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A Study Of The Career And Literary Publications Of Richard Pynson

Stanley Howard Johnston

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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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A STUDY OF THE CAREER
AND LITERARY PUBLICATIONS
OF RICHARD PYNSON

by

Stanley Howard Johnston, Jr.

Department of English

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario

London, Ontario

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ABSTRACT

Although the career of William Caxton has been examined several times at length, and at least one attempt has been made to deal with the career of Wynken De Worde, Richard Pynson, the third member of England's first triumvirate of major printers, has been largely neglected. This study attempts to remedy this situation by bringing together all the published data, several otherwise unexplored manuscript sources and the results of the examination of over four hundred Pynson imprints and tracing Pynson's career from his arrival in England in the 1480's until his death in 1529.

At the same time, the study attempts to provide some insights into both early Tudor tastes and printing practices by providing bibliographical descriptions and/or notes on over two hundred literary or educational works issued by Pynson's press. These are, in turn, supplemented by appendices dealing with Pynson's devices, compartments, borders, coats-of-arms, initials, bindings and use of sheet-signing.

While touching on Pynson's appointment and duties as King's Printer and his dominance of the field of legal publications, the main thrust of the discussion is on the literary and educational works published by Pynson; and on the authors, translators, patrons and fellow printers who made such publications possible. Along the way, several new facts about Pynson's personal life are revealed for the first time; these include the dates of death of Pynson's wife and son and the full identity and connections of Pynson's first son-in-law.

Although the dissertation deals with such important Pynson first editions as the Fall of Princes, Mandeville's Travels, the first

collected Chaucer, the Morton Missal, Colet's Oratio Habita ad Clerum, Fabyan's Chronicle, Barclay's translation of the Ship of Fools, Everyman, Tunstall's De Arte Supputandi, Lord Berners' translation of Froissart's Chronicles, More's Epistola ad Brixium, Baravellus and Rosseus, the Assertio Septem Sacramentorum and the first published work of Thomas Wyatt, perhaps greater interest lies in the discussion of such seldom discussed items as the "grammarian's war" and the discussion of such seldom mentioned books as the Gardyners Passetounce, the De Vita Sancti Nicholai de Tollentino of Galfredus Petrus, the Palamades Palliata of Remacle D'Arduenne and John Constable's Epigrammata. The examination of these and the bulk of Pynson's publications has led, in turn, to the redating of several works, the outright rejection of at least one work formerly assigned to Pynson's press and a new hypothesis of collaboration with De Worde in regard to several other works currently assigned to Pynson alone.

The study also demonstrates that it is extremely unlikely that Pynson apprenticed under Caxton as certain modern scholars have continued to maintain and that Pynson was first appointed King's Printer by Henry VII some two years earlier than some current writers would have us believe. It also attempts to add some insight into the "Bercula-Bertheliet" discussion and reveals for the first time the fact that Henry Tab and Thomas Kele apprenticed under Pynson. At the same time, the study brings together for the first time all the information published to date concerning Pynson's relations with other printers.

Finally, while concentrating primarily on Pynson's career, the study also provides an examination in microcosm of the early Tudor period and the late stages of the shift from the culture of Middle Ages to that of the Renaissance in England.

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On this side of the Atlantic, thanks are due to the librarians, keepers and staffs of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California; the Folger Library and Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.; the Houghton Library at Harvard in Cambridge, Massachusetts; and the Pierpont Morgan Library, Columbia University Libraries and New York Public Library in New York.

On a more personal level, thanks must be given first to my parents, for providing me with employment and the subsequent income and flexible working conditions, without which these researches would not have been possible. One must also acknowledge the help provided on various thorny problems by my supervisor, E. J. Devereux; my second reader and long-time mentor in matters Chaucerian and Spenserian, A. Kent Heatt; Constance B. Heatt, Betty Tracy, Linda Dowler and Sharon Butler.

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Relatively little is known about the family and early career of Richard Pynson; that he was French is established by a reference to him as such in the will of John Wastell of Bury St. Edmunds in 1515.¹ When and whether he ever became a naturalized Englishman is somewhat more problematic since although there are numerous nineteenth century references to a "patent of naturalization" dated c. 1493 in the "Chapel of Rolls"² the document is at present unknown; a Letter of denization dated 1513³ is extant but because of its lateness is generally considered to refer to Pynson's son rather than to the printer himself.

The earliest reference to a Richard Pynson who can reasonably be identified with the printer is on a list of students at the University of Paris in 1464 cited by Duff.⁴ Assuming that Pynson entered the University at the age of fourteen or fifteen⁵ we can assume that he was born c. 1449-50; this would make him about 79 on his death in 1529 and is not unlikely since we hear of his great age and senility in two suits launched by former apprentices against Pynson's heirs shortly after his death.⁶

Although Richard Pynson appears to have been a Norman by birth, it is not unlikely that the family had English connections. As early as 1322, we find reference to a Johanne Pynson of Lincoln who witnessed a reduction in rent granted by the Dean of Lincoln to one Thomas of Carlton. In 1485, John and Thomas Pynson of Alfricheston, Sussex are

witnesses to a land transfer.⁸ In 1503, a Philip Pinson was appointed Archbishop of Tuan, Ireland, about whom more must be said later.⁹ A Robert Pynson is mentioned in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster in 1504, and is possibly the same mentioned in the deputation of mercers to the King in 1512.¹⁰ An Edmund Pinson is listed as a bailiff of Bristol in 1508.¹¹ A John Pynson seems to be a churchwarden of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West in 1517, but there are some doubts about this.¹² Finally, a William Pynson is listed as co-bailiff of Southwark in 1522.¹³ How many, if any, of these were related to the printer is strictly a matter for conjecture.

We know nothing of Pynson's parents nor whether he had any brothers or sisters; of his wife all we know is that she died in 1526.¹⁴ It is only in regard to Pynson's two children that we are able to piece together somewhat fuller accounts.

Richard Pynson the younger is the cause of much confusion since his name appears identically with that of his father in documents. As with his father, we know little about his birth and early career. If, as is generally believed, the letter of denization of 1513 refers to him rather than to his father, we may assume that he was born in Normandy before his father came to England and thus sometime before 1482. Possibly Richard the younger acted as an agent for his father in England until about 1511 since it is a Richard Pynson, Jr., who is recorded as joining the Coventry Guild of the Holy Trinity in 1518.¹⁵ In 1511 he was admitted as a clerk for four years to Lincoln's Inn, where he was elected Escheatour in 1512.¹⁶ Sometime between 1513 and 1518 he married Joane Revell, the widow of a wealthy stationer named John Revell.¹⁷ The marriage was short-lived since he died in 1518 and was buried in St.

Dunstan's-in-the-West, leaving behind his widow and a daughter, Joane Pynson.¹⁸

It is likely that Pynson's daughter, Margaret, was also born before the turn of the century since by the time of Pynson's death in 1529, she had already been twice widowed. We know nothing of the dates of her marriages. Her first husband was William Campion, apparently a grocer, rather than a stationer as Plomer conjectured.¹⁹ Campion, like Pynson after 1500, lived beside St. Dunstan's Church.²⁰ He seems to have still been alive as late as 1516 and in the course of his marriage he is known to have fathered two daughters, Anye and Joane, who were both less than sixteen in 1529.²¹ All that is known of Margaret's second husband, Stevyn Warde, is that he died before 1529.²² Margaret's third husband was John Haukyns, a grocer, who married her sometime after 1529, and who was the hitherto "mysterious printer", who finished printing Palsgrave's Eclaircissement.²³

Having disposed of Pynson's family we may now return to what is known of the early career of Pynson himself. Thanks to a fortuitous discovery by H. R. Plomer, we know that Pynson was at work in the parish of St. Clement Danes as a glover as early as 1482, in which year he and one John Burges, a miller of Westham, Essex, stood surety for one William Pays, otherwise called William Symonds, a yeoman of Temple Sidington, Hampshire, who had been arrested on a charge of committing certain unspecified felonies and misdemeanors.²⁴ Later in the century we find him as a defendant in a suit initiated by one John Isbury, at which time we find Pynson described as a "bokeprynter" and "pouchemaker" of St. Clement Danes;²⁵ this is not to suggest a sudden change in the nature of Pynson's business but rather the fact that trade was rather less

specialized than the guild system might lead us to expect.²⁶ As Kendall has pointed out in regard to the grocers, the members of a guild or company often engaged in much more miscellaneous trade than the name of their association implied.²⁷ While it is not surprising to find Pynson gradually shifting from leatherworking to bookbinding and bookselling and then to printing, it should be noted that he also dealt in more miscellaneous merchandise as well. In the course of his dealings with John Rushe, Pynson supplied, besides books, "fures, stuffe of household, horse harness, canvas [and] lynen cloth"²⁸; while on another occasion, Pynson has been shown to have exported a bale of wool.²⁹

The question of where and from whom Pynson learned to print is more troublesome. In general, writers have tended towards either Caxton, LeTalleur or Machlinia and/or Lettou as Pynson's instructor in the art of printing; of these the first two may, it will be seen, be readily dismissed, while the latter combination also presents some problems.

The rather romantic notion that Pynson apprenticed under Caxton along with Wynken has persisted remarkably to the present day³⁰ despite the fact that Duff effectively discredited the idea early in this century.³¹ Along the way, it has served to give rise to even more outrageous conjectures including the notions that Pynson married Caxton's daughter³² and that Pynson worked under Wynken until Wynken's death, after which he took over the business³³ - a neat trick since Wynken died six years after Pynson. The main basis for these conjectures rests in the "proheme" to Pynson's first edition of The Canterbury Tales in which he says that the book has been "diligently ovirsen and duely examined by the politike reason and oversight of my worshipful master William Caxton" leading some writers to believe that this meant the book must have

been printed before 1491, the presumed year of Caxton's death and under Caxton's supervision. In these arguments much has been made of Pynson's use of the word, "master" in referring to Caxton; its use having been taken as a clear indication that Pynson was at that time an apprentice to Caxton. Duff correctly pointed out that the word does not necessarily carry this connotation at all and may simply refer to the fact that Pynson is basing his edition of the work on the second edition of his predecessor, who in this sense is his master. In fact, this is stated by Pynson in the course of his "proheme", which is itself adapted from that of Caxton in his second edition.³⁴

Indeed, the evidence would tend to make any master-apprentice relationship between Pynson and Caxton most unlikely. Whereas Caxton is known to have brought Wynken De Worde to England as an apprentice from Worth in Alsace via Bruges, he is not likely to have done so with Pynson since Caxton's connections appear to have been largely with Burgundy and the Low Countries,³⁵ while Pynson's early connections center on Normandy and Paris. In addition, Pynson would have been rather old to be an apprentice - being around 32 in 1482, by which time we know him to have been in England. Nor does the image of an apprentice to Caxton agree with that of the glover-merchant we have already discussed.

On the other hand there are a few points of similarity between Pynson and Caxton. Both dwelt in Westminster, but while Caxton lived and worked in the precincts of the Abbey, Pynson spent his early career in St. Clement Danes Parish, from the early 1490's in the vicinity of Temple Bar, and much closer throughout to London than to the Abbey. Pynson may well have had dealings with Caxton before his death, but as a bookdealer rather than a printer since we know that Pynson sold some

of Caxton's books in the 1490's.

In addition, we know that Pynson had 144 of Caxton's woodcuts, which were almost certainly, however, obtained from Wynken. 141 of these are used only in Pynson's Aesop's Fables ascribed to 1497; these are Hodnett nos. 55-7, 60-8, 72-105, 108-111 and 118-213; and of these two are known to have definitely returned to Wynken, nos. 80 and 199.³⁶ Hodnett nos. 345 and 349 are used in Pynson's edition of Jordanus's Meditationes in 1513, before which both are known to have been used by Wynken.³⁷ Hodnett no. 372 is known to occur in one Pynson indulgence ascribed to 1515 before which it also was known to have been in Wynken's hands.³⁸ In addition to these Pynson owned one initial, a W with leaves inside, which appears to be a close copy of one of Caxton's, but this does not appear to have been used before 1510 and was also probably obtained from Wynken who also employed a similar initial.

The real debt of Pynson to Caxton lies in the large number of works in which Pynson used Caxton's editions as copy texts for his own editions, although usually on consultation with some other manuscript as well.³⁹ In addition to the Canterbury Tales, already mentioned, Pynson's output in the incunable period also included editions of Lydgate's Chorl and the Bird, Legrand's Book of Good Manners, Reynard the Fox, Aesop's Fables, The Art and Craft to Lerne Well to Die, Mirk's Festival and the Speculum Vita Cristi based largely on Caxton's earlier editions.

The second most cited candidate as Pynson's instructor in the art of printing is Guillaume Le Talleur of Rouen.⁴⁰ According to the line of reasoning expounded by the proponents of this theory, Pynson succeeded Machlinia and Lettou as the chief supplier of law books, most of

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which were written in a quaint combination of law French and Latin which it would take a Norman to print (it seems to have escaped these writers' attention that if this were true only Normans could read the texts as well); since Pynson did not have a press of his own at this time he contracted the work out sometime before 1490 to Guillaume Le Talleur of Rouen who printed copies of Littleton's Tenures, Statham's Abridgement and possibly a Natura Brevium for him.⁴¹ While printing these Guillaume is also supposed to have taught Pynson to print. The debt to Le Talleur is supposed to show itself in the close resemblance between the device of Le Talleur and the first device adopted by Pynson (McKerrow no. 3)⁴² and in Pynson's use of sheet-signing, that is the signing of the first leaf as 1 and the third leaf as 2 with the second leaf unsigned in a quarto in eights, which is supposed to be a custom peculiar to Rouen.⁴³

The scenario breaks down, however, when we come to examine the facts. The Littleton's Tenures (STC 15395) has Pynson's device 3b surrounded by borders, a combination that is used only in dated works of 1494 and 1496,⁴⁴ and must be correctly ascribed to 1494 since Le Talleur died sometime before June of that year.⁴⁵ There is no real reason to believe that the Statham was much earlier. Pynson's first device resembles that of Le Talleur only in the fact that both feature combined white initials on a black background; they differ significantly in that all the letters of Le Talleur's name are thought to be combined in his device while only the initials of Pynson's name are combined. In the matter of sheet-signing being a peculiarity of Rouen, this may be true; however I have not encountered any instances of the custom in any books printed in Rouen which I have examined; perhaps more significantly, Le Talleur does not appear to have used sheet-signing.⁴⁶

On the whole, it does not seem very likely that Pynson learned to print from Le Talleur; this does not, however, rule out the possibility that he learned the art elsewhere in France. It is possible, for example, that Pynson learned the art from Jean Du Pré in Paris, who taught Le Talleur and his successor, Morin;⁴⁷ and who, more significantly, supplied Pynson with the woodcuts for his 1494 edition of Lydgate's Fall of Princes.⁴⁸ It is also possible that Pynson was still around the University of Paris in 1470 when printing was first introduced there.⁴⁹ It is also quite conceivable that he learned the trade from some other French printer heretofore unsuspected - but there is no hard proof to support any of these speculations.

The third major theory is that Pynson learned to print from William de Machlinia, who with his partner, John Lettou, were the first printers of lawbooks in England.⁵⁰ It is certainly clear that Pynson appears to have acquired some blind-stamp panels, tools and possibly the blocking-press previously used by Machlinia.⁵¹ He also appears to have taken over the stock of Machlinia's shop on Machlinia's death or retirement in 1490 or 1491⁵² since pages from Machlinia's works form the fly-leaves of those of Pynson's earliest works which survive in their original bindings. Pynson does not, however, appear to take over any of Machlinia's types nor does he seem to be particularly indebted to Machlinia in any of his printing practices. It is true that Colin Clair asserts that Pynson uses a set of lombardic initials formerly used by Lettou in indulgences;⁵³ however, I have not viewed the indulgences in question and therefore cannot say which lombardics are meant or how early Pynson used them. The only pieces of printing (as opposed to binding) equipment which Pynson definitely did acquire from Machlinia

are two floral borders, McKerrow nos. 1 and 2. The problem is that Pynson did not appear to use either of these until around 1515 or later; if they were in Pynson's possession earlier, surely he would have used them. Although Machlinia seems the likeliest source of Pynson's training, as we can see there are problems here as well and no hard evidence that Pynson's relations with Machlinia consisted of anything more than buying out his business.

This latter event appears to have been exactly what happened. It has all too often been assumed that Pynson started out relatively young and not overly rich after an apprenticeship; in point of fact, if our chronology is correct, he started out at about the age of 40, already a successful merchant,⁵⁴ by buying out the sole publisher of law books. As has already been noted Pynson acquired Machlinia's bindery, stock of books and possibly his press. It is also possible that Pynson acquired Machlinia's shop in Holborn as well, for although Pynson lived and apparently sold from and printed at his house in the parish of St. Clement Danes outside Temple Bar until 1500, it should be noted that a band of his workmen were assaulted in London sometime before 1500 - presumably on their way to or from work.⁵⁵ One may also conjecture on the possibility Machlinia or some of his staff were incorporated into Pynson's establishment since it seems clear that Pynson had others working for him from the start; but again there is no hard evidence.

In acquiring Machlinia's shop and stock, Pynson also acquired a virtual monopoly on the lawbook trade (with the exception of Statutes) which he continued to hold profitably until the mid-1520's when John Rastell, presumably with Pynson's approval, and Robert Redman, on his own and to Pynson's consternation, enter the field. The basis for this

monopoly is uncertain since it is certainly not to be associated with Pynson's later role as King's Printer as some have asserted⁵⁶ nor was there anything like the Stationer's Company to regulate the trade at this early date. Possibly Pynson's control of the legal trade lay in an ability to read and edit Latin and Law French, augmented, perhaps, by some heretofore unsuspected legal training⁵⁷ and tacit and contractual agreements with the various Inns of Court and Chancery which ceded him the field in exchange for producing accurate texts and keeping them in print. Although this view is somewhat conjectural, we do know that c. 1494 Pynson printed copies of a Natura Brevium (STC 18385) and Old Tenures (STC² 23877.7) for his "maistres of the company of stonde Inne with oute temp11 Barre off london",⁵⁸ presumably to accompany the Littleton's Tenures of that year printed by Le Talleur;⁵⁹ in addition, we know that in 1499, Pynson printed two editions of the Abbreviamentum Statutorum, one of which, presumably, was that printed for Robert Boweryng, Robert Ffermour and Christopher St. Germain of the Middle Temple.⁶⁰

As maybe inferred from the above discussion, it was not until about 1494 that Pynson began to get heavily involved in the printing of lawbooks; before that date he appears to have been largely content with simply selling the editions of Littleton, Abbreviamentum Statutorum and Year Books acquired from Machlinia, except in the matter of the Year-Books. Among the earliest books printed by Pynson's press are Year-Book, Edward IV, 1 and Year-Book, Edward IV, 9 which mark the beginning of the systematic printing of the Year-Books which Pynson initiated and continued throughout his career. By the end of the century Pynson had filled in the gaps between the above two Year-Books with those for

Edward IV, 3-8.

In addition to the Year-Books mentioned above, Pynson's earliest works are generally supposed to include the Canterbury Tales already mentioned, a Donatus and a fragment of the Ghost of Guy, to which may possibly be added the Reinard the Fox (STC 20921).⁶¹ At this stage Pynson's stock appears to have consisted of a 120 mm. and a 101 mm. battarde (Duff nos. 1 and 2), a 114 mm. textura (Duff no. 4),⁶² device 3a, the woodcuts from the Canterbury Tales and a set of black and white knobbed capitals which I refer to as caps. no. 1. These are all believed to have been published before November 13, 1492, the date of Pynson's first dated work, the Doctrinale of Alexander Grammaticus, since the Canterbury Tales, Donatus and Year-Book, Edward IV, 9 all contain Pynson's device no. 3 in an earlier state than in the Doctrinale.⁶³ The Doctrinale saw the addition of a 64 mm. rotunda (Duff no. 3) to Pynson's stock of type as well as the first instance to survive of a presumed early Pynson binding with leaves from a Machlinia work as end-papers.

1493 saw the publication of the first of Pynson's works in the devotional and religious line with the issuance of a Festum Nominis Iesu, two editions of Mirk's Liber Festivalis and the Life of St. Margaret. In addition, he printed copies of Lydgate's The Choral and the Bird, copies of The Seven Wise Masters of Rome and Statutes on War. The St. Margaret and Statutes are of particular interest since they contain Pynson's first woodcut large initials; prior to these works the standard practice had been to leave spaces with or without guide-letters for rubrication by hand; this is not to imply that the practice of leaving spaces for rubrication ceased at this time, indeed the practice is con-

tinued through works dated as late as 1521;⁶⁴ and even after Pynson gave up the practice various owners of Pynson books continued to paint over the ornate initials and woodcuts with varying degrees of success well into the 1520's.⁶⁵

The only dated work published in 1493, was the Dives and Pauper, of July 5. Although this work is of some interest in that it contains another woodcut initial, its greater interest lies in the fact that it appears to have been the first work that Pynson published for John Russhe, a London merchant. Although our knowledge of Pynson's dealings with Russhe are confined to Chancery proceedings instigated sometime around 1503⁶⁶ by Russhe's executors, John Wells, and Russhe's widow, Isabel Grey⁶⁷ it is clear from the books involved that Pynson's dealings with Russhe covered the period from sometime before November 1493 (the date of publication of Dives) until after January 1494 (the date of publication of The Fall of Princes), although possibly running until Russhe's death in 1498.

Before attempting to deal with the law-suit itself, a few words are in order concerning the identity of John Russhe and his connections. Plomer, after correctly locating not only Russhe's will but his tomb as well, erroneously attempted to identify Russhe with the rather better known John Russe, who served as deputy for Anthony, Earl Rivers, Caxton's patron, as the collector of customs in the port of Yarmouth.⁶⁸ If this identification had been correct, it would have considerably bolstered the case for a Caxton-Pynson connection. Unfortunately, the scribes at this time are not really as careless as we would sometimes like to believe, and "Russe" proves no more interchangeable for "Russhe"⁶⁹ than does "Pynchon" for "Pynson".⁷⁰ The crowning blow to the

theory is the fact that John Russe, the collector of the port of Yarmouth, can be shown to have died in 1492.⁷¹

John Russhe, according to his memorial brass in the church of Our Lady of Barking, otherwise known as All Hallows', Barking, died on May 10, 1498.⁷² From his will, dated March 20, 1497/8 and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on May 16, 1498, we learn that in addition to his wife, Isabel, he left behind a son, John; and three daughters; one of whom, Joane, was a nun at the monastery of Sion.⁷³ In addition we know that he owned a manor called Forde in Walthamstow, Essex.⁷⁴ It is quite possible that Pynson first came in contact with Russhe through one of Pynson's seemingly numerous acquaintances in Essex. As early as 1482, we know that one John Burges, a miller of Westham, was co-surety with Pynson in the William Pays case;⁷⁵ in addition, we know that Pynson sued a Henry Hunt, clerk, of Essex for a sum of money in 1494;⁷⁶ perhaps the most likely source of an introduction, however, was from his friend Thomas Sutton, formerly of St. Clement Danes Parish, who settled in Chingford, which is in the same general area as Russhe's manor.⁷⁷

We also know that Russhe also obtained some land in Cornwall as part of the marriage settlement between John Arundell and Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, regarding the marriage of Arundell to Grey's daughter, Elizabeth.⁷⁸ This raises a second manner in which Pynson may have come to Russhe's attention since it is quite possible that Pynson would have been known to the Arundells through the John and Thomas Pynson of Alfricheston, Sussex, who witnessed the transfer of a tenement in Sussex from one Ralph Hunte to a Reynald Sondes, Richard Lecie and Thomas Arundell, Lord Matravers.⁷⁹

Plomer conjectures that this is the same "John Russhe of London gentleman," who, along with one Richard Croft, is granted a pardon for all debts under the privy seal on January 11, 1481/2.⁸⁰ A much more interesting possibility is that he was also the "John Rush," London merchant, who along with Sir William Knybert of Norfolk, Thomas Wandik, an astrologer of Cambridge and John Morton, then Bishop of Ely, advised the Duke of Buckingham in his ill-fated rebellion against Richard III in 1484.⁸¹ If this is the same John Russhe, it is clear that he would have been in contact at one time or another with all the members of Henry VII's early entourage and it is not unlikely that it was through him that Pynson was introduced to the court circle in general and Archbishop Morton in particular.⁸²

There is no evidence that Pynson, despite his allegations that Russhe left him with 100 pounds worth of books to dispose of, ever instigated any action against Russhe nor does he seem to have shown any enmity towards Russhe in any of the legal proceedings. The problems develop after Russhe's death with the appointment of Isabel Russhe (Isabel Grey after marrying one Thomas Grey) and a mysterious John Wells as executors of Russhe's will. It would appear from this case as well as that involving Joan Pynson's attempt to wrest the estate of her first husband, John Revell, from his mother, Margery Astry,⁸³ that litigation over large estates was one of the prime sports of the time. In this case, John Wells seems to be the main instigator in getting Isabel to seize as much of the estate as possible. Pynson was not the only one to have trouble with them in this regard since the younger John Russhe was forced to bring suit himself in order to gain a share in his father's estate.⁸⁴

Although we do not know when exactly Wells initiated action against Pynson, it is clear from the documents as well as from a statement by Pynson in them that it was well after Russhe's death and that the litigation almost certainly dragged on into the second decade of the sixteenth century. The action appears to have been initiated early in the sixteenth century in the Lord Mayor's Court (no record of which is known to exist) with the laying of an action of account against Pynson for the sum of 300 pounds which it was alleged that Pynson received in money, household goods, harness, linen cloth and other items from various unnamed people to deliver to Russhe.⁸⁵ Pynson countered with a claim that while he had always tried to get Russhe to record what he had received from Pynson and Pynson received from him, he had never succeeded; he further claimed that while he had supplied Russhe with all the alleged goods and money besides, he had at no time held them on account for Russhe and that on Russhe's death, Russhe, in fact, owed Pynson 100 pounds in regards to certain books which Pynson had printed or had had printed for Russhe and that this was the only outstanding business between them.⁸⁶ Pynson used this argument to have the case thrown out of the Mayor's Court and into Chancery by a writ of certiorari.⁸⁷

Although the outcome of the case is unknown,⁸⁸ there are several circumstances which would seem to suggest that Pynson was in the right. A key argument of Wells is that Pynson was merely acting as a factor for Russhe, and was in the position of a servant to him;⁸⁹ this is clearly not the case since Pynson was obviously in business for himself as is evidenced by the large number of books Pynson printed which were not done for Russhe. Another factor which must weigh heavily in Pynson's favor is the fact that among the documents existing is a deposition of

John Russe's daughter, Joane, to the effect that Pynson had paid her father any debts he might have owed him long before Russe's death.⁹⁰ This being the case, Pynson's statement that the suit was brought against him by Wells "out of pure malice which he has towards your suppliant [Pynson] for other occasions,"⁹¹ seems likely to have been correct. It would clearly be a great help to know who, exactly, this John Wells was and what the "other occasions" referred to by Pynson were - but at the moment there is no hint of evidence.

Although the outcome of the case is unknown, it is important to an understanding of Pynson on several accounts. Aside from presenting clues to how Pynson came to be acquainted with the court circle as we have already mentioned, the case establishes that Pynson was at this early period a man of some financial substance, having delivered and apparently received payment for books to the value of 315 pounds and having claimed to have been owed an additional 100 pounds for books which Russe apparently ordered but refused to accept delivery for.

The most important document in the dispute from our point of view is a schedule of the books printed for Russe and others supplied to Russe by Pynson along with their prices. Although the schedule has been previously printed by Plomer,⁹² it is of sufficient importance to warrant its reproduction below:

In p[ry]mys it was coven[au]nted bytwixt the sayd partyes that the said Pynson should make in printe unto ye seyde John Rushe d[i]ve[r]s bokys of dyvers sortes And ye seyde John Rushe shulde geve vnto the said Rychard for euery boke a certen sum[m]e as folowyth

ffirste vj^c bokys of Dives & Paupp[er] ev[er]y boke prentyd and bounde at iij s.
It[em] iij bokys called Jornalles a pece ij s.
vj c bokys called ffestivals a pece xx d.

vj c of bocas of the falle of prynces . ij s.(?)
 vj c masse bokys the pece x s.
 vj c of Gret gylt Prymers wyth ye bybll a
 pece ij s.

It[em] of the foresayde boky prynted and bound ye
 sayd Rycharde after delyver[ed] to ye seid John
 Rushe thys bokys hereafter insuyng

ccc bokys of Dyves and Paupp[er] ev[er]y pece -
 iiij s. sum[ma] xl li.
 vjc Jornalles the pece - ij s. sum[ma] l li.
 ccc Festivalis the pece-xx d. sum[ma] xxv li.
 vjc bokys of bocas the pece-iiij s. sum[ma] lx li.
 cc Masse bokys the pece - x s. sum[ma] c li.
 cc off the said primers the pece-ij s.
 sum[ma] xx li.

It[em] whan[ne] the sayd John Rushe had resayved
 and shulde send them into the countre to sell, he
 thought he cowde nat have good vtteraunce wythout
 other bokys of other storys, and than made great
 request for the same Rycharde for them p[ro]mys-
 yng hym to have hys mony for them in all haste
 after the sale of them. And the said Rychard
 trustyng verely vpon hys p[ro]mys delyver[ed]
 hym thys bokys off thys pryces as followen.

In p[ri]mis xx bokys off bevys off hampton redy
 bounde the pece - x d. sum[me] xxvj s. viij d.
 xxj bound bokys of gramatica Sulpicii ye pece- x d.
 sum[me] xxvij s. vj d.
 xx bokys of canterbery Talys ye pece - v s.
 sum[me] v li.
 xx bokys of Isoppys fabullys ye pece - ij s. iiij d.
 sum[ma] iij li. vj s. viij d.
 ii legendys off Caxton in papp[er] ryall . xlviij s.
 xx bokys of cronykyls ye pece - iiij s.
 sum[ma] iij li.
 cc mydell p[ri]mers the pece - vj d.
 sum[ma] v li.
 cc lesser primers the pece - iiij d.
 sum[ma] iij li. vj s. viij d.
 c Donettus the pece - j d.
 sum[ma] viij s. iij d.
 c Accidens the pece - j d.
 sum[ma] viij s. iij d.
 c doctrynallys ye pece - x d.
 sum[ma] iij li. iij s. iij d.
 c paruulas ye pece - j d.
 sum[ma] viij s. iij d.
 ij greate portuys legyar xxxvj s.
 ij bartylmewes xx s.
 ij legends xl s.

sum[me] of thyse last bokys delyv[er]ed
xxxiiij li. xix s. x d.

Sum[me] totalis of all the foresaid bokys delyv[er]ed
ye seid John Rushe ccclix li. xix s. x d.

After the hole noumbre off thyse bokys p[re]nted
and bounde accordyng to the coven[au]nts aforesaid,
The seid Rychard came to ye said John Rushe and
shoed hym hys bokys were redy, and asked his mony
accordyng to the said coven[au]nts, And than ye
sayd John Rushe wolde nat fulfyll up pon? hys
bargayne to the greate damage and losse of the sayd
Rycharde. For he wolde not a prynted none of the
sayd bokys but at the specyall request of ye sayd
John and upon trust to have had ye said coven[au]nte
kept.

Sum[me] totalis of thyse bokys delyv[er]ed to the
said John Rushe by the same Rycharde Pynson.
cccxv li.

And so the remen[au]nt off the said bokys he
was compellyd to kepe styll whych be not yet all
solde to the damage off ye sayd Rychard c li.

Although the schedule is marred in that the figures do not add
up properly and that it is somewhat confused in regard to how many books
Pynson actually delivered to Russhe of those which Pynson custom
printed, ⁹³ it is, nonetheless, invaluable in giving us our earliest in-
formation both in regard to book prices and in regard to the minimum
sizes of editions.

As the above schedule indicates, Pynson's standard edition of
this time would appear to be one of 600 copies ranging up to 1000 copies
in the case of the "jornal;" it must be remembered, however, that these
figures pertain only to the number of copies contracted for to Russhe
and that the actual size of any of these editions might be somewhat
larger. Nevertheless, we can guess that the usual minimum number of
books printed at one time would be about 400, about the number printed
of the Abbreuiamentum Statutorum in 1499 for Christopher St. Germain and

company;⁹⁴ a more normal edition would apparently consist of anywhere from 600 copies, as in most of the cases above, to between 750 and 800, the numbers contracted for respectively in the contracts for Horman's Vulgaria in 1519, and Palsgrave's Eclaircissement in 1524;⁹⁵ while on rare occasions Pynson might print over 1000 copies of a work, as was the case with the Statutes of War of 1513, of which he printed 1600 copies.⁹⁶ This would seem to confirm H.S. Bennett's view that it would take very special circumstances to persuade a printer in this period to print more than 600-700 copies of any ordinary work.⁹⁷

The matter of prices and the identification of some of the books in the schedule are both rather more problematical. While the Dives, Fall of Princes and Liber Festivalis are all readily identifiable in terms of the known output of Pynson's press, what are we to make of the "Jornalles,"⁹⁸ "masse bokys" and "Great gylt Prymers wyth ye bybll," which Pynson claims to have printed and bound in the first part of the schedule? Since we know of no works fitting the above descriptions printed by Pynson at this time, we must presume that they have either been all lost - or else that at least these books in the first schedule were indeed printed for Russhe "beyonde the see" as the complaint against Pynson alleges.⁹⁹

In the second part of the schedule the Sulpitius, Canterbury Tales, Donatus and Doctrinale are all from Pynson's press; the Bevys and Aesop may well be from Pynson as well, if the STC dates are somewhat off; the Legends of Caxton are apparently one of his large folio editions of Voragine's Legenda Aurea and the other "legends" are presumably one of Wynken's reprints of the same; the Parvula can also be assigned to Wynken's press as can the "bartylmewes," referring to

Bartholomaeus Anglicus's De Proprietatibus Rerum,¹⁰⁰ the remaining grammars are not readily identifiable since no Stanbridge Accidence is listed in the STC as being this early while the terms "mydell Primer" and "lesser primer" could refer to almost any of the early Latin grammars; the "chronicles" could refer to editions by either Caxton, Machlinia, Leeu, the St. Alban's Printer or Wynken, with that by Machlinia being the most likely since we know that Pynson had his in stock;¹⁰¹ the "great portuys legyar" referred to was apparently a large portable breviary¹⁰² which, again, is not readily identifiable.

The prices of the above are problematic in several respects. The price of the "Great gylt Prymer wyth ye bybyll" looks extremely low at 2 s. when a Dives sold at 4 s. and a Missal at 10 s. One also looks with some dismay on the figures of a Caxton Legend selling for 24 s., but it must be remembered that in this case Pynson is not selling one of his own works and that from the reference to and reverence shown Caxton in Pynson's "Proheme" to the Canterbury Tales, we may assume that those works which were printed by Caxton were already commanding a premium.

A larger problem in determining the actual prices for the books is the question of whether the prices quoted are for bound or unbound copies. Although the only books definitely specified as bound are the Dives and the Bevys, it seems likely that we can assume with H. S. Bennett that we are dealing with bound prices throughout¹⁰³ with the possible exceptions of the penny grammars; especially since the price for the bound Dives is the same as for the approximately same size Fall of Princes. Although H. S. Bennett seemed to think he knew a way to estimate the cost of binding a copy,¹⁰⁴ he does not explain the method and so we are forced to rely on the figures as given in attempting to com-

pute the price charged per printed sheet.

According to Bennett, the normal prices of books of one to three sheets before 1550 was one penny, while the normal cost of larger works for the same period was one-third penny per sheet.¹⁰⁵ The average price for Pynson on the wholesale level appears to have been slightly higher, varying primarily between .3 d. and .41 d. per sheet; thus for the above items we have prices per sheet of .41 d. for Dives and Fall of Princes, .37 d. for the Canterbury Tales and .32 d. or .34 d. (depending on which edition is referred to) for the Liber Festivalis. That these are the normal figures is confirmed by the data from the Horman and Palsgrave contracts which are .3 d. per page for the 1519 Vulgaria¹⁰⁶ and .39 d. for the 1524 Eclaircissement.¹⁰⁷ By contrast, the 1499 Abbreuiamentum Statutorum works out to .48 d. per sheet plus supervision by the purchasers; however, it should be remembered that there was much more text involved since this was printed in the smaller rotunda.¹⁰⁸

Given the above data, the price for Pynson's Sulpitius at .64 d. per sheet seems inordinately high until one considers the extreme care taken to produce a work with almost perfect register and perfect pagination. The price of the Aesop at .68 d. a sheet also seems out of line, but again one must remember that it was heavily illustrated with Caxton's cuts which, presumably, Pynson had to pay Wynken for the use of.

The prices per sheet for Caxton's Legend was 1.28 d., for Wynken's Legend, .71 d., and for Wynken's De Proprietatibus, .96 d. It is apparent from these figures that Pynson had a comfortable mark-up figured in and one can only wonder how much he actually paid for them as well as how much Russhe, in turn, eventually sold them for.

One can also use the above figures to make an educated guess as

to which edition of the Chronicle Pynson was selling. By taking the price given per copy in the schedule and dividing by the number of sheets in each edition we get prices per sheet of .33 d. for the St. Alban's edition, .40 d. for the Machlinia version, .41 d. for the Caxton version, .43 d. for the Wynken edition and .53 d. for the Leeu edition. Obviously Pynson could not have been selling the St. Alban's edition since the price would be less than he could produce it himself at; it is equally unlikely that he would have been selling either the Caxton or Wynken editions at the above prices since we have seen a considerable mark-up in the other books printed by them and sold by Pynson; the Machlinia edition remains a distinct possibility since although its price per sheet is about what would have been charged had Pynson printed the work himself, it must be remembered that Pynson seems to have acquired Machlinia's establishment in its entirety, and having acquired it mainly for the bindery and the stock of law books, he might well, in effect, have resorted to remaindering the other items from Machlinia's inventory; it is also possible that it was the Leeu edition which was meant since there is more of a mark-up involved and since Pynson is known to have handled at least one book printed by Leeu.¹⁰⁹

Of Pynson's other early transactions we know relatively little. We have already mentioned Pynson's 1499 printing of the Abbreviamentum Statutorum for Christopher St. Germain, Robert Bouryng and Robert Fermour of the Middle Temple. Under the terms of that contract Pynson was to provide 419 copies of the text bound and clasped in return for 20 pounds and the examination and correction of each leaf by the three gentlemen of the Middle Temple. Pynson again, apparently, delivered all the books, although with 144 unclasped due to a separate agreement with

St. Germain, only to be paid 10 pounds and then sued by the above group for 40 pounds.¹¹⁰

In the only other instance of Pynson's printing for a specific person before 1500, we know none of the details of the transaction and, indeed, are somewhat in the dark about the identity of one of the two stationers involved. The book in question is the Promptorium Puerorum of 1499, which according to the colophon was printed at the expense of Frederick Egmond and Peter Post Pascha. Egmond is, of course, well known, having published an edition of the York Breviary printed by Joannes Hertzog in Venice in 1493; and having several works published in conjunction with Gerard Barrevelt, whom he entered into a partnership with in 1494.¹¹¹ The identity of Peter Post Pascha, however, remains a mystery.¹¹²

What is clear is that Pynson was certainly running a profitable business through the end of the fifteenth century as his continually mounting stock of materials suggests. In 1494 or 1495,¹¹³ Pynson acquires his more ornate device no. 6 which is soon succeeded in 1496 or 1497 with his even more elaborate device no. 9 in metal.¹¹⁴ In 1495, Pynson acquired a 114 mm. and a 95 mm. textura, Duff nos. 6 & 7, presumably from France since the former is identical to one used by Hopyll and Higman in Paris while the latter is identical with that used to print a work for Robert Macé in Rouen in 1502.¹¹⁵ He also acquired three sets of capitals in addition to the set already mentioned. Pynson, at this time, had one coat-of-arms of Henry VII, which was used in law-books and probably formerly owned by Wynken.¹¹⁶ In addition to the 141 of Caxton's woodcuts used in the 1497 Aesop, Pynson had eighty-three others during this period including nineteen copied from Caxton's set

for the Canterbury Tales, nine obtained from DuPré for the Fall of Princes, twenty-five illustrating the Speculum Vita Cristi and twenty-two used in the Horae ascribed to 1497.¹¹⁷ Among the miscellaneous wood cuts introduced in this period were three which were to see much use throughout Pynson's career: Hodnett no. 1507, a seated Emperor, who would grace the covers of not only many of Pynson's books but those of works published by John Rastell and Robert Redman as well; Hodnett nos. 1508 and 1509, a seated scholar with birches to one side and a group of pupils around him and a scholar reading at a desk, respectively, which were used extensively for the covers of grammars. Finally, in addition to the four border pieces introduced in conjunction with device 3 between 1494 and 1496, he also had twenty-nine border pieces, nine religious border compartments and eight religious corner pieces all introduced in the 1497 Horae.

If the close of the fifteenth century saw Pynson reasonably wealthy, it also saw him with all the attendant problems of the successful businessman. We have already mentioned the lawsuits resulting from Pynson's dealings with John Russhe and the triumvirate from the Inner Temple since, although these occurred in the sixteenth century, the books themselves were printed and the terms agreed to in the fifteenth century; in addition to these Pynson fell prey to a number of legal problems in the fifteenth century proper.

In 1494, John Boket, a merchant of the Isle of Wight brought suit against Pynson for a debt of 60 shillings.¹¹⁸ Regrettably we have no notion of who exactly John Boket was nor what the debt was for.

In the same law term as the above case, Pynson in turn sued Henry Hunt, a clerk of Essex, and Hubert Hubert, a chapman or itinerant

peddler of London, for ten pounds.¹¹⁹ Again no further details are available.

Finally, presumably in the fifteenth century, although Plomer neglects to provide the date, we find one John Isbury suing Pynson, described as a "bokeprynter" and "pouchemaker" of St. Clement Danes, for a debt of 66 shillings.¹²⁰ Although we know nothing about the transaction involved, we do know that John Isbury would appear to have been a man of some prominence. In 1486 he is listed as one of the commissioners of the oath not to give aid to outlaws.¹²¹ On December 8, 1497, he is listed among the witnesses to a transfer of the manor of Mauncelcourt near Persey in Oxfordshire and Berkshire from Alice Delamare to John Fetiplace.¹²² In addition we know that he held a seven year lease on the chace or warren of Aldetoun for 30 pounds a year,¹²³ indicating that he must have been reasonably wealthy.

As may be observed, the Isbury lawsuit may be definitely dated as before 1500 by the fact that Pynson is still described as living in the parish of St. Clement Danes. Where exactly Pynson lived during this period of his career is open to conjecture. In his earliest dated work, the Alexander Grammaticus of 1492, Pynson describes himself as being "de parochia sancti Clementis dacon extra barr̄ novi templi London;" in the Dives of 1493, he describes himself as "at the temple barre of London;" in the 1494 Fall of Princes, he is described as "dwellynge withoute the Temple barre of London;" in the 1495 edition of Terence's Hecyra, he is described as "manetem extra Barrā medīi templi London̄;" while in works dated from 1496 through 1498 he is described as dwelling "extra Barram novi templi."¹²⁴ Although on first glance this may seem as if Pynson were shifting his shop around, ~~one soon~~ realizes that the New and Middle

Temple are both terms used interchangeably for the same section of the Temple.¹²⁵ Pynson's original shop would seem to have been located in the Strand just outside the Temple Bar and presumably across from or on the site of the present Courts of Justice. Although there is a pub called the George in this general vicinity on the south side of the Strand, it should be pointed out that Pynson's house in St. Clement Danes was never called the George and there is no evidence that this is the site of Pynson's first shop; nor is there any evidence that Notary¹²⁶ or Redman¹²⁷ moved into the house vacated by Pynson.

St. Clement Danes in the fifteenth century appears to have been a center for the book trade. In addition to Pynson, we know that there were at least three bookbinders in the parish at the time whom Pynson might have known - William Copeland, Henry Cony and William Herman.¹²⁸ We can be reasonably certain that Pynson first met Richard Collop, the gentleman of Lincoln's Inn whose will Pynson witnessed in 1504,¹²⁹ during this period since there is a record of Collop being in the parish as early as 1464.¹³⁰ Most of our knowledge of Pynson's actual friends comes from yet another lawsuit of this period - this one involving a small riot. From this case we learn that Pynson's early friends, although their trades are not specified, would appear to be more from the merchant and tradesmen class than from the nobility or court circle - the men mentioned are a Thomas Sutton, of Chingford, Essex, but late 30 years in St. Clement Danes, a Cornelius Johnson or Jensen, who has been speculated to be a foreigner and possibly one of Pynson's workmen, and a Harry Wilson, also of St. Clement Danes.¹³¹

The case is of some importance because it has often erroneously been cited both as the cause of Pynson's move into London and as

evidence of the prejudice against foreign workmen felt by the people of England of the time.¹³² In essence the situation seems to have begun with Pynson and his wife, Sutton, Johnson and Wilson making merry at the house of one William Strenger;¹³³ in the course of the evening a stranger entered and warned Pynson that there were people outside waiting to injure them. Not unnaturally this upset Mrs. Pynson who began to cry, whereupon Sutton promised they would get Pynson safely home. When they went outside some boys began to throw stones at them and when Sutton remonstrated with them, a man threatened him with a sword. Sutton then seized the man by the throat and bade him to keep the King's peace, at which point one Henry Squyr,¹³⁴ cordwainer and King's constable for the parish, who was armed with a bill, attacked Sutton. In the meantime the other rioters had broken into the house of one William Hales and brought out a bench which they used to burst in the doors of several houses and would have done the same to Pynson's except for the timely intervention of a group of passing courtiers.¹³⁵ According to Pynson the ringleaders of this attack were the Henry Squyr already mentioned, John Walker, saddler and bailey of the Savoy, and John Vickers, a butcher of St. Clements.

Again according to Pynson, on the following Wednesday these conspirators caused 15 or 16 of their fellows to lie in wait for Pynson's "servants" in Fleet Street in London where they attacked Pynson's men and stole a dagger and a short cloak from one of them (the cloak then being sold to an upholsterer in the Parish of St. Thomas the Apostle). The aim of the attacks seems to have been to frighten Pynson's workmen and thus drive him out of business. Pynson then goes on to accuse Squyr, Walker and Vickers of having taken oaths that "their (sic) shall

nother ffrenshman nor flemmyng dwell nor abide wythyn the seid parish of Saint Clements."¹³⁶ This last statement has been constantly taken up to demonstrate the hostility to foreigners prevalent at the period and the perilous lot of all the foreign born printers,¹³⁷ despite the fact that this is the only incident involving a foreign born printer in the period and despite the further fact that the accusation is self-serving in the sense that it is aimed at discrediting the story of Squyr and company that they were simply doing their duty and that Pynson was guilty of disturbing the peace.

According to the story put forward by Squyr, he was visiting with his neighbor, William Hales, when a stranger came to his house and informed him of the riot. As one of the King's constables he went out to see what was going on and near his door met Pynson, Sutton and William Berell (possibly the mercer of that name)¹³⁸ and charged them to keep the peace whereupon Pynson charged him to keep the peace after which Squyr went home to bed.¹³⁹

As usual, the outcome of the case, which was tried in Star Chamber, is not known.¹⁴⁰ On the basis of the evidence it is clear that someone had set out to drive Pynson out of business or at least make things very difficult for him. It should be noted that despite Pynson's claims that the actions were part of a general plot against all Frenchmen and Flemings in St. Clement' Danes, in all instances cited the actions are directly solely at him. Although Vickers and Walker may well have been behind the action, Squyr's evidence is plausible and it is entirely possible that the same mysterious stranger organized the mob, warned Pynson to make certain he would get involved and then summoned Squyr so that it would appear Pynson was the trouble-maker.

It is quite possible that it was because of this incident, as many have suggested, that Pynson left St. Clement Danes for London; but it was not because London offered greater security for a foreigner - all too often history has recorded the capriciousness of the London mob which must always be borne in mind, and in this instance we already know that Pynson would not have been more secure in London since it is clearly stated in the case that his servants had been attacked in Fleet Street in London. As far as the proceedings of the Squyr case are concerned it was not so much a case of Pynson seeking the security of London as his having to leave St. Clement Danes where he was convinced that, whether it was true or not, those responsible for enforcing the law were instead conducting a vendetta against him.

This again raises the interesting problem of whether or not Pynson had taken out papers of naturalization. We have already mentioned the missing patent of naturalization attributed to 1493 and the later letter of denization which is believed to be that of the younger Pynson. Although Plomer could not find any mention of Pynson in the returns of aliens it must be remembered that the returns cited also include the period before the assumed patent of naturalization and that the surviving returns are very spotty.¹⁴¹ Pynson's appointment as King's Printer is no help as evidence since his two predecessors were both French. We could expect no returns from the alien tariffs after Pynson entered the book trade since foreign dealers in books were explicitly exempted from the tariffs and other restraints on trade enacted in the statute of 1483.¹⁴² On the other hand, a major advantage of a letter of denization was that it allowed the possessor to own land and, depending on the individual letter, to entail it to his heirs;¹⁴³ it must be admitted in

this regard that it is rather peculiar that Pynson appears to have owned no property but simply to have held forty and sixty year leases. It is, of course, obvious that in most matters Pynson enjoyed the privileges of the average Englishman and then some, if only because of his connections in his later years with the Crown. It is possible that there never was a letter of denization for Pynson because he may have had English status from birth if he was born while Normandy was still nominally under English rule,¹⁴⁴ while his son, having been born there after the time of the English presence, would need one. As we can see the issue remains somewhat cloudy.

Although the Act of 1483 would seem to have allowed the free importation of books from the continent, Duff noted that few foreign printers appear to have taken advantage of the situation until after Caxton's death in 1491.¹⁴⁵ - although we have no notion of how many of their domestic editions of Latin works they may have exported to England. Only Gerard Leeu of Antwerp seems to have attempted to print works in English for the English market among the foreign printers of the fifteenth century. The main business aimed at the English market was in Latin liturgical works, mainly of the Sarum usage. The French printers, particularly those in Paris, concentrated heavily on the production of elaborate Horae with the text enclosed by elaborate borders.

Pynson was highly aware of the market for liturgical works and also of his competition. Before 1500, Pynson produced no less than three editions of the Expositio Hymnorum, four Breviaries and four Horae. The Horae¹⁴⁶ ascribed to 1497 is of particular interest because Pynson clearly set out to cut into the French business by producing a heavily illustrated edition with borders surrounding every page in the best

Parisian tradition. During the same period he is also credited with producing three editions of Mirk's Liber Festivalis, two editions of Maydestone's Directorium Sacerdotum, an edition of Guido de Monte Rocherii's Manipulus Curatorum, two editions of Lyndewode's Constitutiones Provinciales and nine indulgences.

Of Pynson's relations with the clergy at this time we know definitely that he knew Archbishop Morton for whom he would print the Morton Missal¹⁴⁷ in 1500. We can also conjecture that he knew Bishop Alcock since besides reprinting Alcock's Mons Perfectionus,¹⁴⁸ which had previously appeared in two editions by De Worde, he printed Alcock's Gallicantus¹⁴⁹ featuring a special woodcut (Hodnett no. 1354) on the title-page which portrayed Bishop Alcock preaching, the identity of the speaker being emphasized by black cocks on the columns in the picture; the book also featured a cut of a black cock inserted beside the beginning of the text: custom touches which plainly suggest Alcock's patronage of the edition.

The appeal of works of a religious and devotional nature was by no means limited to the clergy. Saints' lives were highly popular, and during this period Pynson published at least two, those of St. Margaret¹⁵⁰ and of St. Petronilla,¹⁵¹ the daughter of St. Peter. Aside from being interesting stories to be piously read, the saints' lives were also to be viewed as exempla to be followed in the conduct of the individual lives of the readers - a tendency no doubt largely due to the influence of the Imitation of Christ.

Although the movement to translate and make the Bible available to the masses in the vernacular was still some time away there were already moves afoot to make the material more available in other forms.

Thus we have the English translation of N. Love of Jean De Gallope's French version of St. Bonaventura's Speculum Vita Cristi¹⁵² expounding on the life of Christ, which was printed by Caxton in 1486 and 1490 and by Pynson in 1494 and 1506.¹⁵³ Also noteworthy in this regard is Dives and Pauper, which, as we have already noted, Pynson published the first edition of for John Russhe in 1493. Although Dibdin managed to find a "shocking" story about Fair Rosamund in it,¹⁵⁴ the work is really a most pious piece expounding on the Ten Commandments through a dialogue between a Rich Man and a Poor Man. In reality, the discussion is rather more wide ranging and attempts to tackle numerous somewhat problematical points of theology which might trouble the educated layman including such problems as whether the veneration of the cross does not violate the commandment not to worship any graven images.

Along somewhat similar lines is the dialogue between a priest and a soul in Purgatory in the Ghost of Guy which is among Pynson's earliest works. Although only a fragment of this unique English printed edition survives, we know the gist of the dialogue from several manuscript sources.¹⁵⁵ A ghost of a man who had died in the plague begins to haunt his native region of Italy, and a priest comes to try to get rid of the offending spirit. In the course of the ensuing dialogue numerous theological points are expounded, including the nature of Purgatory. It also becomes clear that the priest is highly ignorant of the religion he professes to espouse and is, one suspects, a candidate for a region much hotter (or colder depending on what tradition one is following) than Purgatory.

The Anticlerical element is important to note because it runs beneath the surface of much of the literature of the time. Although the

people of the time were highly religious, they, and several generations before them, were well aware of the abuses in the Church. The instances of satire on the subject in the Canterbury Tales and Reynard the Fox are well known; somewhat less apparent are the attacks in Mandeville's Travels, which Pynson published the first edition of in 1496. Although Mandeville is often taken to be merely a travel book full of marvelous sights, it should be pointed out that the greater part of it is concerned with a description of the holy sights to be seen on the journey to the Holy Land. It has too often escaped the modern reader that the customs of the barbarians visited and the religions held by them are rather direct comments on the customs of and practice of the Christian religion in Europe.¹⁵⁶ It is important to note the combination of simple piety, a desire to better understand the Bible and the teachings of the Church and a skepticism as to whether the Church and the clergy were following these teachings that runs throughout the above works, since it has all too often been forgotten that the Reformation did not spring full-blown from Luther's head but was built on the abuses, supposed or otherwise, of several centuries.

In the non-religious works published by Pynson there is a marked didactic tone running throughout though sometimes almost submerged, to the point that it could be easily overlooked, by the skill of a Chaucer or the author of Reynard the Fox. Less subtle are the so-called Aesop's Fables which Pynson is first thought to have published in 1497 using Caxton's edition as a copy text.¹⁵⁷ In addition to this collection, Pynson also published Lydgate's fable of the Churl and the Bird during this period.

The solemn admonition that man's time upon the earth is limited

and that he had best spend his life in good works while preparing his soul for eternity resounds throughout works such as The Art and Crafte to Knowe Well to Die published by Pynson between 1494 and 1496.¹⁵⁸ The image of mortality combines with the "ubi sunt" tradition and appeals to authorities in the best mediaeval manner in works such as Lydgate's Fall of Princes of which Pynson printed the first edition at John Russe's request in 1494.

Even more openly didactic is The Book of Good Manners in Caxton's translation which Pynson first published in 1494. The work, divided into five books, after beginning with a discussion of the virtues that serve as antidotes to the seven deadly sins in the first book, moves on in the next three books to discuss the positions of and the correct behavior of those in the Church, of the Nobility and of the common people respectively, before returning in the last book to the common end of all in death. Along the way numerous stories or anecdotes are introduced in the best mediaeval manner to illustrate the various points being made.

While the Book of Good Manners sounds like a courtesy book but turns out to have far weightier moral concerns at its heart, Pynson treats of manners in an equally unlikely sounding place - in A good Boke to Lerne to Speke French in which as one section of the work he has printed in alternating lines of English and French the work generally known as the Lytyll Chyldrenes Lytel Boke.¹⁵⁹ The book as a whole was aimed at the merchant classes with the chief vocabulary provided being that which was likely to be most useful for purposes of trade. The courtesy book section was apparently added to help smooth out the manners of the merchant although some of the suggestions are exceptionally basic.

In general, Pynson's early output of literary works tends to be relatively unimaginative and dominated by authors of the previous age whose popularity in manuscript form had already been well established. In the same vein we have already remarked on the large number of reprints of works originally issued by Caxton, the popularity of which had also been established. It should be remarked that this should in no way be considered a criticism of Pynson's early output, but rather a recognition of his superb business acumen in starting out with works for which a market was guaranteed and, in consequence, presumably making a profit from the start.

This is not to say that Pynson merely reprinted material from Caxton, for as we have already noted he published first editions during this period of Lydgate's Fall of Princes, Dives and Pauper and Mandeville's Travels, not to mention Alcock's Gallicantus and a unique work called the Epitaph of Jasper. It must be recognized, however, that even here Pynson was being the shrewd businessman with the Fall of Princes and Dives commissioned by Russhe before printing, the Gallicantus likely subsidized by Alcock and the Epitaph likely subsidized by Henry VII or someone close to the royal family.

A similar conservatism may be noted in regard to Pynson's publication of grammars and other educational material during this period. The Donatus Melior, a derivative of the Donatus Minor and basically a list in Latin of parts of speech, regular declensions and conjugations; the Doctrinale of Alexander de Villa Dei (otherwise known as Alexander Grammaticus) which provided syntax and irregular verbs in unmetrical Latin hexameter; the Multorum Vocabulorum and Synonyma of John of Garland (or Garlandia) and the Opus Oratoris of Sulpitius were all of

considerable antiquity and would meet with a welcome reception by most of the chantry priests and masters of most of the grammar schools whose job it was to teach Latin grammar to the young.¹⁶⁰ Although unsystematic, these works taken together provided the novice with most of the rules he needed to understand Latin although with the slight problem that they were all in Latin. This deficiency was partly compensated for by the publication in 1499 of the Promptorium Puerorum, an English-Latin dictionary commissioned from Pynson by Frederick Egmond and Peter Post Pascha; because of its arrangement it was more useful for translating English into Latin than vice-versa. Another useful book for Latin composition was the anonymous Elegantiarum Viginti Praecepta with more advanced rules such as the placement of adjectives, etc. and the Dialogus Linguae et Ventris by one W.H., usually taken to be William Horman.

Four other educational works of a more advanced level but essentially untouched by the beginnings of the New Learning must be mentioned. Three of these, the Libellus Sophistarum ad Usum Cantabrigium, Libellus Sophistarum and the Libellus Sophistarum ad Usum Oxoniensis, are primarily concerned with logic but also have sections dealing with natural phenomena and the use of proportions. These were clearly intended for the university trade as was the other text, the presumably more advanced Libellus Secundarium Intentionum Logicalium.

Although the majority of Pynson's output for this period reflects what might be termed mediaeval tendencies and the "Old Learning," it should be noted that the first tentative moves towards the "New Learning," the revival of classicism and eventually Humanism had already begun. On the level of the teaching of Latin grammar the center of innovation was Magdalen School, Oxford. The first of the Magdalen grammarians was John

Anwyll (or Ankwyll)¹⁶¹ whose Compendium Totius Grammatice ex Laurentio Valla Servio Perotto published in 1483 was an improvement on the Doctrinale and whose Vulgaria quedam abs Anglicam Linguam Traductio featured interlinear English translations to help the student to better understand Latin conversation.¹⁶² Of more importance was the innovation introduced by Anwyll's successor John Stanbridge in his Parvula which first stated Latin grammatical rules in English. Not insignificantly this was among the books Pynson supplied John Russe with and also one which Pynson got around to printing himself circa 1496.

Throughout the fifteenth century the normal procedure was that the young students should start by memorizing Latin prayers and then proceed through the Psalter from which they moved on to study the old style grammars which we have just mentioned. Originally, of course, the training was given almost exclusively by clerics with an aim towards training the students to read the Bible and the Fathers - usually in preparation for entering one or another order.¹⁶³ As the student progressed he usually perfected his Latin by reading various Classical authors and Pseudo-Classical authors presumably for the form rather than the content if some writers on the subject are to be believed. An exception to this rule is the Theodolus, which was read with an eye towards three-fold interpretation¹⁶⁴ as well as form. The work is a pastoral in which the shepherdess Alitheia, representing Christianity, bests the shepherd Pseustis, representing Paganism. The work continued to have some literary influence until about 1519 when the last recorded literary mention is made of it by Barclay in one of his Prologues.¹⁶⁵ Not insignificantly Pynson printed the first edition printed in England.

The great majority of Classical works used in England during the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were printed on the Continent. During the early period the production of Classical texts in England was confined almost exclusively to the output of Theodoric Rood and Thomas Hunte of Oxford, who also printed the first editions of the Anwykyl works mentioned above and who, from the Classical side of Humanism can be regarded as having established the first Humanistic press in England.¹⁶⁶ Other printers published abridged or simplified versions of authors for the grammar school trade. Pynson, however, made a unique and largely forgotten contribution to the dissemination of Classical material in England by publishing six comedies of Terence over the period from 1495 through 1497. It would be of great interest if we knew whom he published these for, since, as we have observed, Pynson always seems to have operated with a potential market firmly in mind; although no suggestions have been put forward (indeed, the works are seldom even mentioned) the most likely markets would be among the learned students at the universities, possibly among some of the clergy, and even more probably among the inhabitants of the Inns of Court, which would play a major role in the resurgence of the drama in the next century.

One last work remains to be mentioned. It has been saved for last because it is the most curious production of the period. The work is an English poem on the death of Jasper Tudor entitled The Epitaph of Jasper, and apparently by one Smerte, late Keeper of Jasper's birds, although some have attempted to ascribe it to Skelton. Like the Alcock Gallicantus it features a custom-cut woodcut (Hodnett no. 1501) of a man with a falcon on his arm offering a book to a king, which along with the unusual subject matter suggests that the printing was commissioned, probably by a member of the royal family or someone in the court circle.

The interest in the work, which has been totally overlooked by all writers of literary histories with the exception of Berdan,¹⁶⁷ lies in a series of Latin glosses printed as shoulder-notes which divide the work into a series of metra (taken by Berdan as representing different meters) and also take note of various rhetorical devices including "repetitio," exhortatio" and "neugacio." If the work was what it appears to be, it could well be hailed as the first printed primer for the composition of poetry in English. Regrettably, the poem, although sincere in theme, is horrendously bad in its supposed demonstration of the rhetorical devices and in the irregularity of its supposed meters. It is not impossible that the Latin glosses have been added as a joking comment on the quality of the poem.

FOOTNOTES

¹Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Archdean of Sudbury, ed. Samuel Tymms, Camden Society, Old Series, no. 49 (London: J. B. Nichols and son, 1850), pp. 113-114.

²John Johnson, Typographia, or the Printer's Instructor [hereafter Typographia] (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), I, p. 406. Joseph Ames, Typographical Antiquities, edited and enlarged by Thomas Frognall Dibdin, augmented by William Herbert (London: William Miller for W. Savage, 1812), II, i.

³F. J. Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts with Horman for his Vulgaria, and Palsgrave for his Lesclaircissement with Pynson's Letter of Denization" [hereafter "Pynson's Contracts"], Transactions of the Philological Society, 1867, pp. 372-373. W. Page, Letters of Denization (London: The Huguenot Society, 1893), p. 200. Ernest J. Worman, Alien Members of the Book-Trade During the Tudor Period [hereafter Alien Members of the Book-Trade] (London: Blades, East and Blades for the Bibliographical Society, 1906), p. 52.

⁴E. G. Duff, The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London, from 1476 to 1535 [hereafter Printers of Westminster] (Cambridge University Press, 1906), p. 55. It should also be noted that Duff's vague reference simply records Pynson as being at the University of Paris in that year - it does not tell us whether he entered the university in that year (which I have postulated to arrive at my figures) or whether he had been a member of it prior to that year.

⁵Nathan Schachner, The Mediaeval Universities (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1962), p. 125.

⁶Chancery bills of Henry Tab and Thomas Kele, Public Record Office [hereafter PRO], Early Chancery Proceedings [hereafter ECP], bundle 680, no. 45, and bundle 649, no. 32.

⁷The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, ed. Kathleen Major, Lincoln Record Society, vol. 51 (Hereford: Hereford Times, 1958), p. 171.

⁸Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry VII A.D. 1485-1500 [hereafter Close Rolls: Henry VII] (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office [hereafter HMSO], 1955), I, pp. 62-63, item 231 on membrane 15d of the original document.

⁹Johnson, Typographia, I, p. 406. The information is derived from Anthony a Wood, Athenae Oxonienses.

¹⁰Johnson, loc. cit. Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. Dibdin, II, i. The reference to a "Robert Penson," mercer, is from Acts of the Court of the Mercers Company [hereafter Mercers Company], ed. Laetitia Lyell and Frank D. Whatney, (Cambridge at the University Press, 1936), p. 380. It should also be noted that a Robert Pynson, skinner,

is mentioned in PRO, ECP, bundle 140, no. 91.

¹¹Two Bristol Calendars, ed. Alfred E. Hudd, Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, XIX (for 1894-1895), p. 128.

¹²Colin Clair, A History of Printing in Britain [hereafter History of Printing] (London: Cassell, 1965), p. 40. The source is The Church-Wardens Accounts of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, Guildhall Library MS. 2968/1 [hereafter Guildhall MS. 2968/1], fo. 9b. It should be noted however that the same person is referred to on fo. 10 as "John Nynes." See the Appendix on Bindings for a further discussion.

¹³David J. Johnson, Southwark and the City (Oxford University Press for the City of London, 1969), p. 181. In addition, we may note that Philippe Renouard, Documents sur les Imprimeurs, Libraires, Cartiers, Graveurs, Fondateurs de Lettres, Relieurs, Dorers de Livres, Fais-eurs de Fumoirs, Enlumineurs, Parcheminiers et Papetiers ayant Exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600 [hereafter Documents sur les Imprimeurs] (Paris: H. Champion for La Société de L'Histoire de Paris, 1901), p. 49, notices a Denis Pinsson as the husband of Marguerite Claudiere among a list of the heirs of Genevieve Hicqman [Higman], the wife of Regmault Claudiere, dated April 29, 1559. Also Worman, Alien Members of the Book-Trade, p. 52, mentions a Jane Pynsen in the Parish of St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark in 1559, and a Gyllam Pynson in the same parish in 1552 who received his letter of denization in 1554.

¹⁴Guildhall MS. 2968/1, fo. 51a.

¹⁵The Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John the Baptist and St. Katherine of Coventry [hereafter Guild of the Holy Trinity], ed. Mary Dorner Harris (London: Humphrey Milford for the Dugdale Society, 1935), p. 107. The records are somewhat suspect in that they come not from the original registers but from a manuscript compiled by one Thomas Sharp (1770-1841) from a manuscript supposedly in his possession but conveniently destroyed in a fire. The reference is to a "Richard Pynson of London, Junior," which would seem to rule out the printer. It is especially suspect since the younger Pynson died the year of the entry.

¹⁶The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books [hereafter Records of Lincoln's Inn], ed. J. Douglas Walker (London: H. S. Cartwright for Lincoln's Inn, 1897), I, p. 161 (fo. 32 of the original) and p. 169 (fo. 44), respectively.

¹⁷PRO, ECP, bundle 553, no. 61. The bill is one of several concerned with a thousand pound legacy left by John Revell to his wife, but which was seized by his mother. Young Pynson could not have been married before 1512 since he appears to have still been in clerk's quarters at Lincoln's Inn in 1511.

¹⁸Guildhall MS. 2968/1, fo. 14a. The reference to the surviving daughter is drawn from the elder Pynson's will, PRO, Prerogative Court

of Canterbury [hereafter PCC], 15 Jankyn.

¹⁹H. R. Plomer, Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers [hereafter Printers' Wills] (London: Bibliographical Society, 1903), p. 3. Mercers Company, eds. Lyell and Whatney, p. 607, records a William Campion, grocer, as a member of the general court of 1496; p. 333, records him as present at the general court of 1509; p. 370, records him as one of those sent to the King's Council to answer a complaint of the sheermen against the company.

²⁰Guildhall MS. 2968/1, fo. 3b.

²¹Pynson's will, PRO, PCC, 15 Jankyn.

²²Pynson's will, PRO, PCC, 15 Jankyn:

²³Established through the Tab and Kele bills, PRO, ECP, bundle 680, no. 45 and bundle 649, no. 42 in which Joane and her husband John are the defendants. They cannot have been married before Pynson's death or the name change would have been mentioned in the will.

²⁴H. R. Plomer, "Richard Pynson, Glover and Printer" [hereafter "Pynson, Glover"], The Library [hereafter Library], 4th series, III (1923), p. 49, citing PRO, Controlment Roll, trin. 22, ed. IV, membrane 14.

²⁵H. R. Plomer, "Some Notices of Men Connected with the English Book Trade from the Plea Rolls of Henry VII" [hereafter "Some Notices"], Library, 3rd series, I (1910), p. 298, citing PRO, De Banco Roll 938, membranes 472 and 473. Regrettably Plomer does not give the date for the roll. I looked in vain for this and all other entries in the De Banco series cited by Plomer; it is possible however, that I simply failed to recognize the entries because of the rather crabbed hands writing in Latin abbreviation.

²⁶The matter of the reference to Pynson as a glover in the one instance and a pouchmaker in the other is readily explained by the fact that the Glovers' Company merged with the Pouchmakers' Company in 1498, both of which were merged with the Leathersellers' Company in 1502. See John Bromley, The Armorial Bearings of the Guilds of London (London and New York: Frederick Warne, 1960), p. 119. Inquiries to the Company of Leathersellers elicited the response that they have no records mentioning Pynson.

²⁷Paul M. Kendall, The Yorkist Age (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), pp. 287-288.

²⁸H. R. Plomer, "Two Lawsuits of Richard Pynson" [hereafter "Two Lawsuits"], Library, 2nd series, X (1909), p. 124.

²⁹Plomer, loc. cit.

³⁰N. F. Blake, Caxton and His World (London: Andre Deutsch, 1969), p. 203.

³¹Duff, Printers of Westminster, p. 58.

³²Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. Dibdin, II, p. 2, following the earlier speculations of Herbert in his edition of the work (p. 238).

³³George Haven Putnam, Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages (New York: Hilary House reprint, 1962), p. 139, on which he also makes the rather strange statement that the bulk of Pynson's publications were either satiric or printed primarily for the amusement of the reader.

³⁴For a fuller discussion and texts of Caxton's and Pynson's Prohemes see the discussion of the pre-1492 Canterbury Tales in the descriptions.*

³⁵Blake, Caxton and His World, pp. 13-63.

³⁶Edward Hodnett, English Woodcuts, 1480-1535 [hereafter English Woodcuts] (Oxford at the University Press, 1973), pp. 116-128.

³⁷Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 153 and 154.

³⁸Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 160, and Additions, p. 52...

³⁹See discussions under individual works in the descriptions.

⁴⁰R. A. Peddie, Printing: a Short History of the Art [hereafter Printing] (London: Grafton, 1927), p. 179. E. G. Duff, A Century of the English Book Trade [hereafter Century] (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1948), p. 126. Clair, History of Printing, p. 34.

⁴¹Pierre Le Verdier, L'Atelier de Guillaume Le Talleur [hereafter Le Talleur] (Rouen: Albert Lainé pour la Société Française de Bibliographie, 1916), p. 99, notes that Bernard Quaritch's catalogue no. 15, Monuments of the Early Printers in All Countries (1886-1887), describes item no. 37944 as, "NATVRA BREVIVM, in law-french and in alphabetical arrangement, sm. folio. The first two leaves contain the table which occupies pp. 2, 3, 4; on the fourth page, in a London type, evidently added when the stock was received from Rouen, are the words, 'Per me. R. Pynson.'" On the reverse of the last page we find the printer's mark of Guillaume le Talleur of Rouen." Le Verdier suggests that this is probably an error with the opening pages of the Statham appended by mistake to a Natura.

⁴²Clair, History of Printing, p. 34.

⁴³E. G. Duff, Early Printed Books (New York: Haskell House reprint, 1968), p. 167.

⁴⁴See appendix on devices.

⁴⁵One argument sometimes used for dating the works as early as 1490 is the mistaken notion that Le Talleur died in 1490. Le Verdier, Le Talleur, while noting that on the basis of the types used the pieces could date from 1487 on (p. 91), also reprints the document which demonstrates that Le Talleur did not die until sometime in early 1494 (pp. 13-14).

⁴⁶At least there is no note to suggest such in Le Verdier's Le Talleur; most of the French books which I have viewed were at the Morgan Library and I did not encounter any instance of sheet-signing.

⁴⁷Le Verdier, Le Talleur, p. 16. Graham Pollard, "The Names of Some English Fifteenth-Century Binders" [hereafter "Fifteenth-Century Binders"], Library, 5th series, XXV (1969), p. 206, seems to be the only one to have seriously suggested that Pynson apprenticed with Le Talleur and Morin under Du Pré.

⁴⁸Clair, History of Printing, p. 34.

⁴⁹Anatole Claudin, The First Paris Press (London: Blades, East and Blades for the Bibliographical Society, 1898). The press was set up by two Germans, G. Fichet and J. Heynlin in the Sorbonne.

⁵⁰H. R. Plomer, Wynken De Worde and His Contemporaries [hereafter Wynken De Worde] (London: Grafton, 1924), p. 111; his speculation that Pynson was the printer of The Siege of Rhodes while learning the art is rather more dubious. Peddie, Printing, p. 178.

⁵¹G. D. Hobson, Blind-Stamped Panels in the English Book-Trade c. 1485-1555 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1944), pp. 22-29.

⁵²Duff, Early Printed Books, p. 165 and virtually all other accounts that follow.

⁵³Clair, History of Printing, p. 52.

⁵⁴He must have been successful since by the time of his dealings with John Russe in 1493-1494 he could afford to tie up three hundred pounds worth of merchandise in his dealings with one person.

⁵⁵H. R. Plomer, "Richard Pynson v. Henry Squyr" [hereafter "Pynson v. Squyr"], Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, VI (1900-1901), p. 138.

⁵⁶Marjorie Plant, The English Book Trade (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1965), p. 100: "The works included in the King's Printer monopoly at first were Acts of Parliament, law books and year books, Bibles and service books, almanacks and Latin grammars and other educational works." As H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 to 1557 [hereafter English Books and Readers] (Cambridge at the University Press, 1970), p. 38, points out, although the King's Printer had always enjoyed the privilege of printing proclamations and such other things as the Crown required, it was not until the reigns of Edward VI and Mary

that monopolies began to be granted for various classes of works by letters patent - and these were not all granted to the King's Printer. During Pynson's career the only items specifically covered appear to have been proclamations and works which specifically stated that they were printed at the command of Henry VIII. Acts of Parliament were not covered as evidenced by their having been printed by Caxton and Wynken among others.

⁵⁷Close Rolls: Henry VII, II, p. 282, item 750, Richard Pynson is appointed attorney to convey seisin in a grant of land in Norfolk and Suffolk from Richard, Earl of Kent, to Charles Somerset, Knight, Christopher Urswick and Edmund Staynbroke, clerks, in the document dated May 16, 1507. E. Williams, Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London [hereafter Early Holborn] (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1927), I, item 164, citing Ancient Deed B2171, a document dated June 1502, which lists Richard Pynson, "citizen and stationer," and Robert Halle, Keeper of Ludgate Gaol, as attorneys to convey seisin of land in the Parish of St. Sepulchre-without-Newgate from John Stone, gentleman, Bartholomew Rede, Nicholas Mynys, Alderman of the City of London, Richard Lee, esquire, Richard Broke, gentleman, and Roger Thorney, citizen and mercer of London, to Sir Robert Rede, Knight and Justice of the King's Bench. One would like to know what legal status and training, if any, were necessary for one to act as an attorney to convey seisin; regrettably most legal histories seem to be content with just mentioning that land conveyance was very involved.

⁵⁸Williams, Early Holborn, I and II, items 43, 939, 1450, 1457 and 1458. Strond Inn, an inn of chancery, was originally known as Chester Inn and owned by the Duchy of Lancaster from c. 1400 through 1528. It was located somewhere on the site of the east wing of Somerset House.

⁵⁹Curt F. Buhler, "Notes on a Pynson Volume," Library, 4th series, XVIII (1937-1938), pp. 261-267.

⁶⁰Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," pp. 130-133.

⁶¹On the basis of being the only other work known to employ the type "k" used in connection with the 101 mm. battard in the pre-1492 Canterbury Tales.

⁶²Although Duff lists this as type 4 and not appearing in 1493, an "h" and possibly other letters from this font are used in combination with type 1 in the running-titles of the two yearbooks and the text of the Ghost of Guy, which are all considered pre-1492.

⁶³The so-called first state lacks the white dot above the joined letters. I am following all earlier bibliographers in taking this as the earliest state of the device.

⁶⁴STC 13078, Assertio Septem Sacramentorum. This is a somewhat special case, however.

⁶⁵Again the best example is the Rylands copy of the Assertio of 1521, but another example will be found in the British Museum copy of the 1521 Repetitio of Sylvester Darius, STC 6279.

⁶⁶Anonymous, "Pynson's Dealings with John Russhe," Library, 3rd series, IX (1918), pp. 150-152, dealing with PRO, ECP, bundle 269, no. 66. The matter was still dragging on in 1510.

⁶⁷The period abounds in John Wellses, including the Viscount of that name, who is not always distinguished as such in legal proceedings, and a clerk of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. Russhe's widow married Sir Thomas Grey after Russhe's death, and after Grey's death married someone whose last name was Pursell or Pursall.

⁶⁸Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 119. Russe, sometimes spelled Rous, was a friend of the Pastons and also the author of a history of England.

⁶⁹Russhe's name is usually only interchangeable with the form "Rush," although the form "Rysshe" is used in some matters concerning the manor of Forde; see W. R. Powell, A History of the County of Essex [hereafter History of Essex] (London: Phillimore, 1973), VI, p. 258, referring to PRO, Patent Roll 465 and Close Roll 221.

⁷⁰The temptation to equate Pynson with "Pynchon" is particularly tempting, if unjustified, in regard to an item recorded in the Calendar of Inquisitions Post-Mortem [hereafter Inquisitions Post-Mortem] (Hereford: Hereford Times, 1915), II, p. 428, item 428. The item is an inquest into the estates of John Shaa, Knight of Essex and sometime Mayor of London, dated May 19, 19 Henry VII. In the course of the document mention is made of "two messuages, 100 a. land, 10 a. meadow, 20 a. wood, called 'Samwelles' in Southchirche, late Robert Strange's, worth 106 s. 8 d., held of Richard Pynchon, by service of fealty and a red rose" as well as of several manors "lately belonging to John Russhe" among the lands still seised after Shaa's death.

⁷¹Inquisitions Post-Mortem, I, p. 340, item 794.

⁷²Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 118, citing the date on the memorial brass.

⁷³PRO, PCC, 21, Horne. Extracts from it are printed in Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," pp. 118-119.

⁷⁴The will cited above and Powell, History of Essex, VI, p. 258.

⁷⁵Plomer, "Pynson, Glover," p. 49.

⁷⁶Plomer, "Some Notices," p. 298.

⁷⁷H. R. Plomer, "New Documents on English Printers and Booksellers of the Sixteenth Century" [hereafter "New Documents"] Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, IV (1898), p. 154.

⁷⁸Close Rolls: Henry VII, I, p. 277, item 945, dated May 20, 1495.

⁷⁹Close Rolls: Henry VII, I, pp. 62-63, item 231.

⁸⁰Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," pp. 119-120, citing Calendar of Patent Rolls, 21 Ed. R., pt. 1, p. 247.

⁸¹P. M. Kendall, Richard the Third (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955), p. 273, apparently based on the Rotuli Parliamentorum.

⁸²Pynson would finish the much celebrated Morton Missal in 1500.

⁸³The practice seems to have been particularly popular among prominent families. In Joan Pynson's case, 1000 pounds was involved and her first husband's father, Robert Revell (also spelled Rivell), had been several times Alderman for Faringdon Without and was Sheriff of London on his death in 1491. Margery Astry, Robert Revell's widow, must have married one of the Astrys soon after Revell's death in 1496 - see Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London: L, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London: John Edward Frances, 1912), p. 321.

⁸⁴PRO, ECP, bundle 352, no. 11.

⁸⁵Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 129; the Russhe documents used and quoted from in this article are PRO, ECP, bundle 1510, nos. 43-47; other documents involved in the case are PRO, ECP, bundle 203, nos. 14-16, and bundle 269, nos. 66-68.

⁸⁶Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 125.

⁸⁷Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 129.

⁸⁸As G. R. Elton, The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence: England, 1200-1640 [hereafter Sources of History] (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 58, points out, Chancery did not begin to enroll its decisions until 1534.

⁸⁹Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 128.

⁹⁰Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 119.

⁹¹PRO, ECP, bundle 269, no. 66.

⁹²Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," pp. 126-128.

⁹³According to the second part of the schedule, the total for the books specially printed for Russhe should work out to be 315 pounds. As here given, the value of the books adds up to 295 pounds. There is some reason to believe that the numbers given as having been supplied to Russhe are inaccurate since it appears that Russhe was to receive and pay for only half the edition; the remainder of the edition, presumably, was to be sold by Pynson.

Plomer attempts to adjust the figures by pointing out that Pynson in his bill of complaint says that the agreement called for Russhe to only pay half the cost and charges, and thus would receive only half the edition, so that according to Plomer, the arithmetic will work out correctly if we reduce the number of copies of the Fall of Princes involved from 600 to 300. Actually, two other errors are involved in either the original or in Plomer's transcript so that the figure for the Dives copies should total "lx li." not "xl li." and the price for the Jornalles should actually total "xxv li." not "l li."; these corrections being made, the total before the additional purchases works out to the correct figure of 325 pounds.

⁹⁴Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," pp. 130-133. The exact number was 419, however, Pynson also printed a trade edition at the same time which can be assumed to have been at least as large.

⁹⁵Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts," pp. 364-371.

⁹⁶Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts," p. 374.

⁹⁷Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 228.

⁹⁸Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 121, quotes Pollard as having said that he thought the "Journals" were small "Diurnals," service books.

⁹⁹Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," p. 128.

¹⁰⁰STC 1536.

¹⁰¹Leaves from the edition are used as flyleaves in the binding of the unique Pynson 1492 Doctrinale in the British Museum (IA 55490).

¹⁰²According to the definitions in the OED.

¹⁰³H. S. Bennett, "Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1480-1560" [hereafter "English Retail Book-Prices"], Library, V (1950), pp. 172-178.

¹⁰⁴Bennett, "English Retail Book-Prices," pp. 172-178. As an example, Bennett takes the unbound price of the 4 shilling Dives to be 2 s. 6 d., and the consequent price per sheet to be .25 d., without explaining how he derives this unbound price.

¹⁰⁵Bennett, "English Retail Book-Prices," p. 175, again not saying how he arrived at this average figure.

¹⁰⁶Based on the figures in Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts," pp. 364-366.

¹⁰⁷Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts," pp. 366-372.

¹⁰⁸Based on the text reprinted in Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," pp. 130-133.

¹⁰⁹At least the copy of Leeu's 1488 Aesopus Moralizatus in the British Museum (IA. 49781) seems to have passed through Pynson's hands since the written name "Richard Pynson" appears on a^{8v}.

¹¹⁰Plomer, "Two Lawsuits," pp. 130-133.

¹¹¹Duff, Century, pp. 42-43.

¹¹²Duff, Century, p. 123. The actual colophon reads: "Imp̄ssū per egregiu Richardu pynson. in expensis virtuoso4 virorum Frēdrici egmōdt → Petri post pascha. an^o dñi. M. cccc. nonagesimo nono. Decima v^a. die mensis Maii." It is not impossible that the mysterious stationer is to be taken to be Peter Egmond and the "post pascha" as part of the dating.

¹¹³The problem is that E. G. Duff, Fifteenth Century English Books [hereafter Fifteenth Century English Books] (Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1917), pp. 12-13, describes Pynson's 1494 Fall of Princes as having the device; it has not, however, been present in any of the 12 copies which I have viewed nor have any of my inquiries succeeded in finding anyone who has seen a copy with the device present. The earliest dated work containing the device which I have viewed is the 1496 edition of Garlandia's Synonyma (STC 11609), by which date the device is already damaged. The device also occurs undamaged in several undated works clearly predating the Synonyma. See the appendix on devices.

¹¹⁴The earliest dated appearance is in the 1497 Sequuntur Hymni (STC 16111) but it also is found in the Foundation of Walsingham to which bibliographers have tended to assign a date of 1496.

¹¹⁵Harry Carter, A View of Early Typography (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 64 and 67.

¹¹⁶Reproduced in Buhler, "Notes on a Pynson Volume," p. 265.

¹¹⁷STC 15866.

¹¹⁸Plomer, "Some Notices," pp. 297-298, citing PRO, De Banco Roll 928, membrane 238b, 8th entry, Easter, 9 Henry VII.

¹¹⁹Plomer, "Some Notices," p. 298, citing PRO, De Banco Roll 928, membrane 275, 7th entry.

¹²⁰Plomer, "Some Notices," p. 298, citing PRO, De Banco Roll 938, membranes 472-473, although I suspect there is a misprint involved and that he means Roll 928.

¹²¹Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII [hereafter Materials for a History], ed. Rev. William Campbell (London: HMSO, 1873), I, p. 243.

¹²²Close Rolls: Henry VII, I, p. 332, item 1116.

¹²³Materials for a History, ed. Campbell, I, p. 585.

¹²⁴1496, Garlandia's Multorum Vocabulorum (STC 11601); 1497, Expositio Hymnorum (STC 16112) and Maydestone's Directorium Sacerdotum (STC 17724); 1498, Maydestone's Directorium Sacerdotum (STC 17725) and Sulpitius (STC 23426).

¹²⁵F. A. Inderwick, The Inner Temple: Its Early History as Illustrated by Its Records [hereafter Inner Temple] (London: by order of the Masters of the Bench, 1896), p. 45.

¹²⁶Duff, Early Printed Books, p. 145.

¹²⁷Duff, Century, p. 132.

¹²⁸Plomer, "Some Notices," p. 299. In addition, Plomer, "Pynson, Glover," p. 50, noted that Henry Frankenburg (also spelled Franckenbergk and Vrankenbergh), a stationer who imported large quantities of books and who paid for an edition of Watton's Speculum Christiani printed by Machlinia, would have been one of Pynson's near neighbors.

¹²⁹PRO, PCC, 28, Holgrave.

¹³⁰Diocesis Cantuariensis: Registrum Thome Bourgchier, Pars Prima, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay (Oxford University Press for the Canterbury and York Society, 1950), p. 205, cites him as administering the goods of Richard Boole, late rector of St. Clement Danes.

¹³¹Plomer, "Pynson v. Squyr," pp. 138-139.

¹³²Plomer, Wynken De Worde, p. 123. Plant, English Book Trade, p. 28. Clair, History of Printing, p. 35. Select Cases before the King's Council in the Star Chamber Commonly Called the Court of Star Chamber: A.D. 1477-1509, ed. I. S. Leadam (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1903), p. cxxxvii, with the documents reproduced on pp. 114-118.

