup>3</sup> Little is known about Pynson's family and early life, but he appears to have been educated at the University of Paris, his name (as 'Richardus Pynson Normannus') being found on a list of enrolled students there in 1464.<sup>4</sup> He was employed in London by 1482, first as a 'glover' (engaged in the glove-making trade) in the parish of St. Clement Danes<sup>5</sup> (an apparent centre for the fifteenth-century London book trade), and later, by 1490, as a bookseller, commissioning Rouen printer Guillaume de Talleur in that year to print for him Sir Thomas Littleton's *New tenures* and Nicholas Statham's *Abridgement of statutes* for Pynson to sell in England.<sup>6</sup>

Scholars disagree regarding Pynson's apprenticeship to the printing trade. While some authors (including Duff) have concluded that Pynson was apprenticed under William Caxton, more recent research suggests that this is

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<sup>2</sup> I do not attempt to offer new insight into Pynson's origins and early career, but wish to summarise the extant studies of Pynson's life and work before investigating his production of liturgical books.

<sup>3</sup> Neville 1990, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Duff 1906 (reprinted 1971), 55: 'Richardus Pynson Normannus'.

<sup>5</sup> Plomer 1922-1923, pp. 49-51.

<sup>6</sup> Duff 1948, p. 126.

probably not the case<sup>7</sup> and leaves unresolved the question of where and from whom Pynson learned the art of printing. With the introduction of printing at the University of Paris in 1470, Pynson may have learned the trade either in Paris or in Rouen under le Talleur before emigrating to England. Alternatively, Pynson may have learned printing from William de Machlinia and John Lettou, the first printers of law books in England or may simply have taken over Machlinia's business circa 1490, particularly suited to a position which required his knowledge of Norman-French. 13<sup>th</sup> November 1492 marked Pynson's first dated work (the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Grammaticus), but typographical evidence suggests that Pynson published at least five works before this date (several Yearbooks, an Indulgence, and an edition of the works of Chaucer, including *Canterbury Tales*).

Pynson began the publication of religious, devotional, and liturgical works in 1493, publishing two editions of Mirk's *Liber Festivalis*, the life of Saint Margaret,<sup>8</sup> a Sarum Breviary, a Sarum Book of Hours, and other works. The year 1493 also saw Pynson's printing of *Dives and Pauper*, probably financed by London merchant John Russhe. Documents from Chancery proceedings instigated circa 1503 against Pynson by Russhe's executors offer a schedule of books printed by Pynson for Russhe and others; this list of books, which includes liturgical books, gives information on book prices and the minimum

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<sup>7</sup> Johnston 1977, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Pynson may well have printed this text in honour of his association with Lady Margaret Beaufort, which probably began circa 1493. See Powell 1998.

sizes of editions (and will be considered below in a discussion of Pynson's workshop practices).<sup>9</sup>

In 1500, after a legal action for assault brought in the Star Chamber by Pynson and several others against Henry Squire, Pynson relocated his printing workshop from St Clement Danes to the north side of Fleet Street, next to the church of St Dunstan's-in-the-West, at 'the sign of the George', where he was to remain for the rest of his career, close to the Inns of Court and the centre of the legal profession. After the death of printer William Faques, Pynson was appointed King's Printer sometime between 1505 and 1507,<sup>10</sup> a position he would hold until the end of his life in 1529. As King's Printer, Pynson's responsibilities extended to a broad range of publications, including indulgences, statutes, proclamations, and other royal documents and humanist works (such as those which supported Henry VIII's literary crusade against Martin Luther). In his official role, Pynson also produced the early Tudors' printed propaganda which helped to shape, strengthen, and secure the throne.<sup>11</sup> Circa 1515 until 1529, Pynson became the first 'Printer to the City of London',<sup>12</sup> another position he held until his death. This post may well have had its origins in the legal printing by the workshop of John Lattou and William de

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-8.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>11</sup> Neville 1990, Abstract.

<sup>12</sup> For details of the activities of 'King's Printer', see Neville-Sington 1999.

Machlinia<sup>13</sup> and may have been connected initially with Pynson's legal output. In addition, as will be seen in the next section, the early years of Pynson's appointment as Printer to the City of London coincide with an increase in the production of Yearbooks and Indulgences from his press, and it is unclear whether or not these categories of printing may have been connected with Pynson's role as Printer to the City of London or possibly overlapped with his duties as King's Printer. The title 'Printer to the City of London' was held by later printers after Pynson's death and into the seventeenth century. In 1516 Pynson was elected churchwarden of St.-Dunstan's-in-the-West, possibly in recognition of his official status for the City and the Crown.

Thus, Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde had similar beginnings to their printing careers. Both most likely undertook formal or informal apprenticeship on the Continent before emigrating to London, and both made their first entrance into the printing trade in the early 1490s. While de Worde had a distinct and diverse inheritance within the trade from Caxton and built his printing career on it, Pynson also found a cornerstone to his career in the production of legal works (which may have had early connections with the workshop of de Machlinia). De Worde appears to have been the more prolific printer of the two; however, Pynson gained official status as a printer in ways that de Worde did not, in his roles as King's Printer and Printer to the City of London. De Worde did, however, receive brief but official recognition as

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<sup>13</sup> Lattou established the first printing press in the City of London in 1480 and was joined in business by de Machlinia in 1482

printer to Lady Margaret Beaufort, despite the fact that both Pynson and de Worde saw the benefits of her patronage. In addition, de Worde saw more activity in book publishing and collaborations with other printers than Pynson, whose focus appears to have been on in-house book production.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY**

### Pynson's published output

Along with Pynson's duties as King's Printer and Printer to the City of London and his domination of the field of legal publications, Pynson's press also continued to produce literary, educational, religious, and liturgical works. Although the output of his press was diverse, it remained somewhat narrow in scope. Pynson's business strategy appears to have been largely conservative, relying on those books which were steady sellers, rather than taking great risks. As a 'systematic, careful man of business',<sup>14</sup> Pynson saw that many of his books were reprinted (in some cases, many times) and yet was also responsible for printing many first editions. Appendix 3 gives a chronological catalogue of Pynson's published works (based on the listings in the STC). An analysis of Pynson's printed output throughout his career (circa 1490 – 1529) produces Table 3.1 which summarises the various categories of publication throughout

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<sup>14</sup> Bennett 1969, p. 191.

his career: Almanac, Calendar, Educational, Indulgence, Legal, Literary, Liturgical, Religious, Royal, and Yearbook.<sup>15</sup>

As Table 3.1 demonstrates, Richard Pynson published continuously between the years 1490 and 1529, with various peaks of activity every few years. The peaks at 1500, 1510, and 1520 may not accurately represent the total publications in those years as these peaks, following STC's approximate dating, take into account many publications for which the publication date can only be estimated circa 1500, circa 1510, or circa 1520. As can be seen from Table 3.1, Pynson produced a small number of liturgical books compared to his total output; however, beginning with the publication of two liturgical books in 1493, Pynson produced a small but steady number of this category of books over his career.

Educational texts, literary works, and Indulgences represent the largest portions of Pynson's output, together totalling 304 of the 611 publications from Pynson's press. Of the total 611 publications, Pynson's liturgical output stands at 35, with liturgical printing averaging one or two extant liturgical books per year. Table 3.2 displays the various categories of publication as a percentage of Pynson's total published output.

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<sup>15</sup> Source of data: A. W. Pollard, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1976.



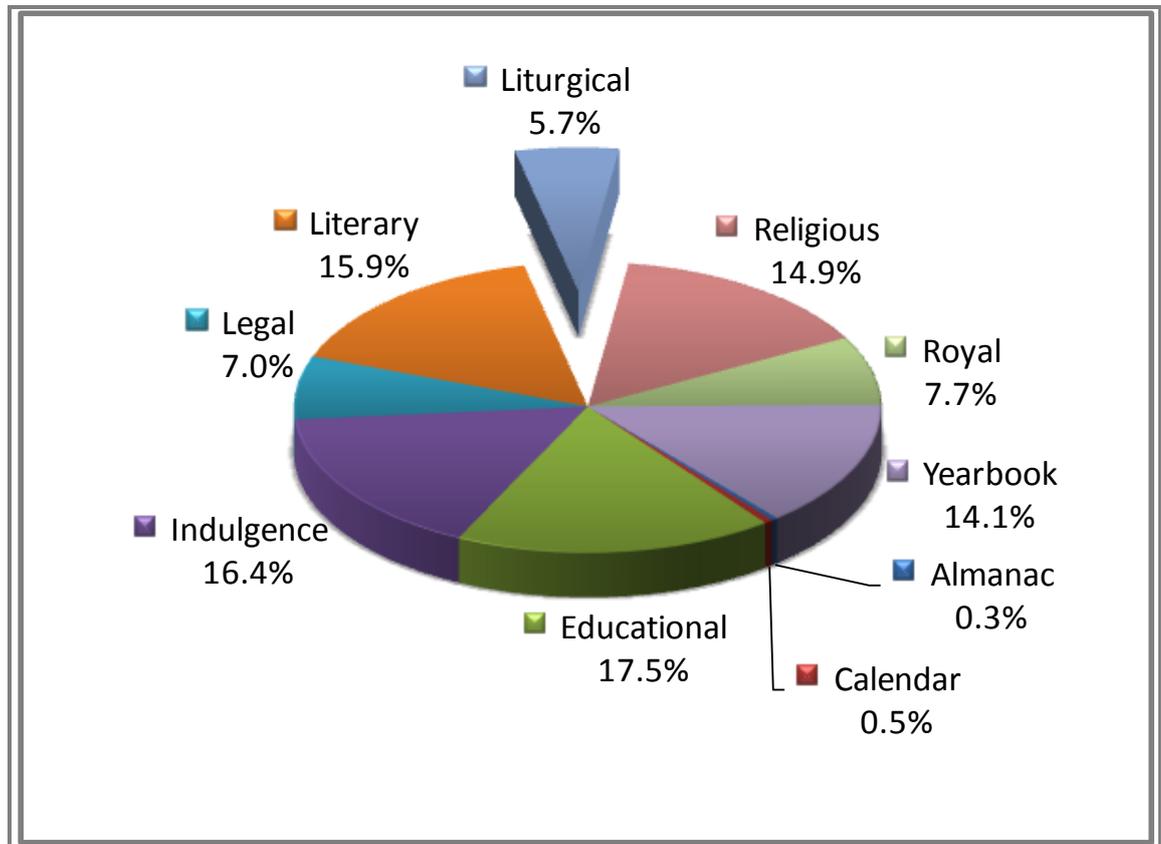
**Table 3.2 Percentage of Pynson's total publications by category**

Table 3.2 shows that Pynson's production of educational works, literary works, and Indulgences together represent fifty percent of his total output and that liturgical books account for nearly six percent of his work.

#### Pynson's liturgical books

From the outset of his career, Pynson remained conscious both of the market for liturgical books in England and also his foreign competition printing Latin liturgical works (principally of the Sarum use) for the English market.<sup>16</sup> Over his lifetime, Pynson published most types of liturgical book, although in

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<sup>16</sup> Johnston 1977, pp. 30- 1.

the first years of his career (before 1500) Pynson concentrated his efforts on the production of Breviaries, Hymnals, Books of Hours, and the Psalter.

The year 1493 saw the publication of Pynson's first two liturgical books, a Sarum Breviary and a Book of Hours. This first Breviary was followed in 1495 by a Breviary of the *Officia Nova* variety<sup>17</sup>, with a second *Officia Nova* supplement printed a year later in 1496 (after the publication of the 1495 Book of Hours). Whether the publication of these *Officia Nova* booklets as incomplete Breviaries supplementary to the main Breviary was Pynson's decision as printer of the books or came as official Church policy is unclear. Certainly, Pynson, running a busy workshop in its early years, may well have decided to issue a supplement rather than reprint a complete book if given the choice. Based on extant copies, de Worde chose not to print any of these supplements to the Sarum Breviary, which is perhaps curious as Caxton printed some of their earliest editions.

The years 1500-1509 saw the publication of two Books of Hours and Pynson's first Missal (the book containing all the services said at the altar throughout the year) in 1500, followed by the 1501 and 1502 Processionals. After the additional publication of a Hymnal in 1502, Pynson next printed the 1504 Missal. A Hymnal and Pynson's first and only printed Manual (the

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<sup>17</sup> The *Officia Nova* Breviaries make provisions for the new feasts of the Church (e.g., the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, which originated in the late fifteenth century) and are thus not complete Breviaries, but supplement the main Breviary. [from personal correspondence with Professor John Harper] On the feast and cult of the Holy Name of Jesus, see Jones and Underwood 1992 and Pfaff 1970, pp. 62-83.

priest's small 'walking book') were published in 1506, with both parts of a Breviary following in 1507 and another edition of the Hymnal in 1509.

The third decade of Pynson's output featured the continued printing of Books of Hours, with Sarum editions published in 1510, 1513, and 1514. Pynson also made a rare divergence from the printing of Sarum rite books with the publication of a York rite Book of Hours in 1510. After the issue of 1511 and 1515 editions of the Hymnal and a 1512 Missal, Pynson's workshop did not print another liturgical book until the year 1520. Pynson's press was to produce only four more liturgical books before his death in 1529. A 1520 Missal and another Missal printed circa 1520 preceded a Book of Hours in 1522 and a 1524 Psalter.

Overall Pynson published 11 Books of Hours, 8 Hymnals, 6 Breviaries, 5 Missals, 2 Psalters, 2 Processionals, and 1 Manual, and all but one of these liturgical books were of the Sarum use. It is perhaps noteworthy that Pynson did not publish any editions of the Antiphoner (which provides music and rubrics for the services said in choir) or the Gradual (which contains music and rubrics for altar services) for which there would have been direct competition from Parisian printing houses. Within the life of Pynson's workshop, the years 1516-1519 and 1525-1529 mark two periods of notable inactivity in terms of the

production of liturgical books.<sup>18</sup> An increase in the publication of Yearbooks, Indulgences, and royal publications in the period 1516-1519 coincides with the beginning of Pynson's appointment as Printer to the City of London. In addition, Pynson's press produced more liturgical books, often several in one year, in the years before Pynson was made King's Printer. It may well be that Pynson's press was too busy fulfilling its obligation to London and the monarch to devote any special interest to the production of liturgical books.

Hence, Pynson and de Worde had both similar and different approaches to printing across the range of printed works. Both men worked in the wide variety of early printed books. Not surprisingly, a greater percentage of legal, royal, Yearbook, and Indulgence printing featured from Pynson's press over that of de Worde (7.0%, 7.7%, 14.1%, and 16.4%, respectively, from Pynson's press versus 2.1%, 0.9%, 0.8%, and 2.5% respectively, from de Worde). Likewise, religious, literary, and educational works dominated de Worde's output more than Pynson's (27.5%, 23.3%, and 38.6%, respectively from de Worde versus 14.9%, 15.9%, and 17.5%, respectively, from Pynson's workshop). Liturgical printing, however, occupied a similar place in the output of both printers (5.7% for Pynson and 3.0% for de Worde), and is in fact the category with the smallest difference in percentage of total printed output between the two printers.

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<sup>18</sup> Pynson's first period of inactivity in relation to the production of liturgical books, 1516-19, may or may not be connected to increased activity by Franz Birckmann at this time.

A close examination of liturgical printing from Pynson and de Worde's presses reveals few differences in liturgical output (based on extant sources). Pynson produced twice as many Breviaries as de Worde, and de Worde printed fifty percent more Hymnals than Pynson. De Worde neither printed nor commissioned editions of the Sarum Processional, whereas Pynson's press offered two editions. De Worde did, however, commission an edition of the Sarum Gradual late in his career, a category of liturgical book which Pynson did not attempt to produce.

#### **PYNSON AND THE EARLY BOOK TRADE**

As Pynson set up his first shop in St. Clement Danes in the early 1490s, he would have found a thriving book trade in London, a trade that was both mastering the art of printing in-house and maintaining connections with its Continental roots through importation. Apart from his later printing connected with his duties as King's Printer, Pynson produced books in all of the major categories of the time. His educational and legal works would have found an established market in late 15<sup>th</sup>-century London. His literary publications were probably the most speculative ventures, but Pynson appears to have taken a conservative approach, often by re-printing titles which were already popular in both manuscript and print<sup>19</sup>. He would have also found an established

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<sup>19</sup> For example, manuals for clergy (including *Manipulus Curatorum* and Mirk's *Liber Festivalis*) and devotional texts (*Speculum Vitae Christi* and *Ars Moriendi*).

market in London for his church-related printing (indulgences, religious works, and liturgical books), which when combined forms the bulk of his output.

Many of the religious works printed by Pynson offered basic religious instruction for lay people, for example *The Kalender of Shepherdes*, for which Pynson requested a new translation from the French original in 1506. Perhaps by commissioning this new version of the work Pynson felt he had a role in catechesis for, according to Eamon Duffy, 'few Tudor tradesmen saw any conflict between serving God and making money.'<sup>20</sup>

Pynson's absence from the documentation of the London customs rolls is significant and suggests that he and de Worde had quite different business strategies. One would expect to find both Pynson and de Worde listed in the customs rolls as their businesses dominated early English printing. While de Worde was actively importing books from abroad, Pynson was most likely not importing, choosing instead to produce from his own printing house everything he wished to sell. If Pynson did not import any books (including Sarum liturgical books), this fact would show Pynson responding to the market differently from de Worde by printing (because he possessed the skills and the connections with the Continent to do this) and by diversifying his output to include many different categories of book. Pynson's Continental connections would have been especially important for the acquisition and supply of type and paper (for those books not printed on vellum). Pynson may also have been

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<sup>20</sup> Duffy 1992, p. 84.

purchasing imported books from other London booksellers (who imported them from the Continent) to fill specific requests. Further evidence will need to come to light, however, either to support or to challenge this theory.

## **PYNSON'S LITURGICAL PRINTING**

Pynson responded to the market for printed Sarum liturgical books by producing four Breviaries and three Hymnals from his workshop before 1500. Under the patronage of Cardinal Morton, Pynson printed his first Missal in 1500, a book often described as 'the finest book printed in the fifteenth century in England.'<sup>21</sup> Very few printed Sarum liturgical books can be shown to be patron-sponsored,<sup>22</sup> and the 'Morton Missal'<sup>23</sup> represents one of very few instances of printing under patronage for Pynson (outside his association with Lady Margaret Beaufort<sup>24</sup> and his later duties as 'King's Printer'). Pynson continued to produce these three types of liturgical book, which involved the skilful amalgamation of text and music printing, throughout the remainder of his career.

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<sup>21</sup> Duff 1906, p. 68.

<sup>22</sup> The only known extant edition of the Hereford Use Breviary (STC 15793), printed by Haghe in Rouen in 1505, appeared under the patronage of Lady Margaret Beaufort. See Edwards and Meale 1993, pp. 100, 102-3; Powell 1998, p. 226; and Jones and Underwood 1992, p. 183.

<sup>23</sup> STC 16173.

<sup>24</sup> Pynson gained commissions from Lady Margaret Beaufort to print his 1493 edition of the office for the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (STC 15851) and probably also his 1495 edition of the office for the feast of the Visitation (STC 15850). See Powell 1998, pp. 209-11.

Pynson was known for his high typographical standards. He introduced a Roman fount in 1509 and was one of only a few printers to work with Greek type. Although there may have been some early attempts to produce type in England, Pynson, like the other early printers, obtained his supply of type from the Continent, in particular from his native Normandy.<sup>25</sup> The letter 'w' often appears to have been cut independently in various founts, as it was not required in either Latin or French.<sup>26</sup> The printing of liturgical works required the use of several different sizes of type (primarily textura), as well as red, black, and occasionally blue inks. Although some paper is used in Pynson's printing of liturgical books, the majority of the books is printed on vellum, appropriate for books which were to receive heavy usage and needed to be hard-wearing. Pynson may well have been seen as a specialist in printing on vellum, and his Sarum liturgical printing between 1500 and 1520 most likely represents the largest quantity of vellum printing in the period.<sup>27</sup>

The illustration found in Pynson's Sarum liturgical printing is via woodcut. Pynson obtained woodcuts of high quality from France (Pynson's use of these can be seen in the Morton Missal), unlike de Worde who inherited and kept in use woodcut stock from William Caxton.<sup>28</sup> Fine woodcut initial letters were probably made in France for Pynson for use in the Morton Missal. Often

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<sup>25</sup> Plant, p. 177.

<sup>26</sup> Hellinga 1999 and Plant 1965, p. 177

<sup>27</sup> Hellinga 1999, p. 94.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p.100.

printed in red, the fine initial letters of the Morton Missal were of a much higher quality than those generally in use in England.<sup>29</sup> Within these initials the letters 'MOR' are shown on a barrel or 'tun', in recognition of Pynson's patron, in addition to the use of special borders and ornaments and a full page woodcut of Morton's coat of arms (see Figure 3.1).

### Pynson's music printing

Richard Pynson must have had a particular liturgical market in mind for the books from his press which contain printed music. From the beginning of his career in London, Pynson's liturgical music printing shows fine use of the most current Continental methods in double impression printing. Pynson may well have polished his craft of liturgical printing with the four Breviaries and three hymnals produced from his workshop in the 1490s to the point that his press was the natural choice for a commission of the Sarum Missal by Cardinal Morton in 1500.

Steele's study of early English music printing<sup>30</sup> shows Pynson using stave type of various sizes in his liturgical books. In the quarto format Sarum Processional of 1502, Pynson employs a stave type 9 mm. deep, and in his Missals of 1500 (the Morton Missal), 1504, and 1520 (all in folio format) a stave type of 13 mm. depth is used. Pynson's stave types vary in width between 11.5

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<sup>29</sup> Pollard and Ehrmann 1965, p. 229.

<sup>30</sup> Steele 1903.

and 15 mm. Steele classifies Pynson's stave type into 'type B' (12.5 mm. high) and 'type C' (9 mm. by 7 mm.), with type C appearing only in Pynson's 1502 Processional and type B in the 1506 Manual and 1504, 1512, and 1520 Missals.<sup>31</sup> These differences in stave type size are possibly explained by the different book formats (with type C in use in quarto format and type B in folio format); further investigation is necessary. In addition, the use of Steele's two classifications of Pynson's stave type could be examined more comprehensively over all of Pynson's liturgical output.

#### The Morton Missal

As noted previously, Pynson's first venture into the printing of the Sarum Missal came in 1500 under the commission of Cardinal Archbishop John Morton. Unlike de Worde, who sought collaborative efforts with Continental printers for the commissioned printing of liturgical books, Pynson undertook the production of the Morton Missal solely from his own workshop, which appears to have been his usual approach. While Pynson appears not to have relied on patronage for his workshop's success<sup>32</sup>, certainly a commission from Archbishop Morton (and also the role of 'King's Printer') would have given immediate recognition to Pynson and his work. The direct link with both Church and Crown could only have served Pynson well.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 33-6.

<sup>32</sup> Lathrop 1922/3, p. 93.

An examination of the copy of the Morton Missal held by Pusey House, Oxford, reveals an imperfect copy printed on paper throughout (although with vellum fly-leaves), beginning on f. lvi. The collation of this copy is: folio lvi [g<sup>8</sup>] - H<sup>8</sup> - J<sup>8</sup> - K<sup>6</sup> - L<sup>6</sup> - M<sup>8</sup> - N<sup>4</sup> - (O - U)<sup>8</sup> - X<sup>8</sup> - (Aa - Gg)<sup>8</sup>.

The text is presented in two columns in black and red inks, using Pynson's 95 mm (Duff 6) textura type for the body of the text and the larger 114b mm (Duff 7) textura for headlines, headings, etc. As will be seen in Case Study II, these are the same two types Pynson employed in his 1504 edition of the Missal (as well as other printed around that time) and thus must have been fonts commonly in use in Pynson's workshop at the turn of the sixteenth century.

While the title page is not present in this copy of the Morton Missal as a result of its imperfect state, the final page carries the somewhat formulaic (among Sarum liturgical books) description from the printer:

*Examinatum erat et castigatum hoc missale secundum usum Sarum novum, et cum omni diligentia London impressum, per industriam Richardi Pynson. Inceptum et perfectum mandato et impensis Reverendissimi in Christo Patris ac domine domini Johannis Morton presbyteri Cardinalis Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Decimo die Januarii anno Domini millesimo quinqntesima.*

This Missal following the new use of Sarum was examined and corrected and printed in London with all carefulness and diligence by Richard Pynson. Beginning with and fully commissioned and at the expense of the Reverend father in Christ priest of our Lord John Morton Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury. The tenth of January in the year of our Lord 1500.

Pynson's description of the Missal for the book's buyer/user stresses the accuracy of the text and his role in its preparation, in addition to advertising the book's association with Cardinal Morton. Pynson's statement about the Morton Missal is in line with Adrian Johns' arguments about questions of credit replacing assumptions of fixity. As Johns notes that 'printers and booksellers were manufacturers of credit',<sup>33</sup> for users/readers of the Sarum Missal, Pynson's edition carried, at least implicitly, Morton's authority as Archbishop. In the Morton Missal Pynson offers a corrected 'new use' of Sarum to alert the buyer/user to a lack of fixity of text, while hoping to gain credibility for the edition by listing both himself and Morton. Pynson's 1500 Missal would have been seen by potential buyers as a reliable, trustworthy, and possibly even authorized edition of the text.

The Morton Missal represents the only extant example of a direct commission of an edition of a Sarum liturgical book by the Church. However, nothing is known of the specifics of Morton's commission, either in terms of financial commitment or the preparation of this edition of the text. One may speculate that Morton deliberately chose Pynson's workshop over that of de Worde, perhaps because of the quality of Pynson's work, despite the fact that de Worde had already produced editions of the Sarum Missal in 1497 (with Continental collaboration) and 1498 (printed in London on commission by Notary and Barbier). Indeed, perhaps de Worde's 1498 edition of the Missal (in

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<sup>33</sup> Johns 1998, p. 33.

which Notary and Barbier did not print the musical text but left space for the notes to be added by hand) was a deciding factor in Morton's choice of Pynson for his 1500 commission.

Unlike Pynson's 1504 edition of the Missal, the Morton Missal is printed on paper throughout. One may speculate that either Pynson saw the Morton Missal more as a presentation edition than an edition to be used actively (and thus did not see the need to print at least the Canon of the Mass, if not the entire text, on vellum to ensure the book's durability) or that Pynson was unable to supply or unaware of the need for vellum (a situation which may have changed at the printing of the 1504 edition of the Missal). Many good examples of the watermark are found on the paper of this copy of the Morton Missal; the watermark is a gloved hand with a star above the hand's third finger. This watermark shows some resemblance to examples given by Heawood;<sup>34</sup> a group of gloved hand watermarks with similar features were in general use in late fifteenth-century England and appear to have originated in Italy (Piedmont or Genoa).<sup>35</sup> The gloved hand watermarked paper found in the Morton Missal is similar, if not identical to, the stock of paper seen to be in use in Pynson's workshop between 1502 and 1503 (see Case Study II).

As this copy is imperfect (much of the first quire is missing), no printer's device can be seen in use. As noted earlier, the Morton Missal displays the use

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<sup>34</sup> Heawood 1929-30, p. 303.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

of many fine woodcut initial letters, borders, and woodcut illustrations. Folio xci<sup>v</sup> offers a full page woodcut illustration of the Crucifixion, corresponding to Hodnett 1357.<sup>36</sup> This woodcut was one of several full page illustrations of the Crucifixion which graced Pynson's various editions of the Sarum Missal.

Pynson's acknowledgement of Cardinal Morton's patronage of this edition of the Sarum Missal features prominently in woodcut illustration, as can be seen in Figure 3.1.

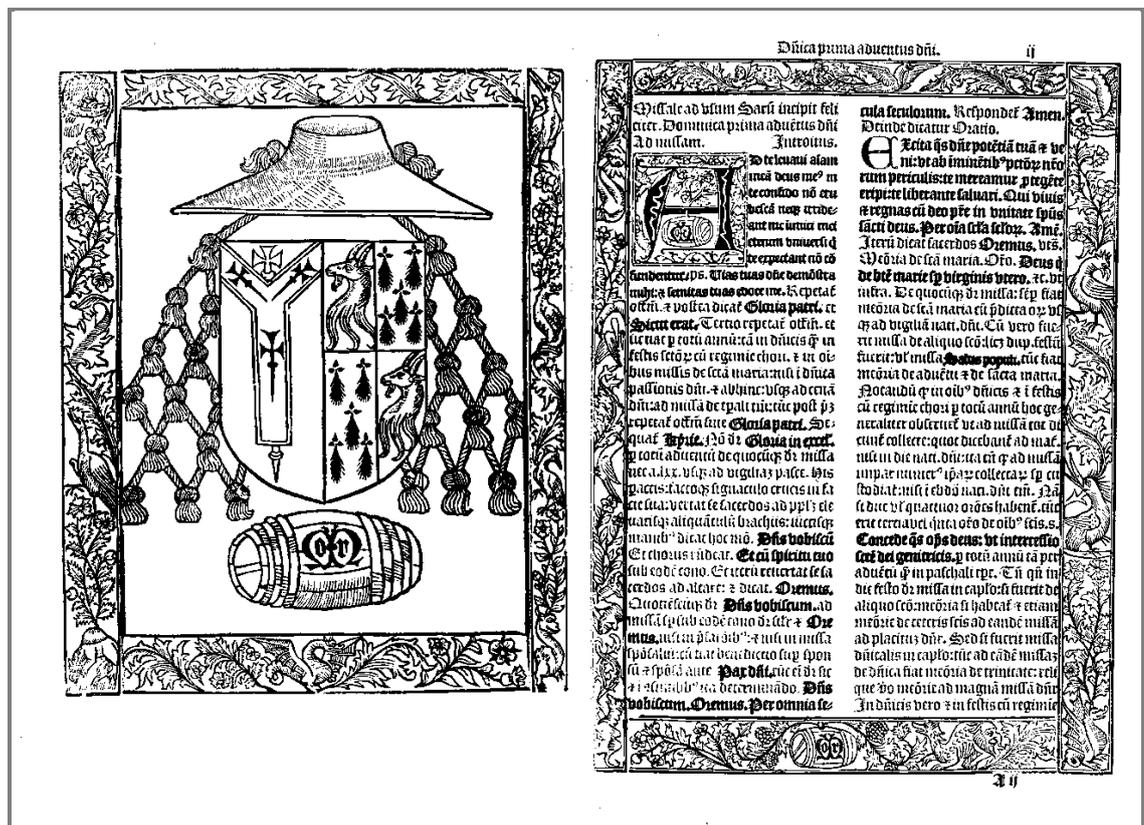


Figure 3.1 Woodcut illustration acknowledging Archbishop Morton's patronage of Pynson's 1500 edition of the Sarum Missal (STC 16173). Sig. Aii. [Image from EEBO]

<sup>36</sup> Hodnett 1935, p. 324 (and figure 118).

The musical notation found in the Morton Missal is in Roman music type, presented in 2 columns on red, 4-line staves. On a staff of height 13 mm, the virga notehead measures 3 mm<sup>2</sup> with a stem height of 5 mm, and thus is represented in Duggan's formula<sup>37</sup> as 13: 3<sup>2</sup> x 5. Although Pynson uses this music type for most of the musical notation of the Morton Missal, he introduces a diamond-shaped punctum for the final two pages of the Missal requiring musical notation (f. Cli and f. Clii). The diamond-shaped punctum is technically not a punctum form in Roman plainsong notation, but is instead a feature of Gothic plainsong notation. In these final two pages, Pynson appears to be using a hierarchy of three different shapes of neume for chanting. It is unknown what, if any, exemplar Pynson may have been using in the preparation of the Morton Missal. Thus, it is not possible to know if this use of musical notation originated with Pynson's workshop or if his composers simply copied an exemplar made available to them. The Morton Missal appears to show the use of the diamond-shaped punctum and square, stemless punctum for the shorter syllables of chanted Latin, with a (stemmed) virga used for the longer syllables, with this use of neumes following the inflection of the Latin underlay. Hence, the hierarchy of neumes shown in the final two pages of musical notation is: diamond-shaped punctum (shortest), square stemless punctum (short), stemmed virga (longest). See Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3.

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<sup>37</sup> Duggan 1992.





Figure 3.3 'Morton' Missal 1500 (STC 16173), folio Cliv, displaying Pynson's use of the diamond-shaped punctum, square punctum, and virga. [Image courtesy of Pusey House, Oxford]

Pynson's earlier use of music type, for example within the Ordinary of the Mass at f. lxxxvi<sup>v</sup> and f. xc<sup>v</sup>, does not include the diamond-shaped punctum, and therefore it appears that Pynson's workshop altered the music type during the printing of the Morton Missal. See Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5.

Ordinarium missæ.

In festis maioribus duplertibus dicat  
vniuersos p dispositione cantoris.

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**  
In omnibus alijs duplertibus dicat  
vniuersos p dispositione cantoris.

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**  
In utroque festo sancti michaelis. & in  
festo sancti stephani dicat bencardus.

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**  
In omnibus festis in oct. quibus  
dicat a tribus cantatur dicatur vni  
uersos pro dispositione cantoris.

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**  
In omnibus festis simplicibus ca  
pit. & festis in duobus choris ergo  
dicatur & in festis in duobus choris.

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**  
In festis quibus bencardus sit sequitur de cantore  
maria dicit aduersum dicit & dicit. & in  
oct. assumptionis & nazareth. bencardus marie  
tunc enim dicitur sequens cantus tunc  
a choro & a sacerdotibus & a ministris  
ad altare.

**Gloria in excelsis deo.**  
Et in terra pax hoibus bone voluta  
tis. Laudamus te. Benedicimus te  
Adoramus te. Glorificamus te. Gra  
tias agimus tibi ppter magnam glo  
riam tuam. Dñe deus rex celestis deus

Figure 3.4 'Morton' Missal 1500 (STC 16173), folio lxxxv and folio lxxxvi, featuring Pynson's use of music type within the setting of the Ordinary of the Mass. [Image from EEBO]



the Morton Missal, in addition to standing as an example of some of Richard Pynson's finest work visually, may also prove to exhibit a highly-crafted functionality for the book's users within its musical notation.

### **CASE STUDY I: PYNSON'S *OFFICIA NOVA* BREVIARIES**

An examination of Pynson's printing of *Officia Nova* Breviaries offers a glimpse into his early work at his press at St. Clement Danes. These Breviaries, which were printed as supplements to the main Breviary, contain the necessary liturgical texts for various feasts which, although celebrated in some dioceses from an earlier date, were officially added to the liturgical calendar in the late fifteenth century; these include the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, the Feast of the Transfiguration, and the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Surviving copies of the *Officia Nova* Breviaries date from between circa 1480 and 1497 and were produced in England by three printers: Caxton, William de Machlinia, and Pynson. As these new liturgical texts would have been required by priests and other clerics in their regular work, all three printers most likely saw a ready market for these supplemental, quarto format Breviaries.

Four different *Officia Nova* Breviaries were printed in London in the late fifteenth century; they survive in only nine copies in total and the dating of some editions is uncertain. *Festum visitationis beatae Mariae virginis* was printed

three times – by Caxton circa 1480,<sup>38</sup> by Machlinia circa 1488,<sup>39</sup> and by Pynson circa 1495.<sup>40</sup> These three printers also made one printing each of *Festum transfigurationis Jesu Christi* – Machlinia circa 1488,<sup>41</sup> Caxton circa 1491,<sup>42</sup> and Pynson in 1496.<sup>43</sup> *Festum dulcissimi nominis iesu* was printed only by Pynson, in two editions, first circa 1493<sup>44</sup> and later in 1497.<sup>45</sup> Caxton also made one printing of *Commemoracio lamentacionis sive compassionis Beate marie in morte filii* in 1490.<sup>46</sup> All of the *Officia Nova* Breviaries were printed in quarto format, most editions bound in 8s.

An examination of Pynson's 1496 *Festum transfigurationis Jesu Christi* reveals the use of a small textura font which has some differences in variant letters (particularly d, h, and s) from Pynson's sixteenth-century textura types. The d of this font is unlike any of the sixteenth-century variants given by Isaac,<sup>47</sup> while the h corresponds to Isaac's 'pointed' form. The s of this textura font resembles the 'long s', but without the descender. This form of s is not seen in Pynson's later, sixteenth-century liturgical books, and this observation suggests

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<sup>38</sup> STC 15848.

<sup>39</sup> STC 15849.

<sup>40</sup> STC 15850.

<sup>41</sup> STC 15853.

<sup>42</sup> STC 15854.

<sup>43</sup> STC 15855.

<sup>44</sup> STC 15851.

<sup>45</sup> STC 15852.

<sup>46</sup> STC 15847.3.

<sup>47</sup> Isaac 1930, 'Richard Pynson'.

that this particular textura type had a limited lifespan. Black and red inks are used throughout, with black ink for the main body of text and red ink for initial letters and section headings. The book is printed on paper throughout, and the visible portion of the watermark resembles two fleur-de-lys at the base of a crown. While it has not been possible to identify positively this watermark, it does correspond to one of several watermarks of the arms of France found on paper of French origin and in use in England in the late fifteenth century.<sup>48</sup> No woodcut illustrations appear in this liturgical book, apart from Pynson's device on the verso of the final leaf, a white script 'R' against a black background with four different decorative edges.

A comparison of Pynson's 1496 printing of *Festum transfigurationis Jesu Christi* with Caxton's circa 1491 printing of the same work shows that both printers appear to have printed exactly the same text, and both have used red ink exclusively for initial letters and section headings in largely the same way. However, while Caxton's version of the text is laden with the Latin scribal abbreviations in common use at the time, Pynson has expanded many of the abbreviations into their full Latin. Pynson's text, therefore, was undoubtedly easier for the reader to use, and perhaps Pynson himself saw this 'improvement' in the text as a marketing tool. Indeed, Pynson's 1496 printing of the work was the final printed edition (based on surviving copies). William de Machlinia had printed the work's first edition circa 1488, and, if Pynson had

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<sup>48</sup> See Heawood 1929-30 for watermarks of early English paper.

taken over Machlinia's business circa 1490, perhaps Pynson at least early in his career printed established texts for which Machlinia had found a ready market. Pynson's circa 1495 edition of *Festum visitationis beatae Mariae virginis* was a reprint of Machlinia's circa 1488 second edition of the work.

Pynson also made some changes between his first printing of *Festum dulcissimi nominis iesu* in 1493 and his second edition in 1497. The font used in the 1493 edition does not appear to be a textura type, particularly with regard to the letters a, d, and r. Further investigation is necessary to identify this font accurately. The 1497 edition was printed from textura type, and Pynson has clearly re-set the text in the 1497 edition, expanding on some of the Latin abbreviations and contracting the many 'psalmus' references in the 1493 text to 'ps.' in 1497. In both editions Pynson continues to employ black and red inks in the same fashion, reserving red ink for initial letters and section headings. A complete watermark is not discernible for either edition; the 1493 paper carries a watermark which may depict some kind of animal with a long, looped tail, and the 1497 paper may show a crown with a fleur-de-lys. Even without positive identification of watermarks, it does not appear that these two editions were printed from the same paper stock. While no woodcut illustrations appear in the 1493 edition, Pynson has added a woodcut of the infant Christ to the opening page of the 1497 edition (Hodnett no. 1339),<sup>49</sup> perhaps as an additional 'selling point' for the prospective buyer (see Figure 3.6). De Worde

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<sup>49</sup> Hodnett 1932, pp. 321 and fig. 126.

used a similar version of this woodcut in several of his editions of Mirk's *Liber festiualis*.

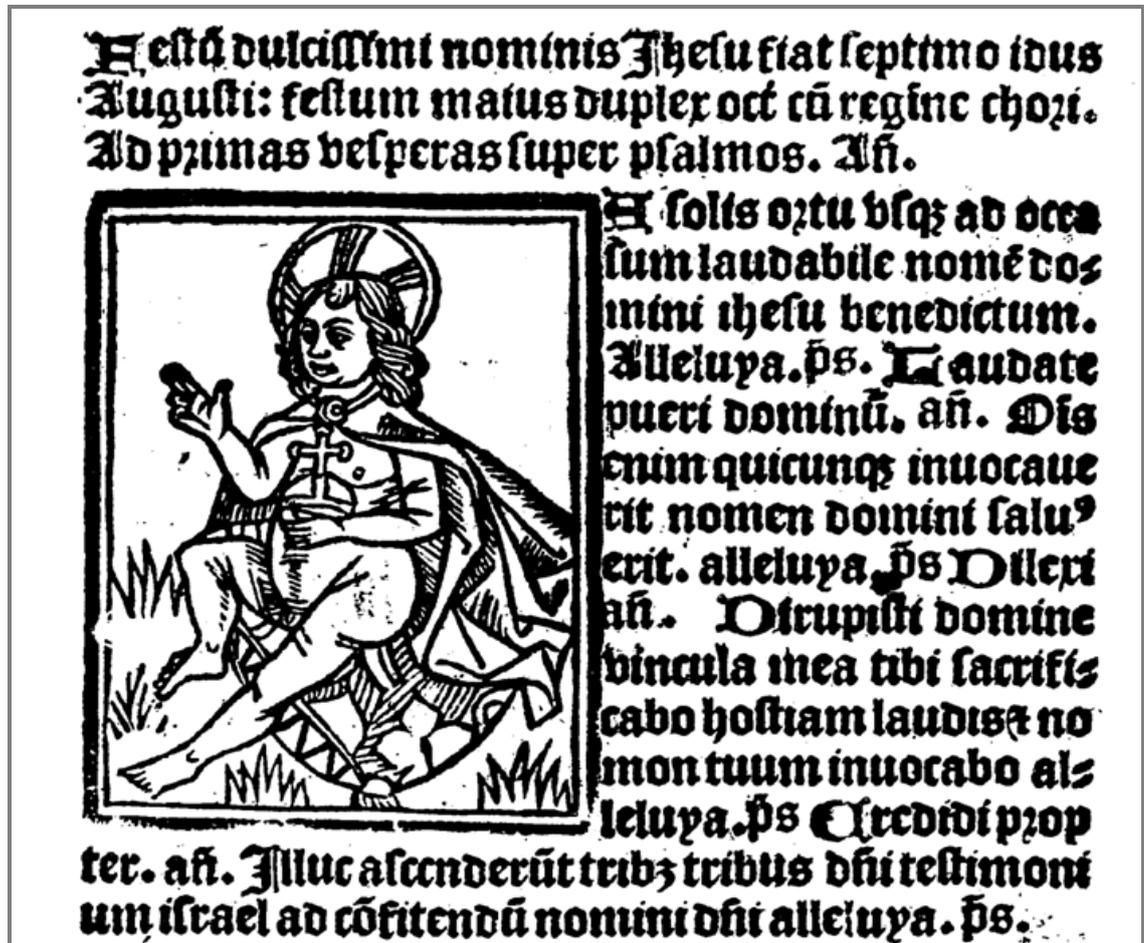


Figure 3.6 Woodcut illustration from *Festum dulcissimi nominis iesu*, printed by Pynson in 1497 (STC 15852). Sig. a1. [Image from EEBO]

Pynson's device of a simple white script 'R' on a black background appears on the final leaf in 1493. However, in 1497 he uses a much more elaborate device consisting of the same capital R now with a knight's helmet above and 'richard pynson' below, surrounded by decorative borders, perhaps reflecting his increasing status as a printer (see Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.7 Printer's device from *Festum dulcissimi nominis jesu*, final leaf (Pynson 1497) (STC 15852), showing a more elaborate form than the device used in Pynson's 1493 edition of the work. [Image from EEBO]

Pynson's press also produced a quarto format Hymnal in 1497, and comparison with his 1497 *Officia Nova* Breviary reveals that the same small textura font is in use for both works. The 1497 Hymnal appears to have been printed from three different paper stocks; the three incomplete watermarks include an animal with hooves (possibly a unicorn), part of a crown with a fleur-de-lys, and a gloved hand. Thus, on the basis of the crown with fleur-de-lys watermark, Pynson's 1497 editions of the Hymnal and the *Officia Nova* Breviary may have been printed from some of the same paper stock.

Thus, in the 1490s, early in his printing career, Pynson appears to have used several different type fonts, moving from the as yet unidentified type font of the 1493 *Officia Nova* Breviary to the textura type of 1496 and 1497. Evidence from the examination of watermarks of Pynson's *Officia Nova* Breviaries suggests that his early paper stock came from France and Italy.<sup>50</sup> Although there were some attempts at paper production in England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, France and Italy were the main sources of paper supply for early English printers.<sup>51</sup> Several of the Breviary watermarks possess fleurs-de-lys and either a partial crown or shield; these correspond to watermarks of the arms of France seen on paper made in Troyes in France's Champagne region. In addition, if the watermark of the 1493 Breviary is indeed a unicorn, this paper would also have found its origins in Troyes. However, the gloved hand

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<sup>50</sup> Heawood 1929-30.

<sup>51</sup> Hellinga 1999, pp.95-97.

watermark seen in the 1497 Hymnal, produced in the same year as one of Pynson's Breviaries, is most likely of Italian origin (Piedmont or Genoa). This watermark, which appeared in a variety of forms, most frequently with a star above it, is one of the most common watermarks found in sixteenth-century England.<sup>52</sup> (See Figure 3.8)

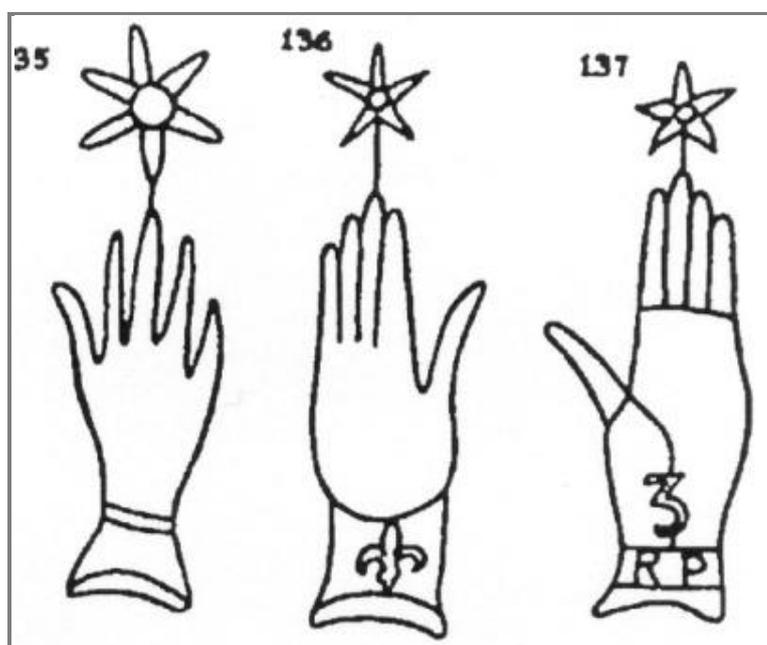


Figure 3.8 Examples of the gloved hand watermark, as seen on paper from Richard Pynson's press. Pynson printed a number of works on paper with this watermark, including his 1497 edition of the Sarum Hymnal, his 1502 *Liber Festivalis*, and his 1503 *Stella Clericorum*. [Image from Heawood 1929-30]

Whether by coincidence or by design, Pynson does appear to have printed all of his *Officia Nova* Breviaries (his earliest liturgical printing) on paper stock acquired from France. Over the period of printing the *Officia Nova* Breviaries, Pynson also appears to have begun to use more elaborate woodcut illustration

<sup>52</sup> Heawood 1929-30, p. 436.

and printer's devices. In addition, in his production of *Officia Nova Breviaries*, Richard Pynson demonstrates his workshop's continued dependence on Continental supplies, (including type, paper, and woodcuts), while carrying out all of the printing work of these editions in-house. The *Officia Nova Breviaries* display both aspects of fixity on a broad level and lack of standardization on a more detailed level, as seen in recent debates about print culture.

## CASE STUDY II: PYNSON'S 1504 MISSAL

For this case study of Pynson's 1504 Missal,<sup>53</sup> this work was compared with four other religious works from Pynson's press within a few years of the Missal: 1501 *Directorium Sacerdotum*,<sup>54</sup> 1502 *Liber Festivalis/Quatuor Sermones*,<sup>55</sup> 1503 *De imitatione Christi*,<sup>56</sup> and 1503 *Stella Clericorum*.<sup>57</sup> The Missal is in folio format, and the four religious works are in quarto format. Among the five books, printing in both English and Latin is displayed.

### Type and ink

In all five of the books examined here, Pynson's 95 mm (Duff 7) textura type is used for the body of text, whether in Latin or English. The 1504 Missal has

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<sup>53</sup> STC 16179.

<sup>54</sup> STC 17727.

<sup>55</sup> STC 17969.

<sup>56</sup> STC 23954.7.

<sup>57</sup> STC 23243.

the 114b mm (Duff 6) textura type used for headlines, and both the Missal and *Stella Clericorum* have occasional use of large initial letters. Black, red, and blue inks are seen in the Missal, undoubtedly because of its status as a luxury item; the other books examined here were printed in black ink only (see Figure 3.9).

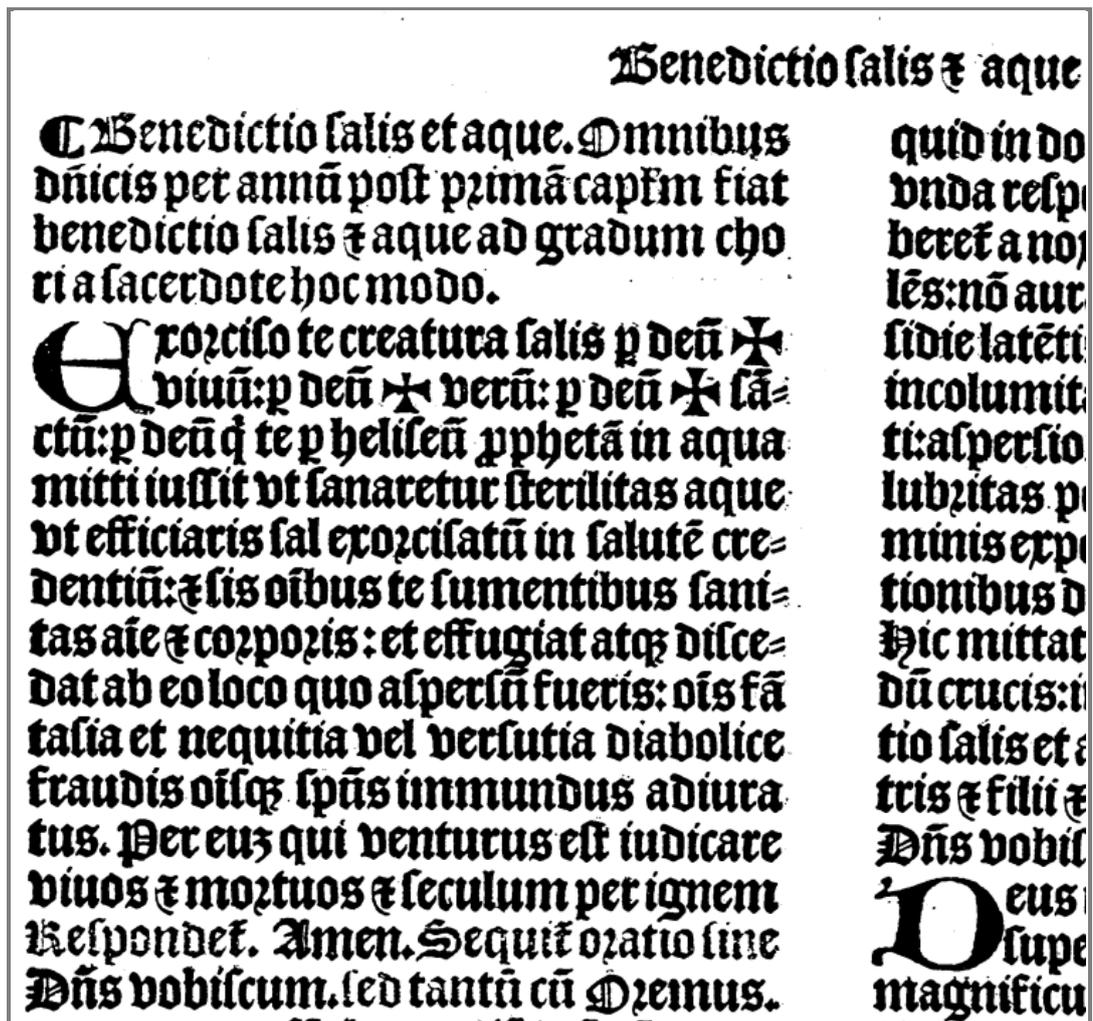


Figure 3.9 Pynson's use of textura type, as seen in his 1504 edition of the Sarum Missal (STC 16179). The 95 mm textura type was Pynson's usual type for book texts. [Image from EEBO]

According to Isaac,<sup>58</sup> five of Pynson's fifteen-century types were brought from his old printing workshop in St. Clement Danes to the new workshop in Fleet Street at the sign of the George. These types were the 101 Bastard (Duff 2) and four kinds of textura type, 64 mm (Duff 3), 64 mm (Duff 3\*), 114b mm (Duff 6), and 95 mm (Duff 7). Of these, Isaac confirms that the 95 mm textura is the usual type for book texts, with the 114b mm textura used as the usual type for headlines. The fourth book of *De imitatione Christi* presents the only instance Isaac has found of the 114a mm textura (Duff 6) type.

Within these kinds of type, however, variant forms of the letters a, d, h, s, v, w, and y appear; with the 95 mm and 114b mm textura types, the principal variant forms are of s, v, and y (see Figure 3.10). Isaac's s<sup>2</sup> appears in both the 95 mm and 114b mm textura types, and this form of s appears to be in constant use throughout the five works examined here. Of the letters with variant forms, w appears with the most variations; Isaac has identified 12 different w forms throughout Pynson's types. Isaac also notes that the usual w form for the 95 mm textura type is w<sup>5c</sup>, with other variant forms of w, including w<sup>6</sup>, a fifteenth-century letter, also in use. The evidence from the five works of Pynson's press examined here is somewhat inconclusive as, throughout the (Latin) text of the Missal, w forms are not prevalent. However, Isaac notes the use of w<sup>5a</sup> in 1505 and 1510, but the *Liber Festivalis* (1502) does appear to use both w<sup>6</sup> and w<sup>5a</sup>, placing the use of w<sup>5a</sup> at an earlier date than Isaac records. *De*

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<sup>58</sup> Isaac 1930, 'Richard Pynson'.

*imitatione Christi* uses the (fifteenth-century)  $w^6$  form and uses the  $w^2$  form that Isaac notes as common to its unusual 114a mm textura. The expected variant forms  $v^3$  and  $y^2$  appear throughout the books examined here.

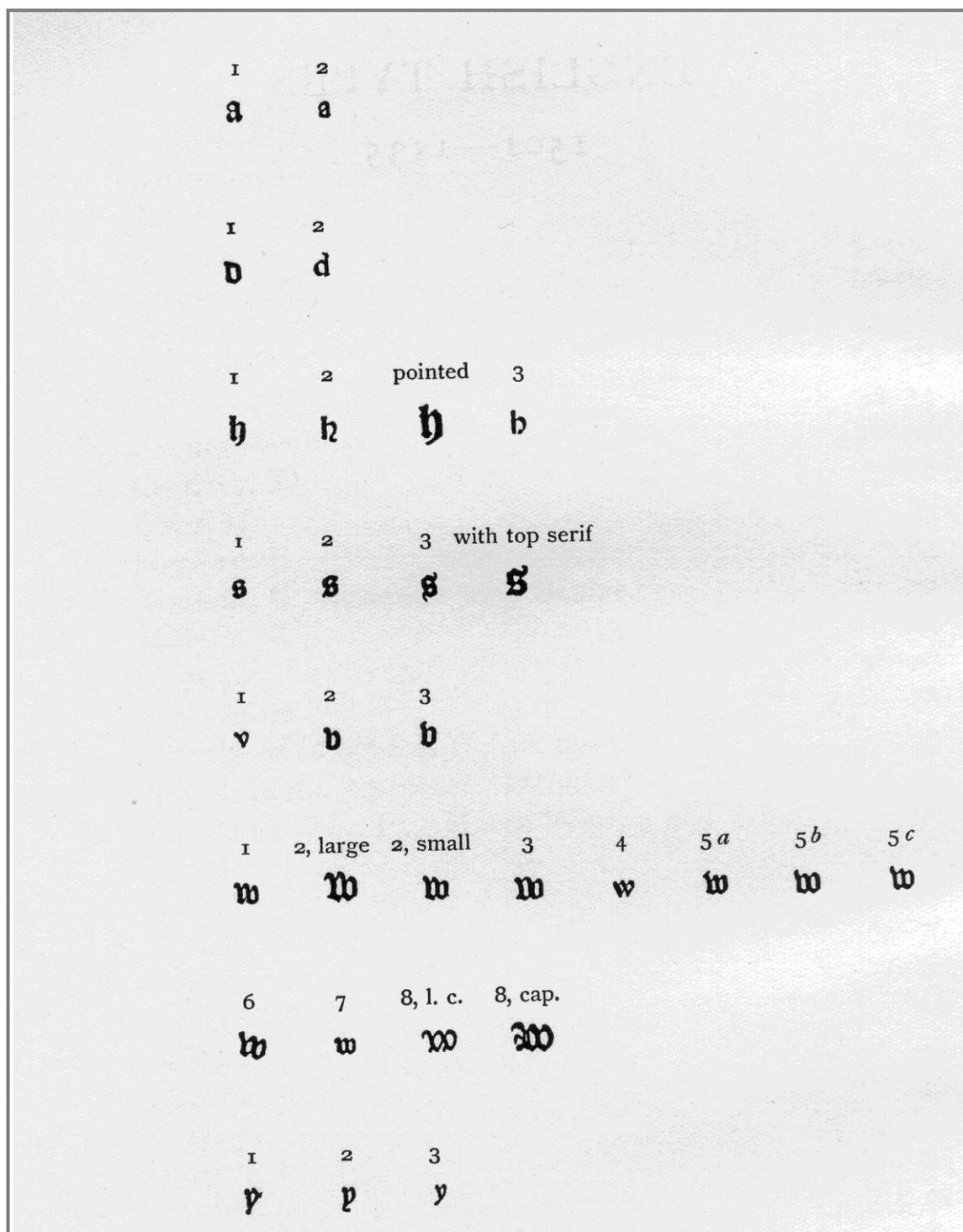


Figure 3.10 Variant letter forms identified by F. S. Isaac (Isaac 1930). Many of the variant forms of s, v, w, and y can be identified in works from Pynson's press (particularly those works examined in this case study printed 1501-04), and the use of these variant letter forms sheds light on Pynson's workshop practice.

Thus, the variant forms of the letter w seen in Pynson's 95 mm textura type provide some evidence of Pynson's workshop practice. The presence of the various forms of w most likely indicates that this letter was cut separately from the rest of the fount, which was probably not originally designed for printing in English. The fifteenth-century form w<sup>6</sup> is still in use in these early sixteenth-century books alongside other variant w forms. The individual variant w forms may have been from different compositors' cases, and the appearance of two different variant w forms within a single work (for example *Liber Festiualis*) may indicate the work of at least two compositors in the production of the book.

#### Paper and watermarks

The opening section of the Missal is printed on paper, with the use of vellum beginning with the Masses of the Temporale. Within the Temporale, at the Pentecost vigil, printing on paper returns and continues for the Masses of the day of Pentecost and the feria after Pentecost. Vellum returns at f. lxxxxi, 'Sabbato quattuor tempor', and the use of vellum continues throughout the Sanctorale. Paper and vellum are used interchangeably throughout the Commune Sanctorum. A watermark cannot be discerned on any of the paper used in the Missal. Assuming that a supply of vellum on which to print the entire Missal was not available to Pynson's workshop, the use of vellum here suggests some knowledge of the book's contents, with the sections of the book which would receive the most use (for example, the Masses of the Temporale

and the Sanctorale) printed on hard-wearing vellum and those sections which would receive less frequent use (for example, the Masses of Pentecost) printed on paper.

Of the four other books examined here, the 1501 *Directorium Sacerdotum* is printed on paper throughout, and the paper carries a watermark image of an animal with a long tail, possibly a unicorn. A watermark of a gloved hand is found on the paper used for the 1502 *Liber Festivalis*. Of the two books from Pynson's press in 1503 (*De imitatione Christi* and *Stella Clericorum*), both are printed on paper, with the gloved hand watermark identified in *Stella Clericorum*; the watermark has not been determined in *De imitatione Christi*. These two identifiable watermarks are similar, if not identical, to those seen in use in Pynson's production of the *Officia Nova* Breviaries.

Thus, from this limited watermark evidence, Pynson appears to be using at least two stocks of paper with different watermarks (animal/unicorn and the gloved hand) in the years 1501 to 1503, and between 1502 and 1503 he used a stock of gloved hand watermarked paper. This evidence corresponds with the findings of Paul Needham's studies of paper stocks of English incunabula<sup>59</sup> (and it is reasonable to apply his findings here to works printed in the first few years of the sixteenth century). Needham notes that editions printed within a year of one another are more likely to share paper stock than those with a three

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<sup>59</sup> Needham 1981.

year separation. However, we also see Pynson using at least two different stocks of paper between 1501 and 1502, which suggests either that Pynson's paper supply routinely involved more than one stock of paper or that in 1502 the stock of animal/unicorn watermarked paper had run out and a new supply of gloved hand watermarked paper was brought in. These may well be the same papers used in Pynson's production of the *Officia Nova* Breviaries; this suggests that Pynson's paper supply from the Continent changed little in the first decade or so of his printing career.

Needham also notes that paper does not appear to have been purchased by printers for specific editions, often being used in various mixtures over several editions. However, he also finds that paper was not used randomly by printers from a large stockpile over a long period of time.<sup>60</sup> The limited view of Pynson's paper usage between 1501 and 1504 presented here seems to support Needham's findings. Pynson may well have relied on his native land for his paper stock, in addition to his type.

### Devices and Illustration

Duff notes the appearance in 1496 of two new devices used by Pynson, and a device based on one of these early ones can be seen in use in the books examined here. The original device was a large woodcut featuring a large 'R' and 'richard pynson', with a knight's helmet and an outer border. Duff notes

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

that the small bird which appears in this device is a finch, Pynson's allusion to his name ('pynson' being the Norman word for 'finch').<sup>61</sup> This device corresponds to McKerrow 9b<sup>62</sup> and is found in the 1501 *Directorium Sacerdotum*, the 1503 *De imitatione Christi* and *Stella Clericorum* (see Figure 3.11). As all after D4 is missing in the British Library copy of the 1502 *Liber Festivalis*, the use of Pynson's device in this book cannot be determined. None of Pynson's devices is used in the 1504 Missal; Pynson may have felt it inappropriate to label a liturgical work in such a way.

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<sup>61</sup> Duff 1906, p. 168.

<sup>62</sup> McKerrow 1913.

**C**his boke Imprinted at lodon by Richard Pynson dwellynge in flete strete at the signe of the George.



Deo  
grati  
as.

Figure 3.11 Pynson's printer's device as found in his 1501 *Directorium Sacerdotum*, 1503 *De Imitatione Christi*, and 1503 *Stella Clericorum*. [Image from EEBO]

The only illustration found in the 1504 Missal is the woodcut glued in on the last folio. This illustration of the Crucifixion, presents Christ on the cross, with Mary and St. John, carrying a book in his hand at the foot of the cross, alongside a skull and a bone. The border of the illustration features swirls, leaves, birds, a dragon, and a fish. This woodcut is one of several illustrations of the Crucifixion used by Pynson, and it corresponds to no. 1359 of the English woodcuts catalogued by Hodnett.<sup>63</sup> The woodcut has been printed on vellum, with printed plainsong of the Mass (from the end of the Sequence and the Sursum Corda) on the verso side. The leaf has been trimmed to the shape of the illustration, thereby obscuring some of the music and text on the verso. No illustrations are found in the 1501 and 1502 works examined here, while the 1503 *De imitatione Christi* features Hodnett 1465, a title page woodcut illustration of Mary holding the dying Christ in her arms. The recto of that leaf carries a woodcut with “IHR” in 5 places, 2 crowns, and “Dieu et mon droit”; this corresponds to the royal commission described on the title page. This woodcut returns on the leaf following Q<sup>3</sup> recto (the first appearance of Pynson’s device). The other 1503 work, *Stella Clericorum*, contains Hodnett no. 1509, a woodcut of a man surrounded by many books of different sizes and one large book on a book stand. Within the five books examined here, Pynson is seen to be choosing woodcut illustrations appropriate to the book (the 1504 Missal, the 1503 *De imitatione Christi* and *Stella Clericorum*) and choosing not to illustrate others (the 1501 *Directorium Sacerdotum* and the 1502 *Liber Festivalis*); Pynson

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<sup>63</sup> Hodnett 1935.

may have chosen to illustrate texts which would have had a wider market within the trade or to set his editions of these texts apart from those of his competitors. As can be seen in this case study, Pynson's printed output demonstrates diversity within fixity, not only in his liturgical printing, but in at least some of his general printing as well. He would not have been alone in this result; similar details can be seen with de Worde (and, most likely, their contemporaries as well). Whether or not achieving variability within fixity was a conscious approach taken by Pynson (and de Worde) is unclear; however, my case studies of de Worde and Pynson's liturgical printing demonstrate and highlight the variability inherent in early printing.

### **CASE STUDY III: PYNSON'S 1502 PROCESSIONAL AND BISHOP FOXE'S REDACTION**

Richard Pynson brought to fruition in 1501 the first printed edition of the Sarum Processional<sup>64</sup> (based on extant copies), edited and sponsored by Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester.<sup>65</sup> Foxe became Bishop of Winchester in August 1501, and by November of that year Pynson had produced Foxe's edition of the Processional. As with the Morton Missal, little is known of the detail behind this first printed edition, in terms of preparation of the text or of the possible

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<sup>64</sup> STC 16232.6.

<sup>65</sup> See ODNB. C. S. L. Davies, 'Fox, Richard (1447/8–1528)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10051, accessed 11 Aug 2011]

financial provision. Pynson produced a second edition<sup>66</sup> one year later, and one may speculate that these two printings in close succession were a result of demand for this printed, portable text.<sup>67</sup> With the third edition of the Sarum Processional in 1508<sup>68</sup> (from Rouen) began the Continental monopoly on this liturgical book; domestically-produced editions of the Sarum Processional were not seen again until the reign of Mary I. A comparison of three editions of the Processional<sup>69</sup> - Pynson's 1502 edition, the Rouen edition of 1508 (printed by M. Morin), and the Antwerp edition of 1523 (printed by C. Ruremond)<sup>70</sup> - demonstrates the extent to which Bishop Foxe's redaction remained stable.

Across these three editions the essentials of the liturgical text remain consistent, yet enough variation is present to demonstrate Eisenstein's theory of 'diversity within uniformity'.<sup>71</sup> On balance, the 1502 and 1508 editions bear more similarity to one another, in terms of use of woodcut illustrations and textual consistency, than either of these editions does with the edition of 1523. Of the set of woodcuts illustrating the various processions, both the 1502 and

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<sup>66</sup> STC 16232.8.

<sup>67</sup> See Williamson 2006, pp. 203-4.

<sup>68</sup> STC 16233.

<sup>69</sup> The three copies of the Processional examined for this case study were the St. John's, College, Oxford, copy of the 1502 edition, the Corpus Christi College, Oxford, copy of the 1508 edition, and the British Library copy of the 1523 edition. The St. John's copy contains the ex dono inscription of Christopher Coles, dated 1611. Coles was later Vicar of Finelm, Northants (according to the St. John's College archives). The Corpus Christi copy bears the ex dono inscription of Thomas Tanner, bishop of St. Asaph and antiquary. See *ODNB*. Richard Sharp, 'Tanner, Thomas (1674-1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26963>, accessed 1 Sept 2011] Provenance of the British Library copy is at present unknown.

<sup>70</sup> STC 16236.

<sup>71</sup> See Chapter 1.

1508 editions carry a set of twelve. The 1523 edition presents a set of thirteen woodcuts, the additional illustration being that of the procession before Mass on Christmas Day.<sup>72</sup> The reason and source for this addition to Bishop Foxe's original edition of the Processional is unclear, as is under what authority this may have been done. Ruremond's 1523 title page clearly retains the implicit authority of Bishop Foxe seen in the previous editions.<sup>73</sup> Whether the inclusion of the extra woodcut illustration was sanctioned by Bishop Foxe himself or was simply the decision of enterprising Continental printers is at present unknown.

Many details of the 1502 and 1508 editions correlate closely. Both editions begin with a woodcut illustration of a pelican piercing its breast.<sup>74</sup> Pynson's pelican woodcut shows damage to the bottom right corner (in the form of a non-printing area), and one may speculate that Pynson's workshop re-used the woodcuts from the printing of the 1501 edition, which by 1502 were beginning to show their wear (some of Pynson's other woodcuts in this edition also show similar wear). (See Figure 3.12)

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<sup>72</sup> The set of thirteen woodcuts is first seen in the 1519 edition of the Processional (based on extant copies) and is found in all subsequent editions, including those of Marian re-issue, apart from the 1528 edition which retains the set of 12.

