The British Library has recently acquired two important and exceedingly rare editions of the Sarum Missal. These were produced in Paris in 1497 and 1511 for Wynkyn de Worde and others, and are fully described in the second and third sections of this article. The first section gives a brief general account of the printing of the Sarum Missal for the English market during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

I

The English printers of the fifteenth century seemed curiously reluctant to print the major service-books of their own national liturgy, the rite of Sarum. This apparent disinclination cannot be explained by any lack of a market for such works. The Sarum Missal, above all, was certainly in greater demand than any other single book in pre-Reformation England, for every mass-saying priest and every church or chapel in the land was obliged to own or share a copy for daily use. Yet it is a striking fact that of the twelve known editions of the Sarum Missal during the incunable period all but two were printed abroad, in Paris, Basle, Venice, or Rouen, and imported to England.

The cause of this paradoxical abstention was no doubt the inability of English printers to rise to the required magnificence of type-founts and woodcut decoration, and to meet the exceptional technical demands of high-quality red-printing, music printing, and beauty of setting, which were necessary for the chief service-book of the Roman Church in England. Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde at Westminster, John Lettou and William de Machlinia in London, Theodoric Rood at Oxford, and the Schoolmaster Printer at St. Albans, possessed neither materials nor craftsmen fit for this specialized work. Their chosen, natural, and economically profitable field lay in the provision of English vernacular texts or other matter in local demand. They performed this task, for the most part, with a sturdy indifference to Continental refinements, indeed with a peculiarly national character and individuality, which we may admire and relish to this day. Meanwhile the great book-producing centres of Italy, Germany, and France (subject to their own specializations and rivalries) abundantly supplied England and other outlying countries with service-books and all other works – such as the classics, the Latin Bible, scholastic theology, Roman and Canon law, medical and other sciences – which
were in international demand. English printers had no incentive to compete with these, and we may be almost glad of it, for they would have risked losing the insular savour of their national identity.

The exceptions presented by the two missals printed in England only go to prove the rule. The printers Julian Notary and Jean Barbier, who signed a Sarum Missal commissioned by Wynkyn de Worde at Westminster on 20 December 1498, and Richard Pynson, who completed another on his own behalf in London on 10 January 1500, were French by nationality and training, and used imported Parisian liturgical type-founts in these volumes, which in general appearance and quality are hardly distinguishable from the best missal-printing of Paris or Rouen. True, Notary and Barbier baulked at the difficulties of complete music printing, and supplied only blank printed staves for musical notes to be added in manuscript. Pynson, whose edition is remarkable as containing the first true English-printed music, must surely have brought in from Paris or Rouen not only a supply of music type, but also an expert music compositor.

The sixteenth century brought little change. In a total of forty-eight editions of the Sarum Missal from 1501 to 1534 (the year when the final break with Rome was signalized by Henry VIII's Statute of Supremacy) twenty-six were printed in Paris, sixteen at Rouen, two at Antwerp, and only four in London. Three of these last were produced by the competent and enterprising Pynson, in 1504, 1512, and 1520, and only one, which is known only from a fragment of four leaves, by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1508. Interesting variations of format are found in this period in the editions produced abroad. All but one of the fifteenth-century missals are stately folios, the exception being an octavo printed at Venice by Johann Hamman for the London stationer Frederick Egmont. In contrast the sixteenth-century editions include, besides twenty-nine folios, no fewer than sixteen quartoos (from Rouen and Paris) and three octavos (all from Paris). The smaller formats were no doubt in demand partly for cheapness, which was made possible because a quarto would require only half, and an octavo a quarter as much paper as a folio, with corresponding economies in press-work. But the choice of format was also a matter of function and convenience. The magnificent but cumbersome folios would spend a sedentary life between the lectern and sacristy shelf of a single wealthy church; the humbler and more portable quarto would perambulate under the arm of an individual cleric with duties in various places of worship; and an octavo would suit the pocket and purse of a poor itinerant priest, or a lay worshipper desiring to follow the text of the service.