¹³³Plomer, "New Documents," p. 154. Actually, Strenger appears to have kept a tavern.

¹³⁴Also spelled "Swquier," "Sqwyer" and "Squyre."

¹³⁵Plomer, "New Documents," p. 155. The intervention by courtiers suggests that Pynson may have already been known in the court circle.

¹³⁶Plomer, "Pynson v. Squyr," p. 139.

¹³⁷See footnote 132 above.

¹³⁸Mercers Company, eds. Lyell and Whatney, p. 527. The name appears along with those of Henry Astry, John Colet, and many others authorizing a voyage to the New Land in 1520.

¹³⁹Plomer, "Pynson v. Squyr," p. 140.

¹⁴⁰Elton, Sources of History, p. 58, remarks that although books of orders and decrees were once kept, they have completely disappeared.

¹⁴¹Plomer, "Pynson, Glover," p. 50.

¹⁴²Sylvia L. Thrupp, "Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century" [hereafter "Aliens in London"], in Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones, eds. A. E. J. Hollander and William Kellaway (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1969), p. 254.

¹⁴³Thrupp, "Aliens in London," p. 255.

¹⁴⁴Thrupp, "Aliens in London," p. 254. Specifically, after 1449, aliens born under the King's allegiance in Normandy, Gascony and Guienne were exempt from the alien subsidy; in other matters, the local authorities seem to have had a wide latitude in whom they chose to consider an alien and whom they did not.

¹⁴⁵Duff, Early Printed Books, p. 171.

¹⁴⁶STC 15866.

¹⁴⁷STC 16173.

¹⁴⁸STC 280.

¹⁴⁹STC 277.

¹⁵⁰STC 17325.

¹⁵¹STC 19812.

¹⁵²Nellie S. Aurner, Caxton, Mirror of Fifteenth-Century Letters (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965), p. 110.

¹⁵³Pynson's are STC 3262 and STC 3263.

¹⁵⁴Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. Dibdin, I, pp. 401-403. Timperley, Dictionary, p. 196.

¹⁵⁵British Museum MS. Cotton Tiber E VII and Bodleian MS. Rawlinson F. 175. My source is the edition of the English prose version, The Gast of Gy, ed. R. H. Bowers, Beitrage zur Englischen Philologie (Leipzig: Verlag von Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1938).

¹⁵⁶The objects of the author's satire, the divided nature of the Christian countries and the decay of the Christian Church, are most clearly set forth in the opening sections of the book. While the satire is subordinated in the descriptions of the Holy Land, it again becomes predominant in the descriptions of the other pagan countries which in certain of their customs prove to be more virtuous than their supposedly

Christian counterparts - while in other instances the customs observed in the pagan lands are parodies of abuses in Christian countries.

¹⁵⁷David G. Hale, "Aesop in Renaissance England," Library, 5th series, XXVII (1972), p. 122, notes that Caxton's version follows Julien Macho's French rendering of Steinhöwel's Romulus, the prose Avianus and Petrus Alphonsus supplemented by selections from the Facetiae of Poggio Bracciolini and the Life of Aesop and Fables by Rinuccio da Castiglione.

¹⁵⁸The re-evaluation of the date is due to the fact that the work has device 3 surrounded by the four border pieces.

¹⁵⁹Kathleen Lambley, The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times (Manchester at the University Press, 1920), p. 52.

¹⁶⁰Joan Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England [hereafter Education and Society] (Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 3-58.

¹⁶¹Although the normal form seems to be "Anwykyl," several books, including Joan Simon's Education and Society (p. 52), seem to think the correct form is "Ankwyl."

¹⁶²R. S. Stanier, Magdalen School (Oxford: John Johnson for Basil Blackwood, 1940), p. 31.

¹⁶³By this time other schools existed as well, but still almost all were exclusively taught by clerics of one sort or another.

¹⁶⁴George L. Hamilton, "Theodolus: a Mediaeval Textbook" [hereafter "Theodolus"], Modern Philology [hereafter MP], VII (1909), p. 176.

¹⁶⁵Hamilton, "Theodolus," p. 184.

¹⁶⁶Duff, Early Printed Books, pp. 147-155.

¹⁶⁷John M. Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry: 1485-1547 [hereafter Early Tudor Poetry] (New York: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 129-131.

II

1500 - 1506

By January 10, 1500, Pynson had moved to London.¹ The decision, as we have already observed, appears to have been largely brought about through conflicts with certain officials in the parish of St. Clement Danes. It must be noted, however, that Wynken de Worde also moved into the City at about the same time² which would suggest that there must have been other incentives for moving into the City than merely escaping the persecution of some local officials.

The exact date of Pynson's move into the City is not really known. Although we know that he was in the City by January 10, 1500, the last work to specifically locate Pynson outside Temple Bar in a colophon is Maydestone's Manipulus Curatorum (STC 17725) of 1498. It is therefore possible that Pynson had moved to the City as early as 1499. In any event, we know from the Squyr case that even before Pynson, himself, moved to London, he already had a shop there.³

There is also a possibility, although a slight one, that Pynson's first location in the City was not at the sign of the George since the first mention of this location is in books dated 1502.⁴ And, although it seems likely that Pynson was at this location since his move to the City, the situation is further complicated by the fact that the one document which has been discovered which bears on the matter describes a 60 year lease to Pynson for 106 s. 8 d., but is not dated until October 12, 1507.⁵

At any rate, the sign of the George was apparently located on the north side of Fleet Street on the west side of the Church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. The new location was, and is, central to the Inns of Court and the heart of the legal trade.

During the period from 1500 to 1507, Pynson's issuance of law-books remained relatively constant. Usually he issued between two and three legal works a year;⁶ about the same average he had maintained in the period before 1500. During this period Pynson issued ten year-books;⁷ reprints of the Natura Brevium, Littleton's Tenures,⁸ and his first editions of the Liber Assissarum and the Book of Justices of the Peace.⁹

In addition, Pynson printed a new edition of the abridgement of the statutes called the Nova Statuta.¹⁰ In this collection Pynson updated the contents by carrying them down to 1505.¹¹

During this period Pynson's total yearly output of books also appears to have remained fairly constant at around 10 books a year. Although there would seem to be a falling off in book production in 1504 (four books) and 1506 (six books), this is probably due to the fact that 1505 has seemed to have become a catch-all year for assigning dates of undated books with nineteen works assigned to that date.¹² It cannot be denied, however, that Pynson's output during this period did not appreciably increase.

The lack of any significant increase in production suggests that Pynson's clientele remained largely the same in numbers as that which had patronized him before his move into the City. It may also have been due to the continued litigation with which Pynson was beset during this period.

We have already mentioned in the previous chapter¹³ the lawsuits involving Christopher St. Germain and the Abbreviamentum Statutorum, the settlement of the John Russhe estate and the Henry Squyr assault case. In addition to these cases, Pynson was sued in Eastern term, 1502, for the recovery of a missal valued at 10 marks, which Pynson was alleged to have unjustly detained.¹⁴ The plaintiff was one John Carnebull, "clericus;" presumably the same cleric who was archdeacon of the East Riding in 1495¹⁵ and later archdeacon of York.¹⁶

In 1505, Pynson sued Frederick Freisz, the binder and bookseller of York for a debt of 5 pounds, 10 shillings and sixpence.¹⁷ Although the nature of the indebtedness is unspecified, it can be assumed that it involved the sale of books supplied by Pynson.

On a more positive note, the Freisz lawsuit serves as evidence of the spread of Pynson's business connections throughout the country. Thus, in this same period, we find Pynson obtaining a virtual monopoly on the printing of entrance forms and other forms for the Church of St. Botolph's, Boston, from 1504 through 1522.¹⁸

In 1506 or 1507, we find Pynson joining the Corpus Christi Guild at Coventry,¹⁹ presumably with an eye towards making business connections much as present day businessmen join the Masons or Knights of Columbus. Although we do not know of Pynson gaining any business through joining the Guild, we may assume that it was about this time that Pynson first became acquainted with Anthony Fitzherbert and John Rastell, both of whom were living in Coventry at that time.

Anthony Fitzherbert, of course, was to become a distinguished jurist and the author of numerous legal works including the Book of Justices of the Peace²⁰ which Pynson printed his first edition of at

about the time of his visit to Coventry. Fitzherbert or his brother, John, was also the author of two works printed by Pynson in the 1520's, The Book of Husbandry and The Book of Surveying.²¹ In addition, he was the author or chief compiler of the Grand Abridgement, printed by Rastell, possibly with the aid of both Pynson and Wynken, around 1516.²²

John Rastell was a printer and the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More. At the time of Pynson's visit to Coventry, Rastell was serving as that city's coroner, a post he held from 1505 through 1509.²³ He would appear to have been more closely associated with Pynson than has been previously assumed since, in addition to the part played by Pynson in the printing of the Grand Abridgement mentioned above, Rastell was closely associated at one time or another with Thomas Kele²⁴ and Thomas Barclay,²⁵ both of whom worked for a time under Pynson. In addition, it should be noted that he may also have been a near neighbor of Pynson's during at least part of his career in London since he appears to have owned a house on the east side of St. Dunstan's in Fleet Street.²⁶

Evidence of Pynson's continued dealings and connections with his native France has survived in the form of his relationship with George Chastelain, the stationer of London and Oxford. About 1503,²⁷ Pynson undertook to print for Chastelain and one John Bars, both then stationers of London, a Latin grammar entitled Libellus Qui Informatio Puerorum or Informatio Puerorum.²⁸ This work was previously printed by Pynson around 1500,²⁹ as Libellulus Que Informatio Puerorum.³⁰ It is an accident in English and thus part of the then new wave of Latin grammars centering around Magdalen School, Oxford.

This is perhaps significant since by June of 1502, Chastelain had been admitted to the liberties of the University of Oxford as a "servant"

5

of one Eliseus Ruthyn; by 1506 he had a shop there in the street of St. Mary the Virgin at the sign of St. John the Evangelist; and from 1507-1510 is known to have bound books for Magdalen School.³¹ In December, 1502, he acted as deputy for one Jean Richard in a dispute concerning the debts left by William Lesquier; since Richard was a stationer of Rouen and associated with Morin,³² it is not improbably that Pynson may have first encountered Chastelain through his Rouen connections.

The connection between Pynson and the French printers is even more apparent in regard to the Principia seu Introductiones of Peregrinus de Lugo, which Pynson printed for Chastelain about 1507.³³ In this instance the work, a philosophical and rhetorical piece based on the writings of Duns Scotus, was entrusted by the author, Brother Peregrinus de Lugo, to Hugo Meslier, a youth of Paris³⁴ and probably a relative of the French printing family of that name.³⁵ Meslier appears to have come to England and to have either sought Pynson out, who, in turn, sought out Chastelain to finance the publication; or to have sought Chastelain out, in which case Chastelain sought out Pynson to do the printing.³⁶ In any event, Meslier apparently saw the work through the press.³⁷ He thus became the second man to work under Pynson whose name is known to us; the first was one "Magister Johanne Wolffer" who arranged, set in order and corrected the Libellus Sophistarum ad usum Cantibrigiensis of 1497.³⁸

It is likely that the transaction proved to be quite profitable for Chastelain since one of the ironies of the period was that Oxford, the birthplace of English humanism, was at the same time witnessing a revival of interest in the teachings of Scotus.³⁹

The connection between Chastelain and Magdalen College, Oxford,

may also be of some significance to our understanding of this portion of Pynson's career. As we have already mentioned, Pynson had first published works in the new generation of Latin grammars inspired by the Magdalen grammarians in 1496 and c. 1500;⁴⁰ it was in 1503 that Pynson printed his first book for Chastelain and this was the reprint of the anonymous Libellus Qui Informatio Puerorum.⁴¹ In 1505, just two years before Chastelain is known to have begun binding extensively for Magdalen School, Pynson suddenly decided to publish his first edition of Anwykyl's Quattuor Partes Grammatices, as well as his first edition of Stanbridge's Accidence, two editions of Stanbridge's Gradus Comparatione and his second edition of Stanbridge's Long Parvula.⁴²

This is not to imply, however, that Pynson had stopped printing the older grammars. Pynson printed copies of Donatus Pro Pueres of 1500, copies of Garlandia's Synonyma in 1500 and 1502, of his Multorum Vocabulorum in 1503, and copies of Alexander Grammaticus's Textus Alexandri and Sulpitius's Grammatica in 1505.⁴³ Pynson also printed editions of the Esopus cum Commento in 1502, and the Theodolus of 1505, both of which are known to have been used in connection with the teaching of Latin.⁴⁴

Pynson printed another edition of the Libellus Secundum Intentionum Logicalium in 1505 for the university trade.⁴⁵ Of more interest is the 1505 edition of the Opusculum de Universali Mundi Machina, an Aristotelian work on natural philosophy, by Hieronymus de Sancto Marcho, who, like Pynson had been associated with the University of Paris.⁴⁶

In terms of literary production during this period, Pynson continued his conservative tendency of publishing works of which the reputations were already well established. Thus we find a second and

possibly a third edition of Aesop's Fables,⁴⁷ a second edition of the Book of Good Manners⁴⁸ and possibly an illustrated edition of Mandeville's Travels⁴⁹ published. In addition to which are also to be found Pynson's first editions of Lydgate's Temple of Glass⁵⁰ and Assembly of the Gods.⁵¹

It is also during this period that we find Pynson's sole publication of a ballad, a Robin Hood piece,⁵² and the publication of the majority of Pynson's editions of romances. In this regard we find Pynson having issued what may have been the first English edition of Guy of Warwick in 1500⁵³ followed by the issuance of editions of Bevys of Southampton and Tryamour in 1503⁵⁴ and an edition of Generides in 1504.⁵⁵ In addition, he is believed to have issued an edition of Paris and Vienne about 1500 although no copy is currently known.⁵⁶

Although it has been popular among some critics, beginning with Ascham, to condemn romances as essentially worthless, it should be pointed out that they appear to have been sporadically popular in court circles, as well as among the common people, well into the Elizabethan era. One suspects, although this is not particularly true of those printed by Pynson, that most romances often had an allegorical level that is often missed by modern readers much as it was overlooked by some of the early Humanists. More obviously the romance will be seen to complement the courtesy book in providing exempla of not only chivalric and courteous but often Christian behavior. Its importance is not to be overlooked in an era which saw Henry VII attempt to bolster his claim to the English throne and the hearts of the English and Welsh people by claiming descent from King Arthur.

In terms of the output of Pynson's press, however, the popularity

of the genre seems to have been confined to the period from 1500 through 1504, although an edition of Ponthus⁵⁷ may have been issued in 1510, and a second edition of Generides⁵⁸ issued around 1515. Although there is no clear evidence why the romance form should be popular during this period, one suspects that its popularity may be related to the pomp and ceremony surrounding the proposed alliance between England and Spain in the form of the proposed marriage between Catherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur, and later, between her and Prince Henry.⁵⁹

Also published during this period were Pynson's first editions of Pierre Gringoire's Castle of Labor⁶⁰ and the anonymous Shepherd's Calendar;⁶¹ both of which were based on the earlier English editions published by Antoine Vérard of Paris.

Vérard, a major publisher in Paris from 1485 to 1513,⁶² and one of the first to hold the title of King's stationer to the King of France,⁶³ apparently did an extensive trade with England as well, numbering Henry VII among his customers.⁶⁴ Although the majority of Vérard's English trade was in service books, in 1503 he decided to take advantage of the act of 1484, allowing the free importation of unbound books, by publishing three works in English: the Castle of Labor, Shepherd's Calendar and the Treatise of Good Living and Good Dying.⁶⁵

In 1505, Pynson decided to issue his first edition of the Castle of Labor, apparently using the Vérard edition as a copy-text while having the illustrations copied from one of the earlier French editions produced by Simon Vostre and Pierre Pigouchet.⁶⁶ The edition is also of interest in that it introduced a series of grotesque initials with diamond serifs modeled on those owned by Vérard; these continued in use through 1527.⁶⁷

The work itself was of already proven popularity in France, where it had already been published in French four times by Pigouchet and Vostre in Paris and once by Jacques Le Forestier at Rouen before V  rard issued his English edition. Apparently the work is based on a fourteenth century poem, Le Chemin de Povret   et de Richesse by Bruyant, which was reworked into the Castle by Pierre Gringoire, a late rh  toriqueur, in 1499.⁶⁸

The English translation of the work is said to be by Alexander Barclay, who in 1509 was to serve as translator for Pynson's edition of the Ship of Fools. If this ascription is correct it is possible that Barclay may have first become acquainted with Pynson through V  rard; however, it must be borne in mind that there is some question regarding what works actually belong in the Barclay canon of translations.⁶⁹

The Castle is an elaborate allegory owing much to both the dream-vision and dramatic traditions. In essence, the work relates how a young man, newly married, is bothered in his bed by a number of allegorical figures while his wife sleeps. Among the troublers of the youth's rest are the figures of Need, Necessity, Poverty, Distress, Heaviness, Discomfort and Despair. Eventually Reason introduces the protagonist to the figures of Good Will, Good Heart and Lust to Do Good, who conduct him to the Castle of Labor where he goes to work. Although the work is somewhat anti-feminist in its portrayal of the wife of the protagonist, the feature which would make the work popular among Pynson's public is the doctrine of Reason that hard work would be rewarded not only by earthly riches but in Heaven as well come the Judgement Day.

Although there is no evidence that Pynson was doing anything more than merely copying V  rard's edition of the Castle of Labor, there is

evidence that Vêrard was involved with Pynson's production of the Shepherd's Calendar. That Pynson and Vêrard must have been acquainted by 1506 is established by the fact that Pynson acquired forty-seven cuts and some factotums which were previously used by Vêrard. The most intriguing of these cuts is Hodnett no. 1512, which if Davies is correct, is a portrait of Vêrard in the guise of the man presenting the book.⁷⁰

This evidence of cooperation is all the more ironic since Pynson inserts a preface in his first edition of the Shepherd's Calendar which attacks the edition of Vêrard. Vêrard's edition was translated into a pseudo-Scotch dialect by an unknown translator. Pynson's first edition translates the work into something which purports to be closer to the normal English of the period. Thus Pynson began his preface with the following statement:

Here before tyme thys boke was prynted In parys In to corrupte englysshe and nat by no englysshe man wherefore these bokes that were brought Into Inglonde no man coude vnderstonde them pftely and no maruayll for hit is unlekly for a man of that cuntrye for to make hyt Into perfyte englysshe as it shulde be.

Newely nowe it is drawne out of frensshe ito englysshe at the instaunce coste and charge of Rycharde. Pynson and shuche as longeth to hym hath made it into playne englysshe to the entente that euery man may vnderstonde it/that thys boke is very profytable both for clerkes and laye people to cause them to haue greate vnderstondyng and in espessyal in that we be bounde to lerne and knowe on peyne of auerlastinge death.....⁷¹

The irony of the above statement continues in that Pynson, although probably regarded as an English citizen, was born in Normandy and educated at the University of Paris. Nor is it certain that Pynson actually had his translation made directly from the French; the suspicion of Oskar Sommer was that Pynson's edition was derived directly from that of Vêrard.⁷² However the case may be, Pynson's preface was certainly

designed to appeal to the best nationalistic feelings of his English audience.

The work, entitled Le Compost et Calendrier des Bergiers in its French original, had already seen wide publication in France when Vérard published his first English edition.⁷³ Although regarded by H. S. Bennett primarily as a work of popular science because of the sections on astronomy and astrology,⁷⁴ it is actually primarily a devotional work as Pynson makes clear in the remainder of his preface.⁷⁵

Another devotional work of this period, The Book of Comfort Against Tribulations,⁷⁶ is of some literary interest because part of it is cast in the form of a dialogue, between a "poor sinner" and Christ.⁷⁷ As in the Shepherd's Calendar, the emphasis is on the transitory nature of life and life on earth as preparation for eternal life. Again, perhaps not insignificantly, the work is translated from a French original.⁷⁸

As one may gather, the printing of religious and devotional works continued to provide a substantial part of Pynson's trade during the period. In addition to reprints of Mirk's Liber Festivalis,⁷⁹ Maydestone's Directorium Sacerdotum,⁸⁰ the Manipulus Curatorum,⁸¹ the Expositio Hymnorum,⁸² and Lyndewode's Constitutiones,⁸³ the period saw Pynson issue two Processionals,⁸⁴ three Horae⁸⁵ and two Missals⁸⁶ and a Manual.⁸⁷ New religious works published during this period included two editions of the Stella Clericorum⁸⁸ and the first edition printed in England of Maffeus Celsus's Dissuasoria.⁸⁹

The two Missals and the Manual are of particular interest to a study of Pynson's career since they, respectively, mark the patronage of Cardinal Morton, Henry VII and Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of

Henry VII. The first of these Missals is the famous Morton Missal of 1500, often referred to as the finest piece of English printing in the period.⁹⁰ The work, printed as a large folio with some copies on vellum,⁹¹ saw the introduction of sets of leaf and floral initials, as well as several border pieces. One of the latter was obviously commissioned specially for the work since it features a rebus of Morton's name in the form of a tun with the letters "MOR" on it;⁹² a similar device also occurs as part of an initial "A" in the work.⁹³

In addition to these ornaments, the work contains a large woodcut crucifixion (Hodnett no. 1357) based on a design used by DuPré, Hopyl and other French printers;⁹⁴ as well as the coats-of-arms of Cardinal Morton and Henry VII. The appearance of the Royal Arms is of some interest since it suggests that the book may have been to some extent supported by Henry VII as well as sanctioned by him. In this regard, it should be noted that the Royal Arms were not lightly used by Pynson. In their only previous appearance in a Pynson book, they appear in the Old Tenures⁹⁵ and would seem to suggest that the work had official sanction. Almost all subsequent appearance of the Royal Arms of both Henry VII, and Henry VIII in Pynson publications occur in works which are printed for the Crown.

As we have noted earlier, Pynson's acquaintance with Morton may have been of long standing, particularly if the John Russhe whom Pynson dealt with in the 1490's is the same figure who was involved with Morton in the Duke of Buckingham's Rebellion. Indeed, it is possible that Pynson may have met Morton before he met Russhe. It is even possible that Pynson's first contacts with both Morton and Russhe could have been through Henry Tudor himself whom Pynson might have come in contact with

through his connections on the continent during Henry's exile. All that is certain, however, is that Pynson had dealings with Russhe as early as 1493 and with Morton before his death in 1500.

Although there is some reason to believe that Bishop Alcock may have underwritten the cost of printing his Gallicantus,⁹⁶ the Morton Missal is the first book printed by Pynson for a patron, as opposed to a bookseller, to state the fact in the book.⁹⁷ The possible importance of Morton's patronage cannot really be accurately assessed except as a sign of Pynson's continually growing status and acceptance among the English ruling circles. It may have led to introductions to numerous figures of future importance who also enjoyed Morton's patronage and friendship - not the least of whom was the young Thomas More;⁹⁸ but, again there is not sufficient evidence to make any definite statement on the subject.

Whether through the influence of Morton, Russhe or some other intermediary, it is clear that Pynson was known to the Royal household long before his appointment as King's Printer in 1507. As we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, there is some evidence to suggest that the Epitaph of Jasper of 1498 may well have either been paid for by some member of the Royal family or printed for presentation to the Crown.⁹⁹

Likewise, the use of the Royal arms in the 1494 edition of the Old Tenures is also suggestive of Royal sanction and possible financial backing for the work.

In November 1501, in what Henry VII hoped would be the culmination of his efforts for a Spanish-English alliance, Prince Arthur of England married Catherine of Aragon amid much pomp and ceremony. In connection with this event Pynson printed two different works describing the occasion. One of these, of which a fragment survives in the

Bodleian, appears to describe the details of Catherine's preparation at Hampton and conveyance to London.¹⁰⁰ Although the other of these, the copy in the British Museum,¹⁰¹ bears the special title, "A rembraūce for the traduction of the Princesse Kateryne daughter to the right high and right myghty Prince the kinge and quene of Spayne...",¹⁰² it does not appear to be so much a souvenir of the occasion as a printed agenda and instruction book covering the preparations for the event in London. The fact that the future tense is used throughout the work clearly suggests that it was printed before the event actually occurred.¹⁰³ Again, the work must have been produced with Royal approval and cooperation - and likely with Royal financing.

It is not until 1504, however, that we have definite evidence of Pynson receiving money from the Crown. Among the Privy Purse accounts for November 1504 is the entry, "To Richard Pynson, the prynter, in rewarde £ 1."¹⁰⁴ What the reward may be for is entirely open to conjecture.

In the previous year two events occurred which may have some bearing on the matter. The first was the commissioning of an edition of the Imitation of Christ¹⁰⁵ from Pynson by the Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII and patroness of Wynken De Worde. The work, which attributed the original to John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, rather than to Thoms à Kempis, appears to have been printed in two parts. The first part is composed of the first three books, which were translated for Lady Margaret by William Atkynson;¹⁰⁶ its pages of text measure 88 mm. wide by 142 mm. high¹⁰⁷ and it was completed in June, 1503. The second part consists of the fourth book which was translated by the Lady Margaret herself;¹⁰⁸ in this portion the type is set somewhat fuller,

measuring 104 mm. wide by 167 mm. high.¹⁰⁹ This latter portion was printed in 1504.¹¹⁰ The work is noteworthy not only for being the first of the works printed by Pynson definitely to state that it was printed for a member of the Royal family, but for featuring Pynson's first use of the arms of Lady Margaret¹¹¹ and of a small, crude cut of the Tudor arms supported by angels.¹¹²

The other event was the death of Philip Pynson in Rome on December 5, 1503, three days after having been appointed Archbishop of Tuam, Ireland.¹¹³ According to Anthony à Wood, Philip had studied among the Minorities or Grey Friars at their house in Oxford.¹¹⁴ Later he served as Suffragan-Bishop of Hereford under Adriano Castellesi, the papal collector and nuncio in England, who joined with Henry VII in furthering Philip's appointment to the Irish Archbishopric.¹¹⁵ Although there is no hard evidence that Philip was related to Richard Pynson, the fact that Richard's first official Royal patronage occurred at approximately the same time as Philip's preferment and subsequent death is highly suggestive.

Although the grant of £1 in November, 1504, is vague in its purpose, that of July 12, 1504, is highly specific; it reads, "To Ric. Pynson open a prest for massebokes to be printed, £10."¹¹⁶ The immediate result of this relatively large grant was the Sarum Missal of January, 1504, printed at the command and expense of Henry VII.¹¹⁷ A large folio, some copies of which were printed on vellum,¹¹⁸ the work featured the introduction of six new border pieces and the use of a series of 20 mm. wide by 16 mm. high black lombardic initials. It also featured a large cut of the crucifixion which Pynson apparently obtained from Pierre Le Rouge, giving another indication of Pynson's ongoing continen-

tal connections.¹¹⁹ Perhaps the most noteworthy item in the work from the point of view of Pynson's stock of ornaments was the introduction of an elaborate framed Royal coat-of-arms¹²⁰ and an initial "A" featuring the Royal portcullis and rose badges.

In 1505, Pynson apparently printed his second work for Lady Margaret Beaufort, an edition of The Mirror of Gold for the Sinful Soul by Dionysius Carthusianus.¹²¹ The translation was made by the Lady Margaret herself from a French translation of the Latin original.¹²² The work is one of several attributed to 1505 which introduce Pynson's individual armorial cuts of a crowned portcullis, a crowned Tudor rose and finer angels supporting the Royal coat-of-arms.¹²³ The work is especially attractive in that each page of text is surrounded by a border of floral type ornaments.

It should be apparent from our discussion of The Book of Comfort Against Tribulation and the Shepherd's Calendar, and the mention of the Imitation of Christ and Mirror of Gold for the Sinful Soul that works of a devotional nature continued to occupy an important place in Pynson's output. The only saints' lives known to have been printed by Pynson during this period were the Life of St. Gregory's Mother¹²⁴ and the Life of St. Katherine.¹²⁵ Related to these is a curious Latin work entitled Cronica Summaria Serenissime dñe Hispaniarum Regine by Ludovicus Brunus, Bishop of Aquitaine.¹²⁶ The work can best be described as a secularized saint's life dealing with the life and death of Queen Isabella of Spain.¹²⁷ Isabella is portrayed throughout the work as an exemplar of secular Christianity; although denied sainthood by virtue of being a secular queen, the mother of four children, and in no way a martyr, she is nonetheless given the attributes of sainthood throughout the work including

that of having a non-corrupting corpse after her death.

While the Cronica has been assigned a date of 1505 by STC, this is actually the date of the introductory letter from Bishop Brunus to the King of the Romans and Pope Julius II; the edition itself may have been published in 1506.¹²⁸ This being the case, it is interesting to speculate that this work as well may have been produced on behalf of the Crown since its subject, Queen Isabella, was the mother of Catherine of Aragon and wife of Ferdinand of Spain, with whom Henry had been on good terms since 1499. It seems reasonable to assume that the printing of the work in England may have been undertaken as a goodwill gesture towards Ferdinand, possibly financed by Henry, who had lost his own wife, Queen Elizabeth, in 1503.¹²⁹ The mutual bereavement of the two monarchs may be subtly underscored in the Pynson edition by the fact that Isabella is referred to as "Helizabeth" throughout the work. Apart from its literary and political implications, the piece is of interest in that it is one of two candidates for the first work to have used Pynson's device no. 32.

The other candidate is a dated work, the Manuale ad Usus Insignis Ecclesie Sarum of 1506.¹³⁰ It also would appear to have had Royal backing since the elaborate large Royal arms are used on the title-page. Again the work is an elaborate production, some copies of which were printed on vellum,¹³¹ in large folio. The work served to introduce three more border pieces to Pynson's stock as well as a 51 mm. floral initial "O."

Pynson, of course, was not the first to benefit from Tudor patronage. Lady Margaret Beaufort, although best known for her patronage of Wynken De Worde,¹³² is known to have bought at least one manuscript

from Caxton and subsequently to have commissioned a printed translation of it from him.¹³³

Based on what meager records survive, Henry VII appears to have had extensive dealings with a number of scribes, printers, stationers and binders.¹³⁴ As early as 1489, he had commissioned an English translation of Christine de Pisan's Feats of Arms from Caxton, based on a French manuscript which he provided.¹³⁵ Between 1496 and 1503, he seems to have conducted a good deal of business with a mysterious "Quintyn," who would appear to have been a scribe as well as a bookbinder.¹³⁶ In 1502, Henry bought two books entitled the Garden of Health from Vêrard.¹³⁷ In 1505 he carried out a rather large transaction, paying Henry Jacobi £46 10s. for books which were to have been delivered to the friars at Richmond.¹³⁸ A more mysterious entry is that of June 31, 1499, when £4 was paid to "the Printers at Westmin.," presumably Wynken and company for unspecified services.¹³⁹

Presumably other transactions occurred of which all records have been lost. Likely to have been a significant figure in any such transactions was Peter Actors, a native of Savoy and early associate of Thomas Hunte, the Oxford printer. On December 5, 1485, the first year of the reign of Henry VII, Actors was appointed King's Stationer in a document which reads:

Grant for life to Peter Actoris, born in Savoy of the office of Stationer to the King; also license to import, so often as he likes, from parts beyond the sea, books printed and not printed into the port of the city of London, and other ports and places within the kingdom of England, and to dispose of the same by sale or otherwise without paying customs, etc. thereon and without rendering any accompt thereof.¹⁴⁰

As King's Stationer, Actors would presumably have been responsible for obtaining vellum, etc. for official business as well as obtaining

books from abroad for the Royal household.

Apparently, Actors continued in the post under the terms of his appointment until his presumed death some time between 1501 and 1503.¹⁴¹ In 1503 he was succeeded by William Faques, a Norman, who was the first to bear the title of King's Printer.¹⁴² As such, Faques's duties seem to have been largely limited to printing proclamations and some statutes.

It is perhaps significant that the appointment of the first French King's Stationer and King's Printer occurred in close proximity to that of their English counterparts. In France, however, some confusion appears to exist since Pierre Le Rouge seems to have occupied both offices from 1488 through 1493, at the same time that Verard appears to have been King's Stationer as well. As in the case of Faques, Le Rouge's duties seemed to center largely on printing of statutes and proclamations.

Sometime in 1505, William Faques appears to have died and been succeeded as King's Printer by Richard Pynson. Although no record of Pynson's initial appointment survives, it is clear from the colophon of the Expositio Hymnorum of January 1506 that by this date Pynson is styling himself printer to the King.¹⁴³

Pynson's appointment as King's Printer may be regarded as the culmination of a period in which Pynson had aimed at consolidating his business after his move to the City. Although harassed initially by a number of lawsuits, some of which carried over into the next decade, Pynson's fortunes seem to have continued on the rise - as reflected in the continuing increase of his stock of woodcuts, initials, devices and ornaments.

FOOTNOTES

¹Morton Missal (STC 16173), on Kk6^v, "Examinatū erat 7 castigatu hoc Missale scdm usum Sarum nouu r cū or̄ diligentia London impressū p̄ industria Richard Pynson. Inceptū & p̄fectum mandato impensis. Reuerendissimi in xpo patria ac dnidni Johis Morton Presbyteri Cardinalis Cantuarien. Archiepi. Decimo die Ianuarij. Anno dni Millesimo quingentesimo." Duff, Printers of Westminster, p. 159, suggests that Pynson's year must begin in January since Morton was dead by January 1500-1501.

²Plomer, Wyken De Worde, p. 65.

³As indicated by the fact that Pynson's workmen had been assaulted in London.

⁴Mirk's Liber Festivalis (STC 17969), on v3^v, "Finitum et Completum/ per Richardum Pynsonem commorantem in Perochia sancti Dunstani signo Georgii Londonie Anno Incarnationis Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Secundo. Decimo die Julii." Processionalibus ad usum Sarum (STC 16232.8), on y7, "Processionalibus (diligenti cura ac industria correct: ad usu insignis p̄clareq̄ ecclesie Sa4 impensisq̄ per Rychardu Pynson: signo georgii in Fletestrete comorante) finis felix adhibet pridie ydus Nouēbris Anno salut. Mil. CCCCC .ii."

⁵Williams, Early Holborn, II, p. 1821. The original is Augmentation Office: Misc. Books 68, fo. 47b. It also shows that the stationer, William Powell, paid £106 13 s. 4 d. for a twenty year lease in 1548, suggesting that either Pynson had been given a very favorable rent or that inflation was even worse than normally suggested during the period.

⁶Based on the dates assigned by the notes for STC2 when I viewed them in Spring, 1973: three works in 1500, four works in 1501, five in 1502, two in 1504, three in 1505 and two in 1506.

⁷Edward IV, 3, Trin. (STC2 9784.4), Edward IV, 4, Pasche (STC2 9796.4), Edward IV, 5 (STC2 9796.5) Edward IV, 6 (STC2 9806.4) Edward IV, 7 (STC2 9812.5), Edward IV, 8 (STC2 9819.5), Edward IV, 11 (STC 9837), Henry VI, 9 (STC 9650), Henry VI, 19 (STC 9691), and Henry VI, 20 (STC2 9691.5).

⁸The Natura Brevium editions are STC 18386 and STC 18387. Littleton's Tenures. vs STC 2 15722.5.

⁹STC 9603 and STC 14862, respectively.

¹⁰STC 9265.

¹¹See John D. Cowley, "The Abridgements of the Statutes" [hereafter "Abridgements"], Library, 4th series, XII (1931-1932), pp. 125-173.

¹²Based on the number of works assigned to that year by the notes

to STC2 when viewed in the Spring of 1973. As remarked earlier, 1496 served a similar purpose in the fifteenth century. Presumably some works of 1504 and 1506 have been erroneously assigned to 1505, thus accounting for the low figures of four and six books assigned respectively to those years.

¹³See chapter 1, p. 14-16, 22-23 and 26-29.

¹⁴Plomer, "Some Notices," p. 298, citing PRO, De Banco Roll 956, membrane 47b and De Banco Roll 958, membrane 65a.

¹⁵Close Rolls: Henry VII, I, p. 246, item 837.

¹⁶PRO, ECP, bundle 331, no. 81. The document, dated sometime between 1504 and 1515, concerns some land in York.

¹⁷Plomer, "Some Notices," p. 298, citing PRO, De Banco Roll 974, membranes 250a, 297b and 476a. For further information on Freisz, see E. G. Duff, "The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of York up to 1600," Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, V (1899), pp. 89-90.

¹⁸D. E. Rhodes, "Some Documents Printed by Pynson for St. Botolph's, Boston, Lincs." [hereafter "Some Documents"], Library, 5th series, XV (1960), p. 57.

¹⁹A. W. Reed, Early Tudor Drama (London: Methuen, 1926), p. 8.

²⁰STC 14862.

²¹STC 10994 and STC 11005.

²²Howard J. Graham and John W. Hecke, "The Book that made the Common Law: the First Printing of Fitzherbert's 'La Grande Abridgement': 1514-1516" [hereafter "Grande Abridgement"], Los Angeles Law Library Journal, I (1958), pp. 100-116.

²³The Coventry Leet-Book: Part 3, ed. Mary Dormer Harris (London and New York: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1909), pp. 603-635. Rastell was coroner of Coventry from 1505 through 1508. Anthony Fitzherbert served as recorder from 1509 through July 15, 1912.

²⁴Duff, Century, pp. 84 and 129, refers to the fact that Kele rented a portion of Rastell's shop in 1526. PRO, ECP, bundle 649, no. 42, establishes that Kele was Pynson's apprentice.

²⁵A. W. Reed, "John Rastell," Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, XV (1920), p. 68, mentions that Thomas Barclay, printer, was among those engaged on Rastell's ill-fated voyage to the New World in 1517. Colin Clair, "Thomas Berthelet, Royal Printer" [hereafter "Thomas Berthelet"], Gutenberg Jahrbuch: 1966, pp. 177-179, suggests that Thomas Barclay, rather than Thomas Berthelet, was the Thomas Bercula who joined Pynson's establishment in 1518 and assisted with the printing of some Latin works. On the whole, this seems highly probable;

see the discussion in chapter 4 below.

²⁶Williams, Early Holborn, II, p. 1005

²⁷According to STC2, Duff, Century, p. 26, dated it as 1500.

²⁸STC 14079.

²⁹According to STC.

³⁰STC 14078.

³¹Duff, Century, pp. 26-27.

³²Duff, Century, p. 136. As mentioned in chapter 1, Morin was the successor to Le Talleur's shop and is thought to have learned the craft, along with Le Talleur from Jean Du Pré.

³³STC 16899. Although Hodnett, STC and STC2 assign the work to 1508, Duff, Century, pp. 26-27, assigns the book to 1506. The work contains a series of letters used in 1506. Although the work may have been printed in 1506, the date on the letters of Hugo Meslier, one suspects that it was probably 1507 by the time he finally saw the work through Pynson's press and I have assigned it to that year as a compromise between Duff and STC.

³⁴STC 16899, letter from Peregrinus to Hugo Meslier on c3^v.

³⁵Duff, Century, p. 104. Renouard, Documents sur les Imprimeurs, p. 267.

³⁶The reference to Chastelain is easily missed since it occurs on g6. The relevant portion of the colophon reads: "Exp̄e & aut georgii castellani/ oxonii morantis/ ad intersiniuz sancti Iohānis euangeliste: in quo venundatur op9 hoc..."

³⁷The colophon on g6 refers to Pynson printing the work "cu3 solerti cura ac diligentia Honestissim Iuvenis ac prudentissimi Hugonis Messlier."

³⁸STC2 15574.5, the colophon on M8 reads: "...probe digestus & ordinatus atq; recte correctus per magistrum Iohanne Wolffer..."

³⁹E. F. Jacobs, The Fifteenth Century: 1399-1485 (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 680-682.

⁴⁰Stanbridge's Long Parvula (STC2: 23163.14) and Libellulus que Informatio Puerorum (STC 14078). The speculative date of the latter ranges from 1499, the date suggested by Duffin Fifteenth Century Books, to 1500, the date assigned by STC.

⁴¹STC 14079.

⁴²STC2 696.4, STC2 23139.5, STC2 23155.4, STC2 23155.6 and STC2 23163.17.

⁴³STC 7017, STC 11611, STC 11612, STC 11604, STC2 319.3 and STC 23427A.

⁴⁴STC 168 and STC 23940.

⁴⁵STC 15573. The date may be more like 1502.

⁴⁶STC 13432, A1: "De sancto Marcho. Opusculum de uniuersali mundi machina ac de me the orticis impressionibus a Fratre Ieronim de scto Marcho ordinis minoum τ in sacra theologia studete Parissensef editum..."

⁴⁷STC 177, and STC2 177.3. The latter unique copy is in Lord Kenyon's collection and, if my notes on the type are correct, would seem to be closer to 1525.

⁴⁸STC 15396 in 1500.

⁴⁹Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 37, and supplement pp. ix-xi, infers the existence of an illustrated edition c. 1500; however, the evidence which he presents would only seem to suggest that such an edition may have appeared before 1510, the date of Pynson's Chronicle of England (STC 9999), which featured Hodnett no. 1492 (now no. *1510a), a cut of a stone tower which belongs to the Mandeville series.

⁵⁰STC2 17033.3.

⁵¹STC2 17007.5.

⁵²STC 13688.

⁵³STC 12540 apparently recovered from a Pynson binding of Pynson's 1501 edition of Maydestone's Directorium Sacerdotum which was formerly in the possession of Ripon Cathedral and is currently in the possession of Lord Kenyon. The date assigned the work is 1500, which is the same date assigned to Wynken's edition (STC 12541), with the result that there is some controversy as to which is the first English edition.

⁵⁴STC 1988 and STC2 24301.5, respectively.

⁵⁵STC 11721 according to the date assigned by STC and STC2 based largely on typography.

⁵⁶Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 37-38, points out that Pynson had a series of woodcuts normally used to illustrate the work which were apparently copied from Gerard Leeu's edition. The work, of which no copies are known, must have been published before 1501, since the first known use of one of the cuts from the series is in The Traduction and Marriage of the Princess of that year.⁴

⁵⁷STC2 20107.5. Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 42, seems to be the principle source for crediting the work to Pynson on the basis of Hodnett no. 1814 from Pynson's Aesop series. He notes, however, that the type is supposed to be Wynken's. This would seem to suggest that the work may have been a Pynson-De Worde collaboration. The work was formerly erroneously listed as Surdit, under which title it was listed as STC 23435A.

⁵⁸The problem centers on the British Museum fragment, C.125.dd. 15/1, which is currently credited by Hodnett and STC2 to De Worde on the basis of type and the presence of Hodnett nos. 1106 and 1274, both of which belong to De Worde. The evidence for Pynson's involvement which has gone unnoticed, is the presence of what appears to be a Pynson border featuring a crowned monster which is used in conjunction with Hodnett no. 1274 on G6^v.

⁵⁹On the popularity of romance and its use in ceremonial functions of the period see Arthur B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1960).

⁶⁰STC 12380.

⁶¹STC 22408.

⁶²Duff, Century, p. 162.

⁶³Georges Lepreux, Gallia Typographia (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1911), I, pt. 2, pp. 342-347. He appears to have shared the title with Pierre Le Rouge.

⁶⁴Samuel Bentley, Excerpta Historica (London: Samuel Bentley, 1831), p. 128, excerpts the following Privy Purse entry from British Museum Additional MS. 7079 for June 18, 1502: "To Antony Verard for two bokes called the Gardyn of Helth, £6".

⁶⁵Duff, Century, p. 162.

⁶⁶Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁷STC2 9269.5, the collection of statutes beginning with Magna Carta.

⁶⁸Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry, pp. 425-426.

⁶⁹Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry, p. 426, argues forcefully against this common attribution. Briefly, Berdan argues that the source for the notion that Barclay is the translator is Bale's Index Britanniae Scriptorum which ascribes the ascription to "Ioannes Alen," painter, a not altogether convincing source. Berdan argues that Barclay's statement, "Opus igitur tue paternitati dedicaui: meorum primicias laborum qui in lucem eruperunt," in the Latin dedication to Bishop Cornish of the 1509 edition of the Ship of Fools is clear evidence that that work had to be the first of Barclay's translations to have been published. He also

argues against Barclay's authorship on the grounds that the "Monk's Tale stanza" and octosyllabic line used show an attempt to imitate the French form which is alien to Barclay.

Although no one has bothered to contradict Berdan's arguments, the work continues to be attributed to Barclay. While one suspects that more works are attributed to Barclay than he actually produced and that this may well be one of them; it must also be noted that the Latin is somewhat ambivalent and may actually only mean that the Ship of Fools was the first work that Barclay acknowledged his authorship of to be presented to the public.

⁷⁰Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 39-40. The series comprises Hodnett nos. 1511-1577. Eight of these, depicting the tortures of the damned, previously appeared in Verard's L'Art de Bien Vivre et de Bien Mourir; the remainder are from Verard's 1503 edition of the Calendar. See also Hugh Davies, Devices of the Early Printers, 1457-1560 [hereafter Devices] (London: Grafton & Co., 1935), pp. 171-173.

⁷¹STC 22408, on A2.

⁷²The Kalendar of Shepherdes, ed. H. Oskar Sommer (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., 1892), p. 67, on which he says, "the translation made for the edition of 1506...does not go back to the French original, but simply endeavours to render the Scotchman's text readable and intelligible, by altering orthography, by altering and omitting difficult passages, so that it is indeed a very free translation."

⁷³The Kalendar of Shepherdes, ed. Sommer, pp. 14-18, takes notice of editions in French published by Guy Marchant on April 18, 1493, July 18, 1493, January 7, 1496, September 16, 1497 and September 10, 1500. In addition, he also notices editions in French printed by Jean Bellot in Geneva in 1497 and 1500, by Claude Nourry at Lyon in 1502 and 1508, and by Raulin Gaultier in Rouen c. 1505.

⁷⁴Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 162.

⁷⁵See the description of STC 22408.

⁷⁶STC 3296.

⁷⁷STC 3296, A2-C5^v.

⁷⁸STC 3296, colophon on H7^v: "¶ Pray for hym the whych hath translated this p̄sent boke out of Frenche into Englysshe and it caused to be Enprynted for the helthe of soules to the end that he myght be partēner of the goode dedys the whyche of them shal procede."

⁷⁹STC 17969.

⁸⁰STC 17727 and STC 17728.

⁸¹STC 12471.

⁸²STC2 16116A.5 and STC2 16117.5.

⁸³STC2 17109.3.

⁸⁴STC2 16232.6 and STC2 16232.8.

⁸⁵STC 15893, STC 15894 and STC2 15900.5.

⁸⁶STC 16173 and STC 16179.

⁸⁷STC 16140.

⁸⁸STC 23243 and a possibly earlier copy in Dulwich College which is unlisted in STC. The Dulwich edition, a 4^o:a⁶b-c⁶, features Hodnett no. 1509 with an uncracked wall and device 6. STC 23243 is a 4^o:a-c⁶, and has Hodnett no. 1509 with about seven cracks in the wall and device 9 in its frame.

⁸⁹STC2 17181.5.

⁹⁰Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 47. Henry Plomer, English Printers' Ornaments (London: Grafton & Co., 1924), p. 21, referred to it as the first artistic book to be produced in England.

⁹¹The Rylands copy is the only one which I have seen which is wholly on vellum.

⁹²STC 16173, on A2.

⁹³STC 16173, on A2.

⁹⁴Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 36.

⁹⁵STC 23878.

⁹⁶See the discussion in chapter 1.

⁹⁷STC 16173, the colophon on 2K6^v reads, "¶ Examinatū erat ¶ castigatū hoc Missale scdm usum Sarum nouū ¶ cu or diligentia London impressū p industria Richard Pynson. Inceptū ¶ pfectum mandato impensis. Reuerendissimi in xpo patris ac dñi dñi Johis Morton Presbyteri Cardinalis Cantuarieñ. Archiepi. Decimo die Ianuarij. Anno dñi. Millesimo quingentesimo."

⁹⁸More was a page in Morton's household. It should be noted, however, that both Thomas More and his father were connected with Lincoln's Inn and that Pynson could well have met either or both of them through his connections at the Inn rather than through Morton. In a similar manner, although Morton may have provided Pynson with introductions to almost any of the major figures of the time, there is no evidence to suggest that Pynson might not have made these acquaintances through other connections.

⁹⁹See the discussion in chapter 1.

¹⁰⁰STC 4814. This STC number should actually belong only to the British Museum fragments from which the title of the piece is derived. The Bodleian fragment, Douce frag. e. 18, is an entirely different work from the British Museum piece.

¹⁰¹STC 4814, British Museum C.21.b.29.

¹⁰²STC 4814, on a2.

¹⁰³Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 137, on the other hand, argues that the work was produced after the event and without official sanction. Although his point that the ending of the work is incomplete is well taken, it is possible that the sole surviving copy is defective. One must question the likelihood of a member of the general public rushing out to buy a copy of the memoranda for the preparation of the event. It seems much more likely that the work was commissioned as a remembrance for those actually involved in the events.

¹⁰⁴Bently, Excerpta Historica, p. 131.

¹⁰⁵STC 23955.

¹⁰⁶STC 23955, on A1, "A full deuout and gostely treatyse of the Imytacion and folowyng the blessed Lyfe of our moste mercyfull Sauoure criste: compyled in Laten by the right worshypfull Doctor Mayster Iohn Gerson: and translate into Englysshe: The yere of oure lorde. M.D.ii. By mayster wyllyam Atkynson Doctor of diuinite: at the specyall request and comaudemēt of the full excellent Princesse Margarete moder to our Souerayne lorde Kyng Henry the. vii. and Countesse of Rychemount and Derby."

¹⁰⁷STC 23955, British Museum C.21.c.5, on A3.

¹⁰⁸STC 23955, on a1^v, "Here beginethe the forth boke of the folowinge Iesu crýst of the contēpnige of the world: Inprynted at the comaudemēt of the most excellent prynces Margarete: moder vnto our souereyne lorde: kinge Henry the vii. Coutes of Richemout and Darby And by the same Prynces it was translated oute of frenche and maner ensuinge..."

¹⁰⁹STC 23955, British Museum C.21.c.5, a3.

¹¹⁰STC 23955, the date is on a1^v.

¹¹¹At least I take them to be such since they are used only in works patronized by the Lady Margaret. They are first used in STC 23955 on A1^v. For a description of the arms and a listing of their occurrence in Pynson publications see the appendix on coats-of-arms.

¹¹²COA. 4.



¹¹³J. Johnson, Typographia, I, p. 406. Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. Dibdin, II, p. i. William E. Wilkie, The Cardinal Protectors of England [hereafter Cardinal Protectors] (Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 73 and 75, notes that this was a unique attempt to promote an Englishman to an Irish see and speculates that it might have been an attempt by Henry VII to establish a man loyal to himself in what might be regarded as a key position in western Ireland.

¹¹⁴Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses.

¹¹⁵I use the form of the name employed by Wilkie in the Cardinal Protectors, other forms are Hadrianus Cornetunus and Hadrian de Castello. The following brief account is derived from information contained throughout Wilkie's Cardinal Protectors, the article on Adriano in the DNB, and the article on him in Mario Emilio Cosenza, Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800 (Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall, 1962), vol. 6, p. 232.

Adriano Castellesi (b. 1459, d. June 1522), an Italian, had been appointed papal nunzio and apostolic collection to England in 1490 by Pope Innocent VIII. Although he took out letters of denization in 1492, he spent the majority of his career working on England's behalf in Rome, and is not known to have been in England after 1493. He enjoyed the favor of both Alexander VI, whom he served as private secretary, and Henry VII. This favor was reflected in his elevation to Cardinal in 1503, his appointment as Bishop of Hereford from 1502 to 1504 and his subsequent appointment as Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1504 to 1518.

Adriano eventually fell victim to the avarice of Wolsey. His fall from grace was completed in 1517, when as a consequence of his supposed involvement in the conspiracy of Cardinal Alfonso Petruccia against Leo X he fled from Rome, leaving his palace, subsequently known as the Palazzo Inglese, to Henry VIII. As a result of this action and a defamatory campaign against him which Wolsey had been conducting since 1514, he was removed from the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, which was subsequently given to Wolsey.

Apart from his political prominence, Adriano appears to have enjoyed some reputation as a scholar. He was the author of a Latin translation from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, a set of poems on the Virgin, De Accentibus et Orthographia Linguae Hebraicae, De Sermone Latino et Modis Latine Loquendi, De Poetis, De Vera Philosophia ex IV Doctoribus Ecclesiae (directed against the Thomists and Scotists), Venatia and Iter Iulii II cum Boniam Contendit.

¹¹⁶Bentley, Excerpta Historica, p. 132.

¹¹⁷STC 16179, on fol. 1, "...Mandato ꝛ impenso serenissimi xpianissimi ꝛ onni virtutum genere preclari Regis Henrici septimi..."

¹¹⁸British Museum C.41.k.4 and Rylands 13401.

¹¹⁹Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 38.

¹²⁰COA. 2.

121 STC2 6894.5, formerly STC 6898.

122 STC2 6894.5, on A2, "His presēt boke is called the Mirroure of golde to the sinfull soule/ the Whiche hath ben translated at parice oute of laten in to frensshe/ and after the translacion seen and corrected at length of many clarkis/ Doctours/ and maisters in diuinite/ and nowe of late trāslated oute of frenche in to Englisshe by the right excellent princesse Margaret moder to oure souerain lorde kinge Henry the .vii. and Countesse of Richemond & derby..."

123 COA. 7, COA. 8 and COA. 5, respectively.

124 STC2 12351.5, formerly STC 24267.

125 STC2 4813.6.

126 STC2 3945.5.

127 Although the subject of the work is clearly Queen Isabella of Spain, who died in 1504, she and her mother, Isabella of Portugal, are referred to as "Helisabeth" throughout the work.

128 This seems reasonable since the first dated work to use device 32 is STC 16140, the Sarum Missal dated 1506.

129 S. B. Chrimes, Henry VII (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 289-292.

130 STC 16140.

131 British Museum C.52.g.2.

132 See W. E. A. Axon, "The Lady Margaret as a Lover of Literature" [hereafter "Lady Margaret"], Library, 2nd series, VIII (1907), pp. 34-41. In the Parliament of Devils (STC 19305) and Gospel of Nichodemus (STC 18566) printed by De Worde in 1509, Wynken goes so far as to describe himself as "Prynter vnto the most excellent Pryncesse my Lady the Kynges mother."

133 Blake, Caxton and His World, p. 98. The work is Blanchardin and Eglantine (STC 3124) thought to have been printed in 1489.

134 Bentley, Excerpta Historica, pp. 85-133.

135 Blake, Caxton and His World, p. 98, referring to STC 7269.

136 Bentley, Excerpta Historica, pp. 110, 123, 127 and 129.

137 Bentley, Excerpta Historica, p. 128.

138 Bentley, Excerpta Historica, p. 132.

139 Bentley, Excerpta Historica, p. 122.

¹⁴⁰Duff, Century, p. 1.

¹⁴¹The presumption is that he died before 1504 because Faques was appointed King's Printer in that year.

¹⁴²Duff, Century, p. 45

¹⁴³STC2 16117.5, on i3^v of the Expositio Sequentiarum section,
 " ¶ Sequentiarum seu Prozarum secundū usum Sarum in ecclesiana Anglicana
 per totum annū contandarū diligenter & correctarum finem ecce felicem.
 Impresse Londonij per me Ricardum pynson Impressorem nobilissime Regis
 gratie commorantem in vico appellato the Fletestrete ad signum georgij.
 Anno. M.ccccc.vj. Sexto die mensis Ianuarij."

III

1507-1517

As one might expect, Pynson's appointment as King's Printer in 1507 brought a further measure of stability to Pynson's career which allowed him to undertake a 60 year lease of the George for 106 s. 8 d. on October 8 of that year.¹ Although it seems reasonable to surmise that Pynson's appointment carried some remuneration with it, no records of payment to him by the Crown exist between July 12, 1504² and March 1511.³ On June 20, 1512, Pynson was granted an annuity of 40 s. which was to have begun on "Michaelmas last;"⁴ this was increased to £4 a year on September 27, 1515,⁵ at which time he may also have been given the right to be styled esquire;⁶ by comparison it should be pointed out that an annuity of £12 3 s. 4 d. was given in 1516 to one Stephen Tosso, footman and tumbler.⁷

Although the appointment did not carry with it the right to any monopolies,⁸ apart from the printing of proclamations, which was really more of an obligation, it may have carried with it the title of esquire.⁹ In addition to the annuities, Pynson was also paid for individual items printed for the Crown. Those items for which records during this period exist are: "To Pynson, for printing of informations to the Commissioners taking musters, £ 10" in March 1511,¹⁰ "Pynson, printing statutes and proclamations, £ 6 13s. 4d." in July 1511,¹¹ "Ric. Pynson, printing books of statutes for the army over sea, 100s." in July 1512,¹²

"Ric. Pynson, King's Printer, £ 10" in February 1513,¹³ "Pynson, printing and binding 1600 books of 'statutes of war', £ 16 13s. 4d." in June 1513,¹⁴ "Pynson, printing of the enterdityng of Scotland, 40s." on December 25, 1513,¹⁵ "Pynson, printing 100 parchment rolls of the last subsidy act, each containing four skins, £ 10" in June 1514,¹⁶ "Pynson, printing 450 skins of parchment, containing the Acts of retendors of the statutes of Winchester, £ 6 13s. 4d." in March 1515,¹⁷ "Pynson, for printing 100 parchment skins and 125 leaves of paper of the last subsidy, and for printing the statutes, £ 18" in December 1515,¹⁸ and "Pynson, printing books concerning the subsidy, £ 31 13s. 4d." in May 1517.¹⁹

In addition to these items for which records of payments exist, we also know that Pynson printed a Breviary for Lady Margaret Beaufort in 1507²⁰ and an edition of Lydgate's Siege of Troy for Henry VIII in 1513,²¹ both, presumably, at the expense of the Crown. The 1510 edition of Bishop Fisher's Treatise on the Fruitful Sayings of David²² and the two 1517 editions of the Imitation of Christ²³, although bearing the arms associated with Lady Margaret Beaufort and referring to her in the text, are clearly not to be taken as having been printed for her since she died in 1509. It is not impossible, although not highly probable, that the cost of their printing might have been subsidized by the Crown.

Other works presumably printed for the Crown, most of which bear one form or another of the Royal arms, serve to reflect the history of the period. Thus in 1508 we find Pynson issuing a 48 page Latin account of the elaborate ceremonies leading up to the marriage by proxy of Princess Mary to Charles of Castile, as compiled by Petrus Carmelianus, Latin Secretary to Henry VII.²⁴ An abridged English version was also printed for the occasion.²⁵

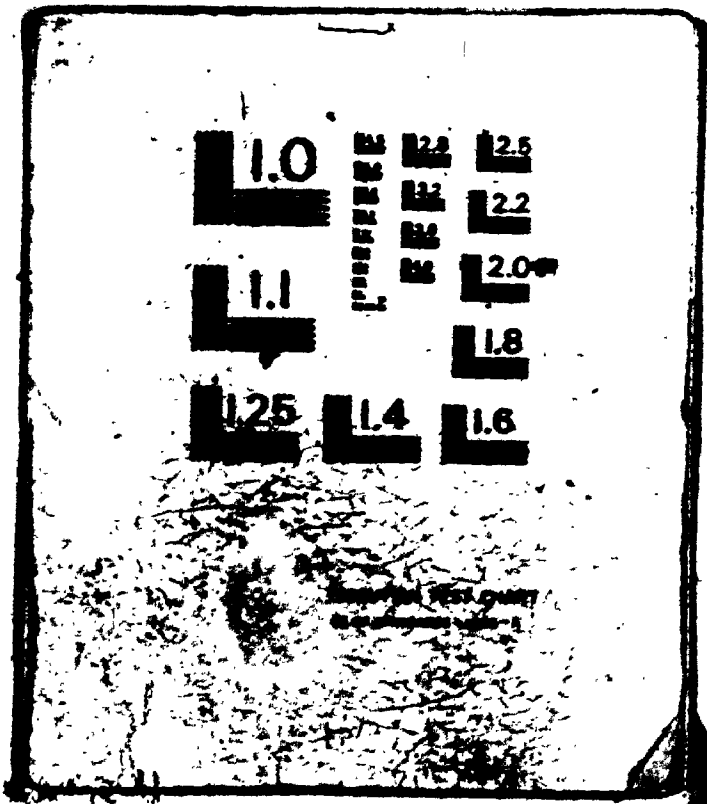
The death of Henry VII in 1509 was marked by the issuance of an Elegy on the Death of Henry VII²⁶ which although usually ascribed to De Worde's press, was listed as printed by Pynson in the STC2 notes at the time that I viewed them on the basis of a Tudor rose which Beale illustrates as belonging to Pynson. This, in turn, appears to have led Hodnett to reassign its woodcut of a dead king, formerly Hodnett no. 884, from DeWorde to Pynson as Hodnett no. *1491a.²⁷ This is regrettable since neither the type, a III textura, nor the Tudor rose agree with anything which I have observed in books bearing a Pynson imprint.²⁸ On the whole, it seems wisest not to consider this work nor the proof sheet of Torrent printed on the back of it as part of the Pynson canon.²⁹

Perhaps, as appears to have been the case with Fisher's funeral sermon on Henry VII,³⁰ which was printed for Margaret Beaufort by Wynken, the Elegy was thought to be more appropriate for the "Printer to the King's Mother" to print than for Pynson to print. This would also seem to have been the case with Stephen Hawes's A Joyful Meditation on the coronation of Henry VIII.³¹

The death of Henry VII did not, however, go entirely unrecognized by Pynson's press since 1509 saw the issuance of the Oratio³² of Petrus Gryphus (Pietro Griffio), the papal nuncio and collector of papal revenues.³³ The work, prefaced by a letter to Thomas Ronthal, the royal secretary, consists of a Latin address in praise of Henry VII. The address was originally to have been delivered orally to Henry VII; however, since Henry died shortly after Griffio's appointment was secured,³⁴ the work was instead printed as a memorial.

The praise of Henry VII by Griffio is not untouched by irony since Griffio was disliked by both Henry VII and Henry VIII. The royal

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animosity originally resulted from Griffio's embassy to Henry in 1505 or 1506, when he was assigned the unenviable task of endeavoring to persuade Henry to join Julius II's proposed crusade to free the Holy Land. After Griffio had protested Henry's lack of conscience in not only failing to undertake the desired crusade but in continuing to allow the import of infidel alum³⁵ he was recalled sometime subsequent to December 12, 1506.³⁶

The evidence would seem to suggest that Griffio was no more warmly received in 1509, since he was only grudgingly accepted by Henry VIII, who agreed to his appointment for only a three month term after which time Henry hoped that the Pope would allow him to make an appointment of his own choosing.³⁷ Despite this opposition, and although little is known about his affairs during this period, Griffio managed to remain in England and in office until June 9, 1512.³⁸

In 1511, Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, the cousin of Henry VIII, paid Pynson to print an edition of John Lydgate's Governance of Kings, otherwise known as the Secrets of Old Philosophers.³⁹ The work, which was supposed to be derived from Aristotle's advice to Alexander the Great, was particularly suitable for dedication from one of Henry's councillors to Henry at a time when he was just beginning to emerge from the shadow of his father's council. It is possible, however, that the work may have originally been commissioned with an eye towards honoring the infant Prince Henry who was born and died that same year, thus making such a dedication impolitic.

Also issued in 1511 was the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guilford,⁴⁰ which, like Mandeville's Travels, appears on the surface to be merely a travel book recounting the pilgrimage of Guilford to the Holy Land. The

use of the Royal arms on the title-page, however, suggests that the work was issued with the approval of and possibly subsidized by the Crown. It would not be difficult to accept this work as a memorial commissioned by the Crown for Guilford whose association with Henry VII dated back to the Duke of Buckingham's Rebellion and who had served as both Chamberlain and Master of Ordinance to Henry VII,⁴¹ were it not for the fact that the work was printed in 1511 while Guilford had died in the Holy Land in September 1506. One suspects that the work may actually have been issued as propaganda in Henry's campaign to encourage the fledgling English crusading instinct with an eye to eventually turning it to his own purposes in joining the Holy League against France.⁴²

England's entry into the Holy League in October 1511, and the subsequent campaigns against France and Scotland proved highly profitable to Pynson as evidenced in the payments from the Crown for "statutes for the army over sea," "statutes of war" and "enterdityng of Scotland" already referred to. Unrecorded, however, are Pynson's payments for four other publications relating to the campaign which were, again, almost surely subsidized by the Crown.

The most official of these works is the Latin De Iusticia & Sanctitate Belli of James Whytstons printed in 1512.⁴³ The work, which bears cuts of the arms of both Henry VIII⁴⁴ and Julius II,⁴⁵ is a justification of the war waged by the Holy League against Louis of France, who had dared to attempt to depose the Pope.

Somewhat more intriguing as a piece of propaganda is the Gardener's Passetance, an allegorical political poem aimed at praising Henry while reviling Louis.⁴⁶ In the framework of the poem, the Gardener, standing for an amalgam of God, Julius II and the Church, is portrayed

as choosing the honest rose (Henry VIII) over the deceitful lily (Louis XII). Louis is reviled at some length in the piece, in the best medieval tradition, through comparison with catalogues of both Pagans and Christians who were guilty of sacrilege.

The occasion of the work was the issuance of a brief from Julius II recognizing Henry as King of France, provided, of course, that Henry was successful in his campaign against Louis.⁴⁶ Apart from this the work is of some interest for the emphasis placed on the union of Henry and Catherine portrayed in the poem as the marriage of the rose and the pomegranate, which is used as a symbol for the solidarity of the Holy League. Indeed the importance of Catherine at this time is emphasized on the title-page as well where the three castles of Castile⁴⁷ are displayed next to the Tudor rose.

Another work of a similar nature was Alexander Barclay's Figure of Our Mother Holy Church Oppressed by the French King.⁴⁸ Regrettably nothing is known about this work except that it was a quarto printed by Pynson and that a copy is last known to have existed in 1595, the date of Andrew Maunsell's catalogue, which is the source of all subsequent references.

While Henry personally took charge of the campaign in France in June 1512, England was left in the hands of Queen Catherine, who was appointed governor of the realm and captain-general of the forces in Henry's absence. James IV of Scotland attempted to take advantage of this situation by preparing for war. Finally, on September 9, 1513, James launched his attack across the River Tweed and was killed in the subsequent battle of Flodden.⁴⁹ These are the bare bones of the events which apparently provided the subject matter for two lost Pynson

imprints.

The first of these lost works is the Epistola Regis Scotorum ad Angliae Regem, ante Conflictum of James IV, which one presumes reproduced James' declaration of war. It is difficult to say anything more about the work than that it was produced in 1513 since the work is at present unknown. All that is known from the description of the copy in the George Chalmers sale is that it contained Pynson's device (but not which one) and that it had headlines which were cut through.⁵⁰

The second lost Pynson imprint focussing on the Scottish campaign is somewhat more tenuous since there is no concrete evidence to establish that the work was actually printed. The work in question is an Epitaph on James IV by Petrus Carmelianus. It is known to us only through its mention by Andreas Ammonius in a letter to Erasmus, in which he describes it as a work stuffed full of womanly abuse which might soon appear in Pynson's type.⁵¹ Apart from this reference nothing is known about the work.

As was mentioned earlier, the year 1513 saw the appearance of Pynson's edition of Lydgate's Siege of Troy printed at the command of Henry VIII.⁵² The work was such that it would appeal to the chivalric impulses which Henry hoped to instill in the hearts of his countrymen in his continuing somewhat unpopular campaign against France.

Two other works deserve mention at this time since they were also to contribute to the spirit of English nationalism which Henry VIII was bent on promoting. The first of these is Pynson's edition of the St. Alban's Chronicle published in 1510.⁵³ The work was already widely popular and had already seen printings by Caxton, the St. Alban's printer, Machlinia, Leeu, De Worde and Notary⁵⁴ before the appearance of

Pynson's edition. Based on Layamon's Brut, it emphasized the proud, if often fictitious, and ancient heritage of the British people and isles. Pynson's edition, like that of Caxton, also featured a copy of John Trevisa's translation of that portion of Higden's Polychronicon which contains a description of the British Isles.

The second of these works is the first edition of Fabyan's Chronicle which Pynson published in 1516, probably with Royal sanction and financing since COA no. 2 is used twice at the beginning of each volume.⁵⁶ The work, an immense folio of 358 leaves, represented a major effort for Pynson and featured the introduction of a number of specially cut coats-of-arms representing various royal houses as well as a major new series of initials in an ornamental stalk motif.

The author of the work was Robert Fabyan, a member of the Draper's Guild, and sometime alderman and sheriff of the City of London who died in 1513,⁵⁷ and whom it is likely that Pynson knew personally. The work itself is divided into two volumes (usually bound as one) and seven parts. The first volume is composed of the first six parts and while concentrating on England, also attempts to deal somewhat with European history, beginning with the supposed landing of Brut and continuing through the Battle of Hastings. The second volume, prefaced by a supplement on the reign of Henry VII,⁵⁸ concentrates on the history of England, France and the City of London and covers the period from 1066 to the advent of the Tudors.

The importance of the work to modern historians lies largely in Fabyan's attempt to pull together the previous historical and quasi-historical accounts and note the differences in them, rather than simply choosing the versions that best suited his own point of view.⁵⁹ Although

somewhat skeptical about the historicity of King Arthur, the work is designed in such a way as to emphasize the continuity and antiquity of the British nation. In the second volume the appeal to British nationalism becomes somewhat more blatant as do the author's pro-Tudor sentiments in the concluding accounts of the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III and the supplemental account of the reign of Henry VII.

A curious aspect of the work is that it is supposed, in some accounts, to have been suppressed and burned by order of Cardinal Wolsey in 1517.⁶⁰ This seems highly unlikely, however, since, as has been noted above, the work may well have enjoyed Royal patronage and is distinctly pro-Tudor; in addition, it must be remembered that Pynson appears to have been on good terms with Wolsey and most of the other influential clergy of the time, which makes it highly unlikely that they would have proscribed a work coming from his press. Although Thompson seems to feel that the work is prejudiced against monasteries and is slightly tainted with superstition,⁶¹ these would hardly be viewed as instances of Lollardy, which would have been the most likely grounds for suppression. Perhaps the most telling argument against a suppressed edition, however, is the fact that the work is not among the rarest of Pynson's works in the number of surviving copies.

As one may readily gather, apart from these publications of an official or semi-official nature often subsidized by the Crown, Pynson's appointment as King's Printer had other benefits as well. Foremost among these is evidence of a continuing increase in Pynson's personal status which is reflected in both the number and importance of Pynson's known associates during this period.

The extent of Pynson's connections in the court circle during

this period is hinted at by an entry in the close rolls for May 16, 1507, in which Pynson is named attorney to convey seisin in a transfer of land from Richard, Earl of Kent, to Charles Somerset, Knight, Christopher Urswick and Edmund Staynebonke, Clerks,⁶² possibly as part of a marriage settlement.⁶³ As noted above, Pynson's relations with Charles Somerset continued with his commissioning of the 1511 edition of the Governance of Kings.

Apart from his connections at court, Pynson had by this time become a pillar of society of the City of London. As early as 1502, we find Pynson and Robert Halle, the Keeper of the Ludgate Gaol, appointed attorneys to convey seisin of property from a distinguished group composed of John Stone, gentleman, Bartholomew Rede, Nicholas Mynys, alderman of London, Richard Lee, Esquire, Richard Broke, gentleman and Roger Thorney, citizen and mercer of London, to the no less eminent personage of Sir Robert Rede, Knight and Justice of the King's Bench,⁶⁴ while in 1516, we find that Pynson and one William Persons have been elected as churchwardens for St. Dunstan's-in-the-West.⁶⁵

Although Pynson's tenure as churchwarden appears to have lasted for only the one year, it entailed a good deal of work and responsibility since that year saw the extensive renovation of St. Katherine's Chapel,⁶⁶ and the construction of both the vestry⁶⁷ and the charnel-house.⁶⁸ The work was not wholly without profit to Pynson, however, since the churchwarden's accounts record payments to him of 4 s.(?) for binding a "small book," 3 s. (?) 4 d. (?) for binding the massbook for the high altar, and 4 s. (?) for the purchase of a massbook.⁶⁹

Pynson's acceptance in the City is also mirrored in the lives of his children with his daughter Margaret securely married to his neighbor,

William Campion,⁷⁰ and his son Richard, after several years at Lincoln's Inn, married to the potentially wealthy widow of John Revell, the son of a former alderman.⁷¹

Considering the considerable number of Pynson's connections, it is not surprising to find that he appears to have been the first printer known to have been employed by the City of London. Thus we find that on March 23, 1517, Pynson submitted a bill to London for 54 s. for books printed for the City.⁷² Regrettably, we have no idea what these books were nor are any copies known to be extant.

Of Pynson's relations with printers and stationers during this period much is suggested but little can be proved. It seems reasonable to assume that Pynson remained on good terms with John Rastell, who in 1516 continued to occupy a house next door to St. Dunstan's vestry.⁷³ The close proximity of Rastell's house to Pynson's no doubt facilitated their cooperation in producing Rastell's Grand Abridgement of 1516.⁷⁴

Pynson's relations with Wynken De Worde during this period are somewhat more complex and in many ways frankly puzzling. As we have mentioned earlier, despite numerous old wives' tales of Pynson and Wynken following a common apprenticeship under Caxton being intimately connected throughout their career, there is little hard evidence to suggest that Pynson and Wynken were anything more than casual business acquaintances through 1500.

In 1500 this relationship may have changed since both Pynson and Wynken appear to have moved into the City at about the same time, but again, this could be mere coincidence. In 1507, however, we find Pynson and Wynken in definite collaboration producing joint editions of the Royal Book⁷⁵ and the Golden Legend.⁷⁶

It has been established on the basis of the typography that both works appear to have been actually printed by Wynken, or at least using Wynken's types, with Pynson's name placed in a substitute colophon and Pynson's device substituted in those copies for sale by him. In the case of the Royal Book, Pynson does not appear to have provided any of the material for the book. In the case of the Golden Legend, however, the researches of Lord Kenyon and Hodnett⁷⁷ have established that Pynson provided the bulk of the woodcuts (45 out of 76) in the work.

The circumstances leading to this collaboration remain unknown, although there may be some significance to the fact that an abnormally small number of books appears to have been published by Pynson in the year of his assumption of the title of King's Printer. The fact that there are only six books assigned to 1506 and only nine books assigned to 1507⁷⁸ leads one to suspect that there may have been some problem in Pynson's business or personal life during this period; however nothing has thus far appeared on the biographical level to explain this drop in production.

In any event, Pynson appears to have remained on good terms with DeWorde throughout the period, as evidenced by Pynson's use of Wynken's woodcuts, Hodnett nos. 882, 933, 934, 937, 938, 1243 and 1284-1287 in the 1513 edition of the Siege of Troy⁷⁹ already mentioned, of Hodnett nos. 936 and 1257 in Pynson's edition of the Destruction of Jerusalem⁸⁰ c. 1515 and of Hodnett no. 1285 again in Pynson's Life of St. George⁸¹ of the same date.

Although these are the only Pynson-DeWorde collaborations definitely established during this period, they raise the problem of certain other works ascribed to Pynson's press around this period which appear

to have some alien material present. In this regard, we have already mentioned the Elegy on Henry VII with the proofs of an edition of Torrent of Portugal on the back, which we concluded was wholly Wynken's work.

An earlier piece, which has been ascribed to Pynson, is the fragment of a Reynard⁸² currently kept in the National Library of Scotland. If the work is actually in Pynson's type, a matter on which I have some reservations, the work must represent either another shared edition with Wynken or another borrowing of Wynken's material since the sole woodcut present, Hodnet no. *1289a, belongs to a series cut for Wynken sometime before 1500 for a no longer extant edition of a Reynard.⁸³

A somewhat similar situation exists for the Bodleian fragment of the Castle of Labor⁸⁴ formerly assigned to Pynson's press c. 1506, but now assigned to c. 1525. In this instance the work contains Pynson cuts, Hodnett nos. 1611 and 1612, but at least one of the two initials present is definitely Wynken's. This initial is the grotesque "T" used below Hodnett no. 1612 which is one of the set used by Wynken in the 1507 collaborative edition of the Royal Book and which appears in no other signed Pynson edition. The other initial in question, a cross-hatched floral "T" with bird, appears in Pynson books c. 1525, most notably the Pilgrimage of Perfection,⁸⁵ for which Pynson again appears to have borrowed cuts from Wynken. On the whole I am inclined to suspect that the second initial may have belonged to DeWorde as well, and that the edition represents either another shared edition printed by Wynken, a borrowing of material by Wynken or else an edition printed by a later printer who had obtained material from the shops of both Pynson or DeWorde.⁸⁶

The last of these somewhat troublesome pieces is the Ponthus,⁸⁷ formerly known as Surdit,⁸⁸ assigned to 1510. Again we have a Pynson woodcut, Hodnett no. 1814,⁸⁹ this time from Pynson's Aesop series (c. 1500), used with type formerly thought to be Wynken's. Apparently on the basis of Hodnett's identification of the woodcut, STC 2 has assigned the work to Pynson. However, the type looks somewhat suspicious and a shared edition or edition by a later printer using Pynson's cut seems more likely than that the work actually came from Pynson's shop.

As we have noted above, little appears to be known about the reasons for these collaborations. It would appear, however, that Pynson and De Worde may have jointly acquired one type ornament during their association.⁹⁰ Apart from this one may speculate that there may have been an exchange of workmen between the two shops sometime during this period since the 1507 Royal Book appears to be the first work from De Worde's press to use the somewhat eccentric practice of signing only the first and third (as the second) rectos of a quarto in sixes, a practice used by Pynson's shop through 1504.⁹¹ At the same time, Pynson's shop begins to use abbreviated forms of a given work's title next to the signatures on all signed rectos (catch-titles) in 1515, a practice which had been used in DeWorde's shop since at least as early as 1510.⁹²

Pynson's connection with Henry Jacobi, the stationer of London and Oxford, is somewhat more straightforward in regard to the publication of the 1509 Ortus Vocabulorum. The work, a Latin dictionary, exists in two states. In one of these the concluding portion of the title-page reads, "¶ Uemundatur Londoñ. in vice nūcupato Fletestrete:

sub intersignio sancti Georgij: ab Richardo Pynson Impressore Regio,"⁹³ while the other reads, "Uenūdatur Londōn. apud bibliopolas In cimiterio sancti Pauli: sub intersignio sanctissime Trinitatis: ab Henrico Iacobi."⁹⁴ Since this is the only difference between the two works, it seems safe to presume that they were printed under an arrangement similar to those in Pynson's contracts with John Russhe and Palsgrave in which Jacobi would pay Pynson a set sum for materials and printing in addition to which Pynson would be permitted to retain a certain proportion of the press run for sale from his own shop.

Somewhat more conjectural is the question of how well Jacobi may have known Pynson. A presumed Frenchman, Jacobi may have met Pynson in France or through common acquaintances in France. On the other hand, they may have met as a result of Jacobi's court connection since he is known to have dealt with Henry VII in 1505.⁹⁵ In any event, we know that by 1506 Jacobi was established in London and had entered into a partnership with Joyce Pelgrim, the bookseller, and William Bretton, a wealthy London merchant, to produce a Psalterium, an Horae and an edition of Lyndewode's Constitutions. In 1507 and 1508 he is known to have had three grammatical books printed for him by Thierry Martens in Antwerp. Between September 1510 and 1512 he is thought to have been in Paris where he had works printed by Ascensius, Hopyl and possibly Byrckman. Finally, shortly after his return to London in 1512 he moved to Oxford where he died sometime before December 11, 1514.⁹⁶

Such, in brief, is the account given by Duff. One may speculate, however, that Jacobi may have known Pynson as early as 1505, since it is not impossible that he is the "mi charissime Iacobe" addressed by Hieronymus de Sancto Marcho in the closing lines of Pynson's edition of his

Opusculum.⁹⁷ It is also of interest to note his association with Hopyl, who is known to have provided Pynson with some of his type. Perhaps more intriguing is the fact that he is known to have commissioned four small works from J. Badius Ascensius in 1510 and 1511, the years immediately following Pynson's issuance of Savonarola's Sermo In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini.⁹⁸ One cannot do much more, however, than to note the suggestiveness of these possible associations.

This brings us to the problem of Pynson's possible association with J. Badius Ascensius, the Parisian printer and editor. Whether the two ever actually met and did business together or simply copied each other's works from time to time cannot really be established. It is clear, however, that the 1505 edition of Pynson's Sulpitius⁹⁹ was originally edited by Ascensius, as is acknowledged in the title, "Grammaticae Sulpionae cum textu Ascensiano recognita & auctore ut proximo patebit epistolio" as well as in the use of Ascensius's 1503 dedicatory letter to "Davidi Laurio Atrebatensi"¹⁰⁰. It is not known, however, whether Pynson actually employed Ascensius to edit the work for him, or, as seems more likely, simply copied an unknown edition by Ascensius.¹⁰¹

In any event, Pynson continued throughout this period to do his usually highly profitable trade in lawbooks, although if the dating of STC2 is correct, their production during this period was sporadic, to say the least. Apart from proclamations, current statutes and year-books, the period from 1507 through 1509 is known to have produced only an edition of the collection of Statutes beginning with "Magna Carta" in 1508.¹⁰²

1510 saw the issuance of a "Leteltun Teners Newe Correcte,"¹⁰³ representing the first attempted overhaul of that legal classic. More

impressive, and amazingly common in terms of the number of copies extant, is the large folio edition¹⁰⁴ of the Intrationum¹⁰⁵ which was also issued that year.

There then follows a three year hiatus before the production of another edition of the "Magna Carta" statute collection.¹⁰⁶ Then follows an edition of the Old Tenures in 1515.¹⁰⁷ In 1516, however, a spate of legal publications seem to appear with the issuance of another edition of Littleton's Tenures,¹⁰⁸ a "Natura Brevium Newly Corrected,"¹⁰⁹ a Returna Brevium¹¹⁰ and two rather specialized pieces dealing with the Court Baron¹¹¹ and the Hundred Court.¹¹²

During this same period Pynson continued his semi-systematic issuance of yearbooks with that for Edward IV, 22 credited to 1508; Henry IV, 7, Henry IV, 12, Henry IV, 21 and two editions of Henry VI, 31 all assigned to 1510; Henry VI, 27, Henry VI, 28, Henry VI, 33, Henry VI, 35, Edward IV, 1, Edward IV, 2, Edward IV, 5 and Edward IV, 6 credited to 1512; Henry IV, 7 and Richard III, 2 issued in 1515; and Edward III, 40, Edward III, 41 and Edward III, 46 all issued in 1517.¹¹³

At the same time, Pynson's output of religious and devotional works continued at a steady pace. We have already noted the Breviary printed for Margaret Beaufort in 1507.¹¹⁴ In addition to this, we find that Pynson also appears to have printed another Breviary assigned to 1508. During the same period Pynson appears to have issued two or possibly three editions of the combined Expositio Hymnorum and Expositio Sequentiarum assigned to 1509,¹¹⁶ 1511,¹¹⁷ and 1515.¹¹⁸ Hours of the Virgin in the Sarum usage are found in 1507,¹¹⁹ 1510¹²⁰ and 1514,¹²¹ while a single York Horae¹²² is assigned to 1510. The only Sarum Missal produced during the period is that of 1512,¹²³ which is of some interest

in that the Durham University copy. (Durham Select 15) contains two extra signatures at the end with the running-title, "Breves III Longe". These signatures contain a work in Latin dealing with the difference in pronunciation of liturgical and classical Latin.

1508 saw a new edition of Guido de Monte Rocheri's Manipulus Curatorum,¹²⁴ of which Lord Kenyon's copy is particularly notable in that it is bound in a Pynson binding with fragments of a Pynson indulgence serving as endpapers.¹²⁵ Also issued that year was another edition of Maydestone's Directorium Sacerdotum.¹²⁶

Little can be said about Pynson's edition of Gilbertus Nicolai's Tractatus de Tribus Ordinibus Beatissime Virginis Dei Genetricis Marie.¹²⁷ an octavo c. 1515, since the only known copy is in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. Somewhat more accessible is the unique copy of Meditationes Iordani de Vita et Passione Iesu Christi at Cambridge.¹²⁸ The work, a rare Pynson sixteenmo in eights,¹²⁹ is primarily of interest for the two series of religious woodcuts, most of which are known only from their appearance in this work.¹³⁰ In addition to these, there are also two woodcuts, Hodnett nos. 345 and 349, which were originally Caxton's and which appear to have been lent to Pynson for this occasion.¹³¹ Somewhat more problematical is the description of the use of Hodnett no. 1399 given by Hodnett,¹³² which, if correct, would imply that although the cut was made for Pynson, it was first used in Wynken's 1511 Gospel of Nichodemus; this seems all the more puzzling since Wynken appears content in both his 1509 and 1518 editions of the same work to use Caxton's version of this cut.¹³³

Of the two editions of Mirk's Liber Festivalis¹³⁴ issued during this period, the unique illustrated copy in the Oscott collection¹³⁵

would seem to be of greater interest since it contains many of the same Pynson woodcuts as the Pynson-DeWorde Legenda Aurea¹³⁶ and may have been designed as a companion piece for that work.

Pynson's edition of John Capgrave's Calendar of the New Legend of England¹³⁷ was a good-sized quarto of 161 leaves and represented the first edition of the work printed in English. In addition to the title-piece, which consists of a collection of saints' lives, the volume also contains a piece by Walter Hylton and an abridged version of the Life of St. Bridget. The inclusion of this latter piece together with Hodnett no. 1349,¹³⁹ a woodcut of St. Bridget with the initials E.G., for Elizabeth Gybbes, Abbess of Syon Monastery, cut in the frame below the woodcut¹⁴⁰ suggests that the work may well have been printed for that Brigittine house.

Pynson's Life of St. George¹⁴¹ of 1515 or later¹⁴² is most notable for having been translated into English from the original of Bap-
tista Spagnuoli by Alexander Barclay, the translator of Pynson's edition of the Ship of Fools. Although the translation was undertaken by Barclay at the commandment of his frequent patron, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, there is no evidence as to whether that worthy contributed to the cost of printing the work.

The Life of St. Francis¹⁴³ of 1515 in the Morgan collection is of some interest in that it is in a presumed Pynson binding featuring the same stamps used on the Oxford copy of Pynson's 1517 edition of the Imitation of Christ.¹⁴⁴ One presumes that the work, with its emphasis on the founding of and rules of the Franciscan order, was originally printed for a large Franciscan house, possibly the Observant Franciscan convent at Greenwich.

As one may gather from some of the foregoing works, such items were often published in conjunction with and in commemoration of specific religious houses. Another item in this category is the Holy Blood of Hayles,¹⁴⁵ which gives an account of the miracles connected with the reliquary said to contain the blood of Christ which was owned by the Cistercian abbey of Hayles in Gloucestershire. As J. C. T. Oates points out in his extensive study of the work,¹⁴⁶ the piece was probably produced as tourist literature for sale to visitors to the abbey.