<sup>73</sup> *Processionale ad vsum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Saru[m] nouiter ac rursus castigatu[m], per excellentissimu[m] ac vigila[n]tissimum et reuerendissimum in Christo patrem dominu[m] nostru[m] dominu[m] episcopu[m] de wynton[n].*

<sup>74</sup> The pelican, a symbol of devotion and self-sacrifice, was associated in medieval Europe with the passion of Christ and the Eucharist. A pelican appears on the crest of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, founded by Bishop Foxe in 1517, and its appearance in these early editions of the printed Sarum Processional is likely to be a reference to Foxe.



Figure 3.12 Woodcut image of a pelican from the beginning of Pynson's 1502 edition of the Sarum Processional. In this context, the pelican is possibly associated with Bishop Richard Foxe, who prepared the edition of the Processional. The woodcut shows its wear in the non-printing area of the lower right corner. [Image courtesy of St. John's College, Oxford]

As with the set of twelve woodcuts illustrating processions, the woodcut images in the 1502 and 1508 editions present identical illustrations; however, the woodcuts are clearly the work of different artists/block-cutters. The texts of both the 1502 and 1508 editions also relate quite closely, and both editions conclude with the text of the seven penitential psalms. Thus, these two editions appear to present a fairly stable form of Foxe's redaction. There are enough differences in layout between the two editions, however, that it would seem that the 1502 edition was most likely not the exemplar for the 1508 edition.

By 1523, however, Bishop Foxe's redaction appears to be somewhat less fixed. Ruremond's edition of 1523 presents woodcut procession diagrams identical to those of Morin's 1508 edition (plus the extra, thirteenth woodcut of the set), which suggests that the printers shared either actual woodcuts or woodcut artists (or both).<sup>75</sup> However, the liturgical text of the 1523 edition correlates less closely with either the 1502 or 1508 editions. While the major celebrations of the liturgical year agree across the three editions, the 1523 edition appears to lack the texts of prayers said at the altars of a variety of saints. In addition, some of the rubrics and the titles/captions of the woodcut illustrations of the 1523 edition, while essentially conveying the same information as those of the other two editions, are not given verbatim. The 1523

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<sup>75</sup> Because the British Library copy of the 1523 Sarum Processional examined for this case study lacks several folios from the beginning of the book, it is not possible to state here if Ruremond also included the pelican woodcut in his edition. However, a survey via EEBO of Ruremond's later editions of the Processional suggests that Ruremond never incorporated the pelican woodcut.

edition also lacks the concluding seven penitential psalms given in the other two editions. As these psalms were often used liturgically in connection with the sung Litany,<sup>76</sup> it is possible that the 1523 edition was therefore slightly less functional for its owner/user than the previous editions.

Based on a close examination of the chant for the processions of Palm Sunday, the 1502, 1508, and 1523 editions of the Processional appear to carry identical chant melodies; however, as a result of the occasional printer's error (most often in the 1508 edition), the three editions, therefore, do not transmit precisely the same melodies. As seen in Figure 3.13 and Figure 3.14, the compositor of the 1508 edition appears to have occasionally placed an incorrect note or neume form.



Figure 3.13 Part of the processional chant for Palm Sunday from Pynson's 1502 edition of the Processional. The identical chant is presented in the 1523 edition. [Image courtesy of St. John's College, Oxford]

<sup>76</sup> Harper 1991, pp. 136-7.

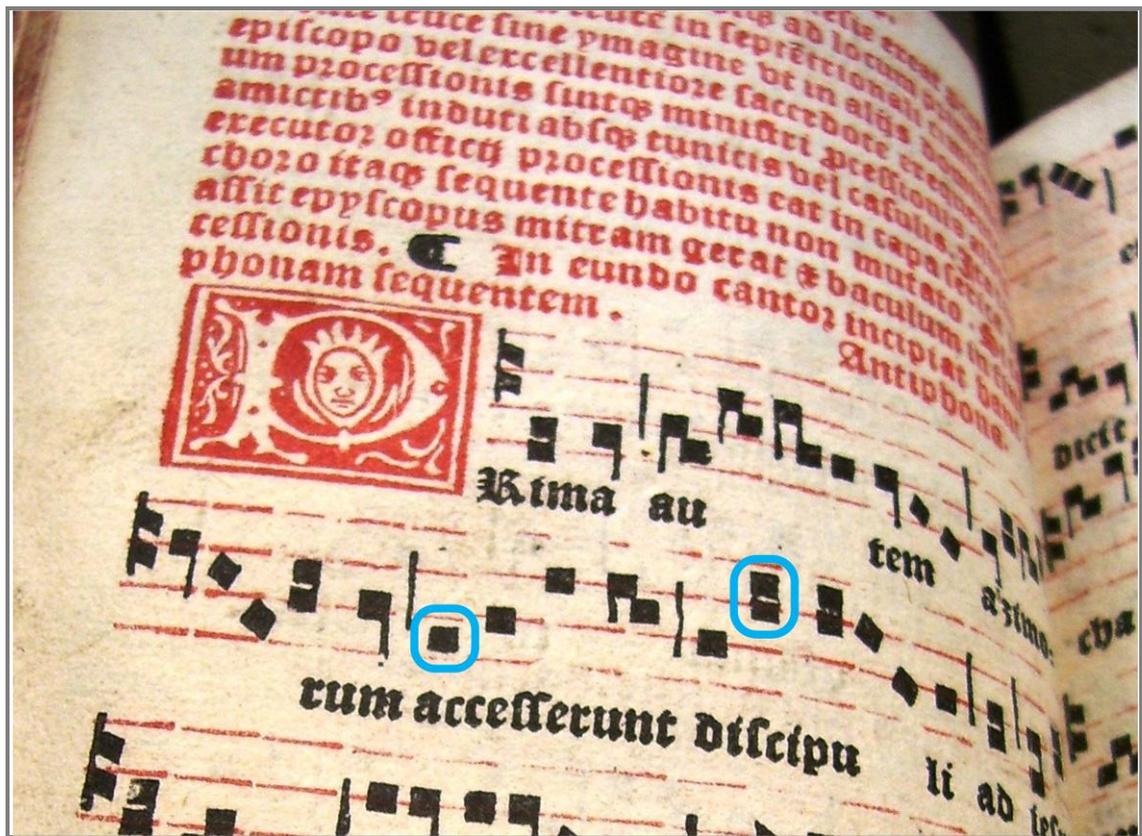


Figure 3.14 Part of the processional chant for Palm Sunday from Morin's 1508 edition of the Processional. In comparison with the editions of 1502 and 1523, the composer of the 1508 edition occasionally placed incorrect notes or neume forms, as shown within the blue highlights on this image. [Image courtesy of Corpus Christi College, Oxford]

The use of clefs and neume forms by the composer of the 1508 edition also suggests that Pynson's 1502 edition of the Processional did not serve as the exemplar for Morin's edition of 1508. As seen in Figure 3.15 and Figure 3.16, the 1502 and 1508 editions transmit identical melodies for this part of the Palm Sunday liturgy (apart from the composer's error at 'parauerunt'); however, there are significant differences in the layout of the chant.

ad iesum dicentes ubi bis parem  
 tibi comedere pascha at ihesus dixit eis  
 te in ciuitate ad quemdam  
 dici te ei magis ter dicte te  
 pus meum prope est apud te facio pascha  
 cum discipulis meis et fecerunt discipuli  
 sicut preceperat eis dominus  
 ue cū pascha

*Uñ hec ā. canit cū seqūt exeat p̄ ostium occidit & sic circa claustrū & ita p̄ portā canonic' vsq; ad locus prime stationis que fit ex pte ecclie boyial' in extrema*

Figure 3.15 Part of the processional chant for Palm Sunday from Pynson's 1502 edition of the Processional. When compared with the subsequent 1508 edition (shown in Figure 3.16), differences in the use of clefs and neume forms are evident, as shown within the blue highlights on this image. [Image courtesy of St. John's College, Oxford]



Figure 3.16 Part of the processional chant for Palm Sunday from Morin's 1508 edition of the Processional. Compared with the previous edition (Pynson, 1502), differences in layout, as well as the use of clefs and neume forms, suggest that the 1502 edition did not serve as the exemplar for the 1508 edition. The blue highlights on this image indicate differences in the use of clefs and neume forms from the 1502 edition (shown in Figure 3.15). [Image courtesy of Corpus Christi College, Oxford]

A comparison of the 1502, 1508, and 1523 editions of the Sarum Processional therefore reveals both standardization and variation. The liturgical text of Bishop Foxe's redaction appears somewhat less stable by 1523, and further research may indicate whether or not this instability increases in the later editions with further distance from the 1501 source. Based on the music of the Palm Sunday liturgy, the three editions transmit fundamentally the same chant melodies, although printing errors (particularly in the 1508 edition) prevent absolute fixity in this transmission.

#### **EVIDENCE OF WORKSHOP PRACTICE AND WHOLESALE BOOK PRICES**

Little is known about the workshop business practices of London's early printers. The details of a contract made in 1523 between Richard Pynson and John Palsgrave show Pynson agreeing to the production of one printed sheet per day.<sup>77</sup> Evidence from the regulations of Antwerp's Plantin printing house about 40 years later support this business practice.<sup>78</sup> A single printed sheet would have yielded two folio leaves or four quarto leaves or eight octavo leaves, etc. Thus, at the rate of production of one sheet per day, a Missal of approximately 200 foliated leaves, such as the Morton Missal or Pynson's 1504 edition, would have required about 100 days of press time. An accurate

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<sup>77</sup> Percy Simpson 1935, quoted in Hellinga and Trapp 1999, p. 88.

<sup>78</sup> Sabbe 1935, quoted in Hellinga 1999, p. 88.

calculation of production time for Pynson's *Officia Nova* Breviaries is hampered by the scarcity of extant copies and the generally incomplete state of those that survive; however, if these volumes ran to approximately 40 pages (as with Pynson's 1495 edition of *Festum visitationis beatae Mariae virginis*), these supplements to the Sarum Breviary, as well as Pynson's 1503 edition of *Stella Clericorum* which was of about the same length, would have required about 10 days to produce. Pynson's 1501 edition of the *Directorium Sacerdotum*, 1502 *Liber Festivalis/Quatuor Sermones*, and 1503 *De imitatione Christi* would have occupied approximately 113 days, 80 days, and 49 days, respectively.

Information about the print-run of Pynson's editions and the wholesale prices of books can be found in the Chancery proceedings that Pynson brought against Dame Isabell Grey and John Wellis, executors to the will of John Russhe, Esq. (Russhe's widow, Lady Isabell, married Sir Thomas Grey after Russhe's death on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1498).<sup>79</sup> These legal actions over business accounts began after 1500, although they concern Pynson's work in his early years of printing. The case seems to have been delayed or dropped more than once, with Pynson bringing the complaint again each time. The complaint is essentially a dispute over accounts, whereby Russhe requested that Pynson print 'divers bokes' and had promised to supply half the cost of the printing. Pynson claims that Russhe did not bear the costs as agreed, and as a result Pynson lost £100. Despite the lack of payment, Pynson claims to have delivered to Russhe 'divers and many

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<sup>79</sup> PRO C1/349/40, C1/1510/46, and C1/1510/44.

bokys and Portuus<sup>80</sup> Masse bokys, the boke of Dives and Pauper and divers other Bokys to a great value,' in addition to 'great sommes of money and stuffe of household, furris, horse harness, says and chamlettys, linen cloth and other thynges.' Pynson lists the books and all of this merchandise as a part of his complaint. Russhe's widow later began an action in the Common Pleas against Pynson for the value of £300 as compensation for the money and other merchandise she alleged was given to Pynson and which Pynson denied ever having received. Russhe himself was either a bookseller or simply a merchant selling many kinds of merchandise, including books.

Pynson's 'schedule' submitted as a part of the legal proceedings concerns books printed before 1498 (the year of Russhe's death), in Pynson's early career in London. Within this schedule there are in fact two lists of books, one which Pynson claims were printed at the direct request of Russhe and the other a list of books he later supplied to Russhe. Liturgical books and Books of Hours (primers) appear in both lists. In his first list of books, which he printed at Russhe's request, Pynson gives the print-run of the edition for each book and its price. Among these are *Dives & Pauper* (most likely Pynson's 1493 edition of 464 pages), 600 bound books with a wholesale price of 4s, and John Mirk's *Liber Festivalis and Quatour Sermones* (which Pynson printed in 1494), again 600 books (of 144 leaves), with a wholesale price of 20d. With the listing of the first book (*Dives & Pauper*), Pynson states 'every boke prentyd and bounde'; that phrase

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<sup>80</sup> Another term for Breviary.

does not appear with the remaining books in the list, but Pynson most likely meant that all of the books were supplied to Russhe printed and bound. Boccaccio's *Fall of Princes* (which Pynson printed in 1494 at 432 pages) also appears in the list, again with a print-run of 600 and a wholesale price of 4s each. As the cost of paper would have been the major expense in the printing of these books, it appears that Pynson priced *Dives & Pauper* and *Fall of Princes*, both with approximately the same number of pages, at 4s per copy. Likewise, *Liber Festivalis*, which required only a quarter of the paper of the other two books, is priced proportionately lower. Thus, Pynson's wholesale pricing of books for Russhe seems to relate directly to the amount of paper involved in the production of the books.

Pynson also lists '1000 bokys called Jornalles' at a wholesale price of 2s. By 'Jornall' Pynson may have meant the English form of the Diurnale<sup>81</sup>, a liturgical book containing the day hours of the Office. However, the Diurnale does not appear to have been a regular feature of Sarum liturgical printing, and no extant copy of Pynson's Diurnale has been identified.<sup>82</sup> There is no current evidence to prove that Pynson himself printed this volume; either copies simply did not survive the ravages of time and the English Reformation or Pynson is seen here selling stock he obtained from elsewhere (possibly Caxton). Also on Pynson's list are 600 'masse bokys' at 10s each. These represent the most

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<sup>81</sup> Plomer 1909, p. 121.

<sup>82</sup> The two extant editions of the Sarum Diurnale are Hopyl's 1512 edition (STC 15861.7) and Regnault's edition of 1528 (STC 15861.8).

expensive of the six books on Pynson's list, and this fact suggests that these books were Missals, whose folio format would have been a costly printing venture for any printer. However, no copies of a Missal printed by Pynson survive before his 1500 'Morton' Missal. Again, Pynson may here be selling stock from elsewhere (possibly old stock from Caxton) or possibly copies of the Missal printed by de Worde in January 1497. Pynson may also be referring to the Breviary he printed in 1493 (STC 15851). The final books on Pynson's list are 'Great gylt Prymers with ye bybyll', 600 copies at a wholesale price of 2s each. Pynson himself did print editions of Primers in 1493, 1495, and 1497 (STC 15873.5, 15882, and 15886, respectively). Further investigation would be required to determine whether or not any of these editions could be the books to which Pynson refers. Plomer suggests in the case of both the 'masse bokys' and the Primers that Pynson may be offering editions printed on the Continent and imported by Pynson; however, Pynson states elsewhere in these proceedings 'that he wolde not a prynted none of the sayd bokes but at the specyall request of ye said John', and the evidence of the customs rolls of the period does not corroborate Pynson's importation of books.

Thus, from the list of books which Pynson printed at the express wish of John Russhe, all but one are supplied in a quantity of 600; the 'Jornalles' are supplied in a quantity of 1000. The 'masse bokys' are valued by Pynson at 10s each, with the other books priced at 4s, 2s, and 20d. If the 'Jornalles' to which Pynson refers are indeed Diurnales, these may have been a smaller format book

lacking music and therefore less expensive to print (for whomever printed them) in a larger print-run (1000 as compared to 600). They may also have been supplied by Pynson in a quantity of 1000 simply because they were old stock or stock acquired from another printer. Whatever type of liturgical book the 'masse bokys' represent, Pynson clearly put a high value on them. With a typical folio edition of the Sarum Missal running to approximately 200 pages, the production of this kind of book would have required a considerable expense for the paper. Whether Pynson printed these volumes or here was simply selling another's printer's stock, the wholesale price of the book probably reflected the amount of paper involved in its production.

Compared with edition sizes from the Plantin printing house in the 1560s and Moretus in the 1590s, which indicate edition sizes in the range of 1000-1500 copies,<sup>83</sup> Pynson's edition sizes appear small. It is possible that the regular edition size from Pynson's workshop was 600 copies, particularly if his press was undertaking concurrent production of more than one book at any given time. However, if the 600 'masse bokys' and 600 Primers were not printed by Pynson himself and only supplied by Pynson from the workshop of another printer, this scenario would suggest that edition sizes of a minimum of 600 copies may have been fairly standard among printers during this period. Of the books given in the schedule that Pynson claims to have 'made into print' for Russhe, all were supplied in quantities of 200, 300, 600 (or in the case of the

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<sup>83</sup> Gaskell 1972, p. 161.

unidentified 'Jornalles' 1000) copies, with 600 copies the most common quantity. Those books provided to Russhe in quantities of 200 and 300 may have represented a simple one-third or half of a standard 600 copy print-run.

Pynson's second list of books connected with these legal proceedings gives details of other books he supplied to Russhe as 'he thought he cowed nat have good vtteraunce without other bokys of other storys, and than made great request for the same Rycharde for them p[ro]mysyng hym to have hys mony for them in all haste after the sale of them.' While some of these books were supplied to Russhe in quantities of 100 and 200 copies, the others were supplied in quantities of 2, 3, 20, and 25 copies; these quantities suggest that these books were not printed by Pynson himself and that Pynson was simply providing available quantities of a variety of books for Russhe to sell. Plomer notes that some of the books supplied by Pynson were obtained from de Worde.<sup>84</sup> These include *Bevis of Hampton*, 'cronykyls' (probably *Chronicles of England*, printed by de Worde in 1497), the 'Accidens' and 'Parvulas', as well as de Worde's 1495 *Bartholomaeus de propretatibus rerum*. Pynson himself probably printed the 20 copies of *Canterbury Tales* and 20 copies of *Aesop's Fables*, producing editions of those in 1492 and 1497, respectively. Two copies of 'legendys off Caxton' were supplied to Russhe, valued at 24s each; these were most likely the folio format *Legenda Aurea*<sup>85</sup> from Caxton's old stock. 'Mydell primers' and 'lesser

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

prymers' appear on Pynson's list, 200 copies of each, with wholesale prices of 6d and 4d, respectively. Pynson also includes two 'greate portuys legyar', most likely folio format Breviaries<sup>86</sup>, valued at 18s each. These may have been from Caxton as well; based on extant copies, de Worde did not print Breviaries until the sixteenth century (and Pynson himself produced only quarto format Breviaries in this period). The figures confirm that these Breviaries would have commanded a fair price when sold by Russhe, especially when compared with popular literary works such as *Canterbury Tales* (valued at 5s per copy by Pynson) or *Aesop's Fables* (valued at 3s 4d each), and these Breviaries were perhaps intended for sale to city churches outside London.

Thus, based on the limited data from Pynson's legal proceedings, Pynson's standard edition sizes may have been smaller than those issued on the Continent; however, they may have been typical of edition sizes in England in the first half of the sixteenth century. If further examples of edition sizes of specific texts from either Pynson's printing house or those of his contemporaries were to come to light, this data may help to clarify details of Pynson's workshop practice.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

## CONCLUSION

One of the major early printers and a leading light within early printing in England, Richard Pynson's remarkable technical and typographical skills are recognized to the present day. His printed output was varied, balancing his expertise in legal printing, his major focus on literary, educational, and religious texts, and his other printing work (Yearbooks, Almanacs, etc.) associated with his positions as King's Printer and Printer to the City of London. Pynson's liturgical printing, although comprising only about six percent of his overall printed output, is representative both of his skills as a printer and his business strategy with respect to the early market for books. Within his liturgical printing, his use of type (for both text and music) and woodcut illustration created finished products which outshone those of his competitors (and possibly gained him the commission of Cardinal Morton for the printing of the Sarum Missal of 1500). His conservative approach to printing for the general book trade is also apparent within his liturgical printing, which, like his overall printed output, remained diverse yet somewhat narrow in scope. A study of his liturgical printing reveals that Pynson was conscious both of the market for Sarum liturgical books in England and also of his Continental competition which also supplied the market for liturgical books in England. Pynson's apparent absence from the documentation of the London customs rolls indicates that he was most likely not involved in the importation of books from the Continent, choosing instead to produce all of the texts he sold in-house.

Pynson's connections with the Continent remained important, however, for the supply of materials, such as type stock, paper, and some woodcuts. Thus, because it supplied both the materials of his trade and the competition for his books' markets, the Continent (and its printers) probably never left Pynson's view. Pynson's skill as a printer is most evident in his liturgical works, especially those books which include music (for example, the Missal). Pynson's production of the 'Morton' Missal in 1500, through its direct connection with Archbishop Morton, offers credibility to the potential buyer/user of the book and may demonstrate a highly refined use of musical notation. An examination of Pynson's production of *Officia Nova* Breviaries and the 1504 edition of the Sarum Missal shows Pynson's continuing dependence on the Continent for the tools of his trade and sheds some light on his workshop's use of type, paper stock, and woodcuts.

As the first printer to produce Bishop Foxe's 1501 edition, Pynson was responsible for the first printed Sarum Processional (based on extant copies). Although the title pages of subsequent editions from the Continent continued to make reference to Foxe, some instability of the liturgical text is evident over time. In addition, printers' errors in transmitting the musical content of the Processional (as seen in the 1508 edition from Rouen) mean that, at least in the case of the Sarum Processional, the absolute fixity of editions was not achieved.

Although Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde had similar beginnings within the early printing trade, their career paths diverged somewhat, with Pynson gaining official recognition that appears to have escaped de Worde and de Worde becoming the more prolific printer of the two (based on extant copies). Across their overall printed outputs, both printers had a specific area of focus (legal printing for Pynson and the inheritance of Caxton's literary and educational printing for de Worde); however, for both printers liturgical printing occupied a similar, small place within their workshop's life. For both men, their liturgical printing can be seen as a microcosm of their overall printing business. Both printers maintained their connections with the Continent but appear to have used them in different ways. De Worde dominated the importation trade throughout much of his career, continuing Caxton's business strategy of importing those books which were not readily available in England. De Worde also maintained connections with Parisian printers and collaborated with them on larger, more complex liturgical books, such as the Missal editions of 1497 and 1511, as well as the 1506, 1507, and 1509 editions of the Breviary. By contrast, Pynson appears to have used his Continental connections only to maintain his supply of materials. However, their links with the Continent served both Pynson and de Worde's liturgical printing in much the same way that it served their printing businesses overall.

My study of Sarum liturgical printing has placed the liturgical printing of Richard Pynson within the context of his overall printed output (which has

been summarized in this study for the first time)<sup>87</sup> and within the context of the early book trade in London. My examination and analysis of Pynson's liturgical printing has revealed that his liturgical printing is largely representative of his printing practice overall; his approach to both the technical aspects of his liturgical printing and the market for liturgical books mirrors that of his other genres of printing. This thesis also shows that Pynson's liturgical printing demonstrates both fixity and variability (as per recent debates in early printing), fixity at an expansive level and lack of complete standardization at a narrower level; my study has also shown some of the reasons why standardization was not possible within early printing. In addition, this thesis has shed new light on some of the details of Pynson's workshop practice, including the use of materials (e.g., type and paper) and ways in which Pynson managed the market for Sarum liturgical books. In addition, by taking a new look at Pynson's legal cases containing details of books (first published by Plomer), I have suggested new interpretations of some of the facts and data contained therein.

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<sup>87</sup> See Appendix 3.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Evidence of Ownership & Market

Printed Sarum liturgical books most likely found their way into both personal and institutional ownership along the same lines as their manuscript predecessors. While the printing press was responsible for the proliferation of numbers of copies of liturgical books, the requirements for both their personal and institutional ownership in the Tudor period had not changed much since the Middle Ages. Yet the printing press may well have increased the ease with which individuals and institutions were able to acquire Sarum liturgical books, and the greater numbers of copies available may have meant new access to liturgical volumes, particularly for individual owners. This chapter will examine evidence of personal ownership of liturgical books via an original survey of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century probate inventories, as well as a new analysis of evidence of institutional ownership among parish churches in Kent and London in the sixteenth century. The market for various types of liturgical books in Tudor London is then evaluated against this evidence of ownership.

#### EVIDENCE OF PERSONAL OWNERSHIP

An examination of the ownership of Sarum liturgical books gives a view not only of how liturgical books were used in Tudor England on both a

personal and institutional basis, but also something of the market for which London's early printers may have aimed. Unlike other early printed books, liturgical books find a unique place within the history of the book and the history of reading and book ownership; liturgical books had both 'users' (those, for example, clergy and singers, who required them in the course of their occupation) and 'readers' (individuals, both clergy and lay, men and women, commoner and gentry, for whom the books were important in personal devotion). While much study with the history of reading has been devoted to the reading habits and patterns of scholars (for example in the work of Anthony Grafton, Lisa Jardine, and William Sherman<sup>1</sup>), the evidence of ownership presented in this chapter sheds further light on the relationship between ordinary people and their books. If, as Roger Chartier states, reading is 'a practice that only rarely leaves traces, that is scattered in an infinity of singular acts',<sup>2</sup> then additional evidence of book ownership of ordinary readers gives greater clarity to the picture of reading and literacy in early modern England.<sup>3</sup> In addition, within the history of reading from the Middle Ages onwards, as texts in general moved from being solely read aloud to being read silently,<sup>4</sup> liturgical books maintained a distinctive place. Used for their ritual function,

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<sup>1</sup> See Jardine and Grafton 1990, Sherman 1995.

<sup>2</sup> Chartier 1994, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Hackel 2005, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The shift from vocalized to silent reading has been mapped in detail by Roger Chartier and Paul Saenger. See, for example, Chartier's 'The Practical Impact of Writing' in *Passions of the Renaissance*, volume 3 of *A History of Private Life* (1989) and his 'Reading Matter and "Popular" Reading: From the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century' in Cavallo and Chartier (eds.) *History of Reading in the West* (1999) as well as Saenger's 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society' in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13 (1982), p. 384.

they were required to be read both aloud and silently at various times within the liturgy (for example, the priest's prayer of consecration of bread and wine in the Mass), while also being read silently as a part of individual, private devotion. As the purpose of silent reading in the Middle Ages changed from preparation for oral delivery to personal comprehension and reflection, Christian writers and teachers stressed the importance of reading for the salvation of one's soul.<sup>5</sup>

The private reading of liturgical and devotional texts spread to include not only the clergy and those in religious orders, but also the laity, as the role of silent reading in spirituality and religious education increased. Indeed, as the printing press propelled the transition from oral to written tradition within the history of reading,<sup>6</sup> it also made available to every literate person (and even to those of varying degrees of literacy), who had the ability to afford books, a means of individual and deeply personal devotion to an extent previously unknown. Although the vast majority of studies of crude literacy rates focus on the period after 1600 and the meaning of literacy in the early period of print varies, it has been estimated that by 1600 the average rate of literacy in Europe was between 35 and 40 percent literate. Literacy was also biased towards the upper classes, men, and urban dwellers.<sup>7</sup> For readers of the Tudor period, the Church and its books provided models of reading for most lay people which

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<sup>5</sup> Parkes 1999, pp. 91-3.

<sup>6</sup> Saenger 1999, p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> Kaestle 1988, pp. 102-8.

were unavailable elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> Meditative reading of religious material by the laity was also preparative,<sup>9</sup> preparing Christians for action and living in the secular world. For clergy and those in religious orders, whose education and training for centuries had relied on vast quantities of memorised texts (for example, the requirement of the novice monastic to memorise the entire liturgical psalter), the increase in the numbers of manuscript liturgical books in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had already begun to cause a shift away from memorisation towards reading, and a shift from communal to private reading,<sup>10</sup> changes which were brought to completion by the advent of printing and the subsequent increase in the numbers of liturgical books in circulation.

In her 1999 study of printed books in private ownership in Britain prior to 1557, Margaret Lane Ford points to need and means as the two central factors affecting the private ownership of books. Thus, those with a university education and an academic profession (for example, clergy, theologians, lawyers, and doctors) had need of books as tools of their respective trades, while others within the merchant and gentry classes had the means to obtain a wide variety of books. Social networks influenced the ownership of books among lay owners, primarily those in the upper and middle classes of society,

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<sup>8</sup> Kintgen 1996, pp. 99-116.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Duggan 2003, p. 71.

and patronage influenced book ownership to some extent, particularly among the clergy.<sup>11</sup>

While details of early owners of books in Latin show specific markets for them among university scholars, professionals (for example, those in law and medicine), clergy, and the school-aged, most early ownership of Latin liturgical books is found, unsurprisingly, among clerics and scholars.<sup>12</sup> Personal ownership of a Missal was one of very few requirements for the ordination of a priest in this period, and most members of the clergy would also have owned a Breviary for the daily recitation of the Office.<sup>13</sup> These liturgical works would have begun to find their way into private ownership in the era of manuscript books, and the printing press undoubtedly accelerated this process. While the relationship between print and religious change in the sixteenth century is well documented (for example, in the work of R. W. Scribner and Elizabeth Eisenstein<sup>14</sup>), it is possible that more men may have become prepared and equipped for the priesthood as a direct result of the advent of printing than in the period prior to it.

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<sup>11</sup> M. L. Ford 1999, pp. 205-28.

<sup>12</sup> Hellinga 2007, pp. 67-70.

<sup>13</sup> Duggan 2003, p.72

<sup>14</sup> Scribner 1981, Eisenstein 1979.

PCC wills: a case study in book ownership

An examination of hitherto unknown records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (and other probate jurisdictions) held at the National Archives sheds further light on book ownership in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England, and this new data complements M. L. Ford's 1999 study of book ownership in Britain before 1557. The records of National Archives series PROB 2 contain inventories of the possessions of the deceased, and the valuations of these goods, spanning the years 1417-1668. An act of Parliament (21 Henry VIII, c5) required executors and administrators of wills to present two copies of an inventory of the testator's or intestate's personal estate to the court granting probate or administration. One copy of the inventory was held by the court, while the other copy was returned to and retained by the executor or administrator. The largest majority of these documents pertain to the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) or from the courts which exercised probate jurisdiction in lieu of the PCC. Before their transfer to the holdings of the National Archives, these records were held at Lambeth Palace as a result of the Archbishop of Canterbury's prerogative to grant probate of wills and letters of administration. The contents and degree of detail of the inventories vary considerably, and some are incomplete or damaged. However, many of the inventories document carefully the contents of the deceased's house, one room at a time, including valuations for all of the goods, and often include at the end of document any money owed to or owed by the deceased.

Thus, these inventories give a fairly complete picture of the deceased's financial position at the time of his or her death. The majority of the fifteenth-century inventories are recorded by scribes in Latin (or some combination of Latin and English), while the sixteenth-century documents are mostly in English.

My study of book ownership within the PROB 2 series of inventories seeks to distinguish between clerical and lay owners of liturgical books, as the personal ownership of liturgical books might be expected to be greater among the clergy. PROB 2 presents inventories from no less than 10 categories of clerical roles: Bishop, Canon, chantry priest, chaplain, parson, petty canon, precentor, priest, rector, and vicar. While there is obviously some overlap between these clerical titles and functions, an examination of liturgical book ownership across the clergy suggests some connection with educational and social status. Liturgical book ownership among the clergy may also then be compared with the inventories' evidence of lay ownership, which may be further refined to compare differences in ownership between social classes and genders among the laity. The evidence of book ownership offered by the PROB 2 documents does, however, present some limitations. First, details of books owned vary greatly among individual inventories, partly as a result of condition and some damage to the documents (oddly, the older, late fifteenth-century inventories appear to have survived intact to a greater degree than the late sixteenth-century rolls in the collection) and partly because the degree of detail about the books recorded by the scribes who compiled the inventories

differs (some of the scribes appear to have gone to great lengths to give a book's title and author, while for other scribes simply a general description of the book sufficed). Second, even in cases where a scribe has diligently recorded a book's author and title, it is usually not possible to identify a specific edition of a book, although based on the date of the inventory various printed editions of a book may be ruled out.

Table 4.1 gives an overview of the clergy inventories found in the PROB 2 series.

**Table 4.1: Clergy of PROB 2 Series (1464-1561)**

<b>Bishop:</b>	PROB 2/304	John Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln (1557)	
	PROB 2/488	Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely (1534)	
<b>Canon:</b>	PROB 2/131	John Austell, Canon of Wells Cathedral (1497)	
<b>Chantry Priest:</b>	PROB 2/203B	William Carre, chantry priest of Peter College (1537)	
<b>Chaplain:</b>	PROB 2/2	John Barker, chaplain of King's Lynn, Norfolk (1464)	
<b>Parson:</b>	PROB 2/53	John Veysey, parson of St. James Garlickhythe, London (1492)	
	PROB 2/83B	Hugh Chesnall, parson of Sleaford, Lincs. (1494)	
	PROB 2/127B	William Mogys, parson of Hartlebury, Worcs. (1496)	
	PROB 2/294	Gregory Charlet, parson of Berkswell, Warw. (1557)	
	PROB 2/313	John Rabone, parson of Polebrook, Northants and Pickworth, Rutland (1558)	
	PROB 2/355	Thomas Allen, parson of Stevenage, Herts. (1559)	
	PROB 2/387	Richard Haynson, parson of St. Mary the Moor, Exeter, Devon (1561)	
	PROB 2/454	John Adam, parson of St. James, Colchester, Essex (1493)	
	PROB 2/523	John Wayte, parson of Newbury, Berks. (1539)	
	PROB 2/539	John Deynley, scholar of Oxford and parson of Burghclere, Hants. (undated)	
	<b>Petty Canon:</b>	PROB 2/61	William Atce, petty canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London (1492)
		PROB 2/126	Robert Mason, precentor of Lincoln Cathedral (1496)
	<b>Priest:</b>	PROB 2/48	Thomas Nandyk, priest of Cambridge (1491)
		PROB 2/59	John Maynard, priest (Norfolk?) (1492)
PROB 2/74		John Lewys, priest (1494)	
PROB 2/96		John Ostewyk, priest of St. Magnus the Martyr, London (1495)	
PROB 2/118		Richard Trapman, priest (1496)	
PROB 2/119		John Mowbray, parish priest of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, London (1496)	
PROB 2/766		John _____, priest of Pinnock, Glos. (1494)	
PROB 2/175A		William Dawlyng, LLD, rector of Over, Cambs., and Holywell, Hunts; 'outside Cambridge Univ. only' (1501) [other Rectors are 17th-C.]	
<b>Rector:</b>	PROB 2/22	Robert Lynton, vicar of All Hallows London Wall, London (1488)	
	PROB 2/141	William Wykwyk, vicar of Rye (Sussex) (1498)	
	PROB 2/202A	William Brokk, vicar of Preston (near Faversham, Kent) (1525)	
	PROB 2/207	John Baptist Portenay, vicar of Algarkirk and Fosdyke, Lincs. (1538)	
	PROB 2/464	John Coldall, vicar of Farnham, Surrey (1501)	
	<b>Vicar:</b>		

It is useful to examine as a group those inventories of men whose occupations were given as 'priest', although the occupational descriptions were perhaps somewhat arbitrary on the part of the inventories' scribes (they also use the terms 'chaplain', 'parson', and 'vicar' to label men who most likely held similar professional and, perhaps social, positions). Interestingly, the surviving inventories of those men described as 'priest' all date from the late fifteenth century (1491-1496), whereas the inventories of those men whose occupation is given as 'parson' or 'vicar' range in date from the late fifteenth century to the mid sixteenth. Whether these terms given by the inventories' scribes are indeed completely arbitrary and coincidental or whether they begin to reflect some shift in either language or public thought about authority in the Church is unclear. While fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuals (manuscript and printed) designed for the instruction of clergy identified four essential roles of priesthood (celebrant of Masses, minister of other sacraments, confessor, and teacher),<sup>15</sup> these do not appear to shed any light on the use of the various synonyms for 'priest'.

The 1491 inventory of Thomas Nandyk<sup>16</sup> (PROB 2/48), priest of an unidentified location in Cambridge, is quite extensive, spanning three rolls; Nandyk lived in both London and Cambridge and appears to have had houses

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<sup>15</sup> Duffy 1992, pp. 53-63.

<sup>16</sup> This is possibly the same Thomas Nandyk (Nandyke, Nandike, or Vandyke) who appears in the register of the University of Cambridge and who may have played some role in the Duke of Buckingham's rebellion. See *BRUC*, pp. 418-9.

(and belongings) in both places. His inventory includes a short, but detailed, list of books, and the first entry in this category is 'a littyll masse Boke and a portehis of Rome in prynt'. This Missal and Breviary are valued together at 8 shillings, the second highest value after Nandyk's two 'littyll Bokes of Phesyk', which are valued together at 12s. The 'littyll Sahitor' may be a psalter. Another book of 'Phesyk', a book of astronomy, various 'smale Bokes', and 15 pamphlets of 'divers matters' complete the inventory of Nandyk's library. While it is perfectly logical that Nandyk should own a printed Missal and Breviary as tools of his profession, it is unusual both that the scribe should note the Breviary as being 'of Rome' and that Nandyk should own a Breviary which was not of Sarum use. A Roman Breviary would have been imported via the Continental trade and not produced domestically in England; thus Nandyk probably had connections with the early book trade outside England (which would be quite plausible for an individual based in London). Table 4.2 gives the books found in Nandyk's inventory.

**Table 4.2: Listing of books in the inventory of Thomas Nandyk, 1491 (PROB 2/48)**

1. <i>Item a littyll masse Boke and a portehis of Rome</i>	<i>vij s</i>
2. <i>Item ij littyll Bokes of Phesyk</i>	<i>xvi s</i>
3. <i>Item a Boke of Phesyk</i>	<i>ij s iiij d</i>
4. <i>Item a Boke of Astronomy</i>	<i>ij s iiij d</i>
5. <i>Item vij smale Bokes bordyd</i>	<i>xj s viij d</i>
6. <i>Item a littyll Sahitor brokyn</i>	<i>xij d</i>
7. <i>Item xv pamphlets of divers matters with many other Dyvers Quayrys somme prynted some unpryntyd</i>	<i>v s</i>

The second roll of Nandyk's inventory details items sold to various named individuals and the price paid for each item. In addition to his priestly occupation, Nandyk may have been an early bibliophile or involved in the production (binding) of books; listed among 'stuffe sold to maistor Stoker' is a press 'for byndyng of Boks' and 4 'shetys of paper Royall' valued at 1 d. At the end of this second inventory roll, two presses for books are listed as being 'in the keeping of maistor wardall'. Also among items sold were 'a grete deske to write upon and to lay boks upon' and several other books ('ij olde Booxys', 'a littyll Boke of ffesyk', and 'ij Bokys of Exstranymy'). The third of Nandyk's inventory rolls lists only his debts. Thus Thomas Nandyk, priest, appears not only to have had need of liturgical books for his work, but also the means to acquire other books of scholarly interest, principally of science, as well as various accoutrements associated with books.

The inventory of John Maynard (PROB 2/59), priest, possibly from Norfolk, dated 1492, is a much simpler and shorter document than that of Thomas Nandyk. Among a very basic list of domestic furnishings appear a 'Jurnall' and a 'prynted boke'. As noted by Plomer (see Chapter III), 'jurnall' may have referred to the English form of the Diurnale (a liturgical book containing the day hours of the Office), thus similar to a Breviary, but not complete. There is no evidence to suggest what Maynard's printed book might have been, but it is valued at 6 shillings, compared with the 'Jurnall' which is valued at 6s 8d. Compared also with the two silver spoons which appear in Maynard's inventory, valued at 3s 4d together, his two books, at least one of which was required for his work, were among Maynard's most valuable possessions.

The 1494 inventory of John Lewys<sup>17</sup> (PROB 2/74), priest (of unidentified location), includes one of the most detailed inventories of books within the PROB 2 series. Documented as being found 'in his owne chamber', 15 books are given by the scribe, mostly by title. The majority of Lewys' books are Latin works (although the scribe has carefully noted one 'Englisshe boke' in the collection), including lives of saints, religious texts, and several liturgical books. Lewys was also in possession of 'a boke of Arossotle wreten'. The scribe's observation, 'written', may imply a manuscript copy of this Aristotle text, as the scribe has also noted 'imprynted' with some of the other books in Lewys'

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<sup>17</sup> This is possibly one of two men who appear in the register of the University of Oxford (see *BRUO*, vol. 2, p. 1140) or the John Lewys who appears in the register of the University of Cambridge. See *BRUC*, p. 366.

collection. Scribes of many other PROB 2 inventories have also made distinctions between 'written' and 'imprinted' books. The copy of Aristotle found in Lewys' library suggests a university education; M. L. Ford has noted the prevalence of Aristotelian works among university-educated book owners in Britain before 1557 as a result of their importance in European, English, and Scottish university studies in the late Middle Ages.<sup>18</sup> A printed copy of the *Catholicon* is also found among Lewys' books. One of the first books to find its way into print, any of the three editions of this religious Latin dictionary (1460, 1469, and 1472) could theoretically have been in Lewys' possession, although perhaps the 1472 edition is the more likely.<sup>19</sup> Lewys also owned four liturgical books: a Gradual, a Missal (which the scribe notes as 'imprynted'), a Breviary, and a Hymnal. These represent a rather complete set of books for Lewys' priestly work. The Gradual is valued at 6s, the Missal at 8s, the Breviary at 3s 4d, and the Hymnal at 2s. While the valuations of the Gradual and Missal are in the same region as the valuations of Lewys' other Latin texts, the Missal, at 8s, is Lewys' most valuable book; this valuation may be a reflection of the book's large number of pages, the book's format, or perhaps an elaborate binding. The 'Englisshe boke' noted by the scribe is Lewys' least valuable at 3d. Thus the books in John Lewys' collection indicate that their owner mostly likely had a university education and at least some contact with the Continental trade

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<sup>18</sup> M. L. Ford 1999, pp. 207-8.

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of the current debate surrounding the allocation of the *Catholicon's* printing, see Andreas Venzke, *Johannes Gutenberg – Der Erfinder des Buchdrucks und seine Zeit*. Piper-Verlag, Munich, 2000.

in books. His substantial number of liturgical books suggests that he perhaps had the financial means to acquire additional books to assist him in his occupation.

A significantly damaged and faded document, the 1495 inventory of John Ostewyk<sup>20</sup> (PROB 2/96), priest of St. Magnus the Martyr, London, does not yield any detailed information about his ownership of liturgical books. The scribe of this inventory, however, did note for most of the books whether they were 'in parchment' or 'in paper enprinted', and more than half of Ostewyk's collection appears to be 'in parchment'. Thus, the use of this phrase probably implies a manuscript book, as opposed to a printed one. While some liturgical books were printed on parchment (primarily folio-sized Missals and choir books), it is unlikely that any of Ostewyk's parchment books would be a printed liturgical volume. Although specific ownership of liturgical books is not available from Ostewyk's inventory, his pre-1500 inventory does most likely show manuscript and printed books standing side by side in personal libraries, at a time when the printing press was still a relatively new invention. The inventory of John Mowbray (PROB 2/119), parish priest of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, London, dated 1496, also shows considerable fading and wear. The list of Mowbray's seven books is particularly faded; however, many of the scribe's notes as to the books' printed or 'in parchment status' are legible. As

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<sup>20</sup> This is most likely the same John Ostewyk who was admitted to the Fraternity of St. Nicholas shortly after 1449 (although the Bede roll does not classify him as 'priest'). See James and James 2004, p. 12 and p. 443.

with Ostewyk's inventory of the previous year, we see manuscript and printed books in almost equal numbers.

By contrast, the 1496 inventory of Richard Trapman (PROB 2/118), priest (of unidentified location) indicates the ownership of four books, at least three of which were printed (as noted by the scribe). A printed *Legenda* is listed first, followed by a printed 'pupilla';<sup>21</sup> later listings are given for 'another printed boke' and 'another boke'. A simple document by comparison with many others of the PROB 2 series, Trapman's inventory mixes books amongst his other worldly possessions (most of the other inventories list all books together in one section); this approach to the inventory may be reflected in the scribe's decreasing level of description of Trapman's books as they appear. Although one of his two unidentified books could theoretically have been a Missal, there is no clear indication that Trapman owned such a book as a tool of his trade. The final PROB 2 inventory of men identified as 'priest' is a fragment of a roll, dating from 1494 (PROB 2/766); it details the possessions of John (surname lost with document damage), priest of Pinnock, Gloucestershire. Information on the ownership of books cannot be gleaned from this inventory; only a partial list of household furnishings remains.

Thus, among the PROB 2 inventories of the seven men with occupation listed as 'priest', one sees some, but not consistent, ownership of liturgical

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<sup>21</sup> John Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi*. The earliest extant printed edition is Hopyl and Bretton's edition of 1510 (STC 4115).

books, including the required Missal (although these results may be skewed by the variation in detail of scribal record-keeping). Both manuscript and printed books are found to have co-existed in some book collections here (not surprising with early book production in its infancy), and some connections may be seen between priests in England and the early book trade with the Continent.

The PROB 2 series contains five inventories of men whose occupation is given as 'vicar', with the inventories ranging from 1488 to 1538. The earliest document in this group is the 1488 inventory of Robert Lynton (PROB 2/22), vicar of All Hallows London Wall, London. This extensive inventory lists 23 books and pamphlets in Lynton's collection. Of these, four books and 3 pamphlets are given as being of parchment, with an additional pamphlet and book listed as being of both paper and parchment. Two English texts (titles not given) formed part of Lynton's library, as well as books of saints' lives, a primer, and several other devotional works (including a text concerning 'the visitation of our lady' and another work on the passion of Christ). Lynton also owned a significant number of liturgical books: a Missal (described as covered with 'rede ledr' and 'gilt'), a printed Ordinal, a Breviary, a Manual, and two 'olde Journall's (which, valued at 8d and 6s 8d respectively, probably differed dramatically either in content or physical state). Lynton's Breviary held the highest value of all of his books at 33s 4d, followed by his red leather Missal valued at 26s 8d (these were perhaps folio editions). None of Lynton's

other books even approach these values. By comparison, his Ordinal, typically printed in quarto format, was valued at 20d (perhaps a reflection of smaller format or inferior binding). If indeed 'jurnall' here refers to the English form of the Diurnal as it may elsewhere in these documents, Lynton's two 'olde' versions of this book may or may not have been printed (no notes have been made by the scribe to indicate these as printed books). Certainly an 'old' book in 1488 may not have been a printed work; perhaps the difference in values between the two 'jurnall's found in Lynton's library indicate that one was a printed text while the other was not. The total valuation of Lynton's library was £5 18d. Thus, Lynton's library contained many expensive books necessary for his profession, and the presence of both parchment and paper volumes, as well as texts in the vernacular, most likely reflects the new emergence and current state of printing in England in the late fifteenth century. Almost all of the printed books in Lynton's collection are those required for his work; unlike many of the other priests in the PROB 2 inventory series, Lynton does not appear to have owned any Latin or Greek university texts at the time of his death (although the scribe of this particular inventory did not give titles of all books). Therefore, Lynton most likely had at least some financial means by which to acquire books and chose to spend his money on books necessary for his profession.

The remaining four inventories of the PROB 2 'vicars' are largely fragmentary, such as the 1498 inventory of William Wykwyk (vicar of Rye in

Sussex) (PROB 2/141), or damaged, as is the case with the inventories of John Coldall (vicar of Farnham, Surrey, 1501) (PROB 2/464), William Brokk (vicar of Preston, near Faversham, Kent, 1525) (PROB 2/202A), and John Baptist Portenay (vicar of Algarkirk and Fosdyke, Lincolnshire, 1538) (PROB 2/207). The surviving inventory of William Wykwyk is only a partial roll and lists furniture and other household items in the first and sole surviving section of the document, entitled 'In the hall'. Books may have formed part of this list initially, perhaps at the start of a lost section, as those compiling the inventory reached other rooms of Wykwyk's residence (books are typically listed first among items 'in the chamber' in these inventories). John Coldall's 1501 inventory has sustained some significant damage (including water damage), but a listing of books in his possession is somewhat legible. The scribe appears to have listed a group of several books, including a 'masse' book, valuing the group of books together at £3 2s 3d. Much of the rest of the document is illegible, but apart from a section listing books, other sections include 'plate' and 'redy money'. In comparison to John Coldall's group of books valued at over £3, William Brokk's books, also listed as a single entity by the scribe as part of a now quite faded document, come to a mere 26s 8d. There is no evidence of what sort of books may have made up Brokk's collection or whether liturgical books numbered among them. John Baptist Portenay's 1538 inventory, also significantly damaged and incomplete, appears to have been re-constructed at some point and glued onto modern-day paper. There is evidence on the front side of the roll that he owned at least one book, but damage to the manuscript

has obliterated some of its details and its valuation. The reverse side of the roll gives a listing of 'mass books' valued at 2s, but without further detail. Thus the fragmentary evidence provided by the inventories of the vicars of the PROB 2 series shows some consistent ownership of Missals, whether as part of only a small number of books in personal possession or, as in the case of Robert Lynton, as part of a small collection of liturgical books amid an extensive personal library.

Ten inventories within the PROB 2 documents are attributed to men with occupation given as 'parson'; the inventories range in date from 1492 - 1559, with one undated inventory roll. While none of these inventories contain specific detail of liturgical books, they remain useful as background on general book ownership. The earliest record in this set is the 1492 inventory of John Veysey (PROB 2/53), parson of St. James Garlickhythe, London. Further research would be necessary to determine if the John Veysey of the PROB 2 series was any relation (possibly father) to John Veysey, Bishop of Exeter (d. 1554), outspoken in the 1540s about his congregations' (particularly those in trade and craft guilds) continued observance of saints' days which had been abolished from the liturgical calendar.<sup>22</sup> The library of John Veysey, parson of London, extended to 31 books, and the listing is detailed in Latin (as is sometimes seen in other pre-1500 inventories in this series). The majority of books in Veysey's collection are Latin religious texts, including saints' lives,

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<sup>22</sup> Duffy 1992, pp. 162, 397.

books of sermons, and devotional works. A copy of Aristotle with commentary probably indicates that Veysey had a university education. Despite the detail of most the entries, there is no specific evidence that Veysey was in possession of any liturgical books at the time of his death (regardless of the requirement of clergymen to own a Missal). However, two entries make reference to 'biblia' and 'bibliam', both printed, which most likely refer to Veysey's ownership of two copies of the Bible, valued at 10s and 11s, respectively. The copies of Lyndwood's *Constitutions* (a work of canon law, in print from 1483) in his library would also have assisted Veysey with his professional work.

The inventory of John Adam<sup>23</sup> (PROB 2/454), parson of St. James, Colchester, Essex, 1493, has suffered significant damage to the top half of the roll. In addition, this concise inventory lists all of Adam's possessions together somewhat randomly, including one entry dedicated to '7 boks' valued together at 26s 8d. Based on the valuations, a liturgical book or two may have featured in this small collection if Adam's other books were not of a high value. While furnishings have been detailed room by room in the 1494 inventory of Hugh Chesnall (PROB 2/83B), parson of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, no mention is made of books among his possessions. Similarly, the 1496 inventory of William Mogys<sup>24</sup> (PROB 2/127B), parson of Hartlebury, Worcestershire, exists in a fragmentary

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<sup>23</sup> This may be the same John Adam, not classified as a lay man, who was admitted to the Fraternity of St. Nicholas before 1449. See James and James 2004, p. 285.

<sup>24</sup> This is possibly the same William Mogys who was made a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, in 1445. See *BRUO*, pp. 1287-8.

state and provides no evidence of Mogys' book ownership. Another list of basic possessions, without detail of books, is found in the 1539 inventory of John Wayte<sup>25</sup> (PROB 2/523), parson of Newbury, Berkshire. The scribe of this inventory appears to have forgotten to record the day and month of the year in the inventory's opening inscription, as blank spaces for this information remain within the text of the inscription. This rare scribal omission may give some insight into the preparation of these inventories. Perhaps some, if not all, of the document was completed in advance; the inventory of possessions may have taken place first, with the valuations and other final details added by officials at a later time.

The 1557 inventory of Gregory Charlet (PROB 2/294), parson of Berkswell, Warwickshire, also present a concise list of possessions grouped together. Despite water damage to this document, the single entry of '4 Bookes', valued at £3, is legible. As with John Adam's 1493 inventory, based on the valuation of the group of books, a liturgical book or two may have been included in Charlet's collection. Four books valued at £3 would imply books of greater value, probably Latin works, when compared with the descriptions and valuations elsewhere in this PROB 2 series. Lack of detail about books also features in the 1558 inventory of John Rabone (PROB 2/313), parson of Polebrook, Northamptonshire and of Pickworth, Rutland. Among his possessions in his London home, all of Rabone's books have been valued

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<sup>25</sup> This may well be the John Wayte associated with Merton College, Oxford, who served as Chaplain and Librarian of the University from 1506-13. See *BRUO*, p. 2003.

together at 20 shillings. 'An olde cheste with certain bookes' appears on the inventory of his possessions held in Lambeth; the chest and the books appear to have been valued together at 3s 4d. Another damaged and fragmentary document, the 1559 inventory of Thomas Allen<sup>26</sup> (PROB 2/355), parson of Stevenage, Hertfordshire, provides no evidence of book ownership.

Despite substantial mould damage to much of the document, the well-organised 1561 inventory of Richard Haynson (PROB 2/387), parson of St. Mary the Moor, Exeter, Devon, gives seven detailed entries for books. Among Haynson's collection are a set of 12 books entitled *Glossa Ordinaria*, two volumes of Erasmus, and a book of gospels. Liturgical books are not listed here, but might have been a part of a group of 'other bokes great and smalle', valued together at 43 shillings. Haynson appears to have been in possession of books connected with his clerical duties, thus he may well have owned one or more liturgical volumes. The final inventory of men identified as 'parson' in the PROB 2 series is the undated record of John Deynley (PROB 2/539), listed as 'scholar of Oxford and parson of Burghclere, Hants'. The only reference found to books in this document is an entry for '12 books of law', which have not been given a valuation. Thus, most likely coincidentally, taken as a group, the inventories of parsons found in the PROB 2 series provide no direct evidence of liturgical book ownership among this set of clergy, partly as a result of

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<sup>26</sup> This is most likely the same Thomas Allen (or Alleyne), c. 1488-1558, who served as both clergyman and educational benefactor. See *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/95060>, accessed 11 Aug 2011.

damaged and incomplete documents and partly owing to a lack of detail provided by the inventories' scribes. Among those whose book lists have been detailed, the evidence of book ownership points to devotional books and other works connected with university education.

Among the various clerical roles found in the inventories of the PROB 2 series, priests, vicars, and parsons are the most numerous. The sole pre-seventeenth-century inventory found for a 'Rector' is that of William Dawlyng, LLD, rector of 'Over, Cambs., and Holywell, Hunts, outside Cambridge', dated 1501 (PROB 2/175A). Six entries itemise the contents of Dawlyng's library which appears (owing to some document damage and scribal illegibility) to have included a missal valued at 2s 8d, a devotional book connected with a saint (a hole in the document obscures further details), and another 'litll pryntyd boke'. Dawlyng may also have owned 'an old hymnal' which has been valued together with a set of 22 books at 5s 6d. This inventory may well be incomplete as the extant section specifically records Dawlyng's possessions in Over, making no reference to another residence he may have held in Holywell. The final summation of valuations is missing from this inventory which suggests that the document is at least to some degree incomplete.

The sole 'chaplain' of the PROB 2 clergy was one John Barker, chaplain of King's Lynn, Norfolk, whose 1464 inventory (PROB 2/2) is one of the oldest of the series. Barker's collection of 12 books appears to have contained a

substantial number of liturgical books, beginning with a 'magnum missale' of the first entry, as distinguished from a book described simply as 'missale' in the second entry. The 'magnum missale' may well have been a folio-sized volume, while the second Missal of the list may have been the more portable octavo format. In addition to more than one Missal, Barker's list of books also contains a 'portoforium portatum', most likely a portable (i.e., octavo format) Breviary, valued at 8s 4d, as well as a Processional, valued at 10 shillings. What is most likely a second Breviary appears in the inventory as 'libro portaforium', valued at 10s. The total valuation of Barker's list of books is given as £27 3d, and, although it is difficult to decipher from the scribe exact values for the 'magnum missale' and 'missale', these two Missals must have been quite valuable, as the total valuation of the rest of the books (without the two Missals) comes to £11 8s 7d. Thus, chaplain John Barker owned a considerable number of liturgical books necessary for his profession and several of a personal and portable size. Ownership of a Missal, a Breviary, and a Processional certainly would have seen Barker through almost all of the various and regular services of the Church.

The PROB 2 inventories contain the records of a single member of the clergy described as 'chantry priest', one William Carre, chantry priest<sup>27</sup> of Peter College (one of the residencies for the minor canons of St. Paul's Cathedral and later home of the Worshipful Company of Stationers). His 1537 inventory

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<sup>27</sup> For details of chantries and chantry priests connected to St. Paul's Cathedral, see Davis 2004.

(PROB 2/203B) features an 'Englysshe booke of parchement', valued at 8d, and an unspecified 32 books 'good and bade', valued at 2s 8d. There is no direct evidence of ownership of liturgical books. As priest either to or of an institution, Carre might well be expected to have personal ownership of a number of books; however, the valuation of 2s 8d for 32 books appears to be a very low figure. Among the higher ranks of clergy within the PROB 2 series is William Atce, petty canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. His 1492 inventory (PROB 2/61) yields only three entries in the inventory's final section, 'Bookys'. The first is 'a small breivat manuell', valued at 20d; this is followed by an 'olde portevs' (a Breviary), valued at 5s. 'Divors pamflets of divors maturs', valued at 12d, concludes the inventory of Atce's collection. The items in Atce's personal chapel of St. James, listed in the second roll of this inventory and valued in total at 12s 2d, include 'olde awter cloths of Sylk wt ij curteyns' (2s), an 'Altar of white Marbyll' (8d), and two additional 'olde curteynes' (8d). Curiously, no books, liturgical or otherwise, appear among the contents of Atce's chapel. Although much more limited in scope, Atce's small collection of books, like that of many of the other clergymen of the PROB 2 inventories, contained liturgical books necessary for his daily work as a priest, and these volumes held the greatest monetary value, next to Atce's silk altar cloths and marble altar stone.

Robert Mason,<sup>28</sup> precentor of Lincoln Cathedral, is another member of cathedral staff represented among the PROB 2 inventories. His inventory of 1496 (PROB 2/126) includes a mass book valued at over £5; by contrast the only other book listed among Mason's possessions (title undecipherable) is valued at 6s. Dating from one year later, the fragmentary 1497 inventory of John Austell<sup>29</sup> (PROB 2/131), canon of Wells Cathedral, does not include books among the beginnings of a list of household furnishings.

The possessions of two bishops feature in the PROB 2 inventories. The 1557 inventory of John Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln<sup>30</sup> (PROB 2/304), appears to be incomplete, being primarily a list of debts rather than an inventory and missing the opening, formulaic inscription. In contrast, the 1534 inventory of Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely<sup>31</sup> (PROB 2/488), is the largest of the PROB 2 series, spanning several rolls sewn together. While the majority of West's library is detailed carefully by title of book in an organised list near the end of the inventory, several other entries for books appear earlier on. The first seven entries of the inventory record several books (without titles), some 'guylt', some 'presst', and some 'covered'. A group of these books carries a valuation of £49. Occurring randomly toward the middle of the inventory is 'a boke of Sir

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<sup>28</sup> Member of New College, Oxford, and buried before the statue of St. Christopher in the nave of Lincoln Cathedral. See *BRUO*, vol. 2, pp. 1240-41.

<sup>29</sup> This is most likely the same John Austell who appears in the register of the University of Oxford. See *BRUO*, vol. 1, pp. 77-8.

<sup>30</sup> See *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27043>, accessed 11 Aug 2011.

<sup>31</sup> See *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29091>, accessed 11 Aug 2011, and *BRUC*, p. 629.

Thomas More', valued at 8d.<sup>32</sup> The main, extensive list of West's book collection presents many religious, devotional, and scholarly texts necessary for a clergyman of West's position, including many classical Latin works, several books of sermons, and a dictionary. The Bishop's books in London are valued at 21s 2d, with the inventory's complete section of books totaled at £20 15s 5d. A further section of the inventory records the furnishings of West's chapel, among which is found 'a wolnutt (walnut?) boke', valued together with the rest of the chapel furnishings at 3s 4d. Several other books appear in a list of miscellaneous items toward the end of the Bishop's inventory, including 'a pontificall in prynte', a 'wrytn' dictionary, another unidentified book, and 'a litell boke with an Image covered with wolnutt'. None of these final books of the inventory carries a valuation. The breadth and sheer quantity of books in West's library portray him as an educated and wealthy man; undoubtedly most, if not all, of the books he owned at his death were directly connected with his occupation. It is fitting that the one clearly identifiable liturgical book in his possession was a Pontifical (the book which contains the rites conducted specifically by bishops, such as Confirmation, Ordination, the Consecration of a Church, and blessings unique to bishops). In addition to books associated with his life's work, West appears to have owned a considerable number of decorative gilt books and those with special bindings (i.e. walnut) and coverings. The ownership of these more decorative books was most likely a

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<sup>32</sup> This work may have been More's *Utopia* (1516), *Four Last Things* (1522), or his *Supplication of Souls* (1529).

result of West's status and financial position. Of all of the members of the clergy represented in the PROB 2 inventories, Bishop Nicholas West probably had both the greatest need and the greatest means for the acquisition of books.

Thus, the inventories of clergymen found within the PROB 2 series, despite their somewhat inconsistent physical state and varying degree of detail, demonstrate liturgical book ownership across a variety of clerical roles. A Missal was by far the most common liturgical book owned, not surprising for an important tool of the priestly trade and a required possession for ordination. However, not all of the book-owning members of clergy represented in the PROB 2 inventories can be shown to have definitively owned his own copy of the Missal. While some of this lack of evidence can undoubtedly be explained by variations in scribal record-taking, one may question how seriously the requirement for a priest to own a Missal was upheld. The Breviary was the second most common liturgical book found among these members of the clergy, again to be expected as necessary part of a priest's daily work. Other liturgical volumes found to be owned by these clergymen were the occasional Hymnal, Manual (a book containing special services such as marriage and baptism), 'Journal' (probably the English form of the Diurnale), Gradual, Ordinal (a book which gave the ritual order of the liturgy), Processional, and one Pontifical. Liturgical books were an important element of the work of a priest, and thus these men had need to acquire books for their profession.

Turning from clerical book ownership to that of the laity, a survey of liturgical book ownership, randomly chosen from among the London-based laity of the PROB 2 series of inventories, is useful to examine what personal need and means ordinary individuals may have had for the ownership of these books (in contrast to the clergy of the PROB 2 inventories who, as educated and professional men, might well be expected to own both a greater number of books in general and also liturgical volumes specifically). The 1484 inventory of one Thomas Gylbert<sup>33</sup> (PROB 2/12), occupation unknown, of All Hallows, Barking, London, indicates that he was in possession of both liturgical and devotional material. His inventory lists 2 'half porteus in prynte' (printed Breviaries, commonly printed in two halves spanning the liturgical year), valued at 20d; 4 'lytell olde primers', valued at 8d; and 1 'dirige boke' (probably a book containing of the Office of the Dead<sup>34</sup>), valued at 6d. The only other entry in Gylbert's book list, which is indecipherable, may well have been a large liturgical book or a Bible, as its valuation is given as 6s 8d, a large proportion of the 9s 6d total valuation of Gylbert's book collection. Thus, based on the contents of his small library, Thomas Gylbert had means to acquire books, and the majority, if not all, of his books were liturgical or devotional texts. The Breviary may have been a particularly attractive acquisition for religious lay people for its daily Psalter, an important focus of individual piety in the late

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<sup>33</sup> This may be the same Thomas 'Gylberde', layman, admitted to the Fraternity of St. Nicholas in 1471. See James and James 2004, vol. 2, p. 372.

<sup>34</sup> *Dirige* often referred to the entire Office of the Dead, being the first word of the first psalm antiphon at Vigils of the Dead.

Middle Ages. Primers were in common lay ownership for their devotional material even before the advent of printing, and the description of Gylbert's Primers as 'old' in 1484 suggests that at least some of them may not have been in printed form. Gylbert's 'dirige' book may also have been a devotional aid. Thomas Gylbert may have been a literate and deeply religious man or he may simply have been a gentleman collector of expensive books.

While evidence of some general book ownership can be seen among lay inventories, other inventories of this set make no mention of books, for example, the 1468 inventory of Thomas Salle, citizen and draper of London (PROB 2/5) and that of John Teryngham (1484), scrivener of St. Olave Silver Street, London (PROB 2/13). Surprising for individuals who may well have been men of means, John Haynes of St. Mary at Hill, London, and Bexley, Kent, whose extensive document in 1554 (PROB 2/258B) inventoried the contents of both of his houses; one Sir Matthew Phelypp, alderman of London, who had a comprehensive inventory made of his house (PROB 2/8) in 1476; and Sir Bartholomew Rede of London's 1505 inventory (PROB 2/178A) (probably a fragment of the original), cannot be shown to have been in possession of books, liturgical or otherwise. Given the probably rates of literacy in this period, these men may well have been illiterate and thus may not have owned books.

Butcher and citizen of London, Richard Bele, did, however, possess his own copy of the "greate bybyll", as his inventory of 1483 reveals (PROB 2/11).

Citizen and leatherseller of London, John Skyrwyth,<sup>35</sup> required an extensive inventory in 1486 (PROB 2/15) to value both his shops and his personal possessions. Among his possessions is found a copy of the *Polychronicon* 'in paper prynttid'. This popular work of general history and theology was printed in English translation by Caxton in 1482 and then taken up in six editions by de Worde, beginning in 1495. A musical example in *Polychronicon*, a figure of four chords, is one of the only examples in English printing of music supplied as a block figure. Skyrwyth may well have owned Caxton's 1482 edition of this work; no other books appear among his assets.

The 1538 inventory of John Rastell<sup>36</sup> (PROB 2/692), citizen and stationer of London, reveals a small but extensive collection of eleven books, including maps of Europe, plays, a *Life of Saint Thomas of Canterbury*, and books of statutes, but no liturgical volumes.<sup>37</sup> Whether the books in Rastell's possession at the time of his death were books he had acquired himself for his own reading or were in his possession as a result of his work as a stationer is unclear. The wide variety of items suggests that at least some of the works may have been destined for the book trade.

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<sup>35</sup> This is possibly the same John Skyrwyth who was Scholar of Arts of the University of Oxford. See *BRUO*, vol. 3, p. 1711.

<sup>36</sup> Rastell is credited with the first attempts at single impression printing, in London circa 1520 (Grout and Palisca 1988, p. 208). For a summary of Rastell's work, see E. J. Devereux *A Bibliography of John Rastell*, McGill-Queen's University Press (Canada), 1999. See also *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23149>, accessed 11 Aug 2011.

<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of Rastell's inventory, see Roberts 1979.

The inventory in 1532 (PROB 2/484) of the possessions of Sir Henry Guldeford, KG, of London and Leeds Castle, Kent, provides a glimpse into the wealth of the English aristocracy of the period.<sup>38</sup> The ownership of several printed books (without titles) is documented among the contents of Leeds Castle, and liturgical books appear within the 'stuffe' of Guldeford's household chapels, both in his London home and at Leeds Castle. A 'small olde masse boke emprentid in paper', valued at 20d, is documented as a part of his London chapel, and a Missal and Breviary 'emprentid on paper', valued together at 2s 4d, are found among the possessions in the chapel at Leeds Castle. These printed liturgical books were undoubtedly required for the regular worship services of Guldeford's private chapels. These volumes may have been considered, at least by the scribe compiling the inventory and possibly by Guldeford himself, more a part of the chapel furnishings than private, devotional copies.

The inventories of only two women appear in the sampling of the London laity of the PROB 2 series for this study. The inventories of Dame Elizabeth Wayte, widow of London, and Anne Taverner, widow, dating from 1487 and 1537 respectively, have both suffered significant damage. Wayte's inventory (PROB 2/18) documents only one 'lytell boke', valued at 3s 4d; Taverner's inventory (PROB 2/517) offers no evidence of book ownership. One may

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<sup>38</sup> This is most likely the same Sir Henry Guildford (1489-1532) who served as master of the horse and controller of the royal household under Henry VIII. See 'Henry Guildford' in *ODNB*, vol. 23, pp. 324-27.

speculate that Wayte's small book may well have been a Book of Hours or other devotional reading common to late fifteenth-century English female readers of the upper classes.<sup>39</sup> Few women appear in the PROB 2 inventory series in general, probably because widows were the only women who would have been eligible to make wills.