After 1534, except for a brief reappearance in 1554-7 under Mary Tudor, when five editions were produced (two at Rouen, one in Paris, two in London), the Sarum Missal was printed no more. Existing copies seemed useless or even damnable, except to a clandestine few, their possession became dangerous to life or liberty, and nearly all were destroyed by fire, or neglect, or used as waste paper. In our time, when men value them again at last for their sanctity, or beauty, or as monuments of religious or printing history, or as bibliographical marvels, these missals are rare indeed. Of the twelve incunable editions three exist only in unique copies, three in two copies, and only one in as many
as six copies; indeed, it seems statistically likely from these low survival figures that other editions may have been entirely lost or, at best, await discovery. Fortunately all twelve are still to be found in United Kingdom libraries. The British Library, until the acquisition of the 1497 edition here discussed, had seven, barely surpassing the Bodleian Library, which has six (including the Venice 1494 folio, of which both libraries hold only fragments). Now the British Library has eight, but may perhaps never have more, unless unlocated copies of others should come to light. Of the forty-eight pre-Marian sixteenth-century editions, about half of which exist only in one or two copies, the British Library now possesses twenty-six, comprising fifteen from Paris presses, six from Rouen, both Antwerp editions, and all the three Pynson editions from London. The Library also has all five Marian editions. These, although none survives in more than ten copies, are distinctly less rare than their predecessors, a circumstance which no doubt reflects the continuity of English Catholicism, despite persecution, after the revival under Mary Tudor.

Of the Sarum Missals which are still wanting in the British Library’s collection the two most desirable are undoubtedly the edition printed by Guillaume Maynyal in Paris in 1487 for Caxton, and Pynson’s of 1500. The Caxton–Maynyal missal, which survives only in a unique copy in private hands, is specially notable as being the editio princeps of the Sarum Missal, as being commissioned to the order of England’s first printer, and as containing the first occurrence of Caxton’s woodcut device, which was evidently designed by one of his own craftsmen (probably the Game of Chess cutter) and added to the book at Westminster. Pynson’s edition, as already mentioned, includes the first English-printed music, with the exception, that is, of the meagre and merely diagrammatic woodcut in Wynkyn de Worde’s Polycromicon of 1495; but only five copies are known, one in the Bodleian, one in the John Rylands Library, and the rest in Oxford or Cambridge college libraries. Failing these, no edition could be more welcome to the British Library than the present one, both for its evidential importance in the history of the English book trade and pre-Reformation Church, and as an example in fine preservation of contemporary liturgical printing of the highest quality.

G. D. P.

II

It has already been noted that a total of twelve known editions of the Sarum Missal were printed in the fifteenth century (one of them is of doubtful date and may belong to the early sixteenth): of these the British Library already possessed seven, in copies which are often imperfect and in one case fragmentary. It is a measure of the perpetual and heavy use to which these missals were put in pre-Reformation England, and of the wholesale destruction to which they were later subjected, that surviving copies are today so rare and so often imperfect. The seven in the British Library are:


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3. Johann Hamman for Frederick Egmont and Gerard Barrevelt: Venice, 1 Sept. 1494. fol. W-B 1390. (Fragments only.)


7. Martin Morin [for Jean Richard]: Rouen, [after 26 March 1499]. fol. 246 leaves. (The B.L. copy is the only one recorded. It may perhaps be later than 1500.)

The four editions which are not in the British Library are:


The edition bought by the British Library in May, 1974, is Weale-Bohatta 1394. It is the first of the Paris-printed editions ever to enter the British Library. It was completed on 2 January 1497, and the very lengthy colophon names the printers as Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt, working on commission for Wynkyn de Worde in Westminster and for Michael Morin and Pierre Levet in Paris (fig. 1). The collation is as follows: Folio. 268 leaves numbered in two sequences, I–CCIII and I–LVI. Sig. [*10] A–I8 k L8 M6 N4 O–X8 y Z8 AA–CC8; a–g8. There are two columns of thirty-nine lines and headline, and the types are 190 G., title and head-lines; 144 G. and 110 G. There are red-printed lombard capitals and four-stave music with notes printed in black on red staves.