A religious work of a different nature is the Rule of St. Benedict¹⁴⁷ produced by Pynson for distribution to the novices in the "monasteries of Rumsay [and] Wharwel Seynt Maries within the cite of Winchester" and the priory of "Wintnay" at the command and, presumably, expense of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester.¹⁴⁸ The work, which set forth the rules of the Benedictine order in English, is evidence of both the continued concern with back-sliding and decay in the religious houses and of the increased usage of the vernacular and implied ignorance of Latin among the religious community at that time. Other works in a similar vein include De Worde's 1510 Rule of St. Jerome¹⁴⁹ and Pynson's own editions of the Articles of Our Faith¹⁵⁰ and the Exoneratorium Curatorum,¹⁵¹ both ascribed to 1520.

In addition to printing the Rule of St. Benedict, Pynson is also thought to have been connected with Bishop Fox in the procuring of books for Corpus Christi College, Oxford between 1517 and 1528.¹⁵² In this connection, Pynson is believed to have bound the first volume of a six volume set of Johann Mentelin's edition of the works of Vincent of Beauvais using foreign panels and tools formerly owned by John Lettou.¹⁵³

The decay in the Church and its houses evidenced by the need to

publish a Rule of St. Benedict in English was mirrored in the closing of numerous religious houses by Alcock, Fox and later Wolsey - usually to the benefit of colleges and grammar schools which emerged from the rubble of these earlier institutions. At the same time works such as the Rule of St. Benedict also serve as evidence of a growing dissatisfaction with the Church and its institutions which would ultimately surface in the challenge of Lutheranism and the beginnings of the Reformation.

The presence of challenges to accepted authority and standard doctrines is also suggested by the need to publish the De Septem Sacramentis¹⁵⁴ of "Guillermus Parisiensis" in 1516. While this work appears to be more of explanation of the sacraments than a defense of them, its publication suggests that these basic tenets of the Church were being challenged and reevaluated even before Luther came into prominence.

A more important document prefiguring the concerns of the Reformation was the Oratio Habita ad Clerum in Convocatione¹⁵⁵ of John Colet, published by Pynson c. 1511.¹⁵⁶ The sermon, delivered in Convocation in 1511, savagely attacked the vices of the clergy while at the same time it supported the basic doctrines of the Church.¹⁵⁷

In 1509 Pynson issued an edition of the Evagatorium of Michael di Ungaria.¹⁵⁸ Essentially mediaeval in tone, the work is a collection of sermons for use by the clergy. It is of some literary interest, however, in that it is prefaced by a section dealing (in Latin) with the various rhetorical devices which may be employed in the process of delivering or writing a sermon.

By way of contrast, 1509 also saw Pynson issue Savonarola's Sermo in Vigilia Nativitatis Domini.¹⁵⁹ The work, a Latin translation from the Italian original done by Bartholomeo Gallo, an Italian priest, is

the first work by Savonarola to have been printed in England. If McConica's speculations are correct, the work was issued to mark the resignation of Stephen Dowce as Master of Whittington College on November 30, 1509.¹⁶⁰

The Savonarola piece is more often mentioned, however, as the first work using roman (114) type to be printed in England.¹⁶¹ The roman type is confined to the title and the words "LAVS DEO" at the end, however, and the Oratio of Pietro Griffio which is entirely in roman type may well have actually preceded it.

With the introduction of roman type one notes a marked shift in the nature of Pynson's non-religious literary output to works directly or indirectly related to Humanism and the New Learning. The shift is perhaps most obvious in terms of the Latin grammars issued during this period with grammars of the "old school" represented only by editions of Garlandia's Multorum Vocabulorum in 1508¹⁶² and 1514,¹⁶³ Garlandia's Synonyma in 1509¹⁶⁴ and Sulpitius's Stans Puer ad Mensam in 1516.¹⁶⁵

As noted earlier, the new grammarians centered around Magdalen College and Magdalen School, Oxford, with which we know Pynson to have been associated through his dealings with George Chastelain, its book-binder.¹⁶⁶ We have also already noted Pynson's earlier production of grammars by John Anwykyl, the Magdalen grammarian, and John Stanbridge, his successor at Magdalen school. During this period Stanbridge's grammars seem to have demonstrated a marked increase in popularity with Pynson editions of Stanbridge's Accidence,¹⁶⁷ Gradus Comparatione¹⁶⁸ and Sum, Es, Fui¹⁶⁹ appearing in 1510, editions of his Vocabula in 1513¹⁷⁰ and 1514,¹⁷¹ and an edition of his Parvulorum Institutio published in 1515.¹⁷²

Although Pynson continued to issue Stanbridge's works through 1526, they appear to have been largely superseded by the works of one of Stanbridge's pupils, Robert Whittinton. Whittinton's efforts differ from those of his predecessor in that the individual works were eventually designed to be collected to form a complete grammar in two parts. Under this scheme the De Nominum Generibus, De Nominum Declinatione, De Heteroclitus Nominibus, De Concinnitate Grammaticae (or Syntaxis), De Verborum Praeteriti, De Verborum Formis de Defectivis, De Octo Partibus Orationis and De Synonymis (or Lucubrationes) were to be collected as the Grammatices Primae Partis. The Secunda Pars Grammatices, on the other hand, consists of only two works usually bound together under the title, De Syllaba et Eius Quantitate cum Interpretamento F. Nigri Diomedes de Accentu. Since this latter work, in a Wynken edition, is referred to as the Secunda Pars as early as 1513, it seems reasonable to assume that Whittinton had his over-all plan of arrangement in mind by that date, although the various segments of the first part do not appear to have begun being labeled as such until 1521.¹⁷³ In addition to these works Whittinton also produced a Vulgaria, about which more will be said in the following chapter.

Although Wynken De Worde was the foremost producer of Whittinton grammars, Pynson was a respectable second with thirty-two editions of Whittinton's various works published between 1513 and 1527. Those works produced by Pynson from 1512 through 1517 consist of editions of the De Nominum Generibus in 1512¹⁷⁴ and 1515,¹⁷⁵ De Nominum Declinationes in 1513,¹⁷⁶ De Syllaba et Eius Quantitate¹⁷⁷ and De Magistratibus in 1515, and the De Heteroclitus Nominum in 1516.¹⁷⁹

Although the works of Stanbridge and Whittinton appear to have

been the most popular of the grammars issued by Pynson during this period, they were far from the only ones issued by him. Two other Pynson grammars which are known to us only from references by various bibliographers are "John Tonney's Rules of Grammar" and an edition of John Barchley's Grammaticae Latina. The Tonney piece is by far the more dubious of the two since the original citation appears to come from the often unreliable General History of Printing by Samuel Palmer,¹⁸⁰ which gives nothing but the title. The second item is less conjectural. Although the Pynson edition is currently unknown (the fragment of a Pynson Latin grammar formerly thought to have been this work has proved to be a fragment of an Os, Facies, Mentum¹⁸¹ instead), the initial citation is from the more reliable Herbert's Typographical Antiquities¹⁸² and a copy of the work is known to exist in the form of a 1506 DeWorde edition in the Lambeth Palace Library.¹⁸³

Another grammar printed by Pynson during this period is the 1510 edition of John Holt's Lac Puerorum.¹⁸⁴ The author of the piece, like Anwykyl and Stanbridge, was associated with Magdalen School, Oxford, where he served as headmaster from 1494 through 1495.¹⁸⁵ The work was highly innovative in that it attempted to combine all the material covered in the separate Anwykyl and Stanbridge works into a single comprehensive grammar for beginning students while at the same time it attempted to ease the burden of memorization of the various verb forms and declensions through diagrams associating the forms with the fingers of the hand and six tapers held in the hand.

Although the first edition of Holt's grammar is thought to have been published by De Worde c. 1508,¹⁸⁷ the original text is thought to have been composed c. 1500 since the work is dedicated to Cardinal

Morton, who died in that year. In addition to the dedicatory epigram to Morton, the work also contains an introductory and concluding epigram by Thomas More, who Hogrefe speculates may have had a hand in writing the book as well.¹⁸⁸ It is also possible in this regard that the book was used in the school which More conducted in his home beginning c. 1510.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of Pynson's involvement with the Humanists during this period is to be seen in his publication of the 1513 first edition of the Libellus de Constructione Octo Partium Orationes.¹⁸⁹ The work, which was prepared and printed for use in the new St. Paul's School, had a long and complex history. Originally the task of preparing a syntax for the new school was given to Thomas Linacre, who in 1511 presented his finished work¹⁹⁰ to John Colet, the school's founder. Colet apparently viewed the work as too unwieldy and reassigned the task to William Lily, his headmaster. While Lily was the actual author of the final version, it was so extensively revised by Erasmus that neither he nor Lily would take credit for the finished product so that it was finally published anonymously; a circumstance which has sometimes led the work to be erroneously ascribed to Colet because he was the author of the introduction of the first edition.¹⁹¹

The full importance of the work in English cultural history is not felt until the 1540's when Lily's Libellus de Constructione together with his earlier Rudimenta and later De Generibus Nominum ac Verborem Praeteritis are combined with Colet's Aeditio to form the work which was to become generally known as Lily's Grammar. This work, as revised by a royal commission, became, by royal decree, the sole authorized text-book for the English grammar schools and as such played a major role in shaping the education of England's leaders throughout the English Renais-

sance.¹⁹²

As we have noted earlier, the grammar schools also required suitable Latin texts for their curriculum and these were predominantly supplied by continental printers such as Aldus who specialized in this field. Pynson, it will be remembered, broke into the field briefly with his edition of Terence; he appears to have ventured into the field again c. 1515 with the first collection of Vergil's works to be printed in England, the Vergiliana Poesis.¹⁹³ The work contains the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid along with a number of shorter pieces.

While the Vergiliana Poesis was probably printed with at least some thought towards the text-book trade, a rather different motive appears to be behind the publication of Erasmus's Latin translation of Plutarch's De Tuenda Bona.¹⁹⁴ In this instance, the work was originally translated by Erasmus as a gift to John Yonge, the Master of the Rolls. The work appears to have caused Erasmus a great deal of trouble due to the corrupt nature of the texts which he was working from. Indeed, the texts appear to have been so unsatisfactory that Erasmus felt compelled to revise the manuscript which he had sent to Yonge to the extent that he suggested in a letter of September 1, 1513 that Yonge would not recognize the printed version as the same work.¹⁹⁵

The De Tuenda Bona is a dialogue between Moschion, a physician and Zeuxippenes, a friend of Plutarch. In actuality the piece is almost a lecture on the best ways to retain one's health. Although the text itself was obviously of interest to Erasmus, as we may judge from the trouble he took over it, the immediate occasion for the work was an outbreak of the plague at Cambridge. In a similar vein, the manuscript version was likely well received by John Yonge, who was at that time

campaigning in France and likely exposed to the risk of pestilence in the battlefield. The publication of the work by Pynson in 1513 may be presumed to have been aimed not at the grammar school trade but at the circle of learned humanists who would find the subject matter particularly edifying in the light of the outbreaks of plague and sweating sickness which hit England with some regularity during this period.

The final work in Latin to be discussed in this period was the Palamedes Palliata Comedia¹⁹⁶ by the contemporary Florentine poet Remacli D'Arduenne.¹⁹⁷ The title-piece of the work appears to be unique in English printing, in that it is a first edition of a non-religious Latin play written by a contemporary. It is generally regarded as an imitation of Plautus. Generally unnoticed is the fact that the Palamedes occupies only a relatively small part of the volume; the greater part of the work is taken up by a long Latin poem by Remacli on the life of Christ and the life of the Virgin Mary. This work seems to be entitled Ad Mariam and is possibly unique to the Pynson edition.¹⁹⁸

The work is of even more interest in that it is dedicated by Remacli to Pietro Griffio, the papal nuncio who was mentioned earlier in this chapter. The occasion of the piece appears to have been the termination of Griffio's troubled English career since it was printed in March of 1512 and Griffio is believed to have left England for the last time in June of that year.¹⁹⁹ Regrettably there is no evidence in the work to suggest who may have commissioned its printing; one may speculate, however, that it may have been commissioned by Griffio himself as a parting gift to his friends among the English humanists, or that it may have been commissioned by one or more of the humanists as a farewell present to Griffio. Either possibility seems more likely than that Pynson would

undertake to print a work with such a limited potential market without a commission to do so.

Although Griffio does not appear to have enjoyed the favor of either Henry VII or Henry VIII, he does seem to have been on good terms with Henry VIII's Secretary, Andrea Ammonio, who is known to have suggested that Erasmus might consider staying with Griffio in London in 1511.²⁰⁰ In addition Griffio appears to have been associated with Colet, Grocyn, Tunstall, John Yonge, Hugh Oldham and Nicholas West as a member of Doctors' Common, a dining and discussion group of civilians and canonists connected with the Court of Arches founded in 1509.²⁰¹ On the continent Griffio appears to have had numerous friends among the printers and literati as well since Badius's 1506 edition of Claud de Seissel's "Oration Before Henry VII"²⁰² and Mazzochi's 1515 edition of Basil's Hexameron²⁰³ were dedicated to him in addition to Pynson's edition of the Palamedes.

Another figure on the periphery of the humanist circle but closely linked to Pynson is Alexander Barclay, the cleric, translator, poet and grammarian. Barclay's association with Pynson appears to have begun in 1508 when he undertook to translate the Ship of Fools for Pynson's edition of 1509²⁰⁴ and the association continued with the publication of Barclay's Figure of Our Mother Holy Church Oppressed by the French King c. 1512, his translations of J. Baptista Mantuan's Life of St. George in 1515,²⁰⁵ Dominic Mancinus's Mirror of Good Manners in 1518,²⁰⁶ and Sallust's Jugurthine War in 1520²⁰⁷ (reprinted in 1525),²⁰⁸ and his 1520 adaptation of Mantuan's fifth eclogue under the title Codrus and Mynalcas.²⁰⁹ In addition, he is known to have edited Pynson's 1524 edition of Stanbridge's Vocabula²¹⁰ (reprinted in 1526)²¹¹

and is also supposed to have been responsible for Pynson's editions of the Castle of Labor,²¹² Life of St. Thomas,²¹³ Life of St. Katherine²¹⁴ and Hetoum's Chronicle²¹⁵ according to some sources, although all of these latter attributions must be regarded as highly suspect.

The item which immediately concerns us, however, is Pynson's 1509 edition of the Ship of Fools. Although the original work by Brant enjoyed a widespread popularity among both the English and continental humanists and has been presumed to have served as the germinal work for most of the comic literature of the period,²¹⁶ it must be admitted that the work is likely to seem dull and tiresome to the modern reader. The work hardly ushers in a new age of literature as some critics would seem to suggest since Brant's original was written in 1494 and his theme of the foolishness of worldly vanities is essentially mediaeval.

Indeed, the work is perhaps best viewed in comparison with another work printed by Pynson, Lydgate's version of Boccaccio's Fall of Princes. In both cases the basic theme is the folly of worldly values when viewed against the eternal values and eternal rewards of Christianity. The difference between the works is largely a matter of tone and focus with the Fall of Princes the more theatrical of the two works, tending to concentrate on the fall of famous individuals to the point that the message of the work is sometimes subordinated, although only briefly, to the story-teller's art while the Ship of Fools tends to be more sermon-like in tone, with the focus on the foolishness of whole classes of society with individuals noted only briefly in passing.

In terms of the "translations" of the original works by Lydgate and Barclay, we find that their methods are remarkably similar. In both instances the basic framework and most of the original text are main-

tained; however, the translators in both cases felt free to expand on a given point, to add, and in some cases substitute, whole episodes which would be more familiar to the English public than the original example with the result that the English version was considerably longer than the original. Indeed, in both cases, the English text is even further removed from the original than the above process would suggest since Lydgate was working not from Boccaccio but from a French translation and expansion, while Barclay, although claiming to use the original, is apparently actually using the French and Latin editions with their additional material.²¹⁷

Among the original material added by Barclay are attacks on some of his contemporaries. It is possible that he might have liked to attack somewhat more eminent personages as well, but that he was constrained from doing so by Pynson, since he says at one point:

the charge Pynson hath on me layde
With many folys our Nauy not to charge²¹⁸

If this was the case, the admonition would seem to have been profitable since Barclay enjoyed the patronage of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Richard, Earl of Kent and Sir Giles Alington in his later efforts for Pynson's press.

In physical terms, the Ship of Fools was a lavish production featuring 109 woodcuts of fools copied from the cuts used in the 1497 French edition printed by De Marnef and Maystener in Paris. Unfortunately, the size of the cuts was not carefully planned in advance with the result that Pynson had to resort to the use of a large number of border-pieces (many used here for the first time) to fill out the pages.²¹⁹

The English text was printed in 95 mm. textura with the Latin shoulder-

notes and text printed in the new 114 mm. roman, a practice which Pynson would continue for most of his books printed using the two languages.

Although the circumstances which actually led to Pynson's decision to issue the work are unknown, it is clear from internal evidence that Pynson had commissioned Barclay to produce his verse translation sometime in 1508, while Barclay was still the chaplain at the College of St. Mary Ottery.²²⁰ At the same time Henry Watson was producing his prose translation of the work for Wynken and, ostensibly, Wynken's patroness, Lady Margaret Beaufort.²²¹ This apparent rivalry between the two printing houses during this period when they otherwise appear to have been generally working in cooperation with one another is yet another one of those problems for which no ready solutions suggest themselves on the basis of what is currently known.

Somewhere between the genres of devotional and humorous literature is the curious piece entitled The Smith That Forged Him a New Dame,²²² the first edition of which is believed to have been published by Pynson in 1510. The work, of which only a fragment of the Pynson edition survives, relates how Christ took pity on a blacksmith with an old and nagging wife and bade him put her over the forge and reshape her. The work is of interest in that it was one of the few fabliaux to be published by Pynson. The only other early edition is an undated one by Copland.²²³

While Pynson's Latin production during this period showed signs of innovation, his production of books in the vernacular remained conservative, centering on commissioned works and reprints of established works for which a market was assured. An exception to this policy was Pynson's edition of Everyman of c. 1515²²⁴ (reprinted in 1526),²²⁵ which

represented not only the first English edition of that work but apparently the first dramatic work to be printed in English.

The circumstances surrounding the printing of Everyman are, regrettably, unknown since the fragments of the first edition which survive consist only of the text unadorned by any prefatory matter. One may speculate, however, that although Pynson may have been indulging in an uncharacteristically venturesome whim in printing the piece, it is more likely that he had a ready market in mind. The most likely markets would be the More-Rastell circle, who would themselves turn out editions of dramas in the 1530's, and the circle of members of Lincoln's Inn who even at that early date were known to host the occasional play or interlude, although usually in Latin.

Throughout this period of Pynson's career we have seen a continuation of Pynson's rise in wealth and stature due in a large part to the steady income and prestige derived from his appointment as King's Printer, his not unrelated connections with the clergy and the nobility and his virtual monopoly of the legal trade. Despite Pynson's continued conservative (and profitable) penchant for publishing primarily literary works for which there was a proven market, the period nevertheless saw him issue the first editions of Fabyan's Chronicle, Lydgate's Governance of Kings and History of Troy, Barclay's translation of the Ship of Fools, and the anonymous translations of Everyman and De Guilleville's Book of the Pilgrimage of Mankind.²²⁶ At the same time his increasing involvement with the humanist circle was reflected in his issuance of the first editions of Colet's Oratio Habita ad Convocatione, the Libellus de Constructione for use at St. Paul's School, Erasmus's Latin edition of Plutarch's De Tuenda Bona, and Remacle D'Arduenne's Palamades and Ad

Mariam, as well as the first collected edition of Vergil's works to be printed in England.

The most noticeable additions to Pynson's stock of printing supplies during this period were, of course, the 114 mm. roman introduced in 1509 and Pynson's cut of his arms which were introduced the same year. Other notable additions were the 130 mm. textura used mainly for title-pages, introduced in the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guilford, and a set of arabic numerals (possibly the first used in England) which were used primarily for foliation in occasional books beginning with the 1508 edition of the Magna Carta collection of early statutes.²²⁷ Apart from the initials and border pieces already mentioned, Pynson's most commonly used acquisitions from this period appear to be the five type ornaments first introduced in 1507 and 1508 which appear to have been obtained in connection with Pynson's collaboration with Wynken on the Royal Book.²²⁸

In addition to the various coats-of-arms mentioned throughout the chapter, Pynson acquired over 200 new woodcuts during this period. The bulk of these are the 108 cuts made for the Ship of Fools,²²⁹ with the next two largest sets being the thirty-two cuts used in the De Worde-Pynson editions of the Legenda Aurea²³⁰ and the fifty cuts of the Meditationes Jordani series.²³¹

Although it is clear that Pynson continued to enjoy increased prosperity throughout the period, it is also clear that it was not a period totally devoid of problems. The lawsuit concerning Pynson and the estate of John Russhe²³² and that concerning Pynson and Christopher St. Germain et al²³³ seem to have carried over into this period. Nor were these the only legal actions in which Pynson appears to have been

involved. A peculiar incident is the suit of one Thomas Bukke, a merchant-tailor of London against Nicholas Ewen, a coppersmith of London, who had pledged eight crosses of copper to Bukke as surety for a debt owned by Pynson.²³⁴ This would seem to suggest that Pynson may have been hard-pressed for funds at some point during this period despite the apparent continued success of his shop. A possible credit crunch during this period would also seem to be indicated in the suit of Robert Fyssher, a skinner, against a Richard Pynson (not necessarily the printer, but likely to have been) over a bond for the delivery of some fells.²³⁵ Indeed, without knowing about these latter two lawsuits, Duff long ago speculated that Pynson appeared to have been in some sort of financial trouble towards the end of this period.²³⁶

If this was the case, the problems seem to have peaked in 1517 when Pynson's known output again appears to have taken a substantial drop.²³⁷ This is not altogether surprising since even if Pynson had not been subject to some cash-flow problems during the period, it is likely that his output would have been affected by the great outbreak of sweating sickness in the summer of that year. One must also wonder if the hostility of the London mob towards aliens which manifested itself in the Evil May Day attack on the homes of aliens in London may not have been felt by Pynson and his workmen as well, necessitating a closing of his shop at some time during this period.²³⁸ On the whole the period appears to have been one of continued profits and expansion despite some apparent problems both at its beginning and end.

FOOTNOTES

¹Williams, Early Holborn, II, p. 1821. See footnote 5 to chapter 2.

²The grant to open a press for massbooks, see chapter 2, p. 67.

³Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII [hereafter Letters and Papers], ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: HMSO, 1862-1910), II, p. 1450. This and most of the other items from Letters & Papers concerning Pynson will also be found in Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts," p. 347. The original documents are in the manuscript known as the King's Book of Payments.

Although this is the earliest record of a payment to Pynson by Henry VIII, it is preceded by an item dated May 3, 1510, which reads, "To the Abp. of Canterbury, Chancellor. Warrant to deliver to Richard Pynson, the King's printer, a true copy of the statutes lately passed in parliament that he may print them." The reference for this is Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., I, p. 154.

⁴Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., I, p. 364.

⁵Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 256.

⁶Timperley, Dictionary, p. 220, records the grant of the annuity of September 27, 1515, as, "The King gives to Richard Pynson, Esquire, our Printer, Four Pounds annually to be paid from the receipts of the Exchequer during life;" and takes this as a grant of the title of Esquire as well as of the annuity.

⁷Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 875.

⁸Bermett, English Books and Readers, p. 38, views the practice as beginning with the exclusive patent for service-books given Grafton and Whitchurch in 1544. Plant, The English Book Trade, p. 100, seems to be responsible for the erroneous notion of a King's Printer's monopoly through her assertions that the King's Printer had the "sole right of printing any work issued by or belonging to the King" and that "the works included in the King's Printer's monopoly at first were service books, almanachs and Latin grammars and other educated works."

⁹Clair, History of Printing, p. 35. Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. Dibdin, II, p. vii, points out that Pynson acknowledges his title of Squire in one of his editions of the statutes. The work in question is the Peterborough at Cambridge copy (F.1.19/1) of the Statutes: Henry VII, 1-19, of which the colophon on n4^v reads, "Emprynted at London in Flete strete at the signe of the George by saynt Dunstones chyrche By me Rycharde Pynson Squyre and prenter vnto the Kynges noble grace." The "Squyre" has been crossed out by hand in the copy.

It should be noted, however, that this is the only place where

Pynson uses this designation for himself. Upon inquiring into the matter of Pynson's title and coat-of-arms from the College of Arms, I was informed by A. Colin Cole, Windsor Herald and Registrar, that the use of the term "esquire" does not necessarily indicate a patent from the Crown, but rather a certain status in society - as in the case of the term "gentleman." I must add, however, that I am not altogether convinced that this was the case at this early date.

¹⁰Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1450.

¹¹Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II., p. 1451.

¹²Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1457.

¹³Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1459.

¹⁴Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1461.STC 9333.

¹⁵Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1463.

¹⁶Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1465.

¹⁷Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1467..

¹⁸Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1469.

¹⁹Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., II, p. 1475.

²⁰STC 1580A, discussed in chapter 2.

²¹STC 5579.

²²STC 10905. It is remotely possible that Pynson did actually print an edition for the Lady Margaret in 1505 since Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. Dibdin, II, p. 427, and Axon, "Lady Margaret," p. 36 both mention such an edition; although both are, I suspect, drawing on the description of such an edition by Herbert in his edition of Ames' Typographical Antiquities.

²³I am here following the practice of STC and STC2 in listing them as separate items despite the fact that the only apparent difference is that the date is present at the end of the colophon on Q3^v in STC 23957 and is lacking in STC 23958. The Bodleian copy (4^o G.56.Th.) is also of some interest in that it is in a binding with stamps ST 22 and BIB 18 which as an endpaper a leaf from Pynson's Prognostication of Master Adrian (STC2 406.7). As David Rogers was kind enough to point out, the impression left on the front board by the now missing front end-paper is identical with the unique copy of the title-page of the Prognostication in the Huntington collection (131401).

²⁴STC 4659, Petri Carmeliani Carmen.

²⁵STC 17558, The Solemnities & Triumphes Doon & Made at the

Spousealls and Mariage of the Kyngs Doughter the Lady Mary to the Prynce of Castile Archduke of Austrige.

²⁶STC 13075.

²⁷Hodnett, English Woodcuts, Supplement, p. 68.

²⁸The rose in the Elegy has a double frame whereas the normal Pynson rose (COA no. 8) has a single frame.

²⁹The Elegy and its authorship are discussed at some length in G. V. Scammell and H. L. Rogers, "An Elegy on Henry VII," Review of English Studies, new series, VIII (1957), pp. 167-170. On p. 167, they point out that J. O. Halliwell in his Hand-list of the Douce Collection, while assigning the Elegy to Wynken, assigned the proof-sheets of the Torrent of Portugal printed on the back of the Elegy to Pynson; however, these sheets are no longer considered to be from Pynson's press although two other leaves kept with them are considered to be from a Pynson Torrent and are listed as STC2 24133.

³⁰STC 10900.

³¹STC 12953.

³²STC 12413.

³³For a full discussion of Pietro Griffio, see D. Hay, "Pietro Griffio, an Italian in England: 1506-1512" [hereafter "Pietro Griffio"] Italian Studies, II (1939), pp. 118-128.

³⁴Griffio's appointment of October 17, 1508, was part of a power-play on the part of Silvestro Gigli in which he sought to use Griffio to displace Adriano Castellesi and Polydore Vergil, who had been serving as Adriano's subcollector of papal revenues in England. Polydore Vergil proved to be recalcitrant with the result that three papal briefs had to be dispatched from Rome before Vergil yielded the post to Griffio on April 16, 1509. See Hay, "Pietro Griffio," p. 120, and Wilkie, Cardinal Protectors, pp. 33-34.

Henry VII died April 21, 1509.

³⁵Hay, "Pietro Griffio," p. 120.

³⁶Hay, "Pietro Griffio," p. 120. Griffio was still in England at this date since there is a letter to him from Cardinal St. George bearing this date which instructed him to publish papal censures before he left.

³⁷Hay, "Pietro Griffio," p. 124. Letters and Papers, ed. Brewer et al., I, pp. 214-215, item 1457.

³⁸Hay, "Pietro Griffio," p. 125.

³⁹STC 17017, formerly STC 12140 and STC 14999A.

⁴⁰STC 12549.

⁴¹Chrimes, Henry VII, p. 112.

⁴²J. J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 27-28. Although Henry was primarily interested in obtaining the French throne, there is some suggestion that Henry had actually contemplated joining Lord Darcy in person in his disastrous campaign against the Moors in 1511.

⁴³STC 25585.

⁴⁴COA no. 5.

⁴⁵COA no. 13.

⁴⁶Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, pp. 33-34 and 38-39. The brief dated March 20, 1512, not only gave Henry the throne and title of "Most Christian King of France," but suggested that the Pope would preside in person at Henry's coronation in Paris. The problem, of course, was that the brief was to remain secret and in the custody of two cardinals until such time as Henry had conquered France. The obvious allusion to Henry having been chosen over Louis in the Gardener's Passetance, however, suggests that the contents of the secret brief may have been widely known.

⁴⁷COA no. 11.

⁴⁸Andrew Maunsell, Maunsell's Catalogue (London: J. Windet [F. Roberts] for Andrew Maunsell, 1595).

⁴⁹Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 37.

⁵⁰W. T. Lowndes, The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature (London: George Bell and Sons, 1875), III, p. 1186.

⁵¹Duff, Printers of Westminster, p. 164. Desiderius Erasmus, The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 142 to 297: 1501 to 1514 [hereafter Correspondence], trans. R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 263, letter 280; p. 266, letter 283, from Erasmus to Ammonio, implies that Erasmus has seen a copy of the work by November 28, 1513 - however this may have been a manuscript rather than a printed copy.

⁵²STC 5579.

⁵³STC 9999. The work is also sometimes referred to as Caxton's Chronicle or as an English version of the Brut.

⁵⁴STC 9991 in 1480 and STC 9992 in 1482 by Caxton; STC 9993 in 1486 (?) by Machlinia, STC 9995 in 1485 by the St. Alban's printer, (

STC 9994 in 1493 by Leeu, STC 9996 in 1497-1498 and STC 9997 in 1502 by Wynken and STC 9998 in 1504 by Notary.

⁵⁵Blake, Caxton and His World, p. 114.

⁵⁶STC 10659.

⁵⁷James Westfall Thompson, A History of Historical Writing (New York: Macmillan, 1942), I, p. 593.

⁵⁸Thompson, A History of Historical Writing, I, p. 419, appears to have been unaware that Pynson did indeed print an edition of the second volume and seems unaware of the supplement on Henry VII as well.

⁵⁹F. J. Levy, Tudor Historical Thought (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1967), p. 19.

⁶⁰A relatively modern manuscript note in the Cambridge copy says "this is the first & uncastrated edition of Fabian, said to be burned by order of Cardinal Wolsey (Bal. Camb. VIII, 62)." Although I have seen a similar statement in a printed source, I have been unable to find my reference to it.

⁶¹Thompson, History of Historical Writing, I, p. 419.

⁶²Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry VII, II, p. 282, item 750.

⁶³Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry VII, II, p. 263, item 694, refers to the planned marriage of Somerset's son, Henry, to Richard's sister, Anne, sometime before May 31, 1507.

⁶⁴Williams, Early Holborn, I, item 164.

⁶⁵Guildhall MS. 2968/1.

⁶⁶Guildhall MS. 2968/1, fo. 3a. The chapel repairs seem to have been largely financed in memory of Sir Thomas Alyngton, Knight, who was to be entombed there. One suspects that he may well have been related to the mysterious Master Alyngton who was the author of one section of the various editions of the Libellus Sophistarum and that he also may have been related to Pynson's later patron, Sir Giles Alington, who married the step-daughter of Sir Thomas More.

⁶⁷Guildhall MS. 2968/1, fos. 4a-7b.

⁶⁸Guildhall MS. 2968/1, fo. 5b.

⁶⁹Guildhall MS. 2968/1, fo. 3a.

⁷⁰See chapter 1, p. 3.

⁷¹See chapter 1, p. 2.

⁷²H. R. Plomer, "Notices of the English Stationers in the Archives of the City of London" [hereafter "Notices"], Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, VI (1900-1901), p. 17.

⁷³See chapter 2, p. 56. Guildhall MS. 2968/1, fol. 4a, reveals that the Church authorized substantial repairs to his house that year.

⁷⁴See chapter 2, p. 56 and footnote 22, p. 73

⁷⁵STC 21430A for copies with Pynson's imprint, STC 21430 for copies with De Worde's imprint.

⁷⁶STC2 24878.5 for copies with Pynson's imprint, STC 24878 for copies with Wynken's imprint.

⁷⁷Hodnett, English Woodcuts, supplement, p. ix.

⁷⁸STC2 listed 8 books for that date at the time that I viewed the notes - to which total I have added the Principia of Peregrinus which STC2 dated at 1508.

⁷⁹Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 96.

⁸⁰STC 14517. Although STC and STC2 have dated the work as 1513 (?), it cannot have been printed before 1515 because of the presence of catch-titles.

⁸¹STC2 22992.1.

⁸²STC2 20921.5.

⁸³Hodnett, English Woodcuts, supplement, p. 25.

⁸⁴STC 12382.

⁸⁵STC 3277.

⁸⁶I am sufficiently bothered by the type to lean towards the latter view.

⁸⁷STC2 20107.5.

⁸⁸STC 23455A.

⁸⁹Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 42.

⁹⁰The circle ornament.

⁹¹I may have missed the use of the practice by some other printer and my survey of De Worde material has been limited to those works of Wynken listed in STC and photographed in the University Microfilm series. I have not, given these limitations, noted the use of the practice by Wynken in any earlier dated work. The practice is, of course, similar

in appearance to sheet-signing (which applies only to quartos in eights). What the supposed advantage of this practice was is not readily apparent. The last occurrence of its use in a dated Pynson work is in the last section of the 1504 Imitation of Christ (STC 23955).

⁹²STC 15576, a Libellus Sophistarum, is the first dated work by De Worde in which I have noted a catch-title. Although Wynken's 1506 edition of the Ordinary of Christian Men (STC 5199) appears in the copy photographed by University Microfilms to have catch-titles through gathering C, I infer from their absence in the later gatherings which contain the colophon that the first three gatherings are probably from a later edition. One must also note that catch-titles also occur in Wynken's Miracles of Our Lady (STC 17359) which STC assigned to 1496, but which is undated and may be later.

⁹³STC 13830.

⁹⁴STC2 13830.3.

⁹⁵See chapter 2, p. 70.

⁹⁶Duff, Century, pp. 79-80.

⁹⁷STC 13432, on E5.

⁹⁸STC 21800.

⁹⁹STC 23427A.

¹⁰⁰STC 23427A, on A1^v, dated December 1503.

¹⁰¹Philippe Renouard, Bibliographie des Impressiones et des Oeuvres de Badius Ascensius [hereafter Ascensius] (New York: Burt Franklin, n. d.), notes numerous possible relationships between Pynson and Ascensius throughout the work but never consolidates the material nor even fully establishes that Pynson and Ascensius actually had any dealings with each other. One suspects that Pynson is simply copying an Ascensius edition of the Sulpitius; Renouard does not indicate, however, that such an earlier Ascensius edition exists.

¹⁰²STC 9266.

¹⁰³STC 15723.

¹⁰⁴235 x 328 mm. with a type-page measuring 172 (179) (sh. nts.) x 260 (270) (fol. & sig.).

¹⁰⁵STC 14116. The work exists in at least two and possibly three states as evidenced by variant readings in the colophon.

¹⁰⁶STC 9267.

¹⁰⁷STC 23879.

108^{STC} 15724.

109^{STC} 18388.

110^{STC2} 20894.4.

111^{STC} 7707.

112^{STC} 7726.

113^{STC} 9889, ^{STC} 9611, ^{STC} 9613, ^{STC} 9698, ^{STC} 9631, ^{STC} 9631A, ^{STC} 9710, ^{STC} 9716, ^{STC} 9772, ^{STC} 9744, ^{STC2} 9771.5, ^{STC} 9779, ^{STC} 9797, ^{STC2} 9806.7, ^{STC} 9813, ^{STC} 9913, ^{STC} 9586, ^{STC} 9588 and ^{STC} 9594, respectively.

114^{STC} 15806A.

115^{STC} 15807.

116^{STC} 16121A, dated October 17, 1509.

117^{STC} 16123, which ^{STC2} notes may really be the first part of ^{STC} 1612A, with which it is bound in the unique Bodleian copy (Gough Missals 121). The assumption is that the elements of the roman numeral have been reversed to read "xi" rather than "ix."

118^{STC} 16127.

119^{STC} 15907.

120^{STC2} 15911.5, although this entry may not be correct since I have taken it from Hodnett rather than the notes for ^{STC2}.

121^{STC} 15917.

122^{STC} 16102.

123^{STC} 16190.

124^{STC} 12474.

125^{The panels used are MISC 4 and ST 8. The indulgence is either ^{STC2} IND 129 or ^{STC2} IND 130.}

126^{STC2} 17728.5, formerly ^{STC} 16232.

127^{STC2} 18571.5. The above description is based on that in the notes for ^{STC2}.

128^{STC} 14789, Cambridge University Library (SSS.20.13/1).

129^{One leaf is missing from the first signature. What should be signature L presents problems since it consists of fourteen leaves which}

appear to be signed as "Z."

¹³⁰Hodnett nos. 1374-1424. Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 328, notes that the cuts fall into several groups according to the hands employed in making them or according to their sizes, but has chosen to simply list them in their order of appearance in the work.

¹³¹Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 153-154.

¹³²Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 330, referring to STC 18567.

¹³³Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 152, referring to Hodnett no. 342 in STC 18566 and STC 18568.

¹³⁴STC2 17970.5 and STC2 17971.3.

¹³⁵STC2 17971.3.

¹³⁶Hodnett, English Woodcuts, supplement, p. ix.

¹³⁷STC 4602.

¹³⁸The Hylton piece represents something of a problem since it occupies two new gatherings signed A and B at the end of the volume and is dated 1506. Presumably this is only a typographical error for 1516, the date of the rest of the work, but since it is present in all copies which I have viewed it must be noted.

¹³⁹Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 323. Later the picture is cut out and the remaining frame is listed as McKerrow and Ferguson no. 50*.

¹⁴⁰Davies, Devices, p. 452.

¹⁴¹STC2 22992.1.

¹⁴²The letter to Nicholas West ending on A4^v is dated 1515, so that the work cannot be earlier than that date.

¹⁴³STC 3270.

¹⁴⁴ST 22 and BIB 18.

¹⁴⁵STC2 12973.5.

¹⁴⁶J. C. T. Oates, "Richard Pynson and the Holy Blood of Hayles," Library, 5th series, XIII (1958), pp. 269-277.

¹⁴⁷STC 1859.

¹⁴⁸Fox's coat-of-arms is featured on A1^v. Fox's introductory letter occupies A2 and A2^v and has been reproduced in Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 43-44.

¹⁴⁹STC2 14505.5. The book was still ascribed to Pynson when I viewed the notes to STC2. The book is clearly by De Worde or one of his associates, however, and contains no Pynson material.

¹⁵⁰STC 3359...

¹⁵¹STC 10630.

¹⁵²Pollard, "Fifteenth-Century Binders", p. 214, citing J. G. Milne in G. D. Hobson's Blind-Stamped Panels in the English Book Trade c. 1485-1533, p. 27.

¹⁵³Pollard, "Fifteenth-Century Binders," p. 214.

¹⁵⁴STC2 12512.5.

¹⁵⁵STC 5545.

¹⁵⁶The title-page reads, "Oratio habita a D. Ioanne Colet Decano Sancti Pauli ad Clerum in Conuocatione. Anno. M.D.xj." This date would appear to be the date that the sermon was given and is not necessarily the date of publication. Even as the date of the oration there are some problems, however, since works such as Simon's Education and Society seem convinced that the convocation was not held until 1517 (p. 71).

¹⁵⁷C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 158.

¹⁵⁸STC 17853, formerly also STC 10580.

¹⁵⁹STC 21800.

¹⁶⁰James K. McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI [hereafter English Humanists] (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 99-104.

¹⁶¹The 1509 Savonarola piece has been cited as the earliest work printed in England to contain roman type by D. B. Updike, Printing Types: Their History, Forms and Use (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1922), I, p. 89, and by Carter, A View of Early Typography, p. 92.

Duff, Century, p. 127, confuses matters by claiming that Pynson printed two books in roman in 1508 - but he does not name them. It becomes obvious that Duff caught his error since in his Printers of Westminster, p. 162, he cites the Savonarola piece as the earliest dated work printed in England entirely in roman (thus creating a new error since the work is largely in textura), but adds that he believes the Oratio of Pietro Griffo, which is undated as to month, probably preceded it by a few months. Frank Isaac, English Printers' Types of the Sixteenth Century [hereafter English Printers' Types] (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 5, apparently followed Duff's earlier work since he also cites two unnamed works of 1508 as featuring the earliest

use of roman. Colin Clair, History of Printing, p. 35, favors the Griffio work, apparently using A. F. Johnson as a source. Henri Bouchot, The Book: Its Printers, Illustrators and Binders (London: H. Grevel, 1890), p. 116, apparently gets confused and cites Richard Pace's Oratio of 1518 as the earliest English book to use roman.

Actually, there does not appear to be any work of 1508 using roman type. The 114 mm. font appears to have been first used in either the Griffio or the Savonarola piece and it is not certain which came first. The 1518 Oratio of Richard Pace, while far from the first of Pynson's works to use roman type, is generally regarded as the first of his works to be printed entirely in roman.

162STC 11606.

163STC 11607.

164STC 11615.

165STC2 23428A.5.

166A less tenuous connection is discussed in chapter four in regard to a loan from the college in which Pynson appears to have supported the application of the borrower.

167STC 23143 and STC2 23143.5.

168STC2 23755.8.

169STC 23156.

170STC 23179.

171STC2 23179.5.

172STC2 23166.5.

173H. S. Bennett, "A Check-list of Robert Whittinton's Grammars," Library, 5th series, VII (1957), p. 1.

174STC2 25479.2. In this and the other early editions the work was entitled Opusculum Affabre and contained not only the De Nominum Generibus, but the De Verborum Praeteritis et Supinis as well.

175STC2 25479.3.

176STC2 25443.8.

177STC2 25509.7.

178STC2 25525.5.

179STC2 25459.8.

180 Samuel Palmer, General History of Printing (London: S. Palmer and his widow, 1732), p. 356, no. 4. Joseph Ames, Typographical Antiquities, enlarged by William Herbert (London, 1785-1790), I, p. 286. E. G. Duff, Handlists of English Printing 1501-1556 (London: Blades, East and Blades for the Bibliographical Society, 1896), II, p. 16.

181 STC2 18874.5, formerly STC 1380 and STC 23180.

182 Ames, Typographical Antiquities, enlarged by Herbert, I, p. 264.

183 Rev. S. R. Maitland, A List of Some of the Early Printed Books in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth [hereafter Lambeth] (London, 1843), p. 71. no. 170.

184 STC 13065.

185 Pearl Hogrefe, The Sir Thomas More Circle [hereafter More Circle] (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1959), p. 142, citing John R. Bloxam, A Register of St. Mary Magdalen College (Oxford, 1863-1881), III, pp. 1-26.

186 Stanier, Magdalen School, p. 36.

187 STC 13065.

188 Hogrefe, More Circle, p. 143. The theory seems somewhat tenuous since it is based solely on More's statement in the work that, "our door is new and easy for the young crowd," which may only be an indication that More used similar methods of education.

189 STC2 15601.3, formerly STC 5544 and STC 10497.

190 I have not seen the title of this work cited. I suspect that the work in question may well have been incorporated into either the Rudimenta Grammatices which Pynson printed two editions of in 1525 (STC 15636 and STC 15637) or into the De Emendata Structura Latini (STC 15634) which Pynson printed the first edition of in 1524.

191 See Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 88-89; Simon, Education and Society, pp. 75-76; C. G. Allen, "The Sources of Lily's Latin Grammar: A Review of the Facts and Some Further Suggestions," Library, 5th series, IX (1954), pp. 85-100; and Vincent J. Flynn, "The Grammatical Writings of William Lily, 1468-?1523," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXXVII (1943), pp. 85-113.

192 Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 89. A royal commission revised and supplemented the work in 1540.

193 STC 24787, formerly assigned to 1520.

194 STC 20060.

195 Erasmus, Correspondence, trans. Mynors and Thompson, letter 268

on p. 239 and letter 275 on p. 252.

¹⁹⁶STC2 735.7. Pynson's edition appears to be the first. Renouard, Ascensius, II, p. 45, cites an Ascensius edition of March 15, 1513, printed for "Georgiu Haloynum Comitem de Comingis in Belgis," but is unclear as to whether anything accompanies the play. In addition, the British Museum has an edition (C.97.b.36) printed by Gilles de Gourmont in Paris c. 1513, but it is followed by a collection of poems entitled, "Parthenice."

¹⁹⁷Cassell's Encyclopedia of World Literature (New York: Cassell, 1954), II, p. 1405, provides the only information that I was able to find on Remacle. He is thought to have been born near Mauberge in 1482 and he died in 1524. In addition to being a poet, he was a lawyer and a pedagogue and also served as Secretary to Margaret of Burgundy. Perhaps significantly, neither the "Parthenices" nor the "Ad Mariam" are listed among his works in the article. His other works which are mentioned are the Epigrams (1507) and the Amores (1513).

¹⁹⁸"Ad Mariam Prefatio," which I have taken to indicate the overall title of the work, occurs on C5.

¹⁹⁹Hay, "Pietro Griffo," p. 125.

²⁰⁰Hay, "Pietro Griffo," p. 126.

²⁰¹McConica, English Humanists, p. 52. Griffo's name occurs among those mentioned in the first recorded list of members in 1511. Thomas More joined the group in 1514 and Ammonius joined the group in 1515 or 1516, after Griffo had left.

²⁰²Hay, "Pietro Griffo," p. 120.

²⁰³Hay, "Pietro Griffo," p. 128.

²⁰⁴STC 3545.

²⁰⁵STC2 22992.1.

²⁰⁶STC 17242.

²⁰⁷STC 21626.

²⁰⁸STC 21627.

²⁰⁹STC 13843.

²¹⁰STC2 23181.9.

²¹¹STC2 23182.3.

²¹²Beatrice White in her edition of The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay [hereafter Barclay, Eclogues] (Oxford University Press for the

Early English Text Society, 1928), p. x, gives the source of the attribution of an edition of this work to Barclay as John Bale's Index Britanniae Scriptorum which, in turn, cites one John Alen, who has not been satisfactorily identified, as its authority. Miss White theorized that Barclay attended the University of Paris during the period c. 1500-1503 and that he was acquainted with the circle of French humanists. She then went on to speculate that Barclay worked for Ascensius and oversaw his 1498 and 1500 editions of La Nef des Folles as well as his 1505 edition of the Navis Stultifera. Following this train of logic, she theorized that while in Paris Barclay also produced the translation of the Castle of Labor used by Vérard. Unfortunately there does not appear to be any real evidence to support any of these speculations.

T. H. Jamieson in his edition of The Ship of Fools [hereafter Barclay, Ship of Fools] (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1874), I, p. xcvi, lists only a De Worde and a Pynson imprint of the Castle of Labor, which seems to imply that he considered these to be the Barclay translation - but again he appears to be relying on Bale and the mysterious John Alen.

²¹³STC 23954, c. 1520. Barclay, Eclogues, ed. White, p. xli, does not say where the attribution comes from. Jamieson in Barclay, Ship of Fools, I, p. cix, lists Pynson's edition as Barclay's translation and cites Anthony à Wood as his authority for the attribution.

In this case the attribution may well be correct since, as McConica points out in English Humanists, the work appears to have been written and intended for sale in connection with the Hospital of St. Thomas Acon, which at that time was headed by John Yonge (not to be confused with the Master of the Rolls) who was a close associate of Bishop Nicholas West whom Barclay had addressed in an epistle in his translation of the Life of St. George.

²¹⁴Miss White in her edition of Barclay, Eclogues, p. xli, notes that Bale records a Life of St. Catherine, a Life of St. Margaret and a Life of St. Etheldreda by Barclay in addition to the Life of St. George and Life of St. Thomas already mentioned. Although Pynson produced both a Life of St. Margaret (STC 17325) c. 1493 and a Life of St. Katherine (STC 24813.6) c. 1505, there is again no real evidence to indicate that these were composed by Barclay.

²¹⁵STC 13256, c. 1520. This is attributed to Barclay by Jamieson in his edition of Barclay, Ship of Fools, I, p. cix, on the basis of Heber's copy, described in Bibliotheca Grenvilliana, I, as having been bound with editions of the Mirror of Good Manners and Sallust translated by Barclay. Again, one must question whether this circumstance is enough to warrant assigning the anonymous translation to Barclay.

²¹⁶Lewis, English Literature, p. 126.

²¹⁷According to Barclay's own words on f^{1v}, "This present Boke named the Shyp of folys of the worlde was translated i the college of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Deuonshyre: out of Laten/ Frenche/

and Doche into Englysshe tongue by Alexander Barclay Preste...;" however, Lewis, English Literature, p. 130, claims that Barclay worked primarily from Locher's Latin version supplemented by the French text of Riviere and that Barclay's claim to know German (i.e. "Doche") is "a lie." In any event the issue of whether Barclay did or did not use the original is rather immaterial to our argument since it is clear that he did use the two other translations with their accretion of material.

218^{STC} 3545, on i1.

219^{Hodnett}, English Woodcuts, p. 41.

220^{STC} 3545, on 1^v.

221^{STC} 3547.

222^{STC2} 22653.7.

223^{Bodleian Library} (S. Selden.d.45/13) which is the edition consulted in describing the general nature of the work.

224^{STC} 10604.

225^{STC} 10605.

226^{STC2} 19917.3, known only from the last leaf of the text.

227^{STC} 9266. This set of numerals has the number 4 correctly cut unlike a set used in some later works in which the numeral is reversed.

228^{The five ornaments are:} 1) a twined ribbon, 2) a squat seven petaled flower, 3) an ornament composed of four circular elements, 4) two small leaves on a stem, 5) an ornament composed of three diamond shaped elements. Of these five ornaments, the first and fifth appear in the shared edition of the Royal Book, while all of them appear in Pynson's 1508 edition of the Solemnities and Triumphs, etc.

229^{Hodnett nos.} 1824-1902.

230^{Hodnett nos.} *1441^a-*1441^{bb}, all formerly thought to have belonged to De Worde.

231^{Hodnett nos.} 1374-1424.

232^{PRO, ECP, bundle 349, no. 40.} The document is dated somewhere between 1504 and 1515.

233^{PRO, ECP, bundle 344, no. 4.}

234^{PRO, ECP, bundle 502, no. 22.}

235^{PRO, ECP, bundle 352, no. 37.} Again the document is dated somewhere between 1504 and 1515. This suit may not be against our Pynson since it is directed against a Richard Pynson, yeoman, of Tottenham.

However Pynson is known to have leased two manors in Tottenham although not at this early a date. The matter under dispute in the document is not that alien from Pynson's interests since he had to purchase fells for both documents printed on vellum and for bindings.

²³⁶E. G. Duff, "Richard Pynson and Thomas Bercula," Library, 2nd series, VIII (1907), pp. 298-303. Duff thought Bercula brought fresh capital into the business and joined it as a full partner in 1518.

²³⁷The decrease is from sixteen books in 1515 and fifteen books in 1516 to nine books in 1517. It must be remembered, however, that only three books are currently assigned to 1511 and only six books to 1514. While some fluctuation in these works will undoubtedly occur in the future as the dating of various works is reassessed, it does seem that Pynson was forced to curtail his production during these periods.

²³⁸Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 68. Although the disturbances seem to have been aimed mainly at the Spanish and Portuguese, an underlying cause appears to have been the economic influence of the foreigners; it is not impossible that Pynson may have come under attack in this regard owing to his seemingly ambiguous status in regard to English citizenship. Again, however, it must be pointed out that this is sheer speculation on my part and that there is no actual proof that he was affected by the occurrences.

IV

1518 - 1529

In 1518 Pynson would appear to have been approximately 68, well established with a profitable business. One would expect that the final decade of his career would be one of comparative ease, wealth and comfort. Although this would seem to have been the case for the greater part of the period, it was not without its problems. There are hints in the chancery suits lodged by Henry Tab and Richard Kele against Pynson's executrix after his death that Pynson had become increasingly senile during this period.¹ While due allowance must be made for the obvious prejudice of the litigants, one suspects that there may be some truth to the charges and that the everyday business of running the establishment fell increasingly on the shoulders of Pynson's daughter and her successive husbands with the assistance of Pynson's numerous assistants and servants.

In any event, we know that in 1525 Pynson must have seemed sufficiently incapacitated or out of touch with his business to allow Robert Redman to deem it practicable to attempt to infringe on the virtual monopoly held by Pynson and Rastell on the legal trade by issuing editions of the Magna Carta² collection of statutes and Littleton's Tenures.³ Prior to this occurrence, Pynson had been the sole publisher of the Littleton for some thirty years and it would seem that Redman was attempting to draw on the reputation of the Pynson edition and confuse the public by setting up a rival Sign of the George in the parish of St. Clement Dane's,

possibly on the site of Pynson's old shop.⁴ Unfortunately, Redman appears to have overestimated the incapacitation of Pynson and his shop which retaliated with a new edition of the Littleton⁵ and possibly of the Magna Carta⁶ as well featuring letters attacking the unskilled printing and corrupt texts of "Robert Rudeman."⁷

Apart from the challenge from Redman there is considerable evidence that the period must have been difficult for the printer on the personal level as it witnessed first the death of his son Richard in 1518⁸ and then the death of his wife in 1526.⁹ In addition, one imagines that there was probably a considerable strain on Pynson's conscience as he was torn between conflicting loyalties in the growing separation between Henry and Queen Catherine - although his death was to spare him the final stages of the divorce and the traumatic experiences of the break with Rome and the subsequent pillaging of the shrines and monasteries.

Materially, most of the evidence points to Pynson's continued well-being. In this regard the period begins most auspiciously with his acquisition in 1519 of the manor house of Tottenham, an edifice which Henry himself had used for entertaining,¹⁰ from Sir William Compton for a term of 41 years at a small rent. Indeed the rent was so low that it caused Lord Coleraine to remark several centuries later that it was "to the great impaire of the place house and appendages."¹¹ One suspects that Pynson may have benefited from pressure on Compton from Henry VIII, who had granted the manor with four others to Compton in 1512 for £ 200.¹²

Although some reservations have been expressed as to whether the "Richard Pynson, Gent." who rented the manor house was the same person

as our printer, it seems likely that it is the same man since our Pynson left the use of two houses at Tottenham to his daughter and granddaughter in his will. There is still some uncertainty in the matter however, since the will also refers to Pynson's having obtained the houses from a "master Elderton," whose identity is unknown.¹³

By this period Pynson had also obtained the tenement of St. Andrew's Cross in London which was apparently located on the west side of Chancery Lane on a site currently occupied by the Law Society Hall.¹⁴ Although the exact date of Pynson's acquisition of the property is unknown, it was in his possession at the time of his death since his will, while failing to make any specific provisions concerning the ownership of the property as a whole, provided for the bequest of a life-lease of a chamber in the building to one "Elizabeth Tomson, widow."¹⁵

Despite these and other signs of apparent wealth it must be noted that there is a disquieting lack of evidence of physical wealth in the terms of Pynson's will. Indeed the only large bequests are the two houses in Tottenham which, as we have already noted, Pynson did not own outright but held by long-term lease. Nor is there any evidence of the sort of elaborate burial accorded Thomas Berthelet, his successor as King's Printer;¹⁶ and, indeed, Pynson's burial in the churchyard of St. Clement Danes¹⁷ rather than within the church would seem to argue against Pynson's being a man of substance. All of which factors appear, on the surface, to lend credence to the lay subsidy roll evaluation of 1523-1524 in which Pynson was valued at only £ 60 while Wynken DeWorde was valued at £ 201 11s. 1d.¹⁸

One suspects, however, that neither the subsidy roll nor the will is indicative of the true ~~state~~ of Pynson's finances since, as we have

already noted, Pynson appears to have been worth in excess of £300 as early as 1500. Despite the number of lawsuits in which Pynson had been engaged, and the results of which are unknown, and occasional cash-flow problems there does not appear to have been any evidence of decrease in wealth which would account for the subsidy roll valuation or the limited estate mentioned in Pynson's will.

Indeed Pynson's will is obviously not a true reflection of Pynson's wealth or possessions since it not only makes no provision for the disposal of the tenement of St. Andrew's Cross already mentioned, but also neglects to make any provision for the disposal of the George or of Pynson's presses, stocks of types, paper, ornaments and books which must have been of considerable worth. One suspects that much of this material was transferred to Pynson's daughter Margaret Warde sometime before Pynson's death.

While the evidence of the subsidy roll cannot be so easily explained away, it must be admitted that from what information survives about Pynson's financial dealings the figure of £60 sounds suspect - even if it were meant to represent Pynson's yearly income rather than his total worth. Although nothing can be proved, it must be pointed out that it is not impossible, given Pynson's connections and position as King's Printer, that he was deliberately underassessed by the Crown (perhaps in lieu of direct payment for some of the services he rendered).

As we have reiterated several times in these pages, Pynson's prosperity was based on a combination of the income guaranteed from his position of King's Printer, his near monopoly on the legal publishing field, the business derived from his connections with the court, clergy

and business and academic communities and his conservative policy of generally publishing only such literary works as were subsidized, commissioned or already had a proven market. During this period, as during that period immediately preceding it, much of Pynson's income may be supposed to have been derived from his official publications.

Curiously, however, the records of payments from the Crown during this latter era are relatively few. In 1520 there is a record of Pynson having signed a receipt for his £4 annuity; although Pynson presumably received the annuity each year, this is the only payment of it during this period for which records survive.¹⁹ In 1521 the Crown paid Pynson £16 6s. 4d. for printing "proclamation bokes concernyng Saintuaries."²⁰ After this latter entry there is no record of any payment from the Crown until 1529, the year of Pynson's death, when the printer was paid £6 13s. 4d. for printing 800 papers and books "for putting down of cross-bows"²¹ and £7 10s. for printing papers "aginst heresies and for the reformation of engrossing farms."²²

The items for which records of payments exist, however, clearly represent only a small portion of Pynson's actual production for the Crown during this period. In addition to the proclamations referred to above, two others²³ are believed to have been printed by Pynson during this final decade along with at least five editions of the then current statutes.²⁴

While the majority of Pynson's publications for the Crown during this period were directly involved in the controversies with Luther, there appear to have been several other official publications as well - all tied in with Henry's foreign policy.

By 1518 it had become clear that Henry's efforts to capture the

throne of France by force had all been for nought, owing largely to the intrigues of European politics which Henry was not as adept as his father in manipulating or avoiding. Under the guidance of Pope Leo a five year truce was proclaimed in Rome - with the intent that it might provide the springboard for a new crusade. Of more significance, the Treaty of London was signed which attempted to bind all the great powers together in a mutual security pact thus, supposedly, insuring a state of perpetual peace.

The apparent thaw in Anglo-French relations took its most visible form prior to the meeting on the Field of the Cloth-of-Gold in the betrothal of the new-born Dauphin of France to the two year old Princess Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII, in 1518.²⁵ The occasion was marked by two notable speeches, both published by Pynson, presumably with some financial support from the Crown; and both important, apart from their subject matter, in that they are the first works definitely known²⁶ to have been published "cum privilegio a rege indulto," or, in other words, to have been copyrighted in England.

We will deal first with the Oratio in Pace²⁷ of Richard Pace who was at that time Secretary of State to Henry not because it was published before the speech of Cuthbert Tunstall, but because it was given orally two days earlier - on October 3, 1518. The speech, which was delivered in St. Paul's, on the occasion of the ratification of the marriage contract was, as the title indicates, largely concerned with the hopes for peace between England and France symbolized in the betrothal.²⁸

By way of contrast, the betrothal proper occurred on October 5 and was marked by Tunstall, the Bishop of London's speech praising the

joys of marriage and the attendant joys which this particular marriage would bring to the peoples of England and France. This speech was published by Pynson on November 3, 1518 under the title, In Laudem Matrimonii²⁹ and was reprinted the next year by Froben of Basel.³⁰

Pynson's editions of both these works are important not only for their content and in their first use of privilege but also in the fact that they are the first works to be printed in England which were set entirely in roman type (as opposed to the previous works in roman which had come from Pynson's shop but which contained some textura, usually in the form of headings). They are also of some interest in that they are the only works known to contain Pynson's device no. 41, which featured a highly stylized rendering of the nude figures which support the shield bearing Pynson's monogram and which one suspects was probably cut specially for these works.

In both works the title-page featured a small cut of the royal arms supported by angels,³¹ suggesting Royal sponsorship or at least authorization. In one of the Bodleian copies of the In Laudem Matrimonii,³² however, the royal arms have been replaced by a cut of Tunstall's arms; since this copy is also unique in that it is the only known copy of the work to be printed on vellum, one presumes that it was specially printed for presentation to the author.

The In Laudem Matrimonii, in addition to having all the features already mentioned, is remarkable in that it appears to be the first work printed in England to use catchwords.³³ Although catchwords had been used since mediaeval times at the ends of gatherings in manuscripts - and since the 1470's in Italian printed books³⁴ as additional guides to the binders, their use spread slowly in continental printing circles.

Pynson himself seems to have been somewhat uncertain about how best to employ the device - vacillating between their total omission, their use on the final verso of a gathering only, their use on all versos, their use on all versos, first rectos and all unsigned rectos and their use on all rectos and versos - and various combinations thereof.³⁵

It should be noted that were the binders the only ones concerned, the use of the catchword on the final verso of a gathering - or on all versos of a gathering (in the event of the likelihood of misfolding) would seem sufficient in combination with the signatures to insure against accidental errors in binding.³⁶ The fuller methods of using catchwords on rectos and versos appear to be aimed at helping the compositor to get the pages in their correct position in the form prior to printing.³⁷ It is unclear, however, exactly what Pynson or his compositor had in mind in this earliest use of catchwords in England since they appear only on A5^V, A6 and A8 in a 4⁰:A⁸B⁶ format.

To return to Pynson's official publications, it is interesting to note that there is no publication by Pynson of any work to commemorate the meeting of Henry and Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The final ceremonial occasion to be chronicled by Pynson's press did not occur until some four years after the more celebrated meeting in France, when the situation had altered and England had once more entered an alliance, this time with the Pope and Emperor Charles V, against France. The occasion involved was the visit of Charles V to London on June 6, 1522; an event which coincided with England's official declaration of war against France.³⁸

The entry of Henry VIII and Charles V into London was marked by much pageantry including a Latin address by Sir Thomas More and a series

of eight pageants with which the two monarchs were greeted at various places enroute to St. Paul's where the kings celebrated the Te Deum usual on such occasions. All along the route the monarchs encountered banners and placards bearing the inscription, "Carolus and Henricus uiuant. Defensor uterque. Henricus Fidei. Carolus Ecclesiae."

The author of the inscription as well as of the Latin poems which accompanied six of the eight pageants was none other than William Lily, the grammarian and Headmaster of St. Paul's School, whom we have met before and will encounter again later in this chapter in regard to the Antibossicon controversy.³⁹ All of these verses, together with one other verse (which was presumably spoken as part of the greeting outside of these contained in the pageants), an introductory verse and translations of Lily's verses into English were collected and printed by Pynson under the title, "Of the tryumphs and the verse that Charles thempour & the most myghty redouted kyng of England Henry the VIII. were saluted with passyng through London."⁴⁰

Although of a quasi-official nature, as evidenced by the use of a new royal coat-of-arms,⁴¹ the book probably was not financed by the Crown, but published, as the introductory poem suggests,⁴² to satisfy the curiosity of those who were present at the events described but were unable to hear the speeches delivered or were unable to understand the Latin.

The final works which must be mentioned before turning our attention to the anti-Lutheran attacks are the two massive folio volumes of Froissart's Chronicle published by Pynson in 1523⁴³ and 1525.⁴⁴ The volumes, which were translated by John Bouchier, Lord Berners, at the command of Henry and in consequence were likely at least partially

financed by Henry, provided a chivalric view of history and of the conflicts between England and France which could be calculated to inspire the citizenry of England to greater efforts in a renewed war with France - much as the publication of Lydgate's Siege of Troy was calculated to do in 1513.

Perhaps the most curious assertion to be made concerning the work is that of H. R. Plomer, that the book is among Pynson's best illustrated books,⁴⁵ since the work is totally devoid of any illustration apart from the large royal coat-of-arms and Pynson's coat-of-arms. Indeed, it is a general characteristic of the works produced during this final period that they tend to keep illustrations to a minimum.

Before moving on to a discussion of the Assertio Septem Sacramentorum and the other anti-Lutheran tracts, mention must be made of one other work, the Epistola ad Brixium⁴⁶ of Thomas More, which although not apparently subsidized by the Crown, requires mention at this time because of its intimate involvement with the foreign affairs of the period. The work represents the culmination of a feud between More and the French humanist, Germain de Brix or Brixius, which began in 1513 with the sinking of the French ship Cordeliere by the English. This event was celebrated by Brixius in his Chordigeræ Navis Conflagratia published in 1513, in which he lauded the bravery of the French while attacking the courage of the English in his account of the battle. This account apparently upset More who proceeded to write a series of epigrams attacking Brixius and his viewpoint. These epigrams, although presumably privately circulated among the humanist community, were not published until 1518. This publication led Brixius to counter with a work of his own attacking More, the Antimurus. Although Erasmus stepped in at this point of the

dispute and attempted to play the peacemaker between the two humanists, his efforts were largely in vain, since More retaliated with the 1520 Epistola ad Brixium.⁴⁷

The feud between the two humanists was relatively minor, however, compared to the confrontation between Henry VIII and Martin Luther which was to occupy much of Pynson's press from 1521 through 1528. The immediate cause of the dispute appears to have been the publication in 1520 of Luther's De Captivitate Babylonia Ecclesiae⁴⁸ with its attack on the seven sacraments and its proposition that their number be reduced to three - penance, baptism and the eucharist.⁴⁹

Although it has become popular to dwell on the image of Henry as an overweight and lecherous monarch who spent much of his career despoiling and desecrating religious houses for his own aggrandisement, it should be remembered that this picture is largely a distortion of Henry derived from actions taken in the latter stages of his career; at the time of the beginning of the dispute with Luther, Henry's image was quite different, being one of a young and pious monarch who, but for the death years earlier of his elder brother Arthur, might well have fulfilled his father's hope of seeing him on the throne of Canterbury while Arthur occupied the throne of England.⁵⁰ A sincere concern with what must have appeared to Henry as a very real challenge to both the established Church and the tenets of the religion in which his father and grandmother so devoutly believed would seem to have been a major factor in Henry's decision to attack Luther's position. This does not discount the fact that a learned attack (or even, as some would have it, a quasi-learned attack) on Luther would not hurt the reputation already enjoyed by the young monarch in humanist circles as a learned ruler; nor does it

discount the fact that Henry was fully aware that Luther was a source of major concern and embarrassment to Pope Leo X and that by seeking to attack Luther he might finally be rewarded with a papal title on a par with those already held by the King of France and the Holy Roman Emperor.⁵¹

Indeed, there is clear evidence that Henry began writing a theological work attacking Luther's ninety-five theses shortly after their appearance in 1517⁵² and that these early attacks ultimately saw print, although in somewhat revised form, as the first two chapters, "Of Indulgences" and "Of the Pope's Authority,"⁵³ of the Assertio Septem Sacramentorum.⁵⁴ The remainder of the work has been the source of considerable controversy as to whether, despite its frequent lack of erudition and omissions of the most obvious sort of arguments which might be expected to refute a given point of Luther's, Henry actually wrote the work himself; or whether it was ghost-written for him by Wolsey, Fisher, Longland or some other worthy. Perhaps the most practical view of the matter is that taken by Scarisbrick that the work was produced by Henry, but only after the material for it had been gathered by a team thought to have included John Longland and Edward Lee among others, and after it had then been organized by Thomas More.⁵⁵ In any event, Henry is known to have been almost finished with the work by April 16, 1521;⁵⁶ and by May 12 of the same year the work was sufficiently complete to allow the display of a manuscript copy by Wolsey at the elaborate ceremonies marking the burning of the Lutheran books at St. Paul's.⁵⁷

On July 12, 1521 the Assertio was finally issued from Pynson's press, although distribution of copies to the general public was presumably withheld until after the official presentation of the work to

the Pope. This was by no means a simple task since first copies of the work had to be sent out - nearly thirty copies for the Pope and selected cardinals and other copies to the various monarchs and universities of Europe - all of which were on their way by August 25.⁵⁸ At least some of these copies, most probably those sent to some of the more important cardinals and those sent to the various monarchs, were printed on vellum, while the copy for presentation to the Pope appears to have been a manuscript copy.⁵⁹

When the presentation of the book finally occurred on October 2, it was a somewhat more private and restrained occasion than Henry had hoped for; nonetheless, the book and the presentation speech delivered by John Clerk did their job and won Henry his long sought Roman title as the "Defender of the Faith." The work was, as Scarisbrick has remarked, "something of a best-seller,"⁶⁰ going through twenty editions and translations in the sixteenth century.

The success of the work was also marked by further editions from Pynson's press. Thus in January 1522 Pynson issued a second edition of the Assertio⁶¹ in which some of the typographical errors of the first edition were corrected and the last two gatherings of four leaves each (with two blank leaves at the end of the final gathering) were replaced by a single gathering of six leaves.⁶² While in 1523,⁶³ the basic work was expanded through the issuance of supplements of twelve and eight leaves, respectively; which contained copies of the speech made by John Clerk upon the presentation of the Assertio to the Pope, the Pope's reply and the bull bestowing the title "Defensor Fidei" or "Defender of the Faith" on Henry⁶⁴ in the first section, and Henry's Epistola Regiae ad Illustrimus Saxoniae Ducis Pleadmonitoni in the second section.

Despite the apparent popularity of the Assertio on the continent, the work appears to have been studiously ignored by Luther until 1522 when German translations of the work made by Hieronymus Emser and Thomas Murner began making inroads in Luther's homeland. The net result was that in the same year as the translation Luther unleashed a virulent counterattack against Henry and the Assertio which was published in both Latin and German editions.⁶⁵

Luther's counterattack in turn served to provide fuel for a major anti-Lutheran campaign in England. Perhaps the foremost item in this counter-blast was Henry's Epistola addressed to the Dukes of Saxony and the Piedmont, Luther's principal supporters, which we have already mentioned in passing. The work, which was completed January 23, 1523, attempted to urge the dukes to withdraw their support from Luther through the argument that the dissension and challenge to authority promoted by Luther's movement could spread and endanger the position of the dukes themselves. Needless to say, the letter did not meet with much success in terms of swaying the dukes from their position.

At the same time that Henry was attempting to undermine Luther among his supporters, Henry's own supporters launched a two pronged attack against Luther and Luther's reply to the Assertio. Bishop John Fisher, in a work not printed by Pynson, undertook a written defense of the Assertio in which he elaborated on Henry's work and refuted Luther's criticisms of the work point by point.⁶⁶ Meanwhile, Thomas More undertook to write a castigating personal attack on Luther.

It is the More piece which is of the greatest interest to our study, however, since the work was printed by Pynson's press and must have occupied a good deal of Pynson's or his "servants'" time in 1523. As

originally written by More and printed by Pynson, the piece appeared under the pseudonym of Ferdinandus Baravellus,⁶⁷ a resident of Spain, an identity chosen because of the then current Anglo-Spanish alliance.⁶⁸ In this format the work was completed by More by February 11, 1523 and the printed edition was completed by June of that year. The distribution of the copies was apparently withheld by the Crown however while Henry waited vainly for an affirmative response from the German dukes or a recantation by Luther in reply to his Epistola.⁶⁹ Although copies of the Baravellus were apparently sent to Erasmus and Tunstal (the latter's copy is believed to be the unique surviving copy at Durham), the work was withdrawn before it saw any wider circulation and was recast as a work by one "Guilielmus Rosseus"⁷⁰ or "William Ross" which is believed to have been finally published sometime after December 3, 1523.⁷¹

As the researches of Headley and Doyle have demonstrated, while the introductory gatherings of the Baravellus were suppressed and replaced by those transferring the introductory matter to the new scenario of the Rosseus, the majority of the original attack on Luther was retained in its original sheets from the Baravellus with only occasional pages reset and substituted by means of half-sheet imposition.⁷² The one major change in the work, apart from the introductory material, was the expansion of gathering H to thirty leaves for the purpose of presenting an extended defense of the role of the Pope as the rightful head of the Church.

Although it has been speculated that More's reason for writing the work under a pseudonym was due to the fact that he was secretly sympathetic to Luther,⁷³ it seems more likely that he was simply indulging in the same sort of humanistic whimsey used to create the "factual"

background of and introduction to the Utopia. In a similar vein, while much has been made of Pynson's part in editing the work and dividing it into chapters, it should be noted that the pseudonymous Johannes Carcellius credited with these duties throughout the work may actually be someone quite different - one of the many members of Pynson's staff, a member of the More circle or perhaps even a mere figment of More's imagination in keeping with the other fictitious personages employed in the work. We are thus left with the situation that while we know the work came from Pynson's shop because of the physical evidence of the type, ornaments, etc., it is not at all certain that Pynson was personally involved in the production of the work.

On December 3, 1523 another attack on Luther was issued from Pynson's press in the form of the Propugnaculum⁷⁴ edited by Edward Powel, a canon of Salisbury. The work, which dates in manuscript form from November 1522, was divided into three parts which dealt, respectively, with a defense of the Pope as head of the Church, a defense of the sacraments performed at the altar and a defense of the remaining sacraments.

Somewhat more unusual are the Problema Indulgentiorum⁷⁵ and De Libero Arbitrio Adversus Melancthon⁷⁶ of Alphonso de Villa Sancta in that they are dedicated not to Henry but to Queen Catherine, who is hailed by the female equivalents of all of Henry's titles including that of "fidei Defensatrici."⁷⁷ As the title implies, the Problema Indulgentiorum was an attack on Luther's position in the indulgence controversy.

The De Libero Arbitrio was an attack not against Luther but, against one of Luther's then current followers, the German humanist Philip Melancthon. Essentially the work attacked the views that man had no free will and that all things are predetermined which Melancthon had

expounded in his Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum of 1521 and in his Commentary on Romans and Corinthians of 1522. As was the case in most of the attacks on Luther, the book was composed in a semi-debate format with the statements quoted from Melancthon's works followed by the author's rebuttals.

After 1523 the Lutheran debate subsided, at least in so much as it was reflected in the output of Pynson's press. In 1525, however, Christian II, the exiled King of Denmark and Sweden, wrote a letter to either the Elector Frederick or to Spelatinus which contained the erroneous report that the religious climate in England had changed and that Henry had now come around to Luther's view of ecclesiastical matters. The account went on to add that Wolsey, not Henry, was the real author of the Assertio and that Wolsey had lately fallen from power opening the door for a rapprochement between Henry and Luther. This report was relayed to Luther by Spalatinus and resulted in Luther sending a letter to Henry in September 1525 apologizing for his earlier attacks on Henry and offering to publish a full recantation of those attacks.⁷⁹ Needless to say, Luther's letter was not well received by Henry who, after some delays,⁸⁰ drafted a reply in which he attacked Luther's contemptuous remarks against Wolsey, his attack on monasticism and his marriage to the ex-nun Catherine von Born.

Finally, on December 2, 1526 the Literarum,⁸¹ composed of Luther's letter to Henry and Henry's reply to Luther was issued by Pynson's press. It proved sufficiently popular to merit the publication of a second edition on February 10, 1527.⁸² At the same time an English edition of the work was prepared to make the work more generally available to the English public at large and is thought to have been first published by

Pynson in 1527⁸³ and to have proved sufficiently popular to have merited at least one later edition in 1528.⁸⁴

Apart from the profits brought in to the printers and booksellers by the sale of pro- and anti-Lutheran tracts, the Lutheran controversy also served to subject the printers and book-sellers to increasing regulation by both the Church and the Crown. Although the Church campaign of regulation of the publishing trade in response to the threat of the spread of the Lutheran heresy did not begin until the seventeenth of the kalends of July 1520 when Pope Leo issued his bull ordering the seizure and burning of Lutheran books, the principle of Church censorship had been recognized by English law since the passage of the statute "Ex Officio" in 1410, which gave jurisdiction to the Church courts over any books made "contrary to the catholic faith and determination of Holy Church." Moreover, under the Provincial Constitutions drawn up by Archbishop Arundel in 1407, provision was made for the censorship of books read at the universities by censors appointed by the universities and approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury; in addition, provision was also made in the Constitutions to forbid the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular - both provisions being, of course, aimed against the spread of Lollardy.⁸⁵

Although the elaborate ceremonial burnings of Lutheran books conducted by Wolsey in May 1521 and in February 1525-6 are unlikely to have had any direct bearing on Pynson or his business, it is likely that he was included among those summoned by Bishop Tunstal on October 12, 1524 for the purpose of receiving a monition forbidding the importation of new books from abroad for sale or distribution without first showing them to and having them approved by either Cardinal Wolsey, the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London or the Bishop of Rochester.⁸⁶
Pynson was definitely among those present on October 25, 1526 when Tunstal delivered a further monition which prohibited not only the sale of imported or Lutheran books but the sale of any books which had not previously been exhibited to and approved by either Wolsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.⁸⁷

In addition to the increased regulation by the Church, Pynson and his colleagues were also subject to increased regulation by the Crown. As mentioned in the first chapter, foreign printers and booksellers had been encouraged to conduct business in England under the Act of 1484. The illegal import and production of pro-Lutheran books and a natural desire to see the now profitable printing industry in English hands led the government to pass laws which effectively took the English book business out of the hands of the foreigners who had dominated it in the early years and placed it solidly in the control of English printers and book-sellers. Thus in 1523 an act was passed which prohibited all aliens working in England (but not native-born English printers) from having any foreign apprentices and from having more than two foreign journeymen in their printing-houses. In 1529, conditions were further tightened by an act which prohibited the setting up of a press by any alien in England.⁸⁸

Because of the ambiguities of Pynson's citizenship status it is difficult to say with any certainty whether these acts or the double subsidy payments imposed on all denizens in 1515 had any effect on him or not. Despite the unsubstantiated charge that Pynson's edition of Fabyan's Chronicle was among those books burned by Tunstal, it seems unlikely that any of Pynson's books - orthodox and government or Church

sanctioned as most of them were - would have been affected by the anti-Lutheran crusade, apart from the requirement that they be duly exhibited and approved after 1526. The earlier monition of 1524 may have affected Pynson; however we cannot be sure since we do not know to what degree, if any, Pynson was still engaged in the importation of books at that late a date.

An aspect of regulation in which Pynson was more definitely concerned is that area which we today term "copyright," the control by an author or publisher of the publication rights to a given literary property. As far as can be determined the concept that a body of lawmakers or other authority could regulate the dissemination of a given work appears to have originated in Italy when the Venetian senate granted a special privilege to Johann von Speyer for making copies of Cicero's Epistolae Familiares.⁸⁹ Throughout the incunabula period the issuing of these special privileges seems to have been limited to the reproduction of classical works which the Venetian senate seems to have believed it had the sole right to license. The extent to which this power of licensing was recognized was established in 1502 when Aldus complained to the senate about infringement of his privilege of printing the classics by printers in Breslau and Lyons. The senate replied to Aldus's complaint by passing legislation which specifically forbade the counterfeiting of the Aldine types or the selling of counterfeits of books published by the Aldine press. The teeth behind the legislation, however, were supplied not by the Venetian senate but by Pope Alexander VI who granted a further privilege to Aldus which forbade the reprinting of any book in Greek or Latin published by Aldus, the printing of any books in types similar to the Aldine types or the importation of any

books which fit into either of these categories on pain of confiscation, fine and excommunication.⁹⁰ How effective even this privilege was outside of Italy proper remains somewhat in doubt.

In England, although there appears to have been some sort of agreement between members of the printing trade which prevented the pirating of some texts, no record of such an agreement survives and the governing principles by which it functioned are no longer apparent. In 1518, however, the Crown entered the field for the first time with the grant of privileges to Pynson for both the Oratio of Richard Pace and the In Laudem Matrimonii of Tunstal which forbade their reprinting by any printer in England for a period of two years. Despite much speculation no real study of the early use of privilege in England has yet been made so that it is still somewhat unclear what works were eligible for issue under privilege, what the time limitations for unspecific privileges were, whether the supposed general privileges said to apply to the entire output of Pynson, Rastell and several other printers during the later 1520's actually did exist, how effective the privilege was in preventing pirated editions and whether any legal remedy existed during this period when a case of such pirating occurred.

A second type of copyright or privilege with which Pynson was intimately involved is that type granted not to the publisher of a work but to its author. As with the publisher's privilege, the practice seems to have originated with a grant from the Venetian senate, in this instance a 1491 grant to Peter of Ravenna giving him and the publisher of his choice the exclusive rights to the printing and sale of his "Phoenix."⁹¹ As was the case with the Venetian regulation of the printing of the classics, a prime motivation appears to have been to guarantee

the integrity of the printed text.

In England, the first author's privilege was that granted to John Palsgrave for his Lesclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse,⁹² the printing of which was begun by Pynson in 1523 and completed by Pynson's son-in-law, John Haukyns in 1530. Indeed the securing of the privilege formed a condition of the two contracts between Pynson and Palsgrave for the printing of the work which have already been mentioned. In this instance, the purpose of the privilege was to ensure that Palsgrave, a teacher of French, would have control over the distribution of the work in order to further ensure that no one but Palsgrave's students and such other persons as he should designate would be allowed to purchase a copy and that no other teacher of French would be able to secure a copy of the work and use it in his own course of instruction. The degree to which Palsgrave executed his control over the work is especially evident in the second version of the contract which provided not only that all the copies of the work were to be kept locked in a chamber of Pynson's house but that the sole key to the chamber was to remain in Palsgrave's custody and that the dispersal of the books would be strictly accounted for in a written record.⁹³ Further evidence of the tightness of Palsgrave's control is provided in the form of an apparently unsuccessful request to Thomas Cromwell from Stephen Vaughn for the use of Cromwell's copy of the Eclaircissement since Palsgrave would not allow Vaughn to purchase a copy.⁹⁴

The Eclaircissement represented a major milestone in the teaching of French and the precautions taken by Palsgrave to ensure his complete control of its distribution were therefore not entirely unwarranted. Although the work drew upon the earlier efforts of Alexander Barclay,

Petrus Vallensyes and Giles Dewes, it differed from them in that it represented the first systematic attempt to teach French grammar,⁹⁵ a subject which had been largely neglected due to the emphasis on Latin throughout most of the educational institutions.

The Eclaircissement was divided into three parts; the first of which dealt with pronunciation, the second with the parts of speech and basic rules of grammar and the third, and largest, part dealt in greater detail with accidence. As originally issued by Pynson in 1524, the work appears to have consisted only of the first two parts, composed of gatherings A-D and F-K; possibly with a dedication in the preliminaries or in gathering E, no copies of which are known to have survived, to Mary Tudor the Dowager Queen of France and to her husband Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. These latter worthies apparently suggested to Palsgrave that, given the magnitude of the work, Henry himself would be a more suitable patron; a proposal to which Henry concurred, but only on condition that the work include an introduction to the French language; a request which resulted in the composition of the third and largest part of the work which was completed in 1530.⁹⁶ It is this enlarged work, complete with new preliminaries printed by John Haukyns which was granted a seven year privilege by the Crown.

Another work which appears to have enjoyed the patronage of the Crown, at least in its composition is the Extripation of Ignorancy⁹⁷ of 1526. The work which purports that it "treateth and speketh of the ignorance of people, shewynge them howe they are bounde to feare god and to honour their prince"⁹⁸ was dedicated by Paul Busshe⁹⁹ to Princess Mary, for whose edification the work was composed. It is also of interest in that the dedication also contains fulsome praise of Queen Cather-

ine whom Henry had ceased to have conjugal relations with by the time of the work's publication.¹⁰⁰ Presumably this discrepancy in the dedication could be overlooked since it was subordinated to the two main themes of the work - the need for every man to both love and fear God and to honor and obey his prince.

One presumes that Thomas Wyatt's translation of Plutarch's Quiet of Mind¹⁰¹ published in 1528, which was presented to Catherine as a New Year's gift on the last day of 1527,¹⁰² was far less palatable to the King. As Wyatt, who was at that time an "esquire of the body,"¹⁰³ noted in his introduction, the work was substituted for the translation of Petrarch's "boke of...the remedy of yll fortune" which Catherine had requested Wyatt to make on the grounds that after translating nine or ten of Petrarch's dialogues Wyatt found them to be superfluous. There is no doubt that the book, which was based on the Latin translation by William Budé, was in the same vein as the discarded work by Petrarch and might at least attempt to provide some consolation to the Queen at the end of the year in which Henry finally announced his intention to divorce her. The remarkable thing about this first published work of Wyatt's is that it was not only published, but published, complete with the dedication to Catherine, by the King's Printer; a fact which may provide a clue to where the sentiments of Pynson and his establishment lay in the matter.

As one may gather, Pynson's position as King's Printer continued to attract increased patronage for his publications during the final period of his career; although it is not always clear to what extent, if any, these patrons contributed to the expense of publishing a given work. It is interesting to note, however, that during this final period Pyn-

son's press saw the publication of works which enjoyed the patronage of the three leading members of the nobility of the day.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, as we have already noted, was a patron of Alexander Barclay. Among the works done by Barclay under his patronage was the translation of Sallust's Jugurthan War which was published by Pynson in editions of 1520¹⁰⁴ and 1525.¹⁰⁵ Although the work has been viewed by some, because of the unBarclaylike literal nature of the translation, as having been composed primarily as a trot for the grammar schools,¹⁰⁶ this view seems highly unlikely in view of the dedication to Norfolk and the pains taken by Barclay to point to the work as a piece "bothe plesaunt, profitable and right necessary vnto every degre; but specially to gentlemen which coveyt to attayne to clere fame and honour: by gloriquous dedes of chivalry."¹⁰⁷ As A. M. Kinghorn has commented, the moral of the piece is that wars waged in a just cause bring order and extirpate vice and evil;¹⁰⁸ a particularly suitable view for a work dedicated to Norfolk, who was the victor of the Battle of Flodden and who was serving as the Guardian of the Kingdom at about the time of the publication of the work while Henry was attending the festivities at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

Another Barclay translation of the period was that of the Mirror of Good Manners first thought to have been printed by Pynson in 1518¹⁰⁹ and reprinted by him about 1520.¹¹⁰ The work, an English version of the De Quattuor Virtutibus of Dominicus Mancinus, appears to have been translated at the request of Sir Giles Alington, Thomas More's stepson-in-law, possibly in place of a proposed translation of the Confessio Amantis.¹¹¹ Although the translation was requested and made for Alington, the publication of the work was due to the interest of Pynson's long-time acquaint-

ance, Richard Grey, Earl of Kent, at whose request the work was printed.¹¹² In addition to the Barclay translation, the work is also thought to have been printed by Pynson in 1520¹¹³ in matched Latin and English editions aimed at the grammar school trade under the title "The Englysshe of Mancyne Upon the Foure Cardynale Uertues" for the anonymous English portion. This latter title is a more accurate description of the work than that chosen by Barclay since the book is composed of dissertations on the four virtues of prudence, justice, magnanimity and temperance.