Thus, from this survey of the laity represented in the PROB 2 inventories, while some general ownership of books is seen, personal ownership of liturgical books appears to be uncommon. Liturgical books may have been owned by literate, religious lay people with the means to acquire them and by members of the wealthy, upper classes as a part of the furnishings of household chapels.

It is not known on what basis those who compiled the inventories of the PROB 2 series based their valuation of books and other household goods. Clearly many of the liturgical books valued in these inventories were worth a substantial amount of money in the financial terms of the present day. The compilers of the inventories may have had in mind specific coinage of the day as a benchmark when valuing liturgical books. For example, the 1464 valuations of chaplain John Barker's Processional and Breviary were 10 shillings each, the value of the Rose-noble or Ryal coin of the fifteenth century (worth approximately £230 in today's currency<sup>40</sup>). For reasons that are unclear,

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<sup>39</sup> Meale and Boffey 1999, pp. 526-40.

<sup>40</sup> Information on currency and its conversion based on:  
[www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency) (accessed January/February 2009).

Barker's other Breviary, which should have been a similar book to his other Breviary, was valued at a slightly lesser amount, 8s 4d (worth approximately £195 today). Some of the valuations of vicar Robert Lynton's liturgical volumes in 1488 may also have been set to the value of particular coinage of the time; both his Manual and one of his 'olde jurnalls' were each valued at 6s 8d, the value of the fifteenth-century gold coin known as an 'Angel' (worth nearly £170 today). His Breviary (valued at 33s 4d) and gilt, red leather Missal (valued at 26s 8d) were valuable commodities indeed (and here the valuations most likely took into account the books' bindings and condition), being worth £840 and £670 respectively in today's currency. By contrast to Lynton's 6s Manual, William Atce's Manual was valued at a mere 20d some four years later. The value of priest's John Maynard's 'Jurnall' was placed at an 'Angel' (6s 8d) in 1492, while John Lewys' Breviary was valued at half of an Angel (3s 4d) two years later (again the books' bindings and condition may be reflected in the valuations).

With the sixteenth century's overall price inflation and devaluation of the pound sterling, the liturgical books of the PROB 2 inventories appear to have been valued at lesser amounts over time. The valuation of William Dawlyng's Missal in 1501 was 2s 8d (worth approximately £64 today). The continued devaluation of British currency throughout the first half of the sixteenth century may be evident from inventory valuations from the 1530s; Sir Henry Guldeford's printed Missal and Breviary together were valued at 2s 4d in 1532

(£37 today), and John Portenay's 'mass books' together were deemed to be worth 2 shillings in 1538 (£32 in today's currency)(although all of these valuations may reflect a book's condition, binding, etc.). Further examination of the book valuations of the PROB 2 inventories against the background of Medieval and Tudor currency may shed greater light on book acquisition and ownership of these historical periods.

### Marian Sarum Processionals: a case study in provenance

Examination of the provenance of extant copies of the eight Marian editions of the Sarum Processional (1554-58) provides a small glimpse into the journey of a printed Sarum book. At least one copy of each of the eight extant editions survives as a result of antiquaries and book collectors. The copy of the 1554 edition of the Processional<sup>41</sup> now held by the British Library carries the bookplates of both William Maskell<sup>42</sup> and the Reverend J. T. Barrett, MA. Similarly, a copy of one of the 1555 editions of the Processional (STC 16246) came to the British Library via antiquary and literary editor Edward Vernon Utterson.<sup>43</sup> Both of these British Library copies contain manuscript annotations and marginalia which suggest liturgical usage. The Maskell/Barrett copy offers an annotation in what appears to be a Tudor hand at the feast of Corpus Christi,

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<sup>41</sup> STC 16244.

<sup>42</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>43</sup> See ODNB. Arthur Sherbo, 'Utterson, Edward Vernon (*bap.* 1777, *d.* 1856)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28039, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

while the Utterson copy shows numerous annotations, including corrections to Latin spelling and an excerpt of Latin scripture from the book of Acts, chapter 5 (according to the marginalia of the same hand). The annotations of both books imply clerical usage and, therefore, possible sixteenth-century clerical ownership. In addition to the activities of Maskell/Barrett and Utterson, antiquaries Richard Gough<sup>44</sup> and Francis Douce<sup>45</sup> provided the Oxford Bodleian's five editions of the Processional, in a number of multiple copies. Further research may provide details of provenance for some or all of these copies prior to their antiquarian owners.

Three extant copies of Marian Sarum Processionals can be traced to their donors from Oxford and Cambridge colleges. A copy of the 1554 edition<sup>46</sup> carries the inscription 'Tim Neve CCC 1760'. A member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Neve became a Church of England clergyman.<sup>47</sup> A copy of the 1557 edition of the Processional<sup>48</sup> was left to St. John's College, Cambridge, by

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<sup>44</sup> See *ODNB*. R. H. Sweet, 'Gough, Richard (1735–1809)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11141, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

<sup>45</sup> See *ODNB*. C. Hurst, 'Douce, Francis (1757–1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7849, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

<sup>46</sup> STC 16244.

<sup>47</sup> See *ODNB*. W. P. Courtney, 'Neve, Timothy (1724–1798)', rev. Emma Major, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19919, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

<sup>48</sup> STC 16249.

Thomas Baker, another eighteenth-century Church of England clergyman.<sup>49</sup>

The New College, Oxford, copy of the one of the 1558 editions (STC 16250) was probably also an eighteenth-century gift, bearing a New College bookplate dating 1702 or after. This copy does not, however, appear in the College's detailed Benefaction Book, and therefore its donor is at present unknown. As with the extant copies of the Processional linked to antiquaries, further investigation may supply additional details of Processional ownership earlier than the eighteenth century.

Five other copies of Marian Processionals can be traced to their post-sixteenth-century owners. A copy of one of the 1555 editions (STC 16245<sup>50</sup>) held by the Huntington Library carries the signature of Nathaniel C. S. Poyntz<sup>51</sup> and is also known to have a former owner in James Rathwell Page.<sup>52</sup> Another copy of this edition, held by Dublin's Marsh Library, originally belonged to Edward

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<sup>49</sup> See ODNB. Frans Korsten, 'Baker, Thomas (1656–1740)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1138>, accessed 29 Aug 2011].

<sup>50</sup> The St. John's College, Cambridge, copy of STC 16245, as listed in the 1976 *Short-Title Catalogue*, has subsequently been found to be a cataloguing error; the book was most likely never held by St. John's College.

<sup>51</sup> The Reverend Nathaniel Castleton Stephen Poyntz (1846-d. unknown) was Vicar of Dorchester Abbey from 1886 to 1920. [<http://www.thepeerage.com>, accessed 25 August 2011]

<sup>52</sup> James Rathwell Page (d. 1942) was a Trustee of the California Institute of Technology and a long-time resident of Los Angeles.

Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester.<sup>53</sup> Archbishop Marsh<sup>54</sup> purchased Stillingfleet's library in 1705 for the sum of £2,500.

The Trinity College, Dublin, copy of the 1555 Rouen edition<sup>55</sup> was one of approximately 13,000 printed books bequeathed to Trinity College, Dublin, Library in 1742 by Claudius Gilbert.<sup>56</sup> The title page of this copy presents several manuscript annotations, including 'Alexander', the beginning of what appears an inscription in 'To my most and', and what may be a signature but is now crossed through. Another copy of the 1555 Rouen edition, originally held by the Colchester Public Library but now housed in the University of Essex Library, was part of the personal library of Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York (1629-31). A copy of the Sarum Processional is perhaps an unusual possession for a priest known to have 'preached against Popery'.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> See ODNB. Barry Till, 'Stillingfleet, Edward (1635-1699)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26526, accessed 31 Aug 2011]

<sup>54</sup> See ODNB. Muriel McCarthy, 'Marsh, Narcissus (1638-1713)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18115, accessed 31 Aug 2011]

<sup>55</sup> STC 16248.

<sup>56</sup> See ODNB. J. T. Gilbert, 'Gilbert, Claudius, the younger (1670-1742)', rev. Philip Carter, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10685, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

<sup>57</sup> See ODNB. Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, 'Harsnett, Samuel (*bap.* 1561, *d.* 1631)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12466, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

The copy of the 1554 edition of the Processional,<sup>58</sup> first held by Liverpool Anglican Cathedral and now at the University of Liverpool, offers the following inscription on the front fly leaf:

*Mr [word crossed out] compliments to Lady [word crossed out] and begs her acceptance of a Sarum Processional*

*It came from the Sheldon family.*

*And was printed at London in the reign of Queen Mary the first.*

While there is no further indication of the giver and receiver of this book, the aforementioned Sheldon family may well be that of Ralph Sheldon, a wealthy, Catholic, gentry family of the seventeenth century.<sup>59</sup> This book then appears to have passed into the hands of English novelist and poet, John Meade Falkner,<sup>60</sup> whose bookplate also appears.

Sixteenth-century owners can be identified for at least four copies of the Marian Sarum Processional. The copy of one of the two 1558 Antwerp editions (STC 16250) held by St. John's College, Oxford, offers the title page inscription 'HP' dated 1600, which is most likely that of Henry Price (ca. 1566-1601), who took his Oxford BA in 1587 and served as chaplain to Sir Henry Lee,<sup>61</sup> who himself was in the service of Elizabeth I. St. John's College archives note that

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<sup>58</sup> STC 16244.

<sup>59</sup> See ODNB. Jan Broadway, 'Sheldon, Ralph (1623-1684)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25306, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

<sup>60</sup> For Falkner's biography, see [www.johnmeadefalknersociety.co.uk](http://www.johnmeadefalknersociety.co.uk).

<sup>61</sup> See ODNB. Ewan Fernie, 'Lee, Sir Henry (1533-1611)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16288, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

'some old Sarum liturgical works' were left by Price to the College; further research may reveal the other Sarum volumes. The Huntington Library's copy of the 1555 Rouen edition<sup>62</sup> includes the title page inscription 'Thomas Wood verus possessor 1598', in addition to an extract from what appears to be a moral treatise on pride and humility, as seen in Figure 4.1.

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<sup>62</sup> STC 16248.

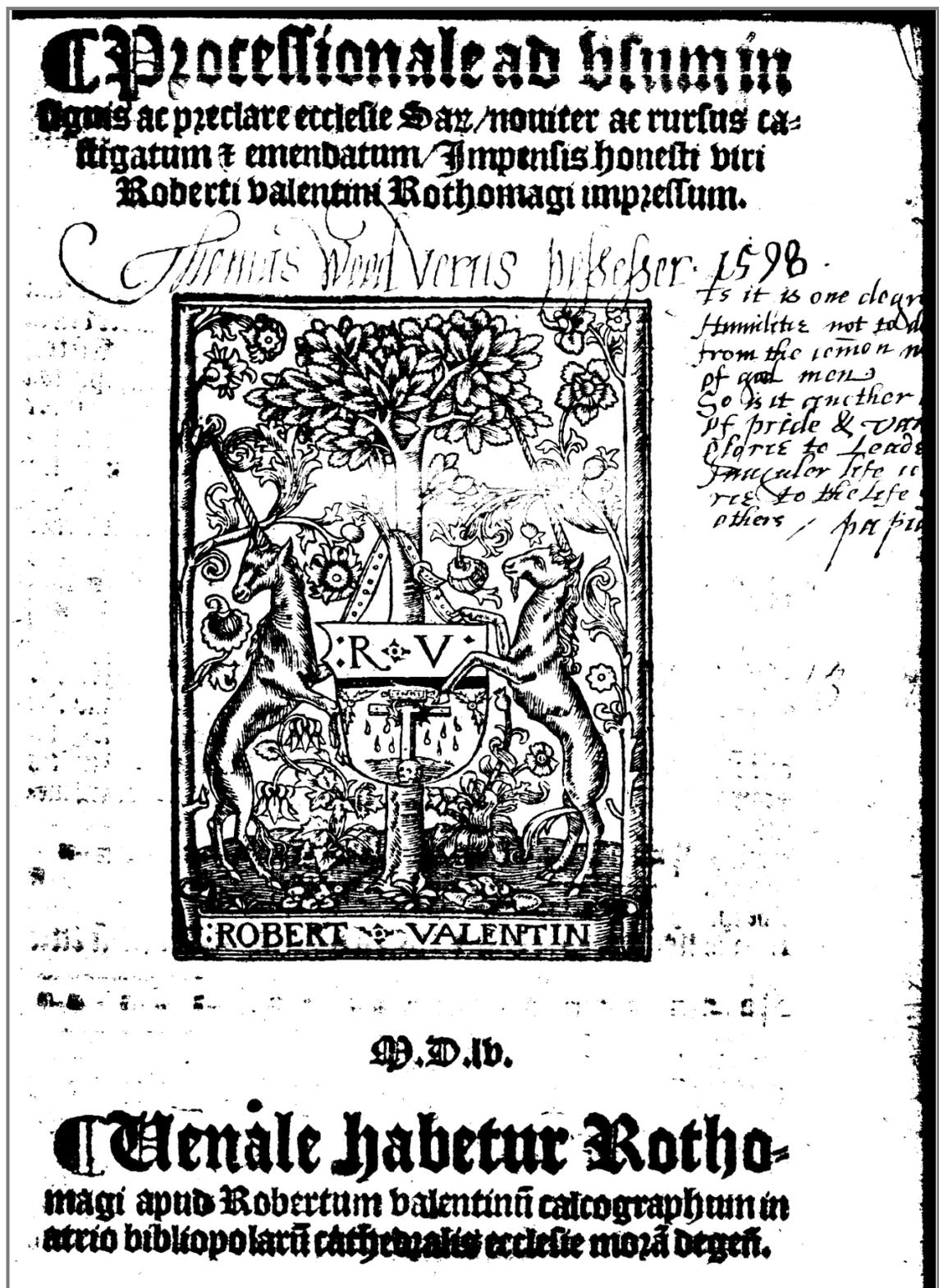


Figure 4.1 1555 Sarum Processional (STC 16248), showing a title page inscription of ownership and an extract from a moral treatise. [Image from EEBO]

While Thomas Wood has not yet been positively identified, it is possible, given the annotation relating to morality, that he may have been either a member of the clergy<sup>63</sup> or simply a devout (and possibly recusant) book collector. If a clergyman, it is unlikely that he would have been using the book for its liturgical purpose in 1598.

The copy of the 1554 edition of the Processional<sup>64</sup> found in the Huntington Library contains an armorial bookplate with the motto 'Bonne et belle assez'.<sup>65</sup> This motto has connections with the Belasyse (or Bellasis) family, a prominent gentry family which can be traced to at least ca. 1500.<sup>66</sup> Although priest Anthony Bellasis, chaplain to Henry VIII, died in 1552, his nephew William Bellasis, who may have retained Catholic leanings, may have acquired the Processional during the reign of Mary I. The family appears to have maintained a connection to the Catholic faith over the next generations.

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<sup>63</sup> The owner of this copy of the Processional may have been the Thomas Wood, rector of Stoke Trister, Somerset, in 1591, or the man of the same name who was rector of Stowting, Kent, in 1593. See Foster 1891-2, p. 1672.

<sup>64</sup> STC 16244.

<sup>65</sup> The motto can be seen on the monument to Sir Henry Belasyse (1648-1717) in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>66</sup> See ODNB. Christine M. Newman, 'Bellasis family (*per. c.*1500-1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71863, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

Found in the Bishop Cosin<sup>67</sup> Library of the University of Durham, another copy of the 1554 edition of the Processional contains the inscription 'I.G' on the endpaper taken from an as yet unidentified English work, probably contemporary with the Processional. The title page carries the motto 'Gratia Dei sum q[uo]d sum' which has been linked to Anthony Molineux of the sixteenth century.<sup>68</sup> Another book with this motto<sup>69</sup> is held by Emmanuel College, Cambridge. While no 'Anthony Molineux' appears in the register at Cambridge in the sixteenth century, two men with that name appear at Oxford: one, a clergyman, at Magdalen College, who died in 1558,<sup>70</sup> and another at Corpus Christi College in 1554-55. It is possible that one of these men is the original owner of this Processional, and clarification of these details may provide further evidence of clergy ownership of the Processional.

The British Library's copy of one of the 1555 London editions of the Processional (STC 16247) offers the possible indication of more than one sixteenth-century owner. The front endpapers display the signature of 'J F van de veld' in what appears to be a Tudor hand. The final fly leaf contains a 5-line annotation in English, in what appears to be a different Tudor hand, which

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<sup>67</sup> See ODNB. Anthony Milton, 'Cosin, John (1595-1672)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6372>, accessed 29 Aug 2011]

<sup>68</sup> Pearson 1994, p. 30.

<sup>69</sup> Ambrose, St., Bp. of Milan. *Opera omnia...*, ed. Erasmus, 1549 (Paris, C Guillard and G Desboys).

<sup>70</sup> See Foster 1891-2, p. 1019. The 'Anthony Molyneux' at Magdalen College later served as Rector of Walton-on-the-Hill, Lancaster, in 1543, as well as rector of Sefton, Lancaster, and Tring, Hertfordshire. There is no indication that the 'Anthony Molineux' at Corpus Christi College was a priest.

seems to attribute the book to a 'Wyllyam Pompley (?) of Wyllyamsford'.

Neither of these men has yet been identified, either as clergy or laymen. The final fly leaf annotation concludes with what appears to be a valuation of the book at 'ijs iiijd'. Further research is necessary to connect this book and its valuation with wills and inventories of the period.

### EVIDENCE OF INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP

The necessity and the requirements for institutional ownership of Sarum liturgical books trace their roots to the medieval church at Salisbury. With the founding of 'New Sarum' (Salisbury) and the construction of its new cathedral between 1220 and 1266<sup>71</sup> came important advances for Sarum Use. After the earlier medieval diversity in rites and ceremonies, both the Ordinal (a directory of services which laid out the ritual order of the liturgy) and the Consuetudinary (later known as the customary, the manual of customs which described the ceremonial actions of the liturgy and the various duties of the officers of an ecclesiastical institution) were born from the need at this time for detailed and systematic organization of the cathedral's liturgical practices. The Ordinal and the Consuetudinary, although more reference books than service books, became the first two books of the Sarum Use; recorded in visitation records from the 1220's onward, the Ordinal promptly became a necessary book

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<sup>71</sup> William the Conqueror had relocated the see of Sherborne (founded in 705) to the site known as 'Old Sarum' in 1075; however, Bishop Richard Poore (1217-1228), after securing papal approval and royal support, sought to re-site Sarum once again to meadowland adjacent to the confluence of the Avon and Nadder rivers, nearly two miles from 'Old Sarum'.

for all the parish churches of the diocese.<sup>72</sup> Because 'New Sarum' was a non-monastic foundation, its liturgical practices would have translated easily to (secular) parish churches, unlike, for example, the liturgical practices of Canterbury (then and now the see of England's primate) or Winchester (important in ecclesiastical renewal in the late Saxon period) which at that time were Benedictine foundations. Dissemination of Sarum Use continued throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and became not only the standard liturgical practice for parish churches, but also for academic colleges and household chapels (evidence of printed Sarum liturgical books in the furnishings of a household chapel will have been seen in the inventories of PROB 2, discussed earlier in this chapter). While the Uses of Hereford and York survived in printed books into the sixteenth century, the final move toward uniformity began in 1542 with the Convocation of Canterbury's requirement that the clergy of all of southern England adopt the Sarum Breviary.<sup>73</sup> Printers, publishers, and booksellers in London and Europe may have assisted the transition to liturgical uniformity with the first printed books of the Sarum rite, although the widespread circulation of Sarum Use may simply have furnished printers with material that was readily available.

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<sup>72</sup> Sandon 1980, p. 159.

<sup>73</sup> This call for Sarum Use by the Convocation came in the same year as their demand for a revision of the Great Bible (to conform to the Latin Vulgate) and may reflect the King's response to the proliferating number of editions of liturgical and paraliturgical texts in print.

## Requirements

Statutes issued by Archbishop Stephen Langton between July 1213 and July 1214 for the diocese of Canterbury indicate that all churches, whether monastic, cathedral, collegiate, or parish should possess the necessary 'suitable' liturgical books 'for singing and reading':

*Ad hec precipimus ut quelibet ecclesia habeat calicem argenteum cum aliis vasis decentibus et honestis, sindonem mundam et candidam amplitudinis congruentis, lintheamina et alia ornamenta que ad altaris officium spectant honesta, libros ad psallendum et legendum ydoneos et sacerdotalia vestimenta sufficientia pariter et honesta, et qui ministrant sacerdoti in altari superpelliciis induantur.<sup>74</sup>*

Therefore we decree that every church should have silver chalices with some decent and proper vessels, a fine and white linen with matching folds, an altar cloth and other proper ornaments which pertain to the service of the altar, books for singing and reading of the Propers and a full set of decent, priestly vestments, and the priests who minister at the altar should be robed in surplices.

While Archbishop Langton implied that books are as important as various church furnishings for worship, Bishop Fulk Basset, in his statutes for the diocese of London (1245-1259), stated this principle even more directly:

*Precipimus ut cimiteria sint bene clausa propter immunda animalia et tam ecclesie quam domus ad eas pertinentes competenter secundum facultates ecclesiarum edificentur; ipse quoque ecclesie sint decenter ornate, tam in libris quam in sacris vasis et in vestimentis altaris. Omnes quoque ludi et placita secularia a locis sacris penitus arceantur.<sup>75</sup>*

We decree that cemeteries should be enclosed well against unclean animals, and that churches should be constructed just as well as a house, properly observing the appropriate regulations for churches;

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<sup>74</sup> Powicke and Cheney 1964, p. 29 (c. 18).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 647 [62]. The emphasis is mine.

also these churches should be properly adorned, just as much with books as with sacred vessels and altar cloths. Also, all games and secular pleasures should be completely banned from holy places.

Recorded customs of the Salisbury diocese written between ca. 1228 and ca. 1256 note the responsibilities of parishioners for the provision of church furnishings for their parish churches and specifically require a missal along with other 'libros sufficientes'. In addition, the same passage charges the vicar or chaplain with the responsibility of replacing the vestments or books of the parish church should they be stolen.<sup>76</sup> Synodal statutes of Bishop William of Bitton I for the diocese of Bath and Wells dating from ca. 1258 not only list the specific types of liturgical book required by churches, but also stipulate that these books should be copied from those of the major churches and fully corrected according to 'our use', giving churches a period of two years in which to complete these and other church-furnishing tasks:

*... Habeatque libros, scilicet missale, breviarium, antiphonarium, gradale, tropharium, ordinale, et psalterium, que omnia in maioribus ecclesiis que sufficient duplicentur, et secundum usum ecclesie nostre plenius corrigantur, ne propter falsitatem ipsorum, quod sepe contingit, multa proferantur in dei ecclesia minus caute.*<sup>77</sup>

...and it should have books, namely: a Missal, a Breviary, an Antiphoner, a Gradual, a Troper, an Ordinal, and a Psalter; all of which should be copied from those which are required in the greater churches, and corrected in accordance with the rite of our church as much as is needed so that they do not bring into the Church of God – through less caution – the falsehoods (heresies?) which they often contain.

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pp. 512-513 [8].

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 599 [15].

This passage later cautioned churches against the acquisition of books ‘thrown out of monasteries’, probably because these books would have been inappropriate for parish churches (monasteries most likely had liturgical books specific to their monastic order). Thus, the early church of Sarum (as well as other dioceses throughout England) was concerned with the dissemination of a Use that was complete and correct and was aware of the important role which liturgical books would play in the transmission of the Sarum rite.

Later thirteenth-century statutes, including statutes of Exeter from 1287 and those of Archbishop of Canterbury, John Pecham (1279-1292), also charge parish churches with the ownership of and any necessary repairs to church ornaments and furnishings, including liturgical books; the Missal, Gradual, Troper, Manual (containing the offices of baptism, marriage, burial, etc.), Legenda, Antiphoner, Psalter, Ordinal, Venitarium (a music book containing invitatories), Hymnal, and a book of collects are specifically listed.<sup>78</sup> By the early fourteenth century, the list of books required by parish churches had changed little; Archbishop Robert Winchelsey’s constitution for the province of Canterbury stipulated that parish church should own a Missal, Antiphoner, Gradual, Troper, Ordinal, Psalter, Legenda, and Manual.<sup>79</sup> In addition to the usual occasional offices, this later manual would also have included the

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<sup>78</sup> Powicke and Cheney 1964, pp. 1005-1008 [12] and 1122-1123 [VII].

<sup>79</sup> Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Lib. III tit. 27, pp. 251-52.

processional.<sup>80</sup> Wordsworth and Littlehales<sup>81</sup> suggest that priests most likely would have used their own personal breviary for private recitation of the Office, while the Office could be sung from the parish's copies of the Antiphoner, Legenda, and Psalter. Thus, by the fourteenth century, the canonical requirements for liturgical book ownership and care, as a part of overall church furnishing, were well-established for the church of Sarum (as they were similarly for Continental dioceses and churches of the early fourteenth century<sup>82</sup>).

Whether or not English parish churches were able to comply completely with the requirements initially, it fell to the episcopal and archdiaconal visitations to ensure that parish churches upheld their responsibilities. As early as the 1287 statutes of Exeter, parish churches were cautioned as to the penalties for not fulfilling the requirements regarding church furnishings, ornaments, and books:

*Et quoniam audivimus quod quidam nobis et locorum archidiaconis illudentes, cum sibi ecclesiastica deficient ornamenta, tempore visitationis exhibent aliena pro suis, mendaciter asserentes illa sua esse que ab aliis accomodarunt, hanc fraudem sub pena excommunicationis decetero fieri prohibemus.*<sup>83</sup>

And, since we have heard that some people are mocking us and the archdeacons of those places, when they are lacking their own ecclesiastical adornments, but put on show other people's at the time

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<sup>80</sup> Wordsworth and Littlehales 1904, pp. 32-33.

<sup>81</sup> Wordsworth and Littlehales 1904, pp. 26-27, cited in Kisby 2002.

<sup>82</sup> Kumin 1996, p. 18.

<sup>83</sup> Powicke and Cheney 1964, p. 1006.

of a visitation as if they were their own, falsely asserting that they own things which they have borrowed from others, we prohibit this deception from being carried out by anyone else, under penalty of excommunication.

This passage suggests that parish churches in this early period may have initially struggled to fulfil the requirements on church furnishings (possibly including liturgical books) and that some had resorted to borrowing when faced with an episcopal or archdiaconal visitation.

Thus, Canon Law put in place after the founding of 'New Sarum' in the thirteenth century made specific requirements on parish churches for the acquisition and ownership of liturgical books. It was to these requirements that parish churches continued to be held by the official visitations to parishes of archbishops and archdeacons into the sixteenth century (and, therefore, into the era of printed books).

As well as their use in cathedrals and 'royal peculiars', Sarum liturgical books were, of course, required by parish churches and had been in use in their manuscript forms throughout the medieval period. Instructions to parishioners to supply, among other church wares, various liturgical books are contained in records of visitations by bishops, deans, and archdeacons to parish churches; these books span the usual array and include the Antiphoner, the Gradual, the Missal, as well as the Legend, the Ordinal, the Psalter, the Manual, and the Troper. Records of a parochial visitation in the diocese of Salisbury circa 1485 by the Archdeacon of Dorset present the Archdeacon's charge to the

parishioners for the acquisition and maintenance of 7 liturgical books: Antiphoner, Breviary, Legend, Pye, Psalter, Missal, and Manual.<sup>84</sup> Thus, the ownership of a minimum number of liturgical books by churches was required by the authority of the Church.

#### Evidence from the visitations of Kent

The register of official visitations to the parish churches and religious houses of Kent by Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham<sup>85</sup> show how some parish churches in the Tudor period were managing the Church's requirements on liturgical books. Archbishop Warham and his delegates made visitations to the parish churches of the Archdeaconry of Canterbury (which was divided into eleven deaneries) between 1511 and 1512, and the visitations exposed a variety of deficiencies in the parochial supply and upkeep of liturgical books. While the records of these visitations of Kent were published in 1984, they have not been analysed before now for evidence of parochial book ownership in relation to the Church's requirements.

Among the 12 churches of the Deanery of Westbere, only one church was found to be deficient in liturgical books. The parish church of Swalecliffe<sup>86</sup> was found to be in possession of a Missal which was 'not sufficient', and the

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<sup>84</sup> Wordsworth 1901, p. 29-31.

<sup>85</sup> K. L. Wood-Legh 1984.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77 (f. 47r and *Acta*, f. 61v).

Churchwardens were charged to provide a satisfactory book by the next Easter or face excommunication. No further details are given about the Missal found in Swalecliffe; one might assume that the book was perhaps in a poor physical state and that it was inadequate for use in services.

Difficulties with the supply, state, and general whereabouts of liturgical books were shown in five parish churches within the 26 churches of the Deanery of Sandwich. With approximately 19 percent of churches within this Deanery reporting deficiencies, Sandwich appears to have had the most difficulty with the provision of liturgical books of all of the Deaneries visited. In the church at Ham,<sup>87</sup> the Breviary was found to be incomplete and that it 'lakkithe many thinges'; the Churchwardens were then required to supply a complete Breviary, once again by the next Easter under penalty of excommunication. The parish church of Coldred<sup>88</sup> was found to be entirely lacking in both a Breviary and an Antiphoner, which suggests that the saying and singing of the Daily Office was perhaps not a regular occurrence there. The next Christmas was set as the deadline by which the Churchwardens should supply both liturgical books. A lack of books of the *Novum Festum* (new feasts) was discovered at the church of Eastry,<sup>89</sup> and the Churchwardens were required to supply the books by the next feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24<sup>th</sup> June). It is unclear from the visitation documents whether the

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 95 (f. 48r and *Acta*, f. 63v).

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 96 (f. 48r and *Acta*, f. 66v).

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p.100 (f. 48v and *Acta*, f. 67r).

church lacked a Missal containing the new feasts, a Breviary, or both (the Churchwardens are simply charged with providing 'libros pro novis festis'). If one assumes that this record refers to the *Officia Nova* Breviary (of which Caxton and Pynson had nearly cornered the printing market), it is perhaps surprising that Eastry church was not in possession of one, given that Pynson had been printing editions of the book since the late 1490s. One Henry West, of the church of West Langdon,<sup>90</sup> prior to Archbishop Warham's visitation, had been charged in the Archdeacon's court with the removal of a Missal from the church. At the visitation West explained that the Missal was destroyed when his house burnt down, and, upon agreement from the Churchwardens, West's charge was dismissed. Curiously, no provision or requirement appears to have been made by the visitation delegation for the replacement of the Missal. At the church of St. Clement,<sup>91</sup> once again liturgical books for the new feasts were found to be lacking, although the Churchwardens claimed that they had already provided them. In addition, a psalter was found to be missing, and its whereabouts were unknown since its removal from the church by a former, late vicar. Once again, the Archbishop's delegation appears to have made no requirement of the church for the restoration of these missing books.

In approximately 14 percent of the churches within the Deanery of Dover (which included 21 churches in total), an inadequate supply of books was again

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp.105-6 (f. 48v and *Acta*, f. 67v).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., pp. 110-11 (f. 49r and *Acta*, f. 68r).

seen. The church of Westcliffe<sup>92</sup> was found to lack a Missal containing the new feasts, a legible Breviary for the choir, and other unspecified books. The Churchwardens were charged with providing a Missal containing the *Festa Nova*, a legible Breviary, and 'other necessary books' by the next feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15<sup>th</sup> August) on the penalty of excommunication. The lack of an Antiphoner was found at the church of Alkham,<sup>93</sup> the Churchwardens to provide one under the same terms and time frame as at the church in Westcliffe. At the church of Newingtone,<sup>94</sup> funds (26s 8d)<sup>95</sup> bequeathed for the purchase of an Antiphoner had been withdrawn, leaving the church without the means to purchase a new book.

In the Deanery of Elham, only one church of the 14 within the Deanery, that at Lyminge,<sup>96</sup> presented difficulties with liturgical books. An unpaid bequest to the church for the purchase of a new Gradual was ordered to be completed, along with the repair of a number of books, including the 'best' Antiphoner and 'best' Gradual. The Churchwardens agreed to oversee the completion of all of these items by the next feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The church of Kingsnorth<sup>97</sup> was the only church of the 39 churches within the Deanery of Lyminge to be found with liturgical books in an inadequate state; thus with no

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 118 (f. 49v and *Acta*, f. 69r).

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp. 120-1 (f. 49v and *Acta*, f. 69r).

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., pp. 127-8 (f. 50r and *Acta*).

<sup>95</sup> 26s 8d = £1 + 1 Angel coin

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., pp. 135-6 (f. 50 v and *Acta*, f. 71r).

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., pp. 162-3 (f. 52r and *Acta*, f. 73v).

difficulties reported with approximately 98 percent of the churches of Lyminge, this Deanery appears to have been the best supplied with liturgical books of those visited. At the church of Kingsnorth, the Churchwardens were tasked with the repair of the Gradual, which lacked a cover, to be completed by the next Easter.

Three churches of the 28 which made up the Deanery of Bridge also presented deficiencies in the provision of liturgical books. A general and unspecified lack of books was seen at the church of Petham,<sup>98</sup> and the Antiphoner was seen to need repair. The 'necessary books' were to be supplied by the Churchwardens, who were also charged with the repair of the Antiphoner by the next Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A 'sufficient legendary' was to be supplied by the Churchwardens of the church of Bishopsbourne,<sup>99</sup> and both a Gradual and Antiphoner were to be provided by the Churchwardens of the church of Kingston.<sup>100</sup> The deadline set by the Archbishop's delegation for acquisition of a Gradual was the next Easter, whereas the Churchwardens had until the feast of St. Michael the Archangel (29<sup>th</sup> September) to procure an Antiphoner. The different deadlines imposed on the Churchwardens may suggest that the visitation delegation felt the Gradual was the more important of the two books and therefore should be purchased first. Alternatively, perhaps the acquisition of two liturgical books at once was

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., pp. 172-3 (f. 52v and *Acta*, f. 64r).

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p.186 (f. 53f and *Actum*, f. 66r).

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 186-7 (f. 53v and *Acta*, f. 66r)

seen by the Archbishop's delegation to be too great a financial burden on a parish church.

Insufficient liturgical books were found in only two of the 25 churches of the Deanery of Charing. The church of Smarden<sup>101</sup> lacked two Processionals; while the church of Great Chart<sup>102</sup> was without books containing the new feasts. Among the 24 churches of the Deanery of Ospringe, only 2 churches were found to have inadequate liturgical books. The church of Luddenham<sup>103</sup> was in need of both a Processional and a Breviary, and, although the church of Graveney<sup>104</sup> owned both a Breviary and a Manual, the Archbishop and his delegates deemed them 'not sufficient to serve God on'. The Churchwardens of Graveney were required either to repair both books or replace them by the next Easter. Only one church of the 24 churches in the Deanery of Sittingbourne, that at Murston,<sup>105</sup> was found lacking in books. In addition, the church of Stockbury,<sup>106</sup> within the same Deanery, was granted 10 marks<sup>107</sup> for the purchase of an Antiphoner by the executors of one Thomas Bromfeld (in a dispute following the executors' attempted withdrawal of the funds originally bequeathed to the church). As the records do not indicate the church's lack of

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 199 (f. 53v and *Acta*, f. 74v).

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 220 (f. 55v and *Acta*, 79r).

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., pp. 224-5 (f. 55v and *Acta*, f. 81v).

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., pp. 243-4 (f. 56v and *Acta*, f. 83v).

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 260-1 (f. 57v and *Acta*, f. 80r).

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp. 265-6 (f. 58r and *Acta*, f. 80v).

<sup>107</sup> A specifically Tudor coinage, the mark sterling was worth 160p, £0.667, or 13s 4p.

an Antiphoner, one may assume that the Archbishop's visitation sought to ensure that Stockbury acquired a new copy of the Antiphoner (by ordering Bromfeld's executors to honour the bequest); this may therefore demonstrate the importance placed on liturgical books by the Archbishop's delegation.

Within the Deanery of Sutton and its 26 churches, the church of Linton<sup>108</sup> was found to own an imperfect Manual; while the church at Maidstone<sup>109</sup> was required to repair its (unspecified) books and also to supply a 'Rector's book'. Apart from the Deaneries of Sandwich and Lyminge, roughly 10 percent of churches in each Deanery were reported for deficiencies in liturgical book ownership by the Archbishop's delegation. Thus, given the relatively few churches reported to have had inadequacies in this area, one can state that the parish churches of Kent had been largely successful in fulfilling the requirements set by the Church's Canon Law. However, in several cases documented above (particularly in the troubled Deanery of Sandwich), the Archbishop's delegation failed to enforce the requirements completely, particularly in cases in which the whereabouts of the books in question were unknown. The records of Archbishop Warham's visitations show that the most common difficulty with liturgical books was the lack of provision for the *Nova Festa*, perhaps somewhat surprising in 1511-12 for feasts that were fully a part of the Sarum liturgical calendar by the late 1490s. However, because relatively

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 289-90 (f. 58v and *Acta*, f. 78v).

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 290-1 (f. 58v and *Acta*, f. 77r).

few of the churches overall within the Archdeaconry of Canterbury were found to be lacking in *Nova Festa* material, one may conclude that most parish churches visited by the Archbishop were prepared for and were celebrating these new feasts.

Another important finding from the registers of Warham's visitations is the provision of 10 marks for the purchase of a new Antiphoner. Did the Archbishop's delegation intend that this sum of over £6 would be sufficient for the purchase of a new copy of the Antiphoner? Assuming that this book would have been a folio-sized volume for the choir, a substantial sum such as this may well have been required. However, these visitation records pre-date the first printed edition of the Sarum Antiphoner (1519) by several years; therefore the new volume in question must have been a manuscript edition. It is interesting to note that of the bequests recorded toward specific liturgical books, the Antiphoner appears most commonly in these visitation records. One may speculate that because these liturgical books were manuscript copies until at least 1519 and would have been required for the Daily Office Antiphoners may have required frequent replacement.

Various questions arise from the differing deadlines given to the Churchwardens of the parish churches for the supply of new liturgical books or the repair of existing ones. Given that the majority of the Kent visitations took place in the autumn, a deadline of the next feast of Easter (spring) would

obviously fall before a deadline of the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist or the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Were the parish visitors creating a hierarchy of deadlines based on their assessment of the importance of the corrections to be made, with an eye toward both the affordability and feasibility for the churches of acquiring liturgical books? Or were the deadlines that were set more or less arbitrary, given the practicality that these important liturgical feast days would require a full set of liturgical books for their celebration? Given the penalty of excommunication for the failure to comply with the orders of the visitation delegation, one might assume that the requirements and deadlines given to the Churchwardens of the parish churches were taken seriously.

#### Evidence from London Churches

Amidst the various requirements for books by liturgical authorities, parish churches in London were mostly successful in possessing and maintaining the required library of liturgical texts. The records, churchwardens' accounts, and inventories of St. Mary at Hill<sup>110</sup> indicate that the purchase and repair of liturgical books were regular features of the life of the church. Antiphoners, Breviaries, Hymnals, Missals, and Processionals all appear to have been in use at St. Mary at Hill over the period from 1420 to 1559, although the 1431 inventory of the church furniture, which mentions among the (manuscript)

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<sup>110</sup> Littlehales 1905.

books held by the church '2 great Antiphoners, 4 old small antiphoners, 2 Mass books, and 4 processional's', suggests that the parish priest may have supplied his own copy of the Breviary or may have been able to say the daily offices from the collection of books in the church's possession.

The Antiphoners mentioned in these records from St. Mary at Hill would all have been manuscript versions, as the Antiphoner was the last of the Sarum liturgical books to be issued in a printed edition (in 1519 and 1520). The parish's Churchwardens' accounts show that money was regularly spent for the repair and binding of these manuscript Antiphoners, although it is unclear from the records how many Antiphoners the church may have possessed at any given time. The accounts first record in the period 1479-1481 the purchase from a Stationer of 'the great Antiphoner' for the sum of 22s 2d (including the addition of a quire of 'clean' paper bound into the book, the Stationer's 'reward', and the delivery ('bearing') of the book back to the church). The years 1487-88 saw the expense of 6s 8d for the repair of an old Antiphoner, including its 'writing', 'noting' and 'new binding', and the 'costs of the choir' in 1491-92 also included 6s for the repair of an Antiphoner. The sum of 8s was spent in 1513-14 for the purchase of 10 new bosses for another new (manuscript) Antiphoner, amid the covering and mending of 15 'books great and small'. Copies of the 1519/1520 printed edition of the Antiphoner may have been in the church's possession and heavily used when in 1529-30 Michael Green, the parish clerk, was paid 16d to repair 'ye Antiphoners that lie in the choir that

[were] torn and broken'. One might well expect copies of the Antiphoner, probably in daily use, to require repair.

Similar accounts from 1487-88 and 1491-92 record repairs to the Breviary (16d) and the addition of 2 clasps to the Missal (16d), respectively. Both this Breviary and Missal may have been new printed books, recently purchased by the church, or the older manuscript versions. The years 1496-97 saw the purchase of a new 'cowcher', most likely a large service book, not specifically identified.<sup>111</sup> Thus, the records of St. Mary at Hill offer some evidence of the church's ownership of liturgical books, although no mention is made of all of the liturgical books which must have been in the church's possession and regular use.

The Churchwardens' accounts of the parish of All Hallows, London Wall, which cover the period 1455 to 1536, offer some, although much more limited, evidence of the church's ownership of liturgical books. The accounts record the re-covering of a very early (manuscript) Missal and the collection of a new (manuscript) Missal in 1456. Other entries document the binding, clasping, and storage of service books, although none of the books is given specific identification.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>112</sup> Welch 1912.

The Churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, in the city of London, also offer a limited view of the church's ownership of liturgical books, owing to a break in the records between 1475 and 1548. However, the early accounts record expenditure on the repair, binding, covering, and clasping of 'diverse books of the Church'. In addition, the accounts from 1465 show that the church required 2 chains for two Psalters in the church's Lady chapel for the sum of 2s and 2d; a chain was repaired for a book in the Lady chapel in 1468 at the price of 4d.<sup>113</sup>

In her study of books owned by London parish churches before 1603, Fiona Kisby examined the inventories of 30 parish churches in London dating from the mid-to-late fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century.<sup>114</sup> The major liturgical books (Missal, Gradual, Antiphoner, and Processional) were found to be owned by most of the parish churches which kept such records. By contrast, Breviaries were not common in parochial book ownership, most likely because parish priests required their own copy of the book for recitation of the Office throughout the day (unlike, for example, within a monastery, where group recitation of the Office would lend itself to collective use of the Breviary). With Breviaries being the second most commonly owned book, the evidence of personal liturgical book ownership among clergymen of the PROB 2 inventories supports the idea that the Breviary was an individual acquisition rather than an

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<sup>113</sup> W. H. Overall 1871.

<sup>114</sup> Kisby 2002.

institutional one. Hymnals were also uncommon in the parish church inventories; these books may well have been owned either individually or collectively by the groups of singers who required them. As some of these inventories date from before the introduction of printing in England, the liturgical books seen in the first part of this survey most likely represent both manuscript and printed copies. However, the data does suggest that London parish churches were able to meet the Church's requirements for liturgical books.

Surprisingly little evidence from Kisby's survey points to parochial ownership of printed liturgical books; only a handful of churches appeared to record in their Churchwardens' accounts the 'printed' state of their liturgical books. This is possibly a result of the nature of record-keeping; only a few church accounts may simply have been detailed enough to include a description of a book as 'printed'. Alternatively, parish churches may have been slow to replace their manuscript editions of liturgical books with printed editions as they emerged. Although it is perhaps simply an insufficient quantity of data from which to make a thorough analysis, the figures from this part of Kisby's survey do not appear to support the theory that the advent of printing quickly placed many copies of printed books into general circulation. While the printing press may have swiftly put books into the hands of individual owners, it is possible that institutions such as parish churches were much slower to take up the product of the new technology. Apart from specific

provision for the *Nova Festa*, the liturgy of the Church as carried by printed books remained largely unchanged. Thus, parish churches may not have seen an immediate and pressing need to replace functional, manuscript versions with new, printed ones. Printed liturgical editions may have been acquired by churches simply as and when a new copy of a particular book was needed. Further research on institutional ownership of books in other areas outside London (e.g., York, Bristol, Boston) may shed further light on parochial ownership of printed liturgical books and give a clearer picture of book ownership in the smaller urban centres of England.<sup>115</sup>

## THE MARKET FOR LITURGICAL BOOKS

Unlike the market for other classes of early printed books which was usually quite speculative, the market for printed liturgical books, as a result of their functional status, had been established by the manuscript book trade in the centuries before the advent of printing. Thus, when Graham Pollard wrote 'in the usual course of trade a book will never be printed until someone thinks it can be sold',<sup>116</sup> he most likely did not have liturgical books in mind, but rather the many other categories of book produced by early printers aimed at the general public. The pre-existing market for liturgical books meant that the

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<sup>115</sup> For a study of the book trade in York, see John Barnard and Maureen Bell 1994 and for recent studies of choral music in pre-Reformation York, see Colton 2003 and 2005. For Bristol, see Burgess 1985. For Boston, see Williamson 2005.

<sup>116</sup> Pollard 1978, p. 9.

printers of Tudor London may initially have had some idea of the degree of demand for a particular liturgical text from both institutional and individual buyers before deciding to produce an edition.

The Missal was a liturgical text that would have had both institutional and individual (primarily clerical) markets. This wide market combined with the centrality of the text to the liturgical life of the Church was clearly seen by both the earliest Continental printers and by Caxton when he commissioned from Paris the first edition of the Sarum Missal in 1487. Limited evidence of both institutional and personal ownership of pre-1500 printed editions of the Sarum Missal may be found in a London parish church and among the clergy of the PROB 2 inventories. The Churchwardens' accounts of All Hallows Staining (London) record the gift of printed Missals to the church by one Robert Byrche between 1498 and 1500.<sup>117</sup> Of the clergymen of the PROB 2 inventories who died before 1501 and who are known to have owned Missals, one only, John Lewys (d. 1494), is recorded to have owned a printed edition. Curiously, all but one of the PROB 2 clergymen recorded as owning Missals died in or before 1501; one would expect to see the ownership of Missals running at least somewhat consistently over the historical range of the inventories. Thus, either this particular set of data happens to be skewed in this direction coincidentally or perhaps the requirement of Missal ownership for the ordination of clergy was loosened by the sixteenth century. With the introduction of printing and

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<sup>117</sup> Kisby 2002, p. 315 (Table 3).

the great proliferation of printed copies of books, perhaps it became sufficient for priests simply to be in contact with liturgical books via their parish churches and other ecclesiastical institutions.

The Missal was one of the required liturgical books for parochial ownership, and, if the evidence of Archbishop Warham's visitations to Kent are at all typical of other counties in the sixteenth century, then parish churches generally owned sufficient numbers of Missals. All Hallows Staining might have owned printed Missals of any of 13 known editions of the Sarum Missal printed between 1487 and 1500, although if the gift of new books were made to the church between 1498 and 1500 this would limit the possible editions to 5. Indeed this period saw not only de Worde's 1497 Paris-commissioned edition and his 1498 edition commissioned and produced in Westminster, but also Pynson's 'Morton Missal' of 1500. Any of these three editions would have been easily accessible to a London parish church. John Lewys' printed Missal, on the other hand, would have been limited to any one of five editions, all imported from the Continent. Sixteenth-century evidence of the ownership of printed Missal editions can be seen in the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Dunstan in the West (London) and their expenditure ca. 1521 'paid on new masse booke unto richard pynson'<sup>118</sup> (although the sum spent is not recorded here). If the church had purchased Pynson's most recent edition, it would have been that of 1520; alternatively, they may have acquired either of his two previous editions

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

(1500 and 1504). St. Michael le Querne (London) purchased a Missal 'of paper pryntynd old' in 1524, and in 1535 All Hallows Staining purchased another four printed Missals. There is no evidence for either of these parish churches to indicate which of the many editions of the Sarum Missal then in print were acquired, and St. Michael le Querne's description of their Missal (or possibly its paper?) as 'old' may suggest that the church did not purchase the most recent Missal edition. Similarly, the inventory of Sir Henry Guldeforde (d. 1532) from this period also makes reference to an 'old' Missal as well as a printed edition. A very low valuation of this 'old' Missal (compared with the printed edition) may have reflected the book's poor physical state or possibly a manuscript edition; the scribe who completed this inventory may have recognised in this book the lack of the new technology. Thus, evidence of the ownership of printed Missals confirms both institutional and individual markets for this liturgical text and demonstrates an interaction with both the London printing trade and Continental importation.

Evidence of ownership of editions of the Breviary points to a market of primarily personal purchasers for this liturgical text. Both clergymen and laymen of the PROB 2 inventories are recorded as having owned editions of the Breviary, although for whatever reason the data from the PROB 2 clergy is entirely fifteenth-century. Thomas Nandyk (d. 1491) owned a Roman edition of the Breviary, which was most certainly imported (indeed even a printed Sarum edition at this time could have come only from the Continent). The

PROB 2 inventories of other clergymen also demonstrate ownership of the Breviary, although none can be definitively identified as a printed edition. Layman Thomas Gylbert (d. 1484) was in possession of a printed Breviary edition at the time of his death, and, assuming that this was a Sarum volume, it could only have been one of two known editions then in print, the ca. 1475 edition printed in the Netherlands (and the first known printed Sarum edition of the Breviary) or the 1483 edition printed in Venice. By contrast, Sir Henry Guldeforde's printed Breviary could have been any one of a vast number of Sarum editions printed between ca. 1475 and 1532. While the Breviary was not one of the liturgical books required for parochial ownership by the fourteenth-century constitution of Archbishop Winchelsey, the absence of this liturgical text in several parish churches was noted by Archbishop Warham's visitations in Kent. In fact, the most common deficiency in parochial liturgical book provision seen in these visitations was the lack of Breviaries, particularly those for the 'new feasts'. Thus, either in the centuries between Winchelsey and Warham the Breviary had come to be seen an essential book for parish churches or perhaps the proliferation in the number of copies as a result of the printing press had made the book more readily available to parish churches and, like the priestly ownership of Missals, the balance had begun to change. Hence, while the evidence of ownership of the Breviary suggests a largely individual market, further research into the parochial ownership of this liturgical text may shed further light on the overall market for editions of this book.

Limited evidence of ownership of editions of the Gradual implies an institutional market for this liturgical text (which would be expected for a choral book for the Mass). Only John Lewys (d. 1494) of the PROB 2 clergymen is known to have owned a copy of the Gradual, which at the time of his death could not have been a printed Sarum edition. Parish churches were expected to own copies, and Archbishop Warham's Kentish visitation records show a number of churches which lacked this book. Like the Gradual, the Antiphoner market can be seen through evidence of ownership as exclusively institutional. The Churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael le Querne (London)<sup>119</sup> note the purchase in 1517 of a printed Antiphoner; this date, however, precedes the earliest known printed Sarum edition. This either represents an error in the church's record-keeping or St. Michael le Querne purchased a now lost and unknown edition of the Sarum Antiphoner. The church acquired another printed Antiphoner in 1524 which almost certainly was the 1519/1520 Sarum edition printed in Paris and imported by Byrckman in London. Requirements for provision of the book or its repair are seen in Archbishop Warham's visitation records and also at St. Mary at Hill (London), indicating the overall importance of this liturgical text for parish churches. In addition, the Kentish visitation registers record two bequests to parish churches specifically for the purchase of new Antiphoners. Given the daily, musical use of this liturgical book, perhaps the parishioners who left the bequests recognised the importance

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

of the book to the life of the church and wished to make a lasting and notable contribution.

Evidence of ownership of editions of the Processional suggests both institutional and individual markets for this liturgical text. The evidence from parish churches shows that Processionals were required in numbers, All Hallows Staining (London)<sup>120</sup> having purchased seven in 1535 and the church of Smarden in Kent having been instructed to acquire two copies. All Hallows may have acquired copies of any of the 16 known editions of the Sarum Processional in print by 1535, whereas the church at Smarden most likely purchased one of the first three editions of the Processional (1501 and 1502 printed by Pynson or 1508 printed in Rouen). The PROB 2 inventories of clergy give several fifteenth century examples of personal ownership of the Processional and Manual, and evidence of provenance suggests sixteenth-century clerical ownership of the Processional. Thus, this liturgical text found markets in both parish churches and their clergy. A similar type of liturgical book to the Processional, the Manual not surprisingly shows the same markets. Also like the Processional, the Manual appears to have been required by churches in quantity. All Hallows Staining (London) records the purchase in 1535 of three copies of the book (two manuscript versions and one printed edition), and All Hallows Barking acquired four printed editions of the Manual

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

in 1512.<sup>121</sup> All Hallows Staining's purchase of manuscript books along their printed counterpart suggests that parish churches may not have been concerned with acquiring the most recent edition of a liturgical book and shows that, even as late as 1535, manuscript and printed liturgical books may have been in use in the liturgy side by side. Evidence of ownership from parish churches and clergy also show the dual market for the Hymnal.

## CONCLUSION

Thus, evidence of personal ownership of liturgical books by individuals in Tudor London, as seen in the PROB 2 inventories, primarily shows ownership among the clergy of liturgical books necessary for the daily work of a priest, principally the Missal and Breviary, as well as the Processional and Manual. An examination of the provenance of the Marian editions of the Processional demonstrates the book's connections with clerical owners in the centuries after its production, in addition to offering possible evidence of sixteenth-century clerical ownership. As seen in the inventories of lay people in the PROB 2 series, ownership of liturgical books appears to have been quite rare, and these books may have been owned by lay people with a specific need and means to acquire them. Institutional ownership of liturgical books in Tudor London and its environs appears largely to have met the requirements set for parish churches by Canon Law, and evidence from London parish churches suggests

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

that manuscript and printed copies of liturgical texts may have existed side by side well into the sixteenth century. Evidence of personal ownership of the Missal among the clergy suggests that the ordination requirement for the ownership of the book may not have been strictly upheld or enforced, particularly in the sixteenth century. The Missal found a market with both churches and individuals (primarily clergymen), while the general market for the Breviary appears to have been individuals (clergy). Other evidence of the ownership of the Gradual and Antiphoner shows a predominately institutional market for these liturgical texts. The Processional, Manual, and Hymnal, required both by priests and the churches they served, show the dual institutional and individual markets from evidence of their ownership. These dual markets for liturgical books reflect some of the changing patterns of readership of the period, particularly the shift from communal to personal reading.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **Sarum liturgical books after 1534**

Although much is known of the great religious turbulence of the 1530s – 1550s, the implications of this turmoil on Sarum liturgical books have not previously been researched. Following the Act of Supremacy (1534), Henry VIII established new authority over the Church in England until his death in 1547. This new authority brought changes in liturgical book production and usage: Sarum Processionals and Missals ceased production, while the Sarum Breviary, Hymnal, and Manual remained. Under Edward VI came the official order in 1549/1550 for the destruction of all Latin liturgical books and their replacement with the Book of Common Prayer. The return to Catholicism under Mary I brought new challenges to the old Church. This chapter seeks to examine the role of Sarum liturgical books in these processes of change.

#### **SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS OF THE LATE HENRICIAN CHURCH**

Assuming that the extant editions of Sarum liturgical books are at least somewhat representative of overall patterns of Sarum liturgical book production, the liturgical reforms of the late Henrician period can be seen to have had a significant impact on their production. Amid the developments of the last two decades of Henry VIII's reign, the combination of Henry's

systematic dissolution of the monasteries (beginning in 1536) and the limited introduction of the vernacular into the services of the Church (primarily as a result of the first and second set of Royal Injunctions in 1536 and 1538, respectively) most likely resulted in a decreased demand for Sarum liturgical books from the mid 1530s until the King's death in 1547. For example, the fact that there is no extant Continental edition of the Sarum Processional from between 1532 and 1542 suggests that little or no importation of these particular books (primarily from Antwerp) took place during this period, possibly because booksellers found that they had an ever decreasing market for them. In addition, Archbishop Cranmer's early experimentations with the English Litany (based on several forms of Latin procession) during this period had set in motion the wheels of one small but significant liturgical reform,<sup>1</sup> as the vernacular litany of 1544<sup>2</sup> served to amplify the (Latin) Sarum Processional. Only two further editions (based on surviving copies) of the Sarum Processional (1544 and 1545<sup>3</sup>) were imported from Antwerp during Henry VIII's reign.

Following the passing of the Act of Supremacy on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1534, both the importation of the Sarum Missal from the Continent and its production in England seem to have ceased completely. Pynson's 1520 edition of the Sarum

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<sup>1</sup> Le Huray 1967, pp. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the English Litany of 1544, see Bowers 2002.

<sup>3</sup> STC 16242 and 16243.

Missal<sup>4</sup> was the last edition of that liturgical book (based on surviving copies) to have been printed in England; some 16 subsequent editions followed between 1521 and 1534, all imported from Paris, Antwerp, or Rouen. The final edition of the Missal to have been imported in Henry VIII's reign appears to have been a folio format edition printed in Paris by Regnault sometime in 1534. Thus, the break with Rome signalled a significant change for Sarum liturgy and the acquisition and production of its books.

Little is known, however, about what sort of specific liturgical practice may have occurred, particularly with regard to the Mass, in the years between 1534 and the King's death in 1547 (services in Latin were not abolished officially until 1549). Missals were most likely retained by priests and parish churches in these intervening years, and thus they were probably in use until 1549. Ronald Hutton notes that during the latter part of Henry's reign most of the traditional rituals remained in place in English churches.<sup>5</sup> In his study of the parish of Morebath (Devon), Eamon Duffy finds the Devon parishes handing over their Missals and Breviaries in 1549 and not before.<sup>6</sup> Robert Whiting also notes that among the various rituals offered by clerics the sacraments in particular continued to hold an important place within English popular religion during the later Henrician period.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> STC 16202.

<sup>5</sup> Hutton 1994, p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Duffy 2001, p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> Whiting 1995, pp. 212-13.

The Sarum Missal may have represented the authority of the papacy to Henry VIII, and, if this were the case, then it is logical that the importation of the Missal should have ceased with the Act of Supremacy. Indeed, if Henry did seek 'Catholicism without the pope and Reformation without Reformers',<sup>8</sup> the cessation of importation of the Sarum Missal could well have played a role in these aims. The Ten Articles (1536), the Act of Six Articles (1539), and the *King's Book* (1543) with their emphasis on Eucharistic doctrine show Henry's continuing attachment to the traditional understanding the Mass throughout the remainder of his life. In addition, in his royal proclamation of 16 November 1538, Henry publicly defended 'the most Blessed and Holy Sacrament of the altar' as 'the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and so hath and ought to be taken and believed by the whole congregation of Christian men, upon the peril of damnation.'<sup>9</sup> Here, he also upheld 'divers and many laudable ceremonies and rites heretofore used and accustomed in the Church of England', including 'the ceremonies of holy bread and holy water' and the 'setting up of lights before the Corpus Christi.'<sup>10</sup> Hence, Henry and his Church continued to hold the Mass (including the belief in transubstantiation) at the core of traditional worship. In order to assert his authority as supreme head of the Church, Henry may have demanded that

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<sup>8</sup> MacCulloch 1995, p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> Hughes and Larkin I, no. 186, pp. 273-4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

importation of the Sarum Missal should cease as a way of marking the end of the papacy's control over the central act of worship.

Alternatively, the cessation of Missal production post-1534 may have been initiated on the Continent in response to the Act of Supremacy. The Pope himself may have dictated to Continental printers (Paris' Regnault, in particular) that as a result of Henry's ex-communication the Sarum Missal was no longer to be produced and exported to England. It seems unlikely that Regnault himself would have made such a monumental decision.

Following the Act of Supremacy, Henry's religious policy may have been directed at finding balance and a middle ground between emerging Lutheranism and traditional Catholicism.<sup>11</sup> If, indeed, religious policy of the 1530s and 1540s was not dominated by factions but was subject to the influence of Henry's consistent and focused thought,<sup>12</sup> it is possible that Henry intended to make purifying reforms to the Mass that did not come to fruition in his lifetime. It is, however, unclear why Henry as head of the church did not choose to authorize immediately his own edition of the Missal post-1534 as he did with the Breviary. The market for the Missal, both among churches and priests must have continued in the period 1534-1547 and was therefore probably only supplied by second-hand copies and those copies already in circulation.

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<sup>11</sup> Bernard 1998, p. 346 and MacCulloch 1995, p. 174.

<sup>12</sup> Bernard 2005, pp. 228-43.

In contrast to the Missal, production of the Breviary, in a modified form, continued following the break with Rome, and, thus, a market for this liturgical book must clearly still have existed. Priests would still have required the book for their private devotions and celebrations of the daily Office. In addition, as the Ten Articles (1536)<sup>13</sup> stressed the continued importance of the major sacraments and ceremonies of the Church, the services contained within the Breviary probably fell outside of the Articles' direct revisions and thus may have been perceived as carrying the continued, tacit approval the King and his Convocation. Continental importation of the Sarum Breviary appears to have ceased with Regnault's 1535 edition from Paris,<sup>14</sup> with the most recent English-produced edition of the book having come from Pynson's printing house circa 1507. The next edition of the Breviary, printed in London by Whytchurch (Whitchurch) in 1541, retained the Latin text but ensured that all references to the Pope and Rome's authority over the English Church had been removed. (Cranmer had been at work on a vernacular version of the Breviary late in Henry VIII's reign, but this volume never saw publication.<sup>15</sup>) Whytchurch worked as a haberdasher, publisher, and printer from circa 1540 in London, and a variety of addresses have been suggested for his London workshop, including St. Paul's Churchyard (at the sign of the Bible), the south side of St. Aldermary church, in the Old Jewry, and in the Fleet Street (at the sign of the Sun) (which

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<sup>13</sup> Burnet 1850, vol. 2, pp. cxxix-cxxxiii.

<sup>14</sup> STC 15833.

<sup>15</sup> Le Huray 1967, p. 7.

may have been Wynkyn de Worde's previous premises).<sup>16</sup> Whytchurch's re-issue of the Breviary for a second time within 1541, with an expanded title page which clearly stated what kind of modifications had been made to the text, may well have been at the King's request as the new Head of the Church. The title page of the first issue of the Breviary's 1541 edition gives what had been the standard description from the many previous Continental editions: *Portiforium, seu breviarum, ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis noviter impressum.*

[‘Portiforium’, or Breviary newly printed according to the use of the distinguished church of Salisbury.] The re-issued and expanded title page gives: *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, noviter impressum & a plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittitum, una cum aliis que christianissimo nostri regis statuto repugnant.* [‘Portiforium’ following the Sarum use, newly printed and purged of many errors. In which has been omitted the name falsely ascribed to the Bishop of Rome, together with the others which offend the most Christian law of our King.] The phrase ‘the name falsely ascribed to the Bishop of Rome’ can be seen to refer to the title ‘Pope’, and thus here Henry may be seen purposely failing to acknowledge the Pope and his authority over the Church in England. ‘Others which offend the most Christian law of our King’ included Thomas Beckett, whose name can be seen to have been crossed through (or scraped from the vellum) in many surviving copies of a variety of editions.

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<sup>16</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 181.

Whytchurch's 1541 second issue of the Breviary also carries the phrase 'Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum' ('with the sole privilege of printing') on the title page. Although he was not officially named as 'King's Printer', Whytchurch clearly had been given printing privileges, in effect a copyright, by Henry VIII. The 1544 edition of the Breviary, printed by Whytchurch in partnership with Richard Grafton, bears the same expanded title page inscription as the 1541 second issue and also notes Whytchurch and Grafton's sole privilege of printing 'per septennium' (for seven years). Thus, Whytchurch and Grafton had been given a specific, seven-year copyright by the King.<sup>17</sup>

Although printing privileges were rare commodities in England during Henry's reign,<sup>18</sup> book privileges, typically ranging from 3 to 7 years duration, had been issued sporadically in various European countries in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, including privileges granted in 1509 and 1516 by bishops in Poland for the production of Breviaries and Missals.<sup>19</sup> While further research into Whytchurch and Grafton's partnership is necessary,<sup>20</sup> their collaboration saw them act as publishers of the vernacular 'Matthew Bible' of 1537 (printed in Paris and Antwerp) and the 'Great Bible', whose first edition in 1539 was begun by Regnault in Paris and completed in London.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> John Scolar, printer and publisher in Oxford, received the first book privilege in England for his 1518 edition of Dedicus' commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*; the seven-year privilege was granted by William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Oxford University. [Armstrong 1990, p. 10]

<sup>18</sup> The first royal book privilege in England appears to be that issued to Richard Pynson for his 1518 edition of Tunstall's oration. [Armstrong 1990, pp. 10-11.]

<sup>19</sup> Armstrong 1990, pp. 1-11.

<sup>20</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 181.

The 1544 edition of the Breviary also presents immediately following the title page a lengthy description and clarification of Whytchurch and Grafton's licence to print, issued by the King himself, in English. Here, Henry gives printing rights to Whytchurch and Grafton and also grants to them sole rights in the printing of liturgical books:

The effect of the Kinges moste gracious priviledge and licence under his hyghnesse greate Seale graunted and confirmed to his welbeloved subjects Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurche.

... To al printers of books, and booksellers, and to all other our officers, minsters and subjects these our letterspatentes hearing or seing, gretynge. We dooe you to understand that where in tymes paste, it has been usually accustomed that these books of devine service, and praier books, (that is to saie) the Masse booke & Graile, the Hymnal, the Antyphoner, the Processyonall, the Manuel, the Porteus, and the Prymer both in latine and also in English have ben printed by straungers, as well within this our Realme, as also in other foreyn and straunge countries, partely to the greate losse and hynderaunce of oure subjects, who bothe hathe the sufficyente arte, feate, and trade of pryntinge, and by imprinting suche books mighte profitably and to the use of the common wealth, are sette on woorke, and partely to the setting foorth of the byshope of Roomes usurped authoritie, and keeping the same in continuall memorye, contrarye to the decrees, statutes, and laws of this our realme.

... welbeloved subjectes Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, citizens of London...and none other persone and perones...have libertie to prynte the books abovesaid, and everye sorte and sortes of them, whiche either at this present date are in use, or hereafter by us shal be authorised within any parte of oure Realme or dominions.

Thus, the King can be seen to be very much aware of the previous Continental trade in liturgical books, and, in making Grafton and Whytchurch sole printers of Sarum books, sought to re-claim the domestic aspect of the

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<sup>21</sup> For the surviving correspondence surrounding the publishing of the various vernacular Bibles, including that of Whytchurch and Grafton, see Pollard 1974.

trade. The King's privilege appears to be ignorant of the efforts of Pynson, as well as de Worde and his domestic collaborators, in establishing liturgical printing in London. Whether or not the Crown saw any of the income from Grafton and Whytchurch's enterprise is unclear. What is clear is Henry VIII's desire to exert his authority over the English Church by controlling the production of all categories of Sarum books at their source and by using them to state and mark his authority over the Church. In addition, the King's privilege laid the foundations for the independent domestic trade in printed liturgical and paraliturgical books in the vernacular under Edward VI, in which Whytchurch and Grafton were central figures. Furthermore, exerting control over the supply of liturgical books (and Primers) was yet another way that Henry VIII enforced his doctrine of obedience to the Crown which Richard Rex argues was emerging in the 1530s.<sup>22</sup> Rex also notes the importance of the 'word of God' to Henry VIII's newly-forming version of Christianity which was based in royal supremacy. Liturgical books (as well as the Bible) represented physical manifestations of God's word, and thus it is no surprise that their production should fall under Henry's call for obedience.

As both of Whytchurch's 1541 issues of the Breviary were produced in a very personal and portable sexto-decimo ('16mo') format, Whytchurch and Grafton may have seen in 1544 a need in the market for a larger, although still portable, octavo format edition (both 16mo and octavo formats had been in use

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<sup>22</sup> Rex 1996.

from the late fifteen century). Thus, the new editions of the Sarum Breviary printed after Henry VIII's break with Rome served to establish the King's new authority over the English Church and were marketed in their formats specifically at the clergy and other personal owners. In addition, with the production of these Sarum Breviaries Whytchurch and Grafton may have been mirroring Regnault's (who maintained a virtual monopoly on the Sarum *Horae*) model of Primer production in his final years (circa 1529 – 1538): smaller-format Latin books designed for the English market.<sup>23</sup> Whytchurch and Grafton were probably responding to the established market for devotional texts.

Sarum liturgical books for choirs, the Antiphoner and Gradual, do not appear to have been seen as a necessity in the late Henrician church. The dissolution of monasteries and other choral foundations may have meant a lesser need for singers' liturgical books. In addition, the production of both the Antiphoner and the Gradual in their folio format editions had likely been such a major undertaking for their Continental printers that any re-printing of these books was not considered. The Paris-produced Sarum Antiphoner of 1519-20<sup>24</sup> would have been the only edition known by the late Henrician church, and the last of the four editions of the Sarum Gradual<sup>25</sup> was imported from Paris in 1532. Archbishop Cranmer's liturgical and musical reforms of the 1540s had begun to sideline melismatic plainsong in Latin in favour of homophonic,

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<sup>23</sup> Erler 1999, p. 504.