The two partners, Gering and Rembolt, were busily occupied later in the same year, 1497, with producing a missal for Paris use, which they completed on 24 December for the publisher Simon Vostre; but whereas Claudin gives a long account of this Paris book he has no mention of the Sarum Missal, of the existence of which he was obviously unaware. This is hardly surprising, as only two copies are known today, both imperfect: one in the Huntington Library, California, and the other now in the British Library. Both had previously been in private collections in Britain. The B.L. copy wants leaves 104–9 and 116 (sigs. M6, N1–4, O1, and O8).

On 11 recto is a woodcut, 153 mm square, showing a priest saying Mass (fig. 2), and on 157 recto is a much smaller cut, 86 x 70 mm, showing St. Andrew. These woodcuts are not new, for the larger one had already been used in the Verdun Missal printed by Jean Du Pré at Paris on 28 November 1481, and is illustrated by Claudin1 who remarks that he has not only found it used in several missals printed by different presses before
1500, but also at Tours in 1508 and even by other Paris printers up to the middle of the sixteenth century. It must therefore be one of the most widely distributed of French liturgical woodcuts. As for the smaller cut of the 1497 Missal, it appears also to have been used previously, as its frame is broken in two places, but it is not illustrated by Claudin.

The missing leaves included the Canon of the Mass with a full-page Crucifixion cut and a half-page Rising from the Tomb.

This is the only known service-book commissioned by Wynkyn de Worde from a Paris printer in the fifteenth century. As for the Paris publishers, Pierre Levet is well-known both as printer and publisher between 1485 and 1500. He had already printed a Sarum Breviary on 11 February 1494 (Duff 65, not in B.L.); and on 11 April 1497 he completed an edition of Alexander Anglicus, *Destructorium viciorum* (B.M.C. viii, 103 = IB. 39938) at the expense of Johannes Cobelens, Levet himself, and Michael Morin. It is the second of the two Paris publishers of the 1497 Sarum Missal, Michael Morin, of whom no satisfactory account has been published, for Duff's knowledge of his career was incomplete. It will be as well, therefore, to summarize briefly here what we know about him. Michael Morin was no doubt related to the much better known Rouen printer Martin Morin, with whom he has unfortunately been confused at one point by the British Museum's Catalogue of Incunabula. As we have seen, Michael
Morin’s name appears in print twice in the year 1497: firstly on 2 January as joint-publisher in Paris of the Sarum Missal, and secondly on 11 April as joint-publisher of the Alexander Anglicus. Is it no more than coincidence that both of these books have English connections, the second being by an English author? The next we hear of Michael Morin is on 15 July 1504, when Jodocus Badius Ascensius, the great Paris printer, completed a Terence for three publishers in London, Wynkyn de Worde, Michael Morin, and Johannes Brachius. It is the only time that the name of Brachius is ever met in the history of the book-trade, and nothing whatever is known about him. Nor is it known at what date between April 1497 and July 1504 Michael Morin moved from Paris to London. But he remained in London for the rest of his career as far as we can tell. On 17 January 1506 another Paris printer specializing in service-books, Thielman Kerver, brought out an edition of the Sarum Breviary, the colophon of which shows us that it had been paid for in London by Wynkyn de Worde and Michael Morin, the latter being expressly described here as ‘merchant’. It seems that he had nothing to do with the Paris edition of the Sarum Breviary of 1507, so that one of Duff’s references to this book...
was a mere slip. We do not find Michael Morin's name in print again after 1506; but the name 'Michael morin' occurs in manuscript in a copy of Ptolemy, printed by Bonetus Locatellus for Octavianus Scotus at Venice on 20 December 1493, which is now in the library of Merton College, Oxford. The same volume also contains the names of two other sixteenth-century English owners, Simon Ball and Ralph Lane. It is not, of course, absolutely certain that this Michael Morin is identical with our publisher-bookseller, but it is highly likely, in view of the French name which would be, to say the least, uncommon in England. Since Simon Ball was a Fellow of Merton from 1517 until his death in 1527, whereas Ralph Lane was a Fellow of New College from 1512 to 1522, it is probable that Lane owned the book before Ball, who then left it to his own college in 1527. It was probably purchased from the London merchant Michael Morin about 1505 or 1510 and taken straight to Oxford, where it has remained ever since. This theory is strengthened by the fact that the inscription reading 'Radulphus Lane possidebat' (rather than 'possidet') comes below that which records Simon Ball's ownership. At all events, Michael Morin is lost sight of after 1506. There can be no doubt that he knew Wynkyn de Worde personally.