In 1525 Pynson printed an anonymous translation of the Church of Evil Men and Women¹¹⁴ which had been translated for Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, who had previously commissioned Pynson's 1511 edition of the Governance of Kings. The work, a sermon of St. Bernard of Siena, had previously been published by Wynken in a translation by Henry Watson.¹¹⁵

A more curious and more poignant piece of patronage is that of Hetoum's Chronicle¹¹⁶ published by Pynson in 1520 at the "cōmaudemēt of the ryght high and mighty prince Edwarde duke of Buckingham, yerle of Gloucestre, Staffarde, and of Northampton."¹¹⁷ The work, also known as the History of the Orient, was composed by Hetoum (or Haitum) who had been an Armenian prince and count of Clourcy (a fief of the Principality of Antioch) before he went into exile and became a Praemonstratensian monk, and deals with the period from 1076 to 1307.¹¹⁸ Although it may be argued that the work was designed to appeal to the travel-book trade, it should be noted that this is neither a book of Mandevillean wonders nor of chivalric wars. Indeed, the mood of the work is reminiscent of Old English literature in its accounts of wars and history narrated by

one who had experienced a fall from power, the loss of kin and exile as a direct result of the events narrated.

While the work may seem a curious piece for an English nobleman to have commissioned, there is a certain poignant appropriateness in the choice of subject matter by Stafford who within a year of the reputed date of publication of the piece was arrested, tried for treason and executed.¹¹⁹ It is unlikely, however, that Stafford had any hint of what was to come when he commissioned the piece. One possible explanation for the peculiar choice of subject matter is that the work may have been intended as a tribute to the Heton family who had served for generations as managers of the Stafford estates¹²⁰ and who could conceivably have been descended from a relative of the Armenian prince; this is pure conjecture, however, since there is no dedication or other item in the work to suggest that such a tribute was intended.

Aside from the nobility, Pynson's position as King's Printer and his numerous contacts continued to attract business from other quarters as well. Thus in 1528 the City of London again employed Pynson to print "certayn bills and other proclamations" for which he billed the City 37s. 3 d., although there is some evidence to suggest that the City took advantage of Pynson's age and presumably failing health to reduce the amount of the bill.¹²¹ In 1523 we know that he had an order for "4000 letters and as many briefs" from John Robinson on behalf of the Confraternity of St. Mary the Virgin of St. Botolph's in Boston.¹²² In addition, although we know little of Pynson's dealings with individual churches, we do know that his parish church, St. Dunstan's, purchased a new mass book from him in 1520¹²³ and bought "two great books" from him in 1524.¹²⁴

Apart from indulgences and other licenses to clergy, etc., and the various attacks on Luther, which were really as much publications of an official nature as they were of a religious nature, Pynson produced relatively little in the way of religious and devotional works during this period. For example, the period saw the production of only a single Sarum Missal,¹²⁵ that which St. Dunstan's purchased a copy of upon its publication in 1520. The work is noteworthy, however, in that several copies of the work were printed on vellum and in that, according to Duff, at least two of these copies bear inscriptions commemorating the death in 1518 of Robert Rede, Lord Chief Justice and one of the executors of the will of Henry VII, and indicate that the volumes were printed for the chantries founded by Rede in 1509.¹²⁶

The only other service books printed by Pynson's press during this period were a Sarum Matins of the Virgin,¹²⁷ a Sarum Horae of 1522¹²⁸ and a Psalter cum Hymnis.¹²⁹ In addition to which, mention must be made of the unique two-leaf copy of a work entitled Missa Preciosissimi Sanguines Domini Nostri Iesu¹³⁰ in Lord Kenyon's collection, which is thought to have possibly been associated with the celebrated relic of Christ's blood at the Abbey of Hayles and appears, on the basis of the state of the device, to have been printed c. 1521.

Of the four saints' lives in English printed by Pynson during this period at least three, the lives of St. Thomas,¹³¹ Joseph of Armathea¹³² and St. Werburge,¹³³ may have served, like the Holy Blood of Hayles, as promotional or souvenir literature for specific religious establishments. Thus we find that the St. Thomas appears to have been associated with the Hospital of St. Thomas Acon,¹³⁴ the Joseph with Glastonbury and the St. Werburge with the monastery of St. Werburge at

Chester.

Somewhat more troublesome is the Life of St. Radegunde. The work is by Henry Bradshaw, a monk of St. Werburge's in Chester and possibly an acquaintance of Barclay whom he praised in the epilogue of his Life of St. Werburge.¹³⁵ Although Bradshaw is thought to have died in 1513¹³⁶ neither the St. Werburge nor the St. Radegunde appear to have been published until 1521.¹³⁷

As we have implied above the composition of the Life of St. Werburge by a monk of the abbey named for her in Chester is not terribly surprising nor is its publication by Pynson, given the fact that she was an English saint and that she was buried in her shrine at Chester. The case for the composition and printing of the Life of St. Radegunde is somewhat more puzzling however since she was a French saint and not, as far as we know, closely associated with any particular English shrine. Nor is this the only curious thing about the work.

The subject of Bradshaw's work in this second case was a Queen of the Franks, the wife of Chlotar I, who died in 587. The English Life is peculiar in several respects. Among other things it portrays Radegunde as unwilling to consummate her marriage and driving her husband to distraction with her "piety" until he finally sets up an abbey for her to preside over. It further goes on to hint that this religious zeal was misplaced, particularly in one episode in which Radegunde is portrayed as fasting during Lent so strenuously that her mouth was too dry to sing the praises of the Lord. Finally there are hints in the English Life that Radegunde's love for her chief sister nun and for the poet Fortunatus were not entirely of a platonic nature.

The peculiar portrayal of Radegunde in the work leads one to

suspect that the work is in some way connected with Jesus College, Cambridge, which was founded by Bishop Alcock in 1497 on the suppression of the Priory of St. Radegunde on grounds of decay in number of members and the accusation that the nuns of the institution were corrupting the students of the University. Some credence is lent to the link between the book and the college by the fact that Jesus is the repository for one of the three extant copies of the work.¹³⁸

Among the other religious works emanating from Pynson's press during this period mention must be made of a number of sermons which were originally preached by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln. These sermons, which may have been preached in English and then translated into the Latin form in which they appear in print by one Thomas Kay or Cay of All Soul's College, Oxford,¹³⁹ have been the source of much bibliographical confusion since although several of the sermons were printed by Pynson, others were printed by Redman in an identical format after Pynson's death.¹⁴⁰ The bibliographical problems of the works have been compounded by the fact that the sermons printed by both Pynson and Redman are generally found collected and bound together (in varying degrees of completeness) following a Redman title-page and preliminaries.

The Pilgrimage of Perfection,¹⁴¹ a devotional work attributed to William Bond,¹⁴² is also of some bibliographical interest owing to the additions to some copies of sections entitled, "The declaracyon of the Starre of Grace," the "tree of grace" and "The declaration of the tre of vyce" - all of which appear to be added because they were either omitted from the original printing or they were needed to clarify points in the original text.¹⁴³ Another section, usually bound at the end of the work when present, is entitled the "Rosary of Our Savyour" and was formerly

listed by STC as a separate work.¹⁴⁴ The book is also of interest in that it contains Hodnett no. 457 which belonged to Wynken, suggesting that Pynson's and Wynken's establishments were still on cordial terms in 1526, the date of the work's publication.¹⁴⁵

In about 1521¹⁴⁶ Pynson published the De Vita...Sancti Nicolai de Tollentino, Comedia¹⁴⁷ by Galfredus Petrus, a monk of Bayeux. The work, which was edited by Edouard Soppeth,¹⁴⁸ is, as the title indicates, a Latin play on the life and miracles of St. Nicholas of Tollentino; as such it represents the first Latin religious play to be printed in England. Although nothing much seems to be known about the work or its author, the work is of some interest in that it is one of only two works by Galfredus Petrus known to have been printed in England during this period; the other work by Petrus is his Opus Sane de Deorum Dearumque of 1524, the first dated book to be published by Thomas Berthelet.¹⁴⁹ This raises the distinct possibility that Berthelet may have been employed by Pynson and been involved in the printing of the Sancti Nicolai.

While it has long been suggested that Berthelet, who succeeded Pynson as King's Printer, worked under Pynson, the argument has largely been based on the proposed identification of Berthelet with the T. Beracula whose name appears on typographical notes in several of Pynson's Latin publications. As Duff, at one time one of the chief proponents of this theory, pointed out however, there are problems in trying to latinize Berthelet as Beracula or Bercleus,¹⁵⁰ and Thomas Beracula is more likely to have been the Thomas Barclay who sailed on Rastell's ill-fated voyage to the New World in 1517. This does not however preclude the fact that Berthelet may have worked for Pynson.

Although Berthelet does not appear to have used any of Pynson's

stock of printing materials,¹⁵¹ there is sufficient circumstantial evidence available to suggest that Berthelet may have been a member of Pynson's establishment during the period immediately prior to 1524.

We have already remarked on the suggestiveness of the publication of the Petrus piece by Pynson c. 1521 and publication of the Petrus piece by Berthelet as the first work from his shop in 1524; a similar case may be made based on the appearance of the preface by one Papyrius Geminus Eleates in Pynson's 1523 edition of Powel's Propugnaculum, a work which we have already mentioned in regard to the anti-Lutheran campaign. According to the researches of Constance W. Bouck, Papyrius Geminus Eleates, the author of the aforementioned preface and of a book entitled Hermathena¹⁵² printed in 1522 by John Siberch, was actually Thomas Elyot, the author of the Book of the Governor, etc.¹⁵³ This raises the interesting possibility that Berthelet, who was to publish all of Elyot's works between 1531 and 1535,¹⁵⁴ may have first encountered Elyot while working for Pynson, or, alternatively, may have been instrumental in securing Elyot's services for the Propugnaculum.

Thus far the evidence presented for Berthelet's association with Pynson's establishment has been more suggestive than factual; we now turn however, to a more substantial piece of evidence for the association. In 1523 Pynson published editions of the Book of Surveying¹⁵⁵ and the Book of Husbandry¹⁵⁶ written by either Anthony Fitzherbert or his brother, John.¹⁵⁷ The Book of Surveying is a quasi-legal work dealing with the management of estates which was derived from a statute of 4 Edward I, known as "Extenti Manerii."¹⁵⁸ Prefaced to this work is a signed poem by Berthelet which runs as follows:

Tho. Berthelet to the reders of
this lytell boke.

Rede this boke/ with the other of husbandry
And ye shall fynde them very profytable
Good/ behoueful/ and moche necessary
To my mynde they be right commendable
It is nat a iest/ a tale/ nor a fable:
It is suche mater (ye may beleue me)
As noble clerkes wrote/ in olde antiquyte.

The' worthy Caton/ that excellent romayne
Columella/ Uarro/ and Uergilius
Of husbandrie to write/ had no disdayne
Nor many other/ eloquent and famous
Thought it nat a thyng inglorious
Suche mater to write/ whereby they might auaūce
The cōmon welthe. And theyr countre enhance.

But in our dayes/ some are blynded so withfolly
That they count husbandrie/ but a thing right vyle
Some had leauer write of loue. ye of baudry
Than to so good a mater tourne their style
Fonde pleasure and pride do them so begyle
That slouthe wandreth about in euery way
And good busynesse is fallyng in decay.

yet neuerthelesse good labour to call agayne
In welthy busynesse/ men to exercyse
This worthy man/ nobly hath done his payne
I meane hym/ that these sayde bokes dyd deuyse
He sheweth to husbandes/ in right fruteful wyse
The manyfolde good thynges/ in brefe sentence
Whiche he hath well proued/ by long experyence.

And this I leaue hym/ in his good wyll mynde
That he beareth/ vnto the publyke weale
Wolde god noble men/ coude in their hertes fynde
After suche forme/ for the cōmons helth to deale
It is a true token/ of hyghe loue and eale
Whan he so delyteth/ and taketh pleasure
By his busy labour/ mens welth to procure.

Finis.

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The undistinguished character of these verses probably rendered them somewhat of an embarrassment to Berthelet and accounts for their absence in his editions of the Book of Surveying of 1539, 1545 and 1546;¹⁶⁰ while their omission in Pynson's edition of 1526¹⁶¹ is probably due to Berthelet's departure from Pynson's shop and establishment of his

own printing house in 1524.

Although far from conclusive, the evidence of these three works with their Berthelet associations tends to suggest that Berthelet was a member of Pynson's establishment, or at least closely associated with it, from 1521¹⁶² until sometime after July 15, 1523, the date of Pynson's first edition of the Book of Surveying.

This brings us back to the problem of Thomas Bercula, "typographus," who, as we have already mentioned, was probably the Thomas Barclay associated with John Rastell. This person, whose identity and relationship with Pynson was the source of considerable speculation by William Blades, Henry Stevens and E. Gordon Duff,¹⁶³ is known to us only from his typographical notes to Pynson's 1520¹⁶⁴ edition of John Constable's Epigrammata,¹⁶⁵ 1520¹⁶⁶ and 1525¹⁶⁷ editions of Robert Whittington's Vulgaria and from his mention in a letter by "Guil. Dynhamus" in the 1521¹⁶⁸ and 1528¹⁶⁹ editions of Le Bregement de Statutis. In addition, both Duff¹⁷⁰ and Hazlitt¹⁷¹ refer to a Bercula typographical note which mentioned Horman's Vulgaria and Constable's Epigrammata in a Pynson edition of the Oratio ad Romanos in Electione Pontificis by Baptista Pizachus which was published in September 1522; however since a Pynson edition of the work (and, indeed any English edition) is unknown to STC2 and since the description of the note sounds suspiciously like that in the Epigrammata - it is likely that what has been referred to is a foreign Oratio bound with leaves of the Pynson Epigrammata.¹⁷²

In any event, on the slender evidence of these rather undistinguished notes, which may be found in the appendices, rested the case of Stevens and Duff for the identification of Bercula with Berthelet. Duff went somewhat further however in taking the references in the typogra-

phical notes to both the Epigrammata and the Vulgaria to both those and other works having been printed "cum typis nostris" as evidence that Bercula was at that time in partnership with Pynson;¹⁷³ although it can be argued with equal validity that this statement indicates nothing more than the fact that Bercula was a member of Pynson's establishment which is what is actually referred to by "nostris."

On no basis whatsoever Duff speculated that Bercula provided the new fonts of type, initial letters, and title-page borders used in Pynson's Latin output beginning in 1518 - or at least the capital for their purchase. He then went on to bolster his argument for Bercula's partnership in the production of Latin works by noting the appearance of new forms of colophons:¹⁷⁴ "ex calcographia pinsoniana,"¹⁷⁵ "ex officina pinsoniana"¹⁷⁶ and "in aedibus pynsonianis,"¹⁷⁷ used in Latin works of this period as evidence of the corporate nature of Pynson's establishment and of Bercula's partnership in the business; none of which arguments is terribly convincing.

Based upon the typographical notes and the note of "Dynhamus," which are the only real evidence we have to go on, it can be safely said that Bercula appears to have been a man both learned in and interested in the propagation of Latin who supervised the printing of some of Pynson's Latin output during the period from 1520 through 1521. One suspects from his statements, particularly in the Epigrammata, that he was probably well acquainted with the English humanist circle. The statement by "Dynhamus" also suggests that Bercula was something of an antiquary as well as being learned in the law.

Beyond these basic facts we can speculate that Bercula was actually the Thomas Barclay associated with John Rastell. His name and

evident erudition and training suggest the outside possibility that he may have been related to the better known Alexander Barclay who was also working for Pynson (among others) during this period; but this is pure conjecture. It is evident by the use of his name that Bercula had by 1520 achieved some sort of reputation for his erudition which could be calculated to add to the salability of the works which he supervised—otherwise it seems unlikely that his name would have appeared in them.

On the whole however, it would appear that Duff distorted Bercula's role out of all importance. The evidence suggests Bercula was not a partner but an editor, possibly supervising the type-setting, of learned and legal works in Latin between 1520 and 1522. Although clearly of some importance, Bercula was only one member of what appears to have been a large staff.

As we noted in the first chapter Pynson appears to have always had a large staff even before he moved into London. It is only in this final period however, that we finally begin to get a somewhat more comprehensive view of Pynson's establishment. The size of this establishment may be hinted at by listing the known members of the establishment during this period. On the editorial level, apart from various authors such as More and Palsgrave who appear to have supervised their own works through the press, Pynson is known to have employed Alexander Barclay and Bercula to supervise some of his Latin output and to have been aided by Robert Chidley and William Owen in producing some of the legal works. Those known to have been actually employed in the printing operations of Pynson's shop during this period include Richard Withers and John Snowe, both of whom were still completing their terms as apprentices at the time of Pynson's death; and Henry Tab and Thomas Kele who

had left the firm around 1526. In addition, there is some evidence to suggest that Thomas Godfray and Robert Redman, as well as Berthelet, whom we have already mentioned, were associated with the firm before Pynson's death.

Two Chancery bills filed on behalf of Tab and Kele would tend to suggest that the customary period of service in Pynson's establishment as apprentice and servant (the term used for a printer who had completed his apprenticeship)¹⁷⁸ was eight years.¹⁷⁹ An inscription in a book in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, which I have not viewed but which Dr. Doyle of Durham was kind enough to provide me with a transcript of, gives us some idea of the wages paid by Pynson. The transcript runs as follows:

Memorandum bargenyd with the ryght worschypfull
Master Pynson to do hym seruyce for a yere take
by the moneth ---- vj s. viiij d. I began the
fyrst day of Septembre. Memorandum resceyved the
ij^d day of novembre vj s viij d. Item resc. the
xxij^d day of decembre vj s. viii d.

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Although there is nothing conclusive to indicate that the above refers to payment for one of Pynson's printers or even to our Pynson, the fact that the rather odd sum mentioned is identical with that mentioned in Pynson's will to be paid John Snowe on completion of his apprenticeship¹⁸¹ is certainly suggestive.

Regrettably nothing more is known of Snowe than that he was to receive this sum; nor is anything more known of his fellow apprentice Richard Withers beyond the fact that he was to receive twenty shillings on completion of his term of apprenticeship. Something more can be said regarding Henry Tab and Thomas Kele who appear to have served eight years as apprentices and servants to Pynson during the 1520's.¹⁸²

The two Chancery bills filed on behalf of Tab and Kele respectively, which appear to have been totally ignored, reveal that upon the completion of each man's term of service Pynson made each a loan - fifteen pounds to Tab and twenty-four pounds to Kele - to help set them up in their own business. Apparently in 1528 or 1529, when Pynson was aware that death was approaching, he cancelled the remainder of both debts. Tab's bill appears to have been filed in 1529 shortly before Pynson's death for the purpose of securing testimony from certain "aged" witnesses to the forgiveness of the debt. The judicious nature of Tab's proceedings are witnessed to by the bill of Kele which was filed after Pynson's death and necessitated by the efforts of Pynson's executors to try and collect the debt.¹⁸³

Both apprentices went on to become stationers. Thomas Kele is known to have been one of the subtenants of John Rastell at the Mermaid in 1526.¹⁸⁴ Henry Tab also appears to have been in business for himself by 1526 and went on to some success in the trade, occupying the sign of the Judith in St. Paul's Churchyard until his death in 1548.¹⁸⁵ Interestingly enough the works printed for Tab by Richard Lant employ Pynson's ornamental stalk initials for the initials of the printer and the stationer.¹⁸⁶

Thomas Godfray's association with Pynson is somewhat more problematical, owing largely to the little that is known about Godfray. Prior to STC2, at least, Godfray's only known dated book was his 1532 edition of Chaucer's Works,¹⁸⁷ although a tentative date of 1530 was assigned by STC to several other works.¹⁸⁸ Duff noted that Godfray's press "seems in some mysterious way to have been connected with that of Berthelet and some have gone so far as to assert that Godfray was not a

printer at all and that the books with his name were printed by Berthelot;¹⁸⁹ but, as usual, Duff does not give the source of this information. Whatever the case, Godfray appears to have possessed two Pynson woodcuts (Hodnett nos. 1348¹⁹⁰ and 1483¹⁹¹), one Pynson compartment (McKerrow and Ferguson no. 98¹⁹²), three Pynson border pieces, at least nine of Pynson's initials and Pynson's 73 textura.¹⁹³ Although all of these materials may have been acquired by Godfray after Pynson's death, there is a remote possibility that Godfray either worked in Pynson's shop or served as a job printer for some of Pynson's works during the period from 1526 to 1529.¹⁹⁴

Two other printers whom Pynson appears to have dealt with during this period must be mentioned before going on to a further discussion of Pynson's relations with Redman and of Pynson's legal output. Lawrence Andrewe, the printer located at the sign of the Golden Cross in Fleet Street,¹⁹⁵ c. 1529 published an edition of Vincent of Beauvais' Mirror of the World¹⁹⁶ which contained Hodnett nos. 1451, 1509, 1510, 1512, 1590 and 1591,¹⁹⁷ all of which belonged to Pynson, as well as many other woodcuts which belonged to Wynken and others. As in the case of Godfray, it seems likely that all of these cuts were obtained after Pynson's death; however, due to the tentative nature of the dating of the work, the possibility exists that they were lent to Andrewe by Pynson or his daughter while Pynson was still alive.

The other printer who must be mentioned is Robert Wyer whose shop was at the sign of St. John the Evangelist in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.¹⁹⁸ Sometime between 1526 and 1529,¹⁹⁹ Pynson's shop printed an edition of the Sayings or Proverbs of Solomon²⁰⁰ "for to sell at ye signe of saynt Iohn Evngelyst in saynt Martyns parysshe besyde

Charynge crosse."²⁰¹ This work, which apparently was sold only by Wyer, consists of a debate on various subjects between Solomon, representing the views of the court, and Marcolphus, representing the views of a crude peasant inclined towards practical jokes. Although the work was apparently highly popular on the continent in numerous German and Latin editions, the copy translated into English for Wyer and printed by Pynson apparently derives from a more scurrilous French version in which all of Marcolphus's rejoinders usually make reference to the manners of prostitutes.²⁰²

One other link between Wyer and Pynson must be mentioned. In a Pynson Horae of 1522²⁰³ Pynson employed Hodnett no. 1341, a woodcut of St. John the Evangelist; although it has gone unnoticed up until now, this cut was apparently copied from Pynson by Wyer who used it as his device.²⁰⁴

As we have already noticed, a large part of Pynson's business was that provided by his sale of legal publications, a field over which he retained a virtual monopoly until c. 1516 when Rastell appears to have entered the field, apparently with Pynson's acquiescence. Although Redman's setting up of a rival sign of the George and printing of works which Pynson had regarded himself as having had the sole right to print elicited the attacks by Pynson which we have already referred to, neither of these activities really appears to have seriously affected Pynson's continued dominance of the legal trade. Although Redman may have attempted to invade the field of year book publication as early as 1525,²⁰⁵ Pynson clearly continued to dominate the field with Year Books for Edward III, 7, Edward III, 42, Edward III, 43, Edward III, 44, Edward III, 45, Edward III, 48, Edward III, 49, Henry VI, 1, Henry VI, 2,

Henry VI, 4 and Henry VI, 9 published in 1518; Edward III, 50, Edward IV, 9, Edward IV, 12, Edward IV, 19 and Henry VII, 19 in 1519; Edward III, 38, Edward III, 47, Henry VI, 10, Henry VI, 12, Edward IV, 3, Edward IV, 4, Edward IV, 8, Edward IV, 13, Edward IV, 15, Edward IV, 18 and Edward IV, 21 in 1520; Edward III, 21, Henry IV, 8, Edward IV, 10, Edward IV, 14, Henry VII, 12 and Henry VIII, 14 in 1525; Henry VI, 18, Henry VI, 34 and Henry VI, 37 in 1526; Edward IV, 16 in 1527; and Henry VI, 36, Henry VI, 39, Edward IV, 22 and Edward V, 1 printed in 1528.²⁰⁶

As already mentioned, the works issued by Redman which appear to have most irritated Pynson were his editions of Littleton's Tenures and the Magna Carta statute collection. Apart from the scathing attack or attacks (depending on whether the Magna Carta attack actually exists) on Redman, Pynson met the challenge of competition by shifting many of his legal publications to more portable small format editions and by emphasizing the accuracy of the Pynson texts and the care taken to produce them. Thus we find that while Pynson's 1522 edition of Littleton's Tenures,²⁰⁷ the last Pynson edition prior to Redman's first edition, was published as a folio, Pynson's 1525²⁰⁸ edition and 1528²⁰⁹ edition were respectively published as a duodecimo and a sextodecimo. A similar shift to smaller formats was evidenced in most of the other standard law books issued by Pynson during this period.

In terms of the Magna Carta statute collection, Pynson's opposition to Redman's edition appears to have been more devious. The last Pynson edition of the Magna Carta collection prior to that issued by Redman in 1525 was Pynson's edition of 1519.²¹⁰ Apparently Pynson felt that Redman had simply pirated Pynson's edition of 1519. This led Pynson to attempt to prevent such piracy by claiming, after the fact, that

the 1519 Magna Carta had been issued under "privilege;" a move which Pynson carried out by having a slip with the following words inserted in copies of the 1519 edition of the work:

¶ Liber magne carte cum alijs statutis
 explicit. Impress. Londini. Anno Verbi
 incarnati. M.D.xix. Die xxv. mensis Maij
 per Richardū Pynson regiū Impressorem cum
 priuilegio a rege indulto. 211

Although the tactic seems to have prevented any subsequent pirating of the work during Pynson's lifetime, it should be noted that Pynson did not attempt to continue claiming the work was printed under "privilege" in his subsequent edition of 1527;²¹² instead, he attempted to promote his final edition of the Magna Carta collection by means of a typographical note extolling the efforts which had been expended by his staff in attempting to provide as accurate a copy of the statutes as possible.

If Herbert is to be believed, Redman also invaded Pynson's territory with the publication of a 1525 edition of the Natura Brevium.²¹³ In apparent answer to Redman's edition Pynson replied with a 1525 edition of the Natura Brevium²¹⁴ of his own. This new edition was issued in a small format and bore the imposing title of "¶ Natura breuiū newly and moost trewly corrected/ with diuers addicions of statutis/ boke cases/ plees in abatementes of the sayd writtes and theyr declaracions/ and barres to the same added and put in theyr places moost convenient."²¹⁵ The work was edited and annotated by Robert Chidley, a lawyer of some standing in the Middle or New Temple.²¹⁶ One suspects that Chidley may have supervised the printing and editing of much of Pynson's legal output during this final period since he is known to have remained on good terms with Pynson until Pynson's death serving as one of the witnesses to Pynson's will.²¹⁷ In any event, the edition of the Natura

Brevium edited by Chidley was sufficiently popular to merit a reprint of it in 1528.²¹⁸

Another lawyer employed by Pynson during this period was William Owen, or "Guillaume Owein" as his name appears in print, of the Middle Temple, who apparently edited and arranged Pynson's 1521 edition of Le Bregement de Statutes²¹⁹ after Bercuia had done the initial work on the volume.²²⁰ Although the work may be taken as intended to compete with Rastell's Grand Abridgement of 1519, the actual aim of the work seems to be to make much of the information included in Rastell's massive work available in the more portable format of an octavo. The edition of 1528²²¹ which actually appears to be sheets of the 1521 edition with new preliminary gatherings updating the work to include statutes passed in 1523, may have been aimed at undercutting the sales of Redman's edition of 1528.²²²

The problem of Redman's relations with Pynson is further complicated by a Redman Year Book, Henry VI, 3,²²³ dated October 14, 1527, which clearly states in the colophon that it was printed at the sign of the George in Fleet Street. Since Pynson seems to have still been at odds with Redman in 1528 this is probably simply a case of a misprinted date. It appears that Redman and Pynson were probably reconciled before Pynson's death however, since Redman had moved into Pynson's shop next to St. Dunstan's Church sometime before March 24, 1529, the date on a Redman Natura Brevium²²⁴ citing that address in the colophon. The possibility that Redman may have moved into Pynson's shop prior to that date either to help run Pynson's establishment or as a subtenant cannot be entirely dismissed since Redman was sufficiently well known in the parish of St. Dunstan's prior to 1529 to have been chosen to serve as one

of the wardens of the Rood light for the parish for that year.²²⁵

In addition to the law books already mentioned Pynson produced editions of the Old Tenures in 1520²²⁶ and 1525,²²⁷ the latter in a small format. A small format edition of the Returna Brevium²²⁸ is thought to have been printed c. 1523-1524 while 1519 saw the printing of an edition of the Novae Narrationes²²⁹ and 1525 saw the production of the Articuli ad Narrationes.²³⁰

We have already mentioned Pynson's editions of the quasi-legalistic Book of Surveying by either John or Anthony Fitzherbert and the Book of Husbandry by the same author. During this period Pynson also published a 1521 edition of Anthony Fitzherbert's Book of Justices of the Peace²³¹ and a 1526 edition of the same author's Diversite de Courts,²³² both in a small format.

One last legal work which must be mentioned is the massive Repetitio .L. Prime .ff. de Verbo Obligat²³³ of Sylvester Darius published by Pynson in 1521. The work is more philosophical than most of the other law books and deals with the legal concept of obligation, a subject which would be especially relevant in the courts of Chancery, which is why the work is dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey in his capacity as Chancellor.

Wolsey also figures in the dedication to one other work published by Pynson, Skelton's Replycacion Agaynst Certayne Yong Scolers²³⁴ of 1528. The work, which was the last work written by Skelton, and the only one to have been published by Pynson, dealt with the abjuration of two Cambridge scholars, Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur on December 8, 1527 and is thought to have been written as part of Wolsey's campaign against Lutheran heretics of 1528.²³⁵ Although the poem and its fulsome

dedication are generally taken to be efforts on Skelton's behalf to reconcile the differences with Wolsey brought on by his attacks on the Cardinal in his earlier Colin Clout, Why Come Ye Nat to Courte and Magnyfence, which had led Skelton to seek to evade the Cardinal's wrath by taking sanctuary in Westminster Abbey,²³⁶ it should be noted that the terms of praise in the dedication are perhaps a bit overdone and Skelton may have been attempting to subtly satirize Wolsey's vanity at the same time that he appears to have been seeking a reconciliation with the Cardinal.

Wolsey also figures, although in a very roundabout way, in the publication by Pynson of a series of medical tracts by Galen, since their publication in England would appear to have followed closely on the founding of the London College of Physicians by Wolsey and Thomas Linacre, the Royal Physician, in 1518.²³⁷ The dominant figure in their production however, was Linacre, who had previously edited Aristotle for Aldus, obtained his doctorate in medicine from Padua and done post-doctorate research in the classics and medicine under Nicola Leonicus, the Italian humanist who edited the first printed Greek edition of the collected works of Galen.²³⁸ Apparently inspired by the work of Leonicus, Linacre attempted to make the works of Galen more accessible through a series of Latin translations.

The first of Linacre's translations of Galen were the De Sanitate Tuenda of 1517 and the Methodus Medendi of 1519, both of which were printed on the continent;²³⁹ these were followed by the De Temperamentis et de Inaequali Intemperie²⁴⁰ which were printed by John Siberch at Cambridge in 1521.²⁴¹ The remainder of Linacre's translations of Galen were printed by Pynson beginning with the De Morborum Differentijs.²⁴²

De Motu Musculorum²⁴³ and De Pulsum Usus²⁴⁴ in 1522, and followed by the De Naturalibus Facultatibus²⁴⁵ in 1523 and the De Symptomatum Differentiis²⁴⁶ in 1524, all of which constituted the first editions of Linacre's translations of those works. Although Galen's works enjoyed continued popularity on the continent, they appear to have been largely ignored in England after Linacre's death.²⁴⁷

In addition to the translations of Galen and Linacre's grammatical works, which we will discuss shortly, Pynson published Linacre's Latin translation of the Sphaera²⁴⁸ of Diadochus Proclus in 1522. The work, first printed on the continent in 1499,²⁴⁹ was dedicated to the ill-fated Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII.²⁵⁰ The book was a scientific work dealing with a combination of geography, geometry and astronomy which explained the nature of the globe, the concept of meridians and the movement of the stars, etc.

The year 1522 also saw the publication of the first important book on arithmetic to be printed in England - the De Arte Supputandi²⁵¹ of Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London. Tunstall, whom we have previously mentioned in connection with the campaigns against Lutheran books and the regulation of the press in the 1520's, had, like Linacre, studied at Padua and come under the influence of the Aristotelian scholar, Nicola Leonicus - an influence which would reveal itself in the last years of Tunstall's life with the publication of his Compendium in Decem Libros Ethicorum Aristotelis in 1554.²⁵²

Tunstall's interest in mathematics, however, apparently dated all the way back to his earlier entry to Balliol College, Oxford, in 1491 where he excelled in the subject - and where he also appears to have initially made the acquaintance of More, Grocyn, Colet and Linacre.²⁵³

Despite this supposed early proficiency in the subject, Tunstall claimed in the dedicatory letter to the De Arte Supputandi²⁵⁴ that he had been bored with mathematics as a student and had been led to an interest in the subject as a matter of necessity when some "goldsmiths" or "usurers"²⁵⁵ had sought to keep him in debt in his youth. According to this account, having extricated himself from his problems by means of mathematics, Tunstall set out to read everything that he could on the subject.

The work represented Tunstall's farewell to the academic world as he prepared to devote the rest of his life to the study of sacred letters following his appointment as Bishop of London. The dedication of the work to More, which may have been partly in return for the compliments paid to him by More in the Utopia,²⁵⁶ was singularly appropriate since the work could prove useful to More in both his efforts to educate his children and those of his friends and in his official duties as Under-Treasurer of England.²⁵⁷

The book, which Heninger speculates was derived largely from the Nobel Opéra de Arithmetnica of Pietro Borghi published in Venice in 1484 and the Summa de Arithmetica, Geometica, Proportioni et Proportionalita of Luca Paccioli published in Venice in 1494,²⁵⁸ was divided into four books. The first book dealt with formulaic algebra, complete with illustrative problems and its application to business. The second book dealt with fractions. The third book dealt with the rule of three and other rules of computation while the final book dealt with series, proportions and ratios.

The work, a small folio of 204 leaves, must have represented a good deal of trouble to Pynson's press with material apparently added in

a gathering TV inserted between gatherings T and V in the first alphabet and a gathering āb inserted between gatherings a and b in the second alphabet. In addition, the work must have presented special problems in type-setting with the need to set up mathematical formulae and problems in arabic numerals. In this regard, the book also required the acquisition of some special type representing arabic numerals with a line through them indicating that they had been crossed out, as well as several special diagrams. As with most of the Latin works inspired by the new learning (including the Galen editions already mentioned) the work was printed in roman type.

Although the De Arte Supputandi is generally considered the most important book on mathematics of its time it was virtually ignored in England and did not see a second English edition. The work was, however, appreciated on the continent where it went through at least seven editions in France alone by the mid-century²⁵⁹ and was sufficiently well thought of to cause Rabelais to cite the work as a suitable companion for Gargantua in his studies of arithmetic.²⁶⁰

Another friend of Tunstall who also had works published by Pynson was Richard Pace. Pace, it will be remembered, was the author of the Oratio which was published in 1518 by Pynson along with the In Laudem Matrimonii of Tunstall to celebrate the betrothal of Princess Mary to the Dauphin of France. Pace's friendship with Tunstall, however, dated back to 1497 when he had studied with Tunstall and William Latimer at Padua and, like Tunstall and Linacre, was a pupil of Leonicus.²⁶¹ After spending much of his life in Italy on diplomatic missions for Henry with intermittent periods in England during which he served as Secretary of State and Dean of St. Paul's, Pace finally returned to England in

1526²⁶² and retired to Sion in Isleworth a year later.²⁶³ At Sion Pace studied under Richard Wakefield, a scholar and canon-lawyer who had served as Reginald Pole's instructor in Hebrew, with such success that he was said to have learned Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic in three months and was said to be working on correcting the Old Testament by July 30,

1527.²⁶⁴ One apparent fruit of this period of study was Pace's Praefatio...in Ecclesiastem Recognitum ad Hebraicum Veritatem²⁶⁵ which has erroneously been ascribed by STC to Pynson's press in 1526.²⁶⁶ If the work is indeed from Pynson's press, and not from someone else's after Pynson's death, it means that Pynson along with his other typographical achievements can be credited with the introduction of Hebrew type to England.²⁶⁷

Despite the fact that most of the English humanists read Greek and despite the efforts of Grocyn, Latimer and Linacre (among others) to inculcate the study of Greek in England, it was Latin which continued to be the medium through which learning was disseminated and the study of Latin which continued to be the key not only to the world of scholarship but to careers in the clergy and government service as well. In this manner the teaching of Latin continued to be of prime importance despite the continued usage of French in court circles²⁶⁸ and the increasing of the official usage of the English vernacular in some records - such as the bills filed in Chancery.

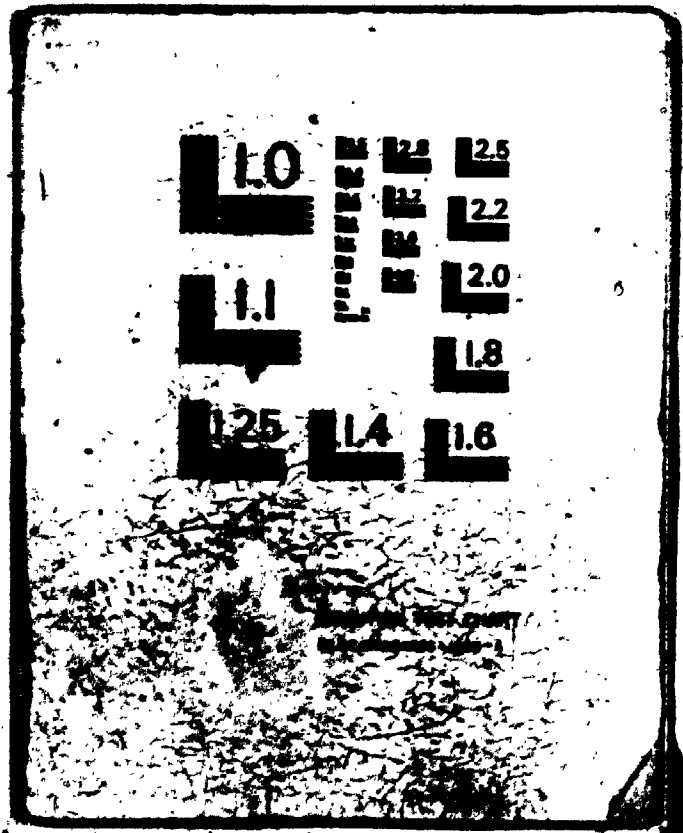
As we have already mentioned in passing; Thomas Linacre, in addition to his Latin translations of Galen and Proclus, also was the author of several Latin grammars which were published by Pynson. The earliest of the works to be published by Pynson was the De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis Libri Sex²⁶⁹ of 1524 which features what may well be the

first Greek type to be cast in England which was made specially for the work.²⁷⁰ Despite the Greek passages scattered throughout the work, the main purpose of the book was the teaching of a set of rules for writing Latin which were illustrated with sentences from Cicero.

The other grammatical work by Linacre to be printed by Pynson was the Rudimenta Grammatices²⁷¹ which Pynson appears to have printed two editions of in 1525. According to Miss Pafort,²⁷² the Rudimenta represents a condensation of a much larger work entitled Linacri Progymnasta Grammaticis which was printed elsewhere. The work is more of a basic grammar than the De Emendata Structura and gives the various rules in English. It is dedicated to Princess Mary whom Linacre served as Latin tutor to beginning in 1509.²⁷³

The most popular Latin grammars of the period however, despite the efforts of Lily and Colet at St. Paul's School, continued to be the works produced by John Stanbridge and his pupil, Robert Whittinton. Thus we find copies of Stanbridge's Vocabula issued by Pynson in 1519,²⁷⁴ 1524²⁷⁵, and 1526²⁷⁶. (edited initially for Pynson by Alexander Barclay²⁷⁷), editions of Stanbridge's Accidence²⁷⁸ in 1523, Sum. Es. Fui²⁷⁹ in 1523 and of his Parvulorum Institutio²⁸⁰ in 1524. Pynson's editions of Whittinton's works during the same period included editions of the De Nominum Generibus in 1520,²⁸¹ 1523,²⁸² 1525²⁸³ and 1527²⁸⁴; editions of the De Nominum Declinatione in 1520,²⁸⁵ 1523,²⁸⁶ and 1525;²⁸⁷ editions of the De Heteroclitis Nominibus in 1519,²⁸⁸ 153,²⁸⁹ 1525²⁹⁰ and 1527;²⁹¹ editions of the Syntaxis in 1518,²⁹² 1521,²⁹³ 1523²⁹⁴ and 1525;²⁹⁵ editions of De Verborum Praeterita et Supina in 1522,²⁹⁶ 1524²⁹⁷ and 1527;²⁹⁸ editions of De Octo Partibus in 1522²⁹⁹ and 1527;³⁰⁰ editions of the De Synonyma in 1518,³⁰¹ 1518³⁰² and 1523;³⁰³

3



and an edition of the Secunda Pars Grammaticae³⁰⁴ of 1522, for which the second part, De Accentu,³⁰⁵ was published in 1523.

Closely related to the Vocabula and the Latin-English dictionaries is another work known as a "vulgaria." The "vulgaria" takes its name from the "vulgars," colloquial English sentences or idioms and their Latin equivalents, which the work contained; these "vulgars" the schoolboys were expected to memorize for their day to day conversation in school - for it must be remembered that Latin was taught as a conversational as well as a written language and was used as such on both the grammar school and university levels.³⁰⁶ The earliest Vulgaria is that of Stanbridge which first appeared in a Wynken edition of 1508,³⁰⁷ and which did not see publication by Pynson until 1520³⁰⁸ and 1523.³⁰⁹ The apparent cause of Pynson's publication of Stanbridge's Vulgaria at that relatively late date is somewhat involved and revolves around a series of incidents involving Robert Whittinton, William Lily and William Horman during the period from 1519 through 1521.

As we have already observed in the preceding chapter, at Colet's insistence, a group of scholars which was to eventually include Linacre, Lily, Erasmus and Colet himself worked to produce a series of new Latin grammars for use at St. Paul's School. The fruit of these labors was to eventually become the foundation of Lily's Grammar, the sole authorized grammar for the latter stages of the English Renaissance. The creation of these grammars and their adoption at St. Paul's and Eton would seem to have been taken by Whittinton as a rejection of his own works and to have set the stage for the so-called "grammarian's war."

Whittinton, as we have previously mentioned, was a student of Stanbridge's at Magdalen School and later attended Magdalen College,

Oxford. Although he is generally regarded by modern commentators as arrogant, quarrelsome and somewhat of a hack writer of grammars, it must be pointed out that we tend to be biased in favor of his opponents because of the high regard currently held for their humanistic associations. Although there can be no doubt that Whittinton worked to project an appearance of arrogance through the constant use in his works of his title of "laureate," bestowed on him by Oxford University in 1513,³¹⁰ as well as his use of the self-imposed title of "Protovates Angliae," it must be remembered that he did possess imposing credentials as a grammarian and schoolmaster - having studied under Stanbridge, having served as headmaster of Lichfield School from 1515 and, through the patronage of Wolsey, as tutor to the pages at court from 1519³¹¹ as well as having authored the most popular Latin grammars in use through 1530.

Given this background, it is not altogether surprising that Whittinton decided to launch an attack on Horman, the headmaster of Eton, and Lily, the headmaster of St. Paul's, for rejecting his grammatical efforts in favor of those of the St. Paul's group of grammarians and, in Whittinton's view, attempting to set themselves up as the "censores doctrinae" in the teaching of Latin.³¹² The campaign appears to have been launched in earnest in 1519³¹³ when Whittinton, in the best melodramatic manner, affixed an epigram attacking Herman and Lily to the door of St. Paul's School.

1519 also saw the publication by Pynson of Horman's Vulgaria,³¹⁴ an immense work consisting of some 3000 English sentences with their Latin equivalents.³¹⁵ The fact that the work was apparently written at the urging of William Atwater, Bishop of Lincoln, a graduate of Magdalen College where he had served as Wolsey's tutor, to preserve for posterity

the themes which Horman had orally taught the schoolboys of Eton³¹⁶ was not likely to make the work over-appealing to Whittinton; nor was its introductory epigrams by Robert Aldrich, headmaster of Eton, and John Rightwise, Lily's son-in-law and usher at St. Paul's School³¹⁷ likely to make the work any more palatable in that quarter.

The contract for the work between Pynson and Horman suggests that the work was closely supervised by the latter in both design and printing since it includes such unusual specifications as that the book was to be printed in "thre dyverse letters/ on for the englysh/ an other for the laten/ and the thyrde of greate romayne letter/ for the tytyllys of the booke/ and fyve and thyrty chaptres of the same" and that it be printed "so that the on halfe of the hole summe [of quires] be single quayr, and the other double."³¹⁸ The work itself raises some questions about the degree to which these guidelines were adhered to however since only two types appear to be used for thirty-seven, not the designated thirty-five, chapters.

Although the contract between Horman and Pynson restricted the production of the book to 800 copies (and forbade its reprinting for a period of five years as a condition of its "privilege") which some have presumed were for sale only to Etonians, this is not so small a print run for the period to preclude a more general circulation. Indeed, the popularity of the work seems to have been a prime motivation for Whittinton to produce his own rival Vulgaria which Pynson printed editions of in 1520³¹⁹ and 1526,³²⁰ the first under the supervision of Thomas Bercula.

The main bone of contention between Whittinton and Horman and Lily appears to have been a rather subtle one. Lily and Horman

appear to have followed the lead of Colet and Erasmus in adopting a philosophy which subserviated the teaching of Latin grammar as a set of rules which must be learned by rote and strictly obeyed to a system in which, once the basic rules were understood, the pupils were to learn further by imitation of Latin authors such as Cicero, etc.³²¹ Whittinton, however, argued in his address "Ad lectorem" at the beginning of his Vulgaria against the imitation of authors and in favor of the inculcation of precepts and the study of Latin grammar for its own sake.³²²

This basic difference in viewpoint is reflected in the contents of the three Vulgarias, although not quite in the way which one might expect. The earliest of the works in terms of composition, that of Stanbridge, consists of nothing more than a series of short phrases in English and Latin of the sort that might prove useful in day to day conversational or written Latin. Although Stanbridge's Vulgaria is not closely related to either the work of Horman or that of Whittinton, it seems likely that the controversy involving those two works with a similar title created sufficient interest to warrant Pynson's publication of the Stanbridge work - which his press had previously ignored.

The work by Horman is not nearly so utilitarian since it consists of whole paragraphs on widely varied subjects. To the modern reader the work is much more valuable for the glimpses it gives of the attitudes and practices of the period than as a means to readily learn common phrases in Latin.³²³ Somewhat surprisingly, considering Whittinton's charges, the work makes very little use of classical sources for imitation.

• The work of Whittinton, on the other hand, reflects that author's devotion to the study of Latin grammar for its own sake in its subordina-

tion of providing useful phrases and sentences in Latin and English to using those sentences and phrases to demonstrate various rules of grammar to the point that the presentation of the grammatical rules serves as the organizational principle of the book. Interestingly enough, despite Whittinton's condemnation of the principle of imitation, in the Vulgaria and almost all of Whittinton's other grammatical treatises, each rule is usually accompanied by one or more examples of its usage by a classical writer which is cited as the authority for the rule - thus underlining the essentially ridiculous nature of the "bella causa" in the so-called "war of the grammarians."

The final stage of the verbal combat came in 1521 with the publication by Pynson of attacks on Whittinton by Lily³²⁴ and by Horman³²⁵ each under the title of Antibossicon. The title refers to the fact that Whittinton had apparently adopted the pseudonym "Bossus,"³²⁶ according to Lily as a result of having become enamoured with the "Bosse" or water-tap in the form of a bear which had been erected in Billingsgate by Richard Whittinton during his tenure as Lord Mayor of London,³²⁷ a reference which is picked up in both Antibossicons by a custom-made woodcut (Hodnett no. 1504)³²⁸ portraying a bear, emblematic of Whittinton, being baited by dogs, emblematic of Horman and Lily.

The first of these attacks appears to be that of Lily by himself. This consists of a series of epigrams directed against Whittinton scattered between three main attacks on Whittinton, each of which is termed an "Antibossicon" and each of which is addressed from Lily to Horman. Perhaps the most noteworthy thing about the book, however, is the introduction of the regular use of a comma as a means of punctuation in place of the slashed line used previously to indicate both full and half-stops.

The Antibossicon of Horman is somewhat less scurrilous than that of Lily and appears to deal largely with the controversy set off by Whittinton's publication of a rival Vulgaria to challenge that of Horman. The work consists of an "Antibossicon" addressed to Lily from Horman, followed by an attack by Whittinton on Horman and Horman's Vulgaria, which is refuted in turn by a series of short poems in praise of Horman. The attack is then taken up in a letter from Robert Aldrich, sometime headmaster of Eton, praising Horman and attacking Whittinton. The final large segment of the work consists of the charges of Whittinton and their refutation by Horman set up in a quasi-dialogue format with the charges of Whittinton printed in a rotunda and Horman's answers printed in a roman. As might be expected, the section closes with a long speech by Horman and an epigram.

Related to these works, although not generally recognized as such, is the Epigrammata³²⁹ of John Constable, published by Pynson in 1520.³³⁰ The author of the work was a young Londoner who had studied under Lily at St. Paul's School and under John Plaisted at Byham Hall, Oxford, where he obtained his B.A. in 1511 and his M.A. in 1515.³³¹ As the title suggests, the work is composed of a series of Latin epigrams, most of which are in praise of various people such as More, Lily, Plaisted, Henry VIII and Queen Katherine, but others of which are used to give portraits of Byham Hall and Oxford, while yet others are used for satiric purposes. Among the latter category is one of special interest entitled, "In Bossum Liliomastigen,"³³² which may be rendered in English as "Against Bossus, the whipper of Lily,"³³³ and is, as one might expect, an attack against Whittinton.

In a sense the entire Epigrammata serves as an attack against

Whittinton in that the compositions in flawless Latin on English themes by a pupil of Lily could be taken as a vindication of the St. Paul's method of teaching grammar. That the work was intended to demonstrate this point is made abundantly clear in the typographical note by Bercula³³⁴ which hails the epigrams of Constable along with the Latin rendering of the English passages by Horman in his Vulgaria as exempla of the perfection in Latin composition which may be obtained by Englishmen through the study and imitation of classical authors.

The letter of Bercula is of special interest since it will be remembered that his other letter appears in the Vulgaria of Whittinton, not in that of Horman. One suspects that the "grammarian's war," despite the vituperative nature of some of the verses exchanged, was more in the nature of a humanistic exercise than a serious debate. As we have already noted, the supposedly major differences in the philosophies of Whittinton and his rivals, Lily and Horman, when viewed in the light of their own practices look suspiciously like the contention between the big-enders and little-enders celebrated by Jonathan Swift some centuries later. Moreover, there is every evidence that Whittinton set himself up as the villain and loser in the piece deliberately beginning with his imitation of Luther in nailing his attacks to the door of St. Paul's School, an action which was not likely to put him in a favorable light given the anti-Lutheran mood of the country at the time. Indeed, Whittinton seems to have played the game to the hilt writing his Vulgaria, providing Horman with the statements he was to refute in his Antibossicon and, in apparent reference to his defeat by Lily and Horman, adopting the motto "humiliabat culumtorem" which appears on the title-pages of some of his grammars beginning in 1522.³³⁵

It should be noted that the "grammarians' war" in no way affected the popularity of Whittinton's grammars which Pynson and others continued to issue in profusion. It should also be noted that all the works involved in the "grammarians' war" appear to have been either first or solely issued by Pynson's press which raises the distinct possibility that at least one purpose of the debate was to promote the sale of books from Pynson's press along with the study of Latin grammar.

Regardless of the outcome of the "war," the dispute contributed significantly to the continued emphasis on Latin and humanistic learning in England. Although most of the editions of the classics continued to be produced by the continental printers, Pynson appears to have briefly contemplated entering the field with the first editions published in England of a collected Vergil³³⁶ in 1515 and of Cicero's Philippicae³³⁷ in 1521.

Formerly bound with the Cambridge copy of the Philippicae³³⁸ was an edition of the Praeexercitamenta Interprete Viro Doctissimo³³⁹ of Sophista Aphthonius published by Pynson about 1520. The work, which was edited by the French humanist Gentian Hervet, was a suitable companion for the Philippicae in that it was a treatise on the various Latin rhetorical devices and their usage. It is also of interest in view of the sweeping "privilege" claimed on the title-page which forbade not only the reprinting of the work but the importation of foreign copies of the work by anyone other than Pynson.

One other Latin piece must be mentioned, the L. Lactantii Firmiani Carmen³⁴⁰ published by Pynson in 1522. The work consists of three poems, "De Passione Dominica," "De Resurrectione" and "De Phenice" all attributed to the early church father Lactantius, a poem, "In Laudem

Virginis Deipare Carmen" by Lily and Erasmus's "Institutum Christiani. Hominis, the latter being known only from their mention on the title-page of the imperfect copy which is extant. The fact that the work is prefaced by an introduction by John Rightwise, Lily's son-in-law and successor as headmaster of St. Paul's School, suggests that the work may have been intended for use at that institution where it could be used for instruction both for its literary and Christian values.³⁴¹

As will be noted, many of the humanists and almost all the grammarians attended or were connected with either Magdalen School or Magdalen College, Oxford, at one time or another during their careers. In this connection, we have already noted Pynson's association with George Chastelain, the stationer, who served as bookbinder to Magdalen College from 1507 to 1510, as well as Pynson's association with Whittinton and other alumni of both the school and college. A document preserved at Magdalen College³⁴² suggests that Pynson was on good terms with the college's administration as well as with individual graduates of it.

The document in question concerns a loan of twenty pounds made by John Higden, President of Magdalen College, acting on the college's behalf, to a group composed of Pynson, Richard Sackford and Thomas Drans, both merchant-tailors of London, and Richard Togede, a carpenter of London, on January 25, 1520. Regrettably, nothing more is known about the loan although it seems likely that Thomas Drans was the likely beneficiary of the loan since the endorsement on the back of the document indicates that he repaid the loan. This would suggest that Pynson and the others, all of whom can be presumed to be men of substance capable of making such a loan on their own, were probably passing through Oxford together when the need for the loan occurred; and that not having

the necessary funds with them to make the loan themselves, they, in effect, acted as surety for the loan by taking it out with Drans much like modern day co-signers. That the loan was arranged largely through Pynson's connection with the college is suggested by the fact that Pynson's name is the first to be listed in the document.

As the work of the Tudor grammarians, most of whom came from the afore-mentioned Magdalen, strove to make it possible for Englishmen to render their thoughts in Latin, thus making them accessible to the international humanist movement, a countermovement not unnaturally arose to make the Latin documents of the past and the present available in the English vernacular. In terms of Pynson's press, the movement was reflected in a fairly large number of works, many of them translated by Alexander Barclay; most of which we have mentioned in this and the preceding chapter. As we have already noted, the works translated from Latin and issued by Pynson's press ranged from Plutarch's Quiet of Mind translated by Wyatt and Sallust's Jugurthan War through such curious works as Hetoum's Chronicle and Mancinus's Mirror of Good Manners to Brant's Ship of Fools and the translation of the controversial correspondence between Henry and Martin Luther.

Between these translations, the official works, the legal publications, the involved Latin works of the anti-Lutheran campaign and the problematical large volumes such as the Froissart, Horman's Vulgaria, Tunstall's De Arte Supputandi and Palsgrave's Eclaircissement there was little opportunity left - even considering the apparent size of Pynson's shop - for the production of much literature in the vernacular. Among those items thought to have been printed by Pynson during this final period which have not already been mentioned in this chapter were re-

prints of Aesop's Fables³⁴³ in 1525, Everyman³⁴⁴ in 1527, the Castle of Labor³⁴⁵ in 1525 and Lydgate's Fall of Princes³⁴⁶ in 1527; the latter featuring a whole new set of woodcuts specially made for the edition.³⁴⁷

The remainder of the works published in English by Pynson during this period are somewhat surprisingly all either by Lydgate or Chaucer or are related to their works. Thus around 1520 Pynson appears to have printed the first edition of the Testament of Lydgate.³⁴⁸ The poem which combines autobiographical details with moral reflections might, except for its relatively early date, have served as a fitting finale for Pynson's career - as dated Pynson may have been moved to print the work by the death of his son in 1518 - but this is entirely conjectural.

The second work ascribed to Lydgate which Pynson printed the first edition of during this period is the Chronicle of All the Kings' Names³⁴⁹ of about 1518. As printed by Pynson, the work begins with a prose chronicle of the pre-conquest rulers from Brute to Harold, which is followed by a stanzaic poetic account of the English monarchs from William to the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. It should be obvious from this brief description, despite the ascription of the work by STC2 to Lydgate, that the prose chronicle and the verses on the later monarchs are not the work of Chaucer's contemporary. The portion of the work which is assigned to Lydgate consists of the stanzaic section beginning with the verses on William the Conqueror and ending with either that on Henry VI or Edward IV which have been identified through their appearance in manuscript collections of Lydgate's works; only one of which collections, however, can definitely be put as early as c. 1456.³⁵⁰ Regardless of the authorship of the individual verses, they provide interesting, if sometimes unusual, accounts of the various mon-

archs; thus William Rufus is remembered in them for destroying churches to obtain hunting land; Richard Coeur de Lion is portrayed as having been served saracens' heads at his table and Richard II is noted for the great plenty of his reign.³⁵¹ Not surprisingly, Richard III is dismissed in three lines simply noting that he reigned two years while three stanzas are devoted to the praise of Henry VII.³⁵²

Before going on to a discussion of Pynson's Chaucer, we must briefly examine two other works in the Chaucerian tradition which Pynson also apparently printed during this period - Thomas Alsoppe's "The Breuyate and Shorte Tragycall Hystorie of the Fayre Custance, the Emperours Doughter of Rome"³⁵³ and the anonymous La Conusaunce D'Amours.³⁵⁴ The former of these is a poetic account with the same subject matter as Chaucer's "Man of Law's Tale" and has a concluding "Lenuoy of Thomas Alsoppe" which is our sole means of identifying the author of the piece. Regrettably this is all that can be said about the Custance since it is known only from eight leaves in the British Museum.

La Conusaunce D'Amours is an allegory in the Romance of the Rose tradition with certain affinities to Chaucer's Parliament of Foules and Legend of Good Women as well as to Dunbar's Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo. The work is set in the traditional garden setting with the author-narrator attempting to understand the nature of love and at the same time to attain his own love in the manner of the narrator of the Romance of the Rose. Unlike the narrator of the Romance of the Rose the narrator of La Conusaunce is unsuccessful in both his quests. One presumes that the work is translated from a French original but nothing much seems to be known about the work which is known only from this Pynson edition.³⁵⁵

The last great achievement of Pynson's press in the vernacular was the publication in 1526 of the first attempt at a collected edition of Chaucer's Works, although it was not labeled as such. As published by Pynson the works were composed of a three volume set comprised of the Canterbury Tales,³⁵⁶ the Book of Fame³⁵⁷ and Troilus and Créseyde³⁵⁸ all composed in two columns of 95 textura with 144 textura used for the headings. Although the image of uniformity between the volumes is enhanced by common top and bottom border-pieces on the title-pages of the Canterbury Tales and Book of Fame, those used in the Troilus and Créseyde are different and all three works have different type-page measurements. In this regard, it must also be mentioned that while it is generally assumed the works were all issued together to form the first collected edition of Chaucer, only the Canterbury Tales volume bears a date.

The Canterbury Tales was Pynson's second edition of that work and was published June 4, 1526. The new edition featured a number of new woodcuts, most of which were reverse cuts of those used in the earlier edition,³⁵⁹ but one of which was an entirely different and elaborate cut of the knight.³⁶⁰

As we have already mentioned, the Book of Fame is linked to the Canterbury Tales by common top and bottom border-pieces on the title-pages. In addition to the title-piece, the Book of Fame contains a wide range of Chaucerian and pseudo-Chaucerian works including "The Assemble of Foules," "La Bell Dame Saunz Mercy," "Morall Proverbs of Chrystyne," "The Complaynt of Mary Magdaleyne," "The Letter of Dido to Eneas" and "A Lytell Exortacion Howe Folke Shulde Behave Them selfe in All Com-panye," the latter of which pieces is actually the "Proverbs of Lydgate"

as we are informed by the running-title. Of these works, the title-piece, "Assemble of Foules," "La Bell Dame Sauns Mercy," "Complaynt of Mary Magdaleyne" and "Letter of Dido to Eneas" are all set-off with woodcuts specially made for the volume.³⁶¹

The final volume of the trilogy is the Troilus, which, as we have observed above, is the least uniform of the three. As in the other volumes, each book of the poem is set-off by a new woodcut made specially for the work.³⁶²

Sometime between November 18, 1529³⁶³ and February 1530,³⁶⁴ Pynson died, leaving most of his worldly goods to his daughter Margaret Warde (who shortly after became Margaret Haukyns) and his soul "to almighty god [,] our lady saint mary and all the saints in heven."³⁶⁵ His knell was rung by the bells of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, where he had served as churchwarden and whose curate, Matthew Saunders, was one of the witnesses of his will.³⁶⁶ His body, however, was buried in the churchyard of his former parish church of St. Clement Danes, where, if it has not been unceremoniously disinterred in the succeeding centuries, it lies unmarked beneath the traffic of the Strand which has long since displaced the churchyard.³⁶⁷

Upon Pynson's death, Thomas Berthelet succeeded him as King's Printer,³⁶⁸ while Pynson's shop was apparently taken over by Robert Redman, who, as we have earlier remarked, may have been occupying it along with Pynson for several years prior to Pynson's death. While the bulk of Pynson's printing supplies appear to have passed on to Redman and from him to William Middleton and William Powell, his successors at the George, other material seems to have made its way to Thomas Godfray, Henry Tab, and John Rastell. The work of Pynson's shop was finally com-

pleted on July 18, 1530, after Pynson's death, with the completion of Palsgrave's Eclaircissement by John Haukyns, Pynson's son-in-law.

Unlike his predecessor Caxton and his contemporary Wynken De Worde, Pynson has been largely neglected by the city which he served as printer for and in which he spent most of his life. Not only is there nothing to mark Pynson's last resting place, there is not even so much as one of the otherwise ubiquitous blue plaques to mark either the location of Pynson's shop or the tenement that he owned. Indeed, the only memorial to Pynson that has been encountered in the researching of this study is in New York City where a carved representation of the device (no. 3) which he shared with Redman graces one of the beams of the Morgan Library.

Perhaps it may be argued that Pynson's greatest monument, like that of Christopher Wren, is to be found in his works; the achievements of Pynson are not so massive in size as a St. Paul's, however, and due to their wide dispersal are somewhat harder to assess. While Pynson's accomplishments as the first great legal printer in England and as the foremost producer of fine books of his day have long been recognized, his achievements in the other fields of printing and his general contributions to the furtherance of the printing trade in England have been generally neglected.

Pynson's career, spanning the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, represents a unique blending of the Medieval and Renaissance. Among the mediaeval works which first saw print from Pynson's press may be numbered the first English editions of Mandeville's Travels, Everyman, Dives and Pauper, Bevys of Hampton, Lydgate's Fall of Princes, Governance of Princes and Assembly of the Gods, as well as the first attempt at a

Collected Chaucer. At the same time, Pynson was the first in England to publish a surprising number of classical works including the first editions printed in England of Cicero's Philippicae, the collected works of Terence and Vergil and Linacre's Latin renderings of Proclus's Sphaera and the various works of Galen, and Erasmus's Latin version of Plutarch's De Tuenda Sanitate Bona.

Although generally ignored through comparison with the large output of DeWorde's shop, Pynson's contributions to the field of Latin grammars cannot be summarily dismissed. Although the majority of Pynson's output in the field consisted of later editions of grammars first printed by others, it must be remembered that Pynson was responsible for the first editions of Linacre's Rudimenta Grammatices and De Emendata Structura Latini and Lily's Libellus de Constructione, which was to become the basis of the authorized grammar which was to shape the course of English education through the time of Shakespeare. In addition, it must be remembered that Pynson's publication of the Vulgarias of Whittinton and Horman and the promotion of the "grammarians' war" through the subsequent publication of the Antibossicons of Lily and Horman played no small part in the arousing of interest in the study of Latin in the 1520's.

Perhaps one of the best kept secrets has been Pynson's achievement as a dramatic publisher beginning with his publication of the plays of Terence in 1495 through 1497 and continuing through his first edition of Everyman in 1515. These together with his editions of Remacle's Palamedes and Galfredus Petrus's De Vita Sancti Nicholai, while they may not seem like much, represent a greater output of dramatic works than that turned out by any printer up to Pynson's death.

The importance of Pynson in virtually all fields of printing can perhaps best be made apparent by mentioning just a few of the first editions which he was responsible for - the first work by Savonarola to be printed in England, Barclay's translations of the Ship of Fools and of Sallust's Jugurthan War, Fabyan's Chronicle, Berner's translation of Froissart's Chronicles, Colet's Oratio Habita ad Clerum, Tunstall's De Arte Supputandi, More's Epistola ad Brixium, Constable's Epigrammata, Palsgrave's Lesclaircissement, Skelton's Replycacion and Thomas Wyatt's first published work, his translation of Plutarch's Quiet of Mind. This is not to mention the various works of an official nature such as More's Rossaeus and Baravellus or Henry's Assertio Septem Sacramentorum, the latter of which was probably the most important work ever printed by Pynson since it gained Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith" which is still used by the monarchs of England today.

At least as important as Pynson's publications were the innovations he made in English printing through his constant experimenting with new equipment and techniques. In this regard Pynson may be credited with the first paginated book, the first use of roman type, the first use of catchwords, the first use of Hebrew type, the first use of Greek type which may have been cast in England and possibly the first use of arabic numerals in books published in England. Pynson must also, of course, be credited with the first use of "privilege" in England, but as this was obtained from the Crown, it is not, strictly speaking, Pynson's contribution, although one suspects that he may have played a large part in persuading Henry to adopt the continental system of granting "privileges" for books.

In any event, it is in terms of his "fine printing" as well as his

legal output that Pynson has been largely remembered. If anyone would see Pynson's work epitomized they have only to look at the Morton Missal or the Rylands Sulpitius or any of the copies of the Assertio to see an example of the work of England's first "fine printer."

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FOOTNOTES

¹PRO, ECP, bundle 680, no. 45 and bundle 649, no. 32.

²STC 9269.

³STC did not list an edition ascribed to this year and I have not had an opportunity to check STC2 on this.

⁴Duff, Century, p. 132. Actually Pynson ceased to refer to his shop as being at the Sign of the George after 1523.

STC 9269, a Magna Carta collection has the following colophon: "In parochia sancti Clementis sub intersignio sancti Georgi. cum solerti cura ac diligentia viri Roberti Redman nuprime exaratus. Anno Incarnationis dñice. Millesimo quingentesimo. xxv. nono idus Maii." At that time, despite the claim of printing at the sign of the George, Redman uses Hodnett no. 411, a cut of the Christ child as his sign in the work.

⁵STC 15726.

⁶C. H. Timperley, Dictionary of Printers, p. 246, refers to a 1527 edition of the Magna Carta statute collection containing such an attack. I have not observed this edition or noted the note referred to. One suspects, however, that such an edition probably both existed and was a reprint of an earlier edition in which the original note occurred since Duff, Century, p. 132, refers to there being "several" of these addresses to the reader.

⁷The text of the letter attacking Redman will be found as an appendix. An English rendering of the letter will be found in Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 223-224.

⁸Guildhall MS. 2698/1, fo. 16a: "Item receyued of Richard pynson ffor a hys sonne pytt and knyll - vj. s. viij. d."

⁹Guildhall MS. 2698/1, fo. 51a: "It for the knyll of mystres Pynson - ij s. iiij d." Presumably since only the knell was paid for, Pynson's wife was not buried at St. Dunstan's. It seems likely that she was buried at St. Clement Danes where Pynson himself was later laid to rest.

¹⁰William B. Compton, 6th Marquess of Northampton, History of the Comptons of Compton Wynyates (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1930), p. 23, refers to Henry greeting his sister, Queen Margaret of Scotland, there on Ascension Day 1516.

¹¹Bodleian MS. Gough Middlesex 5, p. 7. The document is referred to by J. Johnson, Typographia, I, p. 412, although he is one of those who has reservations as to whether the "Richard Pynson, Gent." mentioned in Lord Coleraine's manuscript is the same as the printer.

¹²W. Compton, History of the Comptons, p. 23.

¹³Pynson's Will, PRO, PCC, 15 Jankyn.

¹⁴Pretor W. Chandler, "A Short History of the Site of the Law Society's Hall," London & Middlesex Historical Society Transactions, new series, (1929-32), p. 455, which seems to imply that Pynson had the property by 1514. It was located south of the tenement called The Cage which, in turn, was south of Jackanape's Alley.

¹⁵Pynson's Will, PRO, PCC, 15 Jankyn. In addition, Pynson would seem to have had an interest, either on his own or as a church-warden of St. Dunstan's in the West in a tenement known as the Saracen's Head according to PRO, Early Chancery Proceedings, bundle 657, no. 1, an action of ejectment of c. 1529-1532 in which Pynson is mentioned as "late master" (of the Guild of St. Mary?).

¹⁶C. Clair, "Thomas Berthelet, Royal Printer," Gutenberg Jahrbuch: 1966, p. 181, quotes the diary of Henry Machyn: "The sam day was bered master Berthelett sqwyer and prynter unto King Henry; and was bered with pennoh and cote-armur and iij dozen of skochyons and ij whytt branchys and iij gilt candyllstykes, and mony prestes and clarkes, and mony mornars, and all the craftes of prynters, boke-sellers and all stassyoners."

¹⁷Pynson's Will, PRO, PCC, 15 Jankyn.

¹⁸E. G. Duff, "Notes on Stationers from the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1523-24," Library, 2nd series, ~~IX~~ (1908), pp. 257-281.

¹⁹Letters and Papers, (ed. Brewer et al), III, p. 365

²⁰Letters and Papers, (ed. Brewer et al), III, p. 1544

²¹Letters and Papers, (ed. Brewer et al), V, p. 309. STC 7771.

²²Letters and Papers, (ed. Brewer et al), V, p. 311. STC2 7769.5 and STC 7772.

²³STC 7770 and STC 7773.

²⁴STC2 9358.7, STC2 9361.3, STC2 9362.9, STC2 9362.10 and STC 9364.

²⁵Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, pp. 69-74.

²⁶Although some legal works by Pynson which bear this formula have been credited by STC to earlier years, their dates are almost certainly after this.

²⁷STC 19081A.

²⁸Jervis Wegg, Richard Pace: a Tudor Diplomat [hereafter Pace] (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1932), p. 138.

²⁹STC 24320.*

³⁰A copy of the Froben edition is in the Morgan Library. In addition, Renouard, Bibliographie...de Badius Ascensius, vol. 2, p. 45 refers to an undated Ascensius edition conjectured to be 1518 - this would appear to be the official edition published in France.

³¹COA no. 6.

³²Bodleian Library, 4^o T. 20. Th. Seld.

³³Ronald B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students [hereafter Introduction to Bibliography] (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 83, follows Herbert's Ames's Typographical Antiquities, p. 267, in ascribing the earliest use of catchwords in a dated book printed in England to Pynson's 1520 edition of Thomas More's Epistola ad Brixium. As far as my researches have been able to determine the occasional use of catchwords in the In Laudem Matrimonii has gone entirely unnoticed.

³⁴McKerrow, Introduction to Bibliography, pp. 82-83.

³⁵A complete listing of Pynson's usage of catchwords in all books examined will be found in the appendix on catchwords.

³⁶The use of a catchword on the final verso only should have been sufficient to insure that quires were bound in the correct order. One would further think that the presence of a catchword on each verso would also be more than enough of a check to prevent misfolding - particularly in a signed book.

³⁷McKerrow, Introduction to Bibliography, p. 82; Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 53 citing J. Moxon, Mechanick Exercises (London, 1683), pp. 237-8.

³⁸Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 95.

³⁹C. R. Baskervil, "William Lily's Verse for the Entry of Charles V into London," Huntington Library Bulletin, vol. 9 (1936), pp. 1-14. The article notes that Lily was paid five pounds for the work, for which sum Lily was to supply a written copy for the City records. It also notes that John Rastell was apparently responsible for the authorship and performance of the fifth pageant which differed from the others in that it was performed in French and English.

⁴⁰STC 5017.

⁴¹COA no. 5.

⁴²STC 5017, on a2 and a2 v.

On a2^v:

" In dyuers places/as ye shall vnderstande
There was a chylde that stode all alone
Whiche chylde/helde a role in his hande
But what he sayd/ there knewe fewe or none
Wherfore to me / there haue come many one
Demaundyng/ what these same chylde ment
And many I enfourmed of their entent.

.....
What ment the verses/they asken by and by?
And tyll they knowe/with them I haue no rest
And for that I sawe them/ so desirously:
Enquere thereof. I thought it for the best/
The selfe same verse/ to do be emprest
ye/ and farthermore/vnder correction
Of them to make a rude translation.

So bolde I am/ of that maister most humayne
Cleped Lily: his fresshe verse to translate
In to our tonge/out of their ornate vayne
Of pure latyn. To thende that to eche state
Lerned and vnlernd/they shulde be celebrate
And first in latyn/here ye shall them fynde
And after englysshed/ I trust to your mynde.

⁴³STC 11396.

⁴⁴STC 11397.

⁴⁵Plomer, Wynken De Worde, p. 150.

⁴⁶STC 18088.

⁴⁷Thomas More, Responsio ad Lutherum, ed. by John M. Headley
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 776.

⁴⁸Erwin Doernberg, Henry VIII and Luther (Stanford: Stanford
University Press, 1961), p. 3.

⁴⁹E. G. Rupp, "Luther and the German Reformation to 1529," G. R.
Elton, ed., The Reformation: 1520-1529 (Cambridge University Press,
1975), p. 80. Other objectionable points contained in the De Captivi-
tate included Luther's attacks on the withdrawal of the cup from the
Tafel, on the doctrine of transubstantiation and on the clarificial work
of the mass.

⁵⁰Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, pp. 5, 14-16, and 125. Actually
these remarks must be tempered to the extent that the plan for Henry be-
coming Archbishop of Canterbury is known only from Lord Herbert of

Cherbury writing in 1692. Henry's piety before the question of the divorce, while seldom commented on, is evidenced by his gifts to numerous churches.

⁵¹Scarbrick, Henry VIII, p. 115. As we have already noted, as early as 1512, Pope Julius II had been requested to confiscate Louis XII's title of Most Christian King of France and bestow it on Henry; indeed, as we have also remarked, Julius acceded to Henry's wish but only on condition that Henry conquer France. Other unsuccessful attempts to gain a title from the Church occurred in 1515 and 1516.

⁵²Doernberg, Henry VIII and Luther, p. 5. Scarbrick, Henry VIII, p. 110, however, says that Henry first began writing the work in 1518.

⁵³Scarbrick, Henry VIII, p. 110.

⁵⁴STC 13078.

⁵⁵Scarbrick, Henry VIII, p. 112.

⁵⁶Scarbrick, Henry VIII, p. 111 citing Brewer et al, Letters and Papers, vol. 3, p. 1233, a letter from Pace to Wolsey.

⁵⁷Scarbrick, Henry VIII, p. 111.

⁵⁸Scarbrick, Henry VIII, p. 111, citing Brewer et al, Letters and Papers, vol. 3, pp. 1450 and 1510, letters from Wolsey to John Clerk.

⁵⁹E. G. Duff, "The Assertio Septem Sacramentorum," Library, 2nd series, ix (1909), p. 8. Only five vellum copies are currently known. Four of these copies are in the Vatican and the fifth (the only one which I have personally viewed) is in the Rylands but is thought to have originally been in the Vatican as well.

⁶⁰Scarbrick, Henry VIII, p. 113.

⁶¹STC 13079.

⁶²Duff, "Assertio," p. 11.

⁶³Duff, "Assertio," p. 10 asserts that the supplements were printed in 1521 - which on the surface seems to be a logical assertion since they are always found bound with copies of the 1521 edition of the Assertio; however the date proves to be impossible for the supplements because the Epistola Regiae ad Illustrissimos Saxoniae Duces Piedmonitoria which comprises the second supplement and which is mentioned on the title-page of the first supplement was not written until 1523. STC and STC2 do not differentiate between copies of the 1521 Assertio which contain the supplements and those that do not.

⁶⁴Conferred October 11, 1521.

- 65 Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 113.
- 66 Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 114.
- 67 STC 18088.5.
- 68 More, Responsio ad Lutherum, ed. by Headley, p. 798.
- 69 More, Responsio ad Lutherum, ed. by Headley, pp. 833-34 & 797.
- 70 STC 18089.
- 71 More, Responsio ad Lutherum, ed. by Headley, pp. 833-34.
- 72 More, Responsio ad Lutherum, ed. by Headley, p. 839.
- 73 Neelak Serawlook Tjernagel, Henry VIII and the Lutherans (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), p. 24.
- 74 STC 20140.
- 75 STC 24739.
- 76 STC 24728.
- 77 STC 24729 on a^v.
- 78 James Hastings, ec., Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), vol. 12, pp. 158-160.
- 79 Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 114. Doernberg, Henry VIII and Luther, pp. 49-50.
- 80 Doernberg, Henry VIII and Luther, p. 53 claims Henry's reply was delayed because Luther's letter was mislaid - apparently by Thomas More. Doernberg also questions whether Henry's reply was actually written by Henry, Vives or someone else.
- 81 STC 13084.
- 82 STC 13085.
- 83 STC 13086.
- 84 STC 13087. There appears to be at least one more edition involved that STC missed.
- 85 Arthur W. Reed, "The Regulation of the Book Trade before the Proclamation of 1538" [hereafter "Regulation of the Book Trade"], Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, xv (1917-1919), pp. 159-161.
- 86 Reed, "Regulation of the Book Trade," pp. 162-163. The only ones present whose names survive were Nicholas Sutton and Thomas Kellys.

- ⁸⁷Reed, "Regulation of the Book Trade," pp. 170-171.
- ⁸⁸Bennett, English Books, pp. 30-31.
- ⁸⁹Evelyn May Albright, "Notes on the Status of Literary Property, 1500-1545," [hereafter "Notes on Literary Property"], MP, xvii (1919), p. 79.
- ⁹⁰Albright, "Notes on Literary Property," p. 81.
- ⁹¹R. R. Bowker, Copyright: Its Law and Its Literature (New York: The Publisher's Weekly, 1886), p. 4.
- ⁹²STC 19166.
- ⁹³Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts," p. 369; another provision was that Palsgrave or his assigns be allowed to correct the proofs.
- ⁹⁴Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts," pp. 370-371; Brewer et al, Letters & Papers, vol. 3, item 3015.
- ⁹⁵Simon, Education and Society, p. 98.
- ⁹⁶STC 19166, pp. A2-A4, "The Authour's Epistell to the kynges grace."
- ⁹⁷STC 4186.
- ⁹⁸STC 4186, p. A1.
- ⁹⁹DNB indicates he was chaplain to Henry VIII. The dedication to Mary is all the more ironic since the DNB also indicates that it was under Mary that he lost all of his offices.
- ¹⁰⁰Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 152.
- ¹⁰¹STC2 20058.5.
- ¹⁰²STC2 20058.5 on a3.
- ¹⁰³Patricia Thomson, Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Background (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁴STC 21626.
- ¹⁰⁵STC 21627.
- ¹⁰⁶Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, p. 52.
- ¹⁰⁷STC 21626, p. A1.
- ¹⁰⁸A. M. Kinghorn, The Chorus of History: Literary-Historical Relations in Renaissance Britain, 1485-1558 (London: Blandford Press, 1971), p. 113.

109^{STC} 17242.

110^{STC2} 17242.5.

111 The references by Barclay to Alington's patronage are on A1, A3-A5^v and H7 of both editions. The problem of whether or not Alington originally requested Barclay to make an English translation of Gower's Confessio Amantis for which this work was substituted derives from Barclay's statement on A3 that:

Right honorable Master ye me required late,
A Louers confession abridging to amende,
And from corrupte Englishe in better to translate...

This has apparently been taken to refer to the Confessio Amantis since 1840 when Warton put forth this view in his History of English Poetry; Nelson, in his edition of Barclay's Life of St. George, pp. xiv-xv, points out however, and with some justification, that this passage may actually be only a reworking of Mancinus' own preface and may not refer to Barclay's relations with Alington at all.

112 On H8 of both editions we learn that the book was printed at "the instance and request" of the Earl of Kent. Pynson had, of course, been associated with the Earl of Kent since 1507 when he served as one of the attorneys to convey seisin for the Earl in a land transfer.

113^{STC} 17241, which is the number assigned to both the English and Latin versions - both of which I have some reservations about ascribing to Pynson's press - at least without better typographical knowledge on my part.

114^{STC} 1967.

115^{STC} 1966.

116^{STC} 13256.

117^{STC} 13256, A1.

118 Thompson, History of Historical Writing, vol. 1, p. 333.

119 Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, pp. 119-123.

120 J. R. Lander, Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth Century England (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1969), p. 109.

121 Plomer, "Notices of English Stationers," p. 17, citing Reperitory 8, fo. 11 under 10 December, 20 Henry VIII: "Item, At this writ it is agreed that the Chamberleyn shall by his discreccion agre with Ric. Pynson, the king's boke prynter, for certayn bills and other proclamations, whereof the summe that he demaundeth by his bill amounteth to xxxij s. ij d., that not withstanding he must be contented with less."

¹²²Rhodes, "Some Documents," pp. 53-57. Letters & Papers, ed. Brewer et al, Item 3015.

¹²³Guildhall MS. 2698/1, fo. 30^v: "paid on new masse books vnto Richard pynson - v s."

¹²⁴Guildhall MS. 2698/1, fo. 46: "Ffirst paid to pynson for ij grete bokes --- iij li. vj. s. vii. d."

¹²⁵STC 16202.

¹²⁶E. G. Duff, English Printing on Vellum to the End of the Year 1600 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press for the Bibliographical Society of Lancashire, 1902), p. 10. Pynson, it will be remembered had known Rede and had acted as attorney to convey seisin in a land transfer in which Rede was involved - see chapter 3.

¹²⁷STC 15915.

¹²⁸STC 15933.

¹²⁹STC 16262.

¹³⁰STC2 16224.5.

¹³¹STC 23954.

¹³²STC 14807.

¹³³STC 3506.

¹³⁴McConica, English Humanists, p. 104.

¹³⁵STC 3506, sig. s2.

¹³⁶Barclay, Eclogues, ed. B. White, p. xxx, citing Wood's Athenae Oxonienses.

¹³⁷St. Werburge is dated and St. Radegunde has generally been assigned the same date.

¹³⁸See F. Brittain, Saint Radegund, Patroness of Jesus College, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press, 1925) and Brittain, ed., The Lyfe of Saynte Radegunde (Cambridge University Press, 1926).

¹³⁹Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. Herbert, I; p. 294.

¹⁴⁰The pieces involved are STC 16790, STC 16791, STC 16793, STC2 16793.5 and STC 16797. The complexities of the problems surrounding these items preclude any further discussion of them here. See Herbert, Typographical Antiquities, vol. 1, pp. 241, 267, 281 and 294; Dibdin, Typographical Antiquities, vol. 2, p. 560; S. R. Maitland, A List of Some of the Early Printed Books in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth (London: Blades, 1843), pp. 230-232.

¹⁴¹STC 3277. The Morgan copy (W 14 B 5007) is of some interest in that it appears to have been presented by Henry VIII to Lord Somerset.

¹⁴²Pynson's edition does not mention the author's name. The attribution apparently comes via Richard Whitford, the "Old Wretch of Syon" in Redman's edition of his Daily Exercise and Experience of Death according to Herbert, Typographical Antiquities, vol. 1, p. 183 and 275.

¹⁴³"The declaracyon of the Starre of Grace" states that it belongs in the sixth chapter of the second book; the "tree of grace" is mentioned in the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the second book and "therefore it shulde haue ben set after the .xvi. chapiter of the seconde boke."; the "declaracion of the tre of Uyce/ which shulde stande in the thyrde-boke/ after the nynth chapiter of the fyrst day."

¹⁴⁴STC 14571.

¹⁴⁵Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 179.

¹⁴⁶The date assigned by STC2 is 1510; this is clearly in error however, since device 3 is used in the work and is not known to have appeared in any book dated or assigned to the period between 1499 and 1521. I assign it to the latter date on the basis of the appearance in the work of an initial "E" [FWD] first found in a dated work of 1522 but possibly used as early as 1520. If the connection with Berthelet is correct then one should probably assign the work a year or two later to 1522 or 1523.

¹⁴⁷STC 19816.

¹⁴⁸Edward Soppeth, the editor of the work, was an Augustinian who apparently took his B.D. at Oxford and died April 21, 1527.

¹⁴⁹Strickland Gibson, "The Protocollum of Thomas Berthelet," Library, 5th series, I (1946), pp. 47-49. Colin Clair, "Thomas Berthelet," p. 178. Although STC listed STC 5399 as having been printed by Berthelet in 1522, this is clearly in error since the colophon of the work indicates that Berthelet was King's Printer at the time that work was printed.

¹⁵⁰E. G. Duff, "Pynson and Bercula," p. 300.

¹⁵¹C. Davenport, Thomas Berthelet, Royal Printer and Bookbinder to Henry VIII (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1901), does not cite any of Pynson's material among Berthelet's stock; nor is there any mention of Pynson material in W. W. Greg, "Notes on the Types, Borders, etc. Used by Thomas Berthelet," Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, VIII (1906), pp. 187-220. Although McKerrow and Ferguson, Title-Page Borders, list no. 19 in both works assigned to Pynson and to Berthelet, it

should be pointed out that the work ascribed to Pynson was one of the Longland pieces and apparently printed after Pynson's death by Redman.

¹⁵²STC 11719.

¹⁵³Constance W. Bouck, "On the Identity of Papyrius Geminus Eleates," Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, II (1954-1958), pp. 352-358. The basic argument as to the name is that "Eliates" is the surname as indicated by the running-title, "P. G. Eliates Lectori," in the Propugnaculum and that this would appear to be a latinized form of Elyot; the seemingly somewhat strained equation of "Geminus" with "Thomas" is taken directly from Elyot's Latin-English Dictionary of 1538; the "Papyrius" is taken to be a descriptive term referring to Elyot's position as Clerk of Assizes from 1511 to 1522.

¹⁵⁴Clair, "Thomas Berthelet," p. 179.

¹⁵⁵STC 11005.

¹⁵⁶STC 10994.