<sup>24</sup> STC 15790 and 15790a.

<sup>25</sup> STC 15865.

congregational settings in the vernacular, and thus the Sarum Antiphoner and Gradual were probably coming to the end of their sustained use late in Henry VIII's reign. In his preparation of the English Litany (1544), Cranmer's now well-known words to the King were:

But in mine opinion the song, that shall be made thereunto, would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be in Matins and Evensong Venite, the hymns Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and all the Psalms and Versicles.<sup>26</sup>

Hence, the days were undoubtedly numbered for the Sarum Antiphoner and Gradual and their plainsong; Cranmer's musical reforms would have been aimed at the contents of the Antiphoner in particular. In addition, Cranmer's sweeping liturgical changes to the celebration of the Eucharist, in the preparation of the first Book of Common Prayer, meant that the Latin choral plainsong of the Gradual was rapidly falling from favour. It is also possible that post-1534 Continental printers began to re-consider their market for Sarum books.

By contrast, the Sarum Hymnal appears to have remained in use amid the late Henrician liturgical reforms, with two editions printed in and imported from Antwerp in 1532 and 1541. Cranmer may have found Latin plainsong hymns more acceptable to his ideals of sung intelligibility than much of the other, more melismatic plainsong of both the Mass and Office and thus the need

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<sup>26</sup> Le Huray 1967, p. 7.

and the market for the Sarum Hymnal, particularly in its educational uses, may have remained.

Although Continental production and importation of the Sarum Missal appears to have ceased with the Act of Supremacy, four editions of the Sarum Manual (based on surviving copies) followed the break with Rome (two editions each in 1537 and 1541<sup>27</sup>). Thus, a need and a market for the Manual as a priest's 'walking book' (for those services of the Missal fixed neither at the altar nor in the choir) must have existed within the late Henrician church. Further investigation would be necessary to determine whether or not the texts of these Manual services underwent any revision in their post-1534 editions. Although not strictly liturgical volumes, Books of Hours/Primers, which had been in print in Latin since the late fifteenth century, began to appear in mixed Latin and English editions circa 1527; Henry VIII's new English edition of the Primer saw production in 1534, thus expanding the market for paraliturgical books among the laity.

It is unclear what may have become of Sarum liturgical books as monasteries were dissolved, and further research into the holdings of monastic libraries of the period may shed further light on this subject. If these Sarum books found their way into the second-hand book market among booksellers,

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<sup>27</sup> STC 16148.4, 16148.6, 16149, and 16150.

the overall market for new Sarum books from the Continent may well have decreased further.

Thus, the liturgical reforms of the late Henrician church had an impact on the production of Sarum liturgical books as the Church began to explore and fill new liturgical needs. The revision of services of both Office and Mass fuelled by the reforms of Archbishop Cranmer meant significant changes in liturgical demand and thus in the production and importation of Sarum books. In addition, as part of his 'theology of obedience', Henry VIII used the newly-revised Breviary to establish royal authority over the Church; the royal book-privilege given to Whytchurch and Grafton for the production of the Breviary served as a tool by which Henry could simultaneously strengthen the domestic book trade and the agendas of the Crown.

### **SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI**

In contrast with the gradual and varied changes to the liturgy of the English church and Sarum liturgical book production under Henry VIII, the reign of Edward VI brought far more radical and sweeping changes: the removal and destruction of all Latin liturgical books and the introduction of liturgy in the vernacular. These developments had major implications for the provision and production of Sarum liturgical books. No Sarum books were printed or re-issued in the reign of Edward VI. The Chantries Act of 1547 dissolved many of

the long-established choral foundations in which generous provision had been made for music. The combination of this Act and Henry VIII's prior dissolution of the monasteries undoubtedly meant fewer choirs, churches, and cathedrals in need of Sarum books. In the period between Edward's accession and the first Book of Common Prayer, various forms of experimental liturgy which combined both Latin and the vernacular appeared.<sup>28</sup> These liturgical forms ultimately gave way as the 1549 Act of Uniformity ushered in the first Book of Common Prayer, all but closing the door on the use of Sarum liturgical books as Latin services were officially discontinued. However, as the 1549 Act of Uniformity (and its 1552 successor) permitted the singing of Matins and Evensong in Latin, some possibility probably remained for the use of Sarum Office books in places (such as the chapels of Oxford and Cambridge) in which Latin was commonly understood. Cranmer's continuing influence strove to show that the academic learning and Latin liturgy of 'all subtle papists' obscured from the people the truth found in Scripture;<sup>29</sup> thus, seen in this light, Sarum liturgical books were undoubtedly to Cranmer and his followers symbols of the ancient ecclesiastical regime which they sought to destroy.

The continued use of Sarum liturgical books suffered most greatly, though, from Edward VI's proclamation of Christmas Day 1549 requiring the destruction of all previous service books. Bishops and their deputies were

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<sup>28</sup> Procter and Frere 1961, pp. 37-41.

<sup>29</sup> Davies 2002, p. 29.

ordered to collect 'all antiphonaries, missals, grailes, processionals, manuals, legends, pyes, porcastes, tournals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use, and all other books of service' and to 'take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never hereafter may serve either to any such use as they were first provided for.'<sup>30</sup> A further Act of February 1550, seeking to ensure complete adoption of the new (1549) Book of Common Prayer, required the 'bringing in of books of old Service in the Church', specifying 'antiphoners, missals, scrayles, processionals, manuals, legends, pyes, portuyses, primers in latin or English, cowchers, journals, or other books...heretofore used for the service of the Church'.<sup>31</sup> Officials of each local community were to oversee this surrender of books, punishable by fines or imprisonment, although it is unclear what became of the surrendered books. It is interesting to note this Act's requirement for the surrender, rather than the destruction (which was required of church images), of liturgical books; although given the Christmas Day proclamation, destruction of books was probably implied. Some Henrician liturgical books, however, clearly survived this order for destruction. Perhaps some of the church authorities charged with this task were unable to commit the final deed; while in the new Protestant theology images were considered to be sacrilegious, perhaps for some the physical destruction of liturgical books as the word of God seemed heretical,

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<sup>30</sup> Hughes and Larkin 1964, no. 353, pp. 485-6 and Cardwell 1844, pp. 85-88.

<sup>31</sup> Benham 1980, p. 6 and Duffy 1992, p. 469.

even if the form of worship they presented was considered outdated. Given the number of extant pre-1550 Sarum books of all varieties today, one must assume that many individuals, communities, and institutions chose to flout these particular pieces of legislation. This data certainly supports the views of recent historians such as Christopher Haigh, J. J. Scarisbrick, and Eamon Duffy<sup>32</sup> who demonstrate that religious and liturgical reformation was not actively sought, particularly at the local level.

Despite the orders for the destruction of liturgical books, at least some parish churches chose to sell their books, rather than surrender them to church authorities, as part of a general shedding of church furnishings to raise funds for the parish churches.<sup>33</sup> Duffy notes the parish church of Rayleigh (Essex) selling off 'most of their Catholic liturgical books' in 1550<sup>34</sup> (and one may wonder if the implication here is that the church also kept a few of the books), as well as the sale of Latin service books at St. Botolph Aldgate.<sup>35</sup> In addition, some parish churches concealed all manner of church furnishings, including liturgical books, in defiance of new laws of the realm,<sup>36</sup> for example at Wycombe in Buckinghamshire.

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<sup>32</sup> See Haigh 1993, Scarisbrick 1984, and Duffy 1992, 2001, and 2006.

<sup>33</sup> Duffy 1992, pp. 482-487. For a discussion of the 1552 inventories of church goods, see Duffy 2006.

<sup>34</sup> Duffy 1992, p. 485.

<sup>35</sup> Duffy 2006, p. 387.

<sup>36</sup> Duffy 1992., pp. 491-93.

Conversely, the shortage of books presented dire circumstances for some churches; in the reign of Mary I, Llandaff Cathedral found that 'there is nowe scante on' masse a day and that there lackithe in the seyde chirche misalls, antiphoner boks, processionalis, bokes to redde the legens, & a grayle, so that God can not be there servyd for lacke of bokes'.<sup>37</sup> Edward's injunctions for destruction of Latin service books were acted upon fully at St. David's Cathedral as 'all ye Matyrologies, portiforiums, & antient Missales of ye Cathedral Church of St David' were burned by the bishop.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, from the later years of the reign of Henry VIII until the coronation of Mary I in 1553, we see at first a gradual and then an enforced hiatus in the production of Sarum liturgical books. Further research is necessary to determine what impact the loss of the English market may have had for the Continental printers of Sarum books during this period, but one must assume that the loss of business was significant for the major suppliers from Paris, Antwerp, and Rouen, as there was no other viable market for their Sarum use liturgical books.

Richard Grafton was appointed King's Printer on the accession of Edward VI, a post he held until the King's death. In this capacity he printed the two 'Bookes of Common Praier' and all other official royal Acts and Statutes. His printing career came to end with imprisonment on the accession of Mary I;

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<sup>37</sup> Harper 2007, p. 169-70.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

upon the death of Edward IV, Grafton styling himself as 'Printer to the Queen', had printed the proclamation of the accession of Lady Jane Grey. Whytchurch's work as a printer continued during the reign of Edward VI, although no longer in collaboration with Grafton.

Thus, for the production of Sarum liturgical books the reign of Edward VI represented a period of drastic change. The new king harnessed the power of the printing press (and the presses of Grafton and Whytchurch in particular) to support the Protestant reforms. Although the production of Sarum liturgical books ceased during this period, small numbers of Primers continued to be issued between 1547 and 1552. These Primers were primarily in English. However, editions of 1548<sup>39</sup> (published by Whytchurch) and circa 1550<sup>40</sup> (published in Canterbury) featured both English and Latin, while two extant editions from 1551<sup>41</sup> (both from Rouen) were printed in Latin. These domestically-produced bilingual editions of the Primer clearly reflected the parallel liturgical shifts to the vernacular. The French printers of the 1551 Primers editions in Latin might well have found that a small market for devotional texts in Latin continued to exist.

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<sup>39</sup> STC 16049.

<sup>40</sup> STC 16052.

<sup>41</sup> STC 16055 and 16056.

The 1999 study of the book trade under Edward VI and Mary I by John N. King<sup>42</sup> and its accompanying statistical breakdown of book production examine the production of religious books, Catholic and Protestant propaganda, Bibles, Church of England documents, and liturgies between 1547 and 1557. King, however, skews the picture of Latin liturgical book production in these years by including Primers/Books of Hours under the heading 'Latin liturgies' (because his data is based on that from the STC, which includes Primers among 'Latin liturgies'). In fact, the 'Latin liturgies' represented in King's study<sup>43</sup> for the years 1547 to 1552 are all Primers (which varied among editions in English, English and Latin, and Latin) and not liturgical books of the Sarum or any other use. This distinction has not been noted previously. Thus, a clearer representation of liturgical printing should be made in King's examination of book production in the reign of Edward VI with a view to separating the liturgical from the paraliturgical.

### **SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS IN THE REIGN OF MARY I**

Historiographers of the Tudor period, and in particular of the Marian church and its religious history, have presented a wide variety of accounts of this historical period, ranging from the 'Whig-Protestant' descriptions of the 'Marian reaction' (for example, that seen in A. G. Dickens' 1960s account of the

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<sup>42</sup> King 1999, pp. 164-178.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 175-8.

English Reformation, now considered to be somewhat outdated) to more recent, revisionist approaches (for example, those of Christopher Haigh,<sup>44</sup> J. J. Scarisbrick,<sup>45</sup> Eamon Duffy,<sup>46</sup> and Ronald Hutton<sup>47</sup>), often centred in records of parish churches and parish life, which seek to demonstrate that the return to Catholicism under Queen Mary was in fact a comfortable and much sought-after return to traditional religion. N. Tyacke also presents a contemporary post-revisionist view of the English Reformation.<sup>48</sup> Any study of Sarum liturgical books needs to take into account the variety of perspectives of the historiography of the period; however, evidence from an examination of Marian liturgical books suggests that they may well have played an important role in re-establishing the traditional Catholicism of the later Henrician years and that this traditional Catholicism was in fact well-received. In addition, a study of Marian liturgical books in this light broadens knowledge of the music and liturgy of the period, as much scholarship of Marian church music has focused on polyphonic liturgical composition and matters paraliturgical.

With the restoration of Catholicism came the need for the re-acquisition of church furnishings and liturgical books.<sup>49</sup> Although the actual percentage of

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<sup>44</sup> Haigh 1993.

<sup>45</sup> Scarisbrick 1984.

<sup>46</sup> Duffy 1992, 2001, and 2009.

<sup>47</sup> Hutton 1994.

<sup>48</sup> Tyacke 1998.

<sup>49</sup> For a discussion of the book trade of the early Marian regime, particularly as related to devotional and liturgical works, see Duffy 2009, pp. 57-60.

Sarum liturgical books destroyed in the reign of Edward VI is unknown, the need for liturgical books in 1553 would have been stronger as a result of book destruction, as happened for example in St. David's, than if liturgical volumes had merely been hidden away from church authorities (as per Duffy's accounts). The Crown required a specific list of liturgical books for parish churches to possess: a legend (for Matins lessons), an antiphoner, a gradual, a psalter, an ordinal, a missal, a manual, and a processional.<sup>50</sup> In his study of churchwardens' accounts from parish churches in Mary's reign, Ronald Hutton points to large-scale uniformity in parish churches' approach to their re-furnishing and notes that in most cases some if not all of the necessary liturgical books had been acquired by the end of 1554;<sup>51</sup> these books included the Missal, Breviary, Antiphoner, Gradual, Hymnal, and Processional. This prompt response on the part of parish churches suggests an enthusiastic return to traditional religion. Eamon Duffy, in his study of the parish of Stanford in Berkshire, finds evidence of the churchwardens travelling to Oxford seeking to purchase books and also purchasing in 1555 one volume of the two-volume Breviary, a parchment processional, and an old manual.<sup>52</sup> Thus, parish churches most likely found it necessary to purchase at least some second-hand liturgical books to fulfil the Marian requirements, as undoubtedly most churches were not able to afford the purchase of a new, complete set of books.

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<sup>50</sup> Duffy 1992, p. 545.

<sup>51</sup> Hutton 1987, p. 129.

<sup>52</sup> Duffy 1992, pp. 547-8.

Duffy also points to evidence of individuals who had acquired church furnishings (including Sarum books) in Edward's reign loaning the items to churches or giving the items to churches as gifts. Members of the clergy were a particular source of liturgical books for parish churches, either as simple loans or through parish priests using their own personal books at services so as to spare the church the cost of acquiring new ones.<sup>53</sup> Hence, as churches sought to restore traditional religion in their acquisition of liturgical books, a good supply of second-hand Sarum books must have remained despite the abolition of Latin services in 1549 and the Act of 1550 requiring the surrender of all Latin liturgical books. While new Sarum Breviaries, Missals, Hymnals, and Processionals were being re-printed on the Continent and in London, parish churches must have seen a mixture of old (second-hand) and new books in use in church services. This state of affairs must have been expected by Marian church authorities, although whether or not the eventual acquisition by parish churches of a completely new set of Sarum books printed after 1553 was intended is unclear.

The restoration of Catholicism under Mary I once again created demand for Latin liturgical books. Upon her accession to the throne Mary quickly repealed both of Edward's Acts of Uniformity and restored liturgical practice to that of the last years of her father's reign.<sup>54</sup> Five editions of the Sarum Missal (based on

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 549-50

<sup>54</sup> For a discussion of Catholic renewal under Mary I, see Wooding 2000, pp. 114-151.

extant copies) were printed during Mary's five-year reign: two in Rouen in 1554 and 1555,<sup>55</sup> one in Paris in 1555,<sup>56</sup> and two in London in 1555 and 1557.<sup>57</sup> The Sarum Breviary was reissued in no less than eight editions between 1555 and 1557,<sup>58</sup> in a variety of London-based printing and Continental imports from Paris and Rouen. While the Marian annual rate of Sarum Missal production is comparable to that over the majority of Henry VIII's reign, the Marian rate of production of Sarum Breviaries also matches that of the Henrician era. This Marian rate of production may have been in response to a large number of lost Henrician copies, but it is more likely that Mary sought to flood the market with her new, authorised editions in an effort to replace the previous editions of the Breviary which Henry modified in the 1540s.

It is interesting to note that new editions of the Sarum Antiphoner and the Sarum Gradual were never produced in Mary's reign, and a combination of factors may well have contributed to this fact. As mentioned previously, the printing of both of these choir books in their folio formats was a monumental task for any printer, and it may well have been that none of the Continental printers of the period could see their way to undertake the job. In addition, the dissolution of monasteries and choral foundations in the reigns of Henry and

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<sup>55</sup> STC 16215 and 16216.

<sup>56</sup> STC 16217.

<sup>57</sup> STC 16218 and 16219.

<sup>58</sup> STC 15836-15847.

Edward had left few (Le Huray estimates approximately 40<sup>59</sup>) skilled choirs intact; there may simply have been no market for new, expensive liturgical books for singers when Mary came to the throne in 1553. It is also possible that enough copies of both the Antiphoner and the Gradual were sequestered by individuals and/or institutions against the ravages of Henrician and Edwardian reform to make the sung Mass and Office possible in at least some places.

The Marian re-issue of the Sarum Processional saw an equal distribution of editions between London printers and printers in Antwerp and Rouen, with a total of eight editions issued between 1554 and 1558. It is interesting to note that the first four editions came from the printing houses of London printers in a small flurry of activity, at the beginning of Mary's reign, between 1554 and 1555,<sup>60</sup> with Continental printers providing the four subsequent editions.<sup>61</sup> The Sarum Manual, as a selection of services from the Missal, was also reprinted in multiple editions by both London-based and Continental printers. Unlike Henrician editions of the Manual, however, the Marian Manual contained only 'occasional offices' (such as baptism and marriage) and lacked musical notation. Mary's reign also saw the production of 35 editions of the Sarum Primer, vastly more than had been printed under either Henry or Edward, and in most Marian editions were printed in both English and Latin. The great demand for Primers

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<sup>59</sup> Le Huray 1967, pp. 13-17.

<sup>60</sup> STC 16151-16154.

<sup>61</sup> STC 16155, 16155a, 16156, and 16157.

during this period may well demonstrate that the return to Catholicism was a welcome one,<sup>62</sup> and the prevalence of editions in both Latin and the vernacular clearly reflects the influence of Edward's liturgical reforms. The competition between English and Continental printers in the Marian re-issue of the Sarum Missal, Breviary, Processional, and Manual could be the result of a number of causes: a market desperately in need of new supply following much book destruction, an increase in the market for Latin books stemming from the overwhelming popularity of the return to Catholicism, or printers' response to orders from the Crown.

### Books for the Choir

#### *Antiphoners and Graduals*

As noted previously, new editions of the Sarum Antiphoner and Gradual do not appear to have been reproduced beyond their first issue earlier in the century (the latest extant edition of the Antiphoner being 1520 and that of that Gradual being 1532). It is interesting to note that, although the Marian authorities required parish churches to own a copy of both books as Catholicism was restored, the Crown did not order the printing of these volumes nor did either Continental or London printers appear to speculate widely enough to produce new editions of either book in 1553 and beyond. Did Marian church authorities believe that all parish churches, chapels, and

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<sup>62</sup> Duffy 1992, pp. 526-527.

cathedrals could be re-equipped with these large choir books solely through the second-hand book trade, various loans and gifts to churches, or books that had survived the Act of 1550? Between twenty and thirty years had passed between the last printed editions of these books and Mary's accession to the throne, and it is impossible to know what physical state even the newest of these books may have reached by 1553. Further research into the second-hand book trade of the Tudor period, both domestic and abroad, may reveal more details of how parish churches supplied themselves with Antiphoners and Graduals. In his study of the parish of Stanford in Berkshire, Eamon Duffy finds evidence of church officials travelling to the Continent in search of 'churche stuffe that was lackyng';<sup>63</sup> as 'stuffe' is a very general term which may have included church furnishings and books, it is possible that this and other parish churches in this period sought out second-hand Sarum liturgical books on the Continent as well as at home.

### *Hymnals*

An examination of the production of Sarum 'noted' hymnals (with musical notation) from the late Henrician period through to the book's re-issue under Queen Mary demonstrates both continuity and change. From the 1520s Christopher Ruremond of Antwerp held a virtual monopoly on the production of Sarum noted hymnals (based on extant copies). After the publication of the first two editions in 1518 from separate printing houses in France, Ruremond

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 547.

printed five editions between 1524 and 1541. While these books officially came from Ruremond's printing house, he appears to have been in collaboration with at least two different men who may have actually set the type and printed the books. Ruremond's 1525 edition carries the line 'Impressum honesti viri Francisci byrkman civis Colonien', and the title page carries Byrckman's device with three crowns. The last page offers Ruremond's device with his initials ('C E') (Ruremond was also known as 'Endoviensis' or 'Endhoven') and three fleur-de-lys. Thus, some sort of collaboration must have existed between Byrckman in Cologne and Ruremond in Antwerp; Franz Birckman and his family were certainly known within the book trade in London (particularly in book importation)<sup>64</sup> and therefore they probably established and maintained important connections between London and the Continent in the production and distribution of Sarum liturgical books. No specific mention is made of Byrckman in the 1528 and 1532 editions of the book (the 1532 edition states that it was printed by Ruremond's widow); however, the 1541 edition, after stating that it comes from the offices of Ruremond's widow in Antwerp, also mentions that the book's printing was undertaken at the expense of one Johannis Coccius. Apart from variations in the use of printers' devices across these five editions of the Hymnal and some slight variation in the use of initial letters within the text, the books' layout and content appear to be identical and are most likely straightforward reprinted copies. Ruremond and/or his printers consistently use one music type with a staff height of 1.3 cm, virga notehead of 0.3 cm<sup>2</sup>, and

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<sup>64</sup> Christianson 1999, p. 140.

a neume stem height of 0.5 cm. Unlike the Sarum Breviary, the Hymnal in its 1541 edition seems to have escaped any need for modification by Henry VIII and subsequent printing by a London printer (probably because its content made no mention of the authority of Rome over the English Church).

The Sarum Hymnal was not printed again until 1555, this time by John Kingston and Henry Sutton of London. Kingston had worked in the printing house of Richard Grafton in the 1540s and worked in partnership with Sutton from 1553-1557.<sup>65</sup> It is unclear whether or not these London printers received some official order from the Crown to re-issue the Hymnal or if they simply saw an opening in the market which they might seek to fill. However, Marian church authorities did focus efforts on the printing of materials for lay instruction by the clergy, including sermons, Primers, and catechisms,<sup>66</sup> and the domestic book trade, though smaller under Mary than in Edward's reign,<sup>67</sup> continued to flourish. It is interesting to note that (based on surviving copies) no editions of the Sarum Hymnal were imported from the Continent during Mary's reign. By the time Mary came to the throne, Ruremond had been dead for twenty years or more, and his widow had probably given up running his printing house, if she were even still living. Thus Kingston & Sutton may have had an easy entry point into the market for Sarum books. Although there are some variations in the layout of text, the use of Latin abbreviations, and the

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<sup>65</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 100.

<sup>66</sup> King 1999, p. 170.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

printing of music, Kingston & Sutton's 1555 edition appears to present an edition essentially unchanged from Ruremond's previous editions of the book. Therefore, there was probably nothing about the book's content that Marian church authorities found unacceptable, and if indeed Mary aimed to restore liturgical practice to the last years of her father's reign then the Sarum Hymnal's 1541 edition should have been quite sufficient.

The opening paragraph found on the inside of the title page in the 1555 and all previous editions of the book offers a detailed description of its purpose:

*Quoniam multos in hymnis cantandis videmus iam deficere: istis in locis maxime ubi una clausula, id est in uno pede eiusdem metri: habentur plures syllable quam in alia, cantantes semibreves in plana musica, id est plano cantu, sicut in organo foret faciendum, quod est erroneum: dominam id est literam, ancillari: et ancillam id est notam, dominari: quod tam a iure quam ratione est penitus alienum. Ideo ad vitandum huiusmodi defectus: et ne dissonantia in choro de cetero habeatur: sed ut quelibet syllaba habeat plenam notam exempla subsequencia antiquitus usitata: utiliter ut credimus facientes collegimus: et impressoribus ut in lucem prodirent commisimus.*

Since we see now so many to be failing in the singing of hymns: especially in those places where one phrase, which is one line of the same metre, has more syllables than another, they are singing semibreves in plainsong, that is plain chant, as if it were done in polyphony [possibly 'played on the organ'], which is wrong: the word, as the mistress, is serving as a maid: and the music, which is the maid, dominates: which is deeply contrary as much to the law as to reason. Therefore it is wrong to live in this way: and moreover so that dissonance might not be found in the choir, but so that any syllable might have a full note, following the example of the more ancient usage: we believe that it is better that we gather together the forms: and that we bring them together in print so they might show themselves in the light.

Thus, the Sarum Hymnal carried throughout its Tudor lifespan the above advice and instruction on the singing of plainsong hymns, and it is unclear who may have issued these words into print. Clearly, to sing plainsong melody 'as if it were sung in polyphony' (or 'played on the organ') in an attempt to fit a great number of syllables into a line of music by singing the notes more quickly, would favour the music over the words, which is the central complaint of the author of the above text. This assessment of monophonic singing style and the preface's plea for attention to and intelligibility of the words find echoes in Lollard criticisms of church music in fifteenth-century England<sup>68</sup> as well as Erasmus' later critiques of English musical practices.<sup>69</sup> The preface also hints at ideas which would later be at the core of the musical and liturgical reforms of the late Henrician and Edwardian periods (and would later be picked up again in the 'Artusi-Monteverdi controversy' in the early seventeenth century<sup>70</sup>). In addition, the author of the above passage suggests that a variety of forms of plainsong melodies were in existence as the Hymnal first came to print, and he acknowledges the role of the medium of print in the dissemination (and possible uniformity?) of the variant plainsong forms. Marian church authorities presumably had no difficulty with these views on the singing of plainsong and therefore allowed the Sarum Hymnal's re-issue from its Henrician editions.

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<sup>68</sup> Wegman 2008, pp. 121-33.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108-21.

<sup>70</sup> Palisca 1985, pp. 151-2.

One of the major differences between Kingston & Sutton's 1555 edition of the Hymnal and Ruremond's previous editions is the use of music type. Kingston & Sutton's music type measures a staff height of 1.4 cm, a virga notehead of 0.3 cm<sup>2</sup>, and a neume stem height of 0.8 cm. Thus, (as would be expected, given the different geographical location of the firms) Kingston & Sutton used a different music type than Ruremond, with both the height of the staff and the height of the neume stems just slightly larger. Kingston & Sutton's staff lines have printed much more thickly onto the page, which gives their printed music a more unrefined appearance than that of Ruremond's printing house (or the printers who worked for him). It is unclear whether or not it is Kingston & Sutton's music type itself at fault or if it is simply their typesetter's possible lack of experience in using it (the back-to-front neume on 'ma' of 'mater' at the end of the second line of *O salutaris fulgens* clearly demonstrates either an inexperienced or careless typesetter). In addition to thicker staff lines, most of the breaks between sections of music type can be seen in Kingston & Sutton's work, with as many as nine sections of type visibly used per line of printed music. This manner of typesetting is in contrast to Ruremond's, in which the staff lines of each section of type join more smoothly and give a much crisper (and easier to read) appearance on the page. Ruremond has also used consistently the equivalent of modern bar lines to align the textual underlay with the neumes; Kingston & Sutton's edition employs these lines only at the ends of most (but not all) verses of the hymns (and some of these appear to have been added in by hand, possibly by a singer using the book). Curiously,

the breaks between sections of music type visible in Kingston & Sutton's edition do create some alignment between the textual underlay and the neumes, although this was probably unintentional and is certainly not as much of an aid for singers as are Ruremond's 'bar lines'. (See [Error! Reference source not found.](#) and [Error! Reference source not found.](#))



Figure 5.1 Kingston and Sutton Sarum Hymnal 1555, sig. X.iiijr. The figure demonstrates the rather rudimentary typesetting technique of the London-based printers of the only Marian edition of the Sarum Hymnal. Compared with the previous edition of the Hymnal (Ruremond 1541), Kingston & Sutton's edition gives less clear guidance for textual underlay to the singer using the book. [Image from EEBO]

In festo visitationis beate marie.

nostro redempto ri per que venit gratia:  
 proceden ti creatori in equa lis glori a.

In laud  
 hymni

Salutaris fulges stella maris

ge neris prolem veritatis so lem mater  
 bonoru clemens famulozum suscipe votum.

O gratulamur et tu as conamur ca ne  
 re laudes que de o cogaudes: sed no con-

In festo visitationis beate marie. No. lxxij.

dignis preuaemus hymnis: dicere totum.

Qua veterana traxit in montana gref-  
 su festina colam matutinam cu i iubile-  
 mus et cocelebzam? hec tu a festa. docem

rachalis exaudi de celis que te nuc orat  
 si li olo plozat potes regina grati adiu-  
 na pellis molesta. mediare oibis re-  
 f. iij.

Figure 5.2 Ruremond Sarum Hymnal 1541, sig. Xiiijr. The figure shows the superior typesetting work, particularly in the handling of neumes, of one of the Continent's major producers of Sarum liturgical books. Ruremond's edition gives clear guidance for textual underlay to the singer. [Image from EEBO]

It is quite possible that Kingston & Sutton made use of one of Ruremond's previous editions as their exemplar for their 1555 edition of the Hymnal, as the composition/layout of text and pagination is nearly identical to that found in Ruremond's editions. Indeed, if searching for an exemplar for their edition, Kingston & Sutton may not have had much choice other than to use one of Ruremond's previous editions (assuming that there were no other, now lost,

editions of the book from either England or the Continent). Although the text of the rubrics is the same between Kingston & Sutton's edition and the previous editions of the book, Kingston & Sutton do present some differences of layout/composition of rubrics when compared with Ruremond, although the text of the rubrics does not alter. Less correspondence can be seen, however, between Kingston & Sutton and Ruremond's house style of music type, and this may be a result of either limitations of the type itself or the inexperience of Kingston & Sutton's printing house with the use of music type. Kingston & Sutton do not appear to have followed exactly Ruremond's use of neumes. For example, in the opening of the hymn *Conditor alme siderum*, Ruremond's editions have used only virgas for this musical passage (whose Latin metre follows an even rhythm), while Kingston & Sutton have mostly used the punctum with the occasional virga found mostly on final syllables of the text (see **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.**).

**C**oniam multos in hymnis cantan-  
dis videmus iam deficere: illis in  
locis maxime ubi una clausula / id  
est in vno pede et iudem metri: ha-  
bentur plures syllabe q̄ in alia / cantantes se-  
mitbreues in plana musica / id est plano can-  
tu / sicut in organo solet faciendum / quod est  
erroneum: dominam id est literam / ancilla-  
ri: et ancillam id est notam / dominari: quod  
tam a iure quam ratione est penitus alienū.  
Ideo ad vitandū huiusmodi defectus: et ne  
dissimulatio in choro de cetero habeatur: sed ut  
quelibet syllaba habeat plenam notam exem-  
pla subsequētia antiquitus usitata: briliiter  
ut credimus facientes collegimus: et unpre-  
sorbis ut in lucem prodirent cōmimus.

**C**onditor alme siderū eterna lux  
credentū xp̄e redēptor omnū exaudi pre-  
ces supplicū. Qui cōdolēs interitu mortis  
perire seculum: saluasti mūdū lāgūdū do-  
nās reis remediū. Uergēte mūdū bēspere:  
uti spōsus de thalamo: egressus honestis-  
sima: virgīnis matris clausula. Qui lo-  
A. G.

Figure 5.3 Ruremond Sarum Hymnal 1541, Aair. The figure shows Ruremond's use of neumes in the hymn *Conditore alme siderum*. The consistent use of virgas here mirrors the even rhythm of the metre of the Latin textual underlay. [Image from EEBO]

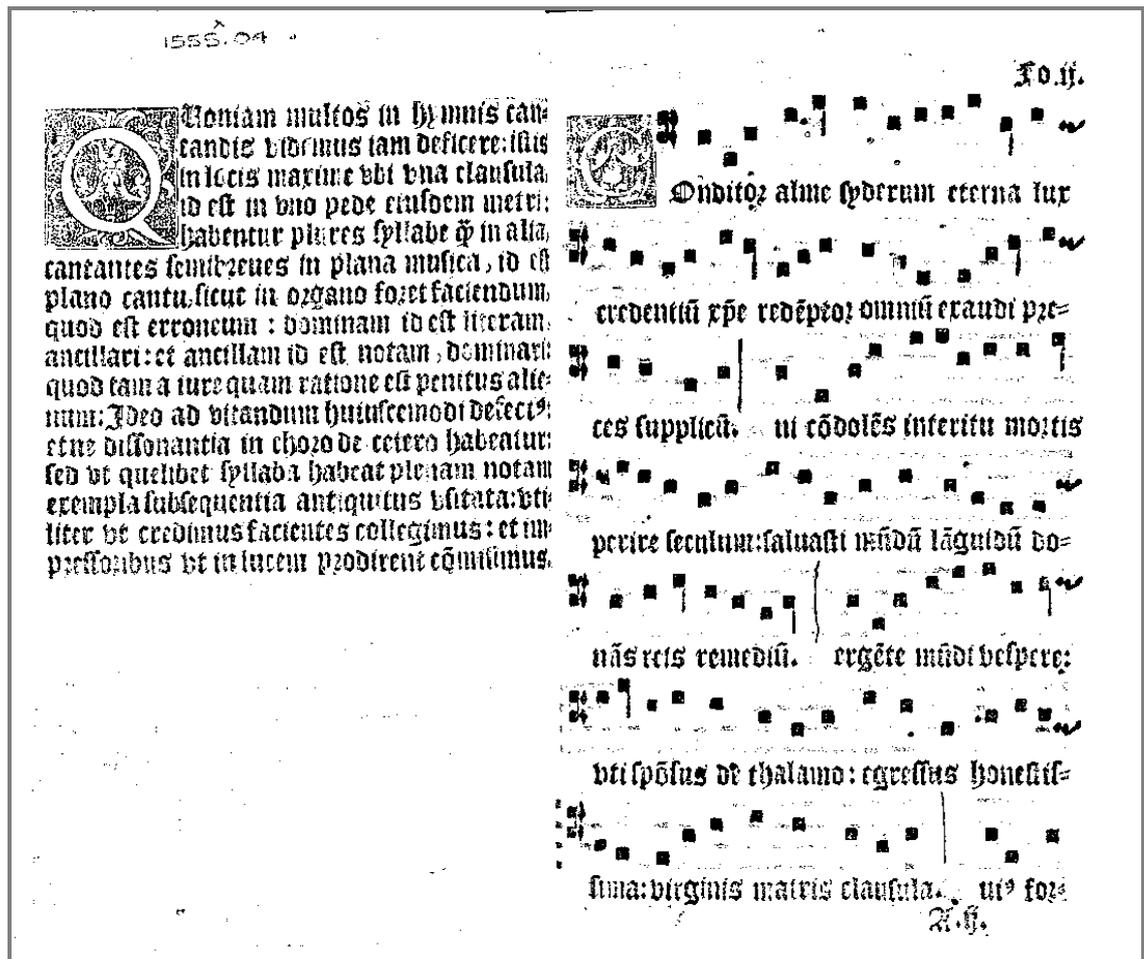


Figure 5.4 Kingston & Sutton Sarum Hymnal 1555, sig. Aiiir. The figure demonstrates Kingston & Sutton's use of neumes in the hymn *Conditor alme siderum*, which differs somewhat from the previous (Continental) edition of the Hymnal (Ruremond 1541). Kingston & Sutton employ mainly the punctum, with the occasional virga found primarily on final syllables of the text. [Image from EEBO]

It is unclear whether or not Kingston & Sutton's use of the virga carries any rhythmic significance as their use of the virga does not appear to have any direct correlation with the metre of the Latin underlay; it may simply have been a space-saving device on the part of the compositor. Kingston & Sutton's edition also occasionally omits the compound neumes as used by Ruremond in

favour of two simple puncta. Thus, while Kingston & Sutton may well have used one of Ruremond's editions as an exemplar for their 1555 edition of the Sarum Hymnal, their less sophisticated use of music type throughout the book creates a product which is visibly less appealing than Ruremond's editions and which presents the music in a way that is actually somewhat less useful to the singer who would have been using the book, a trait of much of Marian domestic liturgical printing. The domestic book trade, strengthened by Henry VIII late in his reign, had continued to expand in the Marian period; however, particularly with regard to liturgical printing and the use of music type, Marian domestic printers more often than not produced products which were inferior to their Continental counterparts.

### Books for the Priest

#### *Missals*

The Sarum Missal saw re-issue under the Marian regime in five editions (based on extant copies). Continental importation was quick to resume to supply the need for Missals, as it had with Hymnals, Processionals, and Breviaries under the new Monarch. The Rouen publishing and printing firm of Robert Valentin produced two quarto editions of the Missal in quick succession, one in 1554 and a second a year later.<sup>71</sup> Valentin worked in Rouen from 1524-

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<sup>71</sup> STC 16215 and 16216.

1557 and in 1556 came into partnership with his son, Florent.<sup>72</sup> Both editions present similar title pages with Valentin's printer's device which features two unicorns and a shield bearing the initials 'R. V.'. Both title pages also bear a curious piece of Latin poetry, which is almost, but not quite identical between the two editions.

*Ad sacerdotem*  
*Sanctorum qui sancta soles intrare sacerdos:*  
*Hoc missale novum (si mihi credis) emas.*  
*Invenies illic digestas ordine missas*  
*\*Cesaris ut Burgi veriorum usus habet.*  
*Cetera sunt fedis passim deformis mendis.*  
*Hoc Elephas ulla dat sine labe tibi. (1554 edition)*  
*Hoc Monoceros ulla dat sine labe tibi. (1555 edition)*

\*The 1554 edition gives this word as 'Lesaris'.

O priest, you who alone can enter the Holy of Holies, you should buy this new Missal (if you believe me). In here you will find, set out in order, the separate masses which more properly accord to the use of the [City of Caesar?]. All the others are corrupted throughout with pernicious errors. The Elephant/'Monoceros' (unicorn) gives this to you unblemished.

One may assume that 'Elephas' (as in the 1554 edition) was the original noun in the last sentence of this verse, as it fits the meter of the verse; the substitution of 'Monoceros' in the 1555 edition of the book is clearly a later addition and destroys the verse's pentameter. The 1555 edition also corrects 'Lesaris' to 'Cesaris'.

Thus, for what were to be the first editions of the Sarum Missal with England's return to Catholicism, Valentin assumes the role of publisher and

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<sup>72</sup> STC, vol. 3, pp. 172-173.

offers potential clerical buyers and users of his Missals a clear and direct 'sales pitch' for his editions over any others. Indeed, both the 1554 and 1555 editions carry the phrase 'venale habetur in ed. R. valentini', which suggests that Valentin was acting as seller, if not publisher as well, of these books.<sup>73</sup> It is unclear whether or not the Crown may have directed Valentin toward such an advertisement of his books, in an effort to restore 'a truer rite' after years of Protestant reform, or if Valentin himself simply seized an opportunity to market his liturgical books to priests, particularly those who may have been concerned with the authority of the edition they would use in the new regime. If indeed Valentin were marketing the contents of his Missals as 'more properly according to the use of Rome', whether by instruction of the English Crown or of his own accord, he and/or Mary's church authorities may have been making a firm statement about a return to a form of Catholicism before the late Henrician reforms. In addition, Valentin, stressing the accuracy of his editions, may be seen to be seeking to gain the trust of the reader/user, as per Adrian Johns' argument that 'questions of credit took the place of assumptions of fixity'.<sup>74</sup>

It is also unclear if 'Elephant' and 'Monoceros' are possibly used as soubriquets for individuals involved in the books' production (perhaps

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<sup>73</sup> As well as with Caxton, de Worde, Pynson, and their various collaborators, similar designations and distinctions between the roles of printer and publisher were seen on the Continent in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. See Rose 2004.

<sup>74</sup> Johns 1998, p. 31.

individuals who funded either of the editions). It is possible that, given the elephant found on Francis Regnault's printer's device (Regnault's workshop was located at the sign of the elephant) and the unicorns found on Valentin's device, 'Elephant' refers to the printing house of Regnault (although Regnault died circa 1540 and was succeeded in his printing business by his widow) and that 'Monoceros' ('unicorn') refers to Valentin himself. Perhaps Valentin had financial or technical assistance with the first edition of the Missal from Regnault's firm<sup>75</sup> but was able to fund the production of the 1555 edition of the book himself and thus altered the attribution. Certainly the inclusion of this opening Latin verse suggests the involvement in the books' production of someone with a Classical education, as Valentin's Latin poetry takes the traditional form of elegiac couplets. Potential clerical buyers and users of these books most likely would have studied Classical Latin as a part of their education and would have had an appreciation for Valentin's Latin verse.

Both Valentin's 1554 and 1555 editions credit Richard Hamillon on the final page of the volume, 'Ex officina ('from the workshop of') Richardi Hamillionis typographie'; Hamillon may have been the printer or the supplier of type. He undoubtedly worked in some sort of partnership with Valentin, and further study is needed to establish the extent of their association. No detail of watermarks from the paper used by Valentin in these Missal editions has yet

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<sup>75</sup> Based on extant copies, Regnault's firm was responsible for the production of all five editions of the Sarum Missal between 1529 and 1534.

been established, and evidence such as this might further elucidate the workings of Valentin, Regnault's heirs, and Hamillon's collaborations.

1555 also saw the publication of another quarto edition of the Sarum Missal, from Kingston & Sutton in London,<sup>76</sup> which would have stood in direct competition with Valentin's second edition. While Kingston & Sutton were never appointed as official printers to the Queen, in their short partnership (which lasted almost as long as Mary's reign) they probably saw a gap in the market for liturgical books produced on home soil. Henry VIII's limitation of liturgical book production to the domestic trade could no longer have been upheld by Mary, given the return to Continental importation during her reign. Indeed, Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain and the subsequent Spanish influence on their Court may well have re-established links with the Continent which favoured a return to the importation of Sarum books produced on the Continent. However, Henry's statement in the 1544 Breviary praising the work of English printers, as well as the efforts of native printers under Edward VI, may have given impetus to London-based printing when the need for Sarum books returned in 1553. No calendar date is given in the colophon of either Valentin's second edition or Kingston & Sutton's edition in 1555; thus it is difficult to know which edition may have been produced first in 1555. However, Kingston & Sutton's edition also presents the opening Latin verse, in the version which features the 'Elephas', and therefore they may have been

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<sup>76</sup> STC 16218.

using Valentin's 1554 edition as an exemplar. The text of Kingston & Sutton's edition is identical to that of Valentin, although Kingston & Sutton have not adopted Valentin's layout. Kingston & Sutton's edition does, however, appear to follow Valentin's model in the use and placement of decorated, woodcut initial letters, and Kingston & Sutton have duplicated exactly the neume forms used in the music of Valentin's edition. Kingston & Sutton appear to have used music type of the same description and dimension in their quarto edition Missal as in their 1555 edition of the Hymnal, as one would expect given that both books were produced in the same printing house in the same year.

All three of the Marian quarto editions (Valentin 1554 and 1555 and Kingston & Sutton 1555) end with the same colophon:

*Missale ad usum Sarisburiensis explicit/optimis formulis (ut res ipsa indicat) diligentissimus reuisum ac correctum/cum multis annotationalis, ac litteras alphabeticis Evangeliorum atque Epistolarum originem indicantibus.*

Missal with the use of Sarum set out, with the best formulas (as the thing itself indicates) most carefully revised and corrected, with many annotations and the letters (books) of the Evangelists in alphabetical order and the Epistles in an order indicating their origin.

Thus, the Marian quarto editions of the Sarum Missal continue a theme seen with other editions of re-issued Marian liturgical books, that of making a clear statement of the books' revisions and corrections as a part of the return to traditional Catholicism.

Two folio editions of the Sarum Missal (based on extant copies) were produced during Mary's reign, the first from the Paris printing house of G. Merlin in 1555<sup>77</sup> and the second from Kingston & Sutton in London in 1557.<sup>78</sup> With two quarto editions issued from Rouen and London in 1555, Merlin's firm may well have seen a gap in the market for a newly-issued folio format Missal in the same year (and also the first folio format Missal of Mary's reign). The title page of Merlin's edition features a large, three-part woodcut which presents a coat of arms (the English royal arms used from Henry IV to Elizabeth I), a crown atop a Tudor rose, and a depiction of St. George slaying a dragon (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). Various images of St. George and the Dragon were used both by domestic and Continental printers within the early book trade for their association with the nation of England (St. George being the patron saint of England), and a number of Continental printers of Sarum liturgical books appear to have utilized images of St. George to signify that these books were intended for the English market.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>STC 16217.

<sup>78</sup> STC 16219.

<sup>79</sup> For a complete discussion of the use of the image of St. George and the dragon in early printing, see Wang 2004. Wang examines Regnault's use of the image in his Sarum liturgical printing but fails to note the image's re-appearance in Merlin's 1555 re-issue of the Sarum Missal.

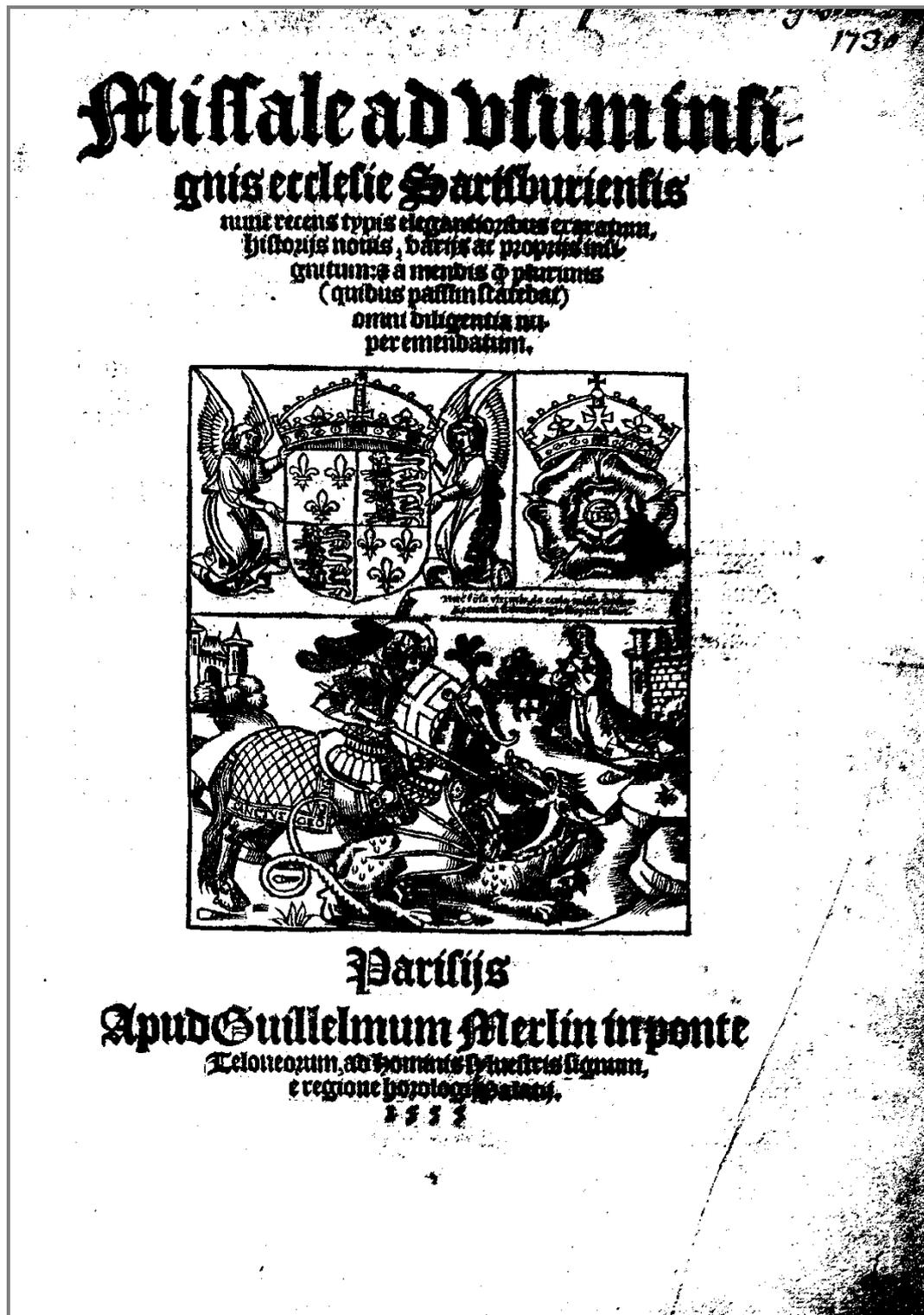


Figure 5.5 Sarum Missal 1555, printed by Merlin, title page. The figure shows various woodcut images associated with England, including the English royal arms, the Tudor rose, and St. George. The inclusion of images such as these in liturgical books produced on the Continental signified editions intended for the English market. [Image from EEBO]

Also included in the illustration from Merlin's 1555 edition of the Missal is a small banner with the text:

*'Haec rosa virtutis, de coelo missa sereno Aeternum florens: regia sceptrum tenet'*

'This is the rose of virtue, sent from serene heaven flowering eternally: she holds the royal sceptre'.

While this phrase may have origins in the Book of Revelation as a description of the Blessed Virgin Mary, it is possible that Merlin also made use of the phrase in this woodcut in reference to Queen Mary herself. Thus, the woodcut illustration of St. George and the dragon, as well as the Tudor rose, crown, and Latin motto, may well have set out Merlin's edition of the Missal for the English market, and Merlin may have chosen the themes of the woodcut to appeal to the English market. The main images of this woodcut were used previously by Francis Regnault in his 1535 edition of the Sarum Breviary; therefore, Merlin may have taken over, or simply borrowed, some of Regnault's printing stock when Regnault's business passed to his widow, and he may have chosen to follow Regnault's model in the re-issue of Sarum books twenty years after Regnault's Henrician Breviary.

Kingston & Sutton's 1557 folio edition may have been modelled on Merlin's 1555 edition; however, there are sufficient differences to suggest that Merlin's edition may not have been Kingston & Sutton's exemplar. Kingston & Sutton's 1557 title page offers a large woodcut with various royal emblems, including the text 'Vivat Regina', the initials 'M. R.', a crown, and a royal coat of arms.

The woodcut does not list Kingston & Sutton as printers by name and is not the printer's device found in their other liturgical books. The device found in Kingston & Sutton's 1557 edition corresponds to McK. 115ß and represents a modified version of John Day's<sup>80</sup> printer's device.<sup>81</sup> John Day worked as a printer in London from circa 1546-1584 and served as Printer to the City of London, possibly from 1557.<sup>82</sup> Kingston & Sutton may have modified Day's device to give their edition of the Missal extra influence and authority by suggesting royal connections and possibly to compete with the royal references on the title page of Merlin's edition.

Both the Paris and London folio editions of the Missal begin with the same title, which again reinforces the concept of newly revised and emended editions of the book (including in 'new histories' what was probably paraliturgical material, e.g. lives of the saints):

*Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis nunc recens typis elegantioribus eraratum, historiis nouis, variis ac propriis insignitum: et a mendis quam plurimis (quibus passim fratebat) omni diligentia nuper emendatum.*

The Missal to the use of the distinguished use of Salisbury now recently set out with a more elegant type and signified with various and proper new histories/stories: and recently emended with all diligence from very many errors (which were found throughout).

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<sup>80</sup> John Day (1522-1584) was a printer responsible for the production of much English Protestant literature, psalters, and other religious works.

<sup>81</sup> STC vol. 3, p. 84.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. 51-2.

Kingston & Sutton perhaps lacked the extensive supply of woodcuts found in Continental printing houses; Merlin's edition of the Missal uses large woodcut illustrations and smaller, decorative initial letters throughout, while Kingston & Sutton's edition appears to have been unable to follow Merlin's model. The Paris edition in particular offers a well-planned use of woodcut illustrations to mark the various sections of the Missal (with some woodcut illustrations appropriate to the liturgical section of the book, particularly those connected with Marian feasts, such as the Feast of the Visitation and the Feast of the Assumption) and decorated, initial letters to mark the beginnings of significant sections of the text; Kingston & Sutton's edition is largely limited to the use of decorated initial letters.

While the London edition of the 1557 Missal found in the British Library appears to be incomplete because it lacks a colophon, the 1555 Paris edition ends with another description of the book, which extols the virtues of a newly revised and emended edition.<sup>83</sup> The Paris edition then goes on to state that the Missal was printed in Parisian type and was the work of printer or typographer, Joannis Amazeur, for Guillelmo Merlin, whose shop was found above a particular bridge at the sign of the merman.<sup>84</sup> Merlin's printer's device, which

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<sup>83</sup> *Missale secundum consuetudinem ac ritum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis nuper exacte, accurateque elaboratum et emendatum, variis etiam ac novis atque propriis insignitum histories, et id genus additamentis multiphariam locupletatum, in honorem dei optima, marimi, ac benedictae dei genitricis semper que virginis Marie atque ceterorum beatorum, spirituum que celestium feleciter Finit'.*

<sup>84</sup> *'Impressum Parisiis typis Joannis Amazeur typographi, pro Guillelmo Merlin super ponte nummulariorum, ad sylvestris hominis signum commorante'.*

features a swan, follows, preceded by the curious phrase 'Omnes sunt quaterni preter qui sunt terni' ('All are in fours except those that are in threes'), which may well relate to some aspect either of the book's printing or collation.

Further study is necessary to examine the possible details of the partnership between Amazeur and Merlin. As with Valentin and Hamillon, the standard practice in French printing firms of this period, particularly in their work with liturgical books, may have been to employ printers and/or typographers expert in Latin (and perhaps also in music), whose work at least within the trade itself may have been well enough known to warrant crediting in the book's colophon.

There are slight differences in the music type used in the 1555 Paris and 1557 London editions of the Missal. While both Merlin and Kingston & Sutton employ a music type with a staff height of 1.4 cm and a virga notehead of 0.3 cm<sup>2</sup>, Kingston & Sutton's music type creates a virga stem length of 0.8 cm, compared with Merlin's 0.6 cm. Thus, it is likely that both printing firms used very similar music types and that Kingston & Sutton's type was probably obtained from the Continent. In their 1557 edition of the Missal, Kingston & Sutton use some neume forms different from both Merlin's 1555 Paris folio edition and their own 1555 quarto edition of the Missal; for example, Kingston & Sutton tend to use a different form of the podatus than what is given in Continental editions. The primary difference in the use of music type between the Paris and London folio editions of the Missal, however, is the great number of errors found in Kingston & Sutton's edition. These are primarily errors

resulting in clefs or notes appearing on an incorrect line or space. For example, in the first intonation given for the Creed, Kingston & Sutton's 1557 edition presents a misplaced clef and two misplaced notes when compared with two of the 1555 editions (Paris folio edition and Kingston & Sutton's quarto edition of that year). Kingston & Sutton's setting of the *Pater noster* in their 1557 edition also demonstrates most of their typical kinds of errors. Thus, in the production of their 1557 edition of the Sarum Missal, Kingston & Sutton's musical compositor appears not to have proofread his work very carefully; the 1555 quarto edition of the book from their printing house displayed much more accurate music printing. Kingston & Sutton's inaccurately disseminated liturgical music (despite their claims to an edition 'recently emended from very many errors') undermines Elizabeth Eisenstein's argument of the uniformity brought by print. Kingston & Sutton's 1557 edition may have begun to introduce variant musical forms into liturgy, thereby failing to establish standardization in print and supporting Adrian Johns' claim that early printing gives a false impression of textual fixity.<sup>85</sup> However, in the practical, every day use of these liturgical books, errors in the transmission of chant may not have had a great impact on trained singers (whose knowledge of chant probably came primarily through oral means and who may have corrected or simply overlooked errors they encountered). Therefore, the disseminated chant of early printed Sarum liturgical books may not be an accurate record of that which was sung in practice.

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<sup>85</sup> Johns 1998, p. 19.

Thus in the re-issued Sarum Missals of Mary's reign we see both continuity and change. With England's return to Catholicism, Continental importation of liturgical books resumed in editions designed for both institutions (churches) and individuals (priests). English printers entered the market after Continental importation had resumed but failed to produce editions of the same high calibre (and in some cases accuracy) for which Continental editions were known. While English printers Kingston & Sutton were not made official printers to the Crown, it is unclear whether or not they received any direction or sponsorship from Mary's church authorities in their domestic production of liturgical books. Kingston & Sutton may have been permitted to compete in the market for the printing and sale of Sarum books as any other printer would, but their editions appear not to have been singled out by the Crown as superior. As Elizabeth Armstrong has demonstrated with regard to book-privileges in France in the first quarter of the sixteenth century,<sup>86</sup> many of these privileges can be seen to carry nationalistic undertones, and an expression of nationalism of this sort may not have been viewed favourably by Mary's regime. Mary may have sought to avoid the granting of a licence to English printers for the printing of liturgical books in the manner of her father as part of a larger effort to re-establish connections with the Catholicism of the Continent, particularly that of Spain.

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<sup>86</sup> Armstrong 1990, pp. 165-190.

*Processionals*

Seven editions of the Sarum Processional were re-issued in Mary's reign, with the first four editions produced in London in 1554 and 1555 and three later editions arising from the Continent between 1555 and 1558. All of these editions were printed in quarto format as the Processional is by definition a 'walking book' for the priest. Kingston & Sutton issued two editions in quick succession in 1554<sup>87</sup> and 1555.<sup>88</sup> Both editions begin with a lengthy title, praising the church of Sarum and its ceremonies while informing the book's reader/user of the edition's many corrections.<sup>89</sup> As with their other editions of other Sarum liturgical books, Kingston & Sutton's printer's device does not name them as printers, but gives only the book's city of publication. Kingston & Sutton's 1555 edition of the Processional appears to be an exact page-for-page reprint of the edition of the previous year, with a few substitutions of fonts and decorated initial letters within the text. It is curious that Kingston & Sutton should have issued two nearly identical editions, of the same format, in two years, and no logical reason for this fact presents itself. Two other London-based printing firms also produced Processional editions in 1555; thus perhaps Kingston & Sutton sought to flood the market with their editions among those of the competition. Another edition of the Sarum Processional to be printed in

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<sup>87</sup> STC 16244.

<sup>88</sup> STC 16245.

<sup>89</sup> 'Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, observandos accommodum presertim in its que in habendis processionibus, ad cerimoniarum splendorem faciunt imprimis opportunum: iam denuo ad calculus revocatum: et a multis quibus ipsum viciatum erat mendis, purgatum atque tersum.'

London in 1555<sup>90</sup> seems to have come either from the printing house of Thomas Raynalde or Thomas Marsh, and the edition's listing in the STC catalogue (which suggests that Marsh is the book's printer) needs clarification. The printer's device found on the Processional's title page (which presents a similar monument-like structure to that of Kingston & Sutton's device) gives the initials 'T. R.', and the British Library catalogue suggests that this is the mark of printer Thomas Raynalde. A Thomas Raynalde, physician and printer, was known in London from circa 1539 to 1552;<sup>91</sup> however, if these dates are correct, they do not correspond to the 1555 printing of this edition of the Processional. One Thomas Marsh was known from 1554 to 1587 as a printer in London and was granted a patent in 1572 for the printing of Latin school books.<sup>92</sup> Marsh's dates and his expertise in Latin printing suggest that he could well be the printer of this edition; however, the initials on the printer's device (and printers in this period seem frequently to have added their initials to their devices, especially when the title page of a book did not list them by name as the book's printer) do not correspond. Bound as the front leaf in the British Library's copy of this edition is printer's waste from the Latin text, 'Catalogus Episcop. Curiensum', and thus further investigation of this text may assist in confirming the printer of the Processional. The title page of this unidentified Processional edition and its colophon are identical to those found in Kingston & Sutton's 1555 edition;

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<sup>90</sup> STC 16246.

<sup>91</sup> STC, vol. 3, pp. 142-3.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

however, while the texts are identical between these two editions, there are differences of composition/lay-out. In addition, Kingston & Sutton's edition offers a better standard of music printing, as the edition of 'T. R.' displays occasional ambiguities within the music. 'T. R.'s edition appears to have been produced from a different exemplar than that of Kingston & Sutton; in some of the plainsong chants a different positioning of the clefs results in a different lay-out of the same music. A third edition of the Sarum Processional,<sup>93</sup> produced in London in 1555, also comes from an as yet unidentified printing house (although the STC queries whether this may be that of John Wayland).<sup>94</sup> Wayland held a patent for the printing of primers under Mary<sup>95</sup> and thus may have entered the liturgical book market with an edition of the Processional having gained the official approval and backing of the Crown. This edition is quite similar, if not identical, in font, style, and musical notation to the edition of 'T. R.', the major visual differences being found in the use of a different stock of decorated initial letters. Comparison of this edition with other works known to have been printed by Wayland may yield some clarification as to the printer's identity.

The Rouen collaboration of Valentin and Hamillon resulted in the fourth 1555 edition of the Processional and the first edition of the Processional

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<sup>93</sup> STC 16247.

<sup>94</sup> I have tentatively identified the British Library copy of this edition as one of a set of pre-Reformation liturgical books from the parish church of St. Mary's, Thorpe, Surrey, previously thought to be lost.

<sup>95</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 179.

imported from the Continent in Mary's reign.<sup>96</sup> Some differences in rubrics can be seen between this Continental edition and the previous four Marian editions produced in London; thus, Valentin and Hamillon were most likely working from a Continental exemplar (possibly one from the 1530s) and not from contemporary editions (as the Marian London printers may have done). Valentin and Hamillon's title page description of the book is simpler than those found in the previous London editions, although the title does describe a new edition and one that has been 'corrected' and 'returned' in its use.<sup>97</sup> While all four of the English Marian editions conclude the Processional text with the antiphons of the Blessed Virgin Mary, this and other Continental editions include the addition of five *prosaes* (*O morum doctor egregie*, *Sospitati dedit egros*, *Inviolata integra et casta*, *Crux fidelis terras celis*, and *Aeterne virgo memorie*) and the seven penitential psalms following the antiphons to the BVM. Whether or not these additions represent some kind of liturgical difference between England and the Continent or if these texts are included by Continental printers simply as an aid to the priest is unclear. Valentin and Hamillon appear to have made an exact reprint of their 1555 edition in 1557,<sup>98</sup> and the colophon explicit of that edition sheds some further light on the collaboration between the two men,

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<sup>96</sup> STC 16248.

<sup>97</sup> 'Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum noviter ac rursus castigatum et emendatum/Impensis honesti viri Roberti Valentini Rothomagi impressum.'

<sup>98</sup> STC 16249.

stating that the edition comes from the Hamillon's workshop and at the expense of Valentin.<sup>99</sup>

The final Marian edition of the Sarum Processional (based on extant copies) was produced in Antwerp by Christopher Ruremond in 1558,<sup>100</sup> and the title page description of this edition, as with previous editions, stresses the recent and most vigilant purging of errors.<sup>101</sup> Unlike any of the previous Marian editions of the Sarum Processional, Ruremond includes in his edition the thirteen woodcut diagrams of various liturgical processions, first seen in Pynson's edition of the book in 1502 and in several editions following. Ruremond's edition of the text concludes with the *prosa* and penitential psalms seen in Valentin and Hamillon's editions, and thus this appears to be a Continent addition.

Hence, in the Marian re-issues of the Sarum Processional, English printers featured significantly, with editions arising from three separate printing houses. Kingston & Sutton continued to make their mark on the liturgical book market, and two other printers (not yet completely identified) also entered the field, possibly for the first time. Continental production and importation resumed and provided further competition for the marketing and sale of Processionals,

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<sup>99</sup> 'Finit processionale secundum usum Sarum Rothomagi impressum in officinal Richardi Hamilionis impensis Roberti Valentini Anno salutis humane Millesimo CCCC.lviij.xv.die mensis Octobris'.

<sup>100</sup> STC 16249.5.

<sup>101</sup> 'Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare Ecclesie Sarum pluribus quibus scatebat mendis: iam recens quam vigilantissime repurgatum'.

offering editions with somewhat superior music printing than what was available from London printers. Had Mary's reign continued beyond 1558, it is possible that the English printers of Processionals may have produced additional editions in response to the influx of Continental books between 1555 and 1558.

### *Breviaries*

The re-issue of the Sarum Breviary under Mary I appears to have followed many of the same patterns seen in the production and dissemination of other Sarum liturgical books in the Marian period. The eight Marian editions (based on surviving copies) of the Breviary saw production in the usual centres of Paris, London, and Rouen and from printing houses known for their printing of liturgical texts. All of the editions of the re-issued Marian Sarum Breviary were printed in the small and very small formats of quarto, octavo, and 16mo, and the lack of production of any folio format Breviaries during this period may suggest a shift in focus away from institutional liturgical use toward personal private devotion. Eamon Duffy points to the importance placed on catechesis and teaching by Marian church authorities (as evidenced by Bishop Bonner's *A Profytable and necessary doctrine* and the English-Latin primers published by John Wayland),<sup>102</sup> and thus the limitation of Breviaries to the smaller formats may well have served the purposes of the Marian Church. Folio format editions of the Breviary had been seen under Henry VII and Henry VIII (for example,

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<sup>102</sup> Duffy 1992, p. 524-555.

Wynkyn de Worde's 1506 edition in collaboration with Kerver and Morin<sup>103</sup>), alongside editions in the smaller formats. With the return to Catholicism in England, both English and Continental printers may possibly have recognised a need for smaller format books among the clergy as the task of re-instating liturgical practice largely rested on them. In addition, the Breviary was not one of the liturgical books required for parish churches to possess as they re-furnished for the restoration of Catholicism. Whether or not printers would have been aware of the specifics of these requirements is not known; however, it does appear that printers aimed their re-issued Marian Breviaries at an individual, rather than an institutional, market.

The first two editions of the Marian Breviary saw production in Paris in 1554 and 1555 by the widow of Francis Regnault, Magdalena Boursette. Having assumed her husband's business, she had his standard printer's device (featuring an elephant) modified to include her initials ('M. B.'). It is this device which appears on the title page of both her 1554/55 and 1555 octavo editions of the Breviary.<sup>104</sup> Boursette's editions include title page descriptions similar to those seen in other re-issued Sarum books, highlighting a corrected and restored Sarum use.<sup>105</sup> In the two-volume arrangement of the Breviary, the Kalendar, Psalter, and Commune Sanctorum were frequently printed at the

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<sup>103</sup> STC 15805.5.

<sup>104</sup> STC 15836 and 15837.

<sup>105</sup> 'Portiforium seu Breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis castigatum, suppletum marginalibus quotationibus adornatum, ac nunc primum ad verissimum ordinalis exemplar in suum ordinem aperitissimis viris redactum'.

front of both volumes, presumably for the convenience of the reader/user. Boursette appears to have followed this pattern for her second edition (1555), the final Breviary being bound as two volumes. Her first edition in 1554/55 offers only one printing of the Kalendar and Psalter and therefore appears to have been designed as a single volume. Bound as one volume, this Breviary is somewhat unwieldy for the reader/user. Awareness of the need for an edition in two, more manageable volumes may explain why these two editions of the Breviary came from Boursette's workshop in such quick succession.

Kingston & Sutton's 1555 edition of the Breviary<sup>106</sup> represents the first English edition of the book in the Marian period and carries a title page description very similar to that found in their edition of the Sarum Missal of the same year, once again pointing to a corrected Sarum use and noting the inclusion of Gospels and Epistles.<sup>107</sup> As with their other editions of liturgical books, Kingston & Sutton's printer's device does not name them directly as printers. Kingston & Sutton may have chosen to print this two-volume, quarto format edition of the Breviary in response to Boursette's smaller octavo format books printed at approximately the same time.

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<sup>106</sup> STC 15839.

<sup>107</sup> 'Portiforium seu Breuiarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum: accuratissime castigatum, cum multis annotatiunculis ac litteras Alphabeticus, Evangeliorum & Epistolarum, capitulorumque originem indicantibus: que nusque huiusque fuerunt addite. Pars Estiualis'.

An edition of the Sarum Breviary printed in Paris in 1555<sup>108</sup> may well demonstrate that Mary Tudor sought to restore liturgical policy and practice to the Catholicism of her father's reign. London-based Catholic printer, Robert Caly, who had worked as a printer in exile in Rouen during the Edwardian regime<sup>109</sup> and who eventually took over the printing house of Richard Grafton,<sup>110</sup> made in 1555 a complete reprint of Regnault's 1535 edition of the Breviary<sup>111</sup> and mistakenly included Regnault's original colophon with the year given as '1535'.<sup>112</sup> Thus, assuming Marian church authorities knew of the publication of the 1555 edition of the book, allowing it to stand gave at least their tacit, if not direct, approval of the liturgy contained within. Caly reprinted the Regnault Breviary with his own printer's device (which gives only his initials and not his name), and, apart from the erroneous addition of Regnault's colophon stating '1535', Caly's 1555 edition would not be immediately recognisable as a reprint of a Regnault edition. It is not clear why Caly may have chosen Regnault's 1535 edition to reprint twenty years later; perhaps authorities of the Marian church had singled it out as a model worth recreating. Indeed, the choice of Regnault's 1535 edition of the Breviary may well have

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<sup>108</sup> STC 15840.