To return to the Sarum Missal of 1497: one interesting feature is the passages in English which occur in the marriage service, some of them now obsolete and others still in use. Perhaps the most amusing extract which we can quote is that occurring on leaf e i verso: 'I .N. take the .N. to my weddid husbond to have and to hold. fro this day forward for bitter. for wurse for richer. for purer. yn syknys and yn helth to be boner and buxsom yn bed and at boord till deth vs depart. [if] holy chirch it wull ordyn. an therto y plycht the my trowth.'

At the end of the volume a priest, or perhaps more than one, has added manuscript prayers for Henry VII. The book is bound in eighteenth-century English dark blue morocco with a gilt panel having ornaments at the angles. It contains two armorial bookplates of the Southesk family, showing that it was in their possession for perhaps a century or more: firstly the book-plate inscribed 'The Right Hon.ble James Earl of Southesk Lord Carnegy of Kinnaird and Leuchars 1710' (the fifth Earl, 1692-1730, who was attainted and forfeited all his honours after the 1715 rising); and secondly that of James, the sixth Earl (1827-1905), in whose favour the attainder was reversed in 1855 and who was a well-known antiquary. The 1497 Missal has been placed at IB. 40686.

D. E. R.

III

The second of the two Sarum Missals purchased by the British Library in May, 1974, was printed in Paris on 26 April 1511. Like the 1497 edition it is very rare and it is also imperfect, lacking one leaf: only two other copies are recorded, one at Jesus College, Cambridge, and one in private hands. This edition is S.T.C. 16189. It consists of 226 leaves, signed in three sequences Βδ a-mν n oτο; A-Gδ; A-Eδ Fο. The capital letters in the third sequence of signatures are printed in red lombards. Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Facques, both dwelling in St. Paul's Churchyard, are named on the title-page (fig. 3) as the two London publishers, while the colophon shows that the book was printed
Fig. 3. Sarum Missal, 1511. Title-page
in Paris by Radulphus Sutor, and here two more booksellers are named as joint publishers: Jean Bienaise and Jacques Ferrebouc. One of Wynkyn de Worde's many devices (no. 24 of McKerrow's list) is found on the recto of the last leaf (fig. 4). It may be significant that McKerrow records three occasions on which this device was used, all of them in books printed in Paris: the Sarum Breviary of 21 June 1507, the York Manual of 10 February 1509, and the Sulpicius of 2 April 1511, the last being only three weeks before the appearance of our Sarum Missal.

Of the publishers named in the 1511 Missal, Richard Facques, a Frenchman, was active in London from 1509 to 1530; Jean Bienaise (a printer–bookseller from 1511 onwards, who died before 19 January 1529) was also one of the publishers of the Sarum Missals of 22 August 1516 and 30 July 1521, both in the British Library; and Jacques Ferrebouc was at work in Paris between 1492 and 1529.

The printer Radulphus Sutor (i.e. Raoul Cousturier) is known to have worked from 1499 to 1512. In the fifteenth century he did not own an independent press, but was associated with Pierre Levet and Jean Hardouin. He is named as a partner in the colophons of a Bernardus, Floretus cum commento, of 29 November 1499, and a Guido Juvenalis, In latinae linguae elegantias tam Vallae quam Gellii interpretatio, of 9 May 1500. He must have become an independent printer early in the sixteenth century. On 20 September 1510 he completed a Toul Breviary (Bohatta 2815), but it has been assumed that he printed anonymously before that, since the address which he gives in the 1511 Missal, 'in vico Iude iuxta Carmelitas', is found without printer's name in a number of books, including a Boniface VIII, Corpus Juris canonici, of 29 January 1509, and a Tournai Breviary of 23 and 28 December of the same year.