¹⁵⁷See R. H. C. Fitzherbert, "The Authorship of the 'Book of Husbandry' and the 'Book of Surveying'", English Historical Review, April 1897, pp. 1-12, for a summary of the problems surrounding the authorship of the work.

¹⁵⁸Roughly the first seventeen chapters are concerned with legal aspects of estates; the latter chapters deal more with estate management. For other possible sources for the work see Walter of Henley and Other Treatise on Estate Management and Accounting, ed. Dorothea Oschinsky (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 67, 70, 143, 163 and 187.

¹⁵⁹STC 11006, a4-a4^v.

¹⁶⁰STC 11008, STC 11010 and STC 11011.

¹⁶¹STC 11006. Actually the verses may have originally been present but suppressed from this edition since a1 and a4 are lacking in both the Cambridge (Syn. 7.52.30) and Bodleian (C.9.3. Linc.) copies. The verses have been copied from the first Pynson edition in Redman's 1535 edition, William Copeland's 1555 edition (printed by R. Kele) and Middleton's 1548 edition.

¹⁶²This is based on the date assigned by me to the Sancti Nicholai which might not actually have been printed until 1522 or 1523 as already noted - so the association could conceivably have been limited to that latter year only.

¹⁶³Duff, "Pynson and Bercula," p. 299 summarizes the question raised by Blades in 1881 of Bercula's identity and Henry Steven's reply in "Dibdenesque" fictitious dialogue equating Berthelet with Bercula in 1886.

¹⁶⁴This is the date assigned by STC; it could be a year later.

165^{STC} 5639.

166^{STC} 25570.

167^{STC2} 25577.5, formerly ^{STC} 25575.

168^{STC} 9516.

169^{STC} 9517 which is currently thought to actually be the sheets of ^{STC} 9516 with some additions in the form of preliminary gatherings.

170^{Duff}, "Pynson and Bercula," p. 301.

171^{W. Carew Hazlitt}, Bibliographical Collections and Notes: Third and Final Series: Second Supplement (London: 1892), p. 66 describes the work as 40: A-B⁴ c-d⁴ with the colophon, "Ex officina Richardi Pynsonis/ nonis Septembris. Cum privilegio a rege indulto." on d4^v.

172^{Miss Pantzer} in a letter of March 9, 1974 responded to my query about the Duff reference that she thought Duff must have nodded on this matter and become confused by the British Museum copy (C.57.c.9/2) which has the Epigrammata bound following a copy of Pizarchus's Oratio printed in Basel c. 1522. I suspect that Duff may actually simply have been taking his information from Hazlitt. The description of Hazlitt includes references to a series of epigrams as well as to the typographical note which makes it almost certain that what he is actually describing is a copy of the first two gatherings of the Oratio which has been bound with the third and fourth gatherings of Pynson's Epigrammata immediately following thus creating a ghost Pynson edition of Pizarchus's Oratio. The whereabouts of this composite volume which Hazlitt described as being in an old library in Devonshire is apparently currently unknown.

173^{Duff}, "Pynson and Bercula," p. 300.

174^{Duff}, "Pynson and Bercula," p. 301. It seems more likely that the actual import of all of these terms was to recognize that the works were the work of Pynson's establishment - rather than a one man operation; however, too much can be made of this point since it is highly unlikely that the works signed "per me R. Pynson" were all personally supervised by Pynson.

175^{This} strange designation is used only in the 1520 and 1526 editions of Whittinton's Vulgaria, ^{STC} 25570 and ^{STC2} 25577.5. At the same time Pynson used the term "regij calcographij" in the 1512 Palamades (^{STC2} - 735.7) and the 1516 Guillermus (^{STC2} 12512.5).

176^{This} designation is used in the 1509 edition of the Ship of Fools (^{STC} 3545), the 1520 editions of the Epigrammata (^{STC} 5639), Whittinton's De Nominum Generibus (^{STC2} 25479.15) and Year Book - Ed. III, 38, (^{STC} 9576) and the 1524 and 1526 editions of Stanbridge's Multorum Vocabulorum (^{STC2} 23181.9 and ^{STC2} 23182.3).

177 This term is first used in the 1513 edition of Plutarch's De Sanitate (STC 20060). It is also used in a Year Book - Edward III, 47 (Hilary term) (STC 9553) ascribed to 1518. Between 1520 and 1528 it is used in at least forty-one books.

178 This raises the interesting possibility that Pynson had a female member of his printing establishment since a bequest of twenty shillings to "Alice(?) Smyth, my servant" follows those to Snowe and Withers in Pynson's will. It should be noted that I may be wrong in my deciphering of the first name however.

179 PRO, ECP, bundle 680, item 45 and bundle 649, item 32.

180 Dr. Doyle's note indicates that the volume in question is Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, Bb.6.6; a composite volume made up of Liber Duodecim Prophetarum printed in Paris by J. Marchant for P. Bequitier in 1509, Regimen Sanitatis Salerni printed by D. Rose, and an Epistole printed by J. Lambert. The inscription appears on the verso of the last leaf of this latter work.

181 Pynson's Will, PRO, PCC, Jankyn 15.

182 Since both Tab and Kele were among those mentioned as stationers in attendance for Tunstall's admonition of 1526 and since Kele is also known to have been one of the subtenants of John Rastell's Mermaid in the same year, it is clear that both Tab and Kele must have served under Pynson beginning sometime c. 1517 or 1518 so as to have completed their eight years' service by 1526.

183 Henry Tab's chancery bill (bundle 680, item 45) had to be filed sometime after November 1529 when More became Chancellor and before February 1530 by which time Pynson had died. Kele's bill (bundle 649, item 32), on the other hand, had to be filed after February 1530 since it refers to problems caused by Pynson's heirs after his death.

184 Duff, Century, p. 84.

185 Duff, Century, p. 155.

186 An example will be found on A8^v of STC 22598, Certayne Bokes by Skelton. The initial "I" with the nick in the top is almost certainly Pynson's. The "R" and "L" on D8^v also appear to be Pynson. The "T" on B4^v appears to be a copy of the Pynson set of initials however.

187 STC 5068.

188 STC 1911, STC 3186 and STC 10489.

189 Duff, Century, p. 56.

190 Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 323.

191 Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 344.

¹⁹²McKerrow and Ferguson, Title-Page Borders, pp. 7-8.

¹⁹³Frank Isaac, English Printer's Types of the Sixteenth Century, p. 15.

¹⁹⁴This is sheer speculation on my part - however it would be logical that if Pynson were inform during his latter years extra help would be needed to produce some of his output of books and some of them may well have been farmed out. The fact that most of Godfray's works are only speculatively assigned their dates raises the distinct possibility that at least some of them may have been printed during Pynson's lifetime and using material belonging to Pynson.

¹⁹⁵Duff, Century, p. 3.

¹⁹⁶STC 24764.

¹⁹⁷Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 99, 338, 349-351 and 357.

¹⁹⁸Duff, Century, pp. 175-176. Although Duff says Wyer commenced to print c. 1529-1530, he was actually in business by 1526 since he is among those mentioned as being present for Tunstall's admonition of that year. It should be noted however that Timperley in his Dictionary, p. 252, indicates that Richard Faques was printing at the sign of St. John the Evangelist in the same location in 1530 - if he were there a year or two earlier (which is not impossible) it is conceivable that the edition was printed for him rather than for Wyer.

¹⁹⁹I suspect the dating of the work for STC2 was based on attributing the work to having been for sale by Wyer and then taking Duff's statement that Wyer commenced printing in 1529-1530 to give a date for the work of 1529-1530; since we know Wyer was actually in business by 1526, the work could actually be that early.

²⁰⁰STC 22899.

²⁰¹STC 22899, on A4^v.

²⁰²Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry, p. 408.

²⁰³STC 15933.

²⁰⁴Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 322; Ronald B. McKerrow, Printers' and Publishers' Devices (London: Bibliographical Society, 1949), device no. 68, p. 24.

²⁰⁵The tentative STC date of a Richard III, 1. The first dated Redman year book is a Henry VI, 3 dated 1527 - but as noted further in the text above the work is thought to be misdated. The next Redman year book recorded in STC was 1534, and it is possible that none of his year books were printed until after Pynson's death.

206^{STC 9553, STC 9590, STC 9591, STC 9592, STC 9593, STC 9596, STC 9597, STC 9617, STC 9624, STC2 9636.5, STC 9651, STC 9598, STC 9826, STC 9839, STC 9871, STC 9930; STC 9576, STC 9595, STC 9658, STC 9669, STC2 9784.7, STC2 9790.7, STC 9820, STC2 9839.8, STC 9851, STC 9865, STC 9883, STC 9561, STC 9611a, STC 9833, STC 9845, STC 9931, STC 9945, STC 9681, STC 9738, STC 9756; STC 9856; STC 9750, STC 9764, STC2 9889.5, STC 9896.}

207^{STC2 15725.5.}

208^{STC 15726.}

209^{STC 15728.}

210^{STC 9268.}

211^{I have observed copies of this slip (presumably originally pasted in) inserted before the final leaf of the final gathering in the Huntington (17688) and Rylands (R14991) copies of the work. The colophon it is intended to replace on A10 reads:}

¶ Ad laudem ⁊ gloria cūipotēst ac beate
virginis marie totaq; celestis caria
Paru⁹ codex q; Antiqua Statuta vocatur
Explicit. Lodoñ cum solerti cura ac
diligētia prudētissimi yiri honestissimo
Richardi Pynson (Regis ipressor espēissim⁹)
ruprime exarat. Anno Incarnatiōis dñice.
Millesimo quingētesimo .xix. tercio id⁹
Septēbris.

As will be observed the date has also been changed between the two colophons - the purpose for that alteration is not readily apparent unless it is to give the illusion that Pynson issued two 1519 editions with the May one carrying privilege with it.

212^{STC2 9269.5.}

213^{Ames, Typographical Antiquities, ed. Herbert, I, p. 306.}

214^{STC 18389.}

215^{STC 18389, on A1.}

216^{F. A. Inderwick, Inner Temple, pp. 28, 93, 96, 131 and 182, established that Chidley was a member of the Inner Temple before 1513, was in attendance at the Parliament of the Inner Temple in 1529 and was to serve as a governor of the Inner Temple from 1542 through 1544, 1546 through 1547 and from 1555 through 1565.}

217^{Pynson's Will, PRO, PCC, Jankyn 15.}

218^{STC 18390.}

²¹⁹STC 9516.

²²⁰See the letter reproduced in the appendix on Bercula.

²²¹STC 9517.

²²²STC 9519. See Cowley, "Abridgements of the Statutes," pp. 135-136.

²²³STC 9632.

²²⁴STC 18391. The work has in it an initial "D" portraying a praying man which appears to have been used to identify a number of unsigned indulgences as having been printed by Pynson. The possibility that this initial may have been misassigned to Pynson on the basis of a composite Redman-Pynson year book of Edward IV, 9 in which the initial appears in the Redman portion (the signed portion being that by Pynson) and the ensuing confusion created by this work is a prime consideration in my generally avoiding the problems of the indulgences in this dissertation.

²²⁵Guildhall MS. 2698/1, fo. 62a: "Item paid to Robert Redman and Richard Tony wardyns of the Rood light for their brekfast --- viij s." "Item paid to the same wardeyns for the pascall at Ester --- iij s vj d."

²²⁶STC2 23879.5.

²²⁷STC 23880.

²²⁸STC 20896.

²²⁹STC2 18362:5.

²³⁰STC 812.

²³¹STC 14867.

²³²STC 10946.

²³³STC 6299 measuring 85 (180) x 295 (298) (sig.).

²³⁴STC 22609.

²³⁵Robert S. Kinsman, "The Printer and Date of Publication of Skelton's 'Agaynste a Comely Coystrowne' and 'Dyuers Balettys'", HLQ, xvi (1953), p. 204. This is the most likely date of publication because of Wolsey's campaign against heretics. Certainly the work cannot be later than early 1529 because the fall of Wolsey and deaths of both Skelton and Pynson all occurred in that year.

²³⁶Tucker Brooke, The Renaissance (1500-1660) (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), p. 350, remarked that the campaign of supplication had begun as early as 1523 with the dedications to Wolsey of

The Garland of Laurel and The Doughty Duke of Albany.

237 Hogrefe, Thomas More Circle, p. 26. Linacre became Royal Physician c. 1509.

238 The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: an Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481-1555 [hereafter Thought and Culture], ed. Elizabeth M. Nugent (Cambridge at the University Press, 1956), p. 16.

239 C. D. O'Malley, "Tudor Medicine and Biology," HLQ, XXXII (1968-1969), p. 3.

240 STC 11536.

241 Richard J. Durling, "A Chronological Census of Renaissance Editions and Translations of Galen," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 24 (1961), p. 253.

242 STC2 11531.5.

243 STC 11532.

244 STC 11534.

245 STC 11533.

246 STC 11535.

247 Durling, "Chronological Census of Galen," p. 242; O'Malley, "Tudor Medicine and Biology," p. 3.

248 STC2 20398.3.

249 Nugent, Thought and Culture, p. 17.

250 STC2 20398.3, A2-A2^v.

251 STC 24319.

252 Charles Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstall [hereafter Tunstall] (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938), pp. 10-13; Nugent, Thought and Culture, p. 48.

253 Sturge, Tunstall, p. 8.

254 STC 24319, A2-A3.

255 The term involved in STC 24319, A2, is "argētarijs" which I would think most logically rendered silversmiths; however, S. K. Heninger, Jr., "Tudor Literature of the Physical Sciences" [hereafter "Physical Sciences"], HLQ, XXXII (1968-1969), p. 108, refers to those involved as "goldsmiths" and the handy translation of the letter by James Edward Tobin in Thought and Culture, ed. Nugent, pp. 49-50, renders the term as "usurers."

256 Thomas More, The Essential Thomas More, edited by J. Greene and John P. Dolan, translated by John P. Dolan (Toronto: New American Library, 1967), p. 29, renders the passage in question as:

My colleague on this mission was the incomparable Cuthbert Tunstall, who, to everyone's satisfaction, had recently been appointed Master of the Rolls. I will not try to praise him, not simply because the world would discount such praise from a close friend, but because his fine qualities and learning defy description. His fame is so widespread that praising him would be, as they say, like lighting up the sun with a candle.

257 R. W. Chambers, Thomas More (London: Jonathan Cape, 1948), p. 197.

258 Heninger, "Physical Sciences," p. 108.

259 Heninger, "Physical Sciences," p. 108.

260 Sturge, Tunstall, p. 76.*

261 Wegg, Pace, p. 8.

262 Wegg, Pace, p. 266. Actually the return may be as early as 1525.

263 Wegg, Pace, p. 273.

264 Wegg, Pace, p. 275.

265 STC 19082.

266 The date is apparently based on the state of McKerrow and Ferguson no. 7 which is identical with the state in the Whittinton Vulgaria of 1525-1526 (STC2 25577.5), this only establishes the earliest date in which the book could have been published, however. Since the only other evidence present are the 80 roman and 114 roman types the work could have been printed anytime from 1526 until Pynson's death - or possibly even after 1529 if the work was printed by someone else (which is possible since the work has neither device nor colophon). If the work did come from Pynson's press, it is more likely to have appeared in 1527 at the earliest since it logically was the result of Pace's intensive study of Hebrew in that year.

267 STC 19082, a small Hebrew type is used throughout and a larger Hebrew type is used for two lines on F4^v.

268 Simon, Education and Society, pp. 18-19.

269 STC 15634.

²⁷⁰As Carter, View of Early Typography, p. 112, points out, the first Greek type to be printed in England was some obtained from the continent which was used by Siberch in 1521. Isaac, English Printers' Types of the Sixteenth Century, p. 4, noted the typographical note which follows and took it to mean that Pynson cast his own Greek types. The note, from STC 15634, ²⁷¹V, reads:

LECTORI. S.

²⁷²P³RO TVO CANDORE OPTIME lector aequo animo feras,
si quae litterae in exemplia Hellenimmi uel tonis,
uel spiritibus, uel affectionibus careant. Ijs
enim non satis erat instructus typographus uidelicet
recens ab eo fuis characteribus graecis, nec
parata ea copia, quo ad hoc agendum opus est.
Praeterea to exoratum esse uelim, ut prius corrigas
utitia impressoris, quae infra sequuntur, quam
hunc librum perlegere incipias. Vale.

It should be noted that a smaller Greek also appears in Pace's Praefatio (STC 19082).

²⁷¹STC 15636 and STC 15637.

²⁷²Eloise L. Pafort, "Tudor Grammars," in Thought and Culture, p. 109.

²⁷³STC 15636 on A1^V. One cannot say if the dedication was present in STC 15637 since the unique surviving copy lacks gathering a.

²⁷⁴STC 23181.

²⁷⁵STC2 23181.9.

²⁷⁶STC2 23182.3.

²⁷⁷I have not viewed a copy of the 1519 edition although the notes for STC2 indicate it was edited by Barclay. STC2 23181.9 and STC2 23182.3 both feature a Latin " Alexander Barclay ad lectorem" on D4^V.

²⁷⁸STC2 23148.4 which was corrected by Whittinton.

²⁷⁹STC2 23159a.5.

²⁸⁰STC2 23168.3.

²⁸¹STC2 25479.15.

²⁸²STC 25485.

²⁸³STC2 25486.7.

²⁸⁴STC2 25489.3.

²⁸⁵STC2 25446.5.

- 286^{STC} 25450.
- 287^{STC} 25451.
- 288^{STC2} 25461.5.
- 289^{STC} 25465.
- 290^{STC2} 25468.5.
- 291^{STC} 25471.
- 292^{STC2} 25545.5.
- 293^{STC2} 25547.3.
- 294^{STC} 25549.
- 295^{STC2} 25552.5.
- 296^{STC} 25561.
- 297^{STC2} 25562.7.
- 298^{STC2} 25564.4.
- 299^{STC} 25502.
- 300^{STC2} 25505.5.
- 301^{STC2} 25527.8.
- 302^{STC} 25529.
- 303^{STC} 25532.
- 304^{STC} 25517.
- 305^{Formerly STC 25516, now listed as part 2 of STC 25517.}
- 306^{Pafort, "Early Tudor School-Books," p. 233.}
- 307^{Pafort, "Early Tydor School-Books," p. 234 notes the copy was not recorded in STC.}
- 308^{STC2} 23196a.2.
- 309^{STC2} 23196a.4.
- 310^{The Vulgaria of John Stanbridge and the Vulgaria of Robert Whittinton [hereafter Vulgaria], ed. Beatrice White (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., and Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1932) E.E.T.S., old series}

no. 187, p. xxii, citing Boase, Register of the University of Oxford, I, p. 299.

311 Thought and Culture, ed. Nugent, pp. 126-127.

312 Richard S. Sylvester, "The 'Man for All Seasons' Again," HLQ, vol. 32 (1968-1969), p. 148.

313 Sylvester, "Man for All Seasons," p. 148. Thought and Culture, ed. Nugent, p. 127, however, says the verses were not nailed up until 1521.

314 STC 13811.

315 Vulgaria, ed. White, p. xxv. I did not count the sentences myself.

316 STC 13811, ♣ 2-♣ 7.

317 STC 13811, ♣ 1^v and ♣ 7^v-♣ 3.

318 Furnivall, "Pynson's Contracts," p. 364.

319 STC 25570.

320 STC 25577.5, formerly STC 25575.

321 Bennett, English Books, pp. 87-88.

322 Vulgaria, ed. White, p. xxvii. STC 25570, on A1^v and A2.

323 For example, on N8, under the heading, "De Scolasticis," is found the information that the best and most expensive paper is "papyr imperyall" after which is "papyr royall" and that these are the only grades of paper that will bear ink on both sides. The fact that these names appear to be applied to grades of paper rather than just the size of the sheets appears to have escaped the attention of some modern writers on the paper used by the early printers such as Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, p. 73.

324 STC 15606.

325 STC 13807.

326 Vulgaria, ed. White, p. xxvii, adds that it is obviously derived from "bos" and "sus," which my dictionary not so obviously renders as "ox" and "pig" respectively.

327 Vulgaria, ed. White, p. xxviii, this is the derivation according to Lily.

328 Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 347.

329STC 5639.

330The date given is that on the title-page and may indicate the year the work was written rather than the date of publication.

331D²NB; vol. 12, p. 36.

332STC 5639, on d2.

333Hoyt Hopewell Hudson, The Epigram in the English Renaissance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), p. 86.

334STC 5639, d4, reproduced in the appendix on Bercula.

335The motto is used on all Pynson editions of the Verborum Præterita et Supina commencing with the 1522 edition (STC 25561), and the De Nominum Generibus, De Nominum Declinatione and Syntaxis commencing with the 1523 editions (STC 25485, STC 25450 and STC 25549, respectively).

336STC 24787.

337STC 5311.

338Cambridge (LE.20.47).

339STC 699.

340STC 15118.

341Simon, Education and Society, pp. 73-76.

342Magdalen College, Oxford.

343STC2 177.7, I have grave reservations about the lateness of the date assigned however.

344STC2 10604.5.

345STC 12382, see the discussion on the possibility that this is from a shared edition in chapter three.

346STC 3176.

347Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 389-391, Hodnett nos. 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959 and 1961.

348STC 17035, formerly assigned by STC to 1515, but clearly after 1518 because device 44 is used.

349STC2 9983.3.

350The Historical Collection of a Citizen of London in the Fif-

teenth Century, ed. James Gairdner (Westminster: Nichols and Sons for the Camden Society, 1876), p. xvi.

351STC2 9983.3, on B1^v, B2 and B2^v.

352STC2 9983.3, on B3 and B3^v.

353STC2 538.5.

354STC 5631.

355George Watson, ed., The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature: Volume 1 600-1660 (Cambridge at the University Press, 1974), col. 1095, merely lists this edition.

356STC 5086.

357STC 5088.

358STC 5096.

359Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 364-367, Hodnett nos. 1642, 1643, 1647, 1652, 1654, 1656, 1660, 1667 and 1668.

360Hodnett, English Woodcuts, p. 389, Hodnett no. 1943.

361Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 319, 345-347 and 389, Hodnett nos. 1326, 1494, 1500, 1502 and 1944.

362Hodnett, English Woodcuts, pp. 361-362, Hodnett nos. 1628, 1629 and 1630.

363The date of Pynson's will.

364The date Pynson's will was probated and Berthelet received his first annuity of 4 as King's Printer.

365Pynson's Will, PRO, PCC, 15 Jankyn.

366Guildhall MS. 2698/1; fo./a.

367Pynson's Will, PRO, PCC, 15 Jankyn.

368Berthelet's appointment, apparently unlike Pynson's, was confirmed by a patent; some problem appears to exist, however, as to the date of the patent since Clair, "Thomas Berthelet," p. 179, gives the date as February 2, 1529/30, and Greg, "Notes on the Types....of Thomas Berthelet," p. 216, gives the date of the patent as February 15, 1529/30.

DESCRIPTIONS

DESCRIPTIONS

The following descriptions and notes are limited to the literary and academic output of Pynson's press; legal works, statutes, almanacs and religious works (with the exception of a few works having some particular literary interest) have been excluded. Owing to the number of works involved, the Linacre editions of Galen have also been omitted.

The descriptions are organized chronologically with the works bearing a date of imprint listed first for each year followed by the other works assigned to that year in order of their STC number. The works bearing a printed date are arranged chronologically beginning with works dated in January since there is some evidence that Pynson began his year in that month, although one suspects that at various times both systems of reckoning were used according to the whim of the individual compositor or editor. The dates referred to in the descriptions as well as in the text are all Old Style. In the case of those works not bearing a printed date, the authority or grounds for the date assigned will usually be found in the first paragraphs of the notes to that volume's description.

The details of the descriptions vary considerably with those works which are in some way pivotal to Pynson's career or which have been rarely noticed being discussed in somewhat greater detail. Of necessity, the descriptions are somewhat abbreviated due to the large number of works described and the limitation of space.

In general, it has been necessary to limit the description of running-titles to simply noting their presence and giving a sample opening. In a similar vein, while the title-pages of the individual works have usually been fully transcribed as the first part of the description of each book, it has been necessary in the case of some works where the contents are listed at length in a rotunda or the text actually begins on the first page to only note the title and opening of the piece; in these instances the information will be found as the first entry in the contents section rather than as a separate entry.

Immediately following the entries of title-page, colophon and running-title will be found the catch-title. These have been recorded in depth since there is less variance than in the running-titles and since they have generally gone unrecorded.

The description of types is usually based on actual 20 line measures wherever possible. In instances where a question mark occurs after an entry, this is an indication that either my measurement is at odds with the sizes of types that Pynson is supposed to have possessed or that I have had to extrapolate the measure from less than 20 lines. The description of the types is followed by measurements for one or more representative pages of type which, contrary to standard bibliographical practice, are given as width by height rather than vice versa. The initial figures in each measurement and the citation of the number of lines of type preceding them refer to the text proper; these figures often are followed by a second and sometimes (in reference to width only) a third set of figures which refer, in terms of the width measurement, to the measurement for a single column in a multi-columned work and/or to the larger width for the page if shoulder-notes are present,

and in terms of height, to the measurement when running-title, foliation, pagination, catch-title and/or signature are included; the presence of these elements is noted in a parenthesis following that containing the enlarged measure.

A number of abbreviations are used throughout the work which must be noted. STC numbers refer, of course, to Pollard and Redgrave's Short-Title Catalogue while STC2 numbers refer to the revised Short-Title Catalogue of Jackson, Ferguson and Pantzer, of which only the second volume has been published to date. The citation of location of copies viewed is that used in the revised Short-Title Catalogue in which the key to the citations will be found. Hodnett numbers refer to woodcuts as cited by Edward Hodnett in English Woodcuts. Device numbers refer to the numbers assigned by McKerrow in Printers' and Publishers' Devices. M. & F. numbers refer to the numbers assigned compartments by McKerrow and Ferguson in their Title-Page Borders. COA numbers refer to coats-of-arms listed in the appendix on coats-of-arms. In a similar manner, the explanation of the seemingly arcane capital letters enclosed in square brackets following an initial will be found in the appendix on initials.

Ornaments are referred to by orn. numbers which describe the following:

- 1) a ribbon ornament.
- 2) a squat floral ornament.
- 3) an ornament on twined circular elements.
- 4) two fine leaves.
- 5) a six petaled flower (really De Worde's).
- 6) an ornament of twined diamond elements.

7) a set of half fleur-de-lis.

8) a large single leaf.

One will also note references throughout the notes to various types of capitals. In the description section these types are indicated by a number in square brackets. As will be apparent from the descriptions of the individual types of capitals, the numbering and identification of these items is still in a very tentative stage. I have included notes on the larger varieties, however, since they may eventually prove useful in refining the dating of the early Pynson imprints.

Type 1 is 12 mm. high, black and white with balled serifs and balls within the center of closed letters and is used between 1492 and 1500.

Type 2 refers to a single squat black letter D with an up-turned top serif and a somewhat square bottom serif used in conjunction with type 1 capitals in the 1492 Donatus.

Type 3 refers to an 11 or 12 mm. high solid series with very thin serifs introduced in the 1495 Terence and used through 1500. The I is knobbed and the M is closed with a minimum of curvature in the serifs.

Type 4 was originally assigned to a large black lombardic H which is now reclassified because of its size among the listings for initials.

Type 5 is actually the same as type 7. See below under type 7 since most of my entries for this type of capital were made in my notes using the latter designation.

Type 6 refers to series of odd and mis-matched letters initially noted in the 1496 Mandeville. Most notable among these letters are a knobbed center I with pronounced curves upwards and downwards on respective serifs on the right side, a squat closed F and a W composed of

interlocked U's.

Type 7 (also type 5) is a squat black letter measuring 8 mm. high by 11 mm. wide with considerable variance in serifs. In most cases thick balled serifs are present; in the E and G, however, almost vine-like serifs occur. In general, one may note the M closed with pronounced downward curving serifs, an open R and an unknobbed I with the most pronounced serif on the lower right foot. One must also note, however, that there are two distinctly different C's, D's and S's, and possibly other letters used in the series. Both S's used, however, are open.

Type 8 is the most common series and is used throughout Pynson's career and is used as early as 1499. It is somewhat taller than type 7 with letters between 10 and 12 mm. high. The letters are solid black with balled serifs, but usually terminating fine lines rather than being attached immediately to the body of the letter. The variety may be noted by the appearance of an S open on one side and by a closed R.

One last note is necessary in regard to the copies cited. Occasionally a call number is omitted due to faulty note-taking on my part; in certain other instances, however, the omission is due to the quirks of the individual librarians who could not understand why anyone outside their individual library would want to know a given copy's call number. In the case of Lord Kenyon's collection, no call number is involved for the obvious reason that it is a private collection. Generally the first copy cited is the British Museum (now British Library) copy, unless another copy has been photographed by University Microfilms in their STC series, in which case that copy will usually be cited first. Reel numbers refer to copies photographed in the microfilm series.

Circled r's indicate that a ragged r is used in the original. Letters linked by an arc above indicate a digraph occurs in the original. Dotted underlining indicates material printed in red. Curved line underlining indicates the material is printed in either battard, textura or rotunda rather than roman. Long s has not been reproduced since it is used regularly throughout.

1. G. Chaucer. The Canterbury Tales. Before 1492? STC 4084.

RT: Varies with text. c4^v-c5,

'The knyghtes Tale || The knyghtes Tale'

Coll: 2^o: a-v⁸2a-2k⁸21⁶A-1⁸K⁶; 324 leaves; signed S1-4 or 1-3 [-b1; g4 missed g3 (observed in PML only) as a i, etc. with some variations described in notes below.

Type: 121 battard (Duff 1) for opening prose and all verse; 102 battard (Duff 2) for other prose sections. a1, 2 col., 36 ll. of 121 battard = 194 x 200 (226) (rt & sig); A2, 11. of 102 battard = 127(60) x 198(221) (rt & sig).

Cont: On a1, [RT] Prohemye | [4 ll left for guide g] Rete thanks
laud and honoure ought to be ye [vyn] On a2, [RT] 'Prologue [4 ll. left
for guide w] han that Aprille with his showres sote' On K5, 2nd col.,
text ends: 'of synne. To that lyf he vs | brynge that bought vs wyth
hys pre | cyous blood AMEN.' K5v, device 3a K6, blank. K6^v, blank.

Copies: L(C.11.c.15) (reel I-1); M(10002; Inc. 23G), G (Bv.2.1) lacks all before b3 and all after k3, also a perfect copy (Bv.2.12); NY (*KC 1491); PML (W 14 A 751) lacks a⁸, q4, 2h7, D7 and G7, all of which are supplied in facsimile.

Notes: The text has been shown by W.W. Gregg, in his article, "The Early Printed Editions of the Canterbury Tales" (PMLA, vol. 39, 1924, pp. 737-761), to be primarily derived from Caxton's second edition although augmented with readings from another MS. which could not be pinned down. In short, we have an order which may be schematically described as AB¹E²FDGCB²HI, which is the result of Caxton's correcting the order, AB¹F¹E²DE¹F²GCB²HI, which he had used in his first edition on the basis of a manuscript from the b group, by uniting F¹ and F², on discovering the link between the Squire's Tale and the Franklin's Tale from a manuscript of the a group. The resulting order of tales is General Prologue, Knight, Miller, Reeve, Cook, Man of Law, Merchant, Squire, Franklin, Wife of Bath, Friar, Summoner, Clerk, Nun, Canon Yeoman, Physician, Pardoner, Shipmen, Prioress, Thopas, Melibee, Monk, Nun's Priest, Manciple and Pardoner.

As has been mentioned earlier in the text, overmuch has been made of Pynson's reference to "my worshipful master William Caxton" overseeing the work in the Proheme. It is quite clear that this is not evidence that Pynson printed the work under Caxton's supervision nor evidence that Pynson was an apprentice under Caxton, but only an acknowledgment that Pynson is basing his edition on the second edition of Caxton. This becomes even more apparent when one realizes that the Proheme itself is derived from that of Caxton; this is most readily demonstrated by a comparison of the two prohemes. Caxton's proheme reads:

"g Rete thankes laude and honour/ought to be gyuen vnto the clerkes/poetes/and historiographs that haue wreton many noble bokes of wysedom of the lyues/passions/myracles of holy sayntes of hystories/of noble and famous Actes/and faittes/ And of the cronycles sith the begynnyng of the creacion of the world/vnto thys present tyme/by whyche we ben dayly enformed/ and have knowleche of many thynges/of whom we shold not haue knowen/yf they had not left to vs theyr monumentis wreton/ Emong whom and especial to fore alle other we ought to gyue a synguler laude vnto that noble grete philosopher Gefferey chaucer the whiche for his ornate wrytyng in our tongue may wel haue the name of a laureate poete/For to fore that he by hys labour enbelysshyd/ornated/and made faire our englysshe/ in thys Royaume was had rude speche:Incongrue/as yet it appiereth by olde bookes/whyche at thys day ought not to haue place ne be compared emong ne to hys beauteuous volumes/and aournate wrytynges/of whom he made many bokes and treatyces of many a noble historye as wel in metre as in ryme and prose/ and them so craftyly made/that he comprhended hys maters in short/quyck and hie sentences/eschewyng prolyxyte/castyng away the chaf of superfluyte/and shewyng the pyked grayn of sentence/vtteryd by crafty and sugred eloquence/of whom emonge all other of hys bokes/I purpose temprynte by the grace of god the book of the tales of cauntyrburye/in whiche I fynde many a noble hystorie/of euery astate and degre/Fyrst rehercyng the condicions/and tharraye of eche of them as properly as possyble is to be sayd/And after theyr tales whyche ben of noblesse/wysedom/gentylnesse/Myrthe/and also of veray holynesse and vertue/wherin he fynysshyth thys sayd booke/whyche book I haue dilygently ouersen and duly examyned to thende that it be made acordynge vnto his owen making/For I fynde many of the sayd bookes/whyche wryters haue abyrdgyd it and many thynges left out/And in somme place haue sette certayn versys/that he neuer made ne sette in hys booke/of whyche bookes so incorrecte was one brought to me vj yere passyd/ whyche I supposed had ben veray true/correcte/And accordyng to the same I dyde do enprynte a certayn nombre of them/whyche anon were sold to amy and dyuerse gentyl men/of whome one gentylman cam to me/and said that this book was not accordyng in many places vnto the book that Gefferey chaucer had made/ To whom I answerd that I had made it accordynge to my copye/ and by me was nothyng added ne mynusshyd/Thenne he sayd he knewe a book whyche hys fader had and moche louyd/that was very trewe/and accordyng vnto hys owen first book by hym made/ and sayd more yf I wold enprynte it agayn he wold gete me the same book for a copye/how be it he wyst wel/that hys fader wold not gladly departe fro it/To whom I said/in caas that he coude gete me suche a book trewe and correcte/yet I wold ones endeuoyre me to enprynte it agayn/for to satisfye thauctour/ where as to fore by ygnourance I erryd in hurtyng and dyffamyng his booke in dyuerse places in setting in somme thynges that he neuer sayd ne made/and leuyng out many thynges that he made whyche ben requysite to be sette in it/And thus we fyll

at accord/And he ful gentyly gate of hys fader the said book/
 and delyuerd it to me/by whiche I haue corrected my book/as
 here after alle alonge by thayde of almyghty god shal folowe/
 whom I humbly beseche to gyue me grace and ayde to achyue/
 and accomplysse/to hys laude honour and glorye/and that alle
 ye that shal in thys book rede or heere/wyll of your charyte
 emong your dedes of mercy/remembre the sowle of the sayd
 Gefferey chaucer first auctour/and maker of thys book/And also
 that alle we that shal see and rede therein/may so take and
 vnderstonde the good and vertuoues tales/that it may so prouff-
 yte/vnto the helthe of our sowles/that after thys short and
 transtorye lyf we may come to euerlastyng lyf in heuen/Amen
 By Wylliam Caxton "

In Pynson's hands this becomes:

a1 "gRete thanks laud and honoure ought to be yevyn unto the
 clerkes poetes and historiographs that have written many
 noble bokes of wisdom of the lyues passions and miracles of
 holy seytes of histories of noble and famous actes ⁊ faittes.
 And of the cronicles sithen the begynnyng of the creacion of
 the worlde unto this present tyme. By whiche we ben daily
 enfourmed and have knowledge of manye thynges. Of whom we
 shuld nat have knowen yf they had nat left to us theire
 monuments writen. Emong whom and ine special to fore alle
 other we ought to gyue a singlar laude unto that noble and
 gret philosopher Geoffrey chaucer the whiche for his ornate
 writing in oure tonge may wel have the name of a laureate poete.
 For to fare that he by his laboure enbellished ornated and made
 faire our englisse in this Realme was hadde rude speche
 incongrue as yet it apperithe by olde bokes. whiche at this
 daie oughte nat to have place ne be compared emong his beau-
 teous volumes ornate writings Of whom he made many a noble
 historye aswele in metre as in ryme and prose and theym so
 craftely made that he comprehended his maters. in short quicke
 and high sentences eschewing prolixite ⁊ casting away the chaf
 and superfluite ⁊ shewing the vyned grayne of sentence Stered
 by crafty ⁊ sugred eloquence Of whom I among alle othere of
 his bokes the boke of the tales of Canterburie in whiche ben
 many a noble historie of wisdom policie mirth and gentilnes.
 And also of vertue and holynes whiche boke diligently ovirsen ⁊
 duely examined by the politike reason and oversight. of my
 worshipful master William Caxton accordinge to the entent and
 efforts of the seid Geoffrey Chaucer. and by a copy of the seid
 master Caxton purpos to imprent. by ye grace ayde and supporte
 a1v of almighty god. whom I humbly beseche. that he of his grete
 and habundant grace wil so dispose that I may it fynisse to
 his plesure laude and glorye. And that alle we that shall
 therin se or rede may so take understonde the gode and vertuoues
 tales that it may so profite to the helthe of oure soules.
 and inespacial of the soule of the said Geoffrey chaucer first
 autour maker of this forseid boke. that after this short and
 transitorye lyfe we may come to the everlasting lyf in

hevynne Amen.

By Richard Pynson.

"

In essence, Pynson reprinted the first 26 lines of Caxton's prohome almost verbatim; he then began altering the text, so that where Caxton narrated the events leading to the publishing of his revised edition, Pynson describes how he relied on Caxton's edition. The crucial point, and that which has been misunderstood by those who have argued for a link between Caxton and Pynson, is that the "boke diligently ouirsen 7 duely examined by the politike reason and ouersight of my worshipful master William Caxton," is not Pynson's edition, but Caxton's second edition on which Pynson's is based; as is made clear when Pynson adds that it is from a copy of that work that he proposes to print his edition. There is nothing to cause one to believe that Pynson's edition was done under Caxton's supervision, or that Caxton was Pynson's master in any sense other than as the founder of English printing and the original publisher and compiler of this particular work.

Besides copying the text, Pynson also copied the woodcuts of Caxton's second edition, Caxton's first being unillustrated. As Hodnett has pointed out, Pynson has had only 20 of Caxton's 23 cuts copied, although one other, that of the Reeve, appears to have been copied as well but not used in this edition; as a result some of Pynson's illustrations have to do double duty, serving for more than one character. The locations of the cuts and the characters they are meant to represent in Pynson's edition are as follows: a2^v, 1640, knight; a3^v, 1641 in state 1, squire; a4, 1643, yeoman; a4^v, 1645 prioress; a5^v, 1646, monk; a6^v, 1648, friar; a7^v, 1649, merchant; a8, 1650, clerk; a9^v, 1651 in state 1, man of law; b1, 1653, franklin; b2, 1655, haberdasher; b2^v, 1657, cook; b3, 1653, as shipman; b3, 1651 in state 2, doctor; b4, 1658, wife of Bath; b5, 1651 in state 2, as parson; b6, 1657, as plowman; b6^v, 1659, miller; b7, 1641 in state 2, manciple; b7^v, 1649, as reeve; b8, 1653, as summoner; c1, 1661, pardoner; c2^v, 1662, entire company at a table; c4^v, 1640, knight, g8, 1659, miller; i3^v, 1649, as reeve, k2^v, 1657, cook; k5, 1663, man of law; m6, 1653, as merchant; o8^v, 1641, in state 2, squire; q4, 1653, franklin; s2, 1658, wife of Bath; v6, 1648, friar; 2a4^v, 1653, as summoner, 2b7, 1650, clerk; 2e3, 1645, as nun; 2f4^v, 1664, canon's yeoman; 2g8^v, 1651, in state 2, as doctor; 2h7^v, 1661, pardoner; 2i7^v, 1664, as shipman; 2i3, 1665, Chaucer; a1, 1665, Chaucer; C2, 1646, monk; D7^v, 1666, nun's priest; F3, 1661, as manciple; g1, 1651, in state 2, as parson. Regrettably, space does not permit a more detailed analysis of the substitutions and the reasons behind them which, together with a discussion of the iconography involved in the pictures, would constitute a short monograph in itself. One should note that while the woodcuts are copies from those of Caxton, they are not exact copies, and certain details have been added, such as the markedly male nature of the horses of the wife of Bath and certain other figures; one should also note with Hodnett the fact that the pilgrims are differently grouped around the table in Pynson's and Caxton's cuts, but if in such instances a commentary is being made on the characters, and I rather suspect one is, it is that of the woodcarver more than of Pynson and thus better left omitted.

A brief note is also in order regarding the methods of signing used in this edition. There are two distinct methods of signing being

used in the work as well as an intermediary method of the second type of signing. The first method, used in signatures a-h, A, B, G-K consists of the relevant letter followed by the relevant number of minims or "i's," i.e. a i, a ii, a iii, a iiii. In signatures i and k a piece of type resembling an n with an i below it, n is substituted for "ii," so that we have k i, k n, k in, k iin. After this we find in gatherings 1-v, 2a-21, C-F the same system enlarged upon so that now an "m" is substituted for "iii" so that we have l i, l n, l m, l im. This seemingly erratic manner of signing the work suggests the very distinct possibility that even at this early date there were at least two compositors at work in Pynson's shop. The first compositor, possibly though not necessarily Pynson himself, used the more normal methods of signing and did the most visible portions of the work, i.e. the "Proheme," "General Prologue," "Knight's Tale" and all but the last two pages of the "Miller's Tale" as well as the two prose sections in 102 battarde, "Melibee" and the "Parson's Tale." The other more experimental compositor did all the rest of the poetry.

One should also note that no large capitals or initials are used in the work, the standard procedure being to leave a space two lines high and a guide-letter at the beginning of each new section so the work could be illuminated.

2. A. Donatus. Donatus Melior. Before 1492? STC 7014.

2^o: collation unknown. 2^l leaves at the British Museum and 1 at the Bodleian.

L. mystery recto begins: 'esses ut⁹ suisses effet t⁹ suisset:pl^r vtina
gavisi essen⁹;

L. bl begins: 'ederimus tis rint Preterito plusquā pfecto cum iedssem^l

O. recto begins: 'casibus qui sunt secunde persone In quot accidenti-
bus' | [14 ll. of text] | '[fi] eri est verbum | N² [1] Ota
quod a quocunq^r regitur substantium ab e | odem regitur suum
adiectium ex eadem parte τ | ex eadem natura | Per me.
Ricardum Pynson^l

O. verso: device 3a.

Type: 121 battard (Duff 1) b¹, 32 ll. = 127 x 194 (202) (sig.).

Copies: L(I.B.55482); O (Rawl. fol. 1.3)

Notes: Dated before 1492 on the basis of device 3a and the use of Duff's type 1. It should be noted that Pynson's first set of capitals, approximately 12 mm. x 12 mm., knobbed white and black lombardics are present suggesting that where spaces are left in lieu of initial letters in later works, it is for the sake of the extra ornamentation of illumination rather than through any lack of capitals or initials. The dating is confirmed by an inscription on the Bodlean fragment, which is thought to have been taken from the original binding of a copy of Pynson's Dives and Pauper, and which reads, "Thys Booke was Boght by me Thomas Gryffyth the Second Day of Passyon weke A Dñi m^{mo} cccclxxx xiiij."

3. Guido of Alet. The Ghost of Guy. Before 1492? STC 12447.

Fragments of a 4^o?

Frag. 1a

'But y the goste of g...d him
i me wor.s ne I my deds shal noñ of iou me
But y was hidder sent for to speke with the
.o tell the of my nede thi y^t in purgatory be'

Frag. 1b

'But peine y suffre in til time of day
That y haue made satisfaccion
Of my sinnes that y haue done
.....be shreuen'

Frag. 2a

'....nede it were elles may thou not fynde
Of him for to say but thou were vnkinde
Certes said the prioure that 'is certaine'

Frag. 2b

'Alle peine is good to godis dome dreuen
And it is not euil to whom it is zeuen

But peine is yeuen to a man

.....of sinne right ..eine be wan.'

Type: 120 battard (Duff 1) but with an h and possibly some other letters in 144 textura (Duff 4).

Copies: 0(8^o Rawl. 1672) (reel 67).

Notes: Because of the limited material involved, I am following Duff and the STC in assigning this to the group of Pynson's earliest works on the basis of the use of the 120 battard which is found only in undated books which bear device 3a, when a device is present. I would note, however, that the presence of the h from the 114 textura known as Duff 4 makes 1493 a more likely date.

The original version of the work appears to have been written in Latin in 1323 and is described as, "Liber de Spiritu Guidonis. Scilicet Narratio Legendaria de confabulatione inter Animum praedicti Guidonis Civis de Alestey seu Ayfesty (quae distat ab Avenion 21 miliarijs) Qui quidem Guido obiit 16 kalendas Decembris A.D. 1323; et Priorem Fratrem Praedicatorum in eodem Civitate commoranturim." English metrical versions exist in British Museum MSS. Cotton Tiber E VII, ff. 90^r-101^r, and in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson F. 175, ff. 95^r-108^r. A critical edition of these appeared in Palaestra, vol. 1 (1898), edited by G. Schleick, but I have not been able to see a copy to see if the text is the same as that printed here.

In essence the work is in the form of a debate between a priest and the ghost of Guy who is in purgatory and haunting the earth at the same time. In certain respects the work bears a striking resemblance to The Pearl, which it may conceivably have influenced, in the use of an incredibly naive interrogator who serves as a foil to allow the visitor from the dead to expound various theological doctrines to. It is also somewhat anticlerical in its portrayal of an ignorant priest or priesthood, which is clearly in danger of damnation; this is not altogether surprising in the light of the doctrines set forth in Pynson's other devotional works or saints' lives which often concern themselves on the one hand with a doctrine of good works and the imitation of Christ's life in the day to day life of the saint or the reader, and on the other with the corruption of the Church, which is constantly being reproved in the various saints' lives.

1. This and all the above information was derived from edition of the prose version, edited by R. H. Bowers as The Gast of Gy. Beitrage zur Englischen Philologie. Leipzig: Verlag von Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1938. The above description is on p. 11.

4. Reinard the Foxe. Before 1492? .STC 20921.

Coll. 2^o: A⁸B-F⁶; 36 leaves of a speculated 48-50; signed \$1-3 [+A4] as A i, etc.

Type: 101 battard (Duff 2) with a form of K found only in this, the first edition of The Canterbury Tales. A2, 38 ll. and 1 sp. in 2 cols. = 126(60) x 200(203) (sig.).

Cont: On A1, 'Here begynneth the Hystorye of rei | nard the Foxe'.

[4 ll. left for illumination] N this hystorye ben wry=' On F5v, 2nd col., last line present: 'I camme thanne hider and herd'

Copies: 0 (Douce V.245) (reel 142), lacks F] & 6 and has two unsigned leaves of contents appended to end.

Notes: Although STC2 proposes a date of 1500, as opposed to the 1494 of Duff and STC, it seems likely on the basis of Duff 2 with the early k that the book must be dated before January 27, 1494, when the new type k is introduced in Lydgate's Fall of Princes (STC 3175). Because the dated works before 1494 in Duff 2 are in Latin, with the consequence that no k's are present, nothing more definite can be said. It is quite possible, however, that in its original state this volume concluded with Pynson's device 3a and was among the earliest products of Pynson's press.

Despite the disparity in the spelling of the hero's name, we are dealing with Caxton's translation of the work, although here cast-off in a two column form for the first time. We know from the appended leaves of contents that in its original form this edition, like those of Caxton before it, had forty-three chapters. In its present state, the text breaks off in mid-sentence in chapter thirty-three.

5. Alexander Grammaticus. Doctrinale. November 14, 1492. STC 316.

Col: On s3^v, 'Impressa per me Ricardum Pynson; de parochia | sancti Clementis dacon extra barr. novi templi | London. decima^{ter}cia die mensis Novembris An | no incarnationis domini nostri. M. cccc. lxxxii.'

Coll. 4^o: a-q⁶r-s⁴; 104 leaves; signed \$1 & 3 (as 2) [-a1; f1a for a1] as b1, etc.

Type: 101 battard (Duff 2) and 64 rotunda (Duff 3). b3, 7 ll. battard and 35 ll. rotunda = 93(114) x 148(158) (sig.).

Cont: a1, presumed blank. a1^v, presumed blank. On a2, '[6 spaces

for guide s] Cribere clericulis paro doctrinale nouellis. On i2^v,
'Sequitur secunda pars alexandri et capitulu 3 | de regimine dictionum'
 On m2^v, ' ¶ Tercia pars Alexandri. et capitulum deci= | mum de quan-
titatibus sillabarum. On q3^v, ' ¶ Quarta pars alexandri et capitulum
duode | cim de figuris gramaticalibus. On s3^v, text ends: 'bene-
dictus. Amen. | ¶ Et sic finitur expositia doctrinalis alexandri.'
 colophon. | s4, blank. s4^v, device 3b.

Copies: L(I.A.55490) lacks a1 and m2 (reel 235).

Notes: This represents Pynson's first edition of this work as well as Pynson's first dated book. The lone copy known is in a plain binding apparently done by Pynson's shop which uses leaves from Machlinia's Chronicle as end-papers.

6. H. Parker? Dives and Pauper. July 5, 1493. STC 19212.

Col: On 17^v, end of col. 2: 'Here endith a compendiose tree |
tise dyalogue. of Diues & paup. | that is to say. the riche & the poore
fructuouly trefyng vpon the x. | cōmandments fynished / the v. day
of Iuyl. the yere of oure lord | god. M.CCCC.l.xxxxiii. Em|prentyd by
me Richarde Pynson | at the temple barre. of london. | Deo gracias.'

RT: Varies with text. b5^v-b6,

'The firste || Precepte.'

Coll: a-b⁶ 2a-u⁸ A-I⁸; 232 leaves; signed \$1-4 or 1-3 [-a1, 2a1; 2a2
 signed 2a, c1-4 signed c2-5] as b 1, etc.

Type: 114 battard (Duff 5) for text and 114 textura (Duff 4) for
 emphasized words and biblical citations. gl, 37 ll. = 144(66) a1^v
 blank. On x 213(232) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: a1, blank. On a2, contents beginning in 1st col: 'R² [1]

Iche and poore haue like cūmyng into this worlde.' 2a1, blank. On 2a2,

'¶ Of holy pouertie. | The firste chaptre. | D⁴ [F1] Iues & pauper obuif.'

On ²b1, 'The firste chaptre.' On I7v, 2nd col. ends: 'rode tree.

Amen.' colophon, I8, blank. I8^v, device 3.

Copies: L(C.11.c.11) (reel 138) lacks a1, ²a1, I8, as do all copies viewed, also lacks gathering e; Q (Douce 236) has erroneous facsimiles of woodcuts supplied for a1 and ²a1 and facsimile for a6; M (9852; inc. 23F); L² (1493.3) also lacks a2-5; HN (58587); FOLG (STC 19212); PML (W14A 752) has a6 in facsimile; NY (*KC = 1493).

Notes: I have not viewed any copy in which the two blank pages are definitely present but since it was a normal practice in early books to leave the first leaf blank as protection for the first page of text this seems likely enough. The description of device being present is taken from Duff.

Owing to the researches of Margery M. Morgan and A. I. Doyle, we know that the copy-text for Pynson's edition is MS. Eng. th. d. 36 in the Bodleian, but bought in 1950, its provenance can only be traced back to a Rev. Miles Barne in the first half of the seventeenth century; Pynson printed the work in two columns to reproduce the appearance of the manuscript and generally printed each line word for word and space for space including lacunae, but did not aim at an exact reproduction of the manuscript in that he found it necessary to use a lesser number of lines per column owing to the limitations of his form and the size of his type.

Although the STC number is based on an ascription to one Henry Parker, a Carmelite, by Bale, more recent scholarship by H. G. Richardson and H. G. Fander has established that it was too early for Parker to have written. Working from internal evidence Richardson has established that the actual date of composition must have been from 1405 to 1410, being finally composed in its finished form the latter year. Although Fander argues that it must have been composed by a Franciscan and puts forward a possible author on the basis of the theological authorities cited in the work, Richardson points out that the author could have belonged to any one of a number of orders and that the works cited were rather standard reference works.

The Pynson edition was the first published, presumably in conjunction with an order from John Russhe, and was followed by editions by Wynken in 1496 (STC 19213) and Berthelet in 1536 (STC 19214); no modern edition has ever been produced. The work, in essence, is a quasi-mediaeval compendium of stories and sermon fragments bolstered by biblical and liturgical authorities and cast into the form of a didactic dialogue between Dives, the rich man, and Pauper, the poor man; although the latter does most of the talking.

The work is divided into 11 books and 262 chapters. The opening book, "Of Holy Pouertie," sets up the basic frame for the narrative as Dives and Pauper establish that rich and poor are both equal in their entrance and exit of this world and that each has certain duties and positions owing to their different status. The remaining 10 books are each devoted to expounding on one of the ten commandments. The second book, beginning on ²b1 and having 64 chapters, purports to deal with the problems of the worship of graven images (including that of Christ on the cross) but also launches attacks on astrology, witchcraft, the casting

of lots and dice, necromancy, alchemy, prognostication and the reliance of feigned visionary dreams. The third book, beginning on h1, is composed of 20 chapters against taking the Lord's name in vain. The fourth book, beginning on i8, is composed of 20 chapters on keeping the Sabbath. The fifth book, beginning on 18, is concerned with "worshipping" one's parents and contains the standard stories of the devotion of the stork and the pelican. The sixth book, beginning on o6, contains 24 chapters devoted to the diverse subjects of manslaughter, flattery and backbiting. The seventh book, beginning on r4, has 24 chapters dealing with lechery and matrimony. The eighth book, beginning on u8^v, contains 28 chapters dealing with theft. The ninth book, beginning on D4^v, has 18 chapters concerned with bearing false witness. The tenth book, beginning on H4^v, has 16 chapters concerned with covetousness. The eleventh book, beginning on H3^v, has 12 chapters and ranges from a discussion of the duties of a Christian man.

This edition employs a floral initial D, already worn at this date though its provenance is unknown, and type 1 capitals with some variants with internal squiggles rather than the normal large bold white inner markings.

7. J. Lydgate. The Chorl and the Byrd. 1493? STC 17010.

Col: On b4^v, 'Here endeth the tale of the chorl & the byrd. |

Empente by me Richarde Pynson.'

Coll: 4^o: a⁶b⁴; 10 leaves; signed a ii for a iii and b for b 1.

Type: 116 textura (Duff 4). b1, 22 ll. & 3 sp. = 92 x 146(152) (sig).

Cont: a1, presumed blank, a1^v, presumed blank. On a2, 'p² [1] Rob-
lemys of olde liknesse and figures.' On b4^v, text ends: 'With suppor-
tacion of your benignyte.' | colophon.

Copies: L(G 11226) lacks a1 (reel 1).

Notes: Dated 1493 on the basis of the use of Duff's type 4 which is confined to this year according to Duff. There is nothing else which might help to date the work since there is no discernible watermark and while type 1 large capitals are present, they occur in Pynson's earliest books through books of 1500.

The poem in the dull but rather standard a,b,a,b,b,c,c seven line stanza retained the popularity it had enjoyed since Lydgate first "translated" it from a French original, going through two earlier editions by Caxton (STC 17008 & 17009) and two later ones by Wynken (STC 17011 and 17012) in the period covered by Pynson's career.

8. Seven Wise Masters of Rome. 1493? STC 21297.

Coll: 4⁰(?): unknown but probably partially in 8's since one of the two leaves which survive is signed "p iiii."

Type: 113 battard (Duff 4) throughout. p4, 24 ll. = 18 x 137(143) (sig.).

Cont: On p4, text begins: 'the mete was redy: and the tyme of the day'

On p4^v, text begins: 'made the knyght with his lady to coome in'

On unsigned recto(?), text begins: 'and to betraye you/ but say to me the trowthe'

On unsigned verso(?) text begins: 'you/and if he had been made so greate 7 nygh='

Copies: C² (VI. 18. 19; formerly folios 153 and 154 of medical and miscellaneous MSS. O. 2. 13).

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff and seems likely since the type used occurs only in dated books of 1493 and 1494. This is possibly the earliest edition of the romance to be printed in England, although an earlier De Worde edition may once have existed.

9. Sulpitius. Sulpitii Verulani Oratoris. January 10, 1494. STC 23425.

TP: al, 'Sulpitii Verulani oratoris prestātis= | simi opus insigne grammaticum feli= | citer incipit.' | device 3b surrounded by border pieces Nos. 1-4.

Col: On 16, 'Hec grammatice Sulpitii opuscula correcta/7| pūn= tuata diligētissime: sunt impressa Londoniis per Ri= | chardum Pynson anno salutis millesimo quadringē | tesimo nonagesimo quarto/ quarto idus Ianuarius.'

RT: Varies with text. a4^v-a⁵,

'Verbi Examen. ||| Verbi Examen.'

Coll: 4^o: a-c⁸d-k⁶l⁴; 70 leaves; signed \$1-4, 1-3 or 1-2 [1a1; a3 for a2] as b i, etc. 80 leaves paginated beginning with a1, Pagina prima, pagina ii, iii-cxix, ending on i6. a3, 41 ll. rot. = 82 x 90(98) (pag.).

Type: 64 rotunda (Duff 3) for most of text and tables; 102 battard (Duff 2) for parts of text and examples; 116 textura (Duff 4) for title-page, titles and running-titles.

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, contents. On a2^v, 'Amplissimo longeꝛ reuer-
endo pa/ | tri/et domino Angelo pon= | tifici Tiburtino/et i agro picino
vi= | celegato dignissimo Sulpitius Ve | rulanus cum plurima commendatio
ne felicitatem.' On a3, 'Sulpicii Verulani Examen. G⁴ [1] Gramatica ē
recte loquele/recteco scripture sciētia: ori=' On i⁶, text ends: 'Temporis immiscent non ratione pedes.' | colophon. On i6^v, 'Carmen.
Sulpitii ad lectores.' On k1, 'De heroici carmines decore.' On 14^v, 'Hic explicit tota grāmatica Sulpitii.'

Copies: M () (reel 1221); PML (W 14 B 17621) through i6 only.

Notes: This work and the Fall of Princes (STC 3175) of the same month, mark the beginning of the tradition of fine printing in Pynson's works. The work is remarkable in that there is almost perfect register throughout. The pages from a3 through k6 are neatly and uniformly set out with Pynson's first set of capitals beginning each chapter (although with a variant unknobbed S), each paragraph being indented two spaces with the opening words beginning with a small capital.

The work is also remarkable in that it is the first work from Pynson's press with a title-page and the first work printed in England to be paginated. The pagination, as will be noted above, is flawless but must have been tedious to set up since this is also the only work printed by Pynson which is paginated.

As will be noted above, the pagination stops on i6 and the colophon appears on i6^v; this clearly suggests that the De Metris section, composed of signatures k and l, was added as an afterthought, perhaps as the result of having obtained a manuscript or printed version of the text with this appendix after the rest of the text had already been printed. This section is unlike those preceding in that there is no indentation for new paragraphs, only one of Pynson's first set of capitals is used and the normal practice is to begin each new section with a guide-letter and between one and three spaces left for illumination. The section is also remarkable in that besides the standard type forms it has ũ, →, ↵, and ℒ sorts to show the various metres.

The special care taken throughout the work make it clear that the work was obviously done to order for someone of prominence; there is nothing in the text, however, to suggest for whom it might be done.

10. G. Boccaccio. J. Lydgate. The Fall of Princes. January 27, 1494. STC 3175.

Col: On H3, 'C Here endith a compendious tretise and dyalogue | of Iohn Bochas; fructuously tretinge vpon the fall | of p~~o~~incys/p~~o~~incessys/ and other nobles. Fynysshed | the xxvii day of Ianyuere. In the yere of oure lord | god M CCCC lxxxxiiii. Em~~p~~centyd by Richard | Pynson: dwellynge withoute the Temple barre of | London. Laus Deo.'

RT: Varies with text. b2^v-b3,

'Liber ||| Primus'

Coll: 2^o: a-m⁸n⁶A-F⁸G⁶H⁴; 216 leaves; signed \$1-4 [-a1] as b i, etc.

Type: 101 battard (Duff 2) for text and signatures and 114 textura (Duff 4) for running-titles and the openings of each book. b1, 45 ll. battard and 7 spaces = 174(87) x 241(256) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: a1, blank. a1^v, blank. On a2, col. 1, 'H² [1] Ere begynnethe the boke callede | Iohn bochas descriuinge the falle | of p~~o~~incessis ≠ other nobles trās= | latid īto englīssh by Iohn Iudgate mōke | of the monastery of seint edmūdes Bury | at the cōmaūdemēt of the worthy p~~o~~ynce | humfrey duke of gloucestre beginnyngē | at adam ≠ endinge with kinge Iohn take | p~~o~~isoner in fraunce by p~~o~~ince Edwarde | [4 sp. left for guide h] E that sumtyme dide his diligence.' On a5, Hodnett 1945, book 1.

On f4, Hodnett no. 1946, book 2. On i7, Hodnett no. 1948, book 3. On n6, Hodnett no. 1950, book 4. On q7, Hodnett no. 1952, book 5. On t2, Hodnett no. 1954, book 6. - On A7^v, Hodnett no. 1956, book 7. On C2^v, Hodnett no. 1958, book 8. On E5^v, Hodnett no. 1960, book 9. On H3, col. 1, text ends: 'who wyll encreas by uertue must ascende' | colophon. On H3^v,

col. 1, 'Grenacres a Lenuoye vpon | Iohn Bochas.' H4, blank. H4^v,
blank or device 6.

Copies: L (I.B.55496) lacks gatherings a and H and leaves 11, 14, 15, A1-6, B1, D2 and G6 with numerous other pages only partially present (reel 26) with c3^v-c4 and e5^v-e6 unphotographed and m6^v-m7 photoed twice; L (I.B.55495) lacks gatherings a-i and B-H as well as leaves k1-5, 17-8, n4-8, o4, o8, p4, q6-7, r1, r6, t1-2 and A5-8; C Inc.2.J.3.6) lacks a1 and H4; C⁴ (XV.9) lacks a1 and H4; M (15407 formerly Inc.23. F.13) lacks a1 and H4; PML (W14Bnr) lacks a1 and H4; HN (34001) lacks a1-2, a7-8, H1 and H4; DLC (nr) lacks gatherings a, r-t and G-H as well as leaves b1, h1, o8 and F6-8.

Notes: This is the first printed edition of the work. Although Duff thought that device 6 was present in the work, no copy is presently known where this is the case and one speculates that H4 was actually blank.

The work is divided into nine books, each of which is preceded by a prologue (although only the beginnings of the chapters are noted in the contents above). Each book is preceded by one of the woodcuts which Pynson obtained from DuPré and set off by an incipit in 114 textura.

A number of misprints occur in some sheets which have been corrected in others. In some copies the running-title on o1 has an upside-down Q in "Quartus." Most and possibly all copies on n6 read "maulius" for "manlius" and "nito" for "into."

Type 1 capitals are used along with guide-letters and a floral U also used in the Littleton's Tenures.

11. J. LeGrand. The Book of Good Manners. September 30, 1494.
STC 15395.

Col: On g4^v, 2nd col.: 'Finýsshed and translated out of frē | she
in to engliſsh the viii day of June | in the yere of our lorde M CCCC |
lxxxvi/and the first yere of the regne | of kynge henry the vii. and
emprynted | the last day of septembre in the yere of | ou lorde M CCCC
lxxxiiii. By | Richard Pynson. || Laus deo.'

Coll: 2^o: a⁸b⁶cd⁸ef⁶g⁴; 46 leaves; signed \$1-4 or 1-3 [gl signed h1] as b i, etc.

Type: 101 battard (Duff 2). c3, 40 ll. in 2 col. = 130(60) x 200 (206) (sig.).

Cont: a1, presumed blank. a1^v, presumed blank. On a2, contents.

On a2^v, 'The first pte of this boke whereof the | first chaptre speketh.

cap^o 1. | E³ [1] Uery proude psone wolde cō=. On c6^v, 'Here folowith
the seconde boke the | whiche speketh of thestate of the peo | ple of
the church and of the clerkes.' On d2, 'Here foloweth the thrid | boke/
the whiche speketh | of the estate of lordes tē | porall/and of all
chy | ualrye.' On e1, 'Here foloweth the fourth bobe the | which
speketh of the state of the co= | monalyte/and of the people.' On f5^v,
'Here foloweth the v boke the which | tretith of deth and how nomā
ought | to glorifye him of his estate.' On g4^v, text ends: 'that the
worlde shal endure moch longe | colophon | device 3 surrounded by border
pieces 1-4.

Copies: L (I.B. 55494) (reel 17) lacks a1 a3 and g2, a7 and a8 have
been transposed, g1 is misbound between g3 and g4.

Notes: This edition is based on Caxton's translation in his edition of
May 11, 1487 and is the second English edition. Although John E. Mason
in his Gentlefolk in the Making (Philadelphia: University of Pennsyl-
vania Press, 1935), p. 8, regards this as one of a number of fifteenth-
century works forming a link between the tradition of knighthood and
the later ideal of courtesy, the work actually has little to do with
either the ideals of chivalry or courtesy; instead, it is concerned with
the way all estates ought to behave as good Christians. We thus find
the work opening with a 17 chapter book on the seven deadly sins and
their corresponding virtues. This is followed by a five chapter book on
how clerics should govern themselves, a seven chapter book on how
princes and members of chivalry should govern themselves and a fifteen
chapter book on how the common people should govern themselves. The
work then concludes with a five chapter book on death and the transitory
nature of earthly achievement.

The first set of capitals is used throughout.

12. Art and Craft to Know Well to Die. 1494? STC 790.

Col: On b8, Emprynted by | Richarde Pynson.'

Coll: 4^o: a-b⁸; 16 leaves; sheet-signed a i and a ii on a3, etc.

Type: 101 battard (Duff 2). a3, 28 ll. = 91 x 140(145) (sig.).

Cont. On a1, 'Here begynneth a lityll treatyse shoof and abrydgyd |

spekyng of the art and crafte to knowe well to dye. | [4 sp. for guide
w] Han it is so that what a man maketh o^o. On a1^v, 'Of the haloweyng
o^o p^oeyng of deth ⁊ howe | one ougyt gladly for to dye.' On a2^v,
'The temptacions that the persone hath at the houre of deth.' On a5,
'☉ Of the demaundes and questyons that ovght to | be made to the seke
persone.' On b4, 'The o^oisons and prayers that oughte to be said
upon | a seke persone in tharticle of deth.' On b8, text ends: 'o^o
the deth come and preunte him. | Thus endeth the treatyse abrygyd of
the | arte to lerne well to dye.' | colophon. b8^v, device 3 surrounded
by border pieces 1-4.

Copies: G (Hunterian Bv 3.13) (reel 1298).

Notes: Although STC assigned a date of 1501 to the work, it is clear that the use of device 3 and the four border pieces make more likely a date between 1494 and 1496; the presence of the type "k" first used in the 1494 Fall of Princes in an almost unbroken state suggests 1494.

The work is a rather standard type on the subject of death, which, after an initial chapter on praise of death, attempts to set out how the dying person may be comforted and made ready for eternal life. Although the work, as described on the first page, is made up of six parts - only four are differentiated by headings in the text. The un-headed sections deal with "a maner of instruction and of techyng that ought to be made to theym [i.e. the dying]" and "the remēbraūce what god hath done and suffred for vs" and occur following the section headed, "☉ Of the demaundes and questyons, etc."

The work uses type 1 capitals with a variant "O" with a squiggle in one side and a blurred design in the middle. The guide-letter "w" on the first page may be for illumination, but is more likely present because the capitals lacked that letter.

13. W. H. [William Horman]. Dialogus Lingue et Ventris. 1494? STC 13808.

Coll: 4^o: a⁶; 6 leaves; signed i a, a.ii., a iii. .

Type: 114 battard (Duff 5) for text and 67 rotunda (Duff 3) for shouldernotes. a1, = 95(115) x 162(168) (sig.).

Cont: On a1, '☉ Dialogus lingue/et ventris. | per dialogū religiose.

iocūde cū vtiliate. | H² [1] Ic libellus qui sancte/et iucunde do =.

On a6^v, 'Hic quoq̄ vult finem carmē habere suum. | ¶ Felix finis. | W.H.'

Copies: L (IA. 55530).

Notes: The dating is that assigned by Duff in Fifteenth Century English Books and retained by STC. Pynson's is the first edition and was reprinted five times by various French printers. The work uses Pynson's first set of capitals.

14. A Good Boke to Lerne to Spek French. 1494? STC 24867.

Col: . On c3^v, 'Per me Ricardum Pinson.'

Coll: 4^o: a-c⁴; 12 leaves; signed \$1 as a i, etc.

Type: 100 battard (Duff 2) with the second k, some of which are unbroken. c3, 28 ll. & 1 sp. = 89 x 147.

Cont: On a1, 'H⁴ [k] Ere is a good boke to lerne to spek french | Uey ung bon liure a apprendre a parler/fraunchoys.' On a2^v, 'Other maner of speche in frenche.' On a3, 'Other maner speche to bye and selle.'

On b2^v, 'Here folowethe the boke of curtesye.' On c2^v, 'A prentyse writeth to his mayster: first in englisshe. | And after in frenche.'

On c3^v, text ends: 'agreables Buices q̄ manez faiz plusieurs foitz escript.' | colophon.

Copies: L (I.A. 55535) lacks c4 (reel 11).

Notes: Although STC assigns the work to 1500, Duff did not assign it a date in Fifteenth Century Books, but in Westminster and London Printers thinks it to be c. 1496. I have reassigned it to shortly after January 1494, since the battard features the second k, in some cases with the bottom loop intact as in the Fall of Princes of that date (STC 3175). The date is also confirmed in a roundabout way by the presence of the peculiar knobbed black initial K which also appears in the Life of St. Margaret (STC 17325; O. Douce MM 493) which Duff assigns to 1493 and in Littleton's Tenures (STC 15722), which although assigned a date of 1496, must actually be dated 1494 since it features a wholly intact device 6.

Pynson's is the first edition of this work and it is not to be confused with the rather different English-French vocabulary previously printed by Caxton (STC 24865), the edition by Wynken which does follow

Pynson's text is considered to be later largely because many of the errors in the Pynson version have been corrected in it (STC 24868).

As is indicated by the headings above, the work, like Caxton's before it, was aimed largely at the merchant trade and is concerned primarily with providing the merchant with all the terms he will need to do business in France, secure accommodations, etc. and, in general, avoid committing any major faux-pas on the social level.

The work apparently derived from several different manuscripts which Pynson joined together to form the book. The longest of these, the courtesy book section dealing with proper behavior, is in fact, the work known as the Lytyll Chyldrenes Lytel Boke, which Furnivall edited for EETS O.S. 32; which in some degree explains why some of the behavior warned against at the table in that section is a bit cruder than we should expect the normal merchant to have to be concerned about.

15. P. Terentius Afer. Hecyra. January 20, 1495. STC 23885.

Col: On d6^v, 'Hic finitur comedia sexta et ultima impressa p |

Ricardum Pynson manentem extra Barrā m [edii] | templi London. Anno dñi

M. [cccc] lxxxx [v. vige] | simo die Januarii. Laudes Deo.'

RT: Varies with text. A3^v-A4,

'Primus Actus. |||. Ecyre.'

Coll: 4^o: A6^b-c6^d8(?); 26(?) leaves; signed \$ 1 & 3 (as 2) [- c3] as b 1, b ii, etc.

Type: 132 textura (Duff 7, the 95 textura, leaded to this measurement) throughout. b3, 20 ll. = 88 x 132(143) (r-t. & sig.).

Cont: On A1, 'Comedia sexta et ultima. Ecyra. | Argumentum familiar-

issimum: On A1^v, 'Ecyre prologus.' On A3, 'Primus actus.' On A6,

'Secundus actus.' On b2^v, 'Tertius actus.' On c2^v, 'Quartus actus.'

On d2, 'Quintus actus.' On d6^v, text ends: 'vnq̄ / vos valetate et

plaudite: calliopius recensui.' | colophon. d7, d8 unknown.

Copies: L}(C.4.g.13) (reel 1118) lacks d7 & d8.

Notes: This is the last of Terence's plays in the unique copy at the British Museum although it is thought to be among the earliest of the plays published. As the description indicates the crucial portions of the colophon have been lost over the years with the emendations supplied by a manuscript note in the British Museum copy, possibly based on the

fragment in the Mellon collection mentioned in STC2. Although this has commonly been regarded as the earliest version of the play to be printed in England, STC2 refers to another fragment of the work in the Mellon collection (which I have not viewed) in Duff types 2, 3 and 5 which is speculated as being c. 1494.

Although STC2 continues to group all of the plays under a single STC number, it is clear that, although meant to be collected, they should more accurately be regarded as separate works since other Pynson editions appear to exist of both the Hecyra and the Phormio. In any case, Pynson still continues to have been the first to have printed any of the works in England - presumably with an eye on the University trade.

Since this is the earliest dated copy of one of Pynson's editions of Terence's plays, a few comments on the entire series seems in order. In each work a brief commentary outlining the action precedes each act of the play. Scenes are numbered sequentially for the entire play in each work rather than beginning a new sequence of numbers with each act. Finally, it should be noted that the text of each play is continuous with change of speaker indicated only by the insertion of the characters' names before the first word in their speeches, rather than by the system of paragraphing in use today.

In the Hecyra the beginning of scenes is generally marked by two spaces left for the insertion of a hand rubricated initial although in five instances type l capitals are used, in one instance the variant capital "D" is used and in one instance a floral initial "U" is used.

16. P. Terentius Afer. Adelphoe. 1495? STC 23885.

RT: Varies with text. A2^v-A3,

'Primus actus. ||| Adelphorum.'

Coll: 4^o: A-C⁸D⁶; 30 leaves; sheet signed.

Type: 123 battard (Duff 2 leaded) for text, 67 rotunda (Duff 3) for commentary. B2, 19 ll. battard = 88 x 138(157) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: On A1, 'Comedia quarta. | Argumentum adelphorum familiare' | text | 'Adelphorum Argumentum.' On A1^v, 'Prologus.' On a2, 'In primum actum.' On A8^v, 'In Terciū actum.' On b7, 'In quartum actum.' On c7, 'In quintum actum.' On D5, text ends: 'istuc recte. Ualete plaudite: calliopius recensu.' On D5^v, 'Prologue.' On D6, text ends: 'Amicus meus summus et popularis geta.' D6^v, blank.

Copies: L (C.4.g.13) (reel 1118).

Notes: The fourth item bound in the British Library collection. The date is that assigned by Duff. The main reason for assuming an earlier date for this play would appear to be the fact that spaces left for rubrication appear to be the norm with only an occasional type 1 capital employed. In terms of composition, however, the play is closer to the Heauton Timorumenos ascribed to 1497, which also has 19 lines per page.

Again this is the first edition of the work to be printed in England.

The unique copy lacks leaves A4 and A5 which have been supplied in manuscript. It is presumed that A4^v, if present, would supply the missing heading, "In secundum actum."

It should also be noted that the text of the Adelphoe proper actually ends on D5; the "prologue" referred to above is actually that of the Phormio as is the remainder of the text on D5^v and D6; this would seem to suggest that the compositor did not read Latin and was working from a manuscript where the texts of the two plays tended to run together. One cannot contemplate this as intentional, since if it were we could not have a blank D6^v.

17. P. Terentius Afer. Phormio. 1495? STC 23885.

RT: Varies with text. a1^v-a2.

'Primus actus. ||| Phormionis.'

Coll: 4^o: a-d⁸; 30 leaves; sheet signed as i, etc.

Type: 132 textura (Duff 7 leaded) throughout. a8, 20 ll. = 88 x 133 (141) (rt.); a2, 18 ll. = 88 x 125 (133) (rt.); a3, 19 ll. = 88 x 133 (146) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: On a1, '¶ Comedia quinta Phormio. | ¶ Argumentum familiarissimum.' | text | 'Phormionis argumentum.' On a1^v, 'Prologus.' On a2^v, act 1 begins. On a8^v, act 2 begins. On b3^v, act 3 begins. On c3, act 4 begins. On d1, 'Quintus actus.' On d7^v, text ends: 'valet et plaudent. Calliopius recensui.' d8, unknown.

Copies: L (C.4.g.13) (reel 1118) lacks d8; O (bound in back of MS. Fairfax 18) lacks d8.

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff and seems likely since it is in the same type as the dated Hecyra. It is not uniform with the Hecyra, however, since it uses type 1 capitals throughout where the Hecyra relies mainly on spaces for rubrication. It also differs from all of the other plays in that the separate acts are not set-off as headings but are blended into the text as in the lines on a2^v,

"Amicus meus summus. Primus actus continet colloquium
dau et gete. Et per eos discit populus argumentum.",

where the introduction of the first act is on the same line with the end of the prologue. The fact that this procedure is not followed in any of the other plays suggests that this work may have been printed earlier than the others and this method of setting up the acts subsequently rejected, that a different compositor may have been employed for this play or that a different copy-text was being used.

18. J: Garlandia. Multorum Vocabulorum. October 8, 1496. STC 11601.

TP: A1, 'Multo4 vocabuloū equiuocoū interpretatio/ | Magistri
Johānis de Garlandia/grammatico | R latini cupido pinaxime necessaria/

Incipet:

Col: On L4, 'Libro equivico4 quorundā vocabulorum | scdm ordinem
alphabeti/vnacū interpretatione | Anglice lingue/finis impositus est
feliciter. quē | Richardus pynson/extra Berram noui templi/ | London
modis/mira arte imprimi/ac diligenti | studio corrigi/orthographie q.
sollicitus fuit. Anno | christiane redemptōnis. Millesimoquadringen
tesimo Nonagesimosexto. Die octava octobris'

Coll: 40: A-K^{8/6}L⁴; 74 leaves; signed \$ 1-4, 1-3, or 1-2 [-A1] as B, B 1j, etc.

Type: 65 rotunda (Duff 3) for text and signatures, 95 textura (Duff 7) for some text, headings and shoulder notes: B2, 34 ll. rotunda and 6 ll. textura = 85(101) x 144 (147) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: '[2 spaces left blank]. Ugustus/ti/to/cesar vel mensis habeto/' On L4, text ends: 'quo4 utilitatem. ego pegi. i. feci. ipsa scj equiuoca. r2.' colophon. L4^v, device 6.

Copies: O (Auct. 2. Q. 5. 9. [2]) (resl 67), P (Pet. Sp. 61 [2]).

Notes: Pynson's first edition.
Spaces are left for rubrication throughout.

19. J. Garlandia. Synonyma. 1496. STC 11609.

TP: A1, 'Synonyma magistri Johan | nis de garlandia cum expositione
| magistri galfridi anglici: de recēti | tam in versibus q̄ in sen-
tentiis or | tographia q̄ diligentissime Lon = | don̄ correctā et im-
pressā.'

Col: On L4, '℄ Liber synonymo4 Magistri Johannis de | Garlandia vna
cū expositiōe magistri galfridi | anglici vigilie diligentia ortho-
graphie stilo cor | rectus ꝛ exaratus. cum notabilibus in margini | bus
insertis in regia quoc̄ Ciuitate London̄. | impressus per Richardi
Pynson feliciter finit. | Anno incarnati verbi. M. CCCC. Lxxxvi.'

Coll: 4⁰: A-K⁶L⁴; 64 leaves; signed \$ 1-4 [-A1, H4, I4; K4 signed k4] as B, B1j, etc.

Type: 63 rotunda (Duff 3) used for text and signatures, 95 textura (Duff 7) used for some text and 95 textura (Duff 6) used on title-page. Specimen page, A2, 10 ll. textura, 25 ll. rotunda and 1 space = 84 (106) (sh. nt.) x 142(144) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: '[2 sp. left blank] D mare ne videar latines deferre/camino.' On L4, text ends: 'alo aliis sed potuis de abluo is. deriuator' | colophon. L4^v, device 6.

Copies: L (G. 7542), O (Auct. 2. Q. V. 9. [1]) (reel 149), P (Pet. Sp. 6T [3]).

Notes: Pynson's first edition. From the state of device 6, the work appears to have been printed before Garlandia's Multo4 Vocabuloru (STC 11601) and is thus before October 8, 1496. It is bound preceding STC 11601 in both the Bodleian and Peterborough copies.

The work has no capitals or initials but leaves spaces without guide-letters for rubrication.

20. "J. Mandeville." Mandeville's Travels. 1496? STC 17246.

Col: On k4, ' Here endeth the boke of John Maunduyle. | knyght of wayes to Ierusalem z of marvelys | of ynde and of other countrees. | Em-
printed by Rychard Pynson.'

Coll: 4⁰: 2-g⁸h-i⁶k⁴; 72 leaves; sheet signed \$ 1 and 3 (as 2) [-a], k3] as b i, bii.

Type 100 battard (Duff 2). a3, 30 ll. = 90 x 152(156) (sig.).

Cont: On a2, text begins: 'F³ [7] o as moche as the Lande ouer the see that is.' On k4, text ends: 'regneth god withoute ende amen.' | colophon. k4^v, device 9 in upside-down frame.

Copies: L (G. 6713) (reel 19) lacks a1, a8, c1, c8; O (Auct. QQ. supra II. 31 [1] kept as Arch G. d. 31) 1 leaf.

Notes: This is both the first edition in English and the first edition printed in England. Caxton apparently contemplated an edition in 1490, but as far as is known, it was never printed.

The date assigned is that given by Duff and STC. The frame of device 9 is unbroken and unbent indicating the work is before 1499. The appearance of the broken "k" with the 100 mm. battard indicates the work is later than 1494. Types 6 and 7 capitals are used. Although sheet-signing appears only in dated works of 1502, the state of the device makes that late a date impossible.

Pynson's edition follows the manuscript tradition known as the Defective Version, sub-group 2; but has better readings in various places than any manuscript of that group currently known.

The authorship of the original remains conjectural, but it is currently thought to have originally been written in French c. 1357. Although the most recent critical books on the work have tended to treat it as a straight travel-book,² the work is, in reality, highly satiric. The objects of the satire are many, but the main brunt of it is borne by the Church.

¹ M. C. Seymour, "The Early English Editions of Mandeville's Travels." Library, 5th series, vol. 19 (1964), p. 203, cites the ms. inscription in British Museum MS. Egerton 1982, "Thys fayre Boke I have fro the abbey at Saint Albans in thys yeare of our Lord m. cccc. lxxxx the sixt daye of Apryle Willym Caxton."

² Seymour, "Early Editions," p. 203.

21. J. Stanbridge. Long Parvula. 1496? STC2 23163.4.

Col: On b4^v, '¶ Emptentem by Richard Pynson:'

Coll: 4^o: a-b⁶(?); 12 leaves(?); signed \$1 & 2 (as 3) as i, aii, etc.

Type: 95 textura (Duff 7). a1, 2911. = 90 x 141(148) (sig.).

Cont: On a1, text begins: 'w⁶ [F¹] Hat shalt thou doo whanne thou.'

On b4^v, text ends: 'Nemo caret quinto pariter numero secundo | Sic finiter hoc opusculum.' | colophon. b5, blank. b5^v, Pynson's device no. 6. b6 & b6^v, unknown.

Copies: c⁶ (1365/4) (reel 483 as STC 23177) lacks one leaf of gathering b, which I take to be the last leaf.

Notes: The date is established as 1496 or earlier since it contains a wholly intact device no. 6. This would appear to be the second edition of this work printed in England, the first having been printed by Theodor Rood c. 1481-84.

According to Miss Pantzer's notes in STC2 the Long Parvula is distinguished from the other two forms of the Accidence attributed to Stanbridge by having 12 to 14 leaves and containing the sentences: "For all thing that a man may see, feel, hear or understand that beareth the name of the thing is a noun. How many manner of nouns be there? Two. Which two? A noun substantive and a noun adjective."

According to Eloise Pafort, "A Group of Early Tudor School-books," it was prescribed for use in the first and second forms at both Winchester and Eton.

22. P. Terentius Afer. Andria. 1497. STC 23885.

Col: On d5, '¶ Terentianis in Andria actibus Richardus | Pynson finem iusserat imprimere. Anno dñi | Legiseri nostri. M. cccc. lxxxxvii.'

RT: Varies with text. a4^v-a5,

'Primus actus ||| Andrie.'

Coll. 4^o: a-b⁸c-d⁶; 28 leaves; signed \$1-4 [-a1] as b, b ii, etc.

Type: 121 textura (Duff 7, the 95 textura leaded) used for most text, 67 rotunda (Duff 3?) for some text, and 114 textura (Duff 6) for some headings. a4, 22 11. 95 textura = 90 x 132(144) (rt. & sig.); a1, 47

11. rotunda = 86 x 150.

Cont: On a1, text begins: 'F² [7] uit olim vrb̄s /ea vocaba^t Athene. illic ciuis fuit Chre.' On a1^v, 'Terentius in andria. | Publii Terentii afri poete consei epitaphiū | text | 'C Argumentum Andrie clarissimū.' On a2, 'C Terentii argumentū in Andriam.' | text | 'C Prologus Andrie.' On a3, 'C In primū actum Andrie.' On b1^v, 'C Secundus actus.' On b5^v, 'Tertius actus.' On c1^v, 'C In quartum actum.' On c6, 'In quintum actum.' On d5, colophon. On d5^v, 'C Andria prima comedia Terentii bene | punctuata ꝛ correcta finit feliciter.' | 2 cols. of corrigenda. d6, blank. d6^v, device 6.

Copies: L (C.4.g.13) (reel 1118).

Notes: Although probably the last play printed, this is the first of the plays in order of appearance in the unique British Library collection. As with the other Terence plays, this represents the first edition of the work printed in England.

The work differs from all but the Eunuchi in that with the exception of six occasions when type 1 capitals are used, type 3 capitals are used throughout.

23. P. Terentius Afer. Eunuchus. 1497. STC 23885.

RT: Varies with text. a5^v-a6,

'Primus actus ||| Eunuchi.'

Coll: 4^o: a⁸b-c⁶d⁸; 28 leaves; signed a1-3, b1, c1 and c3 (as c2), d1 and d3 (as d2) as i, a ii, etc.

Type: 123 battard (Duff 2 leaded) for text, 67 rotunda (Duff 3) for some text and signatures. a3^v, 22 ll. battard = 89 x 137(143) (rt.).