<sup>109</sup> Duffy 1992, p. 538.

<sup>110</sup> STC, vol. 3, p. 36.

<sup>111</sup> STC 15833.

<sup>112</sup> 'Pars estivalis tam de tempore, quam de sanctis portifarij ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum optimis formulis (ut res ipsa indicat) diligentissime revisum ac correctum. Et si quid in prioribus omissum, aut in aliquot erratum fiut: appositum sive emendatum est in alma universitate. Parisien impressa p. Franciscum Regnault. Anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quinto'. Other details of the reprinting of the 1535 edition as the 1555 edition can be found in STC, vol. II, p. 72.

been intentional, designed to reverse changes made by Henry VIII to the Breviary in its 1541 and 1544 editions. Interestingly, the title page of Regnault's 1535 edition carried the same, three-part woodcut illustration featuring a coat of arms, a rose with a crown, and St. George slaying a dragon that Merlin re-used in his 1555 edition of the Sarum Missal, thus possibly indicating something of the lifespan of a woodcut illustration.

1556 saw the re-issue of three editions of the Breviary, the first by Kingston & Sutton in quarto format,<sup>113</sup> largely a reprint of their 1555 edition. A second 1556 edition<sup>114</sup> suggests some sort of collaboration between Merlin and Magdalena Boursette (Regnault's widow), as some copies of this edition are known to have been printed with Merlin's printer's device and some with Boursette's. It is perhaps possible that the two printing houses shared the printing of this quarto format edition, with each printing firm adding its own title page in-house. In the same year, Robert Valentin, apparently working without Hamilion, produced a 16mo format edition of the Breviary,<sup>115</sup> which may have set itself apart from the two quarto format editions also printed that year. As Valentin's text prints the Kalendar and Psalter only once, this edition appears to have been designed as one volume, a feature which would have also set it apart from the other editions of 1556. The final, Marian edition of the

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<sup>113</sup> STC 15842.

<sup>114</sup> STC 15844.

<sup>115</sup> STC 15846.

Sarum Breviary came from Merlin in Paris in 1556/7,<sup>116</sup> in the octavo format not seen since Boursette's first Marian editions in 1554/5. Merlin's edition credits Joannis le Blanc, as working for Merlin as possibly either printer or typesetter. Further study of the collaborations between printers of this period and their typographers might elucidate details of workshop practice including such details as how many typographers may have worked in a typical printing house and how many books they may have set within a given period.

Thus, both domestic production and Continental importation featured in the re-issue of the Sarum Breviary in the reign of Mary. The market for these books appears to have been saturated with the smaller and more personal formats as both single-volume and two-volume printings. Caly's 1555 reprint of Regnault's 1535 edition suggests a firm connection between the liturgical practice of Mary's restored Catholicism and that of the 1530s.

## CONCLUSION

The liturgical reforms of the late Henrician and Edwardian churches had a significant impact on the production and dissemination of Sarum liturgical books. Following the break with Rome after the passing of the Act of Supremacy, Continental importation of the Sarum Processional appears to have slowed considerably, while importation of the Missal appears to have ceased

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<sup>116</sup> STC 15847.

altogether. The Breviary continued to see production in a form modified by Henry VIII which removed all references to the authority of Rome over the English church. Henry's Breviary also granted to London printers Whytchurch and Grafton the sole right to print liturgical books as the King sought to exert his new authority as the Head of the Church. The dissolution of monasteries and other choral foundations under Henry VIII may well have meant fewer remaining skilled choirs and thus a lesser need for the choir books of Antiphoner and Gradual. The Sarum Hymnal appears to have remained in use amid the late Henrician liturgical reforms, as did the Manual. The market for Sarum liturgical books may well have dwindled during the late Henrician period as a result of a combination of factors, including the limited introduction of the vernacular into public worship, the various musical and liturgical reforms of Archbishop Cranmer, and possibly the re-consideration of the viability of the market by Continental printers themselves.

As legislation of Edward VI saw the abolition of Latin services in 1549 and the required surrender to authorities in 1550 of all Latin liturgical books and their subsequent destruction, the Edwardian period marked a hiatus in the production and provision of Sarum books. Despite the evidence of book burning in some locations, the number of extant copies of pre-1550 liturgical books makes it likely that much of Edward's legislation was flouted at both the institutional and individual level. Such a likelihood supports the theories of Reformation historians such as Eamon Duffy and Ronald Hutton who

demonstrate the ongoing attachment to traditional forms of religion during this period.

The return to Catholicism under Mary I saw the end of the hiatus in Sarum liturgical book production and provision as liturgical policy and practice was restored to that of the Henrician church. The Antiphoner and Gradual were never re-issued and reprinted, and it is unclear what musical provisions may have been made for choirs in this period. The Hymnal saw reprinting in a single edition in 1555, and the major liturgical books of Processional, Breviary, and Missal were reprinted in a variety of editions, both in England and on the Continent. The Marian period brought a rise in the London production of Sarum books unknown since the days of Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde earlier in the century. The partnership of Kingston & Sutton and the work of Robert Caly, and possibly Thomas Marsh and John Wayland, re-established liturgical book production in England as London printers sought to compete with renewed Continental importation.

The Sarum books of the Marian period may well have played an important role in re-establishing the traditional Catholicism of the later Henrician years, and the re-issue of many editions each of the Sarum Missal, Breviary, and Processional in the five years of Mary's reign suggests that an active market for these books existed. A dynamic market for liturgical books may then suggest that the return to traditional religion under Mary was at least well-supplied as

churches were refurnished after 1553 and at best well-received by institutions and individuals.

While the Sarum Antiphoner and Gradual did not see Marian re-issue, London printers Kingston & Sutton were responsible for re-introducing the Sarum Hymnal and the philosophy of liturgical singing (the text remaining superior to the music) contained in its preface. Both Continental importation and the work of Kingston & Sutton supplied the Marian market for Sarum Missals. Notable among the Continental printers of Sarum Missals was the work of Robert Valentin (and his various collaborative typographers), who sought to appeal to priests directly in his editions through Latin verse. Valentin's 'sales pitch' to priests for his edition over any others suggests a possible collaboration with the Paris printing house of Francis Regnault (and his widow), a potential partnership which requires further study. The 1555 edition of the Missal issued by Merlin of Paris displays a possible marketing strategy for Continental liturgical destined for England in the form of title page illustration dedicated to England (and possibly her Queen). As Kingston & Sutton entered the market for Sarum Missals, comparison of their editions with those from Continental printers reveals work of somewhat lesser quality, especially with regard to the printing of music. Kingston & Sutton's 1557 edition of the Missal, in particular, demonstrates numerous inaccuracies in the dissemination of the music, probably as a result of either inexperience with the handling of music type or poor proof-reading on the part of a compositor.

London printers played an important role in the re-issue of the Sarum Processional, with Kingston & Sutton leading the way for two other London printing houses to make new forays into liturgical printing. Processional production from the Continent between 1555 and 1558 helped to create a dynamic market for the book's sale in England, with Ruremond's workshop producing an edition in 1558 which re-introduced woodcut illustrations with extensive liturgical detail from Richard Pynson's 1502 edition.

Many of the patterns seen in the production and dissemination of other Sarum liturgical books in the reign of Mary I can also be seen in the re-issue of the Sarum Breviary in this period. The book's re-issue was sustained by a combination of English printing (from the firm of Kingston & Sutton) and Continental production and importation from Paris and Rouen. An error of dating in Robert Caly's 1555 reprinting of Regnault's 1535 edition of the Breviary proves that Mary's church authorities may well have sought to return liturgical practice to that of the 1530s and demonstrates that Sarum liturgical printing could serve as an agent of change for the Church.

It is worth considering how the early printing trade served the religious changes of both the late Henrician period and the Marian period through the production and provision of Sarum liturgical books. Intent on asserting his authority over the Church, particularly later in his reign, Henry VIII sought the power of the printing press. By modifying the Breviary in its 1541 and 1544

editions and granting a book-privilege to Whytchurch and Grafton for the manufacture of these books, Henry chose to control the production of this text through the limitation of its sources to domestic output. As statistically a fewer number of sources meant a smaller potential for textual variants, the concept of print creating fixity can be seen to work here in Henry's favour. By ending the importation of most other types of Sarum books (abruptly in the case of the Missal and more gradually for some of the other books), Henry also harnessed the power of the press for his objectives of religious change by preventing its influence completely in various spheres.

Mary, on the other hand, fostered the religious changes of her reign by putting the printing press to work, both domestically and on the Continent. While (based on extant copies) the Sarum Hymnal was produced in only one edition in her reign, for the Sarum Breviary, Missal, and Processional a great many editions were printed in Mary's five years on the throne. A multitude of editions surely increased the possibility of textual variants (as can be seen in the production of the Marian folio format Missals) which meant that uniformity and standardization were less likely to occur, and thus fixity would not have been possible. With the great number of Marian editions of the Breviary, Missal, and Processional in circulation, one may wonder if their numbers were simply the result of the re-establishment of a competitive market for liturgical books within the printing trade or if possibly the Marian Church encouraged great numbers of editions in its aim to restore Catholicism to England quickly

and completely. In the production of Marian Sarum books, the printing press can be seen to have created textual variance, particularly as the restoration of Catholicism required the return to and re-creation of earlier texts which themselves, in many cases, were not fixed.

## CONCLUSION

Sarum liturgical books occupy a unique position within the history of the book, primarily as a result of their specialized content (and, therefore, specialized users/readers), the expert techniques required of at least some of their production, and the distinctive markets for their texts and music. The printing of Sarum books (in Tudor London and on the Continent for the English market), with its overall lack of fixity of text and lack of standardization of editions, displays diversity within uniformity, as well as the apparent paradox of parallel continuity and discontinuity. With their close association with the sacred and divine (liturgy), Sarum books may well have been somewhat distanced from questions of credibility of text (unlike other early printed works). Printers of Sarum liturgical books sought an at least outward display of fixity of text (while often assuring their reader of 'correctness' of editions) in order to create a product in which the user/reader could place his faith.

In the hands of early London printers Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, Sarum liturgical printing can be seen as largely representative of both men's printing practices overall. While both printers focused their printing output primarily on religious, educational, and literary texts, they both also served a small but steady market for liturgical books. There were, however, significant differences between the two printers in terms of their workshop practice, book production, and approach to the market for liturgical books. For Wynkyn de Worde, his connections with Continental printing (including the

importation of Continental books not readily available in England) and his collaborations with other printers (both domestic and foreign) were important elements of his inheritance from William Caxton, and these aspects of his business strategy can be seen across de Worde's liturgical printing. Although the majority of his liturgical printing was for the Sarum rite, de Worde sought to reach further markets with the production of several liturgical texts for the York rite. By contrast, it appears that Richard Pynson did not engage in the importation of books printed on the Continent for the English market and relied on his Continental connections only to maintain his supply of materials (type stock, paper, and woodcuts). Pynson's skill as a printer is most evident in his liturgical works, for example the 'Morton' Missal of 1500. Unlike de Worde, Pynson did not seek in his liturgical printing a market beyond that for Sarum books (based on extant copies). The liturgical book production of both de Worde and Pynson at a broad level demonstrates aspects of fixity of text, but at a more detailed level shows that fixity of texts and standardization of editions were not achieved.

New evidence (from the PROB 2 inventories, National Archives) of personal ownership of liturgical books by individuals in Tudor London demonstrates ownership among the clergy of those books necessary to the work of a priest, primarily the Missal and Breviary, but also the Processional and Manual. Ownership of liturgical books appears to have been quite rare among the laity and may only have been possible for lay people who had a specific

need and means to acquire books. Evidence from parish churches in Tudor London and Kent shows that churches generally met the requirements for liturgical book ownership set for them by Canon Law. The Breviary appears to have found a market primarily with individuals, while the Gradual and Antiphoner show a predominantly institutional market. The Missal, Processional, and Hymnal appear to have found dual individual and institutional markets based on evidence of their ownership.

The liturgical reforms of the late Henrician church had a significant impact on the production of Sarum liturgical books. While importation of Processionals from the Continent slowed, importation of the Missal appears to have ceased altogether in this period. The Hymnal appears to have remained in steady use, while the Breviary saw continued production in a form modified by Henry VIII. Sarum liturgical printing can be seen to have served the religious agenda of the late Henrician period. With the abolition of Latin services in 1549, the reign of Edward VI saw a hiatus in the production and provision of Sarum liturgical books. However, evidence suggests that much of Edward's legislation on liturgical books was flouted at both institutional and individual levels. For Sarum liturgical books, the restoration of Catholicism under Mary I meant a return to a rate of production and provision unknown since the days of de Worde and Pynson. The Sarum books of the Marian period may well have played a significant role in re-establishing the traditional Catholicism of the later Henrician years.

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*BL = British Library,*

*EEBO = Early English Books Online*

STC 15790	Sarum Antiphoner 1519	BL c.35.1.3 EEBO
STC 15790a	Sarum Antiphoner 1520	BL c.35.1.4
STC 15804	Sarum Breviary 1499	BL IA.41352
STC 15809	Sarum Breviary 1510	BL c.35.d.4
STC 15811	Sarum Breviary 1515(?)	BL IA.40973
STC 15816	Sarum Breviary 1518	BL c.10.d.17
STC 15819	Sarum Breviary 1525	EEBO
STC 15821	Sarum Breviary 1525	BL c.142.dd.13
STC 15822	Sarum Breviary 1525	BL c.36.f.2
STC 15824	Sarum Breviary 1528	BL c.35.h.12
STC 15826	Sarum Breviary 1528	BL c.35.d.1
STC 15830	Sarum Breviary 1531	BL c.35.k.6
STC 15833	Sarum Breviary 1535	BL c.35.h.13 and c.35.h.14
STC 15834	Sarum Breviary 1541	BL 219.b.6, 7
STC 15835	Sarum Breviary 1544	BL c.35.b.5, 6
STC 15836	Sarum Breviary 1555	BL c.175.aa.4
STC 15837	Sarum Breviary 1555	BL c.35.b.7, 8

STC 15839	Sarum Breviary 1555	BL c.35.g.20
STC 15840	Sarum Breviary 1555	BL c.35.g.8 and c.121.c.7
STC 15842	Sarum Breviary 1556	BL c.35.g.19; c.35.g.22(1); c.35.g.22(2)
STC 15844	Sarum Breviary 1556	BL c.35.h.18
STC 15846	Sarum Breviary 1556	BL 1606/1888
STC 15847	Sarum Breviary 1557	BL c.35.b.9, 10
STC 15848	Sarum Breviary 1480(?)	BL IA.55065
STC 15850	Sarum Breviary 1495(?)	BL IA.55558
STC 15851	Sarum Breviary 1493(?)	BL IA.55457
STC 15852	Sarum Breviary 1497	BL IA.55556 EEBO
STC 15854	Sarum Breviary 1491(?)	BL IA.55122
STC 15855	Sarum Breviary 1496	BL IA.55561
STC 15863	Sarum Gradual 1527	EEBO
STC 15864	Sarum Gradual 1528	BL c.107.k.6
STC 15865	Sarum Gradual 1532	BL c.35.l.5
STC 16110	Sarum Hymnal 1496	BL IA.4908
STC 16112	Sarum Hymnal 1496	BL IA.55505a
STC 16116	Sarum Hymnal 1502	BL c.35.g.1(1)
STC 16116a.5	Sarum Hymnal 1502	EEBO
STC 16117	Sarum Hymnal 1505	BL 222.g.20
STC 16118	Sarum Hymnal 1506	BL c.35.c.6
STC 16120	Sarum Hymnal 1508	BL 222.g.23(1) EEBO
STC 16125	Sarum Hymnal 1514	BL c.35.g.3 EEBO

STC 16126	Sarum Hymnal 1515	BL c.35.g.5(1) EEBO
STC 16128	Sarum Hymnal 1517	BL c.35.g.7(1) EEBO
STC 16129	Sarum Hymnal 1518	EEBO
STC 16131	Sarum Hymnal 1525	BL c.35.g.10
STC 16131.5	Sarum Hymnal 1528	BL c.52.b.21
STC 16132	Sarum Hymnal 1532	BL c.35.g.12
STC 16133	Sarum Hymnal 1541	BL c.35.g.13 EEBO
STC 16134	Sarum Hymnal 1555	BL c.35.g.21 EEBO
STC 16160	York Manual 1509	BL c.35.h.19
STC 16165	Sarum Missal 1489	BL IC.37140
STC 16166	Sarum Missal 1492	BL IB.43955
STC 16167	Sarum Missal 1494	BL IA.23373
STC 16168	Sarum Missal 1494	BL IB.23371
STC 16169	Sarum Missal 1497	BL IB.40686 EEBO
STC 16171	Sarum Missal 1497	BL IC.43969
STC 16172	Sarum Missal 1498	BL IB.55292 EEBO
STC 16173	Sarum Missal 1500	Pusey House, Oxford EEBO
STC 16178	Sarum Missal 1504	BL c.35.k.1
STC 16179	Sarum Missal 1504	BL c.41.k.4 EEBO
STC 16180	Sarum Missal 1504	BL c.111.g.5
STC 16181	Sarum Missal 1504	BL c.36.l.8

STC 16184	Sarum Missal 1508	BL c.35.d.2
STC 16185	Sarum Missal 1508	BL c.25.k.23
STC 16186	Sarum Missal 1509	BL c.35.d.3
STC 16189	Sarum Missal 1511	BL c.109.k.16 EEBO
STC 16190	Sarum Missal 1512	BL c.25.m.15
STC 16191	Sarum Missal 1513	BL c.35.k.5
STC 16193	Sarum Missal 1514	BL c.41.g.2
STC 16194	Sarum Missal 1514	BL c.35.d.5
STC 16195	Sarum Missal 1515	BL c.35.d.6
STC 16197	Sarum Missal 1516	BL c.35.d.8
STC 16198	Sarum Missal 1518	BL c.35.d.7
STC 16201	Sarum Missal 1519	BL c.35.i.7
STC 16202	Sarum Missal 1520	BL c.41.l.1
STC 16203	Sarum Missal 1521	BL c.35.l.8
STC 16206	Sarum Missal 1527	BL c.41.k.5
STC 16207	Sarum Missal 1527	BL c.35.l.9 and c.35.l.2
STC 16208	Sarum Missal 1527	BL c.35.d.10
STC 16209	Sarum Missal 1528	BL c.110.g.3
STC 16210	Sarum Missal 1529	BL c.35.h.10
STC 16211	Sarum Missal 1531	BL c.35.i.10
STC 16213	Sarum Missal 1533	BL c.35.d.14 and c.35.d.15
STC 16214	Sarum Missal 1534	BL c.35.i.11
STC 16215	Sarum Missal 1554	BL c.35.e.12
STC 16216	Sarum Missal 1555	BL c.35.d.17

STC 16217	Sarum Missal 1555	BL c.35.d.12 EEBO
STC 16218	Sarum Missal 1555	BL c.35.e.2
STC 16219	Sarum Missal 1557	BL c.35.i.1
STC 16232.8	Sarum Processional 1502	St. John's College, Oxford
STC 16233	Sarum Processional 1508	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
STC 16235	Sarum Processional 1519	EEBO
STC 16236	Sarum Processional 1523	BL c.35.f.8
STC 16236.7	Sarum Processional 1525	BL c.111.c.6
STC 16237	Sarum Processional 1528	BL c.35.f.10
STC 16238	Sarum Processional 1530	BL c.35.f.9
STC 16241	Sarum Processional 1532	BL c.35.f.12
STC 16242	Sarum Processional 1544	BL c.35.f.13
STC 16243	Sarum Processional 1545	BL c.35.f.14
STC 16244	Sarum Processional 1554	BL c.35.f.15 EEBO Corpus Christi College, Oxford Magdalene College, Cambridge University of Durham University of Liverpool
STC 16245	Sarum Processional 1555	BL c.35.f.17 EEBO Bodleian Library, Oxford Trinity College, Dublin
STC 16246	Sarum Processional 1555	BL c.35.f.16 Bodleian Library, Oxford University Library, Cambridge
STC 16247	Sarum Processional 1555	BL c.35.f.3 Bodleian Library, Oxford
STC 16248	Sarum Processional 1555	BL c.52.f.13 EEBO

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STC 16249	Sarum Processional 1557	BL c.132.h.38 Bodleian Library, Oxford University Library, Cambridge St. John's College, Cambridge
STC 16249.5	Sarum Processional 1558	BL c.121.c.6 Bodleian Library, Oxford Trinity College, Dublin
STC 16250	Sarum Processional 1558	St. John's College, Oxford Keble College, Oxford
STC 17727	<i>Directorium Sacerdotum</i> 1501	BL c.35.f.7 EEBO
STC 17969	<i>Liber Festivalis</i> 1502	BL c.36.c.10(1)
STC 23181.2	Stanbridge <i>Vocabula</i> 1520	EEBO
STC 23243	<i>Stella Clericorum</i> 1503	BL c.37.c.46
STC 23954.7	<i>De imitatione Christi</i> 1503	BL c.21.c.5

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# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Database of Sarum Liturgical Books

Primary source of data: STC, 2nd ed.

Additional sources: Antiphoners:..... Dr Magnus Williamson, 2011  
Marian Processionals: ..... Jenifer Raub, 2011

### 1475

#### BREVIARIES

?ca. 1475.....(PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Breviarium ad usum Sarum [Totum?], Southern Netherlands, quarto, STC 15794, Cambridge: University Library.

?ca. 1475.....(PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Breviarium ad usum Sarum [Totum?], Southern Netherlands, quarto, STC 15794, Lincoln: Lincoln Grammar School Library.

?ca. 1475.....(PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Breviarium ad usum Sarum [Totum?], Southern Netherlands, quarto, STC 15794, Oxford: Bodleian.

?ca. 1475.....(PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Breviarium ad usum Sarum [Totum?], Southern Netherlands, quarto, STC 15794, Oxford: Brasenose College

### 1476-9

No extant publications

### 1480

#### BREVIARIES

?1480..... W. CAXTON - [Festum visitationis beatae Mariae virginis. Celebrated 2 July.] [Ends:cum gaudio tandem/et exultatione perpetua renascamur. Per xpm/dominum nostrum/], Westminster, quarto, STC 15848, London: British Library, IA.55065.

### 1481-2

No extant publications

### 1483

#### BREVIARIES

1483..... R. DE NOUIMAGIO - Breviarium ad usum Sarum [Begins a2r: "In nomine.Incipit ordo breviarij: secundum morem ecclesie Sarum: Anglicane.] [Totum?], Venice, 10 kal. Oct., octavo, STC 15795, Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale.

### 1484-6

No extant publications

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1487**MISSALS

1487..... G. MAYNYAL / G. CAXTON - [a4r:]  
Missale ad usum Sarum incipit fe-  
/liciter, Paris/London, 4 Dec, folio,  
STC 16164, Durham: University of  
Durham (Cosin Library deposit).

1487 ..... G. MAYNYAL / G. CAXTON - [a4r:]  
Missale ad usum Sarum incipit fe-  
/liciter, Paris/London, 4 Dec., folio,  
STC 16164, Lyme Park, Disley,  
Cheshire: private collection.

**1488**BREVIARIES

ca. 1488 ..... W. DE MACHLINIA - [Another  
edition], London?, quarto, STC 15849,  
Oxford: Bodleian Library.

ca. 1488..... W. DE MACHLINIA - Festum  
transfigurationis Jesu Christi [Begins  
a1r: Octavo Idus Augusti fiat offm  
(etc.)], London?, quarto in 8's,  
STC 15853, Longleat, Warminster,  
Wiltshire: Marquess of Bath.

**1489**MISSALS

1489 ..... M. WENSSLER - [a4r:] Missale ad usum  
Sarum incipit fe-/liciter, Basle, folio,  
STC 16165, Le Havre: Public Library.

1489 ..... M. WENSSLER - [a4r:] Missale ad usum  
Sarum incipit fe-/liciter, Basle, folio,  
STC 16165, London: British Library.

1489 ..... M. WENSSLER - [a4r:] Missale ad usum  
Sarum incipit fe-/liciter, Basle, folio,  
STC 16165, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1490**BREVIARIES

1490 ..... W. CAXTON - [Begins a1r:]  
Comemoraco lametacois sine (sic)  
copassiois bte Marie I morte filij.q  
celebrari debet feria sexta immediate  
pcedete domica I passione,  
Westminster, quarto in 8's, STC 15847.3,  
Cambridge: Emmanuel College.

1490 ..... W. CAXTON - [Begins a1r:]  
Comemoraco lametacois sine (sic)  
copassiois bte Marie I morte filij.q  
celebrari debet feria sexta immediate  
pcedete domica I passione,  
Westminster, quarto in 8's, STC 15847.3,  
Ghent University?: [Library tbc].

**1491**BREVIARIES

?1491 ..... W. CAXTON - [Another edition]  
[Begins a1r: Octavo Idus Augusti fiat  
seruit' (etc.)], Westminster, quarto 6.4,  
STC 15854, London: British Library,  
IA.55122.

**1492**BREVIARIES

?1492 ..... MARTIN MORIN - Breviarium ad  
usum Sarum [Begins a2r: "In  
nomine. Incipit ordo breviarii  
secundum morem ecclesie Sarum  
anglicane: in parte hyemali.], Rouen, 4  
non. June, octavo, STC 15795.5, Oxford:  
Bodleian.

MISSALS

1492 ..... MARTIN MORIN - Missale secundum  
usum ecclesie sarisburiensis, Rouen, 12  
Oct, folio, STC 16166, London: British  
Library.

1492 ..... MARTIN MORIN - Missale secundum  
usum ecclesie sarisburiensis, Rouen, 12  
Oct., folio, STC 16166, Oxford: Bodleian  
Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1493**BREVIARIES

?1493 ..... R. PYNSON - Festum dulcissimi nominis iesu fiat septimo idus Augusti., London, quarto in 8's, STC 15851, London: British Library, IA.55457.

**1494**BREVIARIES

1494 ..... P. LEUET - Breviarium secundum usum Sarum [Totum], Paris, 3 id. Feb., octavo, STC 15799, Cambridge: University Library.

1494 ..... P. LEUET - Breviarium secundum usum Sarum [Totum], Paris, 3 id. Feb., octavo, STC 15799, Dublin: Trinity College.

1494 ..... P. LEUET - Breviarium secundum usum Sarum [Totum], Paris, 3 id. Feb., octavo, STC 15799, Oxford: Brasenose College.

1494 ..... "J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA F. F. EGMONT A. G. BARREVELT IN LONDON" - Breviarium secundum morem ecclesie Sarum [Totum], Venice/London, octavo, STC 15797, London: Lambeth Palace.

1494 ..... "J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA F. F. EGMONT A. G. BARREVELT IN LONDON" - Breviarium secundum morem ecclesie Sarum [Totum], Venice/London, octavo, STC 15797, Oxford: Bodleian.

1494 ..... "J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA F. F. EGMONT A. G. BARREVELT IN LONDON" - Breviarium secundum morem ecclesie Sarum [Totum], Venice/London, octavo, STC 15797, Oxford: Corpus Christi College.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA - [Another edition] [Totum], Venice, folio, STC 15800, Cambridge: University Library.

MISSALS

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Venice?, kal. Dec., folio?, STC 16168, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Library.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Venice?, kal. Dec., folio?, STC 16168, Cambridge: University Library.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Venice?, kal. Dec., folio?, STC 16168, London: British Library.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Venice?, kal. Dec., folio?, STC 16168, Lord Kenyon: private collection.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Venice?, kal. Dec., folio?, STC 16168, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA / F. DE EGMONT - G. BARREUELT - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane, Venice?/London, kal. Sept., folio, STC 16167, Bologna: Bologna University.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA / F. DE EGMONT - G. BARREUELT - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane, Venice?/London, kal. Sept., folio, STC 16167, Cambridge: University Library.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA / F. DE EGMONT - G. BARREUELT - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane, Venice?/London, kal. Sept., folio, STC 16167, London: British Library.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA / F. DE EGMONT - G. BARREUELT - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane, Venice?/London, kal. Sept., folio, STC 16167, nr. Padua, Italy: Il Castello de Monselice.

1494 ..... J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA / F. DE EGMONT - G. BARREUELT - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane, Venice?/London, kal. Sept., folio, STC 16167, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1495**BREVIARIES

- 1495....."J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA F. F. EGMONT A. G. BARREVELT IN LONDON" - Breviarium secundum morem Sarum pars estivalis, Venice/London, cal. March, 16mo, STC 15801, Oxford: Bodleian.
- 1495....."J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA F. F. EGMONT A. G. BARREVELT IN LONDON" - Breviarium secundum morem Sarum pars estivalis, Venice/London, cal. March, 16mo, STC 15801, Oxford: Brasenose College.
- ?1495....."J. HERTZOG DE LANDOIA F. F. EGMONT A. G. BARREVELT IN LONDON" - [Another edition, I think] [f. 329r begins: "Incipit proprium de sanctis tpe estivali"], Venice/London, octavo, STC 15801.5, Cambridge: St. John's College.
- ?1495.....R. PYNSON - [Another edition] [Begins a2r:] de diuina iusticia servos huiles exultans mia. ps. Magnificat [etc.], London, quarto in 8's, STC 15850, London: British Library, IA.55558.

**1496**BREVIARIES

- 1496.....J. RICHARD / MARTIN MORIN - [B]Reviarium ad usum Sarum [Totum], Rouen, 3 Nov., folio, STC 15802, Durham: University of Durham.
- 1496.....J. RICHARD / MARTIN MORIN - [B]Reviarium ad usum Sarum [Totum], Rouen, 3 Nov., folio, STC 15802, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.
- 1496.....J. RICHARD / MARTIN MORIN - [B]Reviarium ad usum Sarum [Totum], Rouen, 3 Nov., folio, STC 15802, London: V&A.
- 1496.....R. PYNSON - [Another edition] [Begins A2r: Octavo idus Augusti fiat seruiciu (etc.)], London, quarto 6.4, STC 15855, London: British Library, IA.55561.
- 1496.....H. QUENTELL - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Cologne, quarto in 6's, STC 16110, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1496.....H. QUENTELL - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Cologne, quarto in 6's, STC 16110, Peterborough: Peterborough Cathedral (on long-term deposit at Cambridge, University Library).
- 1496.....H. QUENTELL - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Cologne, quarto in 6's, STC 16110, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.
- 1496.....R. PYNSON - [Supplements] Sequ.untur hymni (theta)plures in precedenti libro deficientes. (Incipiunt expositiones prosarum seu sequentiarum in presedentibus [sic] deficientium.) (2 parts), London?, quarto in 8's, STC 16111, Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral.

HYMNALS

- 1496.....H. QUENTELL - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Cologne, quarto in 6's, STC 16110, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1496.....H. QUENTELL - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Cologne, quarto in 6's, STC 16110, Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral.
- 1496.....H. QUENTELL - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Cologne, quarto in 6's, STC 16110, London: British Library.
- 1496.....R. PYNSON - [Supplements] Sequ.untur hymni (theta)plures in precedenti libro deficientes. (Incipiunt expositiones prosarum seu sequentiarum in presedentibus [sic] deficientium.) (2 parts), London?, quarto in 8's, STC 16111, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1497**BREVIARIES

1497 ..... R. PYNSON - [Another edition] Festum dulcissimi nominis Ihesu., London, quarto in 8's, STC 15852, London: British Library, IA.55556.

HYMNALS

1497 ..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum) (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16112, Lichfield: Lichfield Cathedral.

1497 ..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum) (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16112, London: British Library.

1497 ..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum) (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16112, Norwich: Central Library.

1497 ..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum) (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16112, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1497 ..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum) (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16112, Oxford: St. John's College.

MISSALS

1497 ..... U. GERIG & B. RENBOLT, ALSO P. LEVET / W. DE WORDE & MICHAEL MORIN - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Paris/London, 2 Jan., folio, STC 16169, London: British Library.

1497 ..... U. GERIG & B. RENBOLT, ALSO P. LEVET / W. DE WORDE & MICHAEL MORIN - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Paris/London, 2 Jan., folio, STC 16169, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library.

1497 ..... MARTIN MORIN & J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Rouen, 4 Dec., folio, STC 16171, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Library.

1497 ..... MARTIN MORIN & J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Rouen, 4 Dec., folio, STC 16171, Boston, Mass.: Boston Public Library.

1497 ..... MARTIN MORIN & J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Rouen, 4 Dec., folio, STC 16171, Cambridge: St. Catharine's College.

1497 ..... MARTIN MORIN & J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Rouen, 4 Dec., folio, STC 16171, London: British Library.

1497 ..... MARTIN MORIN & J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Rouen, 4 Dec., folio, STC 16171, Ware, Herts.: St. Edmund's College.

1497 ..... MARTIN MORIN & J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Rouen, 4 Dec., folio, STC 16171, Windsor, Berks: Windsor Castle.

?1497 ..... MARTIN MORIN - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Rouen, folio, STC 16170, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

?1497 ..... MARTIN MORIN - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Rouen, folio, STC 16170, London: British Library.

**1498**HYMNALS

1498 ..... R. PYNSON - [Another edition] (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16113, Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek.

1498 ..... R. PYNSON - [Another edition] (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16113, Oxford: All Soul's College.

1498 ..... R. PYNSON - [Another edition] (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16113, Perryville, Missouri: St. Mary's Seminary.

MISSALS

1498 ..... J. NOTARY & J. BARBIER IMP W. DE WORDE - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London (Westminster), 20 Dec., folio, STC 16172, Cambridge: University Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

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|-----------|---|-----------|---|
| 1498..... | J. NOTARY & J. BARBIER IMP W. DE WORDE - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London (Westminster), 20 Dec., folio, STC 16172, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.         | 1498..... | J. NOTARY & J. BARBIER IMP W. DE WORDE - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London (Westminster), 20 Dec., folio, STC 16172, London: British Library.                                   |
| 1498..... | J. NOTARY & J. BARBIER IMP W. DE WORDE - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London (Westminster), 20 Dec., folio, STC 16172, Kilkenny, Co. Kilkenny: Ossory Diocesan Library. | 1498..... | J. NOTARY & J. BARBIER IMP W. DE WORDE - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London (Westminster), 20 Dec., folio, STC 16172, Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester. |

**1499**BREVIARIES

- 1499..... T. MARTINI - Breviarium secundum usum ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, Louaniensium acad.", 4 cal. June, octavo, STC 15805, Antwerp: Musee Plantin.
- 1499..... J. DUPRÉ - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15804, Cambridge: Jesus College.
- 1499..... J. DUPRÉ - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15804, Cambridge: St. John's College.
- 1499..... J. DUPRÉ - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15804, London: British Library, IA.41352.

- 1499..... J. DUPRÉ - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15804, Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale.

HYMNALS

- 1499..... W. DE WORDE - [Another edition] (2 parts), Westminster (London), 6 Feb./17 March, quarto in 6's, STC 16114, Cambridge: Magdalene College.
- 1499..... W. DE WORDE - [Another edition] (2 parts), Westminster (London), 6 Feb./17 March, quarto in 6's, STC 16114, Oxford: Exeter College.

**1500**MISSALS

- 1500..... R. PYNSON - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London, 10 Jan., folio, STC 16173, Cambridge: Emmanuel College.
- 1500..... R. PYNSON - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London, 10 Jan., folio, STC 16173, Cambridge: Trinity College.
- 1500..... R. PYNSON - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London, 10 Jan., folio, STC 16173, Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester.
- 1500..... R. PYNSON - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London, 10 Jan., folio, STC 16173, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1500..... R. PYNSON - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London, 10 Jan., folio, STC 16173, Oxford: Pusey House.

- 1500..... J. HIGMAN & W. HOPYL - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Paris, 10 kal. July, folio, STC 16174, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1500..... J. HIGMAN & W. HOPYL - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Paris, 10 kal. July, folio, STC 16174, Oxford: Jesus College.
- 1500..... J. HIGMAN & W. HOPYL - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], Paris, 10 kal. July, folio, STC 16174, Winchester: Winchester Cathedral.
- 1500..... J. DE PRATUS - Ad usum insignis ecclesie sarum missale., Paris/London, 2 kal. Oct., folio, STC 16175, Cambridge: Christ's College.
- 1500..... J. DE PRATUS - Ad usum insignis ecclesie sarum missale., Paris/London, 2 kal. Oct., folio, STC 16175, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1500..... J. DE PRATUS - Ad usum insignis ecclesie sarum missale., Paris/London, 2 kal. Oct., folio, STC 16175, London: Law Society's Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

- 1500..... J. DE PRATUS - Ad usum insignis ecclesie sarum missale., Paris/London, 2 kal. Oct., folio, STC 16175, Norwich: Central Library.
- 1500..... J. DE PRATUS - Ad usum insignis ecclesie sarum missale., Paris/London, 2 kal. Oct., folio, STC 16175, Oxford: Brasenose College.
- ca.? 1500..... (PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], London?, folio, STC 16172.5, Oxford: Bodleian Library, Vet. A 1 b.12(11)?.

**1501**BREVIARIES

- 1501..... J. PHILIP / J. HUUYN - [Another edition] 2 vols, Paris/Rouen, 16 Aug., octavo, STC 15805.1, New Oscott, Sutton Coldfield, Warwicks.: St. Mary's Seminary.

MISSALS

- 1501..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. HUVYN - Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 4 Sept., folio, STC 16176, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1502**HYMNALS

- 1502..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usnm [sic] Sarum: multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum), ed. J. Badius Ascensius, with his prefaces (2 parts), London?, 7 Oct./29 Dec., quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16116a, Cheshire: Nantwich Parish Church.
- 1502..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usnm [sic] Sarum: multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum), ed. J. Badius Ascensius, with his prefaces (2 parts), London?, 7 Oct./29 Dec., quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16116a, London: British Library.
- 1502..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usnm [sic] Sarum: multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum), ed. J. Badius Ascensius, with his prefaces (2 parts), London?, 7 Oct./29 Dec., quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16116a, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1502..... A. BOCARD / J. BALDWIN OR BOUDIN - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usnm [sic] Sarum: multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum), ed. J. Badius Ascensius, with his prefaces (2 parts), Paris?/London, 9 March/15 cal. March, quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16116, Cambridge: Corpus Christi College.

PROCESSIONALS

- 1501..... R. PYNSON - Processionale cum diligenti cura & industria correctum: ad usum insignis preclare ecclesie Sarum [ed. R. Fox, Bp. of Winchester], London?, ydus Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 16232.6, Marquess of Bute: Marquess of Bute.
- 1502..... A. BOCARD / J. BALDWIN OR BOUDIN - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usnm [sic] Sarum: multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum), ed. J. Badius Ascensius, with his prefaces (2 parts), Paris?/London, 9 March/15 cal. March, quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16116, Cambridge: Queen's College.
- 1502..... A. BOCARD / J. BALDWIN OR BOUDIN - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usnm [sic] Sarum: multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum), ed. J. Badius Ascensius, with his prefaces (2 parts), Paris?/London, 9 March/15 cal. March, quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16116, London: British Library.
- 1502..... A. BOCARD / J. BALDWIN OR BOUDIN - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usnm [sic] Sarum: multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum), ed. J. Badius Ascensius, with his prefaces (2 parts), Paris?/London, 9 March/15 cal. March, quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16116, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1502..... A. BOCARD / J. BALDWIN OR BOUDIN - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usnm [sic] Sarum: multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum), ed. J. Badius Ascensius, with his prefaces (2 parts), Paris?/London, 9 March/15 cal. March, quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16116, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

1502.....R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, quarto in 6's, STC 16116a.5, Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

PROCESSIONALS

1502.....R. PYNSON - Processionalibus [sic].correct: ad usum insignis preclare ecclesie Sarum impssis.?, London?, prid. ydus Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 16232.8, Cambridge: University Library, Vel.d.51.1.

**1503**MISSALS

1503.....T. KERVER - Missale ad usum insignis ac famose ecclesie Sarum., Paris, prid. non. April, octavo, STC 16177, Austin, Texas: University of Texas.

1503.....T. KERVER - Missale ad usum insignis ac famose ecclesie Sarum., Paris, prid. non. April, octavo, STC 16177, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1504**MISSALS

1504.....R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum., London, 10 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16179, Cambridge: Emmanuel College.

1504.....R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum., London, 10 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16179, London: British Library.

1504.....R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum., London, 10 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16179, Manchester: John Rylands University Library.

1504.....R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum., London, 10 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16179, Oxford: Keble College.

1504.....R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum., London, 10 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16179, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library.

1504.....R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum., London, 10 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16179, Winchester: Winchester Cathedral.

1502.....R. PYNSON - Processionalibus [sic].correct: ad usum insignis preclare ecclesie Sarum impssis.?, London?, prid. ydus Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 16232.8, Oxford: St. John's College.

1502.....R. PYNSON - Processionalibus [sic].correct: ad usum insignis preclare ecclesie Sarum impssis.?, London?, prid. ydus Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 16232.8, The Old Mill, Blewbury, Berks.: David Rogers.

1503.....T. KERVER - Missale ad usum insignis ac famose ecclesie Sarum., Paris, prid. non. April, octavo, STC 16177, Ushaw, Durham: St. Cuthbert's College.

1503.....T. KERVER - Missale ad usum insignis ac famose ecclesie Sarum., Paris, prid. non. April, octavo, STC 16177, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.

1503.....T. KERVER - Missale ad usum insignis ac famose ecclesie Sarum., Paris, prid. non. April, octavo, STC 16177, Whalley, Lancashire: Stonyhurst College.

1504.....W. HOPYL / G. CLUEN & F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 13 kal. Sept., folio, STC 16181, Dublin: Trinity College.

1504.....W. HOPYL / G. CLUEN & F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 13 kal. Sept., folio, STC 16181, London: British Library.

1504.....W. HOPYL / G. CLUEN & F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 13 kal. Sept., folio, STC 16181, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1504.....A. VERARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 29 June, folio, STC 16180, Cambridge: University Library.

1504.....A. VERARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 29 June, folio, STC 16180, London: British Library.

1504.....J. DE PRATUS - Ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum missale., Paris/London, 9 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16178, London: British Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

1504..... J. DE PRATUS - Ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum missale., Paris/London, 9 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16178, The Old Mill, Blewbury, Berks.: David Rogers.

**1505**BREVIARIES

ca. 1505 ..... (PRINTER UNKNOWN) - [Another edition] 2 vols, London?, octavo, STC 15805.2, Ushaw, Durham: St. Cuthbert's College.

ca. 1505 ..... W. HOPYL - [a1r heading at top of first column: "In nomine. Incipit ordo breviarii secundum/morem & consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum anglicane" [Totum], Paris, folio, STC 15805.4, The Old Mill, Blewbury, Berks.: David Rogers.

HYMNALS

1505 ..... J. NOTARY - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 2 May, quarto 8.4, STC 16117, London: British Library.

1505 ..... J. NOTARY - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 2 May, quarto 8.4, STC 16117, London: Lambeth Palace.

**1506**BREVIARIES

1506 ..... T. KERVER AND W. DE WORDE / MICHAEL MORIN - [Another edition] [Totum], Paris/London, 17 Jan., folio, STC 15805.5, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.

1506 ..... P. VIOLETTE, "IMP. J. BIEAYSE IN PARIS" - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, Rouen, 3 Dec., octavo, STC 15805.7, Oxford: Corpus Christi College.

ca. 1506 ..... (PRINTER UNKNOWN) - [Heading A2r: "Breviarii una cum ordinali secundum usum Sarum pars estivalis"], Paris, octavo, STC 15805.9, York: Ampleforth Abbey.

HYMNALS

1506 ..... P. VIOLETTE / A. MYLLAR - Expositio sequentiarum, Rouen/Edinburgh, 10 June, quarto in 6's, STC 16118, London: British Library.

1506 ..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 10 June, quarto in 6's, STC 16117.5, Cambridge: St. John's College.

MISSALS

1506 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD AND J. HUVYN ALSO P. COSTIS AND G. BESNARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 12 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16182, Cambridge: University Library.

1506 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD AND J. HUVYN ALSO P. COSTIS AND G. BESNARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 12 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16182, London: Lambeth Palace.

1506 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD AND J. HUVYN ALSO P. COSTIS AND G. BESNARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 12 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16182, Oxford: Queen's College.

1506 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD AND J. HUVYN ALSO P. COSTIS AND G. BESNARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 12 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16182, Ushaw, Durham: St. Cuthbert's College.

1506 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD AND J. HUVYN ALSO P. COSTIS AND G. BESNARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 12 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16182, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1507**BREVIARIES

- 1507.....(PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Portoforii ad usum Sarum.pars hyemalis (estivalis), 2 vols, Paris ("expensis W. de Worde bibliopole London"), 11 cal. July, octavo, STC 15806, Oxford: Bodleian.
- 1507.....PYNSON ("ARTE R. PYNSON, IMPENSIS MARGARETE COMITISSE RICHEMONDIE ET DERBIE") - [Ends q8v: "Breviarium secundum usum Sarum" (Pars estivalis), London, 25 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 15806a, Manchester: John Rylands University Library.
- 1507.....PYNSON ("ARTE R. PYNSON, IMPENSIS MARGARETE COMITISSE RICHEMONDIE ET DERBIE") - [Ends q8v: "Breviarium secundum usum Sarum" (Pars estivalis), London, 25 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 15806a, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1507.....PYNSON ("ARTE R. PYNSON, IMPENSIS MARGARETE COMITISSE RICHEMONDIE ET DERBIE") - [Ends q8v: "Breviarium secundum usum Sarum" (Pars estivalis), London, 25 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 15806a, Oxford: Bodleian.
- ?1507.....R. PYNSON - Breviarium secundum usum Sarum, Pars hiemalis, London, quarto in 8's, STC 15807, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.

- ?1507.....R. PYNSON - Breviarium secundum usum Sarum, Pars hiemalis, London, quarto in 8's, STC 15807, Cambridge: University Library.
- ?1507.....R. PYNSON - Breviarium secundum usum Sarum, Pars hiemalis, London, quarto in 8's, STC 15807, Oxford: Bodleian.
- ?1507.....R. PYNSON - Breviarium secundum usum Sarum, Pars hiemalis, London, quarto in 8's, STC 15807, Private owner: private collection.

HYMNALS

- 1507.....P. VIOLETTE / G. WANSFORT - Expositio hymnorum totius anni diligentissime recognitorum, multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Rouen/York, 15 June, quarto8.6.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16119, Manchester: John Rylands University Librgan of Manchester.
- 1507.....P. VIOLETTE / G. WANSFORT - Expositio hymnorum totius anni diligentissime recognitorum, multis elucidationibus aucta (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Rouen/York, 15 June, quarto8.6.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16119, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1507.....P. VIOLETTE / P. REGNAULT - [A variant of Part 2 with colophon], Rouen/Caen, 15 June, quarto8.6.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16119.5, Seville: Biblioteca Colombina.

**1508**GRADUALS

- 1508.....W. HOPYL / W. BRETTON [H. JACOBI, J. PELGRIM] - Graduale ad consuetudinem Sarum, Paris/London, 1507 (4 id. April), folio, STC 15862, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.

HYMNALS

- 1508.....W. DE WORDE - [Another edition] (2 parts), London?, 30 June, quarto8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16120, London: British Library.

MISSALS

- 1508.....W. DE WORDE - Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr issue], London, 2(7) April, folio, STC 16182a.5, Oxford: Corpus Christi College.

- 1508.....A. VERARD [IMP. J. HUUYN ET G. BERNARD (IN ROUEN)] - Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris [& Rouen], 27 April, folio, STC 16182a, Durham: University of Durham.
- 1508.....A. VERARD [IMP. J. HUUYN ET G. BERNARD (IN ROUEN)] - Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris [& Rouen], 27 April, folio, STC 16182a, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1508.....MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 27 May, folio, STC 16183, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1508.....MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 27 May, folio, STC 16183, New York City: General Theological Seminary.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

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| <p>1508 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 27 May, folio, STC 16183, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> <p>1508 ..... J. LOYS, IMP. J. HUWIN - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 27 Sept., quarto in 8's, STC 16185, London: British Library.</p> <p>1508 ..... J. LOYS, IMP. J. HUWIN - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 27 Sept., quarto in 8's, STC 16185, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> <p>1508 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 6/7 August, quarto in 8's, STC 16184, London: British Library.</p> <p>1508 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 6/7 August, quarto in 8's, STC 16184, Lord Kenyon: Lord Kenyon.</p> | <p>1508 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 6/7 August, quarto in 8's, STC 16184, Marquess of Bute: Marquess of Bute.</p> <p>1508 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 6/7 August, quarto in 8's, STC 16184, Ushaw, Durham: St. Cuthbert's College.</p> |
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PROCESSIONALS

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| <p>1508 ..... MARTIN MORIN / IMP. J. RICHARD - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 14 July, octavo, STC 16233, Durham: Durham Cathedral, Bamburgh Castle deposit.</p> <p>1508 ..... MARTIN MORIN / IMP. J. RICHARD - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 14 July, octavo, STC 16233, Oxford: Corpus Christi College.</p> |  |
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**1509**BREVIARIES

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| <p>1509 ..... W. DE WORDE - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad legitimum Sarisburiensis ecclesie ritum, Pars estivalis, [Paris] London, 11 kl. Jan., quarto in 8's, STC 15808, Cambridge: St. John's College.</p> <p>1509 ..... W. DE WORDE - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad legitimum Sarisburiensis ecclesie ritum, Pars estivalis, [Paris] London, 11 kl. Jan., quarto in 8's, STC 15808, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> |  |
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HYMNALS

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| <p>1509 ..... R. PYNSON - Expositio sequentiarum, London?, 17 Oct., quarto in 6's, STC 16121a, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> <p>1509 ..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 6 July/26 Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 16121, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> <p>1509 ..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 6 July/26 Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 16121, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.</p> |  |
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| <p>1509 ..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 6 July/26 Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 16121, Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.</p> |  |
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MISSALS

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| <p>1509 ..... P. VIOLETTE, IMP. G. CANDOS - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 2 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 16186, London: British Library.</p> <p>1509 ..... P. VIOLETTE, IMP. G. CANDOS - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 2 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 16186, London: Guildhall Library.</p> <p>1509 ..... P. VIOLETTE, IMP. G. CANDOS - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 2 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 16186, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.</p> <p>1509 ..... P. VIOLETTE, IMP. G. CANDOS - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 2 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 16186, York: York Minster.</p> |  |
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## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1510**BREVIARIES

1510..... J. FERREBOUC AND J. BIENAYSE - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, Paris, P.H.: 10 Jan. P.E.: 2 cal. Feb., octavo, STC 15809, London: British Library, c.35.d.4.

1510..... J. FERREBOUC AND J. BIENAYSE - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, Paris, P.H.: 10 Jan. P.E.: 2 cal. Feb., octavo, STC 15809, Marquess of Bute: private collection.

1510..... J. FERREBOUC AND J. BIENAYSE - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, Paris, P.H.: 10 Jan. P.E.: 2 cal. Feb., octavo, STC 15809, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

HYMNALS

1510..... J. NOTARY - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 2 Oct., quarto 8.4, STC 16122, Cambridge: University Library.

1510..... J. NOTARY - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 2 Oct., quarto 8.4, STC 16122, London: Lambeth Palace.

1510..... J. NOTARY - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 2 Oct., quarto 8.4, STC 16122, London: St. Paul's Cathedral.

MISSALS

1510 /1511..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad cosuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 10 kal. April/7 Feb., folio, STC 16188, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.

1510 /1511 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad cosuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 10 kal. April/7 Feb., folio, STC 16188, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.

1510 /1511 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad cosuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 10 kal. April/7 Feb., folio, STC 16188, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress.

1510 /1511 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad cosuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 10 kal. April/7 Feb., folio, STC 16188, Cambridge: Emmanuel College.

1510 /1511 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad cosuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 10 kal. April/7 Feb., folio, STC 16188, Cambridge: University Library.

1510 /1511 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad cosuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 10 kal. April/7 Feb., folio, STC 16188, Dublin: Trinity College.

1510 /1511 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad cosuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 10 kal. April/7 Feb., folio, STC 16188, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1510 /1511 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad cosuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 10 kal. April/7 Feb., folio, STC 16188, York: York Minster.

1510 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 26 Nov., folio, STC 16187, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1510 /1511 ..... MARTIN MORIN, IMP. J. RICHARD - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 27 Feb/21 Jan, quarto in 8's, STC 16188.5, Marquess of Bute: Marquess of Bute.

**1511**HYMNALS

1511..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum, London?, 2 Oct., quarto 8.4, STC 16123, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

MISSALS

1511..... R. COUSTURIER, J. BIENAYSE, J. FERREBOUC / W. DE WORDE, R. FACQUES - Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 6 kal. May, folio, STC 16189, Cambridge: Jesus College.

1511 ..... R. COUSTURIER, J. BIENAYSE, J. FERREBOUC / W. DE WORDE, R. FACQUES - Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 6 kal. May, folio, STC 16189, London: British Library.

1511 ..... R. COUSTURIER, J. BIENAYSE, J. FERREBOUC / W. DE WORDE, R. FACQUES - Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, 6 kal. May, folio, STC 16189, Oxford: Pembroke College.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1512**HYMNALS

- 1512..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio sequentiarum totius anni, Westminster?, 10 Jan., quarto 8.4, STC 16123a, Oxford: Corpus Christi College.
- 1512..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio sequentiarum totius anni, Westminster?, 10 Jan., quarto 8.4, STC 16123a, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.
- 1512..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio sequentiarum totius anni, Westminster?, 10 Jan., quarto 8.4, STC 16123a, Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.
- 1512..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum, Westminster?, 8 May, quarto 8.4, STC 16124, Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.

MISSALS

- 1512..... R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., London, 8 kal. March, folio, STC 16190, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1512..... R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., London, 8 kal. March, folio, STC 16190, Durham: Bamburgh Castle deposit at University of Durham.
- 1512..... R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., London, 8 kal. March, folio, STC 16190, London: British Library.
- 1512..... R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., London, 8 kal. March, folio, STC 16190, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1512..... R. PYNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., London, 8 kal. March, folio, STC 16190, Shrewsbury: Shropshire County Library.

**1513**MISSALS

- 1513..... B. REMBOLDT - Missale ad cosuetudinem ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 21 Jan., folio, STC 16191, Cambridge: St. John's College.
- 1513..... B. REMBOLDT - Missale ad cosuetudinem ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 21 Jan., folio, STC 16191, Cambridge: University Library.

- 1513..... B. REMBOLDT - Missale ad cosuetudinem ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 21 Jan., folio, STC 16191, London: British Library.
- 1513..... B. REMBOLDT - Missale ad cosuetudinem ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 21 Jan., folio, STC 16191, Oxford: Pusey House.
- 1513..... B. REMBOLDT - Missale ad cosuetudinem ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 21 Jan., folio, STC 16191, Sir Richard Proby: Sir Richard Proby.

**1514**BREVIARIES

- 1514..... T. KERVER / F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, Paris/London, 25 Jan., octavo, STC 15810, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

HYMNALS

- 1514..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 12 June/8 July, quarto 8.4, STC 16125, Cambridge: Trinity College.

- 1514..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 12 June/8 July, quarto 8.4, STC 16125, Dublin: Marsh's Library.
- 1514..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 12 June/8 July, quarto 8.4, STC 16125, London: British Library.
- 1514..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 12 June/8 July, quarto 8.4, STC 16125, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University (Beinecke Library?).

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

MISSALS

- 1514..... MARTIN MORIN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 15 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 16194, London: British Library.
- 1514..... MARTIN MORIN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 15 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 16194, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1514..... MARTIN MORIN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 15 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 16194, Whalley, Lancashire: Stonyhurst College.
- 1514..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac cosuetudine Sarum., Paris/London, 28 Nov., folio, STC 16193, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1514..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac cosuetudine Sarum., Paris/London, 28 Nov., folio, STC 16193, Durham: Cosin Library deposit at University of Durham.
- 1514..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac cosuetudine Sarum., Paris/London, 28 Nov., folio, STC 16193, Liverpool: Liverpool Anglican Cathedral.
- 1514..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac cosuetudine Sarum., Paris/London, 28 Nov., folio, STC 16193, London: British Library.
- 1514..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac cosuetudine Sarum., Paris/London, 28 Nov., folio, STC 16193, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1514..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac cosuetudine Sarum., Paris/London, 28 Nov., folio, STC 16193, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1515**BREVIARIES

- 1515..... J. FERREBOUC AND J. BIENAYSE - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, 10 kal. May, octavo, STC 15811.5, Cambridge: Gonville and Caius College.
- 1515..... J. FERREBOUC AND J. BIENAYSE - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, 10 kal. May, octavo, STC 15811.5, New Oscott, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire: St. Mary's Seminary.
- ?1515..... T. KERVER - [Another edition] [\*2r begins: KL. Prima dies mensis (etc.)], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15811, London: British Library, IA.40973.(1).
- 1515..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 14 June/8 June, quarto 8.4, STC 16126, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1515..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 14 June/8 June, quarto 8.4, STC 16126, Oxford: St. John's College.
- 1515..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 14 June/8 June, quarto 8.4, STC 16126, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.

HYMNALS

- 1515..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 14 June/8 June, quarto 8.4, STC 16126, Dublin: Marsh's Library.
- 1515..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 14 June/8 June, quarto 8.4, STC 16126, London: British Library.
- 1515..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 14 June/8 June, quarto 8.4, STC 16126, Lord Kenyon: private collection.
- 1515..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 14 June/8 June, quarto 8.4, STC 16126, Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.
- 1515..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 15 Sept./3 July, quarto 8.4, STC 16127, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales.
- 1515..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 15 Sept./3 July, quarto 8.4, STC 16127, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1515..... R. PYNSON - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), London?, 15 Sept./3 July, quarto 8.4, STC 16127, Oxford: Trinity College.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

MISSALS

- 1515 ..... MARTIN MORIN (IMP. J. HUVIN & J. COUSIN) - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 9 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 16195.5, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, Bath: Downside Abbey.
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, Hatfield, Herts.: Hatfield House (Marquess of Salisbury).
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, London: British Library.
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, New Haven, CT: Yale University.
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library.
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.
- 1515 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum atqb consuetudine insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris/London, octavo, STC 16195, York: York Minster.

**1516**BREVIARIES

- 1516 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum.ad usum Sarum. Totum., Paris/London, folio, STC 15812, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Library.
- 1516 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum.ad usum Sarum. Totum., Paris/London, folio, STC 15812, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1516 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum.ad usum Sarum. Totum., Paris/London, folio, STC 15812, Deene Park, Corby, Northants.: Edmund Brundenell.
- 1516 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum.ad usum Sarum. Totum., Paris/London, folio, STC 15812, Dublin: Trinity College.
- 1516 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum.ad usum Sarum. Totum., Paris/London, folio, STC 15812, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- ?1516 ..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - [Another edition] Totum., Paris/London, folio, STC 15813, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

MISSALS

- 1516 ..... J. KERBRIANT / J. ADAM / J. PETIT / J. BIENAYSE - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 22 Aug., octavo, STC 16197, Boston, MA: Zion Research Library.
- 1516 ..... J. KERBRIANT / J. ADAM / J. PETIT / J. BIENAYSE - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 22 Aug., octavo, STC 16197, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1516 ..... J. KERBRIANT / J. ADAM / J. PETIT / J. BIENAYSE - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 22 Aug., octavo, STC 16197, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.
- 1516 ..... J. KERBRIANT / J. ADAM / J. PETIT / J. BIENAYSE - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 22 Aug., octavo, STC 16197, London: British Library.
- 1516 ..... J. KERBRIANT / J. ADAM / J. PETIT / J. BIENAYSE - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 22 Aug., octavo, STC 16197, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

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| 1516..... | J. KERBRIANT / J. ADAM / J. PETIT / J. BIENAYSE - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 22 Aug., octavo, STC 16197, Oxford: Bodleian Library.              | 1516 ..... | P. OLIVIER, IMP. G. BERNARD - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 31 Jan., quarto in 8's, STC 16196, London: Lambeth Palace. |
| 1516..... | J. KERBRIANT / J. ADAM / J. PETIT / J. BIENAYSE - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 22 Aug., octavo, STC 16197, Ushaw, Durham: St. Cuthbert's College. |            |  |

**1517**HYMNALS

- 1517 ..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, quarto 8.4, STC 16128, London: British Library.
- 1517 ..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, quarto 8.4, STC 16128, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University (Beinecke Library?).

PROCESSIONALS

- 1517 ..... MARTIN MORIN / IMP. J. CAILLARD - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 14 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 16234, Oxford: Queen's College.

**1518**BREVIARIES

- [P.H. tp:] 1518 ..... (PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, [P.E. col.]: Paris, P.H. col.: non Feb./ P.E. col.: 12 Feb., octavo, STC 15814, Cambridge: University Library.
- [P.H. tp:] 1518 ..... (PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, [P.E. col.]: Paris, P.H. col.: non Feb./ P.E. col.: 12 Feb., octavo, STC 15814, Private owner: private collection.
- [P.H. tp:] 1518 ..... (PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, [P.E. col.]: Paris, P.H. col.: non Feb./ P.E. col.: 12 Feb., octavo, STC 15814, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.
- ?1518 ..... (PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15815, Cambridge: University Library.

HYMNALS

- 1518 ..... T. KERVER / F. BYRCKMAN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum diurno servitio per totius anni circulum.secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Paris/London (St. Paul's churchyard), 10 Jan., quarto in 8's, STC 16129, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1518 ..... T. KERVER / F. BYRCKMAN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum diurno servitio per totius anni circulum.secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Paris/London (St. Paul's churchyard), 10 Jan., quarto in 8's, STC 16129, Oxford: Queen's College.
- 1518 ..... J. COUSIN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum.secundum exemplar Parisiis impressum, Rouen, 5 Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 16129.3, Liverpool: Liverpool Anglican Cathedral.
- 1518 ..... J. COUSIN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum.secundum exemplar Parisiis impressum, Rouen, 5 Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 16129.3, Oxford: New College.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

MISSALS

1518.....E. HARDY, IMP. J. CAILLARD - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 5 June, quarto in 8's, STC 16198, Cambridge: University Library.

**1519**ANTIPHONERS

1519.....W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum [Pars hiemalis], Paris/London, folio, STC 15790, Cambridge: Trinity College, (frags.).

1519.....W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum [Pars hiemalis], Paris/London, folio, STC 15790, Cambridge: University Library, Rel.bb.51.2.

1519.....W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum [Pars hiemalis], Paris/London, folio, STC 15790, Cambridge: University Library, Sel.2.25.

1519.....W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum [Pars hiemalis], Paris/London, folio, STC 15790, Cambridge: University Library, Syn.2.51.4,5.

1519.....W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum [Pars hiemalis], Paris/London, folio, STC 15790, Corby, Northants: Deene Park, (imp.) [lost].

1519.....W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum [Pars hiemalis], Paris/London, folio, STC 15790, London: British Library, C.35.1.3.

1519.....W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum [Pars hiemalis], Paris/London, folio, STC 15790, Oxford: Christ Church, (frags.).

BREVIARIES

1519.....N. HYGMAN / F. REGNAULT & F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris/London, P.H.: 7 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 15816, Cambridge: University Library.

1519.....N. HYGMAN / F. REGNAULT & F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris/London, P.H.: 7 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 15816, London: British Library, ?10.d.17.

1518.....E. HARDY, IMP. J. CAILLARD - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 5 June, quarto in 8's, STC 16198, London: British Library.

1519.....N. HYGMAN / F. REGNAULT & F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris/London, P.H.: 7 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 15816, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1519.....N. HYGMAN / F. REGNAULT & F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris/London, P.H.: 7 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 15816, Oxford: Pembroke College.

1519.....N. HYGMAN / F. REGNAULT & F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris/London, P.H.: 7 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 15816, Worcester: Worcester Cathedral.

HYMNALS

1519.....M. ANGIER - Expositio sequentiarum recentissime impressa, Caen, 12 March, octavo, STC 16128.2, London: Lambeth Palace.

MISSALS

1519.....M. MORIN, IMP. F. REGNAULT (PARIS) - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 20 March, folio, STC 16199, Cambridge: Queen's College.

1519.....M. MORIN, IMP. F. REGNAULT (PARIS) - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 20 March, folio, STC 16199, Dublin: Trinity College.

1519.....M. MORIN, IMP. F. REGNAULT (PARIS) - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 20 March, folio, STC 16199, London: Law Society Library.

1519.....M. MORIN, IMP. F. REGNAULT (PARIS) - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 20 March, folio, STC 16199, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1519.....P. OLIVIER, EXP. J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 24 Dec., folio, STC 16201, Cambridge: St. John's College.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

- 1519..... P. OLIVIER, EXP. J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 24 Dec., folio, STC 16201, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1519..... P. OLIVIER, EXP. J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 24 Dec., folio, STC 16201, London: British Library.
- 1519..... P. OLIVIER, EXP. J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, 24 Dec., folio, STC 16201, Salisbury: Salisbury Cathedral.
- 1519..... P. OLIVIER, EXP. J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr issue], Rouen, 24 Dec., folio, STC 16201.3, Cambridge: Trinity College.
- 1519..... P. OLIVIER, EXP. J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr issue], Rouen, 24 Dec., folio, STC 16201.3, Leicester: Museum & Art Gallery.
- 1519..... N. HIGMAN, IMP. F. REGNAULT / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris/London, 29 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16200, Cambridge: Queen's College.
- 1519..... N. HIGMAN, IMP. F. REGNAULT / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris/London, 29 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16200, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1519..... N. HIGMAN, IMP. F. REGNAULT / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris/London, 29 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16200, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1519..... N. HIGMAN, IMP. F. REGNAULT / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris/London, 29 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16200, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1519..... N. HIGMAN, IMP. F. REGNAULT / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris/London, 29 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16200, Oxford: Keble College.
- 1519..... N. HIGMAN, IMP. F. REGNAULT / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris/London, 29 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16200, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.
- 1519..... N. HIGMAN, IMP. F. REGNAULT / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris/London, 29 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16200, Williamstown, MA: Williams College, Chapin Library.
- 1519..... J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Rouen, quarto in 8's, STC 16201.7, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

PROCESSIONALS

- 1519..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Paris/London (St. Paul's churchyard), 28 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16235, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1520**ANTIPHONERS

- 1520..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumae secundum: vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata, Paris/London, folio, STC 15790a, Cambridge: University Library, Syn.2.51.7.
- 1520..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumae secundum: vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata, Paris/London, folio, STC 15790a, Liverpool: Anglican Cathedral.
- 1520..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumae secundum: vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata, Paris/London, folio, STC 15790a, London: British Library, C.35.1.4.
- 1520..... W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumae secundum: vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata, Paris/London, folio, STC 15790a, Manchester: John Rylands University Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

1520.....W. HOPYL / F. BYRCKMAN - Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumae secundum: vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata, Paris/London, folio, STC 15790a, Oxford: Bodleian.

BREVIARIES

?1520.....(PRINTER UNKNOWN) - [Begins aa2r: "In dei nomine (?) amen Breviarii una cum ordinali secundum usum Sarum pars estivalis"], Paris?, quarto, STC 15817, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

HYMNALS

ca. 1520....."PER M. HILLENIIUM HOOCHSTRATANUM" - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Antwerp, quarto 8.4, STC 16128.3, Cambridge: Emmanuel College.

ca. 1520....."PER M. HILLENIIUM HOOCHSTRATANUM" - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Antwerp, quarto 8.4, STC 16128.3, London: British Library.

ca. 1520....."PER M. HILLENIIUM HOOCHSTRATANUM" - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Antwerp, quarto 8.4, STC 16128.3, London: Lambeth Palace.

ca. 1520....."PER M. HILLENIIUM HOOCHSTRATANUM" - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Antwerp, quarto 8.4, STC 16128.3, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

ca. 1520....."PER M. HILLENIIUM HOOCHSTRATANUM" - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Antwerp, quarto 8.4, STC 16128.3, Windsor, Berks.: Eton College.

**1521**MISSALS

1521.....J. PETIT, J. BIENAYSE, & J. ADAM - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 30 July, folio, STC 16203, Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek.

1521.....J. PETIT, J. BIENAYSE, & J. ADAM - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 30 July, folio, STC 16203, London: British Library.

MISSALS

1520.....R. PYNNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], London, 9 kal. January, folio, STC 16202, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

1520.....R. PYNNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], London, 9 kal. January, folio, STC 16202, Cambridge: Emmanuel College.

1520.....R. PYNNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], London, 9 kal. January, folio, STC 16202, Cambridge: University Library.