The 1511 Missal now owned by the British Library is printed on paper, but 05 and 06, containing the beginning of the Canon of the Mass, were—as was often the case—printed on vellum. Only 06, with the start of the text, and a very small portion of the stub of 05 remain. The verso of the latter leaf no doubt had a full-page cut of the Crucifixion. There are large woodcuts on the title-page and a sig. G8 verso. As was usual in service-books printed at this time, every attempt was made during the Reformation to erase the word 'Pope' wherever it occurs in the text, and the section on the Translation of the Blessed Thomas the martyr (i.e. St. Thomas à Becket) has been neatly crossed out.

Early in the sixteenth century this copy belonged to two English owners, John Glasier and a certain Galvyn. More recently it belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872). Its pressmark is C. 109.k.16.

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blind-stamped bindings, 1952, pl. LVII, A. (1). The roll used – Oldham, pl. XXXVII, AN. b(1) – bears the mark and initials of John Reynes. It is decorated with a couchant hound, a bird with raised wings, and a large bee among flowers and foliage. This is a characteristically English type of roll – most of those used in this country were either imported or copied from French, German, or Netherlandish designs – and it is also one of the commonest, Oldham recording over a hundred bindings on which it was used. These rolls were probably of brass, cut by the seal engravers. Imprint dates (bearing in mind that in those days many books were not bound for a number of years after they
Fig. 5. Sarum Missal, 1511. Binding. $380 \times 270 \times 60$ mm
were printed) suggest that the roll was used from about 1515 until Reynes's death in 1544. Oldham usually discusses the initials and marks used on rolls and panels in the sixteenth century as if they were those of binders. It seems much more likely that they are those of retail booksellers for whom most binding at this period was carried out. Some of these had their own binders on the premises; others farmed it out to self-employed binders. When Wynkyn de Worde died in 1534 he left bequests to 'Alard book-binder, my servant' and to 'Nowell [Havy] the bokebinder in shoo lane.' The reference in Reynes's will to 'all my instruments, and all that belongeth to my science' has been taken to refer to his bookbinding tools, and it may be that he had a binder or binders working on his premises. Slightly in favour of this suggestion is the fact that, after his death, this animal roll was used for a few years with his initials deleted. Binders who had booksellers' signed rolls in their possession often seem to have gone on using them unaltered after the bookseller's death.

Although roll-tooled bindings of this type are common in old-established college and cathedral libraries, they are comparatively rare in the British Library and an example of this quality is a welcome accession.

H. M. N.


1 A. Claudin, Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XIVe et XVIe siècle, I (Paris, 1900), p. 218. Not all copies of the Verdon Missal, however, are identical. The copy bought by the British Museum from Holkham Hall in 1951 (now IB. 39305) has all its woodcuts completely painted over, and is without the border surrounding the cut of the Mass as shown in Claudin's illustration.

2 Claudin, op. cit., p. 217, note 1. As Claudin remarks, this woodcut is generally known as the 'Mass of St. Gregory' cut, but such an appellation is not strictly accurate.

3 In B.M.C. viii (London, 1949), p. xx, towards the end of the second paragraph, for 'Martin Morin' read 'Michel Morin'.

4 E. G. Duff, The printers, stationers and booksellers of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535 (Cambridge, 1906), p. 206, remarks that the only known copy of this Terence was then in the University Library at Cambridge. But a very fine second copy was presented to the British Museum on 9 Oct. 1920. Apart from containing the manuscript names of several early-sixteenth-century English owners, this copy was bound in London by the so-called 'Dragon Binder' about 1510. It is amusing to note that Badius Ascensius, at the end of his preface dated from Paris on 1 Jan. 1501, adds a six-line poem addressed to the youth of Britain. The price of two shillings was paid for this copy - possibly in Michael Morin's shop.

5 H. Bohatta, Bibliographie der Breviere, 1501-1850 (Leipzig, 1937), p. 249, no. 2671. The only known copy, which was a fragment of not more than 29 leaves, was in the private collection of John Eliot Hodgkin, who died in 1931. Its present location is not recorded in the new S.T.C., where it has the number 15805.5.

6 Duff, op. cit., p. 206. Duff correctly cites the Breviary in his other work, A century of the English book trade . . . 1457 . . . 1557 (1905), p. 107. There was a Breviary printed in Paris for Wynkyn de Worde in 1507 (Bohatta 2672), but it does not mention Michael Morin.


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