Cont: On a1, 'Argumentum Eunuchi familiarissimum' | text | 'Argumentum Eunuchi.' On a1^v, 'Aliud argumentum.' | text | 'Prologus eunuchi.' On a2^v, 'In primum actum.' On a7^v, 'In secundam actum.' On b2^v, 'In tertiam actum.' On c1^v, 'In quartum actum.' On d1, 'In quintum actum.'

On d7^v, text ends: '[gra=] tia aptio6is/non necessitatis.' d8, unknown.

Copies: L (C.4.g.13) (reel 1118).

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff. In terms of typography, the work is most clearly linked to the Heauton Timorumenos assigned to the same year; at the same time the number of lines per page link the work to the Andria of the same year which it also resembles in its use of types 1 and 3 capitals.

Again this is the first edition of the play to have been printed in England.

24. P. Terentius Afer. Heauton Timorumenos. 1497. STC 23885.

RT: Varies with text. a2^v-a3,

'Primus actus ||| Eautontimorumenos.'

Coll: 4^o: a-c⁸d⁶e²; 32 leaves; signed \$ 1-4 or 1-3 [-e2] as aⁱ, aⁱⁱ, etc.

Type: 123 battard (Duff 2 leaded) for text and signatures, 67 rotunda (Duff 3) for commentary. a3, 19 11. battard = 88 x 138(157) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: On a1, 'Argumentum eautontimorumenos familiarissimū.' | text | 'Eautontimorumenos argumentum.' On a1^v, 'Prologus.' On a2^v, 'In primū Actum.' On a7^v, 'In Secūdum actum.' On b7, 'In Tertium Actum.' On c2, 'In quartum actum.' On c8^v, 'In quintum actum.' On e1^v, text ends: 'Uos valetē: et plaudite: Calliopus resensui.' e2, unknown.

Copies: L (c.4.g.13) (reel 1118) lacks e2.

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff and seems reasonably likely, although late 1496 is also a possibility. The evidence suggests that this work was printed before the Eunuchus, which it resembles in the combination of types used, but which it differs from in only having 19 lines to the page and in using type 1 capitals almost exclusively.

Again this is the first known edition of the play to be printed in England.

In addition to the final leaf, leaf c1 is missing from the copy and its place has been taken by a late manuscript leaf of the missing text.

25. Libellus Sophistarum ad Usum Cantibrigiensis. 1497. STC 2 15574.5.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Libellus Sophistarum. | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On M8, ' ¶ Finit feliciter Sophistarum libellus ad vsum | Cantibrigiens. probe digestus & ordinatus atq; recte | correctus per magistrum Iohannē Wolffer. ac per | Richardum pynson diligentissime impressus. | Anno domini. M. cccc. lxxxxvii.'

Coll: 4^o: A⁶B⁸C-D⁶E-G⁸H-I⁶K-M⁸; 86 leaves; signed \$1-4 [-A1] as B, B.i., B.ii., B.iii., etc.

Type: 114 textura (Duff 6) for title, headings, colophon and some text, 65 rotunda for text and diagrams. A2, 2 ll. textura and 41 ll. rotunda = 89 x 144(147) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, ' ¶ Ad subtilissimo4 ingenio4um | Sophistas.'

On A2, ' T² [1] Ermiñi ex quibus integratur p~~o~~positio/in | grammatica dictiones nuncupatur.' On A2^v, ' p² [1] Ropositio est oatio indicatiua congrua/et | pfecta/verum vel falsum significans.' On A3^v, diagram.

On A4^v, diagram. On F1, ' C² [7] Ontra istas regulas multiplicas/po~~s~~sunt | tales obiectiones fieri. P~~o~~imo cōtra p~~o~~imā.' On F8, ' Expliciunt termini nodales.'

On F8^v, ' ¶ De sincategeromatibus est sciendum'

On G8^v, ' ¶ Expliciunt sophismata. | Sequūtur obiectiones casciū'

On H6, ' Expliciunt consequētie alyngton. | Sequitur de fallaciis.'

On H6^v, ' Incipit tractatus de Fallaciis.' On I4, ' ¶ Incipit liber Natua4.'

On K4, diagram. On K6, ' Sequuntur figure co~~o~~po~~o~~ū p~~o~~edic-
to~~o~~um.'

On K6^v, diagram. On K7, diagram. On K7^v, ' ¶ Incipit tractatus de p~~o~~portionibus.'

On K8, diagram. On M7^v, text ends: ' casu possibili posito erit a~~n~~s ve4 & consequens falsum. ergo zc. | Finis.'

On M8, colophon. On M8^v, device 6.

Copies: C⁵ (A.2.1/3).

Notes: The majority of this work printed for use at Cambridge is concerned with logic and rhetoric, although other sections appear to deal

with natural phenomena and proportions. As will be noted from the contents, one section of the work appears to be by a Master Alyngton, about whom I have failed to find any information, but who might conceivably have been related to the same Alyngton family that produced Sir Giles, whom Pynson was later to print several items for, and whose family were prominent in relation to St. Dunstan's-in-the-West.

Also of interest is the reference to Iohanne Wolffer, who may be the first person we know of by name to have worked in Pynson's shop.

Capitals 1 and 7 are used throughout with an upside-down N [7] used for a U on B7.

26. Aesop. Aesop's Fables. 1497? STC 176.

Col: On G7^v, 'Enprented by me. R. Pynson.'

Coll: 2^o:...d⁸h-i⁶A-B⁸C-E⁶F-G⁸; 94+ leaves; signed \$1-3 or 1-4 [-E1].

Type: 101 battard (Duff 2). A3, 40 ll. = 122 x 201(207) (sig.).

Cont: On d1, 'Here begynneth the prologue of the first booke of Esope:' | Hodnett no. 55. | [2 spaces left] 'Romulus sonne of Tyber of the cytee of Atyque gretyng Esope' On e2, 'Here fynyssheth the first Booke of Esope And begynnythe | the Registre or table of the secoude Boke of esope.' On f4, 'Here fynyssheth the Secoude booke of Esope And begynnythe | the regystre or table of the thrydde booke of Esope:' On i4, 'Here fynnysheth the fourthe booke of the subtyle Fables of Esope.' | pe. And how be it that moo of them ben not found in any registre. Neuer= | theles many other fables composed by hym. have ben fonden whiche here | after folowen.' On C4, 'Here fynsshe the fables of Esope | And here folowed the table of the fabls of Auyan.' On E4, 'Here fynysshen the fables of Auyen. And after | folowen the fables of Alfonse.' On G1, 'Here enden the fables of Alfonse.' | And here followen other fables of | Poge the Florentyn.' On G7^v, text ends: 'This was a curteys excuse of a wydowe ꝛc.' | colophon. G8, device 3b.

G8^v, blank.

Copies: HN (34000) lacks gatherings a-c and leaves d2, d7, g5-8 and h1 (reel 128).

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff and STC. Although there is not sufficient data to definitely reassign the work to an earlier date, it should be noted that there does not appear to be anything in the work to rule out a date as early as 1494 and it is possible that this was the edition provided by Pynson to Russhe.

This is Pynson's first known edition of the work. The date is that assigned by Duff and STC. Although the presence of the broken version of the second type K in the type would seem to preclude publication before early 1494, the use of guide-letters rather than capitals or initials argues for the possibility of that early a dating which makes it remotely possible that this was the edition supplied to John Russhe. This earlier dating is also suggested by the use of a series of woodcuts which formerly belonged to Caxton and are later known to have returned to Wynken.

The text, like that of the earlier Canterbury Tales, appears to have used Caxton's edition as a copy-text, although supplemented by some other source or sources which would account for minor variations in phrasing, the occasional omission of headings and the fact that the work does not correspond page by page with the Caxton edition. An example of the sort of differences that occur in the two texts will be found in the heading for the twelfth fable of the first book which Caxton refers to as the fable of "the two mis" while Pynson refers to it as the fable of "the two rattes."

As indicated above, the sole known copy of the work is somewhat defective. As originally printed the work can be supposed to have contained "The Life of Aesop," followed by "The First Book of Aesop," "The Second Book of Aesop," "The Third Book of Aesop" (the beginning of which is lost among the pages missing from the copy), "The Fourth Book of Aesop," which are followed by "The Fables of Romulus," "The Fables of Avian," "The Fables of Alfonse" and "The Fables of Poge the Florentyn." This is the same order and material used in Caxton's edition, which, in turn, has been derived, as David G. Hale points out in his article, "Aesop in Renaissance England" (Library, 5th series, XXVII, pp. 116-125), from Julien Macho's French rendering of the works.

The illustrations obtained from Caxton present in that portion of the copy currently extant and their position in it are as follows: On d1, Hodnett no. 55; on d1^v, nos. 56 & 57; d3, no. 60; d3^v, no. 61; d4, no. 62; d4^v, nos. 63 & 64; d5^r, no. 65; d5^v, no. 66; d6, no. 67; d6^v, no. 68; d8, no. 72; d8^v, no. 73; e1, no. 74; e1^v, no. 75; e2^v, no. 76; e3, no. 77; e3^v, no. 78; e4, no. 79; e4^v, no. 80; e5^v, no. 82; e6, no. 83; e6^v, no. 84; e7, no. 85; e7^v, no. 86; e8, no. 87; e8^v, no. 88; f1, nos. 89 & 90; f1^v, no. 91; f2, no. 92; f2^v, no. 93; f3, no. 94; f3^v, no. 95; f4^v, no. 96; f5, no. 97, f5^v, no. 98; f6^v, no. 99; f7, no. 100; f7^v, no. 101; f8, no. 102; f8^v, no. 103; g1, no. 104; g1^v, no. 105; g3, no. 108; g3^v, no. 109; g4, no. 110; g4^v, no. 111 upside-down; h2, no. 118; h2^v, no. 119; h3, no. 120; h3^v, no. 121; h4, no. 122; h4^v, no. 123; h5, no. 124; h5^v, no. 125; h6, no. 126; h6^v, no. 127; i1, nos. 128 & 129; i1^v, no. 130; i2, no. 131; i2^v, no. 132; i3, nos. 133 &

134; i3^v, no. 135; i4, no. 136; i4^v, no. 137; i5^v, no. 138; i6, no. 139; A1, no. 140; A1^v, no. 141; A2^v, no. 142; A3^v, no. 143; A5, no. 144; A7, no. 145; A7^v, no. 146; B1^v, no. 147; B2^v, no. 148; B3, no. 149; B4, no. 150; B5, no. 151; B5^v, no. 152; B6, no. 153; B6^v, no. 154; B7, no. 155; B7^v, no. 156; B8, no. 157; B8^v, no. 158; C1, no. 159, C1^v, nos. 160 & 161; C2, no. 162; C2^v, no. 163; C3, nos. 164 & 165; C3, no. 166; C4^v, no. 167; C5, nos. 168 & 169; C5^v, no. 170; C6, no. 171; C6^v, no. 172; D1, no. 173; D1^v, no. 174; D2, nos. 175 & 176; D2^v, no. 177; D3, no. 178; D3^v, no. 179; D4, no. 180; D4^v, no. 181; D5, no. 182; D5^v, no. 183; D6, no. 184; D6^v, no. 185; D7, nos. 186 & 187; D7^v, no. 188; E2, no. 189; E2^v, no. 190; E3, no. 191; E3^v, nos. 192 & 193; E4, no. 194; E5^v, no. 195; E6, no. 196; F1^v, no. 197; F2^v, no. 198; F3, no. 199; F4, no. 201; F5, no. 202; F6, no. 203; F6^v, no. 204; F7^v, no. 205; F8, no. 206; G1, no. 207; G2, no. 208; G2^v, no. 209; G3, no. 210; G4^v, no. 211; G5^v, no. 212; and on G6, no. 213. As Hodnett points out, Hodnett nos. 28-54, 59, 69-71, 106, 107 and 112-117 were probably also present.

27. J. Stanbridge, Long Parvula. 1497? STC2 23163.8.

Coll: 4^o: unknown.

Cont: On d3, text begins: 'noītif case supponēt to the verbe. as ego qui scribo se [deo]'

Copies: Eton () d3 and d4 (latter unsigned) of a presumed gathering of six only.

Notes: The above information is taken from a combination of Duff, STC and STC2. Duff's date is 1496. I have not viewed the fragment at all and so can say nothing about the dating nor can I even list the type which Duff also failed to record.

The leaves were apparently taken from a binding, although I have failed to find any reference as to what they were found in the binding of or whether it is a possible Pynson binding.

28. Theodolus, Liber Theodoli. 1497? STC2 23939.5.

RT: 'THEODOLI' on unsigned page.

Coll: 4^o: unknown. 1st leaf present is signed a ii.

Type: 64 rōtunda (Duff 3?) for most text, 95(?) textura (Duff 7?) for running-titles and some text.

Cont: On a2, text begins: 'Prologus. } E² [8?] Thiopium terras iam

seruida torruit estus' | text ends: 'rustica4 psona4. vt pasto4. Et
dicif ab egle qd est capta. ⁊ logos sermo' On unsigned recto, text
begins: '[RT] THEODULI | nubibus coodui [] ipse graues fiunt ⁊ cadūt.
⁊ ex hoc causat pluis'

Copies: 'L (I.A. 55514/1) as endpapers in a Pynson bound copy of Pyn-
son's 1499 edition of the Abbreviamentum Statutorum.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2, probably at least partly
 based on the date assigned the Abbreviamentum and the binding which
 features Misc. 14 and Ro. 1 panels. This would make this Pynson's first
 edition of the work.

The Latin pastoral allegory enjoyed a wide vogue in both grammar
 schools and colleges from the twelfth century until around 1519. Cast
 in the form of a dialogue between the shepherd, Pseustis, representing
 Pagan knowledge, and the shepherdess, Alitheia, representing Christian
 knowledge, the work was regarded from the twelfth century on as a work
 to be studied in the light of the three-fold method of interpretation.

George L. Hamilton in his "Theodolus: a Mediaeval Textbook,"
 MP, 7 (1909), pp. 169-185, points to numerous instances of the poems in-
 fluence including the use of the reference to Pseustis in Chaucer's
House of Fame. Although a William Field, master of Fotheringay College,
 Northamptonshire, from 1477-1495, caused scenes from the book to be set
 in glass windows, the book was beginning to lose its popularity. The
 last literary reference to the work known to Hamilton is in Barclay's
 Eclogues (1514-1519) in a catalogue of pastoral poets in which he refers
 to the creator of "Alathea & Sewstris."

29. Alexander Grammaticus. Doctrinale. 1498. STC 317.

Col: On r7^v, '¶ Libo doctrinali Alexandri Richardus | Pynson vigi-
lanter coirecto finem felicem | imponere iubet. Anno dñi. M. cccc.
xcviii.'

Coll: 4^o: a-q^{6r8}; 104 leaves; signed \$ 1-3 [+r4] as b, bii, etc.

Type: Mainly in 64 rotunda (Duff 3*) with 96 textura (Duff 7) for
 colophon, some text and headings. a3, 27 ll. rotunda and 12 ll. textura
 = 91(112) x 148(154) (sig.).

Cont: a1 and a2, unknown. On a3, text begins: 'accentibus. ibi
Accentus noas.' On r7^v, text ends: 'sancti. Qui quidem vnus deus
sit in seculo4 secula benedictus. Amen.' | colophon. r8, blank.

r8^v, device 9.

Copies: Lincoln's Inn, lacks a1 and a2.

Notes: This is Pynson's second edition of the work. Type 2 capitals are used throughout.

The unique copy is most interesting in that it is the earliest book printed by Pynson to be bound using a signed Pynson stamped binding. The binding has Misc. T4 and Ro. 1.

30. Sulpitius. Sulpitii Verulani Oratoris. 1498. STC 23426.

TP: a1, 'Sulpitii Verulani oratoris prestantissimi | mi opus grammatices insigne feliciter | incipet.' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On h4^v, '¶ Sulpitiano grammatices opusculo vigilanter | punctuato & correcto iamiam extra barrā noui | templi londoniensi p Richardū Pynson impres= | so finis imponitur Anno salutis M. cccc. xviii.'

Coll: 4^o: a-c⁸ d-g⁶ h⁸ i⁶; 62 leaves; signed \$ 1-4 [-a1, 2, d-g4; g2 signed f2; h3 signed h2; signature i is signed with roman numerals only] as b i, b ij, etc.; foliated beginning with a2, fo. ii-xxvii, xxxviii, xxxi, xxx, xxxi, xxii, xxxiii, xxxix, lx, blank, xli-xliii, xliii-lv, blank, lvi-lix on i5.

Type: 64 rotunda (Duff 3) for text and signatures. a3, 43 ll. rotunda = 89 x 140(152) (rt., fol., sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, blank. On a2, '¶ De arte punctuandi' On a2, '¶ Amplissimo longeque reuerendo patri/et | domino: domino Angelo pontifici Tibur= | tino/ & in agro piceno vicelegato dignissimo | Sulpitius Verulanus cum plurimo com= | mendatione felicitatem.' On a2^v, Latin verses. On a3, text begins: 'G³ [7] Rammatico est recte loquele/reteq scripture scientia: oigo' On h4^v, colophon. On h5, '¶ Carmen sulpitii ad lectores.' On h5^v, 'De heroici carminis decore' On h6^v, '¶ De metris.' On i6, 'Finis.' i6^v, device no. 6.

Copies: L (IA 55595), C⁶ (1305/6).

Notes: Pynson's second edition. Type 2 capitals are used.

31. Anonymous. Elegantiarum Viginti Precepta. 1498? STC 7566.

TP: a1, ' ¶ Elegantiarum viginti precepta ad | perpulcras confic-
iendas epistolā' | Hodnett no. 1509.

RT: Varies with text. a2^v-a3.

' ¶ Precepta | Elegantiarum'.

Coll: 4^o: a-b⁸; 16 leaves; signed \$1-4-[-a1].

Type: 97 textura (Duff 7) for text with 114 textura (Duff 6) on title-
page. a3, 25 ll. & 1 space = 89 x 128(144) (rt. & sig.):

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, blank. On a2, ' ¶ Precepta Elegantiarū |
viginti Incipiunt | A⁶ [F¹] D cōficiendas elegāter epistolas/' On b8,
text ends: 'Elegantiarum viginti precepta finiunt' b8^v, device 6.

Copies: HN(59133) (reel 7566); E (Inc.340) leaves b1 & b8 only.

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff and STC and generally agrees
with the state of the device and the woodcut although a date of 1497
seems possible. This is the only known edition of this somewhat ad-
vanced grammar for the composition of Latin sentences. The work is pri-
marily concerned with the placement of the various parts of speech in a
Latin sentence.

32. Smerte (attributed to Skelton). The Epitaffe of Jasper. 1498?
STC 14477.

TP: a1, Hodnett no. 1501 | 'The Epitaffe of the moſte noble valyaunt
| Jasper late duke of Beddeforde'

Coll: 4^o: a⁶b⁴; 10 leaves; signed a2-3, b1-2 as a ii, etc.

Type: 102 battard (Duff 2) for text and signatures with 114 textura
(Duff 6) for title-page. a2, 26 ll. & 3 sp. = 95(104) x 146(149) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title-page, a1^v, blank. On a2, 'R² [6] ydyngē af alone
with sorowe sore encombred' On b3^v, text ends: 'Wherfoe do for your
silfe I can say no more. | Amen. | Hono^o tibi deus/gloria/et laus. Q⁴

Smerte maister de ses ouyeaus.' b4, blank. b4^v, device 9.

Copies: C⁶ (1254⁵) (Reel 483).

Notes: STC follows Duff in assigning this to 1496, one of Duff's catch-all years. The frame of device 9 is unbent and unbroken indicating that the work is before 1499. I have reassigned the dating to 1498 because of several similarities to Alcock's Gallicantus (STC 277) which must be dated September 25, 1497, or sometime after that date in the same year, depending on whether one takes the date of "xxv. die mensis Septembris. Anno millesimo. CCCC. nonagesimo octauo." to refer to the printing of the work or the date the sermon was given. The two works both share a set of two-space capitals, which in my erratic numbering system I have labeled caps. 6. More importantly, and for one of the few times in this study, the two works are actually found to share a common watermark, an initial B.

As mentioned above, STC has for some reason seen fit to attribute the work to Skelton, despite the fact that it is clearly signed by one master Smerte, master of hawks to Jasper Tudor. The main reasons for attributing the work to Skelton is the seeming irregularity of form and rhythm of lines which we associate with the term "Skeltonics" combined with Latin glosses of various rhetorical terms in the shoulder-notes which may seem to be too obviously ineptly demonstrated to be taken seriously and thus suggesting that perhaps we are dealing with Skelton or some other humanistic wit deliberately using the work as a vehicle to mock the rhetorical and poetic conventions which had supposedly derived from the Classics. The simple way to demonstrate how this view could be taken is to quote a section of the poem. The following is "metrum vii" from a3^v, which the gloss rather needlessly informs us demonstrates "iteracio," the rhetorical device of repeating for emphasis:

"As the uylest of a nacyon.
 Deuoyde of consolacyon.
 By cruel crycyacyon.
 He hath combryd hym sore.
 He hath hym combryd sore.
 That fraunce and englande bere byfore.
 Armys of both quarteryd.
 And with hony soyte was garteryd.
 Se howe he is nowe martyred,
 Alas for sorowe therefore.
 Alas for sorowe therefore.
 Oute, and Weleway.
 For people may a score.
 For him shal yel and rore.
 Alas that we were bore.
 To se this dolorous day."

Despite the ridiculous juxtapositions of words which seem to be chosen more on the basis of maintaining the rhymes rather than for their suitability to the subject matter; and despite the fact that the "iteracion" detracts much more than it adds to the poem; the work does indeed appear, at least in its origin, to be a serious work by master Smerte.

Indeed, it would appear that there may well have been previously written works by master Smerte which have, regrettably, been lost to

posterity since we find in the privy purse expenses of Henry VII, as quoted by Samuel Beatty in his Excerpta Historica (London: Samuel Beatty, 1831), p. 89, an entry for March 7, 1492, "To one Smerte for an Englishe Boke, £1." Although the entry is ambiguous, in that Smerte could as easily be a mere scribe or stationer as easily as an author from the entry, yet it is suggestive. Regretfully, the entry is too early to refer to the present work since Jasper did not die until 1495.

The work must have originally been intended as a serious epitaph on the passing of Jasper, if not, given the respect and affection of Henry VII for his uncle, it is doubtful the work would ever have seen publication. This is not to go so far as to say we should adopt the position set forth by John M. Berdan in his Early Tudor Poetry: 1485-1547 (New York: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 129-131, that the work is a series of experiments, each of which is differentiated and labeled; what one wonders is whether Smerte actually did the labeling.

Although it is possible that Smerte self-consciously set out to glorify his late master in a poem constructed to demonstrate numerous rhetorical devices and twenty meters, in which case we might rightfully put in a claim for Pynson publishing one of the earliest instructive aids to the writing of English poetry, there is another possibility.

One wonders if Smerte was not really a rather undisciplined poet, whose main job really was keeping Jasper's birds, and the poem involved a sincere outpouring of grief on the death of his master, probably presented to Henry VII in 1495 or 1496 (a scene commemorated by the woodcut which shows a man with a falcon on his wrist offering a book to a king). It would be received by Henry as the sincere offering of a loyal subject, and a long-time family retainer, but one also suspects that Henry had due appreciation of the ludicrousness of the poetry involved, especially if he had already sampled some of Smerte's verse in 1492. It is possible that after a fit period of time had elapsed, Henry himself had the work printed by Pynson with the Latin glosses added to point up the incongruities of the verse while on the surface appearing to be a tribute to Jasper, which it is despite the awful form, and an instructive to writing English verse, which it is not, except by negative example.

1 Beatty's source is British Museum Add. MSS. 7099, which preserves some records since lost by the PRO. See S. B. Chrimes, Henry VII, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972, Appendix E.

33. Libellus Secundarium Intentionum Logicalium. 1498. STC 15572.

TP: al, 'Libellulus secundarū intentionū logicalium | nouiter com-
pilatus pro scholaribus' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Coll: 4⁰: a⁶b⁴; 10 leaves; signed a ij, a iij, b, b ij.

Type: 63rd rotunda (Duff 3) for text and signatures, 114 textura (Duff 6) and 95 textura (Duff 7) used for headings. b2, 37 ll. rotunda, 4 ll. 95 textura and 6 spaces = 90 x 146(149) (sig.).

Cont: al, title. a1^v, Hodnett no. 1509. On a2, 'Incipit tractatus
de quinque universalibus | logycalibus perutilis nouiter iuentus' On b4,
text ends: 'Hec ergo ad eruditionē fundamentālē puulo4 qui | se ad
philosophiā vel theologiā realium doctorum applicauere scripsi.' b4^v,
device no. 6.

Copies: L (IA 55543) (reel 965).

Notes: The date of this work on "logic" for the University trade is established by the states of the device and the woodcut and is that assigned by both Duff and STC.

Type 8 capitals appear to be used throughout with the exception of a type 1 capital Q on a2.

34. Richard Fraunces. Promptorium Puerorum. May 15, 1499. STC 20434.

Col: On t3, 'Ad laudē et ad honore oipotentis dei. et in=
temerate genetricis ei9. Finis excellentissimū | op9 exiguis magnisq
scolastic vtilissimū qd | nūcupatur Medulla grāmāticē. Inpssū per |
egreguī Richardū pynson. in expensis virtuo | so4 virorum Frederici
egmōdt ꝛ Petri post pas/ | cha. an^o dñi. M. cccc. nonagesimo nono.
Deci | ma v^a. die mensis Maii.'

RT: Varies with text. a2^v-a3,

'Nomina. A. Nomina. A. |||, Nomina. A. Nomina. A.'

Coll: 2⁰: a-b⁸c-s⁶t⁴; 116 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1, -t3; +a4, +b4]
as b 1, bif, etc.

Type: 100 battard (Duff 2) for text and signatures, 114 textura (Duff 6) for running-titles and headings. a3, 41 ll. battard = 144, (7) (sing. col.) x 206(222) (r-t. & sig.).

Cont: al, blank. On a1^v, ' Incipit prologus in libellū qui | dicitur promptorius puerorum.' On a2, ' Incipit liber q̄ dicitur Prompto | rium paruulorum siue clericoꝝ.' | [6 spaces left for guide-letter a] Backe backward. retrō.' On t3, text ends: 'Recte preteritū formādo suppiat. i atum.' | colophon. t3^v, device 9 in frame. t4, blank. t4^v, blank.

Copies: L (C. 11. b. 11) lacks t4; M (17308 formerly INC. 23 F 16); O (Auct. QQ supra ii. 10 kept as Arch. G. d. 25); C (INC. 3. j. 3/6); HN (69013) (reel 140); PML (W 14 B 737).

Notes: The work is the first edition of the English Latin, Latin-English dictionary. According to Ames and Herbert in Herbert's edition of Typographical Antiquities, pp. 246-248, the work is supposed to have been compiled by one Richard Fraunces on the basis of the following inscription in a copy of the work formerly at Longbridge: " Nomen Compileris istius libri est Frater Richardus Fraunces inter quatuor parietes pro Christo inclusus."

The work is in two columns with English words arranged alphabetically followed by their Latin equivalent in the same column. It will be noted, however, that this rule is not adhered to in relation to the first entry. Normally, however, the English words are alphabetized with the initial letter of the word being indicated in the running-title above the relevant column. After the list of English words has been completed for a given letter, the same procedure is then followed for Latin words followed by their English equivalents. In each instance, the initial entry for a new letter of the alphabet is marked by the appearance of a type 7 capital letter except for one D [], W [F1], W [PB] and the letters y and z for which guide-letters and spaces are used.

35. Anonymous. Libellulus Que Informatio. 1499? STC 14078.

TP: A1, ' Libellulus/que Informatio puero4 appellatur/ | cum modico apparatus nouiter xpilatus/Incipit.' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On D3^v, 'Emprinted by Richard Pynson.'

Coll: 4^o: A-D^{6,4}; 20 leaves, signed \$1-3 or 1-2 as B, B1f.

Type: 95 textura (Duff 7?) for text and 64 rotunda (Duff 3?) for some

text and shoulder-notes. A3, 28 ll. textura = 86 x 136(139) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins; 'H⁵ [F¹] On
many parties of reason be' On D3^v, text ends: '¶ after/¶ in the
myddis. | Finis.' | colophon. D4 & D4^v, unknown.

Copies: C⁶ (1305/3) lacks last leaf.

Notes: The dating is based on the condition of the woodcut.
This represents the first edition of this grammar.

36. Libellus Sophistarum ad usum Oxoniensis. 1499? STC 15575.

TP: A1, 'Libellus sophistarum | ad usum Oxoniensium.' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Coll: 4^o: A-M⁶N⁸; 80 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-M2; +N4; B1 signed B₁] as
C, C₁₁, etc.

Type: 63 rotunda (Duff 3) for text, diagrams and signatures, 95 tex-
tura (Duff 7) for headings. E2, 3 ll. textura and 39 ll. rotunda =
83(100) x 139(145) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ Ad subtilissimo ingenio sophistas.'
On A2, 'P² [7] Ropostio est oratio indicativa/congrua' On A2^v, diagram.
On A5^v, diagram. On F3^v, diagram. On F4, diagram. On F4^v, diagram.
On G5^v, diagram. On L2, '¶ Finis apparentiarum libri.' On L2^v, dia-
gram. On L3, diagram. On L3^v, '¶ Tractatus de naturalibus.' On L6^v,
diagram. On M2^v, diagram. On M5^v, '¶ Incipit tractatus de propor-
tionibus.' On M6, diagram. On N7, | 'Finis.' N7^v, blank. N8, blank.
On N8^v, '¶ Finis Sophistarum libellus | ad usum Oxoniensium feliciter' |
device 9 in frame.

Copies: 0 (4^o S. 38. Art. Seld./1) (reel 82); DLC() lacks A1.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 although it is possible the
work may be as late as 1502 judging from the state of Hodnett no. 1509.
Although the work is similar to STC2 15574.5 and STC2 15576.6 it is not
as clearly divided into sections as the other two works. The wear on
common diagrams clearly established that this is the last of the series

to be printed.

One should again note the section composed by one Alyngton which ends on i2. Also noteworthy is the diagram on k3^v which makes its first appearance in this work.

Type 7 capitals are used throughout.

37. Libellus Sophistarum. 1499? STC2 15576.6.

TP: a1, 'Libellus Sophistarum' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Coll: 4^o: a⁸b-m⁶n⁸; 82 leaves; signed \$ 1 & 3 (as 2) [-a1, -11] as b¹, b¹⁷.

Types: 67 rotunda (Duff 3?) for main text, 95 textura (Duff 7) for some text and headings, 114 textura (Duff 6?) for title-page. d1, 44 11. rotunda = 88 x 143(150.5) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, Hodnett no. 1509. On a2, 'I² [7] Ermini ex quibus integratur p^opositio: in | grāmatica dictiones nuncupatur.'

On a2^v, 'P² [7] Ropositio est oratio indicatiua congrua ꝛ p^o | facta verū vel falsū significans. P^opositio= On a3^v, diagram. On a6^v, diagram. On i2, 'C Expliciunt ꝛ ne Alyngton.' On k2^v, diagram. On k3, diagram. On k3^v, diagram. On n7^v, text ends: '[ēne=] qꝛ principaliter aliē qꝛ est. | C Expliciunt Insalubilis.' n7^v, blank. n8, blank. n8^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: C (Sel. 5. 89).

Notes: The divisions of the work are not as clearly set apart by headings as in STC2 15574.5 and STC 15575. The diagram on k3^v, illustrating proportions makes its first appearance in this work. The date is that assigned by STC2 and is confirmed by the state of the frame of device 9. Type 7 capitals are used throughout.

38. J. Garlandia. Synonyma. 1500. STC 11611.

Col: On K4^v, ' ¶ Liber synonymoꝝ Magistri Iohannis de | Garlandia/
vna cū expositōe magistri galfridi | āglici/vigilia diligētia oꝛtho-
graphie štīlo coꝛ = | rectus et exaratus. cum notabilibus in margi |
nibus isertis/in regia quoq. Ciuitate Lōdoñ. | impressus per Richardū
Pynson/feliciter finit | Anno incarnationis domini. M. CCCCC.'

Coll: 4^o: A-I⁶K⁴; 58 leaves; signed \$ 1-3 [-A2, K3] as B, b^s ij, etc.

Type: 65 rotunda (Duff 3*) for text and signatures and 95 textura (Duff 7) for some text. A2, 29 ll. rotunda and 10 ll. textura = 83 (105) x 141; G3, 29 ll. rotunda and 9 ll. textura = 83(105) x 137(148) (sig.).

Cont: A1, unknown. On A2, text begins: '[2 spaces left for rubri-
cation] D mare ne videar latices deferre/camino' On K4^v, text ends:
'alo alīs . sed potius de abluo is. deriuatur.' | colophon.

Copies: M (17325 = INC. 23 H 3), lacks A1.

Notes: Pynson's second edition. There is one type 2 capital on E1. Throughout the rest of the work spaces have been left for rubrication and have been rubricated in this copy.

39. J. Garlandia. Multorum Vocabulorum. 1500.

Notes: Duff no. 158, originally listed by Herbert in his Additions and Corrections to Typographical Antiquities, vol. 3, p. 1780. No copy is at present known.

40. Aesop. Aesop's Fables. 1500? STC 177.

Col: On s5^v, ' ¶ Finis. Emprynted by Richard Pynson.'

Coll: 4^o: a-s⁶; 108 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-c1, -c2; 12 signed 13 and 13 signed 14] as ai, aff, etc.

Type: 96 textura. c3, 40 ll. = 121 x 190(195) (sig.).

Cont: On c1, first line present: 'I² [7] N tyme whe=' On d2,
 ' ¶ Here endeth the lyfe of Esope and foloweth the regester of | the
 fables of the first boke.' On e5, ' ¶ Here fenyssheth the first boke of
 Esope and begynneth the | registryre of table of the secoude boke of
 Esope' On g2^v, ' ¶ Here fenyssheth the secoude boke of Esope and be-
 gynneth the | registryre of table of the thirde boke of Esope.' On i1,
 ' ¶ Here fenyssheth the thirde boke of Esope and | begynneth the table
 of the forth boke of Esope.' On k3^v, ' ¶ Here fenyssheth the fourth
 boke of the subtyll fables of Esope. And | how be it that moche of them
 be nat founde in any registryre. Neuerthe= | les many other fables com-
 posed by hym haue be founde whiche here= | after folowen.' On m6^v,
 contents. On o1^v, ' ¶ Here fenyssheth the fables of Esope. | ¶ And
 here foloweth the table of the fables of Auyan.' On q1, ' ¶ Here
 fenyssheth the fables of Auyen ⁊ after folow the fables of Alfonse'
 On r5^v, ' ¶ Here enden the fables of alfonce. ⁊ folowen other fables
 of | poge the florentyne.' On s5^v, colophon. | device 3, S6 & S6^v,
 unknown.

Copies: L (I.B. 55523) lacks gatherings a and b and leaves e4 and s6
 (reel 16).

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff and STC. This represents
 Pynson's second edition of the work and generally follows the first, al-
 though the format has changed and headings vary considerably from the
 first.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the edition is the intro-
 duction of a series of new woodcuts which are copies (sometimes re-
 versed) of Caxton's Aesop series which had been used by Pynson in his
 previous edition. Those present in the imperfect copy are: c1, no.
 1672; c1^v, no. 1673; c2^v, no. 1674; c4, no. 1675; c4^v, no. 1676; c6,
 no. 1677; c6^v, no. 1676; d1, no. 1678; d2, no. 1679; d2^v, no. 1680;
 d3, no. 1681; d3^v, no. 1682; d4, no. 1683; d4^v, no. 1684; d5, no. 1685;
 d5^v, no. 1686; d6, no. 1687; d6^v, no. 1688 & 1689; e1, no. 1690; e1^v,
 no. 1691; e2, no. 1692; e2^v, no. 1693; e3, nos. 1694 & 1695; e3^v, no.
 1696; e5, no. 1697; e5^v, no. 1698; e6^v, no. 1699; f1, no. 1700; f1^v,
 no. 1701; f2, no. 1702; f2^v, no. 1703; f3, no. 1704; f3^v, no. 1705;
 f4, no. 1706; f4^v, no. 1707; f5, no. 1708; f5^v, no. 1709; f6, nos. 1710
 & 1711; f6^v, no. 1712; g1, no. 1713; g1^v, no. 1714; g2, no. 1715; g2^v

no. 1716; g3, no. 1717; g4, no. 1718; g4^v, no. 1719; g5, no. 1720; g5^v, 1721; g6, no. 1722; g6^v, no. 1723; h1, no. 1724; h1^v, no. 1725; h2, no. 1726; h2^v, no. 1727; h3, no. 1728; h3^v, no. 1729; h4, no. 1729; h4^v, no. 1730; h5, no. 1731 upside-down; h5^v, nos. 1732 & 1733; h6, no. 1734; h6^v, no. 1735; i1, nos. 1736 & 1737; i2, no. 1738; i2^v, no. 1739; i3, no. 1740; i3^v, no. 1741; i4, no. 1742; i4^v, no. 1743; i5, no. 1744; i5^v, no. 1745; i6, no. 1746; i6^v, no. 1747; k1, nos. 1748 & 1749; k1^v, no. 1750; k2, no. 1751; k2^v, no. 1752; k3, nos. 1753 & 1754; k3^v, no. 1755; k4, no. 1756; k4^v, no. 1757; k5, no. 1758; k6, no. 1759; k6^v, no. 1760; l1, no. 1761; l2, no. 1762; l3, no. 1763; l5, no. 1764; m1, no. 1765; m1^v, no. 1766; m3^v, no. 1767; m4^v, no. 1768; m5, no. 1769; m6, no. 1770; n1, no. 1771; n1^v, no. 1772; n2, no. 1773; n2^v, no. 1774; n3, no. 1775; n3^v, no. 1776; n4, no. 1777; n4^v, no. 1778; n5, no. 1779; n5^v, nos. 1780 & 1781; n6, no. 1782; n6^v, no. 1783; o1, nos. 1784 & 1785; o1^v, no. 1786; o2^v, no. 1787; o3, nos. 1788 & 1789; o3^v, no. 1790; o4, no. 1791; o4^v, no. 1792; o5, no. 1793; o5^v, no. 1794; o6, nos. 1795 & 1796; o6^v, no. 1797; p1, no. 1798; p2, no. 1799; p2^v, no. 1800; p3, no. 1801; p3^v, no. 1802; p4, no. 1803; p4^v, nos. 1804 & 1805; p5^v, no. 1806; p6, nos. 1807 & 1808; p6^v, no. 1809; q1, no. 1810; q1^v, no. 1811; q3, no. 1812; q4, no. 1813; q5, no. 1814; q6, no. 1815; r2, no. 1816; r2^v, no. 1817; r3, no. 1818; r4, no. 1819; r5, no. 1820; r6, no. 1821; r6^v, no. 1822; and on s4, no. 1823.

41. Donatus. Donatus Pro Pueris. 1500? STC 7017.

TP: a1, 'Donatus pro pueris' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Coll: 40: a-b⁶; 12 leaves; signed \$1-3, as a, aii, etc.

Type: 95 textura (Duff 7). b1, 29 ll. = 94 x 143(146) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, blank. On a2, text begins: '[6 spaces left for guide p] Artes orationis quot sunt? octo. quē?' On b6, text ends: '[dolo=] rem mentis significat. | Finis' b6^v, device 6.

Copies: c⁶ () (reel 96).

Notes: Pynson's only edition of this Latin grammar. The date is that assigned by Duff and STC and is consistent with the state of device no. 6.

A mixture of spaces with guide-letters and type 7 capitals are used throughout the work. Paragraphing is done by the use of the symbol "C" rather than by indentation throughout the work.

42. Anonymous. Guy of Warwick. 1500? STC 12540.

Coll: 4^o: unknown.

Type: 102 battard (Duff 2). 30 ll. per page, no measurement taken.

Cont:

11, begins: 'wyth that the lumbardis fledde away'

11^v, begins: 'But thretty of his knyghtis anone'

17, begins: 'The erle toke his leue home agayne'

17^v, begins: 'All the lumbardis and all the lorayns'

18, begins: 'Than ran lumbardis on each syde'

18^v, begins: 'By that one cost he rode fleyenge'

Copies: L (I.A. 55533) leaves 11, 17 and 18 only (reel 960).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC and either this or the copy printed c. 1500 by De Worde is the first printed edition of the romance. The work had to have been printed before 1501 since the leaves above were taken from a Pynson binding of Pynson's 1501 edition of the Directorium Sacerdotum formerly owned by Ripon Cathedral and currently in Lord Kenyon's collection.

43. Anonymous. Robin Hood. 1500? STC 13688.

Coll: 4^o (?): unknown.

Type: 95 textura. c2, 32 ll. = 80 x 145(151) (sig.).

Cont:

FOLG. 1, 2nd line: "Sic he sawe .xx. marke."

FOLG. 4^v, 5th line: 'Under the grene wode tre.'

FOLG. 2, 1st line: 'Under the grene wode tree.'

FOLG. 2^v, 1st line: 'For curtesy can he none'

C., c2, 1st line: 'Right vnder thy hartes bonde.'

c., c2^v, 1st line: 'Agaynst the lawes and ryght'

Copies: . FOLG. (13688) 1-1/2 leaves; C (Inc.4.J.3.6) 1 leaf.

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff and STC. This is presumed to be the earliest printed account relating to Robin Hood.

In the description of contents above, the fragment described as no. 1 refers to the full page and no. 2 refers to the half-page fragment. The reference to recto and verso is also rather perfunctory and the lines cited in page 1 are the first ones fully legible.

44. J. Le Grand. Book of Good Manners. 1500? STC 15396.

Col: On q6^v, '¶ Here endeth and fyuyssheth, the booke ¶ | Intituled
gode maners. Emppented by Rycharde | Pynson. | ... | ¶ Laus deo ...'

Coll: 4^o: a-p⁶q⁸; signed \$1 & 3 (as 2) [-a1 (?); k1 missed k2] as b¹, etc.

Type: 98 (?) texture (Duff 7). b1, 28 ll. = 90 x 140(142) (sig.).

Cont: a1, Hodnett no. 1509. a1^v, blank. On a2, introduction begins: 'W⁴ [F¹] Han I considere the condicyons | On a2^v, 'H² [7] Ere begynneth the table of a boke named ¶ | On a5, '¶ The fyrst partye of this boke Whereof the fyrste | chapitre speketh of poyde. Capitulo primo. | E⁴ [LF] Uery poudre person wolde compare him | On g4^v, '¶ Here foloweth the seconde boke the whiche spe= | keth of the estate of the people of the churche and of the clerkes | On i1, '¶ Here foloweth the third boke the which speketh | of the state of lordes temporel ¶ of all chyualrye. | On 13, '¶ Here foloweth the iiii. boke the which speketh | of the estate of the comonalte and of the people. | On o5, '¶ Here foloweth the v. boke yf whiche treateth of | dethe, how no man ought to glorifye hym of his | estate. | On q6^v, text ends: 'that sayen that the wolde shall endure moche lon= | ge. | ¶ Thus endeth the fift boke. | colophon. q7 & q8, unknown.

Copies: C⁴ (XV.9.17) lacks a6, q7, q8 and possibly a1 (regl 517) with

opening b6^v-c1 ff. rephotographed after opening d3^v-d4).

Notes: Pynson's second edition complete with the introductory material taken from Caxton's edition. There is some question as to whether the present al belongs to the piece or not; Duff in Fifteenth Century English Books doubted it but recorded it. I am following his example.

The date assigned is that given by both Duff and STC.

The work uses type 7 capitals. In addition, each book begins with a woodcut initial. Those not indicated above are T⁴ [F¹] on 13^v and g4^v, and A⁴ [F²] on il.

45. Anonymous. Paris and Vienne. 1500?

Notes: Although no copies of a Pynson edition of this date have ever been recorded, Hodnett has speculated that one must have existed as of this date or slightly earlier since Pynson possessed a complete set of the cuts normally associated with the work (nos. 1620-1639), the first of which was used in the Traduction and Marriage of the Princess of 1501.

46. J. Mandeville. Mandeville's Travels. 1500?

Notes: Although no edition of the work is known, Hodnett argues (pp. ix-xi of the supplement) in his English Woodcuts for an illustrated edition of about this date on the basis of a cut of the Doubting Thomas Tomb (Hodnett no. *1510a, formerly 1492) first found in Pynson's 1510 Chronicle and several other cuts apparently by Pynson's cutters found in the 1568 edition printed by Thomas East and the 1618 edition of Thomas Snodham. It is, of course, quite possible that these cuts were executed by someone else and that Pynson only had some of them in his possession.

It must also be pointed out that there does not appear to be any physical evidence to argue for this early a date if an illustrated Pynson Mandeville did exist; on the basis of the evidence one would expect such a work to have been published c. 1509 since the first cut from it is not known before 1510. I have retained the listing under this date however, since Hodnett's is the only reference to such a work.

47. Catherine of Aragon (subject). The Traduction and Marriage of the Princess. 1501. STC 4814.

TP: a1, ' The traduction & mariage of the princesse ' | Hodnett no. 1623.

Coll: 4^o: a-b^{4(?)}; 8(?) leaves; signed b i only.

Type: 95 textura. Specimen pages, a2, 26 ll. and 3 spaces = 90 x 138; b1, 27 ll. and 2 spaces = 90 x 137(140) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title and Hodnett no. 1623. a1^v, blank. On a2, ' A remembrance for the traduction of the | Princesse Kateryne daughter to the right | high and right myghty Prince the kinge | and quene of Spayne as here in articles it | dothe ensue. ' On b3^v, text ends: ' ¶ M^r to knowe bitwene the kyng & the byshop | of london howe the bishops paleys shalbe repaired ' b4, blank. b4^v, Pynson's device no. 9 in frame.

Copies: L (C.21.b.29) (reel 20).

Notes: The date of the work is established by the event to which it refers, the marriage of Catherine to Henry VII's eldest son, Prince Arthur, which took place on November 4, 1501. It consists of the memoranda of preparations for the event and may conceivably have been printed before the event at the expense of the Crown to serve the double purpose of a manual to be distributed among all those involved in the occasion to help coordinate events and a remembrance of the occasion for those who took part in it.

It should be pointed out that the above interpretation is contrary to that suggested by H. S. Bennett, who believed that the work was printed after the fact for sale to the curious masses and without Royal sanction. A major factor in Bennett's argument is the seemingly incomplete nature of the work which appears to break off in mid-description - a situation which he ascribes to Pynson having obtained only an incomplete copy of the memoranda from some nameless official.

The problem, however, is whether gathering b is actually intact in the unique copy in the British Museum. It is not impossible that what remains are the first and sixth and third and fourth pages of what was originally a gathering of six. Such speculation, however, is best left until someone may examine this item in greater detail - preferably with the original manuscript, if it can be found. Any such future investigator might also look more closely at the entire b gathering because although b1 and b4 (as they are currently designated) appear to be conjugate, the watermark of b1 is not completed in b4.

The only initial used is I⁴ [F1].

48. Catherine of Aragon (subject). Marriage of Catherine. (1501).
 (wrongly cited as STC 4814).

Coll: 4^o: unknown; no signatures present.

Type: 95 textura.

Cont: 1st recto

begins: ' For the fyrst metynge at Hampton to cō | uey the
pynces to London | The bysshop of Wynchester'

1st verso

begins: 'For the second metynge at Guyldowne'

2nd recto

begins: 'The lady gray Catenore'

2nd verso

Pynson's device no. 9 in frame.

Copies: 0 (Douce frag. e. 18) two conjugate leaves.

Notes: Although STC regards this as the same work as STC 4814, the two works are clearly different since there is no similar text and Pynson's device appears here on the verso of a leaf with text on the recto while the recto of the sheet on which it appears in the British Museum copy is blank. One can only speculate that this was a separate pamphlet dealing with Catherine's reception on her way from Hampton to London, while the British Museum work appears to deal with her reception in London proper.

49. Aesop. Esopus cum Commento Optimo et Morali. December 7, 1502.
 STC 168.

TP: A1, ' Esopus cum commento optimo | et morali.' | Hodnett
 no. 1609.

Col: On E6, ' Finis Esopus fabulatoꝝ preclarissimi | mus cum suis
moralisationibus ad | nostram instructionem pulcherri= | me appositis.

Impressus Lodonie | per me Richardum pynsoni. Anno dñi Millesimo, ccccc.

ii. Prima die Decembris.

Coll: 4^o: A-E⁶; 30 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as Bi, Bij, etc.

Type: 97 textura for text and 65^o rotunda for signatures and 'morals'. A3, 18 ll. textura and 18 ll. rotunda = 100 (rotunda portion; widest textura is 88) x 150(153) (sig.); E4, 31 ll. textura = 82 x 150.

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: 'G⁶ [F²] Recia disclipinarum mater ⁊ artuim: inter ceteros quos mun = ⁊' On E5^v, text ends: '[se=] cula seculorum. Amen' E6, colophon. E6^v, Pynson's device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (C.40.e.32) (reel 906).

Notes: A popular schoolbook, Pynson's edition follows the text of the 1490 edition published by Jacobum de Breda of Deventer. The work appears to use type 7 capitals.

This copy was apparently bound some time after it was printed since it has manuscript endpapers bearing the date Marchii Henricij Octavi xiiij.

50. J. Garlandia. Synonyma. 1502. SFC 11612.

TP: A1, Hodnett. n^o. 1508 | 'Synonyma magistri Johānis de Garlandia | cum expositiōe magistri Galfridi anglici.'

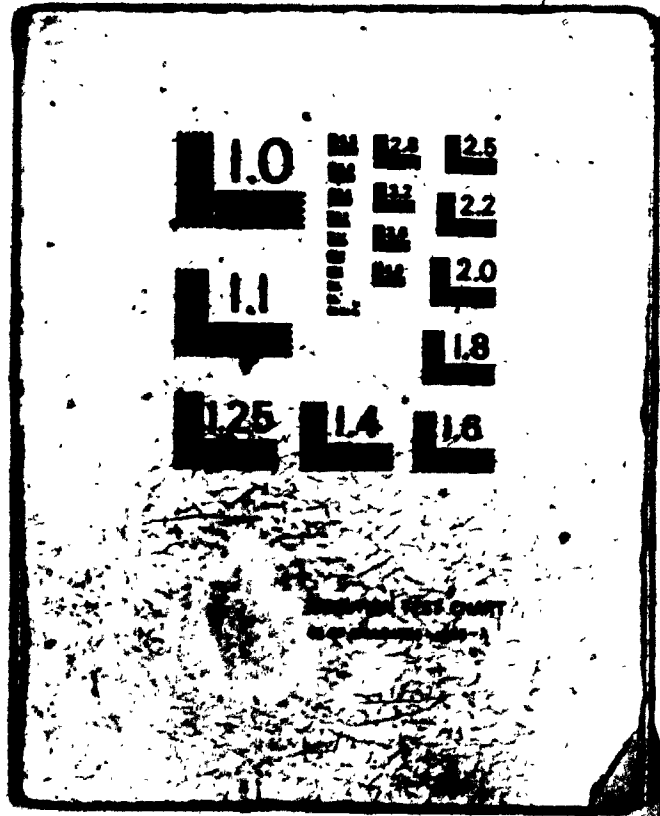
Col: On K4^v, '¶ Liber Synonymorum Magistri Johānis de | Garlandia/ una cum expositiōe magistri Galfridi | anglici/vigiliq̄ diligētia orthographie stilo correctus et exaratus. cum notabilibus in marginibus | insertis/in regia quorū Ciuitate Lōdn̄. Impressus | p̄ Richardum Pynson/ feliciter finit. Anno incar | nationis domini. M.CCCC.ij.'

Coll: 4^o: A-I⁶K⁴; 58 leaves; signed \$ 1-3 [-K3] as A 1, etc.

Type: 64b rotunda (Duff 3^o) for some text and signatures, 95 textura (Duff 7) for text and 114a textura for title-page.

Cont: A1, title-page. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: '[2 spaces left for guide-letter a] b more ne videar latices deferre/camino'. On K4^v, text ends: 'ab alo alis. sed potius de abluo is. derluotur.' |

4



colophon.

Copies: C (SSS. 23. 11) (reel 79), C⁷ (sp. 20. 4).

Notes: Pynson's third edition.
Spaces for rubrication with guide-letters are used throughout.

51. Anonymous. Libellus Secundarum Intentionum Logicalium. 1502?
STC 15573.

Coll: 4^o: A⁶B⁴; 10 leaves; signed A2-3, B1-2.

Type: 64. rotunda for text with 95. textura for headings. B2, 3 11.
textura & 39 11. rotunda = 92^o x 146.

Cont: A1, unknown. On A2, '¶ Incipit tractatus de quinq. vnuer-
salibus | logicalibus perutilis nouiter inuentus.' On B4, text ends:
'7 potent dici distiguendo contra alia indiuidua proprietatis. | ¶ Hec
ergo ad eruditionem funda= | mentalem paruuloū qui se ad phi= | loso-
phiam vel theologiam realium | doctoū applicauere scripsi.' B4^v, de-
vice 9 in frame.

Copies: L (C.37, C.44/1**) lacks A1 (reel 103).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC², STC and the British Library
catalogue both say 1505? This is Pynson's second edition of this text.
Type 7 capitals are used.

52. J. Garlandia. Multorum Vocabulorum. March 9, 1503. STC 11604. ⁶

TP: A1, 'Multorum vocabuloū equiuocoū interpretatio | Magistri
Johannis de Garlandia: grāmatico | ¶ latini cupido pmaxima necessaria
Incipit.' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On K7, '¶ Libro equiuocoū quorūdam vocabuloūz | scōm
ordinem alphabeti/vnacum interpretatio= | ne Anglie lingue: finis

impositus est feliciter. quā | Richardus Pynson London. in Fletestrete
signo | Georgii commoans: mira arte imprimi ac dili= | genti studio
corrigi: otographica stilo pout fa= | cultas suppetebat/e nucleatum
q sollicitus fuit. | Anno christiane redemptionis. Millesimo quin |
gentesimotertio. Die nono Martij.'

Coll. 4^o: A⁸B-I⁶K⁸; 64 leaves; signed \$ 1-3 or 1-4 [B3 signed b3; G3 signed g3] as A i, etc.

Type: 63 rotunda for text and signatures, 95 textura for some text, shoulder notes and colophon. A4, 43 ll. rotunda and 2 ll. textura = 84 (100) x 146(149) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: 'A² [7] Uugustus
ti.to. cesar vel mensis habeto.' On K7, text ends: '[pere=] gi. i. feci.
ipsa. s. equiuoca τc̄.' | colophon. K7^v, blank. K8, K8^v, unknown.

Copies: HN (29616) (reel 134), C⁷ (sp. 20); both lack K8.

Notes: Either Pynson's second or third edition, depending on whether or not the 1500 edition cited by Herbert actually existed.
 Type 3 capitals are used throughout.

53. Anonymous. Bevys of Southampton. 1503? STC 1988.

Col: On M7^v, '¶ Emprynted by Rycharde Pynson in Flete= | strete at
the sygne of the George.'

Coll: 4^o: A-B⁸C-L⁶M⁸; 78 leaves; signed \$1 & 3 (as 2) [A3 signed A3; E1 signed E2; G1 signed G2; M1 signed M2] as B.i., B.ii.

Type: 95 textura. B1, 30 ll. = 71 (84) (sig. to right of last line) x 143; D1, 30 ll. = 80 x 144(149) (sig.).

Cont: A1, unknown. On A2, text begins: 'L⁴ [F] Ordinges lysten and
holde you styl.' On M7^v, text ends: 'That for vs dyed on the rode tre.'
 | colophon.

Copies: 0 (Douce.B.subt.234) lacks A1, C6, H6 and M8 (reel 72).

Notes: The date is that assigned by Duff and STC. If it is correct it

indicates that this is the second earliest printed edition of the work. There is still a remote possibility however, that the work may be earlier and that this rather than the De Worde edition was that supplied by Pynson to John Russhe.

The work is illustrated with numerous woodcuts, and their locations are: A5, no. 1934; A6^v, no. 1936 (already damaged); A8, no. 1937; B3, no. 1938; B6, no. 1939 (but with a bottom supplied from a smaller cut); C5, no. 1633; D6, no. 1623; F6^v, no. 1940; G2, no. 1941; I1^v, no. 1624(?); K3, no. 1488 and M6 no. 1623. Despite Hodnett's suggestion that Pynson had a full set of illustrations cut for the work, it must be noted that of the five illustrations present in the work that may be assigned to such a series (1934, 1936-1941) two are already damaged suggesting previous use elsewhere.

54. Anonymous. Libellus Qui Informatio. 1503? STC 14079, also formerly STC 14080.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Libellus/qui Informatio puero⁴ appellatur | cū/modico apparatu nouiter cōpilat⁹/Incipit. | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On D3^v, ' ¶ Here endeth the accidence made at the instaun | ce of George Chastelayn/and John Bars: Em= | prynted by Richarde Pynson.'

Coll: 4^o: A-D^{6,4}; 20 leaves; signed \$1 & 3 (as 2) [-A1].

Type: 96 textura with w⁶ for text with 64 rotunda for some text and shoulder notes. A2, 28 ll. textura = 85(108) x 132(142) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, Hodnett no. 1508. On A2, text begins: 'H⁵ [F¹] Ow many partys of reason be' On D3^v, text ends: '[befo]re or after: or in the myddys.' | colophon. D4, Hodnett no. 1475. D4^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: O (Mason.H.35) lacks D4 (reel 68); L (G.7568); PML (W14B. 37380) lacks D.

Notes: The date is that given by STC2 and is in agreement with the state of the frame of the device. This represents Pynson's second edition of the grammar which, as the title indicates, has been corrected. This edition was commissioned by George Chastelain and John Bars, both at that time stationers in London.

The work is also sometimes cited under the title Informatio Puerorum. Although prior to STC2 there were thought to be three editions of the work; there are, in fact, only two editions.

Type 7 capitals are used throughout.

55. Anonymous. Tryamour. 1503? STC2 24301.5.

Coll: 4^o: unknown.

Type: 95 textura with w⁶. B2, 22 1/2 ll. = 71 x 106+(110+) (sig.);
 , 25 1/2 ll. = 71 x 122+.

Cont:

B2, first legible line, 'Under the grenewode lynde'

B2^v, first legible line: 'Than were they of hym glad'

B?, first legible line: 'Thus wolde he laboure fo~~o~~ hys mele'

B?^v, first legible line: '... the kynge from there shulde ryse'

, begins: 'Euer vpon hys maysters graue he lay'

^v, begins: '...e kynge thought he had sene hym ere'

Copies: HN (131401.Huth.Frag.6) B2 and conjugate unsigned leaf and a separate unsigned leaf only.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 on the basis of the type. This represents the first known printed edition of this non-stanzaic romance. The leaves, which were apparently originally taken from a binding, are all close-cropped with some of the text missing.

56. Anonymous. Book of Comfort Against Tribulation. 1504? STC 3296.

TP: A1, '¶ The boke of confort agaynste all tribulacions.' |

Hodnett, no. 1482.

Col: On H7^v, 'Thus endeth thys ryght p~~o~~ofytable trefyse. Enty |
teled the/Boke of consolacion ~~o~~ confort agaynste | al trybulacion. En-
p~~o~~rinted in London by Rychard | Pynson. At the Sygne of the George in
Flete Strete.'

Coll: 4^o: A-B⁸C-G⁶H⁸; 54 leaves; signed \$1 & 3 (as 2) [-A1; G3
 signed F2] as B.1., B.11.

Type: 95 textura. A3, 30 ll. = 89 x 143(147) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, Hodnett no. 1482. On A2, '¶ This present

treatyse conteyneth a deuoute con | templacion and prayson the whiche
who so euer it | say and it welle imagyn deuoutly wyth very re= | pen-
taunce of his synnes he may obteyne of god cō | solacyon in al tribu-
lacion and exaudiciō of all that he shal requyre of god salutarely to
his soules helthe. | ¶ The pore synner begineth in sayenge deuoutly. |
 0² [8?] My right benigne right pytyfulle and right' On A4, Hodnett no.
 1462 surrounded by borders. On B6, Hodnett no. 1475. On C5^v, ' ¶ The
Auctour.' On C6, ' ¶ Here after foloweth the Prologue of the auctour |
upon the mater of the seuen Mortal synnes and | of the daughters of
branches of them/and wy= | the theyr remedies.' On C6^v, Hodnett no.
 1509 | 'F² [8] Or that that in the trtyse precedent is sayde' On E5^v,
 Hodnett no. 1433 beside Hodnett no. 1323 surrounded by borders. | ' ¶
Here folowen the .x. cōmaūdementes.' On F1, ' ¶ Here folowe the .v.
wyttes of nature.' | 23 ll. text. | ' ¶ Here folowe the seuen Sacra-
mentes.' On F3, ' ¶ The man begynneth in com= | playnyng hymselfe.'
 On H7, text ends: '[why=]che lyueth and reygneeth and shal reygne/In
secu= | la seculorum. AMEN.' On H7^v, ' ¶ Pray for hym which hath
translated this p̄ | sent boke out of Frenche into Englysshe/and it cau
sed to be Enpoynted for the helthe of soules/to the | end that he myght
be partener of the goode dedys | the whyche of them shal p̄cede.' |
 colophon. H8, Hodnett no. 1482. H8^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: BAMB. (but kept at Durham University).

Notes: The date is that assigned by A. I. Doyle. My own notes suggest that the work may be as early as 1502, but I have deffered to Dr. Doyle's date since he was concerned only with the dating of this single work and thus less likely to be in error.

As the contents indicate, the work is apparently a translation of a devotional work from the French. Although the explicit suggests that the author of the translation was also responsible for causing the work to be printed, there is no indication of the translator's name or any clear indication as whether this means that we are to ascribe the translation to Pynson himself.

Although most of Pynson's devotional output has been excluded from these descriptions, this seldom discussed piece has been included largely on the basis of the possible literary interest of two debates which constitute a large portion of the work. The first of these is a dialogue between the Poor Sinner and Christ on the mysteries of redemption and runs from A2 through C5^v. This is followed by a discussion of the seven mortal sins running from C6 through E5^v which is followed by sections concerning their remedy through the use of the Ten Commandments, man's five wits and the seven sacraments. The work then concludes with a second debate between Man and Reason.

The work uses a combination of type 7 and type 8 capitals.

57. Anonymous. Generides. 1504? STC 11721.

Coll: 4^o: unknown.

Type: 95 textura with w¹ and w⁶. 2, 27 ll. and 3 spaces = 81 x 145.

Cont:

1, begins: 'Of a footune whiche...'

2, begins: 'But yf the herē you this wote I wele'

2^v, begins: 'Than spake Claryon as to hir mayde'

3, begins: 'The ryngē she sayde'

Copies: C² (VI.I.71) fragments of three leaves.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 based on the type. This represents Pynson's only known edition of the work and is thought to be the first edition of the romance printed in England. The fragment designated 2 above is the only fragment approaching a full page. None of the fragments which were found in the binding of a 1525 Parisian edition of Michaelis Menoti's Sermones Quadragesimales is signed.

The work presents numerous problems since no French original is currently known. As here present the work is in seven line stanzas. The fragments in the Huntington and British Library collections are no longer considered to be by Pynson.

58. J. Anwykyl. Quattuor Partes Grammatices. April 24, 1505.
STC2 696.4. STC 23176.

Col: On k4, '¶ Impressum est hoc presens opusculum iuuenibus |
multū vtile: in ciuitate London. per Richardum pynson | in fletestrete
in signo Georgij comitantem. Anno dñi. | M. ccccc. v. xxiiij. die
Aprilis.'

RT: Varies with text on versos only except b5^v-b6 through c2^v-c3;
b5^v-b6,

'Secunda pars grāmaticæ. ||| De accentu.'

Coll: 4^o: a-i⁶k⁴; 58 leaves(?); signed \$1-3 [-k³; g3 missigned h3;
h3 missigned hh3] as b.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text and running-titles, 65 rotunda for signa-
tures and some text. b2, 30 ll. textura and 1 l. rotunda = 90 x 147
(155) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: a1-a6, unknown. On b1, text begins: 'Phoγgia y greco post τ
phonos sonus adde' On b6, 'De accentu.' On c3^v, '¶ Sequitur tertia
grāmitice pars.' On g6^v, '¶ Sequitur quarta pars.' On k1, '¶ De
modus infinitiuus.' On k3, 'De nominibus:' On k4, text ends: '[fi=]
unt verba duplico τ triplico: τ a multiplex multiplico. | ¶ Deo
gratias.' | colophon. On k4^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (G. 16864) (reel 154).

Notes: Pynson's first and only edition of this work.
The work uses type 8 capitals and some wavy lombardic initials.

59. Sulpitius. Grammaticæ Sulpitiona cū textu Ascēsiano. August 11,
1505. STC 23427A.

TP: A1, 'Grammaticæ Sulpitiona cū textu Ascē= | siano recognito τ
aucto: vt proximo pate | bit epistolio.' | Hodnett No. 1509.

Col: On 214, '¶ Auctum atq; recognitū set hoc opus opera Ascen= |

siana. Impressumq; in ciuitate Londn̄. Per Richar- | dūm Pynson: in
vico dicta the Fletestrete/In signo | Georgij cōmodantem. Anno. M.
ccccc. v. xi. die. Augu | sti.

RT: 'Sulpitii Uerulani.' ||| recto varies with text; A2^V-A3 through
2F6^V-2G1.

'Donatus de figuris ||| Donatus de figuris' 2G1^V-2G2 through
2G3^V.

'Antonii mancinelli veliterim ||| De figuris carmen.'; 2G4^V-2G5
through 2I3^V-2I4.

Coll: 4^o: A-X⁶2A-2H⁶2I⁴; 184 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-2I3; 2H3 missigned
2G3] as A.i, A.ij, etc. and double alphabet Aa.i, etc.

Type: Majority of text and signatures in 65 rotunda, running-titles
and some text in 95 textura, 120(?) textura on title page (3 ll. measure
17 mm.). A3 = 93 x 146(152) (r-t. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^V, '¶ Iodocus Badius Ascensius magistro
Davidi Laurio Atrebatē, | Ludimagistro: Et amico cū primis dilecto.
S.d.' | text ends: '..... Uale. Ad nonas | decembres: anni huius. M.
ccccc. iii.' | three Latin poems. On A2, 'Sulpitii Uerulani Examen. |
¶ Ioan. Sulpitii Uerulani uir clarissimi de octo | partibus orationis
libellus vtilissimus.' On L3, 'De regimine dictionū opusculum. | ¶ De
regimine dictionū cōpendiosa traditio.' On 2G1, '¶ Donati grāmatici
de figuris opusculum.' On 2G4^V, '¶ Carmen de figuris p Antoniū Mancinellū
| Uelcennū summa diligentia editum. Ti. i.' On 2I4, text ends:
'ignosces. Uale.' | colophon. On 2I4^V, device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (B.54.b.3). ¶

Notes: This is Pynson's first edition based on that of the Parisian
printer, J. Badius Ascensius. Pynson's reference to Badius in the title
of the work would seem to suggest that either the work was printed with
Badius's knowledge and cooperation or that Badius's text was already
well-known and widely accepted and Pynson was attempting to take advan-
tage of its reputation.

The work uses type 8 capitals with an occasional wavy lombardic initial.

60. Alexander Grammaticus. Textus cum Sententiis. 1505. STC 319.3.

TP: A1, 'Textus alexandri cum sententiis et | constructionibus.' |

Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On Q7^v, 'Libro doctrinali Alexandri | Richardus Pynson vigi |

lanter correcto finez, | felicē imponere | iubet. Anno | dñi. | M. |

.cccc. | .v.'

Coll: 4^o: A-C⁸D-P⁶Q⁸; 104 leaves; signed \$ 1-4 or 1-3 as A.i, A.ii, etc.

Type: 65 rotunda for text and signatures, 95 textura for parts of text and shoulder notes, 114 textura on title-page. A2, 26 ll. rotunda and 13 ll. textura = 92(112) x 145(148) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: '[5 spaces left blank] Cribere clericulis paro Doctrinale nouel= | lis.' On Q7^v, text

ends: 'seculorum secula benedictus . Amen.' | colophon. Q8, Q8^v,

unknown.

Copies: M (17323), lacks gatherings H and I and leaf Q8.

Notes: Pynson's first edition under this title and third edition of the work. Although gatherings H and I are not present in the unique Rylands copy, the number of leaves in them may be inferred from the 1513 edition.

Type 4 initials are used throughout most of the work.

61. P. Gringoire. Castle of Labor. 1505? STC 12380.

TP: A1, 'Here begynneth the castell of laboure.' | Hodnett no.

1592.

Col: On I5^v, 'Emprynted be me Richarde Pynson.'

Coll: 4^o: A⁸ B-I⁶; 56 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, +A4, A3 signed A .i.i] as B.i., B.ii., B.iii.

Type: 96 textura (Duff 7) for text with 64(?) rotunda (Duff 3?) inserted in the pictures. Specimen page, A2, 26 ll. and 4 spaces = 88 x 145(147) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title, A1^v, Hodnett no. 1509. On A2, '¶ Here begynneth the prologe of this | present treatyse. | O⁴ [W] ye mortall people y^t desyre to obtayne'. On I5, '¶ Acto^ois excusatio.' On I5^v, text ends: 'Hath induced/this is my conclusyon. | ¶ This endeth the castell of labour | wherin is rychesse/vertue | and honoure . . .' | colophon. I6, device 9 in frame. I6^v, Hodnett no. 1493.

Copies: L (Huth 29) (reel 20).

Notes: The date of the work is that given by STC and is supported by the state of the frame of device 9. This is Pynson's first edition and is the first edition printed in England. The earlier English translation published by Verard appears to have been used as a copy-text for this edition. Verard's English edition was based on the French text composed by Pierre Gringoire in 1499, which was itself based on the Fourteenth Century Le Chemin de Povreté et de Richesse by Bruyant.

In essence, the work has elements of both the dream-vision and the morality play. It is an allegory of a newlywedded man's search for both economic and spiritual wealth while his bride sleeps blissfully on. The underlying theme of the piece is that man may accrue both earthly and heavenly rewards through hard work.

The work is profusely illustrated with a series of woodcuts copied from the illustrations in one of the earlier French editions published by Simon Vostre and Pierre Pigouchet. Each of these cuts appears to have scrolls beneath the leading figures in them in which the names of the various characters were inserted in rotunda. The pictures not mentioned in the contents section are: A3^v, 1593; A4, 1594; A5^v, 1595; A6, 1596; A7, 1597; A8^v, 1598; B1^v, 1599; B3^v, 1600; B4^v, 1601; B5, 1602; B6, 1603; C1, 1604; C2, 1605; C3, 1606; D5, 1607; E1, 1608; E5, 1607; F1, 1595; F6, 1609; G1^v, 1610; G3^v, 1611; G4^v, 1612; G6, 1512; H1, 1613; H3, 1614; H4^v, 1615; H5^v, 1616; H6, 1617; I1, 1618; and I2^v, 1619.

The work is also important in that it features the first large scale use of a set of grotesque initials that Pynson was to continue using through the 1520's. These initials are referred to throughout the descriptions by the abbreviation, "CLG," which stands for Castle of Labor Grotesques.

62. Hieronymus de Sancto Marco. Opusculum de Universali Mundi Machina.
1505? STC 13432.

TP: A1, 'De Sancto Marcho. | Opusculum [all the preceding is in 130
textura with the result that the remainder of this line of text and the
next line are both within the line taken up by the preceding word] de
uniuersali mundi machina ac de me the oot= | cis impressiõibus a Fratre
Ieronimo de sctõ | Marcho ordinis minorum & in sacra theologia studẽte
Parissiensẽ edi | tum. ad mentem Aristotelia: necnon alioꝝ philo-
sophoꝝ pitissimoꝝ.' | device no. 9 in frame.

Explicit: On E5, '... Explicit paruus tractatus de naturali mundi
machina ac de | meth eõicis impressiõibus compilatus per fratrem
Hieronimum de | sancto Marcho ordinis minorum in alma vniuersitate
exoniense. xh oh, | .9 die Octõbris.'

Coll: 4^o: A-E⁶; 30 leaves; signed \$ 1-3 [-A1; A2 signed a2]; 28
leaves foliated beginning with A2, ii-xxvi, xxviii, xxvii, xxix on D5.

Type: 64b rotunda for most text with 95 textura for headings, some
text and foliation and 114 (?) textura for some headings with 130 tex-
tura on the title-page. A3, 45 ll. rotunda = 92 x 138(149) (fol. &
sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, text begins: 'Uenerabili patri frater
iacobo de capua ordinis minorũ suo' On A2, Hodnett no. 1590. | 'U⁴
[CLG] Niuersalis mũdi machina ï duas partes' On A2^v, Hodnett no. 1591.
On B1, Hodnett nos. 1578 & 1579. On B1^v, Hodnett nos. 1580, 1581 &
1582. On B2, Hodnett nos. 1583, 1584 & 1585. On B2^v, Hodnett nos. .
1586, 1587 & 1588. On B3, Hodnett no. 1589. On E5, 'Hec sunt mi
charissime Iacobe que' | 6 ll. text. | 'amen.' explicit. E5^v & E6,
contents in two columns. E6^v, blank.

Copies: L (C.59.d.32) (reel 102); HN (61544); PML (W14B.761); HD
(13432).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC and agrees with the state of

the device. This represents the first edition of the work.

The work, which was apparently aimed at the university trade, is an Aristotelian treatise in two books. The first book is concerned with the nature of the earth and planets and the four elements. The second book is divided into five chapters dealing first with fire, secondly with rain and snow, thirdly with the nature of humanity in general and the court in particular, fourthly with the nature of stones and seas and lastly a more general section.

As indicated above, the work also featured numerous woodcuts - most notably a series of circular cuts featuring the various signs of the zodiac, which were introduced in this work.

63. J. Lydgate (?). Assembly of the Gods. 1505? STC2 17007.

Col: On f6^v, 'Amen. ¶ Emptoynted by Richarde Pynson'

Coll: 4^o: a-b⁸c[?]d-f⁶; 34 or 36 leaves depending on the missing signature c; signed \$1-3 or 1-4 as bi, bii, etc.

Type: 95 textura with w⁶. a4, 27 ll. and 4 spaces. = 89 x 144(147) (sig.).

Cont: a1 and a1^v are unknown but presumed blank. On a2, '¶ Here foloweth the interpretacyon of the names | of goddys/and goddeses: as it is rehersed in thys | treatyse folowyng as poetes wryte | Phebus is as moche to say as the sonne.' On a2^v, '¶ Here endeth the Interpretacioun of the | names of goddys and goddeses as is rehersed in the treatyse folowyng as poe= | tis wryte.' On a3, text begins: 'W⁵

[F¹] Han Phebus in the Crabbe had' On f6^v, text ends: 'Grannt eternall ioy after thy last sentence' | colophon.

Copies: HN (88195) lacks a1, part of a2, a8 and gathering c; O (Douce frags. F. 54) consisting of leaves d3 and d4 close-cropped at the top and right outer margins.

Notes: The Bodleian fragments were formerly disidentified as an unknown poem entitled Virtue and listed as STC 24844a. The date is that assigned by STC.

64. J. Lydgate. Temple of Glass. 1505? STC 12954. STC2 17033.3.

Col: On last recto, '.....the Temple of glas. |by.
Rycharde Pynson.'

Coll: 4^o: unknown.

Type: 95 textura. Specimen page, 1st recto, 22 ll. textura and 2 spaces (not a full page) = 83 x 119+ mm.

Cont:

1, begins: 'Soo ferfor...euermore in our eternall see'

1^v, begins: 'O myghty goddesse day sterre after nyght'

2, begins: 'And therwith all as I myn ēyen caste'

2^v, begins: 'wherfore ye must of els it were wronge'

3, begins: 'And furthermore haue in reuerence'

3^v, begins: 'And whether thou be absent of in presence'

4, begins: 'Soo full of vertue and so gracyous'

4^v, Pynson's device no. 9 in frame.

Copies: 0 (Douce frags. f.11), four leaves close-cropped on the bottom.

Notes: The difference in STC numbers is due to the fact that STC incorrectly attributed this edition to Hawes' authorship. I am following the STC2 dating which seems to be confirmed by the state of the frame of device no. 9.

64a. Anonymous. Reynard the Fox. 1505? STC2 20921.3.

Coll: 4^o: unknown.

Type: 95 textura. $\chi 2^v$, 30 ll. = 75+ x 140.

Cont:

$\chi 1$, blank.

$\chi 1^v$, first line ends: '.....at his kynnered'

$\chi 2$, begins: 'she was the fayrest. ¶ Howe that the gate of'

On $\chi 2^v$, Hodnett no. *1289a.

$\chi 3$, begins: 'I² founde this ryng in my faders treaso...'

$\chi 3^v$, begins: 'historye of Uenus Iuno and pallas Stroue'

Copies: E, photocopy only viewed; 3 leaves.

Notes: The date is that given by STC2 based on the type. If the type is indeed Pynson's, there is a good chance that the work is a Pynson-De Worde collaboration since, as Hodnett notes in his supplement, the woodcut appears to have belonged to De Worde. I would further suggest, on the basis of the presence of accented e's in the type, that it is a later collaboration of the 1520's. For the moment, however, I have deferred to Miss Pantzer's dating.

65. J. Stanbridge. Accidence. 1505? STC2 23139.5.

TP: A1, '¶ Here begynneth the Accidens of maister Stan- | b^oldges awne makynge.' 3 leaf ornaments | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On C6^v, '¶ Impresse in ciuitate London. | Per Richardum Pynson.'

Coll. 4^o: A-C⁶; 18 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B 1, B 11, etc.

Type: 95 textura. A3, 30 ll. = 93(112) x 144(149) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: 'H⁶ [K] Owe many partys of reson be there?' On C6, text ends: '[mise=] rü. with a uocatyue. as ah colidon. ¶ Finis.' On C6^v, '¶ Additamenta. | ¶ When

I haue of before the popyr name of a cyte' | 22 lines of text ending:
'sic de multis alijs.:' | colophon.

Copies: 0 (4^o A.18.Art.B.S.)

Notes: This appears to be Pynson's first edition of this title. The date is that assigned by Hodnett and STC2 apparently on the basis of the state of the woodcut which has a central crack through the bottom of the book held by the pupils.

According to Miss Parzer's notes for STC2, this is the full or regular accidence which normally contains 16 or 18 leaves. The sentence "And the name of every thing that may be felt, seen, heard or understood is in Latin a noun proper or appellative," is normally found in the first 10 lines of text.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

The above collation is somewhat tentative since there appear to be several problems with gathering A. One source of these problems is that A1-A6 may have originally been misfolded since a note in the copy indicates that the title-page was only "correctly placed" in March, 1951, when the work was rebacked. This does not explain, however, why there currently appear to be stubs after both A5 and A6. The apparent stubs may, of course, only be a result of rebinding. Although I have no solution for the problem at the present time, it should at least be remarked that at least A2 and A5 are definitely conjugate.

66. J. Stanbridge. Gradus Comparatione. 1505? STC2 23155.4.

Col: On A8^v, '¶ Emprynted by Rycharde Pynson.'

Coll: 4^o: A⁸; 8 leaves; signed 1-4 as A.i., A.ii., A.iii., A.iiij.

Type: 95 textura. A3, 31 ll. = 95(114) x 150(155) (sig.).

Cont: On A1, 'W^A [P] Hat nownys maketh comparison all ad= | lectyues
welnera that betokenyth a thyn | gethat may be made more or lesse as
fey= | re feyrer feyrest blacke blacker blackest.' On A8^v, text ends:
'[par]cipia veniunt ab hoc verbo passino ꝛ anomalo poete= | riti vt
factis futuri vt futurus.' 2 leaf ornaments. | '¶ Finis.' | colophon.

Copies: 0 (Arch A.e. 37/2).

Notes: Pynson's first edition of this work. The date is that assigned by STC2.

According to Eloise Pafort, "A Group of Early Tudor School-

books," pp. 237-238, the work is an expansion, probably by Robert Whittinton, of Stanbridge's Sum, Es, Fui. The expansion from the 4 pages of the original work to the 8 pages of this version is due to the addition of exercises on the comparison of adjectives which are referred to in the work as "nouns."

67. J. Stanbridge. Gradus Comparatione. 1505? STC2 23155.6.

Coll: 4^o in 8.

Copies: HD, imperfect, not viewed.

Notes: The only copy is at Harvard and I did not view it while there. The collation above is that given by STC2 which also notes the imperfect copy is signed "by Rycharde Pynson." This would be Pynson's second edition of the work.

68. J. Stanbridge. Long Parvula. 1505? STC2 23163.17.

Coll: 4^o: a-b⁶(?); 12 leaves(?); signed ?, only a ii present in fragments.

Type: 95 textura. a2, 30 ll. = 90 x 142(147) (sig.).

Cont: On a1, text begins: 'W⁵ [F¹] Hat shalt thou do whanne thou haſt an engliſſhe to make in laten' On a6^v, text begins: 'in the ſtedde of an accusatif case. As I am wery of'

Copies: L (C.122.h.2), consisting only of conjugate leaves a1-a6, and a2-a5.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2. The state of "W [F]" is the same as in "Lydgate's" Assembly of the Gods, (STC2 17007.5), also ascribed to this year, with the top of the letter gone and two breaks in its left border. This appears to be Pynson's second and last edition of this title.

The above fragments were presented to the British Museum in 1946 by Magdalen College, Oxford, which had found them in the binding of their copy of volume 7 of Postille in Biblion by Hugo de scōcharos.

69. Theodulus. Liber Theoduli. 1505? STC 23940. Also STC 23942.

TP: A1, 'Liber theoduli cum cōmento incipet feliciter.' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Coll: 4^o: A-G⁶H⁸; 50 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1; =H4] as B.i., etc.

Type: 64 rotunda for signatures and bulk of text, 95 textura for headings and commentary. A3, 46 ll. rotunda = 100 x 146(149) (sig.).

Cont: A1^r, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: 'E² [7] Thopum
terras iam seruida tooruit estas' On H8^v, text ends: 'quā nobis cōce-
dat deus ille glōiosus qui est via veritas | Sanctissima explanatio
Theoduli finiit feliciter.' | device 9 unframed.

Copies: HN (82242) (reel 303 as STC 23942); L (C.40.e.33) (reel 154); L (G.9492) lacks E3 & E4; C⁵ (A.21/1).

Notes: Pynson's second edition. The date is that assigned by STC2 and STC.

Type 7 capitals are used throughout.
Paragraphing is by ¶ only.

70. Anonymous. Torent of Portyngale. 1505? STC 24133.

Type: 95 textura with s¹ and some use of w⁶. 30 ll. = 67 x 153.

Copies: 0 (Douce frags.b.20) two separate leaves.

Notes: The date is that given by STC2 based on the types. This represents the earliest English edition of the verse romance. These leaves are not to be confused with the four pages of De Worde's 32 line edition printed on the back of the Elegy on Henry VII with which these are kept. The leaves contain a T [CLG].

71. Anonymous. Shepherd's Calendar. 1506. STC 22408.

TP: A1, bord. 61, bord. 62. | bord. 67, 'H³ [CLG] Ere gyneth the
Kalender of Shepherdes.', bord. 66. | bord. 64, bord. 63.

Col: On 06^v, '¶ Here endeth the kalender of shephardys/drawn out

of Frenche into En | glysshe in the honoure of Ihesu cryste and his
 blessyd mother mary and alle | the sayntes of heuen Imprinted at London
 in flete strete at the signe of the | George by Rycharde Pynson the dat
 of oure lorde a. M. CCCCC. and .vj.'

Coll: 2⁰: A-0⁶?; 84? leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, -E1, -F1, D1 signed
 Dj] as B.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura with w² small, w⁶ and s². D1, 41 ll. = 135 x 195.

Cont: A1, title. A1^V, Hodnett no. 1512. On A2, Pynson's address to
 the readers. On A2, 'T³ [CLG] He kalender of the Shepherdes. | ¶ These
 be the contentis of this present Boke/of the Shepeherdes kalēder/ |
 Drawen out of Frenche into Englysshe/with many goodly addicyons New | ly
 putte therto.' On A3, text begins: 'H³ [F¹] Ere byfore tyme there was
 a shepherde keynge his shepe in' On I1^V, diagram of tree of sins. On
 I2, diagram of tree of virtues. On M1^V, diagram of the twelve hours.
 On N1^V, diagram of the heavens. N6, a cancel. On O6, '¶ The awto.'
 On O6^V, text ends: '¶ He that leuyth well/maye not dye amys.' | colo-
 phon. | bord. 69, device 9 unframed, bord. 68. | bord. 65.

Copies: L (G.10246) lacks gatherings B, C, and K, leaf I3 and has a
 cancel stub for N6.

Notes: This is Pynson's first edition of the work which had previously
 seen print in a pseudo-Scotch dialect version published by Vérard in
 1503. As mentioned in the second chapter above, although Pynson took
 great pains to comment on the corrupt English of the previous edition in
 his preface to this edition, Pynson actually appears to have had the work
 "englished" from the pseudo-Scotch edition and appears to have been on
 sufficiently good grounds with Vérard to have obtained the use of several
 of the woodcuts from the original edition.

The work is, at best, difficult to describe, since it has ele-
 ments of devotional literature, scientific literature and an almanac all
 mixed together. According to Oskar Sommer's analysis in his 1892 edi-
 tion of the work, it can be divided into five main divisions. The first
 division is the calendar proper which deals with the parts of the year,
 month, day, and hour; the meaning of the dominical letter and of the
 golden number; and includes tables for finding the position of the moon
 and the dates of the moveable feasts. The second main part consists of
 a presentation of the tree of sins followed by a ballad on the unstable-

ness of the world and a description of the punishment in Hell of the sins as narrated by Lazarus. The third main division is the Garden of Virtues which is prefaced by the "Lord's Prayer," "Ave Maria," "Credo," "Twelve Articles of the Faith," "Ten Commandments" and "Five Articles of the Church," through the combination of which one was supposed to obtain admission to the field of virtues which in turn gave access to the Tower of Wisdom (the Love of God). This section also features ballads by a shepherd and a shepherdess, a song of death, the ten commandments of the devil and a further description of the pains of Hell before concluding with cuts of the tree of sins and the tree of virtues. The fourth main division turns from consideration of the health of the soul to a consideration of the health of the body and deals with the relation of the zodiac, seasons and elements to the parts of the body. The final section turns to a consideration of the heavens and their influence on men.

The work is heavily illustrated with those cuts found in the unique imperfect copy as follows: on A3^V, Hodnett no. 1513; F3, no. 1514; F3^V, no. 1515; F4^V, no. 1516; F5^V, no. 1517; F6, no. 1518; F6^V, no. 1519; G1^V, no. 1520; G2, no. 1521; G3^V, no. 1522; G4, no. 1523; G4^V, no. 1524; G5, nos. 1525 & 1526; G6, nos. 1527 & 1528; G6^V, no. 1529; H1^V, no. 1530; H5, no. 1531; I4, no. 1511; I5^V, no. 1532; L1^V, no. 1533; M2, no. 1534; M2^V, no. 1535; M3, no. 1536; M3^V, nos. 1537 & 1538; M4, nos. 1539 & 1540; M4^V, no. 1541; M5, no. 1542; M5^V, no. 1543; N1, no. 1544; N2, no. 1545; N2^V, nos. 1546 & 1547; N3, no. 1548; N5, no. 1549; and on O1, Hodnett no. 1512.

As mentioned earlier, all of these were obtained from Vêrard with Hodnett nos. 1550-1570, which are presumed to have appeared on the missing pages. Hodnett no. 1512 is of particular interest since the likeness of the man presenting the book is supposed to be that of Vêrard. In addition to the woodcuts, Vêrard is also believed to have been the source of a number of factotums introduced in this work. These factotums consist of free-standing figures of a bearded man in a helmet, a bearded man in a slouch hat, a squire?, a woman with a tasseled belt, a woman with ermine cuffs, a knave? with an over-size sword, a man with a scroll, a knight carrying a spear and a tree.

In addition, the work served to introduce a number of border-pieces which may have been cut for Pynson.

72. L. Brunus. Cronica Summaria Serenissime dñe Hispaniarum regine. 1506?. STC 3932. STC2 3945.5.

Coll: 4^o: A-B⁶; 12 leaves; signed \$1-3 as A.i., A.ii., etc.

Type: 96 textura for text, 114 textura for title, 64 rotunda for signatures. A2, 30 11. textura = 92 x 142(144) (sig.).

Cont: On al, ' ¶ Cronica summaria serenissime dñe Hispaniarum regine: et de eius obitu. | ¶ Reuerendi patris dñi Ludouici Bruni epi

Aquesi. | Serenissimi dñi Romano4 regis apd S.D.N. Iu= | lium Pap. ii.
Oratio: de obitu Serenissime catho | lice dñe Helisabeth Hispaniarū
et vtriusq3 Sicilie ac | Hierusalē Regine Oratio. xxv. Februarii.
Anno dñi= | mini. M. cccc. v. | ¶ Fratres: nolimus vos ignorare de
dominiis: | vt nō contristemini: sicut et ceteri q̄ spem non habent. |
Paulus prima ad Theſsalonicenses. iij. | [text begins:] 'I³ [CLG]
Lios potissimum mors pertinere consuerit. On b6^v, text ends: '[exē]
plo bene liceat emigrare: et cū illa eterna vita et memo | rabili fama
gaudere. Finis. | Pynson's device 32.

Copies: L (Huth 74) (reel 1299).

Notes: STC and STC2 date the work as 1505. This would seem to be the correct date of the dedication since the Queen "Helisabeth" who is the subject of the piece, having been identified in it as the daughter of John II of Castile and Queen Elisabeth (Isabella) of Portugal, is clearly Ferdinand of Spain's Queen, Isabella who died in 1504. The piece also uses a wholly intact version of Pynson's device 32 which first appears in a dated work in 1506 and is damaged by 1507. The work also uses one grotesque initial from the set that was introduced in the 1505 edition of the Castle of Labor. So that all the evidence would tend to suggest a date of 1505 to 1506.

The work by Bishop Brunus of Spain is of interest for its treatment of a secular life and death in the framework normally used for a saint's life. One suspects that this unique edition printed in England may have been printed on Henry VII's behalf as a two-edged gesture of sympathy to both the widowed Ferdinand of Spain and Joanna of Castile, Isabella's daughter and her father's potential rival for the throne of Castile.

One also suspects that the substitution of the form "Helisabeth" for Isabella throughout the work, although possibly only a scribal or Latin convention, may be a deliberate allusion to Henry's own Queen Elizabeth who also died in 1504.

73. W. Caxton, trans. Royal Book. September 13, 1507. STC 21430A.

TP: 1, 'The boke na= | med the Royalt.' [xylographic] | Hodnett no. 506.

Col: On 2H4, '¶ Here endeth the boke called the ryoall. Enprynted

at | London in fletestrete at the sygne of saynt George by | Rychardē
Pynson. five no. 3 orns.

Coll: 4^o: \mathfrak{A}^4 A-Z⁶2A-2D⁶2E⁴2F-2G⁶2H⁴; 174(?) leaves; signed \$1 & 3
 [unsigned; -2E3; -2H3; +B2; +2E2; +A4; A3 signed B3; Z3 signed Z4];
 as B.i., etc. for first alphabet and A.i.a., etc. for the double alpha-
 bet, both with De Worde's six-petaled flower ornament to the left of the
 signature.

Cont: \mathfrak{A}^1 , title. On \mathfrak{A}^1 ^v, contents begin. \mathfrak{A}^4 ^v, Hodnett no. 477 |
 nine no. 4 orns. | Hodnett no. 535. On A1, ' Here after ben conteyned
and declared the | x. cōmaundementes of the lawe whiche | our loode de-
lyuered vnto Moyses the p^{ro} | phete for to p^{ro}che to the people for to
hōl= | de and kepe. Capitulo. primo. | Hodnett no. 441. | 'F⁵ [a De
 Worde grotesque] Or to ha=' On 2H3^v, 'FINIS' | Caxton's epilogue. On
 2H4, Caxton's epilogue concluding: 'was achyeued/fynysshed #accomplys-
shed the xiii. day | of Septembre in \mathfrak{y} yere of thyncarnacyon of our
lorde. | M. CCCCC. # vii. The .xxii. yere of the reygne of kyn= | ge
Henry the seuenth.' | five no. 3 orns. | colophon. 2H4^v, device 9 in
 frame.

Copies: L (C. 21.c.1) lacks gatherings \mathfrak{A} and A and leaves C3, C4, G5,
 R7, R8, S3 and S4 (reel 17); HN (45362).

Notes: This represents the second edition of the work and is based on
 that of Caxton c. 1488. Actually the work was printed by De Worde,
 using De Worde's types, initials and woodcuts with the colophon altered
 to the above and Pynson's device substituted for that of De Worde in the
 copies to be sold by Pynson.

If the date of the epilogue is correct, this would represent
 the second venture in joint printing by Pynson and De Worde, the first
 having been their edition of Voragine's Golden Legend (STC2 24878.3 and
 STC2 24878.5) of September 4, 1507; there is some question however,
 whether the month and day at the end of the Pynson-De Worde Royal Book
 actually refer to the date of publication or have simply been copied
 along with the preceding text from Caxton's edition in much the same
 manner used by Pynson in his treatment of the "proheme" of Caxton's edi-
 tion of the Canterbury Tales. It should be noted that the phrasing of
 the Caxton edition's epilogue is somewhat ambiguous as well in as much
 as it could refer to the date that the translation was completed rather
 than to the date of publication.

Unlike the Legenda Aurea or Golden Legend, in which Pynson was

shown to have provided most of the woodcuts, the only thing which can certainly be said to have belonged to Pynson in the Royal Book is Pynson's device. Hodnett nos. 309, 318, 322 and 332 which formerly belonged to Caxton had passed to Wynken by this time, while Hodnett nos. 384, 429, 441, 477, 506, 510, 535-537, 720, 962, 1198-1199, 1201 and 1203-1204, all of which were used in the work, were cut specially for De Worde.

The work itself is a translation by Caxton of the French Somme Du Roi of Laurent which was originally written for King Philip of France and which was translated by Caxton at the request of an unnamed mercer. The work, although written for King Philip, apparently takes its name from the fact that "Holy Scripture calleth every man a king which wisely and perfectly can direct himself after virtue." It is a devotional work dealing at length with the Ten Commandments, the twelve articles of faith, seven deadly sins, seven petitions of the paternoster, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the seven virtues.

74. Peregrinus de Lugo. Principia seu Introductiones in via Doctoris Subtillis. 1507? STC 16899.

TP: al, ' Principia seu introductiones Ff̄is peregrini yta | lici
de lugo in via doctoris subtillis: adipisci eiusdē | doctoris doctrinam
cupientibus' | Hodnett no. 1509 with type set vertically to the left of
the cut reading ' Iohanni Scoto duns. minoritauī ordinis. doctōi sub-
tilli. viro quidem' and type set vertically to the right of the cut read-
ing 'obnissio/ac oīm theologo4 principi. honoꝛ/decus/gloria et imper-
ium.' | 'Uenūdant aut in alma ac florētissīma vniuersitate | Oxoniēse in
intacte gīs ac imaculate/vico: sctī io= | hāis euāgeliste/ad intersig-
nium.'

Col: On g6; ' Expliciunt p̄incipia seu introductiones p̄o | iuuen-
ib9 fratris peregrini de lugo. ord̄is fra | trū minoꝛ4 parisiēsis studē-
tis. Edita in fa= | mosissimo ac florētissīmo gymnasiō tho | losano/ac
audito4 instantiā. p̄ mē= | tē scoti. tpe quo legebat tholose ar= |
tes. Imp̄ssa aut Londini. p̄ Ri= | chardū pynsō. cuz solerti cura ac
diligentia Honestissīmi | Iuuenis ac prudentissī= | mi Hugonis Meslier. |

Expē h̄ aut geogii ca | stellani/oxonii mo= | rantis/ad intersi= | gniuz
sancti Io= | h̄anis euange | liste: in quo | venunda | . . . tur op9 . . . |
hoc. | Finis. laus deo/et btō Francisco. Amen. | ac bea | . . . te vir
. . . | gini. | . . .

RT: Varies with text, a2^v-a3,

'Tractatus de primis ||| et secundis intētiōibus'

Coll: 4^o: a-g⁶h⁸; 50 leaves; signed \$ 1-3 [-a1] as b.i., b.ii., etc.

Type: 70 textura for text, 63 textura for preliminaries on c3^v, 98 (?)

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, 'Raynaldo cottignole grāno: doctori sacre
theo | logie eminētissimo: totiusq; minoꝝ itane p̄fessio= | nis generali

ministrō. e. celo diuino iussu dato. | Frater pegrin9 lugus eiusdē
ordis: felicitatem. | Epištola.' On a2, '¶ Principia seu introduc-
tionēs fratris pegrini | italici de lugo. in via Scoti doctōis sub-
tilis ac | oīm theologoꝝ p̄ncipis. Edita in famosissimō | gymnasio
tholosano/ad instantiam a ditōum/ | feliciter incipiunt. | Prohemium. |

Prim9 tractat9. p̄as itētiōes/sc̄asve aplectiŕ. | S² [7] Cetus in
sc̄i s̄ma4. dist. v. in solutiōe sc̄i argumē' On a3^v, diagram. On

a6^v, diagram. On c1, diagram. On c3^v, '¶ Hugoni meslier parisiensi
iūueni peritissimo ac p̄uden= | tissimo: necnon impressōi solertiss-
imo. Frater Peregrinus | ytalus de lugo/minoꝝ anti ordis. Salutē 7

cōmēdatinē. | Epyštola.' On c4, '¶ Sc̄s tractat9 Naturas cōes ample-
ctitur. | ¶ Incipit secundus Tractatus.' On e5^v, '¶ Tertius Tractatus
reales respectus tāgit. | ¶ Incipit tertius Tractatus'. On e5^v, '¶ P̄o
maioꝝ declaratiōe huius quarti tracta= | ctus aliquos aditiōes mauricij
hibernici de p̄o= | tu p̄posuā vt q̄ sequunt facilioꝝ mō intelligant.'

On e6^v, '¶ Quart9 tractat9 adformalitates ordinatur. | ¶ Incipit quar-
tus tractatus.' On g6, colophon. On g6^v, '¶ Paruus tractatus de

diuinus pductiōibus. | ¶ Incipit quintus Tractatus. On h7, '¶ Ex-
plicit paruus tractatus de | pductionibus in diuinus. sit ho | no
deo beate ¶gini ac seraphico | Francisco. Amen. On h7^v, '¶ Phil-
ippo bagnacuallo/minoritanī ordinis: | sacre theologie doctori pres-
tātissimo: in omniq | disciplinarum genere accumulātissimo/necnon |
¶bi dei p̄dicatōi famosissimo Frater peregrin- | nus de lugo eiusdē
ordis: se humiliter ¶mēdat. | Epistola. h8, blank. On h8^v, in the
 frame from device no. 9 is Hodnett no. 1445 with 5 ribbon orns. on each
 side of it and a diamond orn., ribbon orn., diamond orn., 2 ribbon orns.
 and a diamond orn. above it, and the following text below it: 'Sanctue
 Franciscus: totuis ordi | nis fratrum minorū fundatō.'

Copies: L (C. 37. d. 32) (reel 136) with h5 misfolded so that it pre-
 cedes h4; M (16100); O (Mason FF 385*) which lacks h8 and (Mason FF 385)
 which lacks g3 & g4; C (Sel. 5. 41) (formerly AB. 4. 69/4); FOLG.
 (STC 16899).

Notes: Although STC ascribes the work to 1508, Duff in his Century,
 pp. 26-27, ascribes the work to 1506. I presume the main grounds for
 the later dating are the two small texturas used since according to
 Isaac, the 70 textura is found in books of 1509, 1516 and 1521 and that
 1507 is a more probable date for the work since the original manuscript
 seems from the various letters to have been entrusted to Hugo Meslier,
 who saw it through the press, in 1506.

The work, based on the writings of Duns Scotus was printed for
 George Chastelain, the stationer of Oxford. Its publication can be most
 readily explained as part of the ongoing Scotan revival at Oxford.

Although Chastelain paid for the work, the manuscript was
 apparently brought to England and seen through the press by Meslier.
 Although most of the details of Meslier's and Chastelain's respective
 involvements is contained in the colophon, some additional information
 on Meslier's role may be derived from the letter from the author, Pere-
 grinus, to Meslier on c3^v, the contents of which are as follows:

"Q² [?] Uarto kalēdas februaryii (dum tholosam pergerem mi
 charissime) tuas plegi iŕas disertissimas: amore ≠ ben-
 iuolētia accumulātissimas. Quibus pcepi. quātum me
 dilexisti/diligis et diliges. vix (vt scribis) posset
 dici. sane hoc minime putabā: ¶ mea in dies beneuolētia
 ap̄ te cumulator esset. Nullo eni effecisti tēpore/vt
 visus sim a te amari: nisi hodierno die. Ego tibi immor-
 tales reffero gŕas. et hortor. ne minoris amicitiam
 facias ¶ ego tua. iterūq; hortor. que aut de tuo amore

ad me scribis: vsita ta sunt ꝛ iam antiqua. nec permittā amicitia nostra esse ociosam et egere testibus. Si quid accidat in quo vel tua mihi possit opa ꝓdesse/vel ego tibi mea. Mando tibi hos breves codices/impꝓssioni exhibēdos/et a te corrigēdos. Non te (cu sis prudētissimus) in multis suadeo. Facies (vt ariolor) oia pro tua sapiētia/que ad honorem meū spectabunt. Vale. Et precor si aliqū per ocium: licet saltem tua manu ad me sepe rescribas. Ne inter nos ꝓbari videatur qđ nostra in patria vulgatū est. remot9 ab oculis: a corde remotus. Totiens eni tecū esse videor. quotiens tuas lꝓas lego. Iterum vale. nec minus (vt incepisti) me dilgas/et charissimum habeas: queso. "

75. J. Garlandia. Vocabulorum. May 3, 1508. STC 11606.

al, '¶ Multo4 vocabul4 equiuoco4 Interpretatio | Magistri Ioh-
ānis de Garlandia: grammatico et | latinꝝ cupido. permaxime necessaria
Incipit.' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On K6, '¶ Libro equiuocum quorūdam vocabulorum | secūdū
ordinem alphabeti/vnacum interpretatio= | ne Anglie lingue: siuis im-
positus est feliciter. quā | Richardus Pynson Londōn. in Fletestrete
signo | Georgii commoda: mira arte impōmī ac dili= | genti studio
corrigi: otographi ex stilo ꝓout fa= | cultas suppetabet/ennuclea-
tumꝝ sollicitus fuit. | Anno christianē redemptionis. Millesimo quin= |
gentesimo octauo. Die. iij. May.' two orns. 4.

Coll: 4^o: a-g⁶h⁴I-K⁶; 58 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1, -g3, -h2, -h3].

Type: 65 rotunda and 95 textura. A3, 42 ll. rotunda and 3 ll. tex-
tura = 91(112) x 148(151).

Cont: al, title. al^v, Hodnett no. 1509. On a2, text begins: 'A²
[8] Uguſtus ti/to/cesar vel mensis habito/ On K6, text ends: 'vtili-
tatē. ego pegi. i. feci. ipa. f. equiuoca. ꝛc.' colophon. K6^v, de-
vice 9 in frame.

Copies: 0 (Mason.H.43) lacks g3 and g4 (reel 67).

Notes: This is Pynson's second edition of the work.
Type 8 capitals are used.

76. William Hendred? Peregrinatio Humani Generis. December 5, 1508.
STC 19623 and STC2 19917.5.

Col: ¶ Peregrinatio humani generis. | Imprinted at London in Flete-
strete at the | Sygne of the George by Rycharde Pynson/ | pynter vnto
the Kyng's noble grace. And this | boke made fynysshed the yere of our
lord a.M. | CCCCC. and. viij. the .v. daye of December' | device 9.

Coll: 4^o: unknown.

Type: 95 textura. unsigned recto, 24+ 11. & 4 sp. (close-cropped) =
88 x 133+.

Copies: 0 (Douce frag. F. 7)

Notes: The sole known surviving copy consists of one leaf, presumably either the last or penultimate page of the work. Despite the Latin title the text is in English verse. According to a note of Duff prefixed to the Bodleian copy there is also a 1520 edition printed by Richard Faques which survives at Queen's College, Oxford. Also according to Duff's note, the work is a translation of Le Pelerinage de L'Homme, by William Hendred, prior of Leominster, at whose request, Duff says, the metrical version was made.

The work was 26 chapters long as is evidenced by the recto of the surviving page on which the following appears:

"¶ The conclucion of this boke. Cap^o. xxvi. | N^owe almyghty
lorde swete Ihesus | [text continues]."

77. Theodulus. Liber Theoduli. 1508? STC2 23940.7.

Coll: 4^o: a-d⁶e-f⁴g-h⁶; 44 leaves.

Copies: D, not viewed.

Notes: The date and the above notes are taken from STC2. This represents Pynson's third edition.

78. S. Brant. A. Barclay, trans. Ship of Fools. December 14, 1509. STC 3545.

Col: On *1^v, ' ¶ This present Boke named the Shyp of folys of the worlde was translated i the | College of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Deuonshyre: out of Laten/Frenche/ | and Doche into Englysshe tongue by Alexander Barclay Poeste: and at that tyme | Chaplen in the sayde College. traslated the yere of our Lode god. M. CCCCC. | viii. Inpente in the Cyte of London in Fletestre at the signe of Saynt George | By Rychard Pynson to hys Coste and charge: Ended the yere of our Sauour | M. d. ix. The xiiii. day of December.'

On Y6, ' ¶ Our Shyp here leuyth the sees boode | By helpe of God almyght and quyetly | At Anker we lye within the rode | But who that lysteth of them to bye | In Flete Strete shall them fynde truly | At the George: in Richade Pynsones place | Prynter vnto the Kyng noble grace. | Deo gratias.'

Coll: 2^o: 4^a 8^b p⁶ q⁷ r-z 6 & 6A-Y6; 295 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-*1, - Y3; +a4] as a.i., etc.; foliated beginning al, I-V, IIII, VII-XVIII, XVIII-XIX, XXI-XXX, XXX-XXXV, XXXVII-XLIII, XXXIX, XLV-XLVII, XLIX, XLIX-LXI, LVII-LXXXIII, CCLXV, LXXXX-CXXXI, CXXXIII-CXXXVII, CXL, CXXXIX, CXL-CLXXIII, CLXXV-CLXXVI, CLXXIII, CLXXVIII-CC, CXCI, CCII-CCXVI, CCXII, CCXVIII-CCXLIX, CCLX, CCLI-CCLIX, CCLVII, CCLXI-CCLXXIII.

Type: 97(?) textura with w⁶ for English text with 114(?) roman for Latin text and shoulder-notes. 1, 7 ll. textura and 31 ll. roman = 147 x 223(232) (rt.); 2, 2 col., 40 ll. textura = 147(72) x 194(208) (rt. & sig.); a2, 38 ll. roman and 2 spaces = 114(145) x 232(245) (fol. & sig.); b3, 42 ll. textura and 6 spaces = 95(145) x 231(249) (fol. & sig.).

Cont: *1, device 35. On *1^v, Latin dedication to Bishop Cornishe and first colophon. On *2, contents begins. On al, 'Stultifera Nauis' | Hodnett no. 1824 between borders of type ornaments with text to right beginning: 'Hi sūt qui de=' On Y6, second colophon. Y6^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: HN (55359) (reel 27); O (S.Seld.d.22); C⁷ (E.P.S.2/1); Lord

Kenyon lacks 1, a1, Y3, Y4, Y6 with Y2 and Y5 supplied from another copy; PML (W14A 762); NY (*KC. 1509); FOLG. (STC 3545).

Notes: This is the first publication of Barclay's translation of the work although Henry Watson's prose translation for De Worde may have been issued earlier.

The work is Barclay's recasting of the popular German work first compiled by Sebastian Brant in 1494 and is apparently derived largely from the subsequent Latin and French editions rather than from the German original, despite Barclay's claim to have used the "Doche" edition among others.

The work is profusely illustrated with 109 cuts of fools copied from the woodcuts used in the French edition printed in Paris by De Marnef and Maystener in 1497. These cuts were not quite wide enough to fill the type-page with the result that each cut is printed with a border-piece to the left. The cuts, as they appear in the book, are: on b6, Hodnett no. 1825; c1^v, no. 1826; c3^v, no. 1827; c5^v, no. 1828; d2, no. 1829; d4, no. 1830; d6^v, no. 1831; e3, no. 1832; e5, no. 1833; e6^v, no. 1834; f3, no. 1835; f5, no. 1836; g1, no. 1837; g3, no. 1838; g5, no. 1839; g6^v, no. 1840; h3, no. 1841; h5, no. 1842; i1, no. 1843; i3, no. 1844; i4^v, no. 1845; i6^v, a woodcut of a crowned angel holding a scepter with a dove on it while an aureoled hand descends from the ceiling and eight people huddle at the right; k2^v, no. 1846; k4^v, no. 1847; k6^v, no. 1848; l2, no. 1849; l4^v, no. 1850, but the figures are not obviously fools since they lack the normal caps; m1, no. 1851; m3, no. 1852; m4^v, no. 1853; n1, no. 1854; n2^v, no. 1855; n4^v, no. 1856; n6^v, no. 1857; o2^v, no. 1858; o5, no. 1859; p1^v, no. 1860; p3^v, no. 1861; p5^v, no. 1862; q1^v, no. 1863; q3^v, no. 1864; q5^v, no. 1865; q7^v, no. 1866; r2^v, no. 1867; r4^v, no. 1868; r6^v, no. 1869; s2^v, no. 1870; s4^v, no. 1871; s6^v, no. 1872; t2, no. 1873; t4, no. 1874; t6, no. 1875; v2, no. 1859; v4^v, no. 1875; v6^v, no. 1876; x2^v, no. 1877; x4^v, no. 1878; y1, no. 1879; y3^v, no. 1880; y5^v, no. 1881; z2^v, no. 1858; z6^v, no. 1882; &2^v, no. 1883; &4^v, no. 1884; &6^v, no. 1885; A1^v, no. 1886; A5, no. 1887; B1, no. 1888; B3, no. 1889; B5, no. 1890; B6^v, no. 1891; C3, no. 1892; C5, no. 1893; D1^v, no. 1894; D3^v, no. 1895; D6, no. 1896; E1^v, no. 1897; E3^v, no. 1898; E6, no. 1899; F3^v, no. 1832; F6^v, no. 1900; G3^v, no. 1901; G6, no. 1902; H3, no. 1903; H4, no. 1904; I1^v, no. 1905; I4, no. 1906; I6^v, no. 1907; K3^v, no. 1908; K5^v, no. 1909; L1, no. 1910; L3, no. 1911; L5, no. 1912; M1, no. 1913; M5, no. 1914; N5^v, no. 1915; O1^v, no. 1916; O3, no. 1917; O6, no. 1918; P3, no. 1919; P4^v, no. 1920; P6^v, no. 1921; Q2^v, no. 1922; Q4^v, no. 1923; Q6, no. 1924; R3, no. 1840?; R6^v, no. 1925; S3, the unnumbered cut on i6^v; S6, no. 1926; T2, no. 1927; T4, no. 1928; V1^v, no. 1929; V5^v, no. 1930; X2, no. 1930; X3^v, no. 1931; Y1, no. 1850 and on Y5, no. 1932.

In addition to the large number of cuts and their accompanying border-pieces, the book also featured the first use of device 35, Pynson's large coat-of-arms, which was not to see use again until the publication of Pynson's first volume of Froissart's Chronicles in 1523. Another sign of things to come occurs towards the end of Barclay's dedication to Cornisshie in the form of his reference to the letter coming "Ex Impressora officina Richardi Pynson," a designation which looks forward to the "ex officina" colophons of the 1520s.

Although one presumes that the impossible gathering of q⁷ is a q⁶ with a leaf added, it has been present in all copies viewed and all

have been too tightly bound to determine which leaf is added.

Although the number of books covered and the general nature of the survey has precluded a detailed study of texts on a page by page basis, occasionally evidence has nevertheless come to light of some minor press corrections. In this case, the first line on 1^v normally reads, "Venerandissimo in Xpo Patri ac dñordño Thome Cornisse Teneñ pōtifi-
fici"; however in the Huntington copy the first d in "dñordño" has been capitalized, while in the Morgan copy, the r has been excised and replaced by a colon.

The running-title, "Tabula ||| Tabula" occurs only on 1^v-2. There is no running-title used in the rest of the book due to the fact that the running-title line on the rectos is occupied by the foliation number while on the versos the space is taken by the word "FOLIVM".

79. J. Garlandia. Synonyma. 1509. STC 11615.

TP: A1, 'Synonima magīstri Iohannis de Garlandia cum | expositione magīstri Galfridi anglici.' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On K4^v, '¶ Liber Synonimorū Magīstri Iohannis de | Garlandia/ vna cum expositiōe magīstri Galfridi | anglici/vigiliq̄ diligentia othographie stilo coo | rectus et exaratus/cum notabilibus in margini- bus insertis/in regia quocq̄ Ciuitate Lōdoñ. Im | p̄cessus p̄ Richardum Pynson/feliciter finit. An | no incarnationis domini. M. CCCCC. ix.'

RT: 'Synonima ||| De garlandia' \$

'Synonima ||| Synonima' 2^v-3 in B, D, E, H, I.

'De garlandia ||| De garlandia' 4^v-5 in B, D, E, H, I.

HT: On A2, 'Synonima de garlandia.'

Coll: 4^o: A-I⁶K⁴; 58 leaves; signed \$ 1-3 [-A1, K3] as B.i., etc.

Type: Text and signatures in 64b rotunda, some text in 95 textura. B2, 38 ll. rotunda and 411. textura = 89(107) x 142(154) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, head-title | text begins: '[2 spaces left for guide-letter a] D mare ne videar latices deferre/camino' On K4^v, text ends: 'ab alo alis. sed potius de abluo is. deriuatur.' | colophon.

Copies: L (C. 24. a. 13) (reel 79); L (C. 108. b. 19); O (Douce G. 255); M (18949.1).

Notes: Pynson's fourth edition.
Spaces for rubrication with guide-letters are used throughout.

80. Petrus Gryphus. Oratio. After May 1509. STC 12413.

TP: A1, 'ORATIO' | COA. 13.

Coll: 4^o: A-C⁴; 12 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.i., etc.

Type: 114 roman. B1, 27 ll. = 98 x 156(163) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, COA. 5 | COA. 8, four orn. 1 and orn. 6 in a column, COA. 7. On A2, 'Epiſtola.' On A3, 'Oratio quam erat habiturus Petrus Gryphus: | Sedis Apoſtolicę prothonotarius/ac iterū nūcius: | Ad Sereniffimū Hēricū .vij. Anglię Regē: Ni para | tā expositionē immatura Regis mors preuenisset. | S³ [Fy] I qui ſunt fortaſſe Sereniffime ac Inuictiſſi' On C3, text ends: 'tuę ita placuerit/habebunt ſui muneris Peculiare | Secretum.' C3^v, blank. C4, blank. C4^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (G. 1203) (reel 1239).

Notes: The date is established by the opening letter addressed to Thomas Ronthal, the royal secretary, which is dated May 15, 1509. The work consists of an address in praise of Henry VII which Gryphus, the papal nuncio and collector of papal revenues, had originally planned to deliver to Henry upon his arrival at court. The speech was never given due to Henry's death so Gryphus had it published as a memorial instead.

81. Ortus Vocabulorum. September 11, 1509. STC 13830.

TP: a1, [xylographic 96 x 14:] Ortus vocabulorū | Alphabeticō ordine
fere om̄ia que in Catholicon: Bōentloquo: Cōnuocopia: Gēma vocabulorū
atq̄ Medulla gramatice ponūtur/cū ver= | nacule līgue Anglicane expone

2tinēs. | Non immerito ~~opus~~ vocabulo⁴ nū cupat⁹: ~~q̄~~ sicut | in hortu-
 lis flo⁴/herba⁴/atq̄ fructuū copia re= | periūtur/q̄b⁹ ~~co~~pora robo~~ratur~~/
 atq̄ sp̄fia re= | creant: ita τ in hoc opere diuersa ~~τ~~tinentur|vocabula
 /tyrūculis τ ad disciplinas⁴ studia | anhelāribus accōmoda: ~~q̄b~~⁹ τ ipsi
 animū | excolant/~~o~~rationes oment/ac tādē in | doctissimos viros ~~c~~ si
 modo fata sināt | euadant. Et si p̄ obliuionē (q̄⁹ τ sepe | vsu venire
 solet) ob multitudinē vo= | cabulorū aliqua in alijs opibus/ab | aucto-
 rib⁹ ~~p~~etermissa fuerint: aut | dictionā signīm cārie cū opus fue | rit
 /nō stati introire occuirerine | hoc opus cōfugrātis ibidē | p̄ alphabeti
 ordinē (vt pau= | lo ante diximus) quecumq̄ | optauerit/ facile
 inueniēt. | Cuius ertā generis/atq̄ | inflectionis/si noia sint | Cuius
 vero generis/ | atq̄ coniugationis/ | A sint verba lettere | cuiq̄
 dictiōi sub= | iuncte/edocēt. | Opus sanc | oib⁹ ad ar | tes atq̄ scias
 anhelatib⁹ vide atq̄ cōducibile p̄cipue in | ad Anglicani sermōis exponem/
 regioni Anglie | summe necessariē. Currite igitur Anglici oes: | paruis
 ne par cite nūmis. | Cum poteris paruo: tale | volumen emi. ~~U~~enundatur
 Londoñ. in vico nūcupato Flete~~stre~~te: | sub intersignio sancti Ge~~o~~gij: |
 ab Richardo Pynson Impressore Regio.

Col: 2D6, ' ~~U~~ Adeſt studiosissimi lecto~~r~~es opusculi finis: | quod
 nō minus p̄cepto~~r~~ibus (vt vocabulo= | rum significationes memo~~r~~ie
 commendent) | ~~q̄~~ scholasticis: ceterisq̄ studiosis eas igno~~r~~an | ti-
 bus conducet: omnium enim vocabulo~~r~~um | significationes que in Catholi-
 con: ~~B~~euilo= | quo: Cōnucopia: Gēma vocabulo~~r~~um: aut | Medulla gram-
 maticæ ponuntur/continet. | Quum igitur summa diligentia sit collectū/
 vigilantiq̄ studio cōfectum. vt magis in lu | cem p̄diret: ipsum a
 viris studiosis/compa | randum esse constat. Per virum autē lauda= |
 vilem ac ciuem p̄ovidum Henricum Iacobi | prope nouam scholam ac cele-

berrimam diui | Pauli Apostoli ecclesiam/commo~~ra~~ntem. | Impressum Lon-
don. per Richard Pynson | Regium Impresso~~re~~m. Como~~ra~~ntem in vi= |
co.nuncupato Flete~~stre~~te: sub intersignio san | cti Geor~~gii~~. Anno in-
carnationis Dominice | M.ccccc.ix. vndecimo kaled~~as~~ Septem~~bris~~.'

RT: Varies with text.

Coll: 4⁰: a-z ^{8 8 8} 2A-2B⁸ 2C-2D⁶; 220 leaves; signed \$1-4 [-A1, 2C4, 2D4] as b.i., etc.

Type: 64b rotunda for text with 95 textura for running-titles, part of title-page and colophon.

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, Hodnett no. 1509. On a2, [text begins:] A⁵
 [ozz] Est nomen p̄rie l̄re latine, On 2D5^v, [text ends:] ' ¶ Finis. Laus
summo regi dicatur vocib⁹oris Q^d. iam non cesset merces p̄digna Ia= |
boris. On 2D6, colophon. 2D6^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (C.11.a.25) (reel 1107); M O (Malone 752) (lacks 2D6).

Notes: This is the first edition of this Latin-English word-list which was apparently published under an agreement by which Pynson would sell some copies while others were to be sold by Henry Jacobi.

82. Ortus Vocabulorum. September 11, 1509. STC2 13830.3.

TP: As in STC 13830 for xylographic heading and next 35 lines through 'volumen ami.'; after which in place of the text in STC 13830

is: ' ¶ Uenudatur London. apud bibliopolas In | cimiterio sancti

Pauli: sub intersignio sanctis= | sine Trinitatis: ab Henrico Iacobi.'

Copies: O (Douce 1. 243).

Notes: A second state of the work differing only in that these copies were to be sold by Jacobi while the others were to be sold by Pynson.

83. Petrus Carmelianus. Petri Carmeliani Carmen. 1509? STC 4659.

TP: A1, [surrounded at top and both sides by ribbon ornaments with a three dot filler among them on each side:] ' Ⓒ Petri Carmeliani Carmen: | Anglia perpetuos: tibi dat rosa rubra triūphos. | Perpetuum nomen: perpetuumq̄ decus. | Hec tua Cesareis: redolēs rosa crescit in hōtis. | Atq̄ Aquilam signis: tungit vtranq̄ suis. | Septimus hēricus: sapiēs rex Regula morum. | Celeste ingenium: cum probitate tenens. | Ad tantos solus: vigilans te vēxit honores. | Ergo abs te debet: iure volente coli.' | COA no. 5 | COA no. 8 and COA no. 7.

Coll: 4⁰: A-D^{6,4}E⁴; 24 leaves; signed \$1-3 or 1-2 [-A1] as D.i., etc.; however B1 is simply signed B.

Type: 114 textura (? measures 112) for most of text, 95 textura for some text. Specimen page, A2, 24 ll. 114 textura = 80(90) x 134(145) (150) (sig.). (the second figures in both width and height include the border of type ornaments framing the page).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^V, text begins: 'H³ [FZZ] Oc p̄esenti libello humili st̄ilo edi' On B1, Hodnett no. 1506. On C4^V, Hodnett no. 1505.

On E3^V, text ends: [ꝛti=] n̄is p̄cib9/teneris altissimū deprecari.'

On E4, 'Ⓒ Petri carmeliani De illustrissimo4 p̄icipū | Castelle/Karoli ꝛ Marie/spōsalib9 Carmen. | ⒸFesta dies fueget: cuntis mortalibus

Eui:' later on same page text ends: 'Coniugium: Demus nocte die q̄ preces.' E4^V, device 9 in frame.

Copies: HN (97467) (reel 132); PML (W 14 B); L (G.6118); O (Douce C.218); Lord Kenyon.

Notes: Although there is no colophon, the date of the work is established by the event described as subsequent to the betrothal of Mary Tudor to Charles of Castile on December 21, 1508. The work, by the Latin Secretary and lute-player to Henry VII, was a finished piece of work which was reprinted the same year in an abridged English version as The Solemnities & Triumphs done ...at the Spousels of the Lady Mary (STC 17558).

● Although no records of payments exist, the work was almost certainly commissioned by the Crown as manifested by the use of the Royal coat-of-arms on the title-page. This would account for the elaborate nature of the production which saw each type page enclosed by a border

of ribbon ornaments and the use of vellum for the Huntington and British Museum copies.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

84. Anonymous. Elegy on the Death of Henry VII. 1509? STC 13075.

Coll: Broadside.

Type: III(?) Textura.

Notes: The date of the work is, of course, set by the death of Henry VII. As mentioned in the text, there is now no real reason to believe that Pynson had any part in the work. The only thing in the piece which could be considered Pynson's are the squat flower ornaments which were also, however, common to De Worde, who one suspects is the actual printer of the piece. The type does not appear to agree with any known to have been used by Pynson. Apparently the ascription of the work to Pynson's press was based on the belief that the Torrent of Portyngal proof-sheets printed on the back of the Elegy were from Pynson's press. Since they are now ascribed to De Worde that argument is no longer valid. The work has more recently been ascribed to Pynson on the mistaken notion that the Tudor rose coat-of-arms used belonged to Pynson; Pynson's rose is, in fact, in a single frame while that used in the Elegy is a double framed variety which I have not observed in any genuine work printed by Pynson - nor does the other coat-of-arms present agree with any that appears in any other work printed by Pynson. One is left to conclude that Pynson had no part in the work which was probably printed by De Worde.

85. Anonymous. Solemnities and Triumphs...at the Spousals of the King's Daughter. 1509? STC 17558.

TP: A1, ' ¶ The solemnities. R triumphes doon R | made at the
spousell} and Mariage of the | kyng} daughter the Ladye Marye to the |
Poynce of Caſtile Archeduke of Auſtrige.' | COA. 5, vertical column of
four orn. 1 and one orn. 3 | COA. 8, vertical column of four orn. 2,
COA. 7. | three orns. 1, orn. 7. | orn. 7, three orn. 1.

Col: On C3^v, ' ¶ Imprinted at London in Fleteſtrete at the | Sygne
of the George by Richarde Pyn= | ſon/Printer vnto the kynges noble |

grace. orn. 6, 1, 1, 4.

Coll: 4^o: A-B[?]C⁴; ? leaves; signings present are A.ii. and C.i.

Type: 114 (? measures 116 on A1^v) textura on title-page and A1^v with 95 textura for text. A2, 30 ll. = 90 x 144(148) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, text begins: 'H² [8] Erafter folowe and ensue suche ho! On C3^v, text ends: '[deuou=] te orisons contynuelly to praye.' two orn. 1, orn. 6. | three orn. 3. | colophon. C4, blank. C4^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (C.21.b.12) only A1, A2, the last leaf of gathering B and all of gathering C are present (reel 56).

Notes: The date is that given by STC2 and is based on the fact that the events described occurred on December 21, 1508. This is the only known early edition of the work which is an abridged English translation of the Carmen of Petrus Carmelianus.

Although the British Museum catalogue lists the format at 4^o: A-B⁶C⁴ with A3-6 and B1-5 missing, it is impossible to tell how this information was arrived at since this is the only copy known. Type 8 capitals are used.

86. R. Higden. Description of England. December 19, 1510. Part of STC 9999.

TP: A1, 'The descryptyon of Engloude. | ¶ Here foloweth a lytell treatyse the whiche treateth of the descri- | pcion of this londe whiche of olde tyme was named. Albyon. And | after B~~o~~ytane And nowe is called Engloude and speketh of the | noblesse and worthynesse of the somme.' three orn. 3. | Hodnett no. 1493.

Col: On D3, '¶ Fynysshed & enpoynted in Fletestrete | in the sygne of the George by Rycharde | Pynson p~~o~~ynter vnto the kynges noble | grace/the yere of oure lorde a. M. CCC | CC. x. die. vero. xix. Decem-
b~~o~~is.'

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,

'The descrypcyon of Englande. ||| The descrypcyon of
Englande.'

Coll: 2^o: A-C⁶D⁴; 22 leaves; signed \$1-3.

Type: 95 textura for text with 120(?) textura on title-page. B1,
2 col., 47 ll. = 152(74) x 228 (240) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, contents. | '☉ The names of this ylonde.
Ca. 1. | F⁵ [K] Irste as Galfrydus saythe' On D3, col. 1, text ends:
'quycke bestes.' two orn. 1, orn. 4. | '☉ Finis.' On D3, col. 2,
'☉ Here endeth the descrypcyon of B^oy= | tayne nowe called Englonde/
whiche En | glonde cōteyneth Walys/Scotlonde/ ꝛ | Irlonde. And of olde
tyme it hathe so cō= | tynued/therfore the descrypcyon of the | same is
truely taken oute of Polycrony= | con^e Englysshmen may knowe the com |
modytees/ppōetees/and meruaylles of them' three orn. 1, orn. 4. |
three orn. 1. | colophon. | '☉ Anglo^ou regum breuis Epy= | logus post
conquestum.' orn. 4. | 12 ll. text. | 'magnificus/ ꝛ Calcus iure sep-
tenu. | . . . | . . .' D3^v, device 9 in frame. D4, blank. D4^v,
blank.

Copies: L (C.55.b.9/2) lacks gathering D and leaves C5 and C6; M
(15393) lacks D4; M (15395) gathering C and D1-3 bound with earlier
leaves of a De Worde edition; O (Antiq.d.E.19/1) lacks A1, A2, A5, B1,
B6, C3, C5, C6 and gathering D but has an extra leaf A4; C (Syn.4.51.11)
lacks D4; C (Pet.Sp.4) lacks D4.

Notes: This is Pynson's only edition of the work which was normally
issued with editions of the Chronicle. The work is bound following the
Chronicle in all copies but the Rylands composite copy which is bound
before. Some copies of the Chronicle lack the material altogether; this
fact and the presence of the separate signatures and more specific colo-
phon raise the possibility that the work was separately issued from the
Chronicle and are the reason for listing it separately.

Although D4 is currently unknown, it is presumed blank.

87. Anonymous. Chronicle. 1510. STC 9999.

Col: On 2c8, 'C Here endeth this present Cronycle of | Englonde
with the fruyte of tymes/cō= | pyled in a boke/ ⁊ also enpoynted by one
| some tyme scole mayster of saint Albons | vpon whose soule god haue
mercy. amen | C And newly in the yere of oure loode | god. M. CCCCC.
x. enpoynted in flete | strete at the sygne of the Gode by Ry= | charde
Pynson Poynter vnto y kynges. | noble grace' two orn. 1, orn. 4.

RT: Varies with text. Not recorded.

Coll: 2^o: 2A⁶ a-z 2⁶ 2a-2c⁶; 174 leaves; signed \$1-3.

Type: 95 textura with w¹, w^{5a} and w³ in 2 columns. 2A, 47 ll. = 148(71) x 227(240) (rt. & sig.); b1, 47 ll. = 148(72) x 227(240) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: On 2A1, 1st col., 'H² [8] Ere begynneth a shorte ⁊ a breue |
table on these Cronycles/and ye | must vnderstande that euery leef of
the | a b c is marked in the margyne vnder | nethe. i. and ii. and
.iii. and so forth thre | lefes after all the letters vnto the bokes |
ende. What soeuer ye fynde shortly wry | ten in this table/ye shal
fynde it openly in the same nombre of that letter.' On a1, text begins:
'I⁴ (GZZ) N so moche that it is necessa' On a2, first age begins. On
a3, second age begins. On a4, Hodnett no. 1492. On a5, third age be-
gins. On b2, history of England begins. On b5^v, Hodnett no. 1493 as
London. On b6^v, fourth age begins. On c6^v, Hodnett no. 1493 as Rome.
On d1, fifth age begins. On e3^v, first age of end of world begins. On
e4, cut of a T cross with nails. On g4^v, fifth part to the coming of
the Danes begins. On 15, the coming of the Danes begins. On n3^v, the
coming of the Normans begins. On 2c6, text ends: '[re=] ceyue it.'
orns. 3, 1, 3, 4. | three orn. 1. | colophon. 2c6^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (C.55.b.9/1) (reel 3); M (15393) lacks 2A1, 2A6, a1 and x6;
O (Antiq.d.E.19/3) lacks gatherings 2A, a, b, i, η, o, 2b and 2c as well

as leaves: c1, c2, c6, d1, h4, h5, h6, k1, l1, l2, l3, l4, m3, m4, m5, p5, p6, q3, q5, q6, r1, r2, r4, r6, s2, s3, s6, t1, t5, t6, v1, 3, 24, 2a4, 2a5 and 2a6; C (Syn.4.51.11) lacks 2A1 and 2A6; C (Syn.4.51.10) is gathering n only; C (Pet.Sp.4) lacks 2A1, 2A6, a1 and c6; FOLG (STC 9999) lacks 2A1.

Notes: This represents Pynson's first and only edition of the work which was previously published by Caxton, De Worde and Machlinia:

The work appears, as was the case with De Worde's and Caxton's editions, to have been issued with an edition of the Description of Brittain; this has been treated as a separate entry however, due to the fact that it is signed separately and its position in relation to the Chronicle proper varies from copy to copy.

The main divisions of the text are marked by a compartment in the form of a double-framed box with a flower at each corner which contains two concentric circles and around which the subject matter of the division is printed as in the first section which reads: " Here begynneth | the first aege | durynge vnto the | flood of Noe." In addition to the heading, the principal people or events of the period are given in a line of type inserted across the middle of the innermost circle as in the first section which reads: "Adam.Eua." As this listing would suggest, the work is concerned with world and Biblical history as well as English history.

One should also note the attempt on 2A1 ff. to list the contents by signature.

Type 8 capitals are used.

88. P. Gringoire. Castle of Labor. 1510? STC2 12381.7.

Type: 96 textura. D1, 27 ll. and 3 spaces = 76 x 142(144) (sig.).

Cont: - C1(?), blank. C1^v, blank. On C2, text begins: 'God hath vs gyuen reason and wit.' | text | Hodnett no. 1605. D5, Hodnett no. 1607.

Copies: L (C.125.dd.1.5/5) eight leaves of gatherings C and D.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2, presumably on the basis of the type and possibly the state of the cuts. All that are present are what appear to be C1, C2, C5, C6, D1, D2, D5 and D6. The work appears to be a quarto, probably following that of the 1505 edition of which this appears to be a page for page reprint except for the problematical blank C1.

A further problem exists in the fact that Hodnett lists Hodnett no. 1604 as being present as well as those listed above. This raises the interesting possibility that someone has stolen one leaf of this work and substituted a blank leaf between the time that Hodnett viewed the work and time that I viewed it.

89. J. Holt. Lac Puerorum. 1510? STC 13605.

TP: A1, '¶ Lac puerorum. M. holti | Mylke for children.' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On E6^v, '¶ Emprinted at London. by Richarde Pynson in Flete-
strete | At the signe of the george. p^oenter vnto the kyng^s noble
grace.'

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,

'¶ Prima pars ||| Opusculi.'

Coll: 4^o: A-D⁶; 24 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.i., B.ii., B.iii.

Type: 70 textura with a 'w²' from a larger font for the text, 95(?) textura for running-titles and 120(?) textura for the title-page. B2, 42 ll. = 94 x 146(157) (r-t. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ Ad reuerendissimum dominū suum dñm
Johannē Morton | Catuariēn. archiep^osule^m/totiusq^{ue} Anglie p^oimatem et
titulo | sancte Anastasie cardinalem Iohannes holt Epigramma.' | 20 ll.
text. | '¶ Thome more/diserti adolescenti in lucu= | b^oaciunculas
Holtiade. Epigramma.' On A2, '¶ Diuiso operis ꝛ modus | procedendi
per ordinem.' On A2^v, text begins: 'T⁵ [F²] Here ben .viiij. partes of
speche. Nounē. Pronow.' On A3, '¶ Declension of artycles.' | wood-
cut diagram of a left hand used to teach declensions. | '¶ Declensons
be fyue.' On A4, '¶ Examples of the seconde declenson.' | woodcut dia-
gram of a left hand palm up with rings on the fingers and a pendant(?)
in the hand used to teach declensions. On A6, '¶ Figura quinq^{ue} de-
clinationum.' | woodcut of a hand holding a rope by one finger from
which are suspended six tapers. On C1^v, '¶ S^ecunda pars p^oncipalis.'
On C5^v, '¶ Tercia pars principalis.' On E6^v, '¶ Finis. | '¶ Finis
opuscula magistri Iohannis | Holt. quod Lac puero⁴ appellauit. | '¶ Thome
more⁴ epygramma.' | 30 ll. of text. | colophon.

Copies: L (G.7567) (reel 44).

Notes: STC dated the work as 1520, I am here following the dating of STC2 which, I assume, is based on the presence of a "y" and large "w" in the 95 textura which, according to Isaac, would put the work c. 1510. It was previously published by Wynken c. 1507.

Holt was another of the Magdalen grammarians, having served as headmaster of Magdalen School from 1494 through 1495. The work is thought to have been composed c. 1500 since it is dedicated to Cardinal Morton who died in that year. It is generally regarded as a highly innovative work in that the grammar attempted to combine all the material covered in the Anwykyl and Stanbridge grammars into a single volume embellished with diagrams of hands and tapers which were designed to aid the students in the memorization of the various declensions and forms.

The introductory and concluding epigrams by Thomas More indicate at least a close acquaintanceship between Holt and himself, and have caused at least one author to speculate that More may have had a hand in the authorship of the work.

The rather strange and dubious measure for the type on the title-page is due to the fact that only 2 ll. are present which together measure 12 mm.; multiplying this figure by 10 gives a 20 ll. measure of 120, which may be wholly inaccurate.

The diagrams involved, none of which is listed in Hodnett, measure 86 x 142, 89 x 132 and 95 x 140, respectively. The latter cut, that of the hand holding the tapers, has numerous breaks in it.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout together with a smaller set of capitals.

90. Anonymous. Ponthus. 1510? STC2 20107.

Coll: 4⁰: 8,4 (so given by STC2).

Type: 95 textura with w² large, s² and the notched h. 12^v, 28 ll. = 83+ x 134+.

Cont:

12, begins: 'the knyghte playeth it well. Of all dysportes.'

12^v, begins: '...wolde haue loued the but he made all fayre che='

On 16, Hodnett no. 1814 s² [8] Ir Henry brought hym in to the hal.'

16^v, begins: '...kynge's yongest daughter and sayd'

Notes: Although the woodcut is from Pynson's Aesop series the type looks somewhat suspect and it is possible that this may be another edition shared with De Worde. The date is that assigned by STC2.

The two leaves known are both cut short at the top and outer margins with the result that a full measure of the type-page, which

should be 32 lines long, is precluded.

The work is a romance which was formerly incorrectly identified as Surdit, under which title it was formerly listed as STC 23455A.

91. Anonymous. Shepherd's Calendar. 1510? STC2 22409.3.

Coll: 2⁰: unrecorded.

Notes: The above is all that is given by STC2, apart from the fact that the unique copy is imperfect. The copy was not viewed owing to the fact that it is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.

92. Anonymous. The Smith that Forged Him a New Dame, 1510? STC2 22653.7.

Coll: 4⁰: unknown.

Type: 95 textura. No measure taken.

Cont:

a3, begins: 'And saydē dame slepest thou'

a3^v, begins: 'Then began she to grone'

a4, l. 12: 'Felte she no maner of payne'

a4^v, l. 12: 'Bryght as blosom on trece'

Copies: C⁹ (Aa.3-40) fragments of leaves a3 and a4.

Notes: The date is that given by STC2 based on the type. This is Pynson's only known edition of the work which was apparently preceded by a De Worde edition c. 1505, also fragmentary. The only extant early edition which is almost complete is the Bodleian copy of William Copeland's edition of c. 1565, although the work was reprinted twice in the nineteenth century in Halliwell's Contributions to Early English Literature and in volume three of W. C. Hazlitt's Remains of Early Popular Poetry of England.

The work is a verse fabliau concerning the appearance of Christ to a blacksmith with a nagging wife and the subsequent reforging of the wife by the blacksmith.

93. J. Stanbridge. Accidence. 1510? STC2 23143. STC 23147.

TP: al, 'C Accidentia ex stanbrigiana editione.' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On c6^v, 'C Enpoynted at London in Fleteſtrete at y sygne of | the George by Richarde Pynson/Pynter vnto the | Kynges noble grace.' diamond ornament, leaf ornament.

Coll: 4^o: a-c⁶; 18 leaves; signed \$1-3 as b.i, b.ii., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text and shoulder-notes, 65 rotunda for some shoulder-notes. Specimen page, a2, 33^v11. textura = 98(118) (sh. nts.) x 160(164) (sig.).

Cont: al, title. al^v, blank. On a2, text begins: 'H⁵ [F¹] Ow many partes of reason be there? | viij. Nowne/pronowne/verb/partici' On c6^v, text ends: '[ac=] cusatyue: as heu me miserū: with a vocatyue: as oh co= | ridon. C Finis. | C Additamenta. | C Whan I haue of before a p~~ro~~pe name of a cyte/tow' | 11. ending: 'O aduerbium: R in-teriectio: et sic de multis aliis.' | colophon.

Copies: 0 (Mason H.44) lacks al, c2 and c5; L (C.54.bb.16) (reel 154 as STC 23147) lacks c3 and c4.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2. STC dated it as 1520. The use of H [F¹] makes the earlier date likely. Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

94. J. Stanbridge. Accidentia ex Stanbrigiana. 1510? STC2 23143.5.

TP: On al(?), 'C Accidentia ex stanbrigiana | editione.' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Coll: 4^o: ?

Type: 114 textura on title-page.

Cont: al(?), title. On al^v(?), Hodnett no. 1509.

Copies: C (SSS.23.15.1) a single leaf, the title-page, which has been

bound in before a copy of Pynson's 1516 edition of the Expositione Hymnorum (STC 16127).

Notes: This is all that is known to exist of what seems to be Pynson's third edition of the work. The dating is that assigned by Hodnett based on the states of the two woodcuts.

95. J. Stanbridge. Gradus Comparitione. 1510? STC2 23155.8.

Col: On A8^v, '¶ Empoynted by Richarde Pynson/ | poynter vnto the kyng/ noble grace.'

Coll: 4^o: A⁸, 8 leaves; signed 1-4 as A.i, etc.

Type: 95 textura. A2, 31 ll. = 93(112) x 148(152) (sig.).

Cont: On A1, '¶ W⁶ [DL] Hat nowmys maketh comparison al | adiectyues vel nere that betokeneth | a thyng that may be made more or' On A8^v, text ends: 'malo p^oteriti vt factus futuri vt futurus. | ¶ Finis.' colophon.

Copies: CU (Plimpton 470.1515.St 2).

Notes: This appears to be Pynson's third edition of the work. The date is that assigned by STC.
Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

96. J. Stanbridge. Sum, Es, Fui. 1510? STC 23156.

Coll: 4^o: A⁸, 8 leaves; signed 1-4 as A.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura. A2, 31 ll. = 94(112) x 150(155) (sig.).

Cont: On A1, '¶ Sum es fui of Stanbrige. | W⁶ [DL] Hat nowmes maketh comparyson.' On A8^v, text ends: 'an o^omalo preteriti vt factus futuri vel futurus.'

Copies: L (C.33.1.3).

Notes: The dating is that assigned by STC2, STC had dated the work c. 1515. Pynson's first edition under this title. Although Eloise Pafort, "A Group of Early Tudor School-books," pp. 237-238, claims that the normal form of this work runs 4 leaves, both Pynson editions are 8 leaves and, apart from the title, appear to be virtually identical with those bearing the title, Gradus Comparatione.

97. J. Lydgate. The Governace of Kings. April 17, 1511. STC 17017. Formerly STC 12140 and 14999A as well.

TP: A1, ' **C** This present boke called the Gouvernaun | ce of Kynges
and Pryncz : Imprinted at the | cōmaundement of the good and honoura=
ble syre Charles Somerset Loode Herbert: | and Chamberleyne vnto oure
Soueray= | gne loode kyng Henry the .viii. two orn. 1 | four orn. 1
above orn. 3, COA no. 5, four orn. 1 above orn. 3 | COA no. 11, COA
no. 8.

Col: On H4^V, ' **C** Thus endeth the gouernaunce of kyngz ꝛ pꝛynces |
Imprinted at London in Flete strete at the syg | ne of the George/by
Rycharde Pynson/ | Pynter vnto the Kynges noble grace/ | the yere of
our Loed. M. CCCC | xi. the .xvii. daye of Apꝛell.' orn. 6.

Coll: 4⁰: A-F⁶G-H⁴; 42 leaves; signed \$1-3.

Type: 95 textura for text, 114 textura on title-page. A2, 28 ll. & 4 spaces = 94 x 149(153) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^V, 'G⁴ [G] Od almighty/saue ꝛ conferme our
kynges' On A4, ' **C** The forme of the firste Pystyl | that kynges Alys-
aunde sent to | his mayster Arystotyles.' On H4, text ends: 'Where
thou fayllest that men shall the correcte.' On H4^V, colophon. | device
no. 9 in frame.

Copies: HN (31404) (reel 848).

Notes: The work, also known as the Secreta Secretorum, is a standard medieval text-book on the duties and nature of kingship. As given here, the text is divided into 44 chapters covering all aspects of counsel

necessary to a ruler under the guise of Aristotle's instructions to Alexander the Great.

This edition was commissioned by Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, cousin to Henry VIII, to whom it is dedicated. While the work is singularly appropriate, coming from a councilor to a monarch who was only beginning to emerge from the shadow of his father's Council, the work was probably originally commissioned as a gift to the infant Prince Henry, who was born and died in 1511.

The work uses the knobbed series of initials to begin most chapters with W^o [P] on A6.

A curiosity of the piece is the second line of the third stanza on D4^v which features a large gap as if a word was suppressed or omitted. As it stands, it reads: "With _____ petrak of réthoryk/no colours." Possibly the omission is merely due to a defective source.

98. J. Colet. Oratio...ad Clerum in Convocatione. 1511. STC 5545.

TP: A1, 'Oratio habita a D. Ioanne Colet Decano | Sancti Pauli ad Clerum in Conuocatione. | Anno. M. D. xj.' | device 9 in frame.

Coll: 4^o: A-B⁶; 12 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.j., B.ij., B.ijj.

Type: 114 roman. Specimen page, B1, 25 ll. = 88.5 x 143(149) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, 'Oratio habita a D. Ioanne Collet Decano S. | Pauli ad Clerum in Conuocatione. Anno vir= | ginei partus. M. CCCCC. xj. | C³ [W] Onuenistis hodie Patre & viri fa='. On A3, 'Sequuntur reliqua.' On B6, text ends: 'Cui sit omnis honor et gloria in secula seculo= | rum. A M E N.' B6^v, blank.

Copies: 0 (MSS. Laud. Misc. 193) so-called because Laud's autograph is on the title-page with the date 1633; C (Pet. Sp. 23/3).

Notes: The date is that given on the title-page and may be the date the sermon was given and not necessarily the date of publication. This is believed to be the first edition of the work which was subsequently published in an English translation by Berthelet in 1530.

The only one of Colet's sermons to have survived, the work was delivered to the Convocation at the request of Archbishop Warham. The text chosen for the sermon was "Be you not conformed to this world, but be you reformed," from Romans. The subject of the piece was the continued corruption of the Church and the need for reform.

Although the work has been classified as an octavo, the copies

I have reviewed have watermarks where one would expect to find them in a quarto and I have described the work accordingly.

99. Anonymous. Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guilford. 1511. STC 12549.

TP: A1, 'This is the begynnyng/and contyn= | nuance of the Pylgry-
mage of Sir | Richarde Guylfode knyght/ 7 con= | trouler vnto our late
soueraigne lof= | de kynge Henry the .vij. And howe | he went with his
seruaunt } and com | pany towards Iherusalem.' | Hodnett no. 1622.

Col: On K6^v, '.....rymage of syr Richarde |mprinted at London
in |igne of the George by |n/poynter vnto 9 kyn |e.
In the yere of our |CCCCC. xi.' orn. 6.

Coll. 4^o: A-K⁶; 60 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as Bli., etc.; foliated beginning with A2, ii-xxvii, xxvii, xxix-liiii.

Type: 95 textura with w⁶ for text with 130 textura on the title-page. E2, 30 ll. = 92 x 144(158) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, vertical column of orns. 3, 1, 3, 1, 4 to left of COA. 5(?) | four vertical no. 2 orns. on left and right of COA. 11.

On A2, 'The Pylgrymage of R. Guylf kny. | F⁴ [K] Irste the wednysday
at nyght in passy=' On K5^v, text ends: '[wyn=] ter apperyd and so is
beste and moste surest. 7c. | ¶ Finis. | ¶ Here foloweth the Table of
this | present Booke.' orns. 1, 4. On K6, '¶ Explicit tabula.' On K6^v, colophon. | device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (G.6719) with the top outer corner missing throughout gathering K (reel 46).

Notes: This is the first edition of this work which describes Guilford's pilgrimage of 1506 on which he died. One suspects from the royal arms that the work may have been commissioned by the Crown with an eye to encouraging the English crusading instinct which might be turned to the purpose of encouraging support for England joining the Holy League.
Type 8 capitals are used.

100. Remacle D'Arduenne. Palamades Palliata Comedia. March 11, 1512. STC2 735.7.

TP: A1, '¶ Palamades palliata comedia.' | device 9 in frame. |
'Dulcibus hic voluit figmentis culta thalia | Ludere: subdixit pulcher
Apollo lyram | Indoluit Gryphis libertatisq̄ magister | Composuit neruos
culta thalia tuos | Vive potens volucris: Alpheas erige Pisas | Alice
sis ista victor Iule sacer.'

Col: On G4^V, 'Vale lector carissime: & grato animo libellum sus-
cipe | impressum London. studio & industria viri integerrimi
Richardi pyinson: regij calchographi: quinto idus mar | tij. Anno a
virgineo partu. M. CCCCC. xij.'

Coll: 2^o: A-F⁶G⁴; 40 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.i., B.ii., B.iii.

Type: 114 roman with 114 textura for the first line on the title-page.
B1, 37 ll. = 139 x 211(216) (sig.); D3, 38 ll. = 95 x 217(224) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^V, blank. On A2, 'Clarissimo & magnifico Iuris
vtriusq̄ doctori Dño | Petro Grypho: Pisano Patricio Sancte Se. Apos-
toli= | ce In Britannia Legato atq̄ Collectori. | Palamedes Remacli
Arduenne Florenatis.' On A2^V, 'Argumentum.' | 4 ll. text. | 'Prologus'
On A3, first line of dramatic text: 'S² [8?] Olem esse letorum cogi-
taum inuectorem. & angustiarum velli='. On A4^V, 'Actus Secundus.'
On A6^V, 'Actus tertius.' On B2^V, 'Actus quartus. Palamedes Sophia
Chrysus.' On B5, 'Actus quintus.' On B6, 'Catastrophę fabule. Pala-
medes Sophia.' On C1, text ends: '[in] tus reliqua: Valet & clare
plaudita. | Finis. | Ad eundem clarissimum Dominum Petrum | Gryphum
Remacli Strena.' On C2^V, 'Clarissimo Iuris vtrius q̄ Doctori Dño Petro
Grypho patricio | Pisano Sedis Apostolicę in Britannia Legato et coll-
ectori Rema= | clus Florenas Sa. Plu. Dicit.' On C4, 'Dimeter Iambicus
ad eundē.' On C5, 'Ad Mariam Prefatio. | U² [8] Illicus almafluas ppero

nūc pauper ad aras'. On C5^V, 'Puer tenerrimus Ihesus post̄ septimū a
nati= | uitate diē innoxio cruore multilatus est̄ tollen= | do veteris
hebraicę legis typo.' On C6^V, 'Seuiente in innocentes Herode Ihesus
per matrem | Angeli officio in Egyptum transportatur.' On D1, 'Perditus
a m̄re puer iā etate maturior cū inſi= | gni etatis oſtēto legispitoꝝ
obtusitatē apuit.' On D2, 'Crucem baiulans Iesus matri occurrit: mem= |
bris ꝓ totis in terram collapsus consternatum | pariter genitricem in-
tolerabili dolore contem | platur.' On D3^V, 'Opifex rerum pedibus &
palmis Cruci | affixus scrobe in saucio peċtore aperta: | virginem mat-
rem virgini Iohanni com | uendat.' On D5, 'Ad arboris truncam diua virgo
sub | sistens filij cruentati vulnera lachry= | mis & quęstibus prose-
quitur.' On E1^V, 'Primi libri finis. Prologas in secundam. | Prefatio
in gaudia eiusē Cristifere.' On E2, 'Ventilata coram summo rerum con |
ditore virtutū controuersia Gabriel ar | chāgelus humanę salutis orator
ad ma | riam deſtinatur.' On E5^V, 'Ciuitate Bethlemi medio terrarum
orbe | Saluator Iesus illuxit orbi.' On F1, 'Disċtu ſtelle magi salua-
toris ortum presagien= | tes inuisere cum douis infantem.' On F2, 'In-
ferno domito et solutis veterum patrum car | ceribus exhibit se christus
matri luċtuoſe.' On F5, 'Promiſſus virgini & apoſtolis ſacer ſpiritus |
decimo ab ascensu die celo delabitur.' On G2, 'Ⓞ Recepto in celum
Cristo: in fidei firmamentū relicta | terris mater: duodecimo anno
post̄ assumitur.' On G4, text ends: 'Perpetuo delecta mihi medium exitus
ortus. | Finis. | Eiusdem Remacii ad lectorem.' | 4 ll. verse. | 'Obser-
uatissimo Patrono Petro Grypho super egri= | tudine: Remacii Epycedion.'
On G4^V, text ends: 'Sic animos acuunt Petre moleſta graues. | Finis.' |
colophon.

Copies: HN (83458).

Notes: This appears to be the first edition of the work and the only one printed in England. Later editions of the play were printed by Ascensius and Gourmont, both in 1513. This edition appears to be unique, however, in that it includes the poem, "Ad Mariam."

Remacli D'Arduenne was a poet who served as secretary to Margaret of Burgundy. Pietro Griffio, to whom this edition was dedicated, was the papal nuncio to England and it may be conjectured that the work was either commissioned by him as a farewell gift to his friends among the English humanist circle or by some of them as a farewell gift to Griffio since he left England shortly after the work's publication.

The Palamades is a five act play in imitation of Plautus on the subject of the Greek hero of the same name. The text of the play occupies only the first two gatherings and the first leaf of the third. The play proper is preceded by a paragraph giving the basic argument of the work. Each act of the play is set off by a title announcing the act which is followed by a list of the characters appearing in the act. The text of each act is undifferentiated to the extent that the speeches are run together and separated only by an abbreviated form of the speaking character's name preceding the speech.

The Palamades, which has been totally ignored by English literary historians, would appear to be the first contemporary Latin play as well as the first contemporary play on a classical subject to have been printed in England. Its involvement with Griffio raises the distinct possibility that the papal nuncio may have played a leading part in the early promotion of the drama in England.

The bulk of the book, the title notwithstanding, is taken up with a rhymed Latin poem by Remacli which appears to have the general title, "Ad Mariam." The poem, which deals with the lives of Mary and Christ, is divided into two main sections, the second of which begins on E1^v. Each of these main sections is in turn divided into smaller sections of varying lengths which are set apart by brief descriptions of their contents; these have been quoted in full in the contents to provide some notion of the action of the poem.

In addition to the play and the poem, the volume includes two dedicatory letters from Remacli to Griffio and two poems by Remacli in Griffio's honor. The letters are of interest in that they would tend to suggest that the works may have been composed in England since they appear to be addressed from Griffio's house in London in January 1512, where Remacli appears to have been visiting Griffio.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

101. J. Whytstons. De Iusticia et Sanctitate Belli. 1512. STC 25585.

TP. A1, 'De iusticia & scititate belli per Iuliū pontificē secūdū | in scismaticos & tiranos Petri inuadētes indicti allegatiōes.' | COA. 13.

Col: On H6^v, 'Impressū est Londoñ. opa & ipensis p̄ clari vi | ri

Richardi Pynson regii imp̄ssoris. Anno dñi | M. ccccc. xii. Et
 iuictissimi Henrici regis Anglie | octauī. Anno quarto.'

Coll: 4⁰: A-G^{8,4,8}H⁶; 50 leaves; signed \$1-4 or 1-3 [-A1, a.iiij.
 for A.iiij., F.iiij. for F.ij.] as C.j., C.ij., C.iiij., C.iiij.

Type: 114 roman for text with a large textura w² and 70 textura used
 for some text, shoulder-notes and signatures. A3, 26 ll. roman = 90
 (107.5) x 150(154.5) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, COA. 14 above Hodnett no. 1324 with COA. 7
 at right | COA. 5. On A2, text begins, 'Q² [8] Voniam pacis & belli vt
 inquit sapiens' On H6^v, text ends, 'de ineptiis & stulticiis eius
 curare non debent. | Ad venerandū. D. Iacobū Whytstons huma | ni/ac
 diuini Iuris Consultissimū/optimū pa = | tronum Andreas Ammonius Regius
 Scriba.' | 12 ll. verse. | colophon.

Copies: 0 (Arch.Bodl.A.II.151) (reel 303).

Notes: This is the only edition known of the work. The work may be
 regarded as part of Pynson's official output and consists of a justifi-
 cation of the war waged by the Holy League against Louis of France who
 had tried to depose Pope Julius II.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

102. The Gardener's Passetaunce. 1512? STC2 11562.5.

TP: A1, 'The Gardyners passetaunce | Touchyng the outrage of
fraūce' | vert. orn. 4 above three vert. orn. 1, COA no. 5, four orn.
 2 | : orn. 1 : orn. 1 : orn. 1 above COA no. 8, COA no. 11.

Col: On A5^v, '¶ Thus endeth the Gardyners passetaunce/touchynge |
the outrage of Fraunce. Imprinted by Richarde | Pynson/Printer vnto
the kyng⁷ noble grace.' | orn. 4, four orn. 1, orn. 4.

Coll: 4⁰: A⁶; 6 leaves; signed A.ii. and A:ijj.

Type: 114(?) textura on title-page with 95 textura for text and sig-
 natures. A2, 28 ll. and 3 spaces = 100 x 147(151) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, '1⁴ [BBW] N a gardeyn booth
goodly and pleasant' On A5^v, text ends: 'And saynt George assistynge
our valiaūt Englysshmen | Fraunce shall haue a fall our lorde saye
Amen.' | three orn. 3 | colophon. A6, blank. A6^v, device no. 9 in
 frame.

Copies: L¹³.

Notes: The work is an allegorical political poem which concentrates on praising Henry and vilifying Louis XII of France. The work may be dated from internal evidence as sometime between March 20, 1512, the date of a conditional brief of Julius II recognizing Henry as King of France, and August 1513, the date of the Emperor Maximilian's entry into the conflict (which is urged in the piece).

Essentially the work presents the Gardener, symbolically standing for an amalgum of God, the Church and Julius II, in his garden (the Christian world) choosing the sweet smelling Red Rose (Henry) over the haughty and deceitful Lily (Louis). Henry is presented throughout as the champion of the Church and the rightful holder of the French throne.

The propaganda value of the piece is summed up in the ringing sentiments, if less than moving poetry of the work's concluding lines:

"Nowe is the tyme prophesied/nowe is the verray season
 That the red Rose shuld were the crowne of Fraunce
 Lyke as it aggrethe to bothe to right and reason
 For longe hath the lylve kypt it by suffraunce
 But god by his iustice nowe gudyng the balaunce
 And saynt George assistynge our valiaūt Englysshmen
 Fraunce shall haue a fall our lorde saye Amen."

The work is, of course, ironic in retrospect, since the charges laid against Louis could, after the English Reformation, be applied equally to Henry, especially in terms of the imagery used to describe Louis's break with the Church:

"I woll not reherse the progresse of hys lyfe
 Ne speke of his puiry. whereof he hath no cure
 Ne yet how he left his first spouse and wyf
 Ne how he brake w princes when they thought hym sure".

An irony which is multiplied by the heavy prominence given to the stability of the marriage of the Rose to the virtuous Pomegranate, Catherine, symbolizing the unity of England with Castile, Aragon, "Austriele and Burgoyne." A point which is also emphasized by the coats-of-arms on the title-page which places a cut of the three castles of Castile and Catherine beside a cut of the Tudor rose of Henry and England.

It is not altogether surprising in the light of the potentially embarrassing nature of the work that the Westminster Abbey copy is the only one that is known to have survived, and that it was conveniently used to form part of the binding for a manuscript Boke of Achats and Dietts in the office of the covent kechyn of Saynt Petre of Westmyster bigonne by William Ouerton, Kechyner of the same in 1520-1521.

103. R. Whittinton. Opusculum Affrabre. 1512? STC2 25479.2 (STC 25495).

TP: A1, 'Opusculum affrabre recognitum | et ad vnguen elimatum. |
De nominum generibus. | De verborum preteritis et supinis. | De
formatione preterito & supino verbo | passiuorum/deponentium: &
communium. | De verbis defectiuis. | De verbis que in prima psona
sunt confusa. | De ijs que confusum habent preteritum. | De cre-
mentis verborum et medie syllabe | quantitate in omnibus verbis.' | de-
 vice 9 unframed between two columns of five vertical orn. 2.

Col: On C6, 'Here endeth Opusculum affrabre Enprynted at | London
in Fletestrete at y^e Sygne of the Ge= | wyge by (Richarde Pynson)
prynter vnto | the Kynges noble grace.' orn. 6, orn. 4.

RT: Varies with text. A2^V-A3.

'De generibus ||| Nominum.'

Coll: 4^o: A-C⁶; 18 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1⁴].

Type: 97 textura and 65 rotunda. Specimen page, B3, 19 ll. textura, 9 ll. rotunda and 9 spaces = 90(111) (sh. nts.) x 151(161) (r-t. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^V, 'Ad lectorem.' On A2, 'De generibus
nominum. | vt hic appollo/hic iupiter/vt hic adam/hic iohannes | vt hic
michael/hic gabriel | 0³ [8] Mne dei p^opositi petit hic maris angelicūq.'

On C6, text ends: 'I super m/vel t/po^ossum volo nataq longant' | colo-
 phon. C6^V, device 9 in frame.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.e.38).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and is confirmed by the state of the frame of device 9 which has the break beneath the scroll but with the bottom piece still attached. This is currently believed to be the earliest of Whittinton's works to have been printed by Pynson.

As the title-page indicates, the text in this edition deals with seven different grammatical functions. This was written before Whittinton developed his elaborate scheme of books and parts, each devoted to a single grammatical function. In general, Miss Pafort views this particular work as the forerunner of the De Nominum Generibus which

was commonly taught to students in the second form. This earlier work, however, is more of a general grammar.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

104. Plutarch. D. Erasmus, trans. De Tuenda Bona. August 28, 1513.
STC 20060.

TP: A1, 'PLVTARCHI CHAERONENSIS | de tuenda bona valetudine precepta | Erasmo Roterdamo Interprete.'

Col: On D4^V, 'Londin in edibus Rychardi Pynson impresso | ris regij. Anno salutis Millesimo. quingēte= | simo. xiii. Quīto Calēdads Augustus.'

Coll: 4⁰: A-D^{8/4}; 24 leaves; signed \$ 1-2 or 1-4 [-A1].

Type: 114 roman throughout. C3, 25 ll. = 92 x 146(152) (sig.); D2, 26 ll. = 92 x 152(158) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^V, blank. On A2, 'Clarissimo viro Iohanni yonge/sacrorū scri= | nio magistro Erasmus Roterdamus. S.D.' On A3, 'Plutarchi Chæronensis de tuenda bona vale= | tudine precepta. Erasmo Interprete. | T³ [F²] V sane Glaucum medecium heri deterre' On D4, text ends: 'cognitionē veī ad vsum tum dicēdi/tum agendi. | Finis.' On D4^V, colophon | device no. 9 in frame.

Copies: L (C.37.e.18/5) (reel 139).

Notes: This is the first edition of this dialogue to be published in England. The subject matter of the work is the maintenance of good health and Erasmus was apparently led to work on the subject following an outbreak of the sweating sickness at Cambridge. Erasmus's original manuscript version of the work was sent to John Yonge, Master of the Rolls, while he was engaged in the French campaign of 1512. Although the printed version is supposed to have been much revised from the first manuscript version, it is also dedicated by Erasmus to Yonge in a prefatory letter dated the calends of January, 1513.

One suspects that Erasmus may have had Pynson print the piece because he may well have been involved in seeing Pynson's edition of Lilly's Libellus de Constructione through the press at about the same time.

105. Alexander Grammaticus. Textus cum Sententiis. 1513. STC2 319.5.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Textus Alexandri cū sentētijs ⁊ con= | structionibus.'
| Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On Q7^V, ' ¶ Libro doctrinali Alexandri | Richardus Pynson vigi=
| lanter correcto finem | felicem imprimere | iubet. Anno | dñi .M. |
cccc. | xij.' | two orn. 2.

RT: Varies with text.

Coll: 4^o: A-C⁸D-P⁶Q⁸; 104 leaves; signed \$ 1-4 or 1-3 as A i, etc.

Type: 65 rotunda for text and signatures, 95 textura for some text, running-titles and shoulder notes. A2, 28 ll. rotunda and 12 ll. textura = 95(113) x 147(155) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^V, blank. On A2, '[HT:] Prohemium. | s⁵ [dd]

Cribere clericulis paro doctrinale nouellis.' On Q7^V, text ends:

'Quiquidem vnus deus sit in seculum secula benedictus. Amen.' |

colophon. Q8, Q8^V, unknown.

Copies: M (15414), lacks Q8.

Notes: This is the second Pynson edition under this title, the fourth edition by Pynson of the work.

Type 4 capitals are used throughout.

106. G. delle Colonne. J. Lydgate, trans. History...of Troy. 1513. STC 5579.

TP: ¶ 1, 'The hysto^{ry}/Sege and dystruccyon of Troye.' | COA 2.

Col: On 2D4^V, col. 1, 'Here endeth the Troye booke | otherwyse called
the Sege of | Troye/translated by John Lyd | gate monke of the Monastery
of | Bery/And Emptynted the yere | of oure Lorde a. M. CCCC. | ¶ .xijj.
by Richard Pynson/pyn= | ter vnto the kyng⁷ noble grace.'

RT: Varies with text. A3^V-A4,

'The firste boke. ||| The firste boke.'

Coll: 2⁰: 2A-X⁶ y⁶ z⁶ 2A-2C⁶ 2D⁴; 162 leaves; signed \$1-3 [+04; 01 signed 93].

Type: 96 textura for the text in two columns with 130 textura on the title-page, at the beginning of each book and for the colophon on 2D4^V. B2, 50.11. = 163(78) x 220(237) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: *1, title. On *1^V, Hodnett no. 1284. | Hodnett no. 934 [both with borders on both sides]. | ten orn. 2. On *2, contents in two columns begins. On *2^V, 2nd col., '¶ Explicit Tabula. | Here after foloweth the Troye | boke/otherwyse called the Sege | of Troye/ Translated by John | Lydgate monke of the Monaste | ry of Bury/And Em- poynted at | the comaūdemēt of oure Soue | raygne Loode the kynge Henry | the .viiij. By Richarde Pynson/poynter vnto his most noble gra= | ce. The yere of our Loode god a. | M. CCCCC. and .xiiij.' On A1, 'The Prologue of the Translatoure.' | Hodnett no. 1962. On A3, 2nd col., '¶ Explicit Prologus. | Here begynneth the Troye boke/translated by John Lydgate | monke of Bery the whiche speketh firste/How the kynge of The= | salye named Pelleus had all his men slayne by dyuyne punycyon | And how though his prayer he had other agayne. Ca. Primo.' | Hodnett no. 1963. On E4, 'How Lydgate complayneth hym on Fortune/foe the firste dy= | struccyon of the cyte of Troye/And how he begynneth his sec- onde | Boke folowyng the mater of the sayde stouye. Capitulo. x' | Hodnett no. 1968. On N2, 'Here begynneth the Thyode Boke/That telleth howe the Troy | ans yssued out on the morowe and fought with the Gekes/ and | how valyauntly Ector bare hymselfe that daye. Capitulo. xxij.' | Hodnett no. 1286 and borders. On S2, 'Hereafter foloweth the Fourth Boke/whiche speketh | how the Gekes made kynge Pallamydes chefe Cap= | tayne of theyr Hoost/and deposed kynge Agamenon | Capitulo. xxix.' On

2A3^v, ' ¶ Here begynneth the fyfth Boke of Troye the whiche speketh |
 howe the Grekes retourned into Grece after the dysstrucyon/And | howe
 they were perysshed almoſte al] in the see/And after they that | escaped
 dyed myscheuously. Capitulo. xxxvi.' | bord. 84, bord. 52 | Hodnett
 no. 1486, Hodnett no. 933. On 2D4, ' ¶ Laus deo. | ¶ Of the moost
 noble excellent Prynce | kynge Henry the fyfthe.' On 2D4^v, ' ¶ Lenuoye,
 | 16 ll. text. | colophon. | device 9 unframed.

Copies: HN (60780) (reel 133); PML (W14B 35109); FOLG. (STC 5579); HD
 (STC 5579) lacks 1; O (Douce.L.461) lacks 1 and B1; Dur (Bamb.)
 (Select 80) on vellum.

Notes: This is the first printed edition of the Lydgate translation.
 As noted above, the work was printed at the commandment of Henry VIII,
 possibly with an eye to its chivalric appeal which might be transferred to
 an enthusiasm among its readers for Henry's projected campaign against
 France. Although no records of any payments exist relating to the work,
 one presumes that Pynson received some remuneration from the Crown for the
 work.

The work is of special interest in that there is considerable
 evidence of De Worde's involvement in its production. Although the work
 is in what appear to be Pynson's types with Pynson's initials and bor-
 ders, there are also a considerable number of De Worde's woodcuts (Hod-
 nett nos. 882, 933, 934, 937, 938, 1243 and 1284-1287) present in the
 work. Although this, by itself, might indicate only a borrowing of mater-
 ial, it must be pointed out that the work also is signed with De Worde's
 six-petaled floral ornament to the left of each signature suggesting a
 heavier De Worde involvement. This method of signing is known, of
 course, from the collaborative editions of the Royal Book and Golden Leg-
 end, both believed to have been printed entirely by Wynken, despite the
 Pynson colophons in some copies, as well as in other works from De
 Worde's shop. More than this one cannot surmise with any certainty
 since the evidence could be taken to suggest that the work was produced
 by De Worde's shop using Pynson's types, that another joint edition was
 involved of which the De Worde colophon copies have all been lost or that
 De Worde loaned Pynson the cuts, the ornament and possibly one or more of
 his workmen; but there is no evidence as to which of these theories would
 be most likely.

The woodcuts which have not been recorded under "Description"
 above and their locations are as follows: on A4, Hodnett no. 1964; A6,
 no. 1965; B1^v, no. 1966; B3, no. 1967; C4, no. 1487 with seven borders;
 D5, no. 1942 with six borders; E1, no. 1620 with two borders; E2, no. 934
 with three borders; E6^v, no. 882; F3^v, no. 1621 with three borders; I1,
 no. 1623; I3^v, no. 1624 with two borders; I5, no. 1966; K2^v, no. 1925 with
 a border; K6^v, no. 1626 with three borders; L2^v, no. 1639; L6, no. 1935;
 M4^v, no. 933; P1, no. 908 with two borders; P4, no. 1638; Q3^v, no. 1285
 with two borders; R1, no. 1243 with three borders; R3^v, no. 1611; R6^v,

no. 1510; S2^v, no. 938 with three borders; S4^v, no. 937; U3, no. 1287 with three borders; U6^v, no. 1627 with two borders; X2, no. 1286 with a border; X4, no. 1257; z3, no. 1485; and on 2C3^v, Hodnett no. 1510 with a border. It should be noted that in almost every instance the woodcuts are found immediately after the opening of a new book or chapter.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

107. W. Lily. D. Erasmus, ed? Libellus de Constructione Octo Partium Orationis. 1513. STC2 15601.3, formerly STC 5544 and STC 10497.

TP: A1, '¶ Libellus de Constructione | Octo partium | orationis.'

Col: On E4^v, 'Explicit Libellus de Cōstructione Octo par | tiō ora-
tionis Londini Impressus per Ri= | chardum pynson Regiū impressorem. |
Anno incarnationis dominicę. Mil= | lesimo quigētesimo decimoctio.'

RT: Varies with text, not recorded.

Coll: 4^o: A-D⁶E⁴; 28 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.i., etc.

Type: 114 roman. B2, 21 ll. and 2 spaces = 84(100) x 132(146) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'Ioannes Coletus Decanus Sancti Pauli | G.

Lilio: ad diuum Paulum Ludj moderato | ri Primario. S. D.' On A2,

'De cōstructione verbī cū ntō. | Nominatiuus ante verbū. | Q² [8]

Mne verbū antecedit ntūs agētis seu' On E4^v, colophon.

Copies: 0 (4^o.C.23.Art.Bs.) (reels 61 and 96).

Notes: This is the first edition of this work which served as the prototype for part of the "Authorized" latin grammar. The work was composed by Lily for use at St. Paul's School at the request of John Colet, who was dissatisfied with the earlier work produced by Linacre. The work was then extensively edited and revised by Erasmus before publication.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

108. J. Stanbridge. Vocabula. 1513. STC 23179.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Uocabula magistri Stanbrigi primū | iam edita sua sal-
tem editione.' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On D6, ' ¶ Thus endeth Uocabula Stanbrigij | of the laste mak-
ynge Newly corrected | Enpoynted by Rychard pynson dwel= | lynge at
London in Fletestrete at the | sygne of the George/pynter vnto the |
Kynges noble grace. The yere of oure | Loode god. M. CCCCC. and.
xiiij.'

Coll: 4^o: A-D⁶; 24 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, -D2] as B.i., etc.

Type: 114 textura on title-page, 130 textura for colophon, 95 textura for some text, 64 rotunda for some text and shoulder-notes. A3, 2 col., 7 ll. 95 textura and 36 ll. rotunda = 96(28.5) x 150(156) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, ' ¶ Ad lectorem epystola' On A2, text begins: 'Sinciput/et vertex/caput occiput ≠ coma crinis' On D5^v, text ends: 'Musicus/et modulos pueri symphiaci sunt. | ¶ Finis.' On D6, colophon. On D6^v, six orn. 2, vertical orn. 1 | device no. 9 in frame | six orn. 2, vertical orn. 1.

Copies: 0 (Mason H. 41) (reel 147).

Notes: This is Pynson's first edition of the work.

The work is, as the title implies, a vocabulary in Latin and English. The work is divided into 27 sections ranging from "De morbis" to "De musicis instrumentis."

The list of Latin words and their English equivalents are presented in two formats. The first format, which ceases mid-way through leaf A3 recto, features a line in textura listing the Latin words which are separated by semi-colons; this is then followed by a list in rotunda with the Latin word at left and its English equivalent at right. While this format has the advantage of being easily read, it tends to waste a great deal of paper. The second format is more economical in that it uses the full type-page by listing the Latin words horizontally in textura separated by vertical lines with their English equivalents printed above each word in rotunda.

Of no great consequence, but some amusement is the fact that while "Hic podex" can be translated as "the ars hole," the translator feels it is necessary on the same page to render "Hic penis" only as "virga virilis."

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

109. R. Whittinton. Declinationes Nominum. 1513? STC2 25443.8.

TP: A1, '¶ Whyttoni Editio. | ¶ Declinationes nominum tam latinoꝝ ꝫ grecoꝝ/ | patronymicoꝝ et barbaroꝝ e Pisciāno Siponti | no Sulpitio et Ascensio amussatim collecte cum cōmen | tariolo interliniari ꝫ dictionū interpretatuinculus. In | quibus numerose dig- erendis adeo seruatur mediarum | syllabarum ꝫ productio et abbreviatio vt studiose eos le= | genti et quantitatem et accentum mediarum syllabarū | in nominibus saltem cognoscere/vel parua ꝫceptoꝝ | dilucidatione haud erit difficile.'

| device 9 between two columns of five no. 2 orns.
| orn. 3, orn. 6, four orn. 1, orn. 6, orn. 3.

Col: On C4^v, '¶ Explicit whyttoni Editio de declinatione nomi= | num tam latinoꝝ ꝫ grecoꝝ patronymicorum et | barbaroꝝ: nouiter impressa Londōn per Rychardū | Pynson Regis impressorē in vico vulgari- ter nūcupato | (the Fletestrete) ad intersigniū diui Georgij cōmōtē.'

RT: Varies with text. A2^v-A3,

'De primo declinatione. ||| Nominum.'

Coll: 4^o: A-B⁶C⁴; 16 leaves; signed \$1-3 or 1-2 [A2 for A1] as B.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text and shoulder-notes, 65(?) rotunda for some text and signatures, 114 textura on title-page. A2, 14 ll. textura and 25 ll. rotunda = 103(121) x 147(160) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, Hodnett no. 1509. On A2, 'De prima declina- tione nominum. | ¶ Incipiunt declinationis nominum.' | 2 ll. in rotunda | 'R² [10?] Ectis as/es/a/simul am/dat flexio ꝫima.' On C4, text ends: 'Plurali recto quarto quinto dabit usqꝫ. | ¶ Finis.' On C4^v, colo- phon | device 9 in frame.

Copies: C⁵ (A.2.10/4) with B3 and B4 misbound after C2.

Notes: This is the date assigned by STC2 and Hodnett, presumably based on the state of the device and of Hodnett no. 1509. This is Pynson's

first edition of the work which became book two of volume one of the collective Whittinton grammar. Bennett assigned this copy a date of 1519(?).

110. Anonymous. Four Sons of Aymon. 1513?

Notes: Although no Pynson edition of this work has ever been recorded, its existence has been suggested by Hodnett on the basis of a series of woodcuts, Hodnett nos. 1634-1639, first found in Pynson works of this date, which are normally found in editions of the Four Sons.

111. James IV of Scotland. Epistola Regis Scotorum ad Angliae Regem, ante Conflictum. 1513?

Notes: All that is known about this piece is the description of a copy offered in the George Chalmers sale which had the head-lines cut through. One presumes the work reproduced James' declaration of war and was issued for its propaganda value. One suspects that it was probably a quarto and it is known to have contained Pynson's device - though which device was not recorded.

112. Petrus Carmelianus. Epitaph on James IV. 1513?

Notes: The work, apparently an attack on the Scottish King after his death, is known only from its mention by Andreas Ammonius in a letter to Erasmus in which he refers to it as a work "stuffed full of womanly abuse" which might soon appear in Pynson's type. Erasmus had seen a copy of the work by November 28, 1513, but it is unclear whether this was a manuscript or printed copy. It is also unclear whether the printed edition ever appeared.

113. J. Garlandia. Multorum Vocabulorum. October 7, 1514. STC 11607.

TP: al, ' ¶ Multo4 vocabulo4 equiuico4 Interpretatio | Magistri Iohānis de Garlandia: grammatico et | latini cupido. permoxime necessaria Incipit. | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On K6, ' Libro equiuocorum quorundam vocabulorum | secūdum
ordinē alphabeti/vna cum interpretatio= | ne Anglie lingue: finis im-
positus est feliciter. quaz | Richardus Pynson Londōn. in Fleteſtrete
signo | Georgii cominans: mira arte imp̄imi ac diligē= | ti ſtudio
corrigit: otographieq; ſtilo put facultas | ſupperabat/enucleatumq;
solicitus fuit. Anno ch̄i | ſtiane redemptionis. Millesimo. quīgen-
tesimo. | quarto desimo. Die. vii. Octob̄is.'

Coll: 4^o: a-f⁶g-h⁴I-K⁶; 56 leaves; signed \$ 1-3 or 1-2 [-al] as b.i., etc.

Type: 65 rotunda for text and signatures, 95 textura for title, colophon and examples in text. a2, 42 ll. rotunda and 4 ll. textura = 92 x 149(152) (sig.); a3, 42 ll. rotunda, 4 ll. textura and spacing = 94(107) x 151(154) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, Hodnett no. 1509. On a2, text begins: 'A²
 [3] Uguſtus ti/to/cesar vel mensis habeto' On K6, text ends: 'licatē.
ego pegi. i. feci. ipsa. s. equiuoca. ꝛc.' | colophon. On K6^v,
 device 9.

Copies: L (C. 24. a. 14) (reel 79), L (C. 108. b. 19-[2]), M (18949.2).

Notes: Pynson's third or fourth edition depending on the existence of a 1500 edition.
 Type 4 capitals are used.

114. J. Stanbridge. Vocabula. 1514. STC2 23179.5.

TP: A1, 'Uocabula magiſtri stanbrigij p̄imū | iam edita sua saltem
editione.' | Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On D6, ' Thus endeth Uocabula Stanbrigij | of the laſte mak-
ynge Newly corrected | Enp̄ynted by Rychard pynson dwel= | lynge at Lon-
don in Fleteſtrete at the | ſygne of the George/p̄ynter vnto the | Kynges
noble grace. The yere of oure | Lorde god. M. CCCCC. and. xiiij.'

Coll: 4⁰: A-D⁶; 24 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1,-D2] as B.i., etc.

Type: 114 textura on title-page, 130 textura for colophon(?), 95 textura for signatures and some text, 65 rotunda for shoulder notes and some text. A2, 7 ll. 95 textura and 36 ll. rotunda = 90(111) x 148(154) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ Ad lectorem epystola.' On A2, text begins: 'Sinciput/et vertex/caput/occipit/ Æ coma/crinis.' On D5^v, text ends: 'Musicus/et modulos/puerisymphoniaci sunt. | ¶ Finis.' On D6, colophon. On D6^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: C⁴ (M.28.43/6).

Notes: Pynson's second edition.
Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

115. R. Whittinton. De Syllabarum Quantitatibus. 1515? STC2 25509.7.

TP: A1, 'Roberti whittintoni lychfeldiēsis editio.' | device 9 in frame. | '¶ Secunda pars grammatices. | De silaba et eius quantitate. | De prima media Æ vltimum sillabo cognoscēda | cum cōmento Æ interpretamēto interliniari.'

RT: Varies with text.

CT: 'whyttyn.' on DEFGH1, BCDEFGHI2, ABGI3, ABCDEFGHI4.
'whittin.' on BC11, A2, CDEFH3.

Coll: 4⁰: A-H^{8,4}I⁶; 54 leaves; signed \$1-4 as B.i., etc.

Type: 95(?) textura and 65(?) rotunda. Specimen page, A3, 21 ll. textura and 15 ll. rotunda = 100 x 146(150) (c-t. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, contents list. On A2, letter to readers. On A3, '¶ De sillabarum quantitate. | S⁵ [Fy] Ecunda pars grāmatices (vt sensit tam culpitiu' On I5^v, text ends: - 'Grecū vntis vel odis genito dans/sic quoqz panthus | ¶ Finis quantitatis siluarum.' I6, Hodnett no. 1508. I6^v, device 6 surrounded by ornaments.

Copies: C⁵ (A.2.10/8); PML (W14B 20936).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and is in agreement with both the colophon of the second part of the work and the use of a catch-title which appears to have been first used by Pynson in this work. This is either Pynson's first or second edition of the work, depending on whether a 1514 edition cited by Herbert in his edition of Typographical Antiquities ever actually existed.

The work is in two parts which are usually found bound together. The second part is the De Accentu.

The above description is based on the St. John's Cambridge copy. The Morgan copy differs from the above description in that in it A2 has the catch-title "whyttyn." and A3 has the catch-title "whittin."

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

116. R. Whittinton. De Accentu. 1515. STC2 25509.7, pt. 2, formerly STC 25478.

Col: On C8, ' Explicit whyttintoni editio: nuper Impressa London. | per me Richardum pynson in vico anglice nuncupato (the Flete strete) in intersignio Georgij commorantem. | Anno domini. M. CCCCC.
vx.'

CT: 'whittin.' on all signed rectos except A3.

'whyttyn.' on A3.

Coll: 4⁰: A-C⁸; 24 leaves; signed \$1-4 as A.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text with 65 rotunda for some text and 114(?) textura on A1. Specimen page, A2, 13 ll. textura and 29 ll. rotunda = 102 x 151(156) (c-t. & sig.).

Cont: On A1, ' whyttyntoni Editio cum interpretamento | Frācisci Nigri diomedes de accētū in pedestri | opatiōe potuis q̄ soluta obseruando. | A⁵ [Fy] Ccentus est acutus vel grauis vel inflexe elatio ooa'

On C8, text ends: '[ser=] monis affectus.. | Finis.' | colophon. *C8^v, device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (C.40.e.12); Lord Kenyon (bound ninth); C⁵ (A.2.10/8) possibly a variant; PML (W14B 20936/2).

Notes: Although now considered an integral part of the De Syllabarum by STC2, the work appears from the use of a new alphabet for the signatures and of its own printer's device on the verso of the final leaf to have been published as a separate pamphlet - a situation which appears to be substantiated by the fact that only two of the four copies viewed are found bound following the 1515 De Syllabarum; for this reason the item is listed separately in these descriptions. This appears to be Pynson's first edition of the work.

Although possibly due to faulty note-taking, my notes indicate that the St. John's, Cambridge, copy differs from the rest in having the catch-title 'whyttyn.' on A4 as well as on A3 and in having "q" omitted in the third line on A1.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

117. R. Whittinton. Opusculum Affabre. 1515? STC2 25479.3.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Opusculum affabre recognitum | ¶ ad vnguem elimatum.
| ¶ De nominum generibus. | ¶ De verborum p̄teritis et supinis. | ¶
De formatione p̄teritorum et supinorum verborum | passiuorum deponentium
et communium. | ¶ De verbis defectiuis. | ¶ De verbis que in prima
persona sūt confusa. | ¶ De iis que confusum habent p̄teritum. | ¶ De
crementis verborum et medie syllabe quantitate | in omnibus verbis.' |
 device 9 | border no.

Col: On C4^v, ' ¶ Here endeth Opusculum affabre empynted at Lon=
don in the fletestrete by Richarde Pynson/poynter vnto | the Kynges
noble grace.'

RT: Varies with text. A2^v-A3,

' ¶ De generibus. ||| ¶ Nominum.'

CT: 'Opusculum affa.' all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: A⁸B-C⁴; 16 leaves; signed \$1-2 [+A3, A4] as B.i., B.ii.

Type: 95 textura and 65 rotunda. A4, 20 ll. textura, 16 ll. rotunda and 2 spaces = 98(115) x 154(163) (rt., ct., & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, ' ¶ Ad lectorem.' On A2, ¶ De generibus

nominum. | Vt hic apolle hic iupiter/Vt hic adā/lohannes/vt hic michael/ gabrie11. | 0² [8] Omne dei p~~ro~~uim petit hic maris angelicū ' On C4^v, text ends: 'I super m/velte/possum volo nataq longant' | colophon.

Copies: C⁵ (A.2.10/3).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and represents the earliest possible date for the work since catch-titles were first used by Pynson during that year. This is Pynson's second edition of this title which has been decreased from 18 to 16 leaves through the use of a smaller textura and an enlarged type-page.

The type and device on the title-page are surrounded at the top and on both sides by a frame of type ornaments composed of the following: top: orns. 6, : , 4, 6, 1, 3, 3; left: seven horizontal no. 2 orns.; right: two columns of mixed 1 and 2 orns. with one 4 orn. in the column closest to the text.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

118. R. Whittinton. De Magistratibus. February 22, 1515. STC2 25525.5. ,

Col: On 2A4^v, '¶ Anno post virginem partum. xv. sup~~er~~a Mille~~si~~mum | quingentisimum octauo kalendas Martias.'

RT: 'De magistratibus ||| veterum Romanorum.' throughout.

Coll: 4⁰: 2A⁴; 4 leaves; signed AA.i. and AA.ii.

Type: 95 textura for headings; running-titles and some text with 64 rotunda for some text. 2A3, 12 ll. textura and 34 ll. rotunda = 98 x 164(168) (rt.).

Cont: On 2A1, 'De magistratibus veterum Romanorum. | ¶ De regibus. | R² [8] Omanorum imperium p~~ri~~mo reges habuere.' On 2A4^v, text ends, 'consultem. per B. Brutus. per Iu. Iudices. per Q. Quirites. | ¶ Finis opusculi.' | colophon.

Copies: C⁵ (A.2.10/7).

Notes: The work is ascribed to Pynson because it accompanies Pynson's 1518(?) edition of Whittinton's De Synonymis and appears to be printed in Pynson's types. If the work is indeed Pynson's, it would be his first edition of it and would raise the possibility of a 1515 edition of the De Synonymis not currently known.

The work, which usually is found accompanying editions of Whittinton's De Synonymis, into which it eventually was incorporated; gives definitions and explanations in Latin for various terms in Roman government. The definitions are presented in dactylic hexameter to facilitate memorization.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

119. Anonymous. Everyman. 1515? STC 10604.

Col: On C4^V, ' **C** Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the | Sygne
of the George by Rycharde Pynson/ | pynter vnto the Kyng noble grace.
orn. 4.

Coll: 4⁰: speculated A⁴B⁶C⁴ [only 4 leaves known]; 14 leaves(?);
signing unknown except C1 signed C.i.

Type: 95 textura. C1^V, 26+ 11. = 90(100) x 123+.

Cont: On C1, text ends: 'Go to presthode I you aduyse' On C4^V, text
ends: 'Amen saye ye fo^r saynt charyte. | **C** Finis.' | colophon.

Copies: 0 (Douce frags. F. 10) (reel 789) C1, C4 and two other leaves
only.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC, presumably based on the type which used "w² small" which could give this date; however, according to my notes, "s³" is used, which Isaac refers to only in connection with books of 1526-1527 - so there is some room for question regarding the date. In any event, this is generally considered to be Pynson's first edition of the work and the first edition of a play in English to be printed in England.

The fragments which survive are close-cropped at both the top and the side so that it is impossible to tell if a running-title was present or to take a full measure of the type-page.

The speculated collation assumes that this edition has the same format as STC2 10604.5, Pynson's presumed second edition.

120. Anonymous. Destruction of Jerusalem. 1515? STC 14517.

TP: A1, ' **C** The dystruccyon of Iherusalem by | Uaspa 3 yan and
Tytus.' two orn. 3. | Hodnett no. 936.

Col: On G⁴^v, ' Thus endeth the dystruccyon and vengeaunce of |
Iherusalem by Uaspasian Emperour of Ro= | me. Imprinted at London in
Flete | strete at the sygne of y George | by Richarde Pynson/ | prynter
vnto the | Kynges no= | ble gra= | ce.'

CT: 'Uas. & Tytus.' on all signed rectoes except B1.

'Uas. & Ty.' on B1.

Coll: 4⁰: A-E⁶F-G⁴; 38 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, A2, B2].

Type: Entirely in 95 textura. C1, 32 ll. = 94 x .155(160) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, Hodnett no. 1634. On A2, 'F⁴ [k] of ty yere
after y our lorde Ihesu Criste' On B2^v, Hodnett no. 1338. On B3, Hod-
 nett no. 1635. On B4^v, Hodnett no. . On B6, Hodnett no. 1636. On
 C2, Hodnett no. 936. On C3, Hodnett no. 1636. On C5, Hodnett no. 1634.
 On C6, Hodnett no. 1257. On D1, Hodnett no. 1626. On D2^v, Hodnett no.
 1935. On D4^v, Hodnett no. 1637. On E2^v, Hodnett no. 936. On E4, Hod-
 nett no. 1631. On F3, Hodnett no. 1621. On F4, Hodnett no. 1631. On
 G1, Hodnett no. 1638. On G1^v, Hodnett no. 1636. On G3^v, Hodnett no.
 1626. On G4^v, text ends: '[her=] de worde by worde.' Three orn. 1,
 orn. 4 | colophon.

Copies: C (Sel. 5. 17, formerly Ab. 4. 58¹⁷).

Notes: Although STC did not assign a date, STC2 tentatively assigned the date as 1513; however, the presence of catch-titles indicates that the work cannot be earlier than 1515. One suspects that the 1513 date was assigned on the basis of the presence of Hodnett nos. 936 and 1257, which were borrowed from De Worde for Pynson's 1513 Siege of Troy (STC 5579). This is the second edition of the work, the first being that produced by De Worde c. 1508.

Although the title is suggestive of a translation from a Latin history, the work is actually a romance.

121. J. Stanbridge. Parvulorum Institutio. 1515? STC2 23166.5.

TP: A1, '¶ Paruulorum institutio ex | Stamburgiana colectione.' |

Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On B6^V, 'Impress. per me Richardum | Pynson regium Impressorem.'

CT: 'Pauul.' A1 recto.

'Paruul.' A3, B2 and B3 rectoes.

'Paruul' A2 recto.

'Paruula' B1 recto.

Coll: 4⁰: A-B⁶; 12 leaves; signed \$1-3 as A.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura for most of text, 65 rotunda for signatures, shoulder-notes and some text. A2, 90(103+) x 147(152) (ct. & sig.); On B5, where the shoulder-notes are uncropped, the page is 110 mm. wide.

Cont: A1, title. A1^V, Hodnett no. 1509. On A2^V, text begins: 'W⁵

[D0] Hat is to be done/whan an englysshe' On B6^V, text ends: '¶ Nemo caret genito/quinto/numeroq secūda. | Explicit.' colophon.

Copies: L (G.7557).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and is consistent with the state of the woodcut and the use of a catch-title (a practice first found in dated books in 1515). Pynson's first edition of the Long Parvula under this title.

122. Vergil. Vergiliana Poesis. 1515? STC 24787.

TP: a1, 'Uergiliana poesis que latinita | tis nooma est Et | pop-
pulsatis ¶ | elimatis omnibus mendis feli | ci gaudet exordio.' | de-
vice 9 unframed | '¶ Uenalis extat London [su] b diui Geo | gij signo
in vico nun cupatio | Fletestrete iuxta limina scti Dūstani.' |

RT: Varies with text. b3^V-b4,

'Aegloga prima. ||| Tityrus'

Coll: 8^o & long 12^o: a-z⁸ A-M⁸ N-P¹²; 324 leaves; signed \$1 [-a1, +n2, N-P2-5] as b.i.

Type: 75 textura for text, 114 textura on title-page, 130 textura on 16. a2, 32 ll. = 75(90) x 120(126) (title on headline); e1, 22 ll. leaded = 72(90) x 120(130) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, 'Iohannes Ferrand bœuiscula hac oratiōe | cōtinentissimū virū Magistrū Petrum Tur= | relli plurima salute im- | partitur.' | acrosstic poem spelling 'FERRANDAIT'. On a2, 'Publij Uer- | gilij Uita Maronis.' On b3, 'Publij Uergilij Maronis Mātuani | Buccolicū | decem eglogarum opus felicit incipitur.' On e2, [HL:] 'In | Geogr. lib. primi Argumentū.' On 16, [HL:] 'Liber Primus Aeneidos.' On P7, text ends: 'Uitaq; cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbra. | Aeneidos | finis. | Suplicij Caōthaginēsis versus.' | verses. | 'Exclamatio | Cesaōis Augustini in iussum | Uergilij pō Aeneidis combustione.' On P8, 'P.U.M. Hortulus Carmen' | verses. | 'P.U.M. De vino & venere'. On P8^v, 'P.U.M. De liuōe faleuticum.' On P9, 'De fortuna Ascle- | piadeū cōriambicum.' | verses. | 'De seipso.' | verses. | 'De etati- | bus animalium.' On P9^v, 'De ludō.' | verses. | 'P.U. Maronis de | specula & vnda experientie'. On P10, 'Monostica de erumnis herculis.' | verses. | 'P.U.M. De otu solis Expiencia.' On P11, 'P.U.M. De | Ira pythagōdica. y.' | verses. | 'P.U.M. Uir bonus.' On P11^v, 'P.U. | M. Rose.' | last line of text present: 'Forsam & vnus odō sed celsio | ille per auras'. P12; unknown. P12^v, unknown.

Copies: M () lacks P12.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2. STC listed the work as c. 1520. The work, in either event, is the first edition of Vergil's Works, to be printed in England and was presumably printed for either the grammar school or university trade. As the title-page indicates the work was normalized and edited - apparently by John Ferrand who wrote the introductory letter to Peter Turrelli.

Running-titles cease beginning with P7^v.

As the collation formula notes the work appears to have been

composed in octavo except for the last three gatherings which are in long duodecimo.

75 textura, the predominant type used in the piece, is found only in the *Jordanus* (STC 14789) of 1513 and the *Anwyll* grammar (STC 23176) assigned to 1505; one suspects the work was originally assigned to 1520 through confusion of the type with the 73 textura found in the *Prognostication of Adrian* (STC) of 1520, which has since proved to have been first used (at least among the books I have viewed) in the 1516 *De Septem Sacramentis* (STC2 12512.5). The 130 textura might prove helpful, but the measurement on my part is largely a guess due to the fact that only one line of the type is present.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

123. R. Fabyan. *Fabyan's Chronicle*. February 7, 1516. STC 10659.

Col: On 2²⁶⁶v, '¶ Thus endeth the newe Cronycles of Englande | and of Fraunce/Emptoynted by Richarde | Pynson/poynter vnto the Kyng} noble | grace. The yere of our Lord God | a. M. CCCCC. xvi. The .vii. | daye of the moneth of | February.' orn. 3.

RT: Varies with text. b5^v-b6.

'Secunda Pars Cronecarum. ||| Secunda Pars Cronecarum.'

Coll: 2⁰: A⁶B⁴a-e⁸f⁶g⁶h⁶i-x⁸ 2A⁶ 2B⁴ 2A-2X⁸ 2A-2P⁸ 2²⁶⁶. 408 leaves; signed \$1-4 or 1-3 [11 signed 11; n1 signed with inverted n]; foliated beginning a1, 1-xxv, xxv-xxxii, xxxii-xlii, xli, xliiii, xlix, xlix, li-lxxxiii, lxxxix, lxxxvi-clxviii; foliated beginning 2A1, 1-xxviii-lxii, lxii, lxiiii-c.lxii, c.liii, c.lxiiii, c.lv, c.lxvi-clxxvi, Clxxviii-cc.vii, cc.vii, cc.xviii-CC.xxvi, CC.xxviii, CC.xviii-CC.xxx, CC.xxxii.

Type: 93 textura in two columns for text with 114(?) textura for running-titles, opening lines, titles and foliation. B3, 47 ll. = 143(68) x 215(230) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, COA. 2. A1^v, blank. On A2, contents begin. On B4, contents end and Hodnett nos. 1490 & 1491. B4^v, blank. On a1, '[HL:]

Prima Pars Cronecarum. | bord.91 with orn. 1 above and orn. 2 below,

Hodnett no. 1945, bord 93 with orn. 1 above and orn. 2 below. | 'F⁴ [61]

¶ that in the accomp= On a1^v, '¶ Incipit p^ologus.' On a4^v, chapter

] begins. On b3, part two begins. On c1^v, part three begins. On c5^v,

part four begins. On d6, part five begins. On k3, part six begins. On s2^v, part seven begins. On x8, text of volume one ends. | 'Lenuoye.' | 21 11. verse. | 'Finis.' x8^v, Hodnett no. 1496. | Hodnett nos. 1490 & 1491. 2A1, COA. 2. 2A1^v, blank. On 2A2, contents begin. On 2B3, contents end. 2B3^v, COA. 2. On 2B4, 'Of Kynge Henry the .vii.' | Hodnett no. 1491. On 2B4^v, 'Hereafter ensueth the day of | the Raygne of our mooste Re= | doughted Soueraygne Loode | Kynge Henry the .viii.' | Hodnett no. 1490. On 2A1, 'Prologus.' On 2A2, list of wards of London. On 2A3, lists of monasteries, colleges, chapels and churches in London. On 2A3^v, text begins. On 2G6, 'Explicit.' On 2G6^v, colophon. | device 9 in frame.

Copies: L (G.6014) (reel 39) 2L2^v-2L3 unphotographed; C (sel.3.170); O (Auct.OO.supra II.33) lacks gatherings A, k and l and leaves B1, B4, a6-a8, b1, b7, b8, c1, c2, 2A1, 2G1-2G3 and 2G6; HN (59656) is leaf a5 only; NY (Spencer Collection Eng. 1516).

Notes: This is the first edition of the work. Although a manuscript note in the Cambridge copy claims the work was said to be burned by Cardinal Wolsey, this seems highly unlikely; indeed the size of the work and the use of the royal arms, not to mention the praise of Henry VII printed following the table to the second volume, all suggest that Pynson may have received financial backing for the work from the Crown.

The work was composed by Robert Fabyan, a draper and sometime alderman and sheriff of London, who died in 1513. The work is divided into two volumes, although all copies viewed have been bound as one volume. The first volume is composed of seven parts and traces the history of England, and to only a slightly lesser extent, of Europe, from the supposed landing of Brut through the Battle of Hastings. The second volume concentrates on the history of England, France and the City of London and covers the period from 1066 to the advent of the Tudors.

In addition to the woodcuts noted in the "descriptions" above, the work also contains: on a5, Hodnett no. 1499 with borders; on c4^v, no. 1351 with borders; c6, no. 1497; d6, nos. 1490 & 1491 with borders; e4^v, no. 1490; e5^v, no. 1491; k3, no. 1491; m3^v, no. 1490; m4^v, no. 1490; m7, no. 1490; m7^v, nos. 1490 & 1491; o5, no. 1491; q2^v, no. 1491; q4^v, no. 1491; r1, no. 1491; r3, no. 1443; r6^v, no. 1491; s2^v, no. 1512; s3^v, no. 1496; x6, no. 1490; 2A3^v, no. 1490; 2B2, no. 1490; 2C1, no. 1490; 2E4, no. 1632; 2F4^v, no. 1491; 2G1^v, no. 1490; 2G5, no. 1491; 2I2^v, no. 1490; 2I8, no. 1490; 2L1, no. 1490; 2L1^v, no. 1490; 2L4^v, no. 1490; 2P1^v, no. 1490; 2R4, no. 1490; 2R8^v, no. 1490; 2T6, no. 1490; 2U5^v, no. 1490; 2X5, no. 1490; 2A5, no. 1490; 2E1, no. 1490; 2E3, no. 1490; 2E8, no. 1490; 2G1, no. 1490; and on 2G4, Hodnett no. 1490.

Hodnett nos. 1490 and 1491 are woodcuts of kings which are used throughout the work to portray almost every king imaginable.

In addition to the woodcuts cited above, the work featured a number of shields of arms for the various individuals and dynasties which are known only from this work. Although most dynasties are merely listed in the work, a diagram of connected circles is used to describe the relationship of the kings of France and Germany.

124. Alexander Grammaticus. Textus cum Sententiis. 1516. STC 320.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Textus alexandri cum sententiis et cōstructionibus.'

| Hodnett no. 1508.

Col: On Q7^v, ' ¶ Libro doctrinali Alexandri | vigilanter correcto

Ri= | chardus Pynson finē | felicem imprimere | iubet. Anno | dñi. M. |

cccc. | xvi. | 3 floral orns.

RT: Varies with text. A3^v-A4,

'Capitulum primum.' ||| De secūda declinatione noīm'

Coll: 4^o: A-C⁸D-P⁶Q⁸; 104 leaves; signed \$ 1-4 or 1-3 as A i, etc.

Type: 65 rotunda for text and signatures, 95 textura for some text and shoulder-notes and running-titles. B1, 34 ll. rotunda and 8 ll. textura = 92(110) x 147(157) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, Hodnett no. 1508. On A2, text begins: '[HT:]

Prohemium. | S⁵ [d] Cribere clericulis parō doctrinale nouellis.' On

Q7^v, text ends: 'Quiquidem vnus deus stt in seculorum secula bene-

dictus. Amen.' | colophon. Q8, device 9. Q8^v, device 9.

Copies: L (C. 40. é. 51) (reel 103; P3 unphotographed); G² (Hunterian Bv. 3. 11) lacks Q8.

Notes: Pynson's third edition under this title, fifth edition of the work.

Type 4 capitals are used throughout.

125. Sulpitius. Stans Puer ad Mensam. 1516. STC2 23428A.5.

Col: On A6^v, ' Impressum Londonis per Richardum Pynson. | in vico
anglice nūcupato (the Fletestrete) sub intersi= | gno diui Georgij
2mo Cantē. Anno dñi. M. ccccc. xvi.'

RT: A1^v-A2 through A5^v-A6,

'Iohannis Sulpitii Uerulani. ||| Carmen iuuenile de moribus mense.'

CI: 'Stans puer.' on A2 and A3.

Coll: 4^o: A⁶; 6 leaves; signed 1-3 as A.i., etc.

Type: 65 rotunda for text, 95 textura for some text, signatures and running-titles, 114 textura for title on A1. A1, 1 l. 114 textura, 7 ll. 95 textura and 34 ll. rotunda = 94 x 153(157) (sig.); A2, 30 ll. rotunda and 11 ll. textura = 93 x 148(158) (rt., ct., & sig.).

Cont: On a1, 'Stans puer ad mensam. | Iohannis Sulpitii Uerulani
viri difertissimi de | moribus pueroꝝ ꝑcipue in mensa seruadis. Carmen
| iuuenile paucis ab ascensio explanatum. | Q² [8] Uos decet in mensa
mores seruare docemus' On A6, 'Apex Ascenianus de officio scolastici
| a poem. On A6^v, poem ends: 'Ignaris ꝙ tibi cognita precipias.
| Finis.' | colophon.

Copies: M (R8568).

Notes: Pynson's only edition of this work, presumably based on one by the French printer, J. Badius Ascensius.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout the work.

126. Os, Facies, Mentum. 1516? STC2 18874.5. STC 23180. STC 1380.

Col: On X2^v, 'Impressum London. in vico vulgari... dicta
(the Fletestrete) in diui Georgij ite... | signo Per Richarduz Pynson.
Regiū. | Impressum. Anno a natali? M. | CCCCC. xvi.'

Coll: 4^o: unknown.

Type: 95 textura for Latin and 65 rotunda for English.

Cont:

χ1 begins: 'Silua molendinum mōs vallis ager via pratū'

χ1^v begins: 'Aer sol nubes iris sic lunaq̄ stella'

χ2 begins: '.....ari⁹ veruer aries elephas ouis agnus'

χ2^v, 2nd l. begins: 'Nunc ponāq̄ vicarios antistresq̄ prlatus' |

text ends: 'Nūncius ac obstetrix et portarius atq̄' | colophon:

Copies: C (Syn.6.51.22) fragments of 2 leaves.

Notes: As the STC numbers indicate, the work was formerly mistaken for John Barchley's Grammatica Latina (STC 1380) and Stanbridge's Vocabula (STC 23180). This is Pynson's only known edition of the work.

The work, usually composed of 4 leaves, is a Latin vocabulary in mnemonic verses with English glosses. The confusion with Stanbridge's Vocabula is not surprising since Stanbridge is believed to have modeled that work on the Os, Facies Mentum. According to Miss Pafort, the work, in other editions, is often found bound following Stanbridge's Vulgaria.

127. J. Barchley. Grammatica Latina. 1516?

Notes: This work was listed in STC, but the fragment thought to be it has since proved to be that of the Os, Facies, Mentum of that date (STC2 18874). Nonetheless, since the work was listed by Herbert and others and since a De Worde edition is known, it is quite possible that a Pynson edition existed as well, although not necessarily published at this date.

128. Anonymous. Shepherd's Calendar. 1517? STC2 22409.7.

CT: 'Shephardes ka^r.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 2⁰: A-M N^{8 6(?)} +; 102+ leaves; signed \$1-4 as L.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura with w² and w¹. 11, 39 11. and 3 spaces = 132 x 195 (200) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1 & A1^v, unknown. On A2, Pynson's address to the readers. On

A2^v, contents begins. On A3^v, contents ends. | '◀ Addycyons.' On A5^v,
 '◀ The prologue of the Auctoure that put this boke in wrytynge.' | Hod-
 nett no. 1511. | 'A⁶ [F¹] S here before tyme there was a Shephard
kepyng She' On C5-C7, four part compartments with shaded circles il-
 lustrating eclipses of the sun and moon. On K6^v, diagram. On L8^v, dia-
 gram of ragged sun and five circles. On N6^v, Hodnett no. *1510b.

Copies: O (Auct.QQ.supra 2.30) lacks leaves A1, A6, E4, E5, F1, F2, F8, G2-8, I4, I5 and everything after N6.

Notes: The date is that given by STC2, apparently on the basis of the type and the state of one of the initials used; the presence of a catch-title means that the work could not be earlier than 1515.

Although this is Pynson's third edition of the work, it is unclear, since I have not seen the second edition, whether this is the first or the second edition to incorporate numerous additions including sections on the duty of the plowman, the assault on a snail and the song of the horner.

Like the 1506 edition, the work was heavily illustrated. Those cuts present, not listed above, in this imperfect copy are: on A4, Hodnett nos. 1544 and 1545 with borders; A4, no. *1499a with borders; A5, no. 1510 with borders; B4^v, no. 1574 with borders; B5, nos. 1550 and 1562 with borders; B5^v, nos. 1551 and 1563 with borders; B6, nos. 1552 and 1564 with borders; B6^v, nos. 1553 and 1565 with borders; B7, nos. 1554 and 1566 with borders; B7^v, nos. 1555 and 1567 with borders; B8, nos. 1556 and 1568 with borders; B8^v, nos. 1557 and 1569 with borders; C1, nos. 1558 and 1570 with borders; C1^v, nos. 1559 and 1571 with borders; C2, nos. 1560 and 1572 with borders; C2^v, nos. 1561 and 1573 with borders; E6^v, no. 1516; E7, no. 1517 with borders; F1, no. 1519 with borders; F3^v, no. 1513; F4^v, a 91 x 93 cut of Christ and the Virgin in the center of a rose surrounded by fifty-five pearls which are surrounded in turn by a rose vine bearing five roses with the name "Ihesus." at the top left, the name ".maria." at the top right, a man with a rosary and the letter "W" at the bottom left and the letter "M" and a worn rosary at the bottom right; F5, no. 1522; F5^v, no. 1523; E6, no. 1524; F6^v, nos. 1525 and 1526; F7^v, no. 1527; Ha^v, no. 1575; H5^v, no. 1577; H6^v, no. 1576; I7, no. 1532; I8^v, no. 1533; K2^v, no. 1590; K7^v, no. 1534 with borders; K8, no. 1535; L1, no. 1536 with borders; L2, no. 1537; L2^v, no. 1538; L3, no. 1539; L3^v, no. 1540; L4, no. 1541; L4^v, no. 1542; L6, no. 1543; L8, no. 1544; M1, no. 1545; M1^v, no. 1546; M2, nos. 1547 and 1548; M4, no. *1577a with borders; M4^v, no. 1418 with borders; M5, no. 1531 with border; M7^v, no. *1577b with borders; M8, nos. 1544 and 1591 with borders; N1, no. 1962 with borders; N1^v, nos. 1578 and 1579; N2, no. 1580; N2^v, nos. 1581 and 1582; N3, no. 1583; N3^v, nos. 1584 and 1585; N4, no. 1586; N4^v, nos. 1587 and 1588; and on N5, Hodnett no. 1589. It should be observed that this list does not always agree with the listing of cuts in the work given by Hodnett. In addition to the cuts and diagrams, the work also features the factotums mentioned in connection with

the first Pynson edition of the work and a number of cuts of the upper bodies of men and women in arches first used by Pynson in the 1490's, but which Hodnett has not recorded.

One must also note in passing the presence of what appear to be two cancel stubs following F5.

129. C. Tunstall. In Laudem Matrimonii. November 13, 1518. STC 24320.

TP: A1, 'CVTHEBERTI TONSTALLI | IN LAVDEM MATRIMONII | ORATIO
HABITA INSPON | SALIBVS MARIAE | POTENTISSIMI | regis Angliæ Henrici
octaui | filiaë/et Francisci Christiã= | niſſimi Francorum | regis
primo= | geniti. | '. ' | COA. 6.

Col: On B6, 'IMPRESSA Londini. Anno Verbi in | carnati. M. D.
xviiij. Idibus Nouembris per | Richardum Pynson regium impressorem cū |
priuilegio a rege indulto/ne quis hanc oratio | nem intra biennium in
regno Angliæ impri= | mat: aut alibi impressam/et importatā in eo= |
dem regno Angliæ vendat.'

Coll: 4⁰: A⁸B⁶; 14 leaves; signed \$1-3 or 1-4 as A1, A2, Ae, A .

Type: 114 roman. A2, 24 ll. = 86 x 138(143) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, text begins: 'V⁶ [FFW]
ETVSTVS omniū gentū' On B5^v, text ends: 'honore/posteris videre
liceat. | Finis.' B6, colophon. | device 41. B6^v, blank.

CW: A5^v, [Quae] dum ecclesia A6, serucs? Is A8, [im=] mensam.

Copies: HN (31980) (reel 155); O (4⁰ B.16.Th./3) with the device cut
out; O (4⁰ T.20.Th. Seld.) on vellum with variant title-page; PML (W
14 B 21049).

Notes: This represents the first edition of the work which was subse-
quently published by Ascensius in Paris and Froben in Basel.

The speech on the joys of marriage was delivered by Tunstall on
October 3, 1518 on the occasion of the betrothal of Princess Mary to the
Dauphin of France.

This work was a landmark in several respects. It and the Oratio
of Richard Pace share the claim of being the first works printed under

"privilege" in England as well as being the only works to use the highly stylized device 4, which one suspects was specially made for the occasion. In addition, this work has the distinction of being the first work printed in England to use catchwords - although they appear only on the leaves cited above.

As noted above, one of the Bodleian copies is on vellum and represents a variant edition in that the cut of the royal arms on the title-page has been replaced by a cut of what I take to be Tunstall's arms. These arms consist of a 53 x 66 cut of a hat with tassels above a cross-topped shield containing an upper compartment with two black birds facing left on either side of a Tudor rose and a lower compartment with a wavy cross and four faces surrounding a lion with a paw raised. One presumes that this was a presentation copy.

130. R. Pace. Oratio. December 5, 1518. STC 19081a.

TP: A1, 'ORATIO RICHARDI PA= | CEI IN PACE NVPERIME | composita et
foedere percussio: inter in= | uictissimum Angliæ regem/et| Francorum
regem christi= | anissimum in æde diui | Pauli Londi= | ni.habi= | ta.'
| COA.

Col: On B3^V, 'IMPRESSA Londini. Anno Verbi in | carnati. M. D.
xviij. Nonis Decembris per | Richardum Pynson regium impressorem cū |
priuilegio a rege indulto/ne quis hanc oratio | nem intra biennium in
regno Angliæ impri= | mat: aut alibi impressam/et importatam in |
eodem regno Angliæ vendat.'

Coll: 4⁰: A⁶B⁴; 10 leaves; signed A2-3, B1-2 as B1, B2.

Type: 114 roman. B1, 24 ll. = 87 x 137(143) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^V, blank. On A2, text begins: '[6 spaces left
for guide "Q"] VVM NON vulgares!'. On B3, text ends: 'secūdent/ p
sperent/faustumq et felix reddāt. | Finis.' B3^V, colophon. B4, blank.
B4^V, device 41.

Copies: L (C.33.b.29) misdated 1513; O (4⁰ B.16.Th./4); C² (V.I. 2)
Tacks B4; HN (82240).

Notes: This is the first edition of the work which was subsequently

reprinted the same year by John Gormont in Paris.

The speech was given on October 3, 1518 as part of the ceremonies leading up to the betrothal of Princess Mary to the Dauphin of France. The actual occasion involved was the ratification of the marriage contract. Unlike the speech delivered by Tunstall on the occasion of the betrothal, the emphasis in Pace's speech was on the peace between England and France which the betrothal was expected to bring.

This is the second work known to have been printed under "privilege" in England - the first being Tunstall's In Laudem Matrimonii. It and the Tunstall work are the only works known to contain device 41.

131. R. Whittinton. Syntaxis. December 13, 1518. STC2 25545.5, formerly STC 25544.

TP: A1, ' ☉ Roberti whyttoni lichfeldiēcis grā= | matices mag-
istri = p^othouatis Anglie in | floretissīma Oxoniēsi achademia laurea=
| ti. Editio de concinnitate grammatices = | constructione. | Hodnett
no. 1508.

Col: On D5^V, ' ☉ Explicit Whittintoni Editio de cōcinnitate grāma |
tices et constructione: nouiter impressa Lōdiniis: per | me Richardum
Pynson regium impressorem/in vico | vulgariter nuncupato (the flete-
strete) in ipso intersig | nio diui Geogij. Anno domini. M. D. xviii.
Idibus | Decembris. three no. 1 orns., 1 no. 4 orn.

CT: 'Whitin. con.' on B, C1-3, B4.

'Whittin. con.' on D1, D2, C4.

'Whiitin. con.' on A3, A4.

'Whittyn.' on D3.

Coll: 4^o: A-C⁸D⁶; 30 leaves; signed \$1-4 [-A1, -A2, -D4] as b.i., B.ii., B.iii., B.iiii.

Type: 95 textura for text, signatures and catch-titles, 114 textura on title-page and 65 rotunda for some text and shoulder-notes. A4, 17 ll. textura and 23 ll. rotunda = 92(110.5) x 153(157) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^V, ' ☉ Celeberrimo viro/summaqz obseruatione

colēdo | magistro Stamb~~o~~igo artium magistro dignissimo/ | Whittintonus
salutem. On A2^V, ' ¶ Stamb~~o~~rigi ab edendi fo~~m~~idine deho~~o~~tantis. |
¶ Hexastichon. | 6 ll. verse | ' ¶ Ad litterariā Anglie militiā tetra-
stichon. | 4,11: verse | ' ¶ Contra inuidulos hexastichon. | 6 ll.
 verse | ' ¶ Nomina auto4 quo4 tutela hoc | opusculum confirmatur. On
 A3, ' ¶ De concinnitate grāmatices. | U² [8] Erbum cum recto casu/quinto
ve coheret. On D5, text ends: 'casus connectit. | ¶ Finis.' On D5^V,
 ' ¶ Auto~~o~~ ad libellum. | text | colophon. D6, Hodnett no. 1508. D6^V,
 device 9 in frame.

Copies: 0. (Mason H.21) lacks D6; C⁵ (A.2.10/6).

Notes: This represents Pynson's first edition of the work which is be-
 lieved to have constituted the fourth book of the first volume of the
 collective Whittinton grammar.

Although the work is dedicated to Whittinton's predecessor John
 Stanbridge, who died in 1510, the work was unknown by Bennett in 1952
 in any edition before 1512 (although that earliest known edition by De
 Worde is apparently referred to on the title-page as "editio secunda").

The work is, as the title indicates, concerned with Latin syn-
 tax. The work leans heavily on examples from various classical authors
 for its authority. A list of these authors is found on the bottom of
 A2^V and they are cited extensively in shoulder-notes. The work con-
 cludes with a Latin dialogue between the author and his book.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

132. J. Lydgate? Chronicle of All the Kings. 1518? STC2 9983.3.

TP: A1, ' ¶ This is the Cronycle of all the kyng^z names that haue |
ben in Englande: and how many yeres they reygned/and | how many saynt^z.
7 martyrs haue ben ī this lande: and she= | with the hole sūme/from
the makyng of the worlde tyll the | cōmyng of Ro~~u~~te: ¶ whiche is
.iiii. M. lxxvi. yeres/and | fro the cōmyng of Ro~~u~~te to the Incarna-
cion of Ch~~o~~iste is | M. C. xxii. yeres 7 fro the Incarnacion to the
.xxiiii. yere | of kyng Henry the .vi. is. M. CCCC. xli. yeres.' |

Hodnett no. 1499.

Col: On B4, ' ¶ Thus endeth the cronycle of al the kynges | names/
that haue reygned in Englande.. | sith .y comynge of Wyllyā Conque=
rour: ⁊ how longe they reygned. | Imprinted by Rychard Pyn | son/Pyn-
ter vnto the | kynges noble | grace. | . . | Cum p̄iuilegio'.

CT: 'Cron.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: A-B⁴; 8 leaves; signed \$2-3 as A.ii., A.iii.

Type: 95 textura with 114 textura for title on B1. B2, 28 ll. & 3 spaces = 90 x 145(149) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, Hodnett no. 1497. On A2, text begins: 'T²
 [8?] His is the Cronycle of all the kyng⁷ names'. On B1, ' ¶ The cron-
ycle of all the kynges names | that haue reygned in Englande syth the |
conquest of Wyllyam Conquerour.' | Hodnett no. 1496. On B1^v, text be-
 gins: ' ¶ This myghty Wyllyam Duke of Normandye'. On B4, text ends:
 'And strange Force/all them both auaiuce. | ¶ Finis.' | colophon. B4^v,
 device 44.

Copies: 0 (Wood 336/1).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC²; presumably based on the type and the states of the woodcuts. The work is possibly a year later since device 44, first found in a dated work of 1519, is used. This is Pynson's only edition of the work and apparently the first printed edition of this amalgum.

The work is composed of two parts, a prose chronicle, beginning with Brute on A2 and ending with Harold on A4^v, and a stanzaic verse chronicle, beginning with William the Conqueror on B1^v and ending on B4 with the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. Each of these sections is set-off with a different woodcut portraying the landing of an armed force from the sea - which visually sets up a parallel between the landing of Brute and the landing of William the Conqueror. The point is of some importance since Pynson appears to be responsible for the combination of the two chronicles in a single volume.

The prose section begins with the arrival of Brute and the founding of London then digresses to deal with the life of Christ and martyrdom of the apostles and others ending with that of Thomas a Beckett. After that the chronicle resumes with Brute and continues through Harold.

The Poetic section begins with the coming of William the Con-

queror. It is stanzaic with four seven line stanzas in the standard A, B, A, B, B, C, C, rhyme scheme per page. On the basis of manuscript versions of the poem the verses covering William the Conqueror through those on Henry VI and possibly those on Edward IV have been attributed to John Lydgate. In this edition a nameless continuator has carried the verses through the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.

133. D. Mancinus. A. Barclay trans. Mirror of Good Manners. 1518? STC 17242.

TP: A1, ' **C** Here begynneth a ryght frutefull treatyse/ | intituled the myrrour of good maners/cōtey= | nyng the .iiii. vertues/called cardynall/com= | pyled in latyn by Domynike Mancyn: | And translate into englysshe: at the | desyre of sye Gyles Alyngton | knyght: by Alexander | Berclay poet: and | monke of Ely.' Hodnett no. 1498. |

[Shoulder-note beginning level with the fourth line above reads: 'Mancinus super | quattuor virtu= | tibus Cardineis.'].]

Col: On H8, enclosed by borders, ' **C** Thus endeth the ryght frutefull matter | of the foure Uertues cardynall: Im= | pynnted by Rychard Pynson: pyn | ter vnto the kynges noble gra= | ce: with his gracyous pry= | uylege/the whiche bo | ke I haue pyn= | ted/at the | instan=' | orn. 1, 'ce ≠', orn. 1. | 'request/of the ryght no | ble Rychard yerle | ✠ of Kent. ✠'

CT: 'Mancy.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 2^o: A-G⁶H⁸; 50 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1; +H4] as B.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text and some titles, 114 textura for title-page and some titles, 82(?) roman for shoulder-notes, 64 rotunda for one line inserted on G2^v. B1, 43 ll. and 4 spaces = 100(141) x 218(225) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, text begins: '[5 spaces left for guide W]

Ho coueteth to knowe/chefe maners cōmendable' | 20 ll text. | ' **C** Alexander Barclay/to the reder of | this present treatyse/transla= | tyng the

wodes of do= | mynyke Mācyne. On A3, Barclay's prologue begins. On
 A5^v, ' Here foloweth/the four fountayns of welles | of honeste/whiche
of naturall reason/haue | theyd begynnyng orygynall/and | of whom the
four carydnall' | orn. 1, 'vertuts spoyngeth.' orn. 1. | orn. 4. | 'A²
 [8] T the fyoste begynnyng/our lorde omnypotens' On B2, ' Of the
fyoste Cardinall vertue | named Prouidence.' On C5^v, ' Of Iustyce.'
 On D3^v, ' Of magnanimitie of strength of mynde.' On E4, ' Of Temper-
ance.' On H7^v, 'Rede this lyttell treatyre/O stuent of Englande | As
myourour of good maners: ye chefely of London | And when ye it redyng/
shall perfyte understande | Gyue ye laude and thankes/to Gyles Alynngton
| Knyght/at whose pœcept/this trefyse was begon | If this do you pœ-
fyte/that shall my mynde excyte | Of mo frutefull matters/after this to
wyte.' | orn. 1, ' Finis.', orn. 1. H8, colophon and borders. H8^v,
 device 44.

Copies: L (G.11565) (reef 56); C⁷ (E.P.S.2/2) lacks H8.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and agrees with the borders, etc. present. This is Pynson's first edition of the work.

As indicated above, the work appears to have been translated by Barclay at the request of Giles Alynngton, but the work appears to have been printed at the request, and presumably at the cost, of Richard, Earl of Kent. The work, which has elements of both the courtesy book and the devotional treatise about it, was translated by Barclay in seven line stanzas with the original Latin printed in the shoulder-notes at the sides.

A mixture of type 8 capitals and spaces left for guide-letters is used throughout the work; without, surprisingly, any ornate initials used.

134. W. Horman. Vulgar̃ia. 1519. STC 13811.

TP: ✱ 1, in M. & F. no. 7, 'Vulgar̃ia uiri doct̃issimi' | Guil. Hor-
 mani Cæsa= | risburgensis. | Apud inclytam LONDI | NI urbem. M. D. XIX

| CVM PRIVILEGIO | serenissimi regis HENRI= | CI eius nominis | octauī.'

Col: On 2e3; 'IMPRESSA LONDINI PER | Richardum Pynson/regium impres-
sorem cum | priuilegio a REGE indulto. Ne quis haec im | primat: nec
aluibi impressa/importataq' /intra | regnum Angliae vendat.'

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,

'DE PIETATATE ||| DE PIETATE'

Coll: 40: ✠⁸ ✠⁴ A-Z^{8,4,8,4} & a-z^{8,4,8,4} & 2a-2c^{8,4} 2e⁴; 328 leaves;
signed \$1-4 or 1-2 through the first alphabet [-B3, D3; P1 signed .Pi.,
R2 signed Q2] as A.i., A.ii., A , A ; beginning with the first lower-
case alphabet the work is signed \$1-4 or 1-3 [-b3, -d3, f3] as a, a ,
a², a for gatherings of 8 and h, h², h for gatherings of 4; 315 leaves
foliated beginning with A1, 1-25, 29, 27-139, 138, 141-197, 298, 199-
300, 310, 302-315.

Type: 112 roman for Latin text; signatures and running-titles with 80
roman for English text. ✠³, 24 ll. 112 roman = 87 x 137(148) (rt. &
sig.); B1, 15 ll. 112 roman and 14 ll. 80 roman = 82 x 141(152) (rt. &
sig.).

Cont: ✠¹, title. On ✠^{1v}, 'GVIL. LILII CARMEN.' | 4 ll. text. |
'R. ALDRISII ET ONEN. | CARMEN.' | 12 ll. text | 'IO. RIGHTVVICHI | DIS-
TICHON.' On ✠², 'AMPLISSIMO PATRI AC REVE= | RENDISSIMO DOMINO GVI=
LIELMO ATVVATERO LIN | COLNIËNSI EPISCOPO | GVILIELMVS HOR= | MANVS
CAESA= | RISBVRGEN= | SIS S.P.D.' On ✠^{7v}, 'ROBERTVS ALDRISIVS E= |
TONEN. VIRO DOCTIS= | SIMO GVIL. HOR= | MANO S.P.D.' On ✠³, table
begins. On A1, 'De pietate in deum vbi de vera religione | et recto
cultu cum suis cerimonijs et vltione; | circa neglectum vel cōtemptum
eorūdem. | Cap. j. | ¶⁷ [DT] HERE is no thyng in the' On 2e3, after
2 cols. of phrases, 'TELOS.' | colophon. On 2e3^v, 'ZACHARIAE DIOTO=
RI PHRISTII DI= | STICHON.' | 2 ll. verse. | 'IO. RIGHTVVI= | CHI
BISTI= | CHON. | Quē legis et manibus cōtrectas candidē lector | Exhibet
Hormani munera docta liber.' 2e4, blank. 2e4^v, device 44.

Copies: HN (61750) (reel 127); L (C.33. 1.5).

Notes: This represents Pynson's first edition of the work which seemed to fire the feud between Whittinton and Lily and Horman.

The work was written at the request of Bishop Atwater of Lincoln to preserve for posterity the themes which Horman had taught the school-boys at Eton. It consists of thirty-seven chapters, some on grammar, but most on more general subjects printed in English and Latin. It differs from the works of Stanbridge and Whittinton in that the information about life, government, etc. is at least as important as the vocabulary and rules of grammar imparted by the piece.

As noted in the text, although the production of the work was covered by a detailed contract between Pynson and Horman, the details of the contract were not fully observed either in the number of chapters in the work or in the number of types to be used in the work's production, thus raising some question as to how fully the other details of the contract were observed.

Although some initials are used, the more normal way of opening each chapter is with a guide-letter and spaces left for rubrication.

335. R. Whittinton. De Heteroclitus Nominibus. 1519. STC2 25461.5.

TP: A1, ' ¶ De heteroclitus nominibus. | E³ [CLG] Ditio Roberti
whittintoni Lichfeldiensis gram^m | matice magistri: et p^othouatis
Anglie in floren: | tⁱssima Oxoniensis achademia Laureati/de hete=
roclitus nominibus/ 7 gradibus comparationus. | ¶ Tetrastichon eiusdem
ad lectorem. | Protheos vt possis varios dinoscere vultus | Ty^oesie
sexus ambiguos & senis | Salmacidos ne vndis coeant heteroclitita mixta |
Hoc Whittintoni voluit lecto^o opus. | ¶ Distichon eiusdem in zoillum. |
Conua rhinoceros' dentem ni zoile ponas | Sanguino lenta feret tela
hecatebelletes.'

Col: On B4^v, ' ¶ Editio Whittintoni lichfeldiensis de heteroclitis
no= | minibus 7 gradibus comparationis. Impresse Londo= | nii per me
Richardum Pynson. (Impressore nobilissime Regis gratie) Comodantem in
vico appellato the Fle= | te strete: ad signum Georgii. Anno dñi. M.
d. xix.'

RT: Varies with text. A2^V-A3,

'De Heteroclitis. ||| Nominibus.'

CT: 'Hetero. whittin.' on A2, A3, B1.

Coll: 4⁰: A⁶B⁴; 10 leaves; signed A.ii, A.iii., B.i.

Type: 95 textura for text, 65 rotunda for some text, 114 textura for title. A2, 19 ll. textura, 15 ll. rotunda and 5 spaces = 90(116) x 150 (159) (rt., ct., & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^V, blank. On A2, text begins: 'Q⁴ [P] Uomodo heteroclitis varia inter grammati='. On B4, text ends: 'dicens strennu9 quisq. : 7 maxime strennu9 docet strēnuissimus vix reperut.

|FINIS.' On B4^V, colophon. | device 6.

Copies: C⁵ (a.2.10/5) with A3 and A4 misbound after B2.

Notes: Pynson's second edition of the work, issued, one suspects, in conjunction with the first edition of Whittinton's Vulgaria which would be likely to help its sales.

The rules are in Latin and deal first with nouns declined only in the singular, followed by those having only certain cases in the singular and plural. These defective nouns are described in Latin Hexameters which give their uses. The "Gradus" section dealing with the comparison of adverbs and adjectives and done in a Latin metrical form for memorization occupies B3 through B4^V and has a separate running-title.

136. R. Whitinton. De Synonymis. 1518? STC2 25527.8.

Col: On D6, 'Expliciunt synonyma. Londoñ per Richardū pynchon impoima.'

RT: Varies with text according to the formula 'Synonima de hac littera --', the blanks completed by the appropriate letter. This appears on both rectos and versos.

Coll: 4⁰: A-D^{8,6}; 28 leaves; signed \$1-4, as A.i., A.ii., A.iii., A.iiii.

Type: 64 rotunda for most text which is set in 4 columns with 95

textura for some text, titles and running-titles. 03, 2 col., 48 ll. ✓
 rotunda = 110(24) x 161(170) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: On A1, ' ¶ Roberti whittintoni lichfeldiensis/grāmati= | ces
magistri ꝥ prothouatis Anglie i florētissima | Oxoniensi achademia Laur-
eati lucubrationes. | list of contents. On A1^v, ' ¶ Robertus Whitin-
tonus lichfeldiensis/grammatices māgi= | ster/prothouates Anglie/in
florētissima Oxoniensi achademia | Laureatus/Lectoribus salutem dicit.
 On A2, 'Synonima de hac littera A.' On D6, text ends: 'Eterni imperii
cum ioue scepra tenet.' | colophon. D6^v, device 32B in the frame
 usually used in conjunction with device 9.

Copies: C⁵ (A.2.10/7).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and agrees with the state of the device; Miss Pafort erroneously lists it as having the date of October 1515. This is apparently Pynson's first edition of the work, the possibly earlier edition listed by Miss Pafort as being at Magdalen College, Oxford (which I have not viewed), appears from the STC2 notes to be the same edition.

The work was divided by its author into two parts - lists of synonyms and lists of epithets, the sub-divisions of which categories are given in the list of contents on A1. The work begins with an alphabetical arrangement of words and phrases in English followed by Latin synonyms for them. After the English words have been covered the work proceeds to provide Latin synonyms for the gods, goddesses, heroes, heroines and places. The work then begins again with the gods and provides Latin epithets for them and continues on down through various categories ending up with flowers.

Following the work is a copy of Whittinton's De Magistratibus which in later editions of the De Synonymis becomes part of the work. In this instance, however, the De Magistratibus appears to be from an earlier edition and is dated 8 kalends March 1515.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

137. J. Stanbridge. Vocabula. 1519. STC 23181.

Notes: The only copy known belongs to the Earl of Macclesfield and thus was not viewed. The notes for STC2 indicate that the work is a 4^o: A⁸B⁴C⁶D⁴ and that this is the first of Pynson's editions of the work to be edited by Alexander Barclay. This is Pynson's third edition of the work.

138. R. Whittinton. Opusculum Affabre. September 5, 1520. STC2 25479.15.

TP: A1, ' Whittintoni editio secunda. | Opusculum affabre recognitum | et ad vnguem eli- | matum. | De nominum generibus. | De uerborum praeteritis et supinis. | De formatione praeteritorium/et supinorū uer- | borum passiuorum: deponentium: et cōmuniū. | De uerbis defectiujs. | De uerbis: quae in prima persona sunt confusa. | De ijs: quae confusum habent praeteritum. | De uerbis syncopam admittentibus. | De clementis uerborū. et mediāe syllabae quan- | titate in omnibus uerbis. | Q̄ q̄ recognitum affabre authore opusculum. | porro autem typographis typis iam nouo mā- | dandis haud minus cura aderat. Apud incli- | tam Londini urbem. M. D. XX.'

Col: On C4^v, 'Explicitum opusculum affabre. Ex officina Richardi | Pynsonis regij impressoris. Nonis | Septembris.'

RT: Varies with text, A2^v-A3,
'DE GENERIBVS ||| NOMINVM.'

CT: 'Opus. affa.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: A⁸B-C⁴; 16 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, +A4] as B, B.ii., etc. in roman.

Type: 95 textura, 80 roman and 65 rotunda for text with 114 textura on title-page. B2, 18 ll. roman and 23 ll. rotunda = 90(104) x 146(156) (rt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'AD LECTOREM.' On A2, 'DE GENERIBVS NOMINVM. | vt hic Apollo/hic Iupit' /hic Adā hic Ioanes/hic michael/hic gabriel | 0² [8] Mne dei proprium petit hic/maris/angelicūq;.' On C4^v, text ends and colophon.

Copies: M (9753).

Notes: The date is that on the title page. This is Pynson's third edition of the work, although the first labeled "editio secunda". The most apparent difference from the preceding edition is greater supervision of

the typesetting and the correction of a number of "typos" which beset the previous edition - a fact which is referred to at the bottom of the title-page.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

139. R. Whittinton. Vulgaria. October 15, 1520. STC 25570.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 7: 'VVLGARIA ROBER= | ti vvhitintoni Lichfeldien | sis/et de institutione gram | maticulorum opusculum; li. | bello sub de cōpinnitate grā | matices accōmodatum: et ī | quatuor partes digestum. | Apud inclytam Londini | urbem. M. D. XX.'

Col: On M4^V. 'Ex calcographia Richardi Pyn= | sonis regii Impress-
ois. Anno | verbi incarnati. M. | D. XX. idibus | octobris. | . . .'

RT: Varies with text. A3^V-A4,

'PRIMA PARS ||| DE CONCORDANTIOLIS.'

CT: 'Vulga. vvhitin.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: A-M⁴; 48 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.1., etc.; 42 leaves foliated beginning with A3, i, 2-42.

Type: 80 roman for text, 114(?) roman for titles and running-titles, 64(?) rotunda for precepts and English examples with 114(?) textura for the first line of text on A3. A2, 36 ll. 80 roman = 92 x 146(155) (rt., ct. & sig.); C3, 12 ll. 80 roman and 30 ll. rotunda = 90 x 146(155) (rt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^V, letter to readers. On A2^V, 'EIVSDEM DISTICHON.' | 2 ll. verse. | 'LECTORI TYPOGRAPHVS | THOMAS BER= | CVLA.'

On A3, [HL:] Grammaticulorum institutio. | Prima pars de concordiantolis.

| ¶ Precept. | T² [8] He verbe shall accord with his no' On L4^V,

'TELOS. | Index primæ partis de concordantiolis.' | two columns of con-

tents. On M4^V, '¶ Epilogorum finis. | Errata.' | 5 ll. of errata. |

colophon.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.e.39, formerly Arch.Bod.A.2.141) (reel 194); C

(SSS.17.24) wants gathering M; Crediton (194/15).

Notes: This is Pynson's first edition of the work which was apparently written and printed as a challenge to the work of the same title composed by Horman the preceding year.

The work is divided into four main parts - "De Concordantiolis," "De Constructione Nominum," "De Constructione Verborem" and "De Constructione Impersonalium Verborum." In each section the precepts are first set forth in English, then in Latin verse (for ease of memorization) followed by examples in English and Latin and, where appropriate, the classical authority from which the usage is derived.

As mentioned earlier, the work is really aimed more at the teaching of Latin grammar than the building of a vocabulary of useful Latin phrases which appears to be the aim of the earlier Vulgarias of Stanbridge and Horman.

The Bercula letter will be found reproduced in its entirety in the appendix on Bercula.

The arabic numbers used for foliation are the set with the backward 4.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

140. R. Whittinton. Opusculum Affabre. December 5, 1520.

Col: 'ex calcographia Pinsoniana nonis Decembris'

Notes: No copy is known and the reference is taken from Herbert, Typographical Antiquities, vol. 1, p. 267, and Dibdin, vol. 2, p. 543. The work may well have existed since the "ex calcographia" colophon is known only from the two editions of Whittinton's Vulgaria and the 1520 edition of that work was published in October precluding a possible confusion of that work with this.

141. R. Whittinton. De Synonymis. 1520. STC 25529.

Col: On D6, ' Explicita synonyma/Londoni per Richardum | Pynsonem
regium impressorem in= | p^oessa. Anno. verbi incar= | pati M. D. |
.xx.'

RT: Varies with text.

Coll: 4^o: a⁸ b⁶ c⁸ d⁶; 28 leaves; signed \$1-4 or 1-3 [-a1, a2] as b.i., b.ii., b.iii.

Type: 63 rotunda for most text which is set in 4 columns with 94 tex-

tura for some text and running-titles and 114(?) textura for the title. a4, 2 col., 50 ll. rotunda = 108(24) (sing. col.) x 158(170) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: On a1, ' Roberti whitintoni Lichfeldiensis/gramati= | ces
magistri ꝛ ꝑꝑothouatis Anglie i floꝛetissima | Oxoniensi achademia Laur-
eati lucubationes. | list of contents. | ' Eiusdem Whitintoni carmen
dicolon tetraastrophon. | 12 ll. verse. | ' Eiusdem Whitintoni dis-
tichon. On a1^v, ' Robertus whitintonus lichfeldiensis/grammatices
magi= | ster/ꝑꝑothouates anglie/in floꝛetissima Oxoniensi achademia |
Laureatus/lectoribus salutem dicit. On a2, 'Synonima de hac littera A.
 On D6, text ends: 'Eterni imperii cum Ioue sceptra tenet.' | colophon.
 D6^v, device 44.

Copies: Dulwich (0a5/8); Lord Kenyon.

Notes: Pynson's second edition of the work.

The De Magistratibus has not yet been added to the text.

Something apparently interrupted the production of this edition since gathering D does not appear to have been set at the same time or in the same skeleton. Apart from being the only gathering signed with a capital, gathering D is also considerably different in the size of its type-page; D3, 33 ll. rotunda, 7 ll. textura and 7 spaces = 90(26) (sing. col.) x 160(165) (sig.). (however this is for just 3 columns).

Type 8 capitals and a long-tailed capital Q are used throughout.

142. T. More. Epistola ad Brixium. 1520. STC 18088.

TP: a1, in M. & F. no. 7: 'THOMAE MORI Epi= | stola ad Germanū
 Brixīū: qui | quum MORVS in libellum | eius/quo contumeliosis men= |
 dacijs inceſſerat ANGLI= | AM: lusiſſet aliquot epigram= | mata annis ab
 huic plus septē: | iā intra sesquimensem/in sum= | ma Anglorum Gallor-
 umq; cō= | cordia/sub ipsum conuentum | principū/ædidiſt aduersus MO |
 RVM libellū/qui et ineptis | et uirulentis iurgijs suum in= | famat
 authorem. | Apud incliytam Londini | urbem. M. D. XX.'

Col: On f6, 'Londini in aedibus Pynsonis.'

Coll: 4⁰: a-e⁴f⁶; 26 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1] as b, b², b³.

Type: 114 roman with 80(?) roman on title-page. a3, 25 ll. = 93 x 143(148) (sig.); a4, 25 ll. = 93(113) x 143.

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, blank. On a2, 'T. MORVS GERMANO BRIXIO. S. | N⁶ [FKDL] ON ADEO TENERE MI='. On f6, text ends: '[lar-] giatur et mihi sanos pedes in carmine/et tibi sa= | num caput in corpore.' | colophon. f6^v, device 44.

CW: a2, possis b3, uersiculos d1^v, composita f1^v, calumniari [calūniari] f2^v, stice [sticæ].

Copies: L (714.b.13) (reel 125); C (Sel.5.85, formerly Bb*.9.46⁷); C (SSS.23.16); C² (Vi.1.12/1); C² (C.7.7.); C⁴ (N.24.27) with the half-sheet in f mis-folded; FOLG (STC 18088).

Notes: This is the only edition of this work known. The work marks the final stage in the feud between More and the French humanist Brixius which had begun with Brixius's attack on English courage in his 1513 Chordigeræ Navis Conlagratia. More had responded to this attack with a series of epigrams which although not published until 1528 had been circulated among the humanist community. These in turn led to the publication by Brixius of a direct attack on More, the Antimurus, which, in turn, elicited this work published by Pynson.

143. T. Alsoppe. History of Custance. 1520? STC2 538.5.

Col: On F4, ' Thus endeth the Beuyate and shoote Tragy= | call hystorie/of the ~~sayde~~ Custance/the Em= | perours daughter of Rome: Im- p~~o~~in= | ted at London in Fletestrete by | Richarde Pynson/p~~o~~inter | to the kynges noble | grace/dwellig | besyde | saynt Dunstanes church. | Cum priui= | legio. | . . .

RT: Varies with text. E1, 'The .ix. chapter.'

CT: 'Custa.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4⁰: speculated A²B-D⁴E⁶F⁴ [E1, E2, E5(?), E6(?) and F1-F4 are all that are known]; 24(?) leaves; signed \$(?) 1-3 as F, F.ii., F.iii.;

speculated foliation beginning on B1, i - xxiii. on F3 [foliation present: E1, Fo. xv. , E2, .xvi., E6(?) Fo. xx , F2, xxii. , F3, xxiii.].

Type: 96 textura. E2, 28 ll. and 3 spaces = 91 x 144(157) (rt., fo., ct., sig. & cw.); F3^v, 2 col., 31 ll. = 97(47) x 143(156) (rt., fo., ct., sig. & cw.).

Cont: On E1, ' ¶ Howe Donegyldes ones agayne/counter= | fayted the kynges letters/whiche | were sent vnto Custance/ | clene contrary to the tenour | of the | same. Capi. ix. | Soroufull was the kyng/ replete w^t wo z payne'. On F3, text ends: 'Bring the vnto his blysse | which shall it rede of se. | ¶ Finis'. On F3^v, 'Lenuoy of Thomas Al-soppe'. On F4, colophon. F4^v, device 44.

CW: E1, Q cursed, ¶^v, The E2, Her E2^v, With E5, To Rome E5^v, The E6, 4 F1^v, To F2, But F2^v, What F3, Lenuoy

Copies: L (C.125.dd.15/9) 8 leaves only.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and is probably the earliest possible date for the work since 1520 saw the first works with catchwords on all rectos and versos. The work is a poetic retelling of the story of Constance which Chaucer had earlier treated in his "Man of Law's Tale." Nothing more is known about the work or its author - whose identity is known only from the "lenuoy."

144. J. Constable. Epigrammata. 1520? STC 5639.

TP: a1, in M & F no. 7: 'IOANNIS CONSTA- | BLII LONDINEN- | SIS ET ARTIUM | PROFESSORIS | EPIGRAM- | MATA. | Apud incllytem Londini | urbem. M. D. XX.'

Col: On d3^v, 'Ex officina Richardi Pynsonis/nonis | Septembris. Cum priui- | legio a rege in- | dulto.'

CT: 'Epigrāma.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4⁰: a-d⁴; 16 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1] as b.j., b.ij., etc. in Roman.

Type: 114 roman throughout. bl, 24 ll. = 92 x 140(146) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: al, title. On a1^v, 'Ioannes Constabluis Londinēsis et | artium
professor candidis | lectoribus. S. D.' On a2, 'AD LECTOREM EPI- |
GRAMMA | s² [FFyC-M] I foueant heliconiades te lector alumnum/' On d3^v,
text ends: 'Talos.' | colophon. On d4, 'CVIQ; IN EPIGRAMMATA TYP0= |
GRAPHI THOMAE BERCV= | LAE EPISTOLA.' d4^v, device 44.

CW: al^v, saepenu/

Copies: L (C.57.c.972) (reel 99) c1^v-c2 unphotographed); 0 (4^o D.33 art./12).

Notes: The date given is that which appears on the title-page which may refer either to the date of publication or the date when the work was written.

In addition to the epigram cited in the contents above, the work contains, among others, the following epigrams: "Ad Beatam Virginem Walsinghamicam," "Ad Mauricium," "Ad Thomam Shellium," "Ad Ioannem Plaistedum," "In Laudem Oxoniensis," "De Aula Boemia," "De Henrico Octavo," "De Catharina Regina Angliae," "Ad Ioannem Blonticum," "Ad Thomam Morum," "Ad Beatam Catherinam," "Ad Hadleyum Monachum," "In Bossum Liliomastigen," "Epitaphium Guilielmi Griffithi Oxoniensis," "Ad Nicolaum Langdonum," "Ad Guilielmum Roscum," and "Ad Latimerum." The work concludes with a series of epitaphs on the author's mother, father, brother and sister.

As we remarked in the text, the work is of special interest because of its involvement in the Anti-bossicon controversy. As noted earlier, Constable had studied under Lily and Plaisted, and, as his epigrams indicate, was acquainted with many of the English humanists; it is therefore not surprising to find his attack on Whittinton in his verses, "In Bossum Liliomastigen." Somewhat more surprising is the typographical note of Bercula, who had previously written a note in praise of Whittinton's Vulgaria, praising the work along with Horman's Vulgaria.

Another epigram of interest because of an association with another Pynson work is that on William Ross, who may be identified with the supposed author of More's Rossaeus which was issued by Pynson in 1521. While this may be nothing but coincidence, it is interesting to note that Constable apparently knew both More and Ross and to speculate that Constable's reference to Ross may have served as More's inspiration when it became necessary to abandon the "Baravellus" persona.

It should also be noted that the British Museum copy of the work is unique among the Pynson works I have viewed in that it contains what appears to be paper of Dutch or Germanic origin. The paper in question appears in gatherings a and b and contains the watermark "VAN," which I have been unable to trace. The Bodleian copy has one of the innumerable (and presumably French) unicorns.

145. Hetoum. Hetoum's Chronicle, 1520? STC 13256.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Here begynneth a lytell Cronycle/translated & im=
printed at the cost & charge of Rycharde Pyn= | son. by the cōmaūdemēt
of the ryght | high and mighty pōince/Edwarde | duke of Buckingham/yerle
 | of Gloucestre/Staffarde/ | and of Northampton.' | Hodnett no. 1512.

Col: On I4^v, ' ¶ Here endeth a lytell cronicle translated out of
frenche | into englysshe at the cost & charge of Richarde Pynson | by
the commaūdemēt of the right high and mighty | pōince/Edwarde duke of
Buckyngham/erle of Glou= | cestre/Staffarde/ & of Northampton. And im-
printed by | the sayd Richarde Pynson/pōinter vnto the kinges no= | ble
grace. Cum priuilegio a rege indulto.'

RT: Varies with text. A3^v-A4,

'The lande ||| of Asye.'

CT: 'Crona.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 2^o: A-E⁶ F-G⁴ H I⁶; 48 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.i., etc.;
 foliated beginning on A3, Primo, ii-xxliiii.

Type: 95 textura with 140(?) textura on the title-page. A3, 2 col.,
 41 ll. = 123(59) x 191(205) (rt., fol., et. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, contents begins. On A3, text begins: 'I
 [FDL] He realm of On G3^v, ' ¶ Here endeth y^e boke of this tois | of
thoⁱēt partes cōpled by a rely | gious man frere Hayton frere of |
Pemōstre o^dder/sōtyme lo^de of | court & cosyn german to the kyng | of
Armeny vpon y^e passage of the | holy lande. By the cōmaūdemēt | of y^e
holy fader y^e apostle of Rome | Clemēt the .v. in y^e cite of Potiers |
Which boke I Nicholas Falcon/ | writ first in french as y^e frere Hay |
ton sayd w^h his mouth. without a= | ny note o^d exāple & out of frēche I
 | haue trāslated it in latyn. For our | holy father y^e pope. In the
yerē of | our lo^de god. M. CCC. vii. in y^e | moneth of August. Deo

grās. | ¶ Here begyneth y boke of al the puices & cites of vniuersal world | which sheweth the names of all y cytes/ & how many be in euey p= | uynce after the knowledge & pow= | er of the Rhomayns churches.'

G4, blank. G4^V, blank. On H1, text begins. On I3, text ends: 'Et rex Ungrie.' I4, blank. I4^V, colophon. | device 44.

Copies: L (148.c.1) lacks G4 and I4 (reel 53); L (G.6789); O (Auct.QQ. supra II.24) lacks G4 and with I4 in facsimile; PML(W14B 705) lacks G4.

Notes: The date is that given by STC. Although Hazlitt speculated the work was as early as 1498, the use of a "privilege" establishes its date as 1518 at the earliest while the execution of the Duke of Buckingham on May 17, 1521 provides a possible terminal date. The year 1520 seems reasonable.

As noted above, the work was originally composed in Latin in 1307 by one Nicholas Falcon at the request of Pope Clement V based upon the reminiscences of Hetoum. Although there has been some speculation that Barclay may have translated the work, this appears to have been based solely on the fact that the copy in Heber's collection was bound in a single volume with Barclay's translations of the Mirror of Good Manners and of Sallust's Jugurthan War (both Pynson editions) and is consequently rather weak evidence. All that can be said with certainty is that the work was both translated and printed at the cost and charge of Pynson at the commandment of Edward Stafford - who, one presumes, paid Pynson in turn.

The chronicle proper, after an initial section dealing with Asia in general, concentrates on the history of Armenia and the events which sent Hetoum into exile before ending with a description of a trip to the Holy Land. As mentioned in the text, the tone of this section of the work is almost elegiac with the emphasis on the reminiscences of the exile.

The chronicle proper is followed by a number of sections in Latin. The first part of this section lists the churches of Rome and which cardinals control them. The second part consists of a list of kings and which ones pay tribute to Rome. The third part details how kings and noblemen in general, and the Holy Roman Emperor in particular, are chosen. The last section consists of a list of all the castles and cities held by the "sowdan" of Egypt.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

146. Lydgate. Testament of Lydgate. 1520? STC 17035.

TP: al, ' ¶ Here begynneth the testamēt of Johñ | Lydgate monke of Berry: which | he made hymself/by his | life dayes. | .'. | bord. 113,

Hodnett no. 1510, bord. 21.

Col: On c3^v, '¶ Emprinted at Lōdon, in fletestrete/by Richard | Pyn-
son, printer vnto the kynges noble grace. | With priuylege of our souer-
ayns lorde the kyng.'

CT: 'testa. of I. L.' on b2, b3, c1 and c3.

'testa. I. L.' on a2, b1, c2.

Coll: 4^o: a⁶b-c⁷; 14 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1] as b, bii., etc.

Type: 93 textura for text with 114 textura for the title. a2, 28 ll.
and 3 spaces = 88 x 141(147) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, Hodnett no. 1347 with borders. On a2, text
begins: 'T² [8] He yeres passed/of my tender youthe.' On a5, '¶ Ora-
tio' On b2^v, '¶ Finis orationis.' On c1, '¶ Nota.' On c3^v, '¶ Thus
endeth the testament of Johñ Lydgate | monke of Bery/on whose soule Iesu
haue mercy. | Et sic est finis/sit laus et gloria trinis.' | colophon.

On c4, Hodnett no. 1347 with borders. c4^v, device 44.

Copies: L (C.21.c.3) (reel 1); HN (61097).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and agrees with the material
present. This is the first printed edition of the work.

The work is in seven-line stanzas in the preface with an a, b,
a, b, b, c, c, rhyme scheme which switches to an eight line stanza for-
mat with an a, b, a, b, b, c; b, c rhyme scheme for the "Oratio." As
the title implies, the work consists of his reflections on his life.

Type 8 capitals are used.

147. D. Mancinus. Mancinus de Quattuor Virtutibus. 1520? STC 17241.

TP: a1, 'Mancinus de quattuor virtutibus. | Petri Carmeliani exas-
tichon in Domini | ci Mancini de quattuor virtu | tibus libellum. | Qui
cupit eximios mores/vitamque beatam | Noscere: Mancini carmina docta
legat. | Cardineas libro virtutes quattuor vno | Is bene describit:

moribus assimilans. | Mancino cębant Curij cędantq; Catones. | Aedita
vel quorum scripta fuere prius.

RT: Varies with text.

Coll: 4^o: a-d⁸; 32 leaves; signed \$1-4 [-a1] as b.i., etc.

Type: 112(?) roman for text, 63(?) rotunda for shoulder-notes with
114(?) textura for titles. a2, 25 ll. = 96(112) x 143(155) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, text begins: 'Dominicus Mancinus ad lectorem
| de libro suo. | a. Quattuor astringit virtutes ille libellus.' On d8^v,
text ends: 'Nam/nisi prodesse: nil mea musa cupit. | Finis.'

Copies: L (8406.d.19); O (Douce.F.205/2); O (Arch.A.e.99).

Notes: The date and assignment to Pynson are from STC and STC2, and are
of necessity, based on the type.

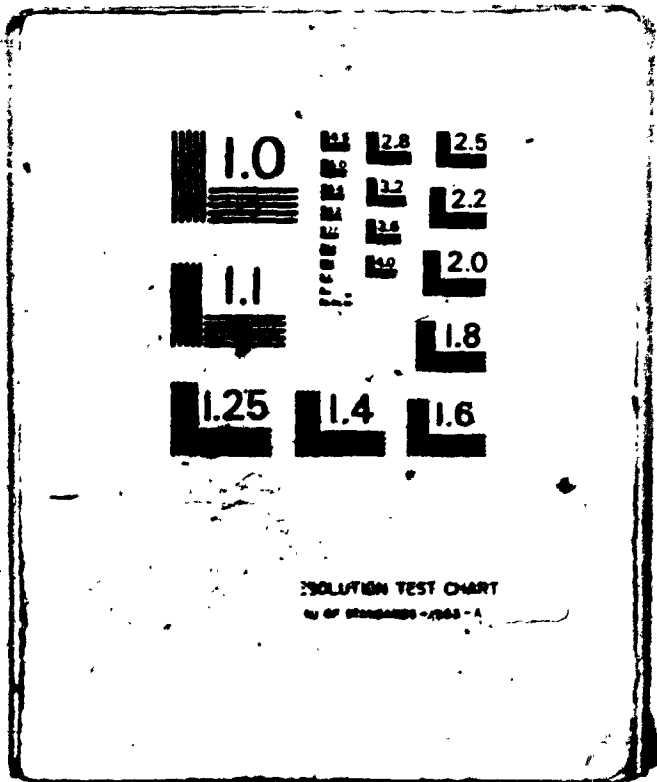
Apparently STC2 regards this as the second part of the work,
despite the fact that in the second Bodleian copy cited above, the only
copy known in which the two parts are bound together, this section is
bound first. This was apparently an edition prepared with the school
trade in mind which was issued with a more literal English translation
than that of Barclay as an aid to learning Latin-English and English-
Latin translation.

Type 8 capitals are used.

148. D. Mancinus. The English of Mancinus Upon the Four Cardinal
Virtues. 1520? STC 17241.

TP: a1, ' ¶ The englysshe of Mancyne upon the | foure cardynale
vertues. | ¶ We haue made this englysshe exposicion for tway p^o |
fettes specially aboue dyuers other the which can be had | by no laten
glose the one is for turnyng englysshe into laten the other for laten
into englysshe for in thyse tway | poyntes standith all the busynes of
grammar. Therfore | whose wolde haue tway profetis: let hym labour |
diligently these tway workys. But howe they shulde be laboured: and
what other profettis shall cum of theym: it is shewyd a litle in the
later ende of this boke.

5



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RT: Varies with text. a1^v-a2,

'the Firste alphabete.I.i ||| the Firste alphabete.I.i'

Coll: 4^o: a-d⁸e⁶f⁴; 42 leaves; signed \$1-4 or 1-3-[-a1; a3, a4, b4 signed with capital letters] as c.i., etc.

Type: 93(?) textura for text with 114(?) textura for some titles. a2, 32 ll. = 100 x 148(157) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, '¶ Domynyke Mancyne hath made/oo writyn this | prologe aboute his boke to the reder thereof.' On a2^v, '¶ Here begynneth y^e p^reface/oo prologe of Domy | nyke Mancyne ap^on his boke of the foure cardy= | nale vertues: made to Fed^onyke seueryne the by^ssho | pe of the people caulyd maleacenses. m. | M² [8] yn age woll not that I shuld make pleyes of uthe/' On f2, text ends: 'none other thyng/ saue to profet. The ende of y^e englysse. | ¶ The correccion of the englysshe.' On f2^v, 'The correccion of the texte.' On f3, 'Howe the lernars shuld laboure these workys.' | 2 ll. text. | 'Footurnyng^e englysshe into laten:' On f4, '¶ For turnyng^e laten into englysshe.' On f4^v, '¶ Translat^o huius opusculi lect^oi exasticon. | Quod possum: feci cupio sint omnia recta | Quenquā difficile est optima quāeq^q sequi. | Uni etiam placet hoc: alii melius placet illud | Hinc nihil esse potest omnibus vique bonū. | Ergo p^reco^o: faueas nobis/partiq^q p^rio^oi | Lect^o at ipse tibi cor^rige: si placeat.'

Copies: L (C.40.d.36); O (Arch.A.e.99).

Notes: As mentioned above, the date and assignment to Pynson's press are according to STC and STC2. The presence of the corrections to both the English and Latin texts in this part of the work suggests that this English part was published last and that the order in which the two parts are bound in the Bodleian copy listed above is correct.

The text of this section of the work makes it clear that the work was published in Latin and English to facilitate the teaching of translating from one language to the other. The translator of the work is unknown and the English is, at times, on a par with that of the translator of V^erard's Calendar of Shepherds. Although Petrus Carmelianus contributed the nexastichon to the Latin part, one would be very

surprised if he contributed to the English translation.

There is evidence of considerable haste in the English section with numerous odd-spellings and omitted letters as well as sorts with periods inserted upside-down. On the whole this is not one of Pynson's finer works - if, indeed, it is Pynson's.

149. D. Mancinus. A. Barclay, trans. Mirror of Good Manners. 1520? STC2 17242.5.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Here begynneth a treatyse intitulyd the my^o | rour of good maners conteynyng the .iiii. ver= | tues callyd cardynall compyled in latyn by Do | mynike Mancyn: And translate into englysshe | at the desyre of sy^o Gyles Alington knyght by | Alexander Bercley p^oeste and monke of Ely.' | Hodnett no. 1498. [Shoulder-note beginning level with the second line above reads: 'Mancinus super | quattuor virtu= | tibus Cardineis.'].]

Col: On H8, enclosed by borders: ' ¶ Thus endyth the ryght frute- full matter | of the fower Uertues cardynall Im- | p^oynted by me Rychard Pynson | p^oynter vnto the kynges no= | ble grace with his gracy | ous p^ouylege the whi | che boke I haue p^oyn | tyd at the instāce ⁊ | re- quest of the ry | ght noble Ry | chard yer | le Of | Kēt.'

CT: 'Mancy.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 2^o: A-G⁶H⁸; 50 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1; C2 signed B2] as b.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura for the text, 80 roman for shoulder-notes with 114 textura for the title-page, titles and colophon.

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, text begins: '[4 spaces left for guide W] He couetith to knowe chefe maners cōmendable' | 20 ll. text. | ' ¶ Alex- ander Barclay to the reder of | this p^oesent treatyse translatyng | the word³ of dominyke Mancyne.' On A3, Barclay's prologue begins. On A5^v,

' ¶ Here folowyth the four fountayns of | wellys of honeste/whiche of
naturall | reason haue theye begynnynges of gy= | nall/