1520.....R. PYNNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], London, 9 kal. January, folio, STC 16202, Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

1520.....R. PYNNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], London, 9 kal. January, folio, STC 16202, London: British Library.

1520.....R. PYNNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], London, 9 kal. January, folio, STC 16202, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.

1520.....R. PYNNSON - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], London, 9 kal. January, folio, STC 16202, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

ca. 1520.....R. MACE & N. MULLOT? - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto in 8's, STC 16202.5, Lord Kenyon: Lord Kenyon.

MISSALS (Special Offices)

ca. 1520.....R. PYNNSON - Missa preciosissimi sanguinis domini nostri iesu xpi., London, quarto, STC 16224.5, Lord Kenyon: Lord Kenyon.

1521.....J. PETIT, J. BIENAYSE, & J. ADAM - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 30 July, folio, STC 16203, Oxford: Magdalen College.

1521.....P. OLIVIER, IMP. J. CAILLARD - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [A variant, see colophon], Rouen, 5 Sept., quarto in 8's, STC 16204.5, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

1521 ..... P. OLIVIER, IMP. J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 5 Sept., quarto in 8's, STC 16204, London: Lambeth Palace.

1521 ..... P. OLIVIER, IMP. J. COUSIN - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Rouen, 5 Sept., quarto in 8's, STC 16204, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1522**

No extant publications

**1523**PROCESSIONALS

1523 ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp/London (St. Paul's churchyard), 23 March, quarto in 8's, STC 16236, London: British Library, C.35.f.8.

1523 ..... C. RUREMOND / P. KAETZ - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp/London, 6 Aug./15 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16236.3, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1524**BREVIARIES

1524 ..... Y. BONHOMME (WIDOW OF T. KERVER) / F. BYRCKMAN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris/London, P.H.: 12 June P.E.: 24 Oct., octavo, STC 15818, Cambridge: University Library.

1524 ..... Y. BONHOMME (WIDOW OF T. KERVER) / F. BYRCKMAN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris/London, P.H.: 12 June P.E.: 24 Oct., octavo, STC 15818, New Oscott, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire: St. Mary's Seminary.

1524 ..... Y. BONHOMME (WIDOW OF T. KERVER) / F. BYRCKMAN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris/London, P.H.: 12 June P.E.: 24 Oct., octavo, STC 15818, York: York Minster.

1524 ..... C. RUREMOND / P. KAETZ - [Another edition], 2 vols, Antwerp/London, 16mo in 8's, STC 15818.5, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

HYMNALS

1524 ..... C. RUREMOND / P. KAETZ - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Antwerp/London, 5 April, quarto in 8's, STC 16130, Cambridge: University Library.

1524 ..... C. RUREMOND / P. KAETZ - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Antwerp/London, 5 April, quarto in 8's, STC 16130, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1525**BREVIARIES

1525 ..... P. OLIVIER / F. REGNAULT - [Another edition], 2 vols, Rouen/Paris, 10 March, 16mo in 8's, STC 15820, Cambridge: University Library, Rit.e.252.1.

1525 ..... P. OLIVIER / F. REGNAULT - [Another edition], 2 vols, Rouen/Paris, 10 March, 16mo in 8's, STC 15821, Edinburgh: Theological College.

1525 ..... P. OLIVIER / F. REGNAULT - [Another edition], 2 vols, Rouen/Paris, 10 March, 16mo in 8's, STC 15821, London: British Library.

1525 (1526) ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum. Pars estivalis (hiemalis), 2 vols, Antwerp/London, 22 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15822, Cambridge: University Library.

1525 (1526) ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum. Pars estivalis (hiemalis), 2 vols, Antwerp/London, 22 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15822, Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

- 1525 (1526).....C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum. Pars estivalis (hiemalis), 2 vols, Antwerp/London, 22 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15822, London: British Library, c.36.f.2.
- 1525 (1526).....C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum. Pars estivalis (hiemalis), 2 vols, Antwerp/London, 22 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15822, Shrewsbury: Shropshire County Library.
- 1525 (1526).....C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum. Pars estivalis (hiemalis), 2 vols, Antwerp/London, 22 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15822, Worcester: Worcester Cathedral.
- 1525 .....Y. BONHOMME (WIDOW OF T. KERVER) / F. BYRCKMAN - [Another edition], 2 vols, [P.H.]: Paris/London, 3 kal. Sept., 16mo in 8's, STC 15819, Cambridge: University Library, Syn.8.52.27.
- 1525 .....Y. BONHOMME (WIDOW OF T. KERVER) / F. BYRCKMAN - [Another edition], 2 vols, [P.H.]: Paris/London, 3 kal. Sept., 16mo in 8's, STC 15819, Lord Kenyon: private collection.
- after 1525 .....Y. BONHOMME (WIDOW OF T. KERVER) - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, 16mo in 8's, STC 15821a, Cambridge: University Library, Rit.e.252.2.

HYMNALS

- 1525 .....C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, Antwerp/London, 31 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16131, Bath: Downside Abbey.

**1526**MISSALS

- 1526 .....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 30 Oct., folio, STC 16205, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1526 .....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 30 Oct., folio, STC 16205, Edinburgh/Aberdeen: St. Mary's College Aberdeen, deposited at National Library of Scotland.

- 1525 .....C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, Antwerp/London, 31 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16131, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1525 .....C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, Antwerp/London, 31 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16131, London: British Library.
- 1525 .....C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, Antwerp/London, 31 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16131, London: St. Paul's Cathedral.
- 1525 .....C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, Antwerp/London, 31 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16131, Oxford: Exeter College.

PROCESSIONALS

- 1525 .....C. RUREMOND / P. KAETZ - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp/London, 6 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 16236.7, Dublin: Marsh's Library.
- 1525 .....C. RUREMOND / P. KAETZ - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp/London, 6 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 16236.7, London: British Library, C.111.c.6.
- 1525 .....C. RUREMOND / P. KAETZ - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp/London, 6 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 16236.7, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- ca. 1525.....(PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen?, octavo, STC 16236.5, Oxford: Christ Church.
- ca. 1525.....(PRINTER UNKNOWN) - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen?, quarto in 8's, STC 16236.6, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

- 1526 .....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 30 Oct., folio, STC 16205, Maynooth, Co. Kildare: St. Patrick's College.
- 1526 .....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 30 Oct., folio, STC 16205, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1526 .....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 30 Oct., folio, STC 16205, York: York Minster.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1527**GRADUALS

- 1527 ..... NICOLAS PREVOST / W. DE WORDE, J. REYNES, L. SUTTON - Graduale secundum morem & consuetudinem preclare ecclesie Sarum, Paris/London, 17 cal. Jan., folio, STC 15863, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1527 ..... NICOLAS PREVOST / W. DE WORDE, J. REYNES, L. SUTTON - Graduale secundum morem & consuetudinem preclare ecclesie Sarum, Paris/London, 17 cal. Jan., folio, STC 15863, Oxford: Christ Church.
- 1527 ..... NICOLAS PREVOST / W. DE WORDE, J. REYNES, L. SUTTON - Graduale secundum morem & consuetudinem preclare ecclesie Sarum, Paris/London, 17 cal. Jan., folio, STC 15863, Oxford: Corpus Christi College (frags).

HYMNALS

- 1527 ..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundu (sic) usum Sarum, Westminster?, quarto 8.4, STC 16128.5, Lord Kenyon: private collection.
- 1527 ..... W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundu (sic) usum Sarum, Westminster?, quarto 8.4, STC 16128.5, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University, Beinecke Library?.

MISSALS

- 1527 ..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 July, quarto in 8's, STC 16208, Chicago, IL: Newberry Library.
- 1527 ..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 July, quarto in 8's, STC 16208, London: British Library.
- 1527 ..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 July, quarto in 8's, STC 16208, London: Lambeth Palace.
- 1527 ..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 July, quarto in 8's, STC 16208, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1527 ..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 July, quarto in 8's, STC 16208, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1527 ..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 July, quarto in 8's, STC 16208, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.

- 1527 ..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 July, quarto in 8's, STC 16208, York: York Minster.
- 1527 ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp/London, 28 March, folio, STC 16207, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1527 ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp/London, 28 March, folio, STC 16207, London: British Library.
- 1527 ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp/London, 28 March, folio, STC 16207, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1527 ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp/London, 28 March, folio, STC 16207, Oxford: Christ Church.
- 1527 ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp/London, 28 March, folio, STC 16207, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library.
- 1527 ..... C. RUREMOND / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp/London, 28 March, folio, STC 16207, Ushaw, Durham: St. Cuthbert's College.
- 1527 ..... N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem Sarum., Paris/London, 3 kal. March, folio, STC 16206, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1527 ..... N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem Sarum., Paris/London, 3 kal. March, folio, STC 16206, Durham: University of Durham.
- 1527 ..... N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem Sarum., Paris/London, 3 kal. March, folio, STC 16206, London: British Library.
- 1527 ..... N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem Sarum., Paris/London, 3 kal. March, folio, STC 16206, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

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| <p>1527.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem Sarum., Paris/London, 3 kal. March, folio, STC 16206, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> <p>1527.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem Sarum., Paris/London, 3 kal. March, folio, STC 16206, Salisbury: Salisbury Cathedral.</p> | <p>1527.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Missale ad usum ac consuetudinem Sarum., Paris/London, 3 kal. March, folio, STC 16206, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.</p> <p>1527.....J. PETIT - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. [Anr ed], Paris, 6 Feb., folio, STC 16205.5, Cambridge: University Library.</p> |
|---|---|

**1528**BREVIARIES

- before 1528.....J. KERBRIANT OR HUGUELIN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, 16mo in 8's, STC 15822a, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1528.....F. REGNAULT - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, 18 May, octavo, STC 15826, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1528.....F. REGNAULT - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, 18 May, octavo, STC 15826, London: British Library, c.35.d.1.
- 1528.....F. REGNAULT - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, 18 May, octavo, STC 15826, St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis University.
- 1528.....J. KAERBRIAND OR HUGUELIN, "IMP. J. PARUI" - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, 2 vols, Paris, 23 April, 16mo in 8's, STC 15823, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1528.....F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15824, London: British Library, c.35.h.12.
- 1528.....F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15824, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

GRADUALS

- 1528.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15864, Cambridge: University Library, Sel.2.23.
- 1528.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15864, Cambridge: University Library, Sel.2.24.

- 1528.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15864, Liverpool: Anglican Cathedral.
- 1528.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15864, London: British Library, C.107.k.6.
- 1528.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15864, Oxford: All Souls College (frags).
- 1528.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15864, Oxford: Bodleian (1 leaf).

HYMNALS

- 1528.....C. RUREMOND & G. VAN DER HAGH - Hynorum (sic) cum notis opusculum ad usum Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16131.5, London: British Library.
- 1528.....C. RUREMOND & G. VAN DER HAGH - Hynorum (sic) cum notis opusculum ad usum Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16131.5, Oxford: Corpus Christi College.

MISSALS

- 1528.....C. RUREMOND - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp, 14 April, folio, STC 16209, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1528.....C. RUREMOND - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp, 14 April, folio, STC 16209, London: British Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

- 1528.....C. RUREMOND - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp, 14 April, folio, STC 16209, Marquess of Bute: Marquess of Bute.
- 1528.....C. RUREMOND - Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum., Antwerp, 14 April, folio, STC 16209, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

PROCESSIONALS

- 1528.....C. RUREMOND - Processionale ad usum Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16237, London: British Library, C.35.f.10.

**1529**MISSALS

- 1529.....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16210, Cambridge: Christ's College.
- 1529.....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16210, London: British Library.
- 1529.....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16210, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

**1530**BREVIARIES

- 1530....."ARTE" [Y. BONHOMME] WIDOW OF T. KERVER - [Ends UU8r: "Finis partis estivalis breviarii insignis ecclesie Sarum"], Paris, 3 cal. Nov., 16mo in 8's, STC 15828, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1530.....J. PETIT, "IMP. Y. BONHOMME, WIDOW OF T. KERVER" - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15829, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1530.....J. PETIT, "IMP. Y. BONHOMME, WIDOW OF T. KERVER" - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15829, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

HYMNALS

- 1530.....W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 8 Oct., quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16128.7, Cambridge: University Library.

- 1528.....C. RUREMOND - Processionale ad usum Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16237, London: St. Paul's Cathedral.

- 1528.....C. RUREMOND - Processionale ad usum Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16237, Oxford: Queen's College.

- 1528.....C. RUREMOND - Processionale ad usum Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16237, Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.

- 1529.....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16210, Oxford: Oriel College.

- 1529.....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16210, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.

- 1529.....F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16210, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.

- 1530.....W. DE WORDE - Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum) (2 parts), Westminster?, 8 Oct., quarto 8.4, part 2 in 6's, STC 16128.7, Washington, DC: Library of Congress.

PROCESSIONALS

- 1530.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Ad oipotetis dei gloriam.hoc processionale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum [etc.], Paris/London, June in London/3 cal. Jan., quarto in 8's, STC 16240, Cambridge: St. John's College.

- 1530.....N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Ad oipotetis dei gloriam.hoc processionale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum [etc.], Paris/London, June in London/3 cal. Jan., quarto in 8's, STC 16240, Cambridge: University Library, Syn.7.53.22.

- ?1530.....C. RUREMOND - Processionale ad usum Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16238, London: British Library, C.35.f.9.

- 1530.....F. REGNAULT - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16239, Cambridge: University Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

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|-----------|---|-----------|---|
| 1530..... | F. REGNAULT - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16239, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library. | 1530..... | N. PREVOST / F. BYRCKMAN - Processionale ad usum Sarum, Paris/London, quarto in 8's, STC 16240.5, Oxford: Bodleian Library. |
| 1530..... | F. REGNAULT - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 16239, Oxford: Bodleian Library.               |           |   |

**1531**BREVIARIES

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|-----------|---|-----------|--|
| 1531..... | C. CHEVALLON & F. REGNAULT ("ERE ET IP. C. CHEUALLON & F. REGNAULT IN PARISIORUM ACADEMIA") - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum [Totum], Paris, folio, STC 15830, Cambridge: Trinity College.        | 1531..... | C. CHEVALLON & F. REGNAULT ("ERE ET IP. C. CHEUALLON & F. REGNAULT IN PARISIORUM ACADEMIA") - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum [Totum], Paris, folio, STC 15830, Oxford: Exeter College. |
| 1531..... | C. CHEVALLON & F. REGNAULT ("ERE ET IP. C. CHEUALLON & F. REGNAULT IN PARISIORUM ACADEMIA") - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum [Totum], Paris, folio, STC 15830, Cambridge: University Library.     |           |  |
| 1531..... | C. CHEVALLON & F. REGNAULT ("ERE ET IP. C. CHEUALLON & F. REGNAULT IN PARISIORUM ACADEMIA") - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum [Totum], Paris, folio, STC 15830, London: British Library, c.35.k.6. |           |  |
| 1531..... | C. CHEVALLON & F. REGNAULT ("ERE ET IP. C. CHEUALLON & F. REGNAULT IN PARISIORUM ACADEMIA") - Breviarium seu horarium domesticum [Totum], Paris, folio, STC 15830, London: Lambeth Palace.            |           |  |

MISSALS

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|-----------|--|--|--|
| 1531..... | F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, 31 May, folio, STC 16211, Dublin: Marsh's Library.       |  |  |
| 1531..... | F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, 31 May, folio, STC 16211, London: British Library.       |  |  |
| 1531..... | F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, 31 May, folio, STC 16211, Oxford: Bodleian Library.      |  |  |
| 1531..... | F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, 31 May, folio, STC 16211, Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale. |  |  |

**1532**BREVIARIES

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|------------------|---|-----------|---|
| 1532 [1531]..... | F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, 16mo in 8's, STC 15831, Cambridge: University Library.                                   | 1532..... | N. PREVOST & F. REGNAULT / R. REDMAN - Graduale ad usum Sarisburiensis, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15865, Dundee: Town Council (12 leaves).  |
| 1532 [1531]..... | F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, 16mo in 8's, STC 15831, New Oscott, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire: St. Mary's Seminary. | 1532..... | N. PREVOST & F. REGNAULT / R. REDMAN - Graduale ad usum Sarisburiensis, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15865, Gredington, Salop: Lord Kenyon.    |
|                  |   | 1532..... | N. PREVOST & F. REGNAULT / R. REDMAN - Graduale ad usum Sarisburiensis, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15865, London: British Library, C.35.1.5. |

GRADUALS

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

1532..... N. PREVOST & F. REGNAULT / R. REDMAN - Graduale ad usum Sarisburiensis, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15865, London: Westminster Abbey (tp only).

1532..... N. PREVOST & F. REGNAULT / R. REDMAN - Graduale ad usum Sarisburiensis, Paris/London, 6 cal. July, folio, STC 15865, Oxford: Bodleian.

HYMNALS

1532..... C. RUREMOND - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum usui insignis ecclesie Sarum subserviens, Antwerp, Oct. 1533, quarto in 8's, STC 16132, London: British Library.

**1533**BREVIARIES

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15832, Cambridge: University Library.

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15832, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15832, Oxford: University College.

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15832, Ushaw, Durham: St. Cuthbert's College.

MISSALS

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16213, Cambridge/Peterborough: Peterborough Cathedral, on long-term deposit at Cambridge UL.

**1534**MISSALS

1534..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, folio, STC 16214, Cambridge: University Library.

MISSALS

1532..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr issue, with date on t.p. and in colophon], Paris, folio, STC 16212, Cambridge: University Library.

1532..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr issue, with date on t.p. and in colophon], Paris, folio, STC 16212, Hereford: Hereford Cathedral.

ca. 1532..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16212.5, Cambridge: St. John's College.

PROCESSIONALS

1532..... (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND - Processionale ad usus insignis ecclesie Sarum observandos accommodum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16241, London: British Library, C.35.f.12.

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16213, Cambridge: University Library.

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16213, Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral.

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16213, London: British Library.

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16213, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.

1533..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., Paris, 27 May, quarto in 8's, STC 16213, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

1534..... F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, folio, STC 16214, Chichester: Chichester Cathedral.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

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|-----------|--|-----------|--|
| 1534..... | F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, folio, STC 16214, London: British Library.  | 1534..... | F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, folio, STC 16214, Ware, Herts.: St. Edmund's College.           |
| 1534..... | F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, folio, STC 16214, Oxford: Bodleian Library. | 1534..... | F. REGNAULT - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis., Paris, folio, STC 16214, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library. |

**1535**BREVIARIES

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|-----------|---|-----------|---|
| 1535..... | F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15833, Cambridge: University Library.                     | 1535..... | F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15833, Oxford: Bodleian Library.                              |
| 1535..... | F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15833, London: British Library, c.35.h.13. and c.35.h.14. | 1535..... | F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15833, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.          |
| 1535..... | F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15833, London: Lambeth Palace.                            | 1535..... | F. REGNAULT - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15833, Williamstown, Mass.: Williams College, Chapin Library. |

**1536-40**

No extant publications

**1541**BREVIARIES

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|-----------|--|-----------|---|
| 1541..... | E. WHYTCHURCHE - Portiforium, seu breviarium, ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis nouiter impressum, 2 vols, London, 16mo in 8's, STC 15833.5, London: Sion College.  | 1541..... | E. WHYTCHURCHE - [Another issue, with cancel tpp:] Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, nouiter impressum & a plurimus purgatum medis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittit, una cum aliis que christianissimo nostri regis statuto repugnant (2 vols?), London,?, STC 15834, Oxford: Bodleian Library.            |
| 1541..... | E. WHYTCHURCHE - [Another issue, with cancel tpp:] Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, nouiter impressum & a plurimus purgatum medis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittit, una cum aliis que christianissimo nostri regis statuto repugnant (2 vols?), London,?, STC 15834, Cambridge: University Library.      | 1541..... | E. WHYTCHURCHE - [Another issue, with cancel tpp:] Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, nouiter impressum & a plurimus purgatum medis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittit, una cum aliis que christianissimo nostri regis statuto repugnant (2 vols?), London,?, STC 15834, Oxford: New College.                 |
| 1541..... | E. WHYTCHURCHE - [Another issue, with cancel tpp:] Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, nouiter impressum & a plurimus purgatum medis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittit, una cum aliis que christianissimo nostri regis statuto repugnant (2 vols?), London,?, STC 15834, London: British Library, 219.b.6,7. | 1541..... | E. WHYTCHURCHE - [Another issue, with cancel tpp:] Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, nouiter impressum & a plurimus purgatum medis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittit, una cum aliis que christianissimo nostri regis statuto repugnant (2 vols?), London,?, STC 15834, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College. |

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

HYMNALS

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|-----------|--|-----------|--|
| 1541..... | C. RUREMOND / J. COCCIUS -<br>Hymnorum cum notis opusculum,<br>Antwerp/London, July, quarto in 8's,<br>STC 16133, London: British Library.                   | 1541..... | C. RUREMOND / J. COCCIUS -<br>Hymnorum cum notis opusculum,<br>Antwerp/London, July, quarto in 8's,<br>STC 16133, Oxford: Bodleian Library.              |
| 1541..... | C. RUREMOND / J. COCCIUS -<br>Hymnorum cum notis opusculum,<br>Antwerp/London, July, quarto in 8's,<br>STC 16133, Marquess of Bute: private<br>collection.   | 1541..... | C. RUREMOND / J. COCCIUS -<br>Hymnorum cum notis opusculum,<br>Antwerp/London, July, quarto in 8's,<br>STC 16133, Oxford: Christ Church.                 |
| 1541..... | C. RUREMOND / J. COCCIUS -<br>Hymnorum cum notis opusculum,<br>Antwerp/London, July, quarto in 8's,<br>STC 16133, New York City: Pierpont<br>Morgan Library. | 1541..... | C. RUREMOND / J. COCCIUS -<br>Hymnorum cum notis opusculum,<br>Antwerp/London, July, quarto in 8's,<br>STC 16133, Ware, Herts.: St. Edmund's<br>College. |

**1542**PROCESSIONALS

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|-----------|---|
| 1542..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND -<br>Processionale ad usus insignis ecclesie<br>Sarum observandos accommodum,<br>Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16241.5,<br>Oxford: Pembroke College. |
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**1543**

No extant publications

**1544**BREVIARIES

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|-----------|---|-----------|---|
| 1544..... | R. GRAFTON & E. WHITCHURCH<br>("TO BEE SOLDE BY W. TELOTSON") -<br>[Another edition], 2 vols, London,<br>octavo, STC 15835, London: British<br>Library, c.35.b.5,6. | 1544..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND / J.<br>RAYNES - Processionale ad usus<br>insignis ecclesie Sarum observandos<br>accommodum, Antwerp/London,<br>quarto in 8's, STC 16242, Cambridge:<br>University Library, Syn.7.54.23. |
| 1544..... | R. GRAFTON & E. WHITCHURCH<br>("TO BEE SOLDE BY W. TELOTSON") -<br>[Another edition], 2 vols, London,<br>octavo, STC 15835, Manchester:<br>Chetham's Library.       | 1544..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND / J.<br>RAYNES - Processionale ad usus<br>insignis ecclesie Sarum observandos<br>accommodum, Antwerp/London,<br>quarto in 8's, STC 16242, London:<br>British Library, C.35.f.13.         |
| 1544..... | R. GRAFTON & E. WHITCHURCH<br>("TO BEE SOLDE BY W. TELOTSON") -<br>[Another edition], 2 vols, London,<br>octavo, STC 15835, Oxford: Bodleian<br>Library.            | 1544..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND / J.<br>RAYNES - Processionale ad usus<br>insignis ecclesie Sarum observandos<br>accommodum, Antwerp/London,<br>quarto in 8's, STC 16242, New York<br>City: Pierpont Morgan Library.     |
| 1544..... | R. GRAFTON & E. WHITCHURCH<br>("TO BEE SOLDE BY W. TELOTSON") -<br>[Another edition], 2 vols, London,<br>octavo, STC 15835, Oxford: Keble<br>College.               | 1544..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND / J.<br>RAYNES - Processionale ad usus<br>insignis ecclesie Sarum observandos<br>accommodum, Antwerp/London,<br>quarto in 8's, STC 16242, Oxford:<br>Bodleian Library.                   |

PROCESSIONALS

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|-----------|---|-----------|---|
| 1544..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND / J.<br>RAYNES - Processionale ad usus<br>insignis ecclesie Sarum observandos<br>accommodum, Antwerp/London,<br>quarto in 8's, STC 16242, Bath:<br>Downside Abbey. | 1544..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND / J.<br>RAYNES - Processionale ad usus<br>insignis ecclesie Sarum observandos<br>accommodum, Antwerp/London,<br>quarto in 8's, STC 16242, York: York<br>Minster. |
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## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

**1545**PROCESSIONALS

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|-----------|---|-----------|---|
| 1545..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND -<br>Processionale ad usus insignis ecclesie<br>Sarum observandos accommodum,<br>Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16243,<br>London: British Library, C.35.f.14. | 1545..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND -<br>Processionale ad usus insignis ecclesie<br>Sarum observandos accommodum,<br>Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16243,<br>Oxford: Bodleian Library.                   |
| 1545..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND -<br>Processionale ad usus insignis ecclesie<br>Sarum observandos accommodum,<br>Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16243,<br>London: Lambeth Palace.             | 1545..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND -<br>Processionale ad usus insignis ecclesie<br>Sarum observandos accommodum,<br>Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16243,<br>Whalley, Lancashire: Stonyhurst<br>College. |
| 1545..... | (WIDOW OF) C. RUREMOND -<br>Processionale ad usus insignis ecclesie<br>Sarum observandos accommodum,<br>Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16243,<br>Oxford : Queen's College.           |           |   |

**1546-53**

No extant publications

**1554**BREVIARIES

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| 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, Cambridge: University<br>Library.                                      | 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, Oxford: Christ Church.                           |
| 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, London: British Library,<br>c.175.aa.4.                                | 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, San Marino, California:<br>Huntington Library.   |
| 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, New Haven, Connecticut:<br>Yale University.                            | 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis<br>University.    |
| 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, Urbana, Illinois: University<br>of Illinois.                           | 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, Washington, D.C.: Folger<br>Shakespeare Library. |
| 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, New Oscott, Sutton<br>Coldfield, Warwickshire: St. Mary's<br>Seminary. |                  |   |
| 1554 (1555)..... | M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F.<br>REGNAULT) - Portiforium seu<br>breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie<br>Sarisburyensis, 2 vols, Paris, octavo,<br>STC 15836, Oxford: Bodleian Library.  |                  |   |

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

MISSALS

- 1554..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN -  
Missale ad usum ecclesie  
Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto  
in 8's, STC 16215, London: British  
Library.
- 1554..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN -  
Missale ad usum ecclesie  
Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto  
in 8's, STC 16215, Oxford: Bodleian  
Library.
- 1554..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN -  
Missale ad usum ecclesie  
Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto  
in 8's, STC 16215, Oxford: Christ  
Church.
- 1554..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN -  
Missale ad usum ecclesie  
Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto  
in 8's, STC 16215, Oxford: Pusey House.
- 1554..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN -  
Missale ad usum ecclesie  
Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto  
in 8's, STC 16215, San Marino, CA:  
Huntington Library.
- 1554..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN -  
Missale ad usum ecclesie  
Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto  
in 8's, STC 16215, Washington, D.C.:  
Folger Shakespeare Library.

PROCESSIONALS

- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard  
University.

**1555**BREVIARIES

- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis  
Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum; 2 vols,  
London, 7 March, quarto in 8's,  
STC 15839, Cambridge: Magdalene  
College, Pepysian Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis  
Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum; 2 vols,  
London, 7 March, quarto in 8's,  
STC 15839, Chicago, Illinois: Newberry  
Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis  
Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum; 2 vols,  
London, 7 March, quarto in 8's,  
STC 15839, County Tipperary: Cashel  
Cathedral.

- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244,  
Cambridge: Magdalene College,  
Pepysian Library.
- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244,  
Durham: University Library, Cosin  
Library deposit.
- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244,  
Liverpool: Liverpool Anglican  
Cathedral.
- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244,  
London: British Library, C.35.f.15.
- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244, New  
York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244,  
Oxford: Corpus Christi College.
- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244, San  
Marino, California: Huntington  
Library.
- 1554..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum,  
London, quarto in 8's, STC 16244,  
Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare  
Library.

- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis  
Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum; 2 vols,  
London, 7 March, quarto in 8's,  
STC 15839, London: British Library,  
c.35.g.20.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis  
Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum; 2 vols,  
London, 7 March, quarto in 8's,  
STC 15839, New York City: Pierpont  
Morgan Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON -  
Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis  
Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum; 2 vols,  
London, 7 March, quarto in 8's,  
STC 15839, Oxford: Bodleian Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

- 1555.....J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum; 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15839, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.
- 1555.....M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT)? - [A variant, with P.H. tp dated 1555], Paris?, octavo, STC 15837, Durham: University of Durham (Bamburgh Castle deposit).
- 1555.....M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT)? - [A variant, with P.H. tp dated 1555], Paris?, octavo, STC 15837, Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral.
- 1555.....M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT)? - [A variant, with P.H. tp dated 1555], Paris?, octavo, STC 15837, London: British Library, c.35.b.7.8.
- 1555.....M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT)? - [A variant, with P.H. tp dated 1555], Paris?, octavo, STC 15837, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1555.....M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT)? - [A variant, with P.H. tp dated 1555], Paris?, octavo, STC 15837, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555.....M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT)? - [A variant, with P.H. tp dated 1555], Paris?, octavo, STC 15837, St. Edmundsbury: Bury St. Edmunds Cathedral.
- 1555.....R. CALY [P.E. COLOPHON: "IN ALMA UNIVERSITATE PARIEN, P F. REGNAULT, 1535"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15840, Cambridge: Emmanuel College.
- 1555.....R. CALY [P.E. COLOPHON: "IN ALMA UNIVERSITATE PARIEN, P F. REGNAULT, 1535"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15840, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1555.....R. CALY [P.E. COLOPHON: "IN ALMA UNIVERSITATE PARIEN, P F. REGNAULT, 1535"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15840, London: British Library, c.35.g.8.
- 1555.....R. CALY [P.E. COLOPHON: "IN ALMA UNIVERSITATE PARIEN, P F. REGNAULT, 1535"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15840, Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester.
- 1555.....R. CALY [P.E. COLOPHON: "IN ALMA UNIVERSITATE PARIEN, P F. REGNAULT, 1535"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15840, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1555.....R. CALY [P.E. COLOPHON: "IN ALMA UNIVERSITATE PARIEN, P F. REGNAULT, 1535"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15840, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555.....R. CALY [P.E. COLOPHON: "IN ALMA UNIVERSITATE PARIEN, P F. REGNAULT, 1535"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15840, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.

HYMNALS

- 1555.....J. KINGSTON & H. SUTTON - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, London?, quarto in 8's, STC 16134, Alcester, Warks.: Coughton Court.
- 1555.....J. KINGSTON & H. SUTTON - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, London?, quarto in 8's, STC 16134, London: British Library.
- 1555.....J. KINGSTON & H. SUTTON - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, London?, quarto in 8's, STC 16134, London: Lambeth Palace.
- 1555.....J. KINGSTON & H. SUTTON - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, London?, quarto in 8's, STC 16134, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555.....J. KINGSTON & H. SUTTON - Hymnorum cum notis opusculum, London?, quarto in 8's, STC 16134, Oxford: Magdalen College.

MISSALS

- 1555.....J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- 1555.....J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, Cambridge: University Library.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

- 1555..... J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, Dublin: Trinity College.
- 1555..... J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, London: British Library.
- 1555..... J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, New York City: General Theological Seminary.
- 1555..... J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1555..... J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555..... J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library.
- 1555..... J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.
- 1555..... J. AMAZEUR & G. MERLIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Paris, folio, STC 16217, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, Cambridge (Ely): University Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, Cambridge: Magdalene College, Pepysian Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, London: British Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.
- 1555..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, quarto in 8's, STC 16218, Williamstown, MA: Williams College, Chapin Library.
- 1555 (1554)..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto in 8's, STC 16216, Bath: Downside Abbey.
- 1555 (1554)..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto in 8's, STC 16216, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1555 (1554)..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto in 8's, STC 16216, Dublin: Marsh's Library.
- 1555 (1554)..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto in 8's, STC 16216, London: British Library.
- 1555 (1554)..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], Rouen, quarto in 8's, STC 16216, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- MISSALS (Special Offices)**
- ?1555..... (PRINTER UNKNOWN) - [Heading:] Orationes dicende in missis pro agendis deo gratijs de reconciliatione regni cum ecclesia catholica. [Three prayers set forth during Queen Mary's reign to be said at mass.], London, 1/2 sheet folio, STC 16224.7, Truro: Truro Cathedral.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

PROCESSIONALS

- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 15 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16249, Cambridge: St. John's College [*ghost?*].
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 15 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16249, Cambridge: University Library.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 15 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16249, London: British Library, C.132.h.38.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 15 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16249, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 18 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16248, Boston, Massachusetts: Boston Public Library.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 18 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16248, Colchester: Public Library.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 18 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16248, Dublin: Trinity College.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 18 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16248, London: British Library, C.52.f.13.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 18 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16248, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 18 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16248, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 18 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16248, Oxford: Keble College.
- 1555 ..... R. HAMILTON & R. VALENTIN - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Rouen, 18 Oct., quarto in 8's, STC 16248, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.
- 1555 ..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16245, Cambridge: St. John's College.
- 1555 ..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16245, Dublin: Trinity College.
- 1555 ..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16245, London: British Library, C.35.f.17.
- 1555 ..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16245, Marquess of Bute: private collection.
- 1555 ..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16245, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University (Beinecke Library?).
- 1555 ..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16245, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555 ..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16245, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.
- 1555 ..... J. WAYLAND? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16247, London: British Library, C.35.f.3?.
- 1555 ..... J. WAYLAND? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16247, Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- 1555 ..... J. WAYLAND? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16247, Sir Richard Proby: private collection.
- 1555 ..... J. WAYLAND? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16247, Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.
- 1555 ..... T. MARSH? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16246, Cambridge: University Library, B\*.5.53[sel.].
- 1555 ..... T. MARSH? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16246, London: British Library, C.35.f.16.

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

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|-----------|--|-----------|---|
| 1555..... | T. MARSH? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16246, Manchester: John Rylands University Library. | 1555..... | T. MARSH? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16246, Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library. |
| 1555..... | T. MARSH? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16246, Oxford: Bodleian Library.                    | 1555..... | T. MARSH? - Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarum, London, quarto in 8's, STC 16246, Whalley, Lancashire: Stonyhurst College.    |

**1556**BREVIARIES

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|-----------|--|-----------|--|
| 1556..... | J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum, 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15842, Bath: Downside Abbey.  | 1556..... | G. MERLIN OR M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT) [P.E. COLOPHON: "INDUSTRIA J. AMAZEUR PRO G. MERLIN"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15844, Cambridge: University Library.                |
| 1556..... | J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum, 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15842, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.  | 1556..... | G. MERLIN OR M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT) [P.E. COLOPHON: "INDUSTRIA J. AMAZEUR PRO G. MERLIN"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15844, Dublin: Marsh's Library.                      |
| 1556..... | J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum, 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15842, Cambridge: University Library.   | 1556..... | G. MERLIN OR M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT) [P.E. COLOPHON: "INDUSTRIA J. AMAZEUR PRO G. MERLIN"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15844, London: British Library, c.35.h.18.           |
| 1556..... | J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum, 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15842, London: British Library, P.H.=c.35.g.19. and c.35.g.22. (1), P.E.=c.35.g.22.(2). | 1556..... | G. MERLIN OR M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT) [P.E. COLOPHON: "INDUSTRIA J. AMAZEUR PRO G. MERLIN"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15844, Oxford: Bodleian Library.                     |
| 1556..... | J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum, 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15842, New York City: New York Public Library.  | 1556..... | G. MERLIN OR M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT) [P.E. COLOPHON: "INDUSTRIA J. AMAZEUR PRO G. MERLIN"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15844, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library. |
| 1556..... | J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum, 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15842, Oxford: Bodleian Library.  | 1556..... | G. MERLIN OR M. BOURSETTE (WIDOW OF F. REGNAULT) [P.E. COLOPHON: "INDUSTRIA J. AMAZEUR PRO G. MERLIN"] - Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum, 2 vols, Paris, quarto in 8's, STC 15844, Winchester: Winchester College.               |
| 1556..... | J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum, 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15842, San Marino, California: Huntington Library.                                      |           |  |
| 1556..... | J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Portiforium seu breviarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie usum, 2 vols, London, 7 March, quarto in 8's, STC 15842, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.   |           |  |

## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

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| <p>1556 /1557..... J. LE BLANC / G. MERLIN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15847, Boston, Massachusetts: Boston Public Library.</p> <p>1556 /1557..... J. LE BLANC / G. MERLIN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15847, Cambridge : University Library.</p> <p>1556 /1557..... J. LE BLANC / G. MERLIN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15847, London: British Library, C.35.b.9,10.</p> <p>1556 /1557..... J. LE BLANC / G. MERLIN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15847, London: Westminster Abbey.</p> <p>1556 /1557..... J. LE BLANC / G. MERLIN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15847, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> <p>1556 /1557..... J. LE BLANC / G. MERLIN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15847, Ushaw, Durham: St. Cuthbert's College.</p> | <p>1556 /1557..... J. LE BLANC / G. MERLIN - [Another edition], 2 vols, Paris, octavo, STC 15847, Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.</p> <p>1556 ..... R. VALENTIN &amp; FLORENT HIS SON - [Another edition], 2 vols, Rouen, 16mo in 8's, STC 15846, Cambridge : University Library.</p> <p>1556 ..... R. VALENTIN &amp; FLORENT HIS SON - [Another edition], 2 vols, Rouen, 16mo in 8's, STC 15846, Dublin: Trinity College.</p> <p>1556 ..... R. VALENTIN &amp; FLORENT HIS SON - [Another edition], 2 vols, Rouen, 16mo in 8's, STC 15846, London: British Library, 1606/1888.</p> <p>1556 ..... R. VALENTIN &amp; FLORENT HIS SON - [Another edition], 2 vols, Rouen, 16mo in 8's, STC 15846, London: Lambeth Palace.</p> <p>1556 ..... R. VALENTIN &amp; FLORENT HIS SON - [Another edition], 2 vols, Rouen, 16mo in 8's, STC 15846, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> |
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**1557**MISSALS

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| <p>1557..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, folio, STC 16219, Camarillo, CA: St. John's Seminary.</p> <p>1557..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, folio, STC 16219, Cambridge: University Library.</p> <p>1557..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, folio, STC 16219, London: British Library.</p> <p>1557..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, folio, STC 16219, Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester.</p> | <p>1557..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, folio, STC 16219, New York City: Pierpont Morgan Library.</p> <p>1557..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, folio, STC 16219, Oxford: Bodleian Library.</p> <p>1557..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, folio, STC 16219, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.</p> <p>1557..... J. KINGSTON AND H. SUTTON - Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis. [Anr ed], London, folio, STC 16219, Whalley, Lancs.: Stonyhurst College.</p> |
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**1558**PROCESSIONALS

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| <p>1558..... "AP. G. SIMONEM" - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16250, Oxford: New College.</p> <p>1558..... "AP. G. SIMONEM" - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16250, Oxford: St. John's College.</p> | <p>1558..... C. RUREMOND &amp; M. 'ENDOUIANUM' - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16249.5, Cambridge: University Library [<i>ghost?</i>].</p> |
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## APPENDIX 1: DATABASE OF SARUM LITURGICAL BOOKS

1558.....	C. RUREMOND & M. 'ENDOUIANUM' - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16249.5, Dublin: Trinity College.	1558.....	C. RUREMOND & M. 'ENDOUIANUM' - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16249.5, Oxford : Bodleian Library.
1558.....	C. RUREMOND & M. 'ENDOUIANUM' - Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp, quarto in 8's, STC 16249.5, London: British Library, C.121.c.6.		

## Appendix 2: Catalogue of Wynkyn de Worde's Printed Works

Source of data: STC, 2nd ed.

### 1492

#### Literary

1492 ..... Book of coutesy or Little John, quarto, STC 3304

#### Religious

1492? ..... [Vita di S. Catarina da Siena. English], folio, STC 24766

### 1493

#### Literary

1493 ..... [Legenda aurea. English.] [Anr. ed.], 20 May, folio, STC 24875

1493 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor Sermones. [Anr. ed.] 2 pts., quarto in 8's, STC 17962

#### Religious

1493 ..... [Treatise of love.], folio, STC 24234

1493 ..... The prouffitable booke for manes soule, called The chastysing of goddes chyl dren., folio, STC 5065

### 1494

#### Indulgence

1494 ..... [A reissue by Pope Alexander VI of the Bull of 1486. Latin.], nonis Octobris (7 Oct.), s. sh. folio, STC 14097

1494 ..... Horae ad usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.], octavo, STC 15878

1493 / 1494 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor Sermones. [Anr. ed.] 2 pts., quarto in 8's, STC 17962

#### Religious

1494 ..... Horae ad usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 15875

1494 ..... Scala perfeccionis. Tr. from Latin., folio, STC 14042

1494 ..... Horae ad usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 15876

1494 ..... Speculum vitae Christi. [Attrib. to St. Bonaventura. Tr. into English by N. Love.] [Anr. ed.], folio, STC 3261

### 1495

#### Educational

1495 ..... Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum. Eng. Tr. J. Trevisa., folio, STC 1536

1495 ..... Innocentibus et Alexand' pontifices. [Anr. setting on same sheet.], s. sh. obl. quarto, STC 14098.5

1495 ..... Introduction lingue Latine. [init. W. H.], quarto in 6's, STC 13809

#### Literary

1495 ..... Long Accidence., quarto 8.6, STC 23153.4

1495? ..... [Temple of glas.] [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 17032a

1495 ..... Policricon. [Anr. ed.], 13 April, folio, STC 13439

ca. 1495 ..... [The horse, the ghoos & the sheep.] [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 17020

1495? ..... Short Accidence., quarto, STC 23154.5

#### Religious

#### Indulgence

1495 ..... Innocentibus et Alexand' pontifices. [An abridgement of the Bull of 1486 which occurs in 2 settings, here distinguished, both printed twice on the same sheet; all 4 being in each collection listed.] Latin., s. sh. obl. quarto, STC 14098

1495 ..... Directorium sacerdotum. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 17723

1495? ..... Sermo die lune in ebdomada Pasche. [On Luke xxiv.15] Eng., quarto in 6's, STC 11024

1495 ..... Vitas patrum., folio, STC 14507

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

**1496**Educational

1496? ..... [Donatus.] [Anr. ed. with additions?],  
quarto 8.6, STC 7016

1496? ..... Parvula and Parvulorum Institutio.,  
quarto in 6's, STC 23163.6

Legal

1496? ..... [Anr. ed. of 1, 3,4 Hen VII.], folio,  
STC 9349

1496 ..... [Anr. ed.] Anno xi. Henrci (sic) vij.,  
folio, STC 9354

1496? ..... [Anr. ed.] Anno xj. Henrici vij., folio,  
STC 9353

1496? ..... 7 Hen. VII: 17 Oct - 4 Nov 1491; 26 Jan -  
5 Mar 1492. Anno vij. Henrici septimi.,  
folio, STC 9351a.7

Literary

1496 ..... [Boke of Saint Albans] [Anr. ed., with  
additions], folio, STC 3309

1496 ..... Dives & pauper [Anr. ed.], 3 Dec., folio,  
STC 19213

Religious

1496? ..... [Cordiale.] [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's,  
STC 5759

1496? ..... [The lyfe of the thre kynges of Coleyn.]  
[By Joannes, de Hildesheim] Tr., quarto  
in 8's, STC 5572

1496 ..... Constitutiones provinciales ecclesie  
anglicae. [Anr. ed. with 4 quires reset.],  
octavo, STC 17103.5

1496 ..... Constitutiones provinciales ecclesie  
anglicae. [Anr. ed.], 31 May, octavo,  
STC 17103

1496 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor Sermones.  
[Anr. ed.] 2 pts., quarto in 8's,  
STC 17965

1496 ..... Medytacions of saynt Bernarde. (Tr. by  
a student of Cambrydge), 9 March,  
quarto in 6's, STC 1916

1496 ..... Mons perfeccionis. Otherwyse in  
Englysshe the hyll of perfeccion., 22  
Sept., quarto in 6's, STC 278

1496? ..... The abbaye of the Holy Ghost. Tr. from  
French., quarto, STC 13608.7

1496 ..... The meditations of saint Bernard. [Anr.  
ed.], 9 March, quarto partly in 8's,  
STC 1917

1496 ..... The myracles of oure blessyd lady.,  
quarto in 6's, STC 17539

1496 ..... The rote or myroure of consolacyon &  
conforte., quarto in 8's, STC 21334

**1497**Almanac

1497 /98 ..... A prognostication for 1498., quarto,  
STC 385.3

Educational

1497 ..... Lytell treatyse for to lerne Englysshe  
and Frensshe., quarto in 6's, STC 24866

1497? ..... Parvula. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23163.7

Indulgence

1497 ..... [Indulgence.] (Compostella, Hospital of  
St. James), s. sh. obl. quarto,  
STC 14077c.85

Literary

1497? ..... Chorle and the birde. [Anr.ed.], quarto  
in 8's, STC 17011

1497 ..... Chronicles of England. [Anr. ed.], folio,  
STC 9996

1497? ..... Storye of Thebes., quarto in 8's,  
STC 17031

1497? ..... The history of Guy of Warwick. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto, STC 12541

Liturgical

1497 ..... Missale secundum usum ecclesie  
Sarum. [Anr. ed.], 2 Jan., folio,  
STC 16169

Religious

1497 ..... Ars moriendi. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's,  
STC 787

1497? ..... Desponsacio virginis xpristo. Spousage  
of a virgin to Christ., quarto in 6's,  
STC 286

1497 ..... Horae ad usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.], 3  
April, octavo, STC 15884

1497 ..... Mons perfeccionis., 23 May, quarto in  
6's, STC 279

1497 ..... Sermon on Luke VII., quarto in 6's,  
STC 284

ca. 1497 ..... Sermon on Luke VIII. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
in 6's, STC 285

ca. 1497 ..... Spousgae of a virgin to Christ. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 287

1497? ..... The abbaye of the Holy Ghost. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto, STC 13609

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

**1498**Indulgence

- 1498 ..... [Indulgence.] (Compostella, Hospital of St. James) [Anr. ed.], s. sh. obl. quarto, STC 14077c.86
- 1498 ..... [Indulgence.] (Compostella, Hospital of St. James) [Anr. ed.], s. sh. obl. quarto, STC 14077c.87

Literary

- 1498 ..... Assembly of the gods., folio, STC 17005
- 1498 ..... Canterbury tales. [Anr. ed.], folio, STC 5085
- 1498 ..... Livre de bonnes moeurs. [English.], quarto in 6's, STC 15397
- 1498 ..... Morte d'Arthur. [Anr. ed.], 25 March, folio, STC 802

**1499**Educational

- 1499 ..... [Equivoca.] Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum interpretatio. [Anr. ed.], 19 April, quarto in 6's, STC 11602
- 1499 ..... Introductorium linguae latine. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 13810
- 1499 ..... Long accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.6, STC 23153.5
- 1499? ..... Long parvula. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23163.16
- 1499 ..... Sulplitii [sic] Uerulani oratoris prestantissimi opus grammatices insigne feliciter incipit. [Anr. ed.], 4 Dec., quarto in 6's, STC 23427

Indulgence

- ca. 1499 ..... [Indulgence.], 16mo in 8's, STC 14077c.148

Literary

- 1499? ..... [Bowge of courte.], quarto in 6's, STC 22597
- 1499? ..... [The horse, the ghoos & the sheep.] [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 17021
- 1499 ..... Itinerarium. English. [Anr. ed.], before Dec., quarto in 6's, STC 17247

Liturgical

- 1499 ..... Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.] 2 pts., 6 Feb./17 March, quarto in 6's, STC 16114

- 1498 ..... Polychronicon. The descrypcyon of Englonde. [Anr. ed.], folio, STC 13440b

Liturgical

- 1498 ..... Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum. [Anr. ed.], 20 Dec., folio, STC 16172

Religious

- 1498? ..... In die innocencium sermo pro episcopo puerorum. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 283
- 1498 ..... Legenda aurea. [English.] [Anr. ed.], 8 Jan., folio, STC 24876
- 1498 ..... The Doctrynal of dethe., quarto in 6's, STC 6931

- 1499 ..... Psalter., 20 May, octavo, STC 16254

Religious

- 1499 ..... [De XII utilitatibus tribulationis.] English., quarto in 6's, STC 20412
- 1499? ..... [Treatise of Merlin.], quarto in 8's, STC 17840.7
- 1499? ..... [Vita.], quarto in 8's, STC 14508
- 1499 ..... Constitutiones provinciales ecclesie anglicae. [Anr. ed.], 15 April, octavo, STC 17104
- 1499 ..... Contemplacyon of synners., 10 July, quarto in 6's, STC 5643
- 1499 ..... Directorium sacerdotum. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 17726
- 1499? ..... In die innocencium sermo pro episcopo puerorum., quarto in 6's, STC 282
- 1499 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 17967
- 1499 ..... The moost excellent treatise of the thre kynges of Coleyne. [By Joannes, de Hildesheim] Tr. [Anr. ed.], after July, quarto in 8's, STC 5573
- 1499 ..... The rote or myrour of consolacyon & conforte. [Anr. ed.], after July, quarto in 8's, STC 21335

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

**1500**Educational

- 1500 ..... Ortus. Vocabulorum., folio, STC 13829  
 1500 ..... Synonyma magistri johannis de garlandia cum expositione magistri galfridi anglici. [Anr. ed.], 12 March, quarto in 6's, STC 11610

Indulgence

- ca. 1500 ..... [Indulgence.], s. sh. octavo, STC 14077c.14

Legal

- 1500? ..... Anno ix henrici vij., folio, STC 9352

Literary

- 1500 ..... [The horse, the ghoos & the sheep.] [Anr ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 17022  
 ca. 1500 ..... Assembly of the gods. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 17006  
 1500? ..... Assembly of the gods. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 17007  
 1500 ..... Beuve de Hanstone (Bevis of Hampton)., quarto, STC 1987

- ca. 1500 ..... Beuve de Hanstone. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 1987.5  
 1500 ..... Sir Eglamour., quarto, STC 7541  
 1500? ..... Temple of glas. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 17033

Religious

- 1500 ..... [Untitled.], quarto in 6's, STC 1978  
 1500 ..... [Untitled.], quarto, STC 24224  
 1500? ..... [Vita di S. Catarina da Siena. English] [Anr. issue of STC 24766.], folio, STC 24766.3  
 1500? ..... Contemplacyon or medytacyon of the shedyng of the blood of our lorde Jhesu Cryste at seven tymes., quarto, STC 14546  
 1500 ..... Dominus que pars, momen, quare quia significat substantium cum qualitate pro pria vel c~omuni., quarto, STC 20878  
 1500? ..... Informaco~n for pylgrymes unto the holy londe., quarto, STC 14081  
 1500? ..... The abbaye of the Holy Ghost. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 13610

**1501**Educational

- 1501? ..... Parvula. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23163.11

Legal

- 1501? ..... Anno xii Henrici vii., folio, STC 9355.5

Literary

- 1501? ..... Robert the Devil., quarto 8.4, STC 21070

Religious

- 1501 ..... [Untitled.], quarto, STC 14924

- 1501? ..... Expositio vel meditatio fratris hieronimi sauonarole de ferraria ordinis sacri predicato[r]um in psalmu[m] In te domine speravi., quarto 8.6, STC 21798  
 1501? ..... Legenda aurea. [Anr. ed.] English. (An extract comprised of the stories of the Bible.), quarto 8.4, STC 24880.5  
 1501 ..... Mons perfectionis. [Anr. ed.], 27 May, quarto in 6's, STC 281  
 ca. 1501? ..... The virtue of the masse., quarto, STC 17037.5

**1502**Educational

- 1502 ..... [Equivoca.] Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum interpetatio. [Anr. ed.], 9 Dec., quarto in 6's, STC 11603  
 1502? ..... Proprytees and medycynes for hors., quarto in 6's, STC 20439.3  
 1502 ..... Synonyma. [Anr. ed.], 23 Nov., quarto in 6's, STC 11613

Literary

- 1502 ..... Chronicles of England. [Anr. ed.], May, folio, STC 9997  
 1502? ..... Gesta Romanorum. English., quarto in 8's, STC 21286.2

- 1502 ..... Recueil des histoires de Troye. [Anr. ed.], folio, STC 15376

Liturgical

- 1502 ..... Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.] 2 pts., 7 Oct./29 Dec., quarto 8.4, STC 16116a

Religious

- 1502 ..... Horae ad usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.], octavo, STC 15898  
 1502 ..... Manipulus curatorum. [Anr. ed.], 22 April, octavo, STC 12472

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

1502.....Ordynarye of crystyanye or of crysten men., quarto in 6's, STC 5198

1502?.....Sermo Joh[ann]is Alcock epi[copi] Elien[sis]. [Sermon on Luke VIII.], quarto 6.4, STC 285.5

**1503**Educational

1503.....[Doctrinale.] (Textus Alexandri cum sententiis [et] constructionibus.), quarto in 6's, STC 319

1503-04.....Ars minor: Rudimenta grammatices. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.6, STC 7016.2

Literary

1503.....Aesop's fables. Latin. (Fabule Esopi cum commento.), quarto in 6's, STC 169

1503.....Itinerarium. English. (Than is there an other yle ye men call Dodye.) [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 17249

1503.....Recueil des histoires de Troye. [Anr. ed.], folio, STC 15377

Liturgical

1503.....Psalteriu[m] cu[m] antiphonis d[omi]nicalib[us] & ferialibus suis locis insertis, una cum hymnis ecclesie Sa[rum] & Eboracen[sis]. deseruie[n]tibus., 12 April, quarto in 8's, STC 16255

Religious

ca. 1503.....Horae ad usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.], octavo, STC 15901.5

1503.....Hore beate Marie virginis secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum totaliter ad longum & sine require. [Anr. ed.] , 31 July, quarto in 8's, STC 15899

**1504**Educational

1504.....[Terence. Works.] [Anr. ed.], 15 July, folio, STC 23885.3

Literary

1504?.....Example of vertu., quarto 8.4, STC 12945

Liturgical

1504.....[Psalter.] Liber soliloquiorum. (Hoc presens psalterium cum hymnis secundum usum Sarum et Eboracensis., 16mo in 8's, STC 16256

Religious

1504.....Directorium sacerdotum. [Anr. ed.], 23 Feb., quarto 8.4, STC 17728.3

Royal

1504?.....Henricus dei gra Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hybernie. (Regarding the currency of silver coin, clipped or otherwise.), s. sh. folio, STC 7760.6

**1505**Educational

1505.....[Equivoca.] Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum interpetatio. [Anr. ed.], 13 Dec., quarto in 6's, STC 11605

1505?.....Lac puerorum. (A Latin grammar in English.), quarto 8.4?, STC 13603.7

1505.....Synonyma. [Anr. ed.], 20 Nov., quarto in 6's, STC 11614

ca. 1505.....Vocabula., quarto, STC 23177.5

Indulgence

ca. 1505.....[Indulgence.], s. sh. octavo, STC 14077c.14A

ca. 1505.....[Indulgence.] Ex domo Jhesu de Bethlehem [the Carthusian Priory of Sheen]., s. sh. octavo, STC 14077c.15

1505.....[Indulgence.] Walsoken, Norfolk, Hospital of the Holy Trinity., s. sh. obl. quarto, STC 14077c.81

Literary

ca. 1505.....[Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesly. Part 1.], quarto, STC 1805.7

ca. 1505.....[Paris, le chevalier.] [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 19207a

ca. 1505.....[Paris, le chevalier.] [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 19208

1505?.....[Untitled.], quarto 8.4, STC 18779

1505?.....Book of comfort., quarto in 6's and 8's, STC 3295

1505?.....Parvus Libellus or Carta Feodi. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 15579.4

1505?.....The complaint of them that be too late married., quarto, STC 5728

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

- 1505 ..... The crafte to lyue well and to dye well. ,  
21 Jan., folio, STC 792
- ca. 1505 ..... The four sons of Aymon. [Anr. ed.],  
folio, STC 1008
- ca. 1505 ..... The smith that forged him a new dame.,  
quarto in 6's, STC 22653.5

**1506**Educational

- 1506 ..... Iste sunt regule informationis prime  
secundum usum magistri Johannis  
Barchby senioris., quarto, STC 1380.5

Legal

- 1506 ..... [19 Hen. VII; 25 Jan. - 30 Mar. 1504.]  
Anno xix henrici vij. [Anr. ed.], folio,  
STC 9357.4

Literary

- 1506? ..... [Gouernal of health.] [Anr. ed.], quarto  
in 6's, STC 12139
- 1506? ..... A little gest of Robin Hood. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 13689
- 1506? ..... Seven wise masters of Rome. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 21298
- 1506 ..... The boke of Iustyces of peas. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 14863
- 1506 ..... The castle of labour. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
8.4, STC 12381
- 1506? ..... The history of the excellent knight  
Generides. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 11721.5
- 1506? ..... The temple of glas. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 17033.7

**1507**Educational

- 1507? ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23140.5
- 1507? ..... Paruulo[rum] institutio., quarto 8.4,  
STC 23164.2

Literary

- 1507? ..... [Justes of the moneth of Maye.], quarto  
6.4, STC 3543
- 1507? ..... Carta feodi simplicis cu[m] littera  
attornatoria. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 15579.5
- 1507 ..... The boke of good maners. [Anr. ed.], 10  
Dec., quarto 8.4, STC 15398
- ca. 1507 ..... The fifteen joys of marriage., quarto,  
STC 15257.5

Royal

- 1505 ..... The pclamacion of the coyne., s. sh.  
folio, STC 7761

Liturgical

- 1506 ..... Breuiarium secundum usum ecclesie  
Sarum. 2 vols. [Anr. ed.], 17 Jan., folio,  
STC 15805.5

Religious

- 1506 ..... [Untitled.], quarto in 6's, STC 6033.5
- 1506 ..... Ars moriendi. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's,  
STC 788
- 1506? ..... Claudii de Seisello iurisconsulti  
christianissimi Ludouici duodecimi  
Francorum regis consilarii et oratoris  
ad Henricum septimum: oratio in  
publico conuentu habita., quarto in 6's,  
STC 22270.5
- 1506 ..... Oratio. Petri gryphi Pisani, nuncii  
apostolici recedentis a serenissimo  
Anglie rege. [Delivered 22 Nov. 1506.],  
quarto, STC 12412.5
- 1506 ..... Ordynarye of crystyanye or of crysten  
men. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8, STC 5199
- 1506? ..... Regula & vita beatissimi patris  
Benedicti cum miraculis a beato  
Gregorio .ix [sic]. papa conscripta., long  
12 mo, STC 12351
- 1506 ..... Rycharde Rolle hermyte of Hampull in  
his contemplacyons of the drede and  
loue of God., quarto 8.4, STC 21259

Liturgical

- 1507 ..... Portiforii ad usum Sarum iam dudum  
castigatissimi: volum~e prim~u vulgo  
pars hyemalis nuncupata. 2 vols., 11  
cal. July (21 June), octavo, STC 15806

Religious

- 1507 ..... Elucidarius., quarto in 6's, STC 13685.5
- 1507 ..... Legenda aurea. English. [Anr. ed.], 4  
Sept., folio, STC 24878.3
- 1507? ..... Meditationes vite Christi. [English.]  
(Our lorde god stronge and myghty in  
battayle, he is kynge of glorye.) [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 3263.5
- 1507 ..... The dyenge creature. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
in 6's, STC 6034

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

- Royal
- 1507 ..... Royal Book. [A variant, with colophon],  
quarto in 6's, STC 21430a
- 1507 ..... Royal Book. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 21430
- 1508**
- Almanac
- 1508 ..... Almanacke for xii. yere. (For  
Oxenforde.), 32mo, STC 387
- Calendar
- 1508 ..... The kalender of shepeherdes. [Anr.  
ed.], 8 Dec., quarto partly in 8's,  
STC 22409
- Educational
- 1508 -09 ..... Ars minor. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 7016.4
- 1508 -09 ..... Ars minor. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 7016.5
- 1508 ..... Disticha moralia, cum commento., 15  
Aug., quarto in 6's, STC 4839.4
- 1508? ..... Gradus Comparationum. [A different  
text, having 4 leaves.], quarto,  
STC 23163.4
- 1508 ..... Os facies mentu[m]. [Anr. ed.], 11  
March, quarto, STC 18873.3
- 1508? ..... Paruulo[rum] institutio ex stanbrigiana  
collectione. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 23164.4
- Legal
- 1508 ..... Constitutiones provinciales Ecclesiae  
Anglicanae. [Anr. ed.], octavo,  
STC 17109.7
- 1508 ..... Statuta. vii. parlamento[rum] Henrici.  
vii. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8, STC 9351a
- Literary
- 1508? ..... A Tale of King Edward and the  
shepherd., quarto 6.4?, STC 7502.5
- 1509**
- Educational
- 1509? ..... Gradus comparationu[m]: cu[m] verbis  
anomalis. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's,  
STC 23155.9
- 1509 ..... Long parvula. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 23164
- 1509 ..... Ortus vocabulorum. [Anr. ed.], 1 Dec.,  
quarto 8.4?, STC 13830.7
- 1509? ..... Sulpitii Verulani oratoris  
presta[n]tissimi opus insigne  
grammaticum feliciter incipit. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23427.7
- 1509? ..... Vulgaria., quarto in 6's, STC 23195.5
- Liturgical
- 1508 ..... Expositio hymnorum totius anni  
diligentissime recognitorum, multis  
elucidationibus aucta. [Anr. ed.] 2 pts.,  
30 June, quarto 8.4 (pt. 2 in 6's),  
STC 16120
- 1508 ..... Missale secundum usum insignis  
ecclesie Sarum. [Anr. issue of  
STC 16182a], 27 April, folio,  
STC 16182a.5
- Religious
- 1508? ..... Horae ad usum Sarum. [Anr. ed.],  
octavo, STC 15908
- 1508 ..... Lac puero[rum]. (Mykke for chyldren.)  
[Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 13604
- 1508 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones.  
[Anr. ed.], 11 May, quarto 8.4,  
STC 17971
- 1508 ..... The remedy against the troubles of  
temptations., 4 Feb., quarto in 6's,  
STC 20875.5
- 1508 ..... Treatise concerning the fruitful sayings  
of David., 16 June, quarto 8.4,  
STC 10902
- Literary
- 1509 ..... [Another elegy on the death of Henry  
VII.], s. sh. folio, STC 13075.5
- 1509 ..... [Elegy on the death of Henry VII.], s.  
sh. folio, STC 13075
- 1509 ..... A ioyfull medytacyon to all Englonde  
of the coronacyon of our moost naturall  
souerayne lorde kynge Henry the  
eyght., quarto, STC 12953
- 1509 ..... Convercyon of swerers., quarto in 8's,  
STC 12943
- 1509? ..... Example of vertu. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
8.4?, STC 12946

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- 1509.....Kynge Rycharde cuer du lyon., quarto 8.4, STC 21007
- 1509.....Parlyament of devylles., quarto, STC 19305
- 1509?.....The conuersyon of swerers. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 12943.5
- 1509.....The fyftene joyes of maryage. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 15258
- 1509?.....The noble history of King Ponthus. (English.), quarto 8.4, STC 20107
- 1509.....The pastime of pleasure., 11 Jan., quarto 8.4, STC 12948
- 1509.....The shyppe of fooles., 6 July, quarto 8.4, STC 3547
- 1509?.....Treatyse agaynst pestelence and of ye infirmits. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 4592
- Liturgical**
- 1509.....Ad laudem dei et honore[m] tua[m]q[ue] non immerito flos virgo maria ecce manuale quoddam secundu[m] vsu[m] matris eccl[es]ie Eboracensi., 10 Feb., quarto in 8's, STC 16160
- 1509.....Expositio hymnorum. (Expositio sequentiarum.) 2 pts., 6 July/26 Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 16121
- 1509.....Portiforium seu breuiarium, ad legitimum Sarisburie[n]sis ecclesie ritum. Pars estiuales., 11 cal. Jan. (22 Dec.), quarto in 8's, STC 15808
- Religious**
- 1509.....[Untitled.], quarto 8.4, STC 10900
- 1509 -10.....[Untitled.], quarto 8.4, STC 10901
- 1509?.....[Ye lyf of Saynt Ursula after ye cronycles of englo[n]de.], quarto 8.4, STC 24541.3
- 1509.....Gospel of Nicodemus. (English.) [Anr. ed.], 23 March, quarto 8.4, STC 18566
- 1510**
- Educational**
- 1510.....[Equivoca.] Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum interpretatio. [Anr. ed.], 8 March, quarto 8.4, STC 11606.5
- 1510?.....Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23142
- 1510.....Compendium totius fra[m]matice ex variis auctoribus Laurectio, seruio, perotto diligenter collectum. [Anr. ed.], 7 Dec., quarto 8.4, STC 696.5
- ca. 1510.....P. Terentij aphri comicoru elegantissimi comedie a G. iuuenale explanate: & ab J. Badio Ascensio annotate. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 23885.5
- 1509.....Liber theoduli cum commento. [Anr. ed.], 28 April, quarto 8.4, STC 23941
- 1509.....Manipulus curatorum. [Anr. ed.], 13 Feb., octavo, STC 12475
- 1509.....Mornynge remembraunce., quarto in 6's, STC 10891
- 1509?.....Speculum peccatorum., octavo, STC 954.5
- 1509 -10?.....The lamentacyon of our lady., quarto in 6's, STC 17537
- 1509.....The. vii. shedynges of the blode of Ihesu cryste. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 14546.3
- 1509.....Treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge [and] prophete in the seuen penytenyall psalmes. [Anr. ed.], 12 June, quarto, STC 10903a
- 1509.....Treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge [and] prophete in the seuen penytenyall psalmes. [Anr. ed.], 12 June, quarto, STC 10903
- 1509.....Treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge [and] prophete in the seuen penytenyall psalmes. [Anr. ed.], 12 June, quarto 8.4, STC 10904
- Royal**
- 1509.....[Proclamations. 1509.] (Confirming Henry VII's final pardon.), s. sh. folio, STC 7761.3
- 1509.....[Proclamations. 1509.] The newe proclamacyon. [Anr. ed.], s. sh. folio, STC 7761.7
- 1509?.....[Proclamations. 1509.] These be the articles. [Anr. ed.], s. sh. folio, STC 7762.3
- 1510?.....Parvulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23164.6
- 1510.....Promptorium parvulorum clericorum., 17 Jan., quarto 8.4, STC 20436
- 1510.....Synonima. [Anr. ed.], 11 Feb., quarto 8.4, STC 11615.5
- 1510.....Vocabula magistri sta[n]brigi primu[m] iam edita sua salte[m] editione. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 23178
- 1510.....Vocabula magistri sta[n]brigi primu[m] iam edita sua salte[m] editione. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 23178.3

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ca. 1510 ..... *Vulgaria Therentii in Anglicanam linguam traducta.* [Anr. ed.], octavo, STC 23907.7

Literary

1510 ..... [Untitled.], quarto 8.4, STC 17841

1510 ..... *Alanus de parabolis. Alias doctrinale altum, cum luculenta glosarum expositione.* [Anr.ed.], 19 March, quarto 8.4, STC 254

ca. 1510 ..... *Book of cookery.* [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 3297.5

ca. 1510 ..... *Bowge of courte.* [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 22597.5

ca. 1510 ..... *Carta feodi simplicis cum littera atturnatoria.* [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 15579.6

1510? ..... *Chorle and the birde* [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 17012

1510 ..... *Curia sapientiae.* English. (The courte of sapyence.) [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 17016

ca. 1510 ..... *Gesta Romanorum.* English. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 21286.3

1510? ..... *Itinerarium.* English. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 17249.5

1510 ..... *Kynge Appolyn of Thyre.*, 28 Feb., quarto 8.4, STC 708.5

1510 ..... *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Oxoniensis.* [Anr. ed.], 7 Sept., quarto 8.4, STC 15576

1510 ..... *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Oxoniensis.* [Anr. ed.], 15 April, quarto 8.4, STC 15576.8

1510 ..... *Melusine a tale of the serpent fairy.*, folio, STC 14648

1510? ..... *Stans puer ad me[n]sa[m].* (Salve Regina.) [Anr. ed., with additions.], quarto, STC 17030.5

ca. 1510 ..... *The gospelles of dystaues.*, quarto 8.4, STC 12091

ca. 1510 ..... *The history of Valentine and Orson.* English., quarto in 8's?, STC 24571.3

1510 ..... *The iustyces of paes.* [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 14864

1510? ..... *The p[ro]uerbes of Lydgate.* (Fall of prynces.), quarto 6.8, STC 17026

1510? ..... *The: iiiii: leues of the truelove.*, quarto, STC 15345

**1511**Calendar

1511 ..... *The shepherds' kalendar.* [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 22409.5

1510? ..... *Torent of Portyngale.* [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 24133.5

1510? ..... *Treatyse of a galaunt.*, quarto, STC 24240

Religious

ca. 1510 ..... [Regula.], quarto in 6's, STC 922.2

1510 ..... *Fleur des commandements de Dieu.* English., 14 Sept., folio, STC 23876

1510 ..... *Hore beatissime virginis marie ad [con]suetudine[m] insginis sclesie Sa[rum].* [Anr.ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 15908.5

1510 ..... *How the plowman lerned his pater noster.*, quarto, STC 20034

1510 ..... *Liber modorum significandi.* [Anr. ed.], 29 April, quarto 8.4, STC 268.3

ca. 1510? ..... *Questiones Alberti de modis significandi.* [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 270.5

1510? ..... *Rule of the Iyuyng of the bretherne and systers of the order of penytentes.*, quarto, STC 19596

1510? ..... *Sermo exhortatius cancellarij Eborum hijs qui ad sacros ordines petunt promoveri.*, quarto in 8's, STC 17806

1510? ..... *Sermones declamati coram alma universitate Cantibrigiensi.*, octavo, STC 1497

1510? ..... *The dystruccon of Iherusalem by Vaspazian and Tytus.* [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8, STC 14518

ca. 1510 ..... *The remors of conscyence.*, quarto in 6's, STC 20881.3

1510? ..... *Thystory of Iacoby and his twelue sones.*, quarto 6.8, STC 14323

1510? ..... *Thystory of Iacoby and his twelue sones.* [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.8, STC 14323.3

Yearbook

1510? ..... *Anno secundo Richardi.* iii., folio, STC 9912.5

1510? ..... *Annus. xiiii. Henrici quarti.*, folio, STC 9613a

1510? ..... *De termino Michaelis anno. xi. Regis Henrici quarti.*, folio, STC 9612

1510? ..... *De termino Pasche anno nono Henrici Quinti.*, folio, STC 9615.7

Educational

1511? ..... *De nominum generibus.*, quarto 8.4, STC 25479

1511? ..... *Declinationes nominum.*, quarto 8.6, STC 25443.4

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- 1511 ..... Ortus vocabulorum. [Anr. ed.], 12 Aug.,  
quarto 8.4, STC 13831
- 1511? ..... Paruulorum institutio ex stanbrigiana  
collectione. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 23164.8
- 1511 ..... Quinta recognitio at[que] additio., 4  
non April (2 April), quarto mostly in  
8's, STC 23427a.3
- 1511? ..... Vocabula magistri sta[n]brigi primu[m]  
iam edita sua salte[m] editione. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 23178.7

Literary

- 1511? ..... [Untitled.], quarto in 6's, STC 4592.5
- 1511? ..... Fryer and the boy., quarto in 8's,  
STC 14522
- 1511? ..... Tenir per service de chiualer, est a tenir  
p[er] homage foialte., folio, STC 23878.5
- 1511 ..... The demaundes joyous. [Riddles.],  
quarto, STC 6573
- 1511 ..... The noble history of King Ponthus.  
[Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 20108

Liturgical

- 1511 ..... Misslae ad consuetudinem insignis  
ecclesie Sarum. , 6 cal. May (26 April),  
folio, STC 16189

**1512**Educational

- 1512 ..... Bucolica Virgilii cum commento  
familiari., 8 April, quarto 8.4, STC 24813
- 1512 ..... Catho cum commento. [Anr. ed.], 23  
Sept., quarto in 6's, STC 4839.7
- 1512? ..... De syllabarum quantitate. 2 pts., quarto  
8.4, STC 25509.3
- 1512? ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.6, STC 25443.6
- 1512 ..... Grammatica nicolai Perotti cum textu  
iodoci Badii Ascensii., 15 Nov., quarto  
4.8, STC 19767.3
- 1512 ..... Os facies, mentu[m]. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 18874
- 1512 ..... Promptorium parvulorum clericorum.  
[Anr. ed.], 26 May, quarto 8.4,  
STC 20437
- 1512 ..... Syntaxis., 3 Sept., quarto 8.4, STC 25541

Literary

- 1512 ..... Chevalier au Cygne. English. (The  
knyght of the swanne.), 6 Feb., quarto  
8.4, STC 7571

Religious

- 1511 ..... Gospel of Nicodemus. English. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 18567
- 1511? ..... Her after foloweth a treatyse taken out  
of a boke which sometyme Theodosium  
the Emperour founde in Jherusalem in  
the pretorye of Pylate of Joseph of  
Armathy., quarto, STC 14806
- 1511 ..... Incipit Paru~u bon~u Doctoris  
seraphici sacti Bonaue[n]ture ordis  
sa[n]cti fr~acisci: quod alias  
incendiu[m] amoris dicitur vel regimen  
co[n]scie[n]tie: vel fons vite., 6 Feb.,  
octavo, STC 3273
- 1511 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones.  
[Anr. ed.], 1 Aug., quarto 8.4,  
STC 17971.5
- 1511 ..... Quadragesimale de christiana religione.  
Sermo 42. Selections., 22 Aug., quarto  
4.8, STC 1966
- 1511 ..... The rote or myrroure of consolacyon  
and conforte. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 21336
- 1511 ..... The thre kynges of Coleyne. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 5574

- 1512 ..... Libellus sophistarum ad usum  
Oxoniensis. [Anr. ed.], 12 Aug., quarto  
8.4, STC 15577
- 1512 -13 ..... Syr Degore. [A metrical romance.],  
quarto 8.4.6, STC 6470
- 1512? ..... The castell of labour. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
8.4, STC 12381.4

Liturgical

- 1512 ..... Expositio hymnor[um] toti[us] anni  
secu[n]du[m] vsum Sar[um]  
dilige[n]tissime recognitorum mult[is]  
elucidationib[us] aucta., 8 May, quarto  
8.4, STC 16124
- 1512 ..... Expositio sequentiar[um] toti[us] anni  
s[e]d[un]d[u]m vsum Sar[um]  
diligentissime recognitarum [sic]  
mult[is] elucidationib[us] aucta., 10  
Jan., quarto 8.4, STC 16123a

Religious

- 1512 ..... Legenda aurea. English. [Anr. ed.], 15  
Feb., folio, STC 24879
- 1512 ..... The treatys of Nycodemus gossell.  
[Anr. ed.], 20 Feb., quarto, STC 18567a

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**1513**Educational

- 1513 ..... Ars amatoria. English., quarto, STC 18934
- 1513? ..... De heteroclitis nominibus., quarto 6.4, STC 25459.2
- 1513? ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 25459.3
- 1513 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. 2 pts. [Anr. ed.], 12 Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 25509.5
- 1513? ..... Paruulorum institutio ex sta[n]brigiana collectione. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23165.5
- 1513 ..... The longe accydenche. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23153.10

Literary

- 1513? ..... Formalitates Antonij sirecti summi ac preclari Parisen[sis]., quarto, STC 22580

**1514**Educational

- 1514 ..... Bucolica Virgilio cum co[m]mento familiari. [Anr. ed.], 21 Nov., quarto 8.4, STC 24814
- 1514? ..... De heteroclitis no[mi]nibus. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 25459.4
- 1514? ..... De octo partibus orationis., quarto 4.6, STC 25496.3
- 1514 ..... Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum interpretatio. [Anr. ed.], 16 Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 11608
- 1514 ..... Ortus vocabulorum. [Anr. ed.], 15 Feb., quarto 8.4, STC 13832
- 1514? ..... Parvulorum Institutio. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23166
- 1514? ..... Quinta recognitio at[que] additio ad gra[m]maticen Sulpitanam cum textu Alcensiano in [quam] pluribus locis presertim de syllabarum quantitate et de figuris et preceptis orthographie illustrato emu[n]cto at[que] aucto: nullo prorsus vtili detracto. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23427a.7
- 1514 ..... Synonyma. [Anr. ed.], 20 July, quarto 8.4, STC 11616

Indulgence

- 1514 ..... [Indulgence.] [Guild of St. George.], 1 Dec., s. sh. obl. quarto, STC 14077c.70
- 1514 ..... [Indulgence.] [Guild of St. George.], 1 Dec., s. sh. obl. quarto, STC 14077c.71

- 1513 ..... Parabole Alani cu[m] co[m]me[n]to. [Anr. ed.], 26 Oct., quarto 6.8, STC 254.3
- 1513 ..... The boke of keruyng. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 3290

Religious

- 1513 ..... Disticha de moribus. (Catho pro pueris Precepta ad bene beate[ue] viuendum emendata perdiligenter.), quarto in 6's, STC 4840
- 1513 ..... Hore Marie virginis secundum usum Sarum. [Anr.ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 15914

Royal

- 1513 ..... Proclamations. (A summons to the aldermen of London to appear and supply information.), March, folio (2), STC 7764

Literary

- 1514? ..... Fabule Esopi cum co[m]mento. (Latin.) [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 169.5

Liturgical

- 1514 ..... Expositio hymnorum[m] totius anni secu[n]du[m] vsum Saru[m] dilige[n]tissime recognitoru[m] multis elucidationib[us] aucta. 2 pts., 12 June/8 July, quarto 8.4, STC 16125

Religious

- 1514 ..... Disticha de moribus. (Catho cu[m] co[m]mento.), 20 Dec., quarto 8.4, STC 4841
- 1514 ..... Hore beate marie virginis ad vsum insignis ac p[rae]clare ecclesie Saru[m]. [Anr. ed.], 24 July, long 12mo, STC 15919
- 1514 ..... Myracles of oure blessyd lady. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 17540
- 1514? ..... Peniteas cito libellus iste nuncupatur tractans compendiose de penitentia et eius circunstantijs, ac vitam peccatis deprauatam emendare cupientibus multum vtilis et necessarius., quarto 8.6, STC 20079
- 1514 ..... The deyenge creature. [A variant.], quarto in 6's, STC 6035.5
- 1514 ..... The deyenge creature. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 6035
- 1514 ..... The fruyte of redemcyon., quarto 8.4, STC 22557

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

**1515**Educational

- 1515? ..... De heteroclitis no[*min*]ibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 6.4, STC 25459.5
- 1515 ..... De magistratibus veterum  
Romanoru[m]., 8 March, quarto,  
STC 25525.3
- 1515? ..... De synonymis., quarto 8.4, STC 25526
- 1515 ..... Doctrinale. (Textus alexandri con  
sententus et constructionibus, et  
vocalorum interpretationibus.) [A  
extract with modifications.], 8 May,  
quarto, STC 320.5
- 1515? ..... Doctrinale. (Textus alexandri con  
sententus et constructionibus, et  
vocalorum interpretationibus.) [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 319.7
- 1515? ..... Parvulorum Institutio. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 23168.5
- 1515 ..... Sta[n]s puer ad mensa[m]. (Carmen  
juvenile de moribus mense.) , quarto in  
6's, STC 23428
- 1515 ..... Uulgaria Stanbryge. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
in 6's, STC 23196
- 1515? ..... Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4,  
STC 23180.3

Literary

- 1515 ..... Boke of justices of peas. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 14864.5
- ca. 1515 ..... Carta feodi simplicis cu[m] littera  
attornatoria. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 15579.8
- ca. 1515 ..... Gesta Romanorum. English. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 21286.5
- 1515? ..... Hyckescorner. (An interlude.), quarto  
8.4.6, STC 14039
- ca. 1515 ..... Patryarke with all the solempnyte that  
he myght doo., quarto, STC 25707.5

**1516**Calendar

- 1516 ..... The kalendar of shepeherdes. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto partly in 8's, STC 22409

Educational

- 1516? ..... De heteroclitis no[*min*]ibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 6.4, STC 25459.8
- 1516? ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 25479.5
- 1516? ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25496.7
- 1516 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 25510

- 1515 ..... Saint Albans chronicle. (Descrypcyon of  
Englonde.) [Anr. ed.], folio, STC 10000.5
- ca. 1515 ..... Spare yo[ur good.], quarto, STC 23013
- 1515 ..... The co[n]forte of louers., quarto in 6's,  
STC 12942.5

Liturgical

- 1515 ..... Expositio hymnoru[m] totius anni  
secu[n]dum vsum Saru[m]  
dilige[n]tissime recognitoru[m] multis  
elucidationibus aucta. 2 pts. [Anr. ed.],  
14 June/8 June, quarto 8.4, STC 16126

Religious

- ca. 1515 ..... Capystranus; a metrical romance.,  
quarto, STC 14649
- ca. 1515 ..... Disticha de moribus. (Catho cum  
commento.) [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4?,  
STC 4841.3
- ca. 1515 ..... Horae ad usum Eborum. [Anr. ed.],  
octavo, STC 16102.5
- 1515 ..... Informacyon for pylgrymes unto the  
holy londe. [Anr. ed.], 16 May, quarto,  
STC 14082
- 1515 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones.  
[Anr. ed.], 5 May, quarto 8.4, STC 17972
- 1515 ..... Liber modorum significandi. [Anr. ed.],  
16 March, quarto 8.4, STC 268.7
- 1515 ..... Liber Theoduli. [Anr. ed.], 10 March,  
quarto 8.4, STC 23943
- 1515 ..... Lyfe of saynt Gregories mother. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto, STC 12352
- 1515? ..... Peniteas cito libellus. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
8.6, STC 20080
- 1515? ..... Questiones Alberti de modis  
significa[n]di [Anr.ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 271
- ca. 1515 ..... The remors of conscyence. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 20881.7

- 1516? ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.6, STC 25444
- 1516? ..... Incipit donatus minor cu remigio ad  
vsum pusillorum anglicanaru  
scolarium. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 7016.7
- 1516 ..... Ortus. Vocabulorum. [Anr. ed.], 28 July,  
quarto 8.4, STC 13833
- 1516 ..... Promptorium parvulorum clericorum.  
[Anr. ed.], 5 Sept., quarto 8.4,  
STC 20438
- 1516 ..... Sta[n]s puer ad mensa[m]. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 23428a
- 1516 ..... Syntaxis (De Concinnitate.), quarto 8.4,  
STC 25541.5

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

Legal

1516? ..... Constitutions. Selections.  
(Exornatorium curatorum.), quarto in  
6's, STC 10627.5

Literary

1516 ..... Fabule Esopi cu[m] co[m]me[n]to. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 170

1516 ..... La graunde abridgement. [Anr. ed.], 21  
Dec., folio, STC 10954

Religious

1516? ..... Debat du cuer et de l'oeil. English,  
quarto 4.6.6, STC 6915

**1517**Educational

1517? ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23147.4

1517? ..... Ars minor. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 7016.9

ca. 1517 ..... Co[m]pendium totius grammatice ex  
variis auctoribus Laure[n]tio. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 696.7

1517? ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 6.4, STC 25459.9

1517 ..... De magistratib[us] veteru[m]  
Romanorum. [Anr. ed.], 9 kal. Aug. (24  
July), quarto, STC 25525.7

1517? ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 25479.8

1517? ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. issue  
with quire C reset.], quarto,  
STC 25479.6

1517? ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25498.3

1517 ..... De synonymis., quarto 8.4, STC 25526.5

1517? ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 25527.2

1517? ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 25527.3

1517? ..... De synonymis. [Anr. issue with D outer  
sheet reset.], quarto, STC 25527

1517? ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.6, STC 25444.5

1517 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.6, STC 25445

1517? ..... Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 23157

1517 ..... Multorum vocabulorum. [Anr. ed.], 4  
April, quarto 8.4, STC 11608a

1517 ..... Syllabarum quantitate editio secunda  
pars grammatices. [Anr. ed.], 10 Aug.,  
quarto 8.4, STC 25511.5

1517 ..... Synonyma. [Anr. ed.], 20 Feb., quarto  
8.4, STC 11616a

1516 ..... Formula vitae honestae./ Seneca  
moralissmus [sic] philosophus [or  
rather St. Martin] de quattuor  
virtutibus cardinalibus. , quarto in 8's,  
STC 17498

1516 ..... Nova legenda Anglie. English., 27 Feb.,  
folio, STC 4601

1516? ..... Peniteas cito libellus. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
8.6, STC 20081

Yearbook

1516? ..... Hill[arii] decimo octavo Edward[i]  
Tercii., folio, STC 9558

1517 ..... Syntaxis [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 25543

1517? ..... Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4,  
STC 23180.5

1517? ..... Vulgaria Stanbrigie. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
in 6's, STC 23196.2

Legal

1517 ..... Constitutiones provinciales Ecclesiae  
Anglicanae. [Anr. ed.], octavo,  
STC 17110

Literary

1517 ..... Pastime of pleasure. [Anr. ed.], 3 Dec.,  
quarto 8.4, STC 12949

1517? ..... Robert the Devil. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 21071

1517 ..... The shyppes of fooles. [Anr. ed.], 20  
June, quarto 8.4, STC 3547a

1517? ..... This mater treateth of a merchauntes  
wyfe that afterwarde went like a man  
and was called Frederyke of Jennen.  
[Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 11361a

1517 ..... Troilus and Criseyde. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
8.4, STC 5095

Liturgical

1517 ..... Expositio hymnorum totius anni  
secundum vsum Sarum  
diligentissime recognitorum multis  
elucidationibus aucta. 2 pts. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 16128

1517? ..... Psalterium cum hymnis ad vsum  
Sarum et Eboracensem., octavo,  
STC 16259.3

Religious

1517 ..... Manipulus curatorum. [Anr. ed.], 22  
April, octavo, STC 12475.5

1517 ..... Meditationes vitae Christi. English.  
[Anr. ed.], 4 March, quarto 8.4,  
STC 3264

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

- 1517.....The fruyte of redempcyon [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 22558
- Yearbook
- 1517? ..... De termino Pach. Anno decimo Edward  
quarti., folio, STC 9832
- 1518**
- Educational
- 1518? ..... De heteroclytis nominibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 6.4, STC 25459.11
- 1518? ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 25479.9
- 1518? ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 25479.11
- 1518? ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25498.7
- 1518? ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 25527.5
- 1518? ..... Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 23159.5
- 1518? ..... Long accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 23154
- 1518 ..... Multorum vocabulorum. [Anr. ed.], 20  
Feb., quarto 8.4, STC 11608a.3
- 1518 ..... Ortus vocabulorum. [Anr. ed.], 22 Oct.,  
quarto 8.4, STC 13834
- 1518 ..... Os facies mentu[m]. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 18875
- 1518? ..... Parvulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 23167.3
- 1518 ..... Stans puer ad mensam. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 23429
- 1518 ..... Synonyma. [Anr. ed.], 10 Feb., quarto  
8.4, STC 11617
- 1518 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 25545
- 1518 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 25545.3
- Indulgence
- 1518 ..... [Indulgence.] (Ipswich, Suffolk.  
Franciscan Convent.), s. sh. obl. quarto,  
STC 14077c.43
- 1519**
- Educational
- 1519 ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23147.6
- 1519 ..... De heteroclytis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], 7  
id. July (9 July), quarto 6.4, STC 25461
- 1519 ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], 8  
id. April (6 April), quarto 4.6,  
STC 25499
- 1517? ..... Hillar[ii] desimoseptimo. Edward[i]  
Tercii., folio, STC 9555
- ca. 1518 ..... [Indulgence.] (Westminster,  
Confraternity of St. Cornelius), s. sh.  
quarto, STC 14077c.83
- Legal
- 1518? ..... Constitutions. Selections.  
(Exornatorium curatorum.) [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 10628
- Literary
- 1518? ..... Cocke Lorelles bote. (She had a desyre  
ofte to be wedde.), quarto 4.6?,  
STC 5456
- 1518? ..... Complainte de trop tard marie. English.  
[Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 5728.5
- 1518? ..... Eclogue. 5., quarto 8.4.6, STC 1385
- 1518 ..... Hystorye of Olyver of Castylle, and of  
the fayre Helayne., quarto 8.4,  
STC 18808
- 1518? ..... Libellus sophistarum[m] ad vsum  
Oxonien[sis]. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 15578
- 1518? ..... The book of hawking, hunting, and  
blasing of arms. [Anr. ed. with  
omissions.], quarto 8.4, STC 3309.5
- 1518? ..... The crafte of graffying [and] plantynge  
of trees. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 5953
- 1518? ..... The history of the excellent knight  
Generides. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 11721.7
- Religious
- 1518? ..... Dominus que pars. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 20878.5
- 1518 ..... Gospel of Nicodemus. English. [Anr.  
ed.], 10 March, quarto 8.4, STC 18568
- 1518? ..... Imitatio Christi. English. [Anr. ed.] 2  
pts., quarto in 6's, STC 23956
- 1519 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. ed.], 7  
id. March (9 March), quarto 8.4,  
STC 25512
- 1519 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. ed.],  
kal. Nov. (1 Nov.), quarto 8.4,  
STC 25514
- 1519 ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], 9 kal. Feb. (24  
Jan.), quarto 8.4, STC 25528

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- 1519.....Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.6, STC 25446
- 1519?.....Gradus co[m]parationu[m]. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 23159a
- 1519.....Libellus epygrammaton., 10 cal. May  
(22 April), quarto 4.6.8, STC 25540.5
- 1519?.....Parvulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 23167.5
- 1519.....Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], id. June (13 June),  
quarto 8.4, STC 25546
- 1519?.....Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23196.6
- 1519.....Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23196.8
- Indulgence**
- 1519.....[Indulgence.] [Monastery of the Holy  
Cross (Crutched Friars), London], s. sh.  
obl. folio, STC 14077c.53
- Literary**
- 1519?.....Cocke Lorelles bote. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
4.6?, STC 5456.3
- 1519.....Colloquia. Selections. (Familiarium  
colloquiorum formulae.), id. Aug. (13  
Aug.), quarto 4.8, STC 10450.6
- 1520**
- Educational**
- 1520?.....Accidentia ex stabrigiana eidtione  
nuper recognita & castigata. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 23148
- 1520.....Accidentia ex stabrigiana eidtione  
nuper recognita & castigata. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 23148.2
- 1520.....De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 6.4, STC 25462
- 1520.....De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 25479.14
- 1520?.....Gradus co[m]parationu[m]. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.1
- 1520?.....Gradus co[m]parationu[m]. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.2
- 1520.....Parvulorum Institutio. [Anr. ed.], 20  
March, quarto 8.4, STC 23167.7
- ca. 1520.....Stans puer ad mensam. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 17030.7
- 1520.....Stans puer ad mensam. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 23429.5
- 1520.....Syntaxis [Anr. ed.], March, quarto 4.6,  
STC 25547
- 1520.....Uulgaria., 7 March, quarto 4.8,  
STC 25569.3
- 1520.....Uulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8,  
STC 25569.5
- Religious**
- 1519?.....Alcoran., quarto, STC 15084
- 1519?.....Complaynt of the soule., quarto 8.6,  
STC 5609
- 1519?.....Complaynt of the soule. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.6, STC 5609.5
- 1519?.....Contemplacyons of the drede and love  
of god. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 21260
- 1519.....Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad  
legitimum Sarisburiensis ecclesie ritum.  
[Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 15922
- 1519.....Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones.  
[Anr. ed.], 5 May, quarto 8.4,  
STC 17973.5
- 1519.....Returna br[eviu]m. [Anr. ed.], quarto  
8.4, STC 20894.7
- 1519.....Scala perfeconis. [Anr. ed.], 3 Jan.,  
quarto 8.4, STC 14043.5
- 1519.....The remedy ayenst the troubles of  
temptacyons. [Anr. ed.], 21 Jan., quarto  
in 6's, STC 20876
- 1519.....Vita di S. Catarine da Siena. English., 28  
Sept., folio, STC 4815
- 1520?.....Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4,  
STC 23181.2
- ca. 1520.....Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4,  
STC 23181.3
- ca. 1520.....Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4,  
STC 23181.4
- 1520?.....Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23196a
- 1520.....Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8,  
STC 25569.7
- Indulgence**
- ca. 1520.....[Indulgence.] (The confraternyte of  
seynt Ursula in seynt Laurence in the  
Iury.), s. sh. octavo, STC 14077c.59
- Legal**
- 1520?.....Constitutions. Selections.  
(Exornatorium curatorum.) [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 6's, STC 10631
- Literary**
- 1520?.....[Untitled.], quarto, STC 12046
- ca. 1520.....Christiani hominis institutum in fide  
Iesu et in amore., quarto in 6's,  
STC 10450.2
- 1520.....Colloquia. Latin. (Familiarium  
colloquioru[m] formule in gratiam  
inuentutis recognite.) [Anr. ed.], Sept.,  
quarto 4.8, STC 10450.7

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- ca. 1520 ..... Parlyament of byrdes., quarto in 6's, STC 19303.7
- 1520 ..... Saint Albans chronicle. 2 pts. [Anr. ed.], folio, STC 10001
- 1520? ..... Squire of low degree., quarto 8.4?, STC 23111.5
- 1520 ..... The dyetary of ghostly helthe., 20 Nov., quarto 6.4, STC 6833
- 1520? ..... The proverbes of Lydgate. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 17027
- 1520? ..... Treatyse of a galaunt. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 24241
- Liturgical
- ca. 1520? ..... Psalterium cum antiphonis.vna cum hymnis eccl'e Sa[rum] et Eboracen[sis]., octavo, STC 16259.5
- 1521**
- Educational
- 1521 ..... Antilycon., nonis Jan. (5 Jan.), quarto in 6's, STC 25443.2
- ca. 1521 ..... Composita verborum., quarto, STC 18292.7
- 1521 ..... De heteroclytis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 25464
- 1521 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], cal. Feb. (1 Feb.), quarto 4.6, STC 25480.3
- 1521 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], pridie nonas Feb. (4 Feb.), quarto 4.6, STC 25480.7
- 1521 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], id. June (13 June), quarto 4.6, STC 25481
- 1521 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], pridie id. Oct. (14 Oct.), quarto 4.6, STC 25482
- 1521 ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], id. July (15 July), quarto 4.6, STC 25500
- 1521 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25515
- 1521 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25515a
- 1521 ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 25530
- 1521 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.6, STC 25448
- 1521? ..... Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.3
- 1521 ..... Parvulorum Institutio. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23168
- 1521 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], id. Oct. (15 Oct.), quarto 4.6, STC 25547.5
- 1521 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], Nov., quarto 4.6, STC 25548
- ca. 1520 ..... Psalterium cum Hymnis. Psalmus. Primus., octavo, STC 16259.7
- Religious
- ca. 1520 ..... A deuout inuocacyon [et] prayer of all the blyssed names of.Chryst, as we fynde them wryte[n] in holy scripture sent vnto., s. sh. folio, STC 14547.5
- 1520? ..... Next way to heven., quarto in 6's, STC 19795
- 1520? ..... The complayante of the louer of Cryst Saynt Mary Magdaleyn., quarto in 8's, STC 17568
- 1520? ..... The vertue of [the] masse. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 17038
- 1521 ..... Verborum praeterita et supina., quarto 4.6, STC 25558
- 1521 ..... Verborum praeterita et supina. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25558.5
- 1521 ..... Verborum praeterita et supina. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25559
- 1521 ..... Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 23181.5
- 1521 ..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8, STC 25572
- Legal
- 1521? ..... Constitutions. Selections. (Exornatorium curatorum.) [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 10631.5
- 1521? ..... Modus tenendi vnum hundredu[m] siue curiam de recordo., quarto 6.4, STC 7725.9
- Literary
- 1521? ..... Treatyse of a galaunt. [An extract?], s. sh. quarto, STC 24242.3
- 1521? ..... Treatyse of a galaunt. [Anr. ed., with additions], quarto in 6's, STC 24242
- 1521? ..... Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng., quarto, STC 22611.5
- Religious
- 1521? ..... Boke of a ghostly fader., quarto in 6's, STC 3288
- 1521 ..... Christmasse carolles., octavo, STC 5204
- 1521 ..... Fleur des commandemens de Dieu. English. [Anr.ed.], 8 Oct., folio, STC 23877
- 1521 ..... Legenda aurea. English. [Anr. ed.], 30 [sic] Feb., folio, STC 24879.5
- 1521? ..... Lyfe of saynt Brandon., quarto 6.4, STC 3600

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

- 1521..... The myrrou of the chyche, quarto 8.4, STC 965
- 1521..... The passyon of our lorde. [Anr. ed.], 6 Oct, quarto, STC 14558
- 1521?..... The sermon of Johan the bysshop of Rochester made agayn the pernicious doctryn of Martin luther., quarto, STC 10894

**1522**Almanac

- 1522 /23..... A prognosticacyon of the yere. M.CCCCC.xxiii., quarto, STC 389.3
- 1522..... Almacke [sic] for .xv. yeres., octavo, STC 389

Educational

- 1522..... Bucolica Virgilio cum commento familiari. [Anr. ed.], 22 Aug., quarto 6.4, STC 24814.5
- 1522..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], id. March (15 March), quarto, STC 25464.5
- 1522..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 25479.17
- 1522..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], pridie cal. Aug. (30 July), quarto 4.6, STC 25483.5
- 1522..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], pridie cal. Sept. (31 Aug.), quarto 4.6, STC 25484
- 1522..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], pridie nonas Sept. (4 Sept.), quarto 4.6, STC 25484.5
- 1522..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], id. April (13 April), quarto 4.6, STC 25501
- 1522..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], id. Oct. (15 Oct.), quarto 4.6, STC 25501.5
- 1522..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 25531
- 1522..... Epigrammata Guil. Lili. Angli., quarto, STC 15606.5

**1523**Educational

- 1523..... Bucolica., May, quarto 4.8, STC 22978
- 1523..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], id. Feb. (13 Feb.), quarto 6.4, STC 25466
- 1523..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], Dec., quarto 4.6, STC 25503
- 1523..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 25533
- 1523..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25449
- 1523..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.], Dec., quarto 4.6, STC 25450.3

- 1522?..... Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.4
- 1522..... Praeterita verborum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25560
- 1522..... Praeterita verborum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25560.3
- 1522..... Verborum praeterita et supina. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25560.7
- 1522..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8, STC 25572.5

Indulgence

- 1522?..... [Indulgence.] (Confraternity of the Name of Jesus, London), s. sh. octavo, STC 14077c.59G

Literary

- ca. 1522..... Life of Ipomydon., quarto, STC 5732.5
- ca. 1522..... The knyght of the swanne. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 7571.5
- 1522..... Worlde and the chylde., 17 July, quarto 6.4, STC 25982

Religious

- 1522?..... Hore beate marie virginis ad vsum Saru[m]. [Anr. ed.], octavo, STC 15932.5
- 1522..... The mirroure of golde for the synfull soule. (Speculum aurem animae peccatricis. English.) [Anr. ed.], 29 March, quarto in 6's, STC 6895
- 1522?..... The sermon of Johan the bysshop of Rochester made agayn ye pernicious doctryn of Martin luther. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 10894.5

- 1523..... Uocabula. [Anr. ed.], 20 Nov., quarto 6.4, STC 23181.7
- 1523..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8, STC 25573

Legal

- 1523?..... Modus tenendi curiam baronis cum visu franem plegii. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 7709.5

Literary

- 1523?..... Carta feodi. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 15581

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Religious

- 1523? ..... Cathemerinon liber., quarto 6.4?,  
STC 20453.5
- 1523? ..... Elucidarius. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 13686

- 1523 ..... Formula vitae honestae. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 17499
- 1523 ..... Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad  
co[n]suetudinem insignis ecclesie  
Sar[um]. [Anr. ed.], 20 Nov., quarto,  
STC 15934

**1524**Almanac

- 1524 /25 ..... [Prognostication in Latin for 1525],  
quarto, STC 470.8B

Educational

- 1524 ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.],  
cal. Feb. (1 Feb.), quarto, STC 25466.5
- 1524 ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], 19  
Dec., quarto, STC 25467
- 1524 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], 13  
cal. March (17 Feb.), quarto 4.6,  
STC 25486
- 1524 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], 13  
cal. March (17 Feb.), quarto 4.6,  
STC 25486.3
- 1524 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25518
- 1524 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25450.7
- 1524? ..... Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.7
- 1524 ..... Stans puer ad mensam. [Anr. ed.], prid.  
cal. Nov. (31 Oct.), quarto in 6's,  
STC 23429a
- 1524 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], id. Jan. (13 Jan.),  
quarto 4.6, STC 25550

- 1524 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], id. Nov. (13 Nov.),  
quarto 4.6, STC 25551
- 1524 ..... Verborum praeterita et supina. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25562
- 1524 ..... Verborum praeterita et supina. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25562.3
- 1524? ..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23196a.5
- 1524 ..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8,  
STC 25574

Indulgence

- 1524 ..... [Indulgence.] (Benedictine Convent of  
our Lady and St. Michael, Stamford,  
England), s. sh. obl. octavo,  
STC 14077c.75

Literary

- 1524 ..... Libellus sophistarum ad vsum  
Ca[n]tibrigien[sis]. [Anr. ed.], 4 June,  
quarto 8.4, STC 15576.4

Religious

- 1524 ..... Informacyon for pylgrymes vnto the  
holy londe. [Anr. ed.], 26 July, quarto,  
STC 14083

**1525**Educational

- 1525 ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23148.5
- 1525 ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.],  
pridie cal. Aug. (31 July), quarto,  
STC 25468
- 1525 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], 8  
cal. May (24 April), quarto 4.6,  
STC 25487
- 1525 ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.],  
Jan., quarto 4.6, STC 25504
- 1525 ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], Feb., quarto  
8.4, STC 25534
- 1525 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25452
- 1525 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.] (A  
variant.), quarto, STC 25453
- 1525? ..... Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.8

- 1525 ..... Ioannis Despauterii niniuitae, de  
accentibus & pu[n]ctis libellus non  
minus vtilis q[ue] necessarius., Feb.,  
quarto, STC 6780.5
- ca. 1525 ..... Les faictz merueilleux de virgille.  
Imprimez nouvelement., octavo in 4's,  
STC 24827.5
- 1525? ..... Parvulorum Institutio. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 23168.5
- ca. 1525 ..... Proprytees [and] medicynes of hors.  
[Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 20439.5
- ca. 1525 ..... Sum, es fui, esse, essendi, do, dum.  
[Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 23163.5
- 1525 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], id. April (13 April),  
quarto 4.6, STC 25552
- 1525 ..... Verborum praeterita & supina. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25563
- 1525 ..... Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], 16 Feb., quarto 6.4,  
STC 23182

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1525? .....Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23196a.6

1525 .....Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8,  
STC 25576

Indulgence

1525? .....[Indulgence.] (Image of pity.), s. sh.  
quarto, STC 14077c.17

Literary

1525? .....Debat de l'homme et de la femme.  
English., quarto in 6's, STC 14109

ca. 1525 .....Gesta Romanorum. English. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 21286.7

1525? .....Libellus sophistarum ad vsum  
Oxonien[is]. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4,  
STC 15578.3

ca. 1525 .....Lyfe of Johan Picus erle of Myrandula.  
English. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 19898

1525 .....Parabolarum Alani cum commento.  
[Anr. ed.], cal. Aug. (1 Aug.), quarto  
6.8, STC 254.7

ca. 1525 .....Reynard the Fox. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 20921a

ca. 1525 .....Titus and Gesippus., quarto 6.4,  
STC 3184.5

**1526**Educational

1526 .....Bucolica. [Anr. ed.], Nov., quarto 4.8,  
STC 22979

1526 .....De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.],  
ad. id. July (15 July), quarto, STC 25469

1526 .....De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], 3  
Sept., quarto 4.6, STC 25488

1526 .....De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], 3  
Sept., quarto 4.6, STC 25488.5

1526? .....De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25489

1526 .....De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25520

1526 .....Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.9

1526 .....Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.], 15  
Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.10

Religious

1525 .....[Regula. English.] The rule of saynt  
Augustyne, bothe in latyn and  
englysshe, with two expositorys., 28  
Nov., quarto partly 4.8, STC 922.3

1525? .....[Untitled.], quarto 6.4, STC 670

ca. 1525? .....Disticha moralia and other works. Ed.  
by Erasmus, quarto 6.4?, STC 4841.5

1525? .....Hore b[ea]te marie virginis secundum  
vsum Saru[m]. [Anr. ed.], long 12mo,  
STC 15941

1525? .....Hore beate marie virginis secundum  
vsum Sarum. [Anr. ed.], 12mo,  
STC 15936

1525 .....Meditationes vitae Christi. English.  
[Anr. ed.], 7 Sept., quarto 8.4, STC 3266

ca. 1525 .....Remedy ayenst the troubles of  
temptacyons. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 20876.5

1525? .....Saynt Nycholas of tolle[n]tyne., quarto  
in 8's, STC 18528

1525? .....Saynt Nycholas of Toll-e[n]tyne. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto, STC 18528.5

1525 .....Scala perfectionis. (Scale of perfection.  
English.) [Anr. ed.], 31 March, quarto  
8.4, STC 14044

1525? .....The example of euyll tongues., quarto,  
STC 10608

1525 .....The medytacyons of saint Bernarde.  
[Anr. ed.], 19 Sept., quarto, STC 1918

1525 .....The ymage of love., 7 Oct., quarto,  
STC 21471.5

1525 .....Treatise concerning the fruitful sayings  
of David. [Anr. ed.], 13 June, quarto 8.4,  
STC 10906

1526 .....Paruulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 23168.7

1526 .....Parvulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 23169

ca. 1526 .....Parvulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 8.4, STC 23169.5

1526 .....Verboru[m] praeterita & supina. [Anr.  
ed.], ad. id. Sept. (13 Sept.), quarto 4.6,  
STC 25564

1526? .....Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4,  
STC 23182.2

1526? .....Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23196a.7

1526 .....Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8,  
STC 25577

Indulgence

1526 .....[Indulgence.] , s. sh. folio,  
STC 14077c.121B

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Legal

1526 ..... Constitutiones provinciales Ecclesiae Anglicanae. [Anr. ed.], 16 Aug., octavo, STC 17111.5

Literary

1526? ..... The boke of good maners. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 15399

Religious

1526 ..... Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad consuetudine[m] ecclesie Sa[rum]. [Anr. ed.], 4 non. Aug. (2 Aug.), quarto, STC 15948

1526 ..... The martiloge in englysshe after the vse of the chirche of salisbury, [and] as it is redde in Syon, with addicyons., 15 Feb., quarto, STC 17532

1526 ..... The Mirroure of golde for the synfull soule. [Anr. issue], 30 May, quarto, STC 6897.5

1526 ..... The myrroure of golde for the synfull soule. [Anr. ed.], 30 May, quarto in 6's, STC 6897

1526 ..... The thre kynges of Coleyne. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 5575

**1527**Educational

1527 ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], ad. id. May (15 May), quarto, STC 25470

1527 ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], 19 Feb., quarto 4.6, STC 25505

1527 ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], Feb., quarto 8.4, STC 25535

1527 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25454

1527 ..... Gradus comparationu[m]. [Anr. ed.], 17 April, quarto in 8's, STC 23159a.13

1527 ..... Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.], 6 Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 23160

1527 ..... Gradus comparationum. [Anr. ed.], 6 Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 23160.3

1527 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], pridie cal. Nov. (31 Oct.), quarto 4.6, STC 25554

1527 ..... Sytaxis [sic]. [Anr. ed.], March, quarto, STC 25533.5

1527 ..... Verboru[m] praeterita & supina. [Anr. ed.], ad. id. May (15 May), quarto 4.6, STC 25564.2

1527? ..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23197

1527 ..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.8, STC 25578

Literary

1527? ..... Contraverse bytwene a louer and a jaye., quarto, STC 10838.7

ca. 1527 ..... The life of Ipomydon. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 5733

Liturgical

1527 ..... Expositio hymnorum[m] totius anno secundu[m] [sic] vsum Sa[rum]., quarto, STC 16128.5

1527 ..... Graduale secundu[m] morem & co[n]suetudinem preclare ecclesie Sarum., 17 cal. Jan. (16 Dec.), folio, STC 15863

Religious

1527? ..... Capystranus; a metrical romance. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 14649.5

1527 ..... Legenda aurea. English. [Anr. ed.], 27 Aug., folio, STC 24880

1527 ..... The dyetary of ghostly helthe. [Anr. ed.], 6 Aug., quarto 6.4, STC 6836

1527 ..... The myrroure of the chyche. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 966

1527 ..... The rule of saynt Augustyne, bothe in latyn and englysshe, with two expositorys. [Anr. ed.], 8 Oct., quarto partly 4.8, STC 922.4

1527? ..... The sermon of Ioh[a]n the bysshop of Rochester made again ye p[er]nicious doctryn of Martin luther. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 10895

**1528**Calendar

1528 ..... The kale[n]der of shepherdes. [Anr. ed.], 24 Jan., quarto 8.4, STC 22411

Educational

1528? ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23148.10

1528 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], pridie kal. July (30 June), quarto 4.6, STC 25490

1528 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25521

1528 ..... De syllabarum quantitate. [Anr. issue], quarto, STC 25521.5

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- 1528? ..... Introductions in Frensshe, for Henry ye yonge erle of Lyncoln, quarto, STC 14125.5
- 1528 ..... Ortus vocabuloru[m]. [Anr. ed.], 1 April, quarto 8.4, STC 13836
- 1528 ..... Parvulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23173
- 1528 ..... Promptorium parvulorum clericorum. [Anr. ed.], 13 May, quarto 8.4, STC 20439
- 1528 ..... Verboru[m] praeterita & supina. [Anr. ed.], 4 May, quarto 4.6, STC 25564.6
- Literary**
- ca. 1528 ..... An enterlude of temperance., quarto, STC 14109.5
- 1528 ..... De copia verborum., 9 Oct., octavo, STC 10471.4
- 1528 ..... Dialogi., 27 June, octavo, STC 16891
- 1528 ..... Kynge Rycharde cuer du lyon. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 21008
- 1529**
- Educational**
- 1529? ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23148.12
- 1529 ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23148a
- 1529 ..... Bucolica. [Anr. ed.], 12 March, quarto 6.4, STC 24815
- 1529 ..... Composita verborum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 18293
- 1529 ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], 20 May, quarto, STC 25472
- 1529 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], pridie cal. June (31 May), quarto 4.6, STC 25491
- 1529 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. issue], pridie cal. June (31 May), quarto, STC 25491.3
- 1529 ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], 29 May, quarto 4.6, STC 25506
- 1529 ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], March, quarto 8.4, STC 25536
- 1529 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25456
- 1529 ..... Parvulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23174
- 1529 ..... Parvulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 23174.3
- 1529 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], id. Nov. (13 Nov.), quarto 4.6, STC 25556
- 1528 ..... Saint Albans chronicle. [Anr. ed.], 9 April, folio, STC 10002
- 1528 ..... The dyctes and the sayenges of the philosophers other wyse called Dicta philosophorum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 6830
- 1528 ..... The dystruccyon of Iherusalem by Vaspazian and Tytus. [Anr. ed.], 23 Jan., quarto 4.8, STC 14519
- Religious**
- 1528? ..... Imitatio Christi. English. [Anr. ed. of Bks. 1-3], quarto in 6's, STC 23960
- 1528 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones. [Anr. ed.], 5 Nov., quarto 8.4, STC 17974
- 1528? ..... Oratio de laudibus & utilitate trium linguarum Arabicae Chaldaicae & Hebraicae., quarto, STC 24944
- 1529 ..... Verboru[m] praeterita & supina. [Anr. ed.], ad cal. Sept. (1 Sept.), quarto 4.6, STC 25565
- 1529 ..... Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], quarto 6.4, STC 23182.6
- 1529 ..... Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio in Anglica[m] linguam traducta. [Anr. ed.], 3 Aug., octavo, STC 23908
- 1529? ..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23198
- Legal**
- 1529 ..... Constitutiones provinciales Ecclesiae Anglicanae. [Anr. ed.], 28 Nov., octavo, STC 17112
- Literary**
- 1529 ..... Morte d'Arthur. [Anr. ed.], 18 Nov., folio, STC 803
- 1529? ..... Wyse chylde of thre yere olde., quarto in 6's, STC 5136
- 1529 ..... Ye byrth & prophecye of Marlyn. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 17841.3
- Religious**
- 1529 ..... Seneca moralissmus [sic]. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 17499.5
- 1529 ..... Treatise concerning the fruitful sayings of David. [Anr. ed.], 13 Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 10907

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**1530**Educational

- 1530? ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23150
- 1530? ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 23150.3
- 1530 ..... Gradus comparationu[m]. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 8's, STC 23161
- 1530 ..... Paruulo[rum] institutio. [Anr. ed.], quarto 8.4, STC 23174.5
- 1530 ..... Verboru[m] praeterita & supina. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25565.5
- 1530 ..... Vnlgaria [sic] viri doctissimi Guil. Hormanni Caesarisburgensis. [Anr. ed.], 21 June, quarto 8.4, STC 13812

Literary

- 1530? ..... [The book of hunting.] (Book of Saint Albans. Abridgments.), quarto 4.6, STC 3313.3
- 1530? ..... Capystranus; a metrical romance. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 14650
- 1530 ..... Chronicle of all the kings. [Anr. ed.], 25 June, quarto, STC 9983.7
- 1530 ..... Libellus sophistarum ad usum Oxoniensis. [Anr. ed.], 16 July, quarto 8.4, STC 15578.7
- 1530 ..... Parliament of fowls. [Anr. ed.], 24 Jan., quarto 8.6, STC 5092
- ca. 1530 ..... Sir Tryamour. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 24302
- 1530? ..... The castell of pleasure., quarto in 6's, STC 18475
- 1530 ..... The fantasy of the passyon of the fox., 16 Feb., quarto, STC 10685

**1531**Educational

- 1531 ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], March, quarto, STC 25474.3
- 1531 ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.], 10 Nov., quarto, STC 25474.7
- 1531 ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], Oct., quarto 4.6, STC 25506.7
- 1531 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.], quarto 4.6, STC 25456.7
- 1531 ..... Libellus de constructione octo partium orationis. [Anr. ed.], Feb., octavo, STC 15601.7

- 1530? ..... The gouernall of helth. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 12139.5
- ca. 1530 ..... The payne and sorowe of euyll maryage., quarto, STC 19119
- ca. 1530 ..... Thenterlude of youth., quarto, STC 14111

Liturgical

- 1530 ..... Expositio hymnoru[m] totius anni secundu[m] vsum Saru[m]., 8 October, quarto, STC 16128.7

Religious

- 1530 ..... A notable lesson/The golden pystle., 23 Nov., quarto in 6's, STC 1912
- 1530 ..... A werke for housholders, or for them ye haue the gydyngge or gouernaunce of any company. [Anr. ed.], 20 Dec., quarto, STC 25422
- 1530 ..... Exanple of vertu. [Anr. ed.], 20 April, quarto 6.4, STC 12947
- 1530 ..... Myracles of oure blessyd lady. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 17541
- 1530 ..... Speculum vitae Christi. English. [Anr. ed.], 8 Feb., quarto 8.4, STC 3267
- 1530? ..... Syntagma de hebraeorum codicum incorruptione., quarto, STC 24946
- 1530 ..... The .xii. profytes of tribulacyon. [Anr. ed.], 28 May, quarto 6.4, STC 20413
- 1530 ..... The fruyte of redempcyon. [Anr. ed.], 21 May, quarto 4.6, STC 22559
- 1530 ..... The rote or myroure of consolacyon & co[n]forte. [Anr. ed.], 23 March, quarto 6.4, STC 21337

- 1531 ..... Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], 17 Nov., quarto, STC 23183

Literary

- 1531? ..... The complaynte of a louers lyfe. [Anr. ed.], quarto in 6's, STC 17014.7

Religious

- 1531? ..... Epistola de perfectione vitae. English. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 1913
- 1531 ..... Pylgrimage of perfection. [Anr. ed.], 23 Feb., folio, STC 3278
- 1531 ..... St[ella cle]rico[rum]. [Anr. ed.], 20 Oct., octavo in 4's, STC 23244

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

**1532**Educational

1532 ..... Gradus comparationu[m]. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 23163

1532 ..... Ortus vocabuloru[m] alphabeticu[m]  
ordine fere omnia q[ue] in Catholicon.  
[Anr. ed.], 8 Feb., quarto 8.4, STC 13837

1532 ..... Paedologia Petri Mosellani protegensis,  
in puerorum usum conscripta & aucta.  
Dialogi 37., June, octavo, STC 21810

Literary

1532? ..... A contrauersye bytwene a louer and a  
jaye. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 10839

1532 ..... De civitate morum puerilium. English  
and Latin., 10 Sept., octavo, STC 10467

1532 ..... Guystarde and Sygysmonde., quarto,  
STC 3183.5

1532 ..... The maner of the tryumphe at Caleys  
and Bulleyn., quarto, STC 4350

1532 ..... The maner of the tryumphe at Caleys  
and Bulleyn. The second pryntyng,  
with mo addicio[n]s as it was done in  
dede., quarto, STC 4351

Religious

1532 ..... Cura clericalis., octavo, STC 6126

1532 ..... Disticha de moribus. [Anr. ed.], octavo,  
STC 4842

1532 ..... Gospel of Nicodemus. English. [Anr.  
ed.], 12 April, quarto, STC 18570

1532 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones.  
[Anr. ed.], 23 Oct., quarto 8.4,  
STC 17975

1532 ..... Passion of our lord iesu christe wythe  
the contemplations. [Anr. ed.], 6 Oct.,  
quarto, STC 14559

1532 ..... The complaynt of the soule. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 5610

1532 ..... The crosrowe or A, B, C. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 3273.5

1532? ..... The deyenge creature. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 6035a

1532 ..... The doctrynnall of dethe. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 6932

1532 ..... The fruyte of redemcyon. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 22560

1532 ..... The pomander of prayer. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 25421.6

1532? ..... The ymage of loue co[m]pyled by Iohn  
Ryckes. [Anr. ed.], octavo, STC 21472

1532 ..... Wednesdayes faste. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 24225

**1533**Educational

1533 ..... De heteroclitis nominibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 25477

1533 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 25493.3

1533 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], 6  
Aug., quarto, STC 25493.7

1533 ..... De octo partibus orationis. [Anr. ed.], 3  
Sept., quarto 4.6, STC 25508

1533 ..... De octo partibus Whitintoni. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto 4.6, STC 25507.5

1533 ..... De synonymis. [Anr. ed.], quarto,  
STC 25537

1533 ..... Declinationes nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 25458

1533 ..... Instructio prima puerorum., octavo,  
STC 21827

1533? ..... Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to  
pronounce, and to speke Frenche  
trewly., quarto, STC 7377

1533 ..... Syntaxis. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 25557

1533 ..... Verboru[m] praeterita & supina. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto, STC 25567

1533 ..... Verboru[m] praeterita & supina. [Anr.  
ed.], quarto, STC 25567.5

1533 ..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 25579

Literary

1533 ..... A werke for householders. [Anr. ed.], 2  
May, quarto, STC 25423

1533? ..... Boke of Saint Albans. Selections. [Anr.  
extact], quarto, STC 3313.5

1533 ..... De generibus nominum. [Anr. ed.],  
March, octavo, STC 15608

1533 ..... Enchiridion militis Christiani. English.  
(The manuell of the christen knyght.),  
15 Nov., octavo, STC 10479

1533 ..... Libellus de constructione octo partium  
orationis. [Anr. ed.], March, octavo,  
STC 15602

1533? ..... Mylner of Abyngton., quarto, STC 78

1533? ..... Sir Bevis of Hampton. [Anr. ed.],  
quarto, STC 1988.6

1533 ..... The lyfe of Saynt Edwarde co[n]fessour  
and kynge of Englande., quarto,  
STC 7500

1533 ..... The noble tryumphaut coronacyon of  
quene Anne, wyfe vnto the moost noble  
kynge Henry the .vij., quarto in 6's,  
STC 656

1533? ..... The spectacle of louers., quarto,  
STC 25008

## APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF WYNKYN DE WORDE'S PRINTED WORKS

Religious

1533 ..... Scala perfectionis. English. (Scale of perfection.) [Anr. ed.], 27 May, quarto 8.4, STC 14045

**1534**Almanac

1534? ..... An Almanack for [?] years., octavo, STC 391

Educational

1534 ..... Accidence. [Anr. ed.], 20 Feb., quarto, STC 23151.7

1534 ..... Accidence. [Anr. issue], 16 May, quarto, STC 23152

1534? ..... Aeditio. Selections. De nominibvs heteroclitis., quarto, STC 5543b.9

1534 ..... De nominum generibus. [Anr. ed.], 16 Oct., quarto, STC 25494

1534 ..... Paruulorum institutio. [Anr. ed.], 27 Nov., quarto, STC 23174.7

1534 ..... The Aeditio. [Anr. ed., without Wolsey's Methodus], octavo, STC 5543

1534 ..... Vocabula. [Anr. ed.], 6 Jan., quarto, STC 23184.5

**1535**Literary

1535 ..... Aesopi Phrygis et vita ex maximo Planude desupta, et fabellae. [Anr. ed.], octavo, STC 171

1534? ..... Vulgaria. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 23198.7

Literary

1534 ..... De civilitate morum puerilium. English and Latin. [Anr. ed.], 20 Jan., octavo, STC 10467.5

1534 ..... De officiis. Latin and English. (The three bookes of Tullyes offyces, bothe in latyne tonge [et] in englysshe.), 30 Sept., octavo, STC 5278

1534 ..... Enchiridion militis Christiani. English. (The manuell of the christen knyght.) [Anr. ed.], 12 Feb., octavo, STC 10480

Religious

1534? ..... [Untitled.], quarto, STC 14546.5

1534 ..... A mustre of scismatyke byssopes of Rome., 21 March, octavo, STC 23552

1534? ..... The remors of conscyence. [Anr. ed.], quarto, STC 20882

Religious

1535 ..... A complaynt of them that be to soone maryed., quarto, STC 5729

## Appendix 3: Catalogue of Richard Pynson's Printed Works

Source of data: *STC, 2nd ed.*

### 1490-91

#### Legal

1490..... [Abridgement of cases to the end of Henry VI]. Law French., folio, STC 23238

1490..... Tenores novelli., folio, STC 15721

#### Yearbook

1490?..... [9 Edw. IV.] De termino Pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9825

1490?..... [I Edw. IV.] De termino Michis A o primo., folio?, STC 9771

### 1492

#### Educational

1492..... Accendence, bef. Nov. 1492, folio, STC 7014

1492..... Grammaticus, 13 Nov., quarto in 6's, STC 316

#### Legal

1492?..... [Army.], quarto 8.6.6, STC 9332

### 1493

#### Literary

1493..... Seven wise masters of Rome, quarto, STC 21297

1493..... The assembly of the gods, quarto, STC 17010

#### Liturgical

1493?..... Breviary. Festum dulcissimi nominis iesu fiat septimo idus Augusti, quarto in 8's, STC 15851

1493?..... Horae ad usum Sarum, octavo, STC 15873.5

### 1494

#### Educational

1494..... Carmen iuuenile, 4 id. Jan., quarto mostly in 6's, STC 23425

#### Legal

1494..... Natura Brevium [Editions in Law French], folio, STC 18385

1494?..... Tenures [The old tenures] [Law French], folio, STC 23877.7

#### Literary

1494..... [Tr. W. Caxton], 30 Sept., folio, STC 15395

1490?..... [I Edw. IV.] De termino Michis A o primo., folio, STC 9770

#### Indulgence

1491..... London, "Monastery of the Holy Cross (Crutched Friars)" [Letter of confraternity for benefactors, after destruction of the church by fire.], 1/2 sh. fol., STC 14077c.51

#### Literary

1492?..... The ghost of Guy. [Tr. In verse.], quarto, STC 12477

1492?..... The workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, with dyvers workes never in print before, folio, STC 5084

#### Religious

1493..... [Life of the saint] [In verse.], quarto, STC 17325

1493..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones. 2 parts., folio, STC 17960

1493..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones. 2 parts. [Another ed., with 10 leaves added to part I, folio, STC 17961

1493..... [Untitled] Incipit: [Begins:] Riche and pore etc./[Ends:] Here endith a .dialogue of Dives & paup, folio, STC 19212

1494?..... Antibossicin Guil. Hormani ad Guilielmum lilium [Init. W. H. In verse, with glosses in English], quarto in 6's, STC 13808

1494?..... Comoediae sex: Andria, Eunuclus, Heauton timorumenos, Adelphoe, Phormio, Hecyra. 6 parts. [Andria: MEL frag.], quarto in 8's and 6's, STC 23885

1494..... De casibus illustrium virorum [In verse.], 27 Jan., folio, STC 3175

1494..... Reynard the Fox, folio, STC 20921

#### Religious

1494..... Speculum vitae Christi [Attrib. to St. Bonaventura. Tr. into English by N. Love.], folio, STC 3262

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

**1495**Literary

- 1495 ..... Comoediae sex: Andria, Eunuculus, Heauton timorumenos, Adelphoe, Phormio, Hecyra. 6 parts. [Hecyra], 20 Jan., quarto? in 8's & 6's, STC 23885
- 1495? ..... Petronilla [In verse.], quarto, STC 19812

Liturgical

- 1495? ..... Breviary. Officia nova., quarto in 8's, STC 15850
- 1495 ..... Horae ad usum Sarum, octavo, STC 15882

Religious

- 1495? ..... Ars moriendi, quarto in 8's, STC 790

**1496**Educational

- 1496 ..... Equivoca, 8 Oct., quarto 8.6, STC 11601
- 1496 ..... Equivoca [Another edition], quarto in 6's, STC 11609
- 1496 ..... Parvula and Parvulorum Institutio. Long Parvula., quarto in 6's, STC 23163.14
- 1496? ..... [Untitled] Incipit: Here is a good boke to lerne to speke french, quarto, STC 24867(a3)

Legal

- 1496? ..... [11 Hen. VII; 14 Oct. - 21 Dec. 1495] Anno xi. Henrici .vij, folio, STC 9355
- 1496 ..... Tenores novelli, folio, STC 15722
- 1496 ..... Tenures [The old tenures], folio, STC 23878

Literary

- 1496 ..... The epitaffe of the moste noble & valyant Iasper late duke of Beddeforde [In verse], quarto 6.4, STC 14477
- 1496? ..... [Untitled] Incipit: [Begins:] Of this chapell se here the fundacyon [etc. In verse.], quarto, STC 25001

Liturgical

- 1496 ..... Breviary. Officia nova. Festum transfigurationis Jesu Christi., quarto 6.4, STC 15855

ca. 1496 ..... Psalter, octavo, STC 16253.5

- 1496 ..... Sequitur hymni +plures in precedenti libro deficientes. (Incipiunt expositiones prosarum seu sequentiarum in presedentibus [sic] deficientium.) 2 parts., quarto in 8's, STC 16111

Religious

- 1496 ..... [Untitled] Incipit: [k4r:] Here endeth the boke of Iohn Maundyale. knyght of wayes to Ierusalem & of marueyls of ynde [etc.], quarto in 8's, STC 17246

Yearbook

- 1496? ..... [3 Edw. IV.] De termino sce Trin (etc.), folio, STC 9784
- 1496? ..... [4 Edw. IV.] De termino pasche Ao. iiii., folio, STC 9790
- 1496? ..... [5 Edw. IV.] De termino pasche (etc.), folio, STC 9796
- 1496? ..... [6 Edw. IV.] De ter. Mich. (etc.), folio, STC 9806
- 1496? ..... [7 Edw. IV.] De termino pasche (etc.), folio, STC 9812
- 1496? ..... [8 Edw. IV.] De termino pasche (etc.), folio, STC 9819

**1497**Educational

- 1497 ..... Libellus sophistarum, quarto in 6's and 8's, STC 15574.5
- 1497? ..... Parvula and Parvulorum Institutio. Pervula., quarto in 6's, STC 23163.8

Literary

- 1497? ..... Aesop, folio, STC 176
- 1497 ..... Comoediae sex: Andria, Eunuculus, Heauton timorumenos, Adelphoe, Phormio, Hecyra. 6 parts. [Andria:], quarto? in 8's & 6's, STC 23885

- 1497? ..... Liber Theoduli cum commento [Ed. Odo Picardus], quarto, STC 23939.5

Liturgical

- 1497 ..... Breviary. Festum dulcissimi nominis Ihesu., quarto in 8's, STC 15852
- 1497 ..... Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum. (Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum.) 2 parts., quarto in 6's, STC 16112
- 1497 ..... Horae ad usum Sarum. Horae intemerate beatissime virginis Marie., octavo, STC 15886

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

- Religious
- 1497 ..... [line 71:] .oure moste holy fader, [etc.]  
[An exemplification of the Bull of 1486.]  
[Lat. a. Eng.], s.sh.folio, STC 14099
- 1497 ..... Directorium sacerdotum., quarto in 8's,  
STC 17724
- 1497 -8..... Mons perfeccionis. otherwyse in  
englysshe the hyll of perfeccon., quarto  
in 6's, STC 280
- 1497? ..... Stella clericorum, quarto 8.6.6,  
STC 23242.5
- 1498**
- Almanac
- 1498? ..... A prognostication, quarto, STC 385.7
- Educational
- 1498 ..... Carmen iuuenile, quarto mostly in 6's,  
STC 23426
- 1498 ..... Grammaticus, quarto in 6's, STC 317
- 1498? ..... Libellulus secundarum intentionum  
logicalium nouiter compilatus. pro  
scholaribus., quarto, STC 15572
- Indulgence
- 1498 ..... [R]Obertus Castellen.vt confessore  
idoneu.[Licence granting choice of  
confessors] [Plural issue], 26 Feb.,  
s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.137
- 1498 ..... Robertus Castellen.vt confessore  
idoneu.[Another edition], 26 Feb.?,  
s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.136
- 1498 ..... Robertus Castellen.vt confessore  
idoneu.[Licence granting choice of  
confessor to those who take no part in  
risings against the royal authority]  
[Singular issue], 26 Feb., s.sh.obl. quarto,  
STC 14077c.135
- 1498 ..... Robertus Castellen.vt oes &  
singulos.Parrochianos tuos. [Licence to  
clergy to absolve in cases usually  
reserved] [Singular issue], 26 Feb.,  
s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.134
- Literary
- 1498? ..... Elegantiarum viginti precepta ad  
perpulcras conficiendas epistolas.,  
quarto in 8's, STC 7566
- Liturgical
- 1498 ..... Expositio hymnorum secundum usum  
Sarum. (Expositio sequentiarum  
secundum usum Sarum.) 2 parts., quarto  
in 6's, STC 16113
- 1498 ..... Horae ad usum Sarum, 16mo, STC 15891
- Religious
- 1498 ..... Directorium sacerdotum., quarto in 8's,  
STC 17725
- 1498 ..... Gallicantus Johannis alcock epi Eliensis  
ad cofratres suos curatos in sinodo apud  
Bernwell., quarto in 6's, STC 277
- 1498 ..... Manipulus curatorum., 16mo in 8's,  
STC 12470
- 1499**
- Educational
- 1499 ..... Incipit prologus in libellus qui dicitur  
promptorius puerorum. [By Galfridus,  
Anglicus] [Eng. a. Lat.], 15 May, folio,  
STC 20434
- 1499? ..... Libellulus, que Informatio puero"4"  
appellatur, cum modico apparatu  
nouiter "2"pilatus. [Eng a. Lat.], quarto  
6.4, STC 14078
- 1499 -1500 ..... Libellus sophistarum ad usum  
Oxonienis., quarto in 6's, STC 15576.6
- Indulgence
- 1499 ..... Robertus Castellen cleric9  
wulteran9.Auctoritate apl'ica.vt  
confessore idoneu.[Licence to choose  
confessors] [Plural issue], 2 Feb.,  
s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.141
- 1499 ..... Robertus Castellen cleric9  
wulteranus.Salute. Dudu siquide vobis  
vt confessore idoneu seculare vel  
regulare.[Licence to choose confessors]  
[Plural issue], 2 Feb., s.sh.obl. quarto,  
STC 14077c.140
- 1499 ..... Robertus Castellen cleric9  
wulteran9.Auctoritate apl'ica.vt  
confessore idoneu.[Licence to choose  
confessors] [Plural issue] [Another  
edition], 2 Feb.?, s.sh.obl. quarto,  
STC 14077c.142
- 1499 ..... Robertus Castellen cleric9  
wulteran9.Auctoritate apl'ica.vt  
confessore idoneu.[Licence to choose  
confessors] [Plural issue] [Another  
edition], 2 Feb.?, s.sh.obl. quarto,  
STC 14077c.142

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

1499.....	Robertus Castellen cleric9 wulteranus.Salute. Dudu siquide vobis vt confessorum idoneu seculare vel regulare.[Licence to choose confessors] [Plural issue] [Another edition], 2 Feb., s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.140A	<u>Legal</u>	1499.....	[Abridgements of the statutes] Another edition &4v: Explicit abbreviamentum statutorum., 9 Oct., octavo, STC 9515
1499.....	Robertus Castellen cleric9 wulteranus.Vt oes & singulos.[Licence to clergy to absolve] [Singular issue], 2 Feb., s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.138		1499.....	[Abridgements of the statutes] Another edition enlarged through 12 Hen. VII. &4v: Explicit abbreviamentum statutorum., 9 Oct., octavo, STC 9514
1499.....	Robertus Castellen cleric9 wulteranus.Vt oes & singulos.[Licence to clergy to absolve] [Singular issue] [Another edition], 2 Feb., s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.139		1499.....	Constitutiones provinciales. [Another edition], octavo, STC 17105
1499.....	Robertus Castellen cleric9 wulteranus.Auctoritate apl'ica.vt confessorum idoneu.[Licence to choose confessors] [Singular issue], 2 Feb., s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.143		1499.....	Constitutiones provinciales. [Another edition], octavo, STC 17106
		<u>Literary</u>	1499.....	Ad serenissimum.dnm Henricum.anni presentis. M.d.prognosticon libellus., 24 Dec., quarto in 6's, STC 494.8
		<u>Religious</u>	1499.....	Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones. 2 parts. [Another edition], 6 July, quarto in 8's, STC 17966.5
<b>1500</b>				
	<u>Educational</u>		1500?	[Untitled] Incipit: Heading a2r: Here begynneth the book of the subtyl histories and fables of esope whiche were tr. out of Frensshe by w. Caxton [With the Life by M. Planudes and other fables by F. Avianus, P. Alfonsi, and Poggio Bracciolini], folio, STC 177
1500.....	Donatus pro pueris., quarto in 6's, STC 7017			
1500?	Grammaticus. Textus Alexandri cum sente(ntiis) & constructionibus., quarto in 6's, STC 317.5		<u>Liturgical</u>	
1500.....	Synonyma magistri Johanis de Garlandia cum expositione magistri Galfridi anglici., quarto in 6's, STC 11611		1500.....	Horae ad usum Sarum [Anr ed], octavo, STC 15893
	<u>Indulgence</u>		1500.....	Horae ad usum Sarum [Anr ed], octavo, STC 15894
1500.....	Rome, Jubilee. [Bull ordaining 1500 as a Jubilee. 20 Dec. 1499], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.100		1500.....	Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane [Anr ed], 10 Jan., folio, STC 16173
	<u>Legal</u>		<u>Religious</u>	
1500.....	Natura Brevium, folio, STC 18386		1500.....	Manipulus curatorum., 28 April, octavo, STC 12471
1500 -01.....	Nova Statuta. [Another edition of 9264, with additions to 12 Hen. VII.], folio, STC 9265		Royal	
	<u>Literary</u>		1500.....	The traduction & mariage of the princesse. (Kateryne.), quarto, STC 4814
1500?	[A little gest of Robin Hood. In verse.], quarto, STC 13688		<u>Yearbook</u>	
1500?	[Another edition of 177], folio, STC 177.3		1500?	[20 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis. [etc.], folio, STC 9691
1500?	[The history of Guy of Warwick. In verse.], quarto in 8's, STC 12540		1500?	[9 Hen. VI.] Anno nono Henrici sexti termino Michaelis., folio, STC 9650
1500.....	Book of cookery., quarto in 6's, STC 3297		1500?	[II Edw. IV.] De termino sancte Trinitatis [etc.], folio, STC 9836
1500.....	[Untitled] Incipit: a1v: Here begynneth the table of a book intytuled the book of good maners. (Tr. by W. Caxton), quarto in 6's, STC 15396			

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

**1501**Educational

1501? ..... Libellus sophistarum (ad usum Cantibrigien?), quarto in 6's, STC 15575.5

Legal

1501? ..... [Untitled] Incipit: Heading a2r: Modus tenend' Cur Baron cum visu Frane plegii., quarto in 6's, STC 7705.7

Literary

1501 ..... Ad serenissimu . . . dnm henricu . . . anni psentis millesimi quingentesimi secundi pronosticon libellus., quarto in 6's, STC 494.9

Liturgical

1501 ..... Sarum Processional, ydus Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 16232.6

Religious

1501? ..... [Life of St. Gregory's mother. In verse.], quarto, STC 12351.5

1501 ..... Directorium sacerdotum., quarto in 8's, STC 17727

**1502**Educational

1502? ..... Libellulus secundarum intentionum logicalium nouiter compilatus. pro scholaribus., quarto, STC 15573

1502 ..... Synonyma magistri Johanis de Garlandia cum expositione magistri Galfridi anglici., quarto in 6's, STC 11612

Indulgence

1502 ..... [Another edition of 14077c.144], s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.145

1502 ..... GAaspar Pow archidiaconus . . . ad hec (sic) comissari' genalis Tibi . . . [Licence to choose confessor.], s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.144

Legal

1502? ..... Tenores novelli., folio, STC 15722.5

Literary

1502 ..... Ad serenissimu . . . dominu Henricu . . . anni presentis millesimi quingentesimi tercii pronsticon (sic) libellus., 24 Dec., quarto in 6's, STC 494.10

1502 ..... Esopus cum commento optimo et morali. [Partly in verse.], 1 Dec., quarto in 6's, STC 168

Liturgical

1502 ..... Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum, 2 parts., quarto in 6's, STC 16116a.5

1502 ..... Processional, prid. ydus Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 16232.8

Religious

1502 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones, 2 parts., 10 July, quarto in 8's, STC 17969

ca. 1502 ..... [Untitled] Incipit: Verso of 2nd leaf: Here endeth the lyfe of the moost holy hieremyte . . . saynt Armele., quarto, STC 772

Yearbook

1502? ..... [3 Edw. IV.] De termino sce Trinitatis [etc.], folio, STC 9784.4

1502? ..... [4 Edw. IV.] De termino Pasche anno iiiii., folio, STC 9790.4

1502? ..... [5 Edw. IV.], folio, STC 9796.5

1502? ..... [6 Edw. IV.] De termino Michael', folio, STC 9806.4

1502? ..... [7 Edw. IV.], folio, STC 9812.5

1502? ..... [8 Edw. IV.] Edwardi.iiii., folio, STC 9819.5

1502? ..... [Edw. III.] [A different text.], octavo, STC 9603

**1503**Educational

1503 ..... Equivoca. [Anr ed], 9 March, quarto in 6's, STC 11604

1503 ..... Libellus, qui Informatio puerorum appellatur. [Anr ed], quarto 6.4, STC 14079

Legal

ca. 1503? ..... Abridgements of the statutes [Anr ed], 9 Oct 1499, octavo, STC 9515

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

Literary

- 1503? ..... Liber theodoli cum comento incipit feliciter. [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23940
- ca. 1503? ..... Reynard the Fox. Tr W Caxton. [Anr ed], quarto, STC 20921.5
- 1503? ..... Sir Bevis of Hampton. In verse. [Another edition], quarto mostly in 6's, STC 1988
- 1503? ..... Sir Tryamour. In verse., quarto in 6's, STC 24301.5
- 1503 ..... The temple of glas. [Anr ed], quarto, STC 17033.3

Religious

- 1503 ..... De Imitatione Christi. Atkinson's translation. 2 parts., 27 June, quarto in 6's, STC 23954.7

- 1503 ..... De Imitatione Christi. Atkinson's translation. 2 parts. Anr issue, with outer sheet of first quire reprinted., 27 June, quarto in 6's, STC 29355
- 1503 ..... Directorium sacerdotum. Ordinale sarum. [Anr ed], 31 Aug., quarto in 6's, STC 17728
- 1503? ..... Stella clericorum. [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23243
- ca. 1503 ..... The passion of Christ. In verse., quarto, STC 14556.5

Yearbook

- 1503? ..... [20 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis. [Anr ed], folio, STC 9691.5

**1504**Indulgence

- 1504? ..... Boston, Lincolnshire, Church of St Botolph, Guild or Confraternity of BVM [Letter of confraternity, dated 7 Sept 1504], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.27

Literary

- 1504? ..... Articuli narrationes nouas. [Anr ed], folio, STC 18362
- 1504? ..... The history of the excellent knight Generides. In verse., quarto, STC 11721

Liturgical

- 1504 ..... Missale ad vsum insignis ecclesie [sic] Sarum., 10 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16179

Religious

- 1504 ..... De Imitatione Christi. Atkinson's translation. 2 parts., quarto in 6's, STC 23954.7
- 1504? ..... De Imitatione Christi. Atkinson's translation. 2 parts. Anr issue, with outer sheet of first quire reprinted., quarto in 6's, STC 23955

**1505**Educational

- ca. 1505 ..... [a1r:] Ascensius declynsons with the playne exposition, quarto in 6's, STC 1186.3
- ca. 1505 ..... [Anr ed of 23155.4], quarto in 8's, STC 23155.6
- 1505 ..... Carmen iuuenile [Anr ed], 11 Aug., quarto in 6's, STC 23427a
- 1505 ..... Compendium totus grammaticae, 24 April, quarto in 6's, STC 696.3
- 1505? ..... Crata [sic] feodi simplicis cu littera atturnatoria, quarto, STC 15579.3
- ca. 1505 ..... Gradus Comparationum, quarto in 8's, STC 23155.4
- 1505 ..... Grammaticus, quarto in 6's, STC 319.3
- 1505? ..... Long Parvula, quarto in 6's, STC 23163.17
- 1505? ..... [Untitled] Incipit: Here begynneth the accidens of maister Stan-/bridges awne makyng, quarto in 6's, STC 23139.5

Indulgence

- ca. 1505 ..... [Anr ed of 14077c.88], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.89(A3)
- 1505? ..... Boston, Lincolnshire, Church of St Botolph, Guild or Confraternity of BVM [Letter of confraternity, dated 7 Sept 1504] [Anr ed of 14077c.27, dated 7 Sept 1504], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.28
- ca. 1505 ..... Fragment of 15 lines from bottom right-hand corner of a list of indulgences in English, granted to contributors to the building of a hospital, s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.153
- ca. 1505 ..... Hereaft' foloweth the abreuiacon of the graces, idulgeces & stacios which our moste holy fad' Pope Alexander vi. grauteth to all true beleuige people:.[List of indulgences], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.88(A3)
- 1505 ..... Newton, Isle of Ely, Chapel of St. Mary in the Sea. VNiuersis xpifidelib9.[Letter of confraternity], s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.62

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

Legal

- 1505? ..... [Anr ed of 7705.7 (1501?)], quarto in 6's, STC 7705.8
- ca. 1505 ..... Constitutiones provinciales, 2 parts [Anr ed], octavo, STC 17109.3
- 1505? ..... Royal Household, quarto, STC 9337
- 1505? ..... The boke of Iustices of peas the charge with all the processe of the cessions, quarto, STC 14862

Literary

- 1505 ..... [A1r:] Celsi Veronensis dissuasoria, quarto in 6's, STC 17181.5
- ca. 1505 ..... The assembly of the gods [Anr ed], quarto 8.6, STC 17007.5
- 1505? ..... The castle of labour. [Anon. Tr. in verse. Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 12380
- 1505? ..... Torent of Portyngale. In verse., quarto, STC 24133

**1506**Almanac

- 1506 /07 ..... Almanach ephemerides in anno. M.d.vii. in latitudo Oxonia ad annos futuros. M.d.xix., octavo, STC 504

Calendar

- 1506 ..... Shepherd's Kalendar, folio, STC 22408

Indulgence

- 1506 ..... [Anr ed of c.27 (1504?), s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.29

Legal

- 1506? ..... Natura Brevium [Anr ed], folio, STC 18387

**1507**Literary

- 1507 ..... [A variant, with imprint: 'W. de Worde for R. Pynson', 4 Sept., folio?, STC 24878.5

Liturgical

- 1507 ..... [Ends q8v:] Breuiarium secundum usum Sarum [Pars estivalis], 25 Aug., quarto in 8's, STC 15806a
- 1507?/08 ..... Breuiarium secundum usum Sarum. Pars hiemalis., quarto in 8's, STC 15807

- 1505? ..... [Untitled] Incipit: [A1r:] Cronica summaria serenissime dne Hispaniarum regine, quarto in 6's, STC 3945.5

Religious

- ca. 1505 ..... Book of comfort, quarto in 8's, STC 3296
- 1505? ..... De sancto Marcho. Opusculum de vniuersali mundi machina ac de metheoricis impressionibus, quarto in 6's, STC 13432
- 1505? ..... Epistola sacti Barnardi abbatis clareuallensis [or rather S. Barnardus].de bona gubernatone familie, s.sh.folio, STC 1967.3
- 1505? ..... The lif of saincte Katheryne [xylographic], quarto in 8's, STC 4813.6

Yearbook

- 1505? ..... [II Edw. IV] De termino sancte Trinitatis [Anr ed], folio, STC 9837

Liturgical

- 1506 ..... Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum (Expositio sequentiarum), 2 parts, 6 Jan., quarto in 6's, STC 16117.5
- 1506 ..... Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum, folio, STC 16140

Religious

- 1506 ..... Speculum vitae Christi (Attrib. to St. Bonaventura. Tr. into English by N. Love), folio, STC 3263
- 1506? ..... The mirroure of golde for the synfull soule [Tr. out of Laten (from the Speculum aureum, now attrib. to Jacobus, de Gruitroede) in to frensshe, and nowe of late in to Englissh by Margaret countesse of Richemond & derby], quarto in 6's, STC 6894.5

Royal

- 1507 ..... Royal Book [A variant of W. Caxton's 1488? first edition], quarto in 6's?, STC 21430a

Yearbook

- 1507? ..... [22 Edw. IV] De termino pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9889

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

**1508**Educational

- 1508.....[Equivoca] [Anr ed], 3 May, quarto mostly in 6's, STC 11606
- 1508?.....Principia seu introductiones.in via doctoris subtilis., quarto in 6's, STC 16899

Indulgence

- 1508.....Willmus [Warham] Permissione diuina Catuarien Archiepiscopus toci9 Anglie primas.[Indulgence to choose a confessor, granted to contributors to building of St. Peter's], 1/2 sh. fol., STC 14077c.103B
- 1508.....Willmus [Warham] Permissione diuina Catuarien Archiepiscopus toci9 Anglie primas.[Indulgence to choose a confessor, granted to contributors to building of St. Peter's] [Anr ed, plural issue], 1/2 sh. fol., STC 14077c.104
- 1508.....Willmus [Warham] Permissione diuina Catuarien Archiepiscopus toci9 Anglie primas.[Indulgence to choose a confessor, granted to contributors to building of St. Peter's] [Anr impression, plural issue], 1/2 sh. fol., STC 14077c.105C

**1509**Educational

- 1509?.....Gradus Comparationum. [Anr ed], quarto in 8's, STC 23155.8
- 1509.....Ortus. Vocabulorum. [A dictionary] [Anr ed], 11 kal. Sep., quarto in 8's, STC 13830
- 1509.....Ortus. Vocabulorum. A variant, with imprint: "per R. Pynson, venundatur ab H. Jacobi", 11 kal Sep., quarto in 8's, STC 13830.3
- 1509.....Synonima [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 11615

Literary

- 1509.....[Untitled] Incipit: [+1v:] This present boke named the shyp of folys of the worlde was tr. out of Laten, Frenche, and Doche i the college of saynt mary Otery by A. Barclay [Lat. a. Eng., in verse], 14 Dec., folio, STC 3545

Legal

- 1508?.....[19 Hen. VII] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9357.7
- 1508.....Magna Carta cum statutis, 3 id. Sept., long 12, STC 9266 cura

Literary

- 1508.....Book of the pilgrimage of mankind. In verse., 5 Dec., quarto, STC 19917.5
- 1508?.....Liber theodoli cum commento. [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23940.7

Religious

- 1508.....Directorium sacerdotum. [Anr ed], 10 kal. Dec., quarto in 6's, STC 17728.5
- 1508.....Manipulus curatorum [Anr ed], 4 id. Nov., octavo, STC 12474
- 1508.....Uniuersis [xylographic] Sancte matris ecclesie filijs.Willms.Cant. Archiepus.[Inspeximus by Warham, dated 5 April 1508, of bull of Julius II, dated 18 March 1508, granting indulgences to contributors to the rebuilding of St Peter's], s.sh.folio, STC 25071.5

Yearbook

- 1508?.....[1-8 Hen. VII.] Anno primo (-anno viii) Henrici .vii., folio, STC 9928.5

Liturgical

- 1509.....Expositio sequentiarum, 17 Oct., quarto in 6's, STC 16121a

Religious

- 1509?.....In this boke is coteyned the articles of oure fayth. The .x. comaudentis. [etc.], quarto, STC 3359
- 1509.....[Untitled] Incipit: [Heading A1r:] Sermo fratris Hieronymi de Ferraria in vigilia natiuitatis domini. (De lingua vernacula Italarum in latinum conuersus per Bartholomeum, Mutilanensem), quarto, STC 21800

Royal

- 1509.....Oratio, quarto, STC 12413
- 1509.....The solempnities. & triumphes doon at the spouses of the kyngs daughter to the archeduke of Austrige., quarto, STC 17558

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

**1510**Calendar

ca. 1510 ..... Here begynneth the Kalendar of the shepherdes. [Anr ed], folio, STC 22409.3

Educational

1510? ..... Accidence [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23143

ca. 1510 ..... Accidence [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23143.5

1510? ..... Lac puerorum. A Latin grammar in English. [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 13605

1510? ..... Sum, es, fui, of Stanbridge [Anr ed], quarto in 8's, STC 23156

Indulgence

1510 ..... Burton Lazars, Leicestershire, Hospital of St. Lazarus. VNiuersis scte mris ecclesie filiis. Thomas Nortun miles ac mgr hospitalis de Burton scti Lazari Jerl'm in anglia. salute. [Letter of confraternity], s.sh.obl.octavo, STC 14077c.38

ca. 1510 ..... Lincoln, Hospital of St. Katherine. [Indulgence in favour of this hospital], s.sh.quarto, STC 14077c.49

ca. 1510 ..... Saynt Anne of Totnam. Pope Innocent hath graunted to all the yt deuoutly say .v. pr nosters & .v. aues. [Cuts of St. Anne with virgin and child, St. George, a shield with his cross, and instruments.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.23

ca. 1510 ..... Surgite mori. Venite ad iudicium. Arma Beate Birgite: De Syon. [Woodcut of Christ in Judgement, with inscription in type], s.sh.quarto, STC 14077c.18

ca. 1510 ..... The benygne grace, power, and vertue of our holy fader the pope July the seconde that now is as lyeutenaunt. [Indulgence to contributors to ransom of captives of Saracens], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.116

ca. 1510 ..... The benygne grace, power, and vertue of our holy fader the pope July the seconde that now is as lyeutenaunt. [Indulgence to contributors to ransom of captives of Saracens] [Anr ed], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.117

Legal

1510? ..... [I Hen. VIII; 21 Jan.-23 Feb. 1510] Anno primo. Henrici .vij. , quarto in 6's, STC 9357.8

1510? ..... Tenores novelli. [Anr ed], folio, STC 15723

Literary

1510? ..... [Anr version. In verse], quarto 8.4, STC 21071.5

1510? ..... Here is the boke of mayde Emly(n) that had .v. husband3. & all cockold(s) [In verse], quarto, STC 7680.5

1510 ..... Intrationu excellentissimus liber per 0 necessarius oibus leg3 hominib9., 28 Feb., folio, STC 14116

ca. 1510 ..... The noble history of king Ponthus. Tr. H. Watson? [Anr ed], quarto 8.4, STC 20107.5

1510 ..... The Saint Albans Chronicle, 2 parts [Anr ed], 19 Dec., folio, STC 9999

ca. 1510 ..... The smiith that forged him a new dame. In verse. [Anr ed], quarto, STC 22653.7

Liturgical

1510? ..... Horae ad usum Eborum, 32mo in 8's, STC 16102

1510? ..... Horae ad usum Sarum, octavo, STC 15910.5

Religious

1510? ..... Euagatorium modus pdicandi sermones. xiii., octavo, STC 17853

ca. 1510 ..... Here begynneth a lytell treatyse called the rewle of saynt Jherome, quarto in 6's, STC 14505.5

ca. 1510 ..... Liber festivalis and Quatuor sermones, 2 parts. [Anr ed], quarto 6.4, STC 17970.5(A3)

1510 ..... This treatise concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd in the seuen penytyencyall psalmes. Deuided in seuen sermons was made by J. fyssher [Anr ed], 7 Aug., quarto 8.4, STC 10905

Yearbook

1510? ..... [2 Edw. IV.] De termino pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9779

1510 ..... [3 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis [etc.] (Nouiter impressus.), 12 Oct., folio, STC 9631

1510? ..... [33 Hen. VI.] De termino hillarii anno henrici sexti xxxiii [Anr ed], folio, STC 9732

1510? ..... [35 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis anno regni regis. [Anr ed], folio, STC 9744

1510? ..... [I Edw. IV.] [Anr version, from a different MS] De termino scti Mich. [etc.], folio, STC 9771.5

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

**1511**Indulgence

- 1511..... Boston, Lincolnshire, Church of St. Botolph, Guild or Confraternity of BVM. VNiuersis Xpifidelibus pntes Iras inspecturis. Nos aldermannus.[Anr ed, dated 11 Dec. 1511], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.30
- ca. 1511 ..... Bosworth Field, St. James' Chapel. CHaryte hath caused our souereygne lorde the Kyng to consyder howe gracious howe meritorious & howe plesande a dede it is.[Certificate for a contribution for chapel founded in memory of those slain at Bosworth Field], s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.36
- ca. 1511 ..... Bosworth Field, St. James' Chapel. CHaryte hath caused our souereygne lorde the Kyng to consyder howe gracious howe meritorious & howe plesande a dede it is.[Certificate for a contribution for chapel founded in memory of those slain at Bosworth Field] [Anr ed], s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.37
- 1511..... Lascarina, Elizabeth. [Indulgences to contributors towards the redemption of the children of 'Lady Isabet lascarina', from the Turks. In English.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.129
- 1511..... Lascarina, Elizabeth. [Indulgences to contributors towards the redemption of the children of 'Lady Isabet lascarina', from the Turks. In English.] [Anr version, with 'Lady Elyzabeth Lasarina'], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.130
- after 1511..... Ludlow, Shropshire. Palmers of St. Lawrence. VNiuersis [xylographic] Et singulis.ego Richardus downe custos.fraternitatis gilde palmariorum.in ecclesia sancti Lauretij de Ludlow herforden diocesis.[Letter of confraternity.], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.61

**1512**Educational

- 1512? ..... De Nominum Generibus [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 25479.2

Indulgence

- ca. 1512 ..... [Anr ed], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.121A

Legal

- 1511 /12..... [Proclamation enforcing a statute on apparel?], quarto, STC 7762.5(A)

Literary

- 1511 ..... This is the begynnyng, and contynuaunce of the pilgrimage of sir R. Gylforde Knyght. And howe he went towardes Jhersalem., quarto in 6's, STC 12549
- 1511 ..... This present boke called the Gouvernaunce of kynges [Tr. from Aristotle's *Secreta secretorum* by J. Lydgate and completed by B. Burgh? In verse.], 17 April, quarto, STC 17017

Liturgical

- 1511 ..... Expositio hymnoru secudum usum Sarum, 2 Oct., quarto 8.4, STC 16123

Yearbook

- 1511? ..... [12 Hen. IV.] De termino sancti Michaelis anno.duodecimo., folio, STC 9613
- 1511? ..... [27 Hen. VI.] De termino sancti Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9710
- 1511? ..... [28 Hen. VI.] De termino sancti Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9716
- 1511? ..... [40 Edw. III.] Termino Hillarij anno .xl. E. tertij. , folio, STC 9586
- 1511? ..... [41 Edw. III.] De termino Hillarij anno.xli., folio, STC 9588
- 1511? ..... [7 Hen. IV.] De termino scti Michaelis anno.septimo., folio, STC 9611

- ca. 1512 ..... [Fragment begins:] <afo>resayd hath sent in to this realme.[Licence (?) by W. Warham, Abp. of Canterbury, and E. Vaughan, Bp. of St. David's, as papal commissaries, to M. de Paleologus and his proctors to collect ransom money within the province of Canterbury, with indulgences for benefactors. In English, with 5-line recommendation in Latin at foot.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.117B

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

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| <p>ca. 1512 ..... BE it knowen vnto all Cristen people that by the comendacyon of our holy Fader the pope Julius the seconde.syr Mychaell of Paleolog.[Indulgence to contributors to the appeal of M. de Paleologus for ransoming captives of Turks], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.117A</p> <p>1512 ..... Carmelite Order in England. FRater Robertus fratri, ordinis beate Marie genitricis dei de monte Carmeli in puincia Anglie comorantiu Prior prouincialis.[Letter of confraternity of Carmelite Friars in England, issued by the Prior-general.], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.24</p> <p>1512 ..... London, Hospital of St. Thomas. Johanes yonge Magister dom9 scti Thome martyris Catuariens dicte de Acon.[Letter of confraternity, dated 28 April 1512], s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.55G(A3)</p> <p>ca. 1512 ..... Michael de Palealogo frater consobrinus illustrissimi ducis Maior Costantinopolitan.[Indulgence to contributors to the appeal of M. de Paleologus for ransoming captives of Turks], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.118</p> <p>ca. 1512 ..... Michael de Palealogo frater consobrinus illustrissimi ducis Maior Costantinopolitan.[Indulgence to contributors to the appeal of M. de Paleologus for ransoming captives of Turks] [Anr issue], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.119</p> | <p>ca. 1512 ..... UNinersis [sic] christifidelib9 ad quos pntes littere peruenerint in charitate et dilectioe dni nri Jesu xpi ex parte Michaelis de Palealogo.[Indulgence tp contributors to the appeal of M. de Paleologus for ransoming captives of Turks.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.120</p> <p>ca. 1512 ..... Uniuersis christifidelibus.[Anr ed], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.121</p> <p><u>Literary</u></p> <p>1512 ..... Palamedes palliata comedia, 5 id. March, folio, STC 735.7</p> <p>1512? ..... The gardyners passetaunce touchyng the outrage of fraude. [By A. Barclay? In verse.], quarto in 6's, STC 11562.5</p> <p><u>Liturgical</u></p> <p>1512 ..... Missale ad vsu insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum., 8 kal. March, folio, STC 16190</p> <p><u>Religious</u></p> <p>1512 ..... De iusticia &amp; scititate belli per Juliu pontifice secudu in scismaticos, quarto 8.4, STC 25585</p> <p>1512? ..... Oratio habita a D. Joanne Colet ad clerum in conuocatione. Anno. M.D.xj., quarto in 6's, STC 5545</p> <p>1512 ..... Vniuersis [xylographic] sancte matris ecclesie filijs. [An inspeximus by Wolsey as Dean of Lincoln, dated 22 Sept. 1512, of the bull of Julius II absolving the subjects of Louis XII of France from their allegiance], s.sh.folio, STC 25947.7</p> |
| <b>1513</b>   |  |
| <u>Educational</u>  |  |
| <p>1513? ..... [Declinationes Nominum] [Anr ed] Whyttyntoni Editio./Declinationes nominum tam Latinoru * grecorum, quarto in 6's, STC 25443.8</p> <p>1513 ..... [Vocabula] [Anr ed] Uocabula magistri stanbrigi primu/iam edita sua saltem editione. (Newly corrected), quarto in 6's, STC 23179</p> <p>1513 ..... Grammaticus [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 319.5</p> <p>1513 ..... Libellus de constructione octo partium orationis. [Anon. Ed. D. Erasmus], quarto in 6's, STC 15601.3</p>  | <p>1513? ..... The dystruccyon of Ihersalem by Vaspazyan and Tytus., quarto, STC 14517</p> <p>1513 ..... The hystorye, sege and dystruccyon of Troye [Anon] [Tr. by J. Lydgate. In verse], folio, STC 5579</p> <p><u>Liturgical</u></p> <p>1513? ..... Hore Marie virginis scd'm vsum Saru [Anr ed], quarto in 8's, STC 15915</p> <p><u>Religious</u></p> <p>1513 ..... Meditationes Jordani de vita et passione iesu christi., 16 March, 16mo in 8's, STC 14789</p>   |
| <u>Literary</u>   |  |
| <p>1513 ..... [De tuenda sanitate praecepta.] Plutarchi Chaeronensis de tuenda bona valetudine precepta Erasmo Roterodamo interprete., 5 cal. August, quarto 8.4, STC 20060</p>   | <p><u>Royal</u></p> <p>1513 ..... [3,4 Hen. VIII; 3 (4 Feb.-30 March 1512); 4 (4 Nov.-20 Dec. 1512)] Anno regni regis Henrici .vij. tertio (quarto.), folio, STC 9361</p>  |

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

1513.....	[4 Hen. VIII, c.19*. Concerning the subsidy granted to the king.], folio, STC 9361.4	1513.....	[Army.] [Anr ed, revised], quarto in 6's, STC 9333
1513.....	[4 Hen. VIII, c.19*. Grant of a subsidy], folio (4?), STC 7763	1513?.....	[I Hen. VIII; 21 Jan.-23 Feb. 1510] [Anr ed], quarto 6.4, STC 9358
		1513?.....	[I Hen. VIII; 21 Jan.-23 Feb. 1510] [Anr ed], quarto, STC 9358.3

**1514**Educational

1514.....	[Equivoca] [Anr ed], 7 Oct., quarto mostly in 6's, STC 11607
1514.....	[Vocabula] [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23179.5

Liturgical

1514.....	[Hore beate marie virginis [etc.] [Anr ed], 12 May, long 12, STC 15917
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**1515**Educational

1515?.....	De Nominum Generibus [Anr ed], quarto 8.4, STC 25479.3
1515?.....	De Octo Partibus [Anr ed], quarto 4.8, STC 25496.5
1515.....	De Syllabarum Quantitate, 2 pts. [Anr ed], quarto 8.4, STC 25509.7
1515.....	De Synonymis (Lucubrationes) and De Magistratibus [Anr ed], actauro [sic] kal. March, quarto, STC 25525.5
1515?.....	Parvulorum Institutio [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23166.5
ca. 1515.....	Vergiliana poesis que latinitatis norma est et propulsatis & elimatis [sic] omnibus mendis felici gaudet exordio., octavo, STC 24787

Indulgence

1515?.....	Be it know<n to all c>risten men and women, that thyse be the great indulgence.[List of indulgences granted to confraternity.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.57
ca. 1515.....	Boston, Lincolnshire. Guild of Our Lady of Scala Coeli. [List in English of privileges of members of the Guild.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.35
1515.....	Busset, John and Richard. OUr holy father Pope Leo that now is cosyderynge, that where .ii. certayne brothern John busset and Richarde busset marchauntes of Auinien,[Indulgences for contributors toward their ransom, with letter of recommendation by Abp. Warham, dated Lambeth, 28 June 1515.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.124

Royal

1514.....	[5 Hen. VIII, c.17*. An act of subsidy of 160,000 (pounds).], folio, STC 9362.3A
1514.....	Magna Carta cum statutis. [Anr ed], 16 id. March, long 12, STC 9267

1515.....	Cressy, Thomas. [Royal licence issued to Joan Cressy to collect alms for ransoming her husband, Thomas, 23 June 1515.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.127
1515?.....	London, Hospital of St. Thomas of Acres. Johanes [Young] Calipolen episcop <sup>9</sup> magister dom <sup>9</sup> scti Thome martyris Caturaries' dicte de Acon in ciuitate London.[Letter of confraternity, dated 28 Feb. 1515], s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.56
ca. 1515.....	London, Unassigned. [Fragment of the last 25 lines of a list, in English, of pardons granted to a confraternity in a parish church in the London diocese.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.60A
1515.....	Vniuersis et singulis xpifidelibus pntes lras inspecturis frater Will'ms Bowry.[Letter of confraternity.], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.52
ca. 1515.....	Walsoken, Norfolk, Hospital of Holy Trinity. [Anr ed] UNiuersis sce matris ecclesie filiis ad quos pntes lre puenerint lohes whethm, Mr siue custos capelle & hospitalis sce t<rini>tatis de walsokon Norwyc dioc.[Letter of confraternity.], s.sh.obl. quarto, STC 14077c.82

Legal

ca. 1515.....	The old tenures [Anr ed], folio, STC 23879
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Literary

ca. 1515.....	Everyman: a morality play. Tr. from Dutch?, quarto in 6's, STC 10604
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## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

Liturgical

1515..... Expositio hymnorum totius anni (Expositio sequentiarum.), 2 parts, pt 1: 15 Sept., pt 2: 3 July, quarto 8.4 (pt 2 in 6's), STC 16127

Religious

ca. 1515?..... [Homily on Mary Magdalen], quarto in 8's, STC 17568.5(A3)

ca. 1515..... < > sheweth of dyuerse my<racles whi>che God hath shewed for the <portion> of his precyous blod in Hay<les.> [Partly in verse.], quarto, STC 12973.5

1515?..... Here begynnyth the lyfe of the glorious martyr saynt George [Tr. by A. Barclay, in verse], quarto 8.4, STC 22992.1

ca. 1515..... Legenda maior beatissimi patris francisci. [A translation], quarto 8.4, STC 3270

ca. 1515..... Tractatus de tribus ordinibus beatissime virginis dei genitricis Marie., octavo, STC 18571.5

Royal

1515?..... [1-19 Hen. VII] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9351a.4

1515..... [5 Hen. VIII; 23 Jan.-4 March 1514.] Anno regni regis Henrici .viii. quinto., folio, STC 9362.3

1515..... [6 Hen. VIII; 5 Feb.-5 April 1515.] Anno sexto. Henrici .viii., folio, STC 9362.4

1515..... [By the Commissioners of Subsidy.] Comysioners for our soueraygne lorde [etc. Blank form ordering certification of the names in each ward of London.], folio (2), STC 7767

1515..... [By the Commissioners of Subsidy.] Thartycles of the effecte of the othe [etc. Defining the information to be given.], folio (2), STC 7766

**1516**Educational

1516..... [Os facies mentu] [Anr ed], quarto, STC 18874.5

1516..... Grammaticus [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 320

1516..... [Quita recognito at@ additio.] [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23428a.5

Legal

1516..... Returna breuium., quarto 8.4, STC 20894.4

Indulgence

1516?..... Artycles of the great indulgence of plenary remissyon a pena et culpa graunted for the buylynge of seynt Peters churchis of freres Angustyns [sic] of Oxford and other within the realme of Englund. [Indulgence.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.102

1516..... Fratres will's breuie & Iohes byrde. Baptiste mantuani cu plenitudine potestatis eiusde in prouincia anglie. [Letter of confraternity of Carmelite Friars in England.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.25

1516..... London, Savoy Hospital. Leo ep'us seruus seruorum dei [xylographic] ad f< >am rei memoriam. [Reissue by Leo X, dated 4 kal. March 1516, of the bull of Julius II, here dated 3 non. Sept. 1512, granting privileges as in Indulgences .60], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.60(A3)

1516..... London, Savoy Hospital. Leo ep'us seruus seruorum dei [xylographic] ad f< >am rei memoriam. [Reissue by Leo X, dated 4 kal. March 1516, of the bull of Julius II, here dated 3 non. Sept. 1512, granting privileges as in Indulgences .60], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.60(A3)

Legal

1516..... Tenores novelli [Anr ed], folio, STC 15724

Literary

1516..... [a1r begins:] Prima pars cronocarum. Anon., 2 vols., 7 Feb., folio, STC 10659

Religious

1516..... [An abridged translation, anon., with additions], quarto 8.4 (pt 2 in 8's), STC 4602

1516..... Guillermus parisiensis de septem sacramentis., 24 Aug., long 12, STC 12512.5

1516..... [Untitled] Incipit: Here begynneth the kalendre of the newe legende of Englande (Here begynneth the lyfe of seynt Birgette - Here afre foloweth a deuoute boke by W. Hylton to a deuoute man. what medelyd lyfe is.), 2 parts, quarto 8.4 (pt 2 in 8's), STC 4602

Royal

1516?..... [7 Hen. VIII, c.9\*. Grant of a subsidy.], folio (3?), STC 7767.5

1516?..... [7 Hen. VIII; 12 Nov.-22 Dec. 1515.] Anno septimo. Henrici .viii., folio, STC 9362.6

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

Yearbook

1516? ..... [2 Ric. III.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9913

**1517**Calendar

1517? ..... [Shepherds' Kalendar.] [Anr ed of 22408.], folio, STC 22409.7

Indulgence

1517 ..... Buset, John and Richard. [Indulgences for contributors toward their ransom] [Anr ed], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.126

1517? ..... Here after foloweth the newe pryuyleges and indulgeces graunted by our holy Father the Pope Leo .x. to the house of seynt Thomas of Acres in London.[List of indulgences granted to the confraternity.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.58

1517? ..... Pyllet, Sir John. [Anr ed], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.132

1517? ..... Pyllet, Sir John. BE it knowen to all Criste people that syr John Pyllet was taken by the Mauris &amp; Infidels. [Indulgences for contributors to ransom.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.131

1517 ..... Rome, St. Peter's. Universis [xylographic] Christifidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis, Frater Edmundus [Belland] Prior puincialis ordinis fratru heremitaru sancti Augustini in Anglia.[Letter, dated 12 Jan. 1517, admitting recipients to all the privileges granted by bull of Leo X of 6 May 1516 to contributors to St. Peter's and churches of the Austin Friars. Plural issue.], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.101

ca. 1517 ..... UNIuersis ecclesia4 rectoribus ad quos presentes Ire peruenerint Johes [Young] Calipolen Epus magister domus siue hospitalis sancti Thome martyris dicte de Acon in Ciuitate London salutem.[Blank certificate that confession had been made.], s.sh.obl.octavo, STC 14077c.5

**1518**Educational

1518? ..... De Synonymis [Anr ed], quarto 8.6, STC 25527.8

1518? ..... Moretu medicantiu isagogicon in grammaticam., quarto in 8's, STC 1833.5

1518 ..... Syntaxis [Anr ed], id. Dec., quarto in 8's, STC 25545.5

1517 ..... Vniuersis &amp; singulis dnici gregis pastorib9.Anno M.d.xvii. [Lenten certificate of confession and absolution, issued by the Augustinians.], s.sh.obl.octavo, STC 14077c.1

Religious

1517 ..... De Imitatione Christi (Atkinson's translation, 2 parts) [Anr ed], 7 Oct., quarto in 6's, STC 23957

1517 ..... De Imitatione Christi (Atkinson's translation, 2 parts) [Anr ed] [A variant, with end of Bk. 3 undated.], quarto in 6's, STC 23958

1517 ..... Here begynneth the rule of seynt Benet. [Translation] (Richarde [Fox] bisshope of winchester.), folio, STC 1859

Royal

1517? ..... [I Hen. VIII] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9358.5

1517 ..... Prouysion made.for puttynge a parte the excessyue fare.thobseruaunce wherof to begyn the laste daye of May [1517. Limiting the number of dishes per meal according to rank.], s.sh.folio, STC 7768

Yearbook

1517? ..... [2 Hen. VI.] De termino sancti Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9624

1517? ..... [42 Edw. III.] Anno regni regis. E. iii. xlii. De termino Hillarii [etc.], folio, STC 9590

1517? ..... [43 Edw. III.] De termino sancti Hillarii. Anno.xliiii., folio, STC 9591

1517? ..... [44 Edw. III.] De termino Hillarii. Anno.quadagesimo. iiiii., folio, STC 9592

1517? ..... [45 Edw. III.] Anno regni regis. E. iii. xlv. De termino Hillarii [etc.], folio, STC 9593

1517 ..... [46 Edw. III.] De termino Hyllarii. Anno.xl.vi., folio, STC 9594

1517? ..... [49 Edw. III.] De termino Hyllarii. Anno.xlix., folio, STC 9597

Indulgence

ca. 1518 ..... [Anr ed of 14077c.102] The artylces of saynt Peters generall pardon graunted for the byldyng of saynt Peters church at Rome: and the couentual churches of friers Augustines, within Englande, and Irelande.[Indulgence.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.103

ca. 1518 ..... [Anr version of 14077c.103], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.103A

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

- 1518..... Boston, Lincolnshire, Church of St. Botolph, Guild or Confraternity of BVM [Letter of confraternity, dated 7 Sept. 1504] [Anr ed, dated 1518] VNiuersis et singulis cristifidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis Nos aldermanus., s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.31
- 1518..... Rome, Hospital of the Holy Ghost. FRater Philippus Mulart decretorum doctor sacri & apostolici hospitalis sancti Spirit9 in Saxia de vrbe Romana.[Letter of confraternity, dated 1518.], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.91
- 1518..... Sargy, John. These be the articles of the popes bulle under leade translated from latyn into englishe. OOur [sic] holy father pope Leo the .x. of that name.[Bull dated 21 May 1516 authorizing J. Sargy to collect ransom for captives of Turks, with letter of protection of Henry VIII, dated 26 Oct. 1518], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.133
- Legal
- 1518?..... Natura Brevium [Anr ed] Newly corrected, with diuers addicios., folio, STC 18388
- 1519**
- Educational
- 1519..... [De Heteroclitis Nominibus] [Anr ed], quarto 6.4, STC 25461.5
- 1519..... [Vocabula] [Anr ed] [Ed. A. Barclay], quarto 8.4.6.4, STC 23181
- Literary
- 1519?..... Articuli ad narrationes nouas. [Anr ed], folio, STC 18362.5
- 1519..... Vulgaria uiri doctissimi Guil. Hormani. [Eng a Lat], quarto 8.4, STC 13811
- Religious
- 1519..... Orate specialiter pro animabus dni R. Reed militis: nuper capitalis iusticiarii de coi baco. Et Margarete consortis sue: [etc. Woodcut coat of arms with letterpress text below, giving Sir Robert's death date: 8 Jan. 1518 (o.s.)], 1/2 sh. folio, STC 20824.5(A3)
- Royal
- 1519..... [Magna Carta cum statutis] [Anr ed], 3 id. Sep., long 12, STC 9268
- Yearbook
- 1519..... [50 Edw. III.] De termino Hillarii. Anno.quinquagesimo., folio, STC 9598
- 1520**
- Educational
- 1520..... [De Nominum Generibus] [Anr ed] whittintoni editio secunda./Opusculum [etc.], nonis Sept., quarto 8.4, STC 25479.15
- 1520..... [De Synonymis] [Anr ed], quarto 8.6, STC 25529
- ca. 1520..... [Declinationes Nominum] [Anr ed] whyttyntoni Editio./Declinationes nominu [etc.], quarto in 6's, STC 25446.5
- Literary
- 1518?..... [Chronicle of all the kings.] This is the cronycle of all the kyng3 names that haue ben in Englande: and how many yeres they reyned, and how many saynt3 & martyrs haue ben i this lande., quarto, STC 9983.3
- 1518?..... Mancinus de quatuor virtutibus. [Anr translation], folio, STC 17242
- Religious
- 1518..... Cutheberti Tonstalli in laudem matrimonii oratio., id. Nov., quarto in 8's, STC 24320
- 1518..... Oratio Richardi Pacei in pace nuperime composita., nonis Dec., quarto 6.4, STC 19081a
- Yearbooks
- 1518..... [48 Edw. III.] De termino Hillarii. Anno.quadragesimo octauo., 10 May, folio, STC 9596
- 1518..... [7 Edw. III.] De termino Hillarii. Anno regni regis Edwardi tertii.Quadragesimo septimo [sic.], 19 Jan., folio, STC 9553
- 1518?..... [9 Hen. VI.] [Anr ed., revised] De termino Pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9651
- 1520..... [Vulgaria] [Anr ed] VVLGARIA [etc.], id. Oct., quarto, STC 25570
- 1520?..... Accidence [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23147.8
- ca. 1520..... Vulgaria [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 23196a.2

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

- Indulgence**
- ca. 1520 ..... [Fragment of 19 lines from lower portion of a letter of confraternity in Latin, specifying absolutions.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.154
- ca. 1520 ..... Beverley, Yorkshire, Confraternity of St. John. These folowynge be the priuileges pardon and indulgence graunted to the bretherne and susters, & benefactours of the college church of seynt John of Beuerley. [List of indulgences granted to members.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.26
- 1520 ..... Oxford, Dominican Friary. DEuot' in christo Iesu sibi dilect' [ ] Frater Henricus Osborn sacre scientie humilis professor ac prior conuentus ordinis fratrum predicatorum Oxon. Salutem.[Letter of confraternity.], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.67A
- ca. 1520 ..... Ripon, Yorkshire. Collegiate Church of St. Wilfrid. UNiuersis christifidelibus de regno Anglie Walie he sunt indulgentie.[List of indulgences granted to confraternity.], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.68A
- 1520 ..... Rome, Hospital of the Holy Ghost. [Letter of confraternity, dated 1518.] [Anr ed, dated 1520], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.96
- 1520 ..... Rome, Hospital of the Holy Ghost. [Letter of confraternity, dated 1518.] [Anr ed, dated 1520], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.97
- 1520 ca. .... Rome, Hospital of the Holy Ghost. Our holy father pope Leo the .x. that now is (cosiderynge the ifinite charite of our lorde Iesu christe.[List of benefits.], folio (2), STC 14077c.98
- 1520 ..... Rome, Hospital of the Holy Ghost. Our holy father pope Leo the .x. that now is (cosiderynge the ifinite charite of our lorde Iesu christe.[List of benefits.] [Anr version], folio (2), STC 14077c.99
- ca. 1520 ..... Southwark, Guild of St. George. [Anr ed], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.72
- ca. 1520 ..... Southwark, Guild of St. George. [Anr ed], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.73
- ca. 1520 ..... The stations of Rome within the cite and without. s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.150
- ca. 1520 ..... Urbis Rome stationu exemplar cu indulgentiis vna & remissionibus earunde fundata & stabilita pro deuote porrigentibus manus.ordinis fratrum augustinensium in Anglia.[Indulgences of the Stational churches in Rome, which could be gained in England by contributors to the rebuilding of St. Peter's.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.149
- 1520? ..... York, Confraternity of St. Mary of Mt. Carmel. Uniuersis et singulis Chris<tifidelibus> Rafe Symson magister siue custos confrat< > ciuitate Eborum.et beate Marie de monte carmelo, in dicta ciuitate Eborum.[Letter of confraternity.], s.sh.quarto, STC 14077c.84
- Legal**
- ca. 1520 ..... [The old tenures] [Anr ed], folio, STC 23879.5
- 1520? ..... Modus tenend' Cur Baron cum visu franc plegii. [Anr ed], quarto 6.4, STC 7707
- Literary**
- 1520 ..... [Anr ed] The pnostication of maister Jasp Laet., quarto, STC 470.6
- 1520? ..... Aphthonii sophistae Praeexercitamenta interprete viro doctissimo [Ed. G. Hervetus], octavo, STC 699
- 1520? ..... Here begynneth a lytell cronycle, [of Asia and the Holy Land, related by Hayton or Hetoum to N. Falcon or Faucon in August 1307.] [Tr. out of frenche into englysshe.], folio, STC 13256
- 1520? ..... Here begynneth the testamet of John Lydgate [In verse], quarto, STC 17035
- 1520 ..... Joannis Constablii Londinensis et artium professoris epigrammata. [In verse], nonis Sept., quarto, STC 5639
- 1520 ..... Prenosticatio mgri Jasp. la<et> [xylographic].for M.D.xx. (Tr. at ye request and cost of R. Pynson), quarto, STC 470.5
- 1520 ..... The pnostication of maister Adrian For [1520]., quarto, STC 406.7
- Liturgical**
- ca. 1520 ..... Missa preciosissimi sanguinis domini nostri iesu xpi, quarto, STC 16224.5
- 1520 ..... Missale ad vsum insignis ac preclare ecclie Sarum [Anr ed], 9 kal. Jan., folio, STC 16202
- Religious**
- 1520? ..... [A translation] The englysshe of Mancyne apon the foure cardynale vertues. (Mancinus de quattuor virtutibus.). 2 pts., quarto in 8's, STC 17241
- 1520? ..... [Anr ed, anr translation of 17241] Here begynneth a treatyse intitulyd the myrroure of good maners., folio, STC 17242.5
- ca. 1520 ..... [Heading A1r:] Here begynneth the lyfe of the blessed martyr saynte Thomas [In prose. Extracted from 24873.], quarto in 8, STC 23954

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

ca. 1520 .....	[Headline:] seynt Barbara, quarto, STC 1375.5	<u>Royal</u>
1520? .....	Exoneratorium curatorum. [Anr ed], octavo, STC 10630	ca. 1520 ..... [6 Hen. VIII; 5 Feb.-5 Apr. 1515.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9362.5
ca. 1520? .....	Fratris Galfredi Petri Baiocen. Galli. De vita, ac moribus, atoB panis miraculo sancti Nicholai de Tollentino, comedia [Ed. E. Soppeth], octavo, STC 19816(A3)	ca. 1520 ..... [7 Hen. VIII; 12 Nov.-22 Dec.1515.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9362.7
1520 .....	Here begynneth the lyfe of Joseph of Armathia [In verse], quarto, STC 14807	1520 ..... [II Hen. VIII, 22 Apr. 1519] Henry by the grace of God [etc. Brief for 1-year collections on behalf of T. Andrew, for losses by fire. 8 Feb. 1520], s.sh.folio, STC 7769.2
ca. 1520 .....	Rome, Hospital of the Holy Ghost. The discripcion, and foudacion of the holy apostolyke hospitall, and confraternite of the holy Goost in Rome, and by whome it was fyrste founde and edified, quarto in 2, STC 21310.5	<u>Yearbook</u>
1520 .....	Thomae Mori epistola ad Germanu Brixiu, quarto, STC 18088	1520 ..... [38 Edw. III.] De termino Hillarij. Anno regni.tricesimo octauo., id. March, folio, STC 9576
ca. 1520 .....	Thystory of Jacoby and his twelue sones. [In verse] [Anr ed], quarto 6.8, STC 14323.5	1520 ..... [47 Edw. III.] De termino Trinitatis. Anno.quadragesimo septimo., 5 id. June, folio, STC 9595

**1521**Educational

1521? .....	[Parvus Libellus] [Anr ed] Paruus libellus continens forma multa4 reru., quarto, STC 15580
1521 .....	[Syntaxis] [Anr ed] Syntaxis./Roberti VWhitintoni Lich/feldiensis.,de Synta/xi, siue constructione,/recensitu [1521]/Idi. Iun./, quarto, STC 25547.3
1521 .....	Antibossicon [In verse], quarto, STC 15606

Indulgence

1521 .....	Boston, Lincolnshire, Church of St. Botolph, Guild or Confraternity of BVM. [Anr ed], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.32
1521 .....	North Newington, Oxfordshire, Confraternity of Chapel of St. John the Baptist. [Anr ed], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.66
1521 .....	North Newington, Oxfordshire, Confraternity of Chapel of St. John the Baptist. UNiuersis christifidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis vel auditoris, nos Joanes et Radulphus custodes.[Letter of confraternity], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.65
1521 .....	OUr holy father the pope of Rome pope Boniface in his bull vnder leed doth.[List of indulgences], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.67

Legal

1521 .....	The boke of Iustices of peas. [Anr ed], quarto, STC 14867
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Literary

1521 .....	[Philippicae] M. T. Ciceronis Philippicae., 15 April, octavo, STC 5311
1521 .....	Antibossicon Guil. Hormani ad Guilielmum Liliu. Epistola Aldrisij. Epistola protouatis [R. Whittinton.] Apologeticon Hormani. [Partly in verse], quarto, STC 13807
1521? .....	The boke of Codrus and Mynalcas. The fourthe eglog of A. Barclay., quarto in 6's, STC 1384b

Religious

1521 .....	Here begynneth the holy lyfe and history of saynt Werburge [In verse], quarto 4.8, STC 3506
1521 .....	Syluestri Darii de Luca iuris utriusB doctoris Repetitio L. prime ff. [of the Digests of Justinian] De verbo. obligat., 16 June, folio, STC 6279

Royal

1521? .....	[I Hen. VIII; 21 Jan.-23 Feb. 1510] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9358.7
1521 .....	[Anr issue of 9516, with tp cancelled and replaced by A4, with additions through 'xv. H. viii.' and tp:] Le breggement de tout3 les estatut3, al .xix. Hery le .viii., 8 May, octavo, STC 9518.7
1521 .....	Assertio septem sacramentorum aduersus M. Lutheru., 4 id. July, quarto, STC 13078

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

1521.....	Le bregement de toutes les estatutes: nouellemet abbregees, correctes, par Guillame Owein. Al xiii. Henry le viii., 8 May, octavo, STC 9516	<u>Yearbook</u>	1521?.....	[21 Edw. IV.] De termino Pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9883
1521.....	Libello huic regio haec insunt. Oratio Joannis Clerk apud Ro. pon. Responsio roman. pont. [Leo X.] Bulla ro. pon. Summa indulgetiaru. Libellus regius aduersos M. Lutherum. Epistola regia ad Saxoniae duces. 3 pts., 4 id. July, quarto, STC 13083			
<b>1522</b>				
	<u>Educational</u>			<u>Literary</u>
1522.....	Claudii Galeni Pergameni de motu musculorum libri duo Nicolao Leonicensi interprete., quarto, STC 11532		1522?.....	[C. Sallustius Crispus cum veterum historicorum fragmentis.] [Anr trans.], folio, STC 21626(A3)
1522.....	[De Octo Partibus] [Anr ed], quarto 4.6, STC 25502		1522.....	[Epigrammata Guil. Lili Angli.] [A translation of the verses in honour of Charles V.], quarto, STC 15606.7
1522 /23.....	[De Syllabarum Quantitate] [Anr ed] 2 pts., 24 July/10 July, quarto 4.6, STC 25517			<u>Liturgical</u>
1522 /23.....	[De Syllabarum Quantitate] [Anr ed] 2 parts., 24 July/10 July, quarto 4.6, STC 25517		1522.....	[Horae ad usum Sarum.] [Anr ed], 18 Jan., octavo, STC 15933
1522?.....	Galenii de morborum differentijs et causis libri .ii. Nicolao Leonicensi interprete. Eiusdem de morborum symptomaticis libri .iiii. T. Linacro interprete., quarto mostly in 6's, STC 11531.5			<u>Religious</u>
1522?.....	Galenii Pergameni de pulsu usu T. Linacro interprete., quarto, STC 11534		1522.....	Assertio septem sacramentorum aduersus M. Lutheru. [Anr ed], 17 kal. Feb., quarto, STC 13079
1522?.....	Procli diadochi sphaera Thoma Linacro Anglo interprete., octavo in 4's, STC 20398.3		1522.....	De arte supputandi libri quattuor., prid. id. Oct., quarto, STC 24319
1522.....	[Verborum Praeterita] [Anr ed], quarto 4.6, STC 25561		1522?.....	L. Lactanii Firmiani carmen. Guil. Lili in laudem virginis deipare carmen eruditum. Ab Erasmo Institutum christiani hominis feliciter editum., quarto, STC 15118
	<u>Indulgence</u>			<u>Royal</u>
1522.....	Boston, Lincolnshire, Church of St. Botolph, Guild or Confraternity of BVM [Anr ed, dated 1522], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.33		1522 ca. ....	[14 Hen. VIII, 22 April 1522] The kynge our soueraygne lorde by his synguler wysdome [etc. Prohibiting unlawful retainers.], s.sh.folio, STC 7769.4
	<u>Legal</u>		1522?.....	[3,4 Hen. VIII; 3 (4 Feb.-30 March 1512); 4 (4 Nov.-20 Dec. 1512) [Anr ed], folio, STC 9361.3
1522.....	[Tenores novelli.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 15725.5			
<b>1523</b>				
	<u>Educational</u>			
1523?.....	[Accidence] [Anr ed], quarto 6.4, STC 23148.4		1523.....	[De Synonymis] [Anr ed], 16 June, quarto, STC 25532
1523.....	[De Heteroclitis Nominibus] [Anr ed], quarto 6.4, STC 25465		1523.....	[Declinationed Nominum] [Anr ed], 16 May, quarto 4.6, STC 25450
1523.....	[De Nominum Generibus] [Anr ed], [March], quarto 4.6, STC 25485		1523.....	Galenii Pergameni de naturalibus facultatibus libri tres, T. Linacro interprete., 8 cal. June, quarto, STC 11533

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

- 1523? ..... [Gradus Comparationum] [Anr ed],  
quarto in 8, STC 23159a.5
- 1523 ..... [Syntaxis] [Anr ed], 12 May, quarto,  
STC 25549
- 1523? ..... [Verborum Praeterita] [Anr ed], quarto,  
STC 25561.5
- 1523 ..... [Vulgaria] [Anr ed], quarto in 6's,  
STC 23196a.4
- Indulgence**
- 1523 ..... Colchester, Essex. Monastery of the Holy  
Cross., s.sh.quarto, STC 14077c.39
- 1523 ..... Colchester, Essex. Monastery of the Holy  
Cross. [Anr ed], s.sh.quarto,  
STC 14077c.40
- Legal**
- 1523 -24? ..... [Anr ed] Retourna breuium., quarto 6.4,  
STC 20896
- 1523? ..... Modus tenendi vnum hundredu siue  
curiam de recordo. [Anr ed], quarto 6.4,  
STC 7726
- Literary**
- 1523? ..... [Book of husbandry.] [Anon. Also  
attributed to Sir A. Fitzherbert .], quarto  
8.4, STC 10994
- 1523 ..... [Book of surveying] [Anon. Also  
attributed to Sir A. Fitzherbert.], 15 July,  
quarto 4.8, STC 11005
- 1524**
- Educational**
- 1524 ..... Galeni Pergameni de symptomatum  
causis libri tres T. Linacro interprete.,  
quarto, STC 11535
- ca. 1524 ..... Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse,  
[etc.], folio, STC 19166
- 1524? ..... [Parvulorum Institutio] [Anr ed], quarto  
in 6's, STC 23168.3
- 1524? ..... [Verborum Praeterita] [Anr ed], quarto,  
STC 25562.7
- 1524 ..... [Vocabula] [Anr ed], id. April, quarto  
8.4.6.4, STC 23181.9
- Indulgence**
- 1524 ..... [Anr ed] UNiuersis et singulis dnici  
gregis pastorib9. Anno salutis M.D.xxiiii.,  
s.sh.obl. octavo, STC 14077c.2
- 1523 ..... [Vol. 1] [Translated out of frenche by J.  
Bourchier knight lorde Berners.], 28 Jan.,  
folio, STC 11396
- 1523 ..... De libero arbitrio aduersus  
Melanchtonem., 14 kal. Nov., quarto,  
STC 24728
- Religious**
- 1523 ..... [Anr issue, with new prelims. and quire  
H enlarged.] Eruditissimi viri Guilielmi  
Rossei opus elegans, [etc.], quarto,  
STC 18089
- 1523 ..... Eruditissimi viri Ferdinadi Barauelli [i.e.  
Sir T. More] opus elegans, quo refellit  
Lutheri calumnias: quibus Anglie, regem  
Henricum octauum insectatur., quarto,  
STC 18088.5
- 1523 ..... Problema indulgentiarum, quo Lutheri  
errata dissoluuntur., quarto, STC 24729
- 1523 ..... Propugnaculum summi sacerdotij  
euangelici, aduersus M. Lutherum., 3  
nonas Dec., quarto, STC 20140
- Royal**
- 1523? ..... [14 & 15 Hen. VIII; 15 April-15 Aug.  
1523.] Anno .xiii. et anno .xv. Henrici  
.viii., folio, STC 9362.9
- Yearbook**
- 1523? ..... [6 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed] De termino  
Michael., folio, STC 9806.7
- 1523? ..... [8 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed] Edwardi quarti.,  
folio, STC 9820
- Liturgical**
- 1524 ..... Psalterium cum hymnis., octavo,  
STC 16262
- Religious**
- 1524 ..... Thomae Linacri Britanni de emendata  
structura Latini sermonis libri sex.,  
[Dec.], quarto, STC 15634
- Yearbook**
- 1524? ..... [3 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed] De termino  
Trinitatis [etc.], folio, STC 9784.7
- 1524? ..... [4 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9790.7
- 1524? ..... [5 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9797
- 1524? ..... [7 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9813

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

**1525**Educational

- 1525 ..... [De Heteroclitis Nominibus] [Anr ed],  
quarto 6.4, STC 25468.5
- 1525 ..... [De Nominum Generibus] [Anr ed],  
[April], quarto 4.6, STC 25486.7
- 1525 ..... [Declinationes Nominum] [Anr ed], 30  
July, quarto 4.6, STC 25451
- 1525 ..... [Syntaxis] [Anr ed], 16 May, quarto,  
STC 25552.5
- 1525? ..... Rudimenta grammatices Thomae Linacri  
diligenter castigata denuo. [Eng.],  
quarto, STC 15636
- ca. 1525 ..... Rudimenta grammatices Thomae Linacri  
diligenter castigata denuo. [Eng.] [Anr  
ed], quarto, STC 15637

Legal

- 1525 ..... [Natura Brevium] [Anr ed], 4 id. Oct.,  
16mo in 8's, STC 18389
- 1525 ..... [Tenores novelli] [Anr ed] , 4 id. Oct.,  
16mo in 8's, STC 15726
- 1525 ..... [The old tenures] [Anr ed], 4 id. Oct.,  
16mo in 8's, STC 23880

Literary

- 1525 ..... [".the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, ."]  
[Vol. 2], 31 Aug., folio, STC 11397
- 1525 ..... [".the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, ."]  
[Vol. 2] [Anr ed], 31 Aug., folio,  
STC 11397a
- 1525? ..... [".the famous cronycle of the warre,  
which the romayns had agaynst  
Iugurth.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 21627

**1526**Educational

- 1526 ..... [Vocabula] [Anr ed], 21 Feb., quarto  
8.4.4.4, STC 23182.3
- 1526 ..... [Vulgaria] [Anr ed], quarto, STC 25577.5

Indulgence

- 1526? ..... Rome, St. Peter's. [Anr ed of c.101],  
s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.101B
- 1526 ..... Rome, St. Peter's. [Anr ed of c.101],  
s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.101A

Legal

- 1526 ..... Diuersite de court3 et lour iurisdictiones.  
[Anon.], vigesimo idus [sic] June, 16mo  
in 8's, STC 10946

Literary

- 1526 ..... [Book of surveying.] [Anr ed], 25 Oct.,  
quarto 4.6, STC 11006
- 1526? ..... [Canterbury Tales] [Anr ed, with  
additions] , folio, STC 5088

ca. 1525 ..... [F4r:] Here endeth the breuyate and  
shorte tragycall hystorie, of the fayre  
Custance the emperours doughter of  
Rome [In verse.], quarto 6.4?, STC 538.5

1525? ..... [Fables?] [Anr ed], folio, STC 177.7

1525? ..... Articuli ad narrationes nouas pertin  
formati., 16o in 8's, STC 812

Religious

1525? ..... [Anr ed, omitting mention of Watson],  
octavo, STC 1967

ca. 1525 ..... Here begynneth the lyfe of saynt  
Radegunde. [Anon. In verse.], quarto  
8.4, STC 3507

1525? ..... Thomas [Wolsey] Miseratione diuina  
Tituli Sancte Cecilie sacrosacte Romane  
ecclesie presbiter Cardinalis Eboracen.  
[etc. Notification of Wolsey's visitation  
as papal legate.], s.sh.folio, STC 25947.3

Royal

1525? ..... [14 & 15 Hen. VIII; 15 April-15 Aug.  
1523] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9362.10

Yearbook

1525? ..... [10 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis.  
[etc.], folio, STC 9658

1525? ..... [12 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis. [etc.],  
folio, STC 9669

1525? ..... [20 Hen. VI.] [Anr ed, revised] De termino  
Michaelis. [etc.] (Cu multis casibus  
deficientibus termino Trinitatis.), folio,  
STC 9692

1525? ..... [9 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9826

1526 ..... [Canterbury Tales] [Anr ed] , 4 June,  
folio, STC 5086

1526 -28? ..... [Everyman: a morality play. Tr. from  
Dutch?] [Anr ed], quarto in 6's,  
STC 10604.5

1526? ..... [Troilus and Cressida] [Anr ed], folio,  
STC 5096

1526? ..... Here begynneth a lytell treatyse in  
Englysshe, called the extripacion of  
ignorancy. [In verse.], quarto, STC 4186

Religious

1526 ..... Here begynneth a deuout treatyse called  
the Pylgrimage of perfection. (Here  
begynneth the rosary of our sauour  
Jesu.) [Anon.] 2 pts., quarto 4.8 (pt 2 4.6),  
STC 3277

1526? ..... Praefatio. D. Richardi Pacei in  
Ecclesiasten recognitum ad Hebraicam  
ueritatem., quarto, STC 19082

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

Royal

- 1526 ..... [18 Hen. VIII, 22 April 1526] Presens proclamatio <so>lempniter habita et facta fuit in cancellaria. The kyng our soueraygne lorde, [etc. Setting values of coins. 5 Nov. 1526], folio (2), STC 7769.6
- 1526 ..... Literarum, quibus inuictissimus princeps, Henricus octauus, respondit, ad quandam epistolam M. Lutheri, et ipsius Lutherane quoB epistole exemplum., 2 Dec., octavo, STC 13084
- 1526 ..... Literarum, quibus inuictissimus princeps, Henricus octauus, respondit, ad quandam epistolam M. Lutheri, et ipsius Lutherane quoB epistole exemplum. [Anr ed], 2 Dec., octavo, STC 13084.5

**1527**Educational

- 1527 ..... [De Heteroclitis Nominibus] [Anr ed], quarto 6.4, STC 25471
- 1527 ..... [De Nominum Generibus] [Anr ed], [May], quarto 4.6, STC 25489.3
- 1527 ..... [De Octo Partibus] [Anr ed], quarto 4.6, STC 25505.5
- 1527? ..... [The Aedito.] [Anr ed], quarto, STC 5542.1

Indulgence

- 1527 ..... [Letter of confraternity for Trinitarian Order for ransom of captives, dated 1526.] [Anr ed, dated 1527], s.sh.obl.folio, STC 14077c.121C
- ca. 1527 ..... The most reuerende father in god, Thomas [Wolsey] cardynall of yorke, legate de latere of the see apostolyke. [Indulgence in Latin and English granted to those who say a psalm, paternoster, and ave for the prosperity of Henry VIII.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.146

Literary

- 1527 ..... [De casibus illustrium virorum.] [Anr ed], 12 Feb., folio, STC 3176

Religious

- 1527? ..... Joannis Longlondi, dei gratia Lincolnien, episcopi, tres conciones. (Quinque sermones.) [Tr. T. Caius?], folio, STC 16790
- 1527? ..... Psalmus sextus., folio, STC 16793.5
- 1527? ..... Psalmus tricesi. pri. Expositio concionalis. An. do. 1519., folio, STC 16793

Yearbook

- 1526? ..... [10 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9833
- 1526? ..... [12 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9839
- 1526? ..... [34 Hen. VI.] [Anr ed] De termino Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9738
- 1526? ..... [36 Hen. VI.] [Anr ed] Anno tricesimo sexto [etc.], folio, STC 9750
- 1526? ..... [37 Hen. VI.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9756
- 1526? ..... [39 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9764

- 1527? ..... Psalmus trisesimus [sic] septi. Conciones expositiuae. in tertium psalmum poenitentialem. Anno. do. 1520., folio, STC 16791
- 1527? ..... Sermones. habiti cora illustrissimi regis Henrici octauus, summa maiestate. M.D.XVII. [really 1527?], folio, STC 16797

Royal

- 1527 ..... [19 Hen. VIII, 22 April 1527] [A proclamation ordering commissioners to investigate grain engrossing; also for due execution of statutes against vagabonds, etc.], s.sh.folio, STC 7769.8
- 1527 ..... [Magna Carta cum statutis.] [Anr ed], 10 May, long 12o, STC 9269.5
- 1527? ..... Literarum, quibus inuictissimus princeps, Henricus octauus, respondit, ad quandam epistolam M. Lutheri, et ipsius Lutherane quoB epistole exemplum. [A trans.] A copy of the letters, wherin kyng Henry the eight, made answeare vnto a certayne letter of M. Luther, and also Luthers letter., octavo, STC 13086

- 1527 ..... Literarum, quibus inuictissimus princeps, Henricus octauus, respondit, ad quandam epistolam M. Lutheri, et ipsius Lutherane quoB epistole exemplum. [Anr ed], 10 Feb., octavo, STC 13085

Yearbook

- 1527? ..... [15 Edw. IV.] De termino Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9851
- 1527? ..... [16 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9856a
- 1527? ..... [18 Hen. VI.] De termino Pasche. [etc.], folio, STC 9681

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1527? .....	[20 Edw. IV.] De termino Pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9876	1527? .....	[21 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9698
1527? .....	[21 Edw. III.] De termino Hillarii anno .xxi., folio, STC 9561	1527? .....	[4 Hen. VI.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9637.5
		1527? .....	[1 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis anno primo., folio, STC 9617

**1528**Indulgence

1528 .....	Strata Marcella, Montgomeryshire, Monastery of B. Mary of. UNiuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes littere peruenerint. Nos Iohannes dei pacientia abbas monasterij beate Marie de Stratamarcella Assaien dioc, & eisde loci conuentus. Cum reueredissimus pater dns Thomas Cardinalis Ebo4 Anglie primas, [Letter of confraternity.], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.76
1528 .....	Vniuersis et singulis xpifidelibus pntes lras inspecturis frater Willms Bowry. [Letter of confraternity.] [Anr ed], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.54
1528 .....	Vniuersis et singulis xpifidelibus pntes lras inspecturis frater Willms Bowry. [Letter of confraternity.] [Anr ed], s.sh.obl.quarto, STC 14077c.55

Legal

1528 .....	[Natura Brevium] [Anr ed], 16mo in 8's, STC 18390
1528 .....	[Tenores novelli] [Anr ed], 18 June, 16mo in 8's, STC 15728

Literary

1528 .....	[De tranquillitate animi.] Tho. wyatis translatyon of Plutarckes boke, of the quyete of mynde., octavo, STC 20058.5
1528? .....	[Little book of the twenty-four stones.] Here begynneth a lytell boke of the .xxiii. stones pryncipalles, that profyteth most to mans body., octavo, STC 3361
1528? .....	[The castle of labour] [Anr ed], quarto in 6's, STC 12382
1528? .....	Here begynneth a lyttell treatyse cleped La conusaunce damours. [In verse.], quarto, STC 5631
1528 .....	Honorificatissimo, amplissimo, A replycacion agaynst certayne yong scolers. [In verse.], quarto 6.4, STC 22609

Royal

1528 .....	[20 Hen. VIII, 22 April 1528] [A proclamation of truce with France and the Empire.], s.sh.folio, STC 7770
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1528 .....	[Anr issue of 9516, with tp cancelled and replaced by A4, with additions through 'xv. H. viii.' and tp:] Le breggement de tout3 les estatut3, al .xix. Hery le .viii., 8 May, octavo, STC 9518.7
1528? .....	Literarum, quibus inuictissimus princeps, Henricus octauus, respondit, ad quandam epistolam M. Lutheri, et ipsius Lutherane quoB epistole exemplum. [A trans.] A copy of the letters, wherin kyng Henry the eight, made answere vnto a certayne letter of M. Luther, and also Luthers letter. [Anr ed], octavo, STC 13086.5
1528? .....	Literarum, quibus inuictissimus princeps, Henricus octauus, respondit, ad quandam epistolam M. Lutheri, et ipsius Lutherane quoB epistole exemplum. [A trans.] A copy of the letters, wherin kyng Henry the eight, made answere vnto a certayne letter of M. Luther, and also Luthers letter. [Anr ed], octavo, STC 13087
1528 .....	The proclamacion, made and de<vised> [etc. For archery, etc.], s.sh.folio, STC 7771

Yearbook

1528? .....	[1 Edw. V.] De termino Trinitat' [etc.], folio, STC 9896
1528? .....	[12 Hen. VII.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9931
1528? .....	[13 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9840.3
1528? .....	[14 Edw. IV.] De termino Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9845
1528? .....	[14 Hen. VIII.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9945
1528? .....	[16 Edw. IV.] De termino Pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9856
1528? .....	[18 Edw. IV.] De termino Pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9865
1528? .....	[19 Edw. IV.] De termino Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9871
1528? .....	[22 Edw. IV.] [Anr ed] De termino Pasche [etc.], folio, STC 9889.5
1528? .....	[22 Hen. VI.] De termino Michaelis [etc.], folio, STC 9704
1528? .....	[3 Hen. VI.] [Anr ed], folio, STC 9631a
1528? .....	[8 Hen. IV.] De termino Michaelis anno .viii. H. iiiii., folio, STC 9611a
1528? .....	[9 Hen. VII.] De termino Trinitatis [etc.], folio, STC 9930

## APPENDIX 3: CATALOGUE OF RICHARD PYNSON'S PRINTED WORKS

**1529**Indulgence

1529..... Frater Johanes Brocden de Tellisforde  
wygornien dioc. sancte Trinitatis et  
redemptionis captiuorum terre  
sancte.[Letter of confraternity for the  
Trinitarian Order for ransom of  
captives.], s.sh.folio, STC 14077c.122

Literary

1529?..... The sayinges or prouerbes of king  
Salomon, with the answers of  
Marcophus, tr. out of frenche in to  
englysshe. [In verse.], quarto, STC 22899

Religious

1529..... Vniuersis Christifidelibus, ad quos  
praesentes litere siue hoc presens  
publicum [etc. An inspeximus, dated 15  
March 1528/9, of the bull of Clement  
VII, dated 13 May 1528, granting  
privileges to Wolsey's Cardinal College  
(later Christ College), Oxford.],  
s.sh.folio, STC 24323.5

Royal

1529..... [20 Hen. VIII, 22 April 1528] A  
proclamation of resysting.heresyes., folio  
(2), STC 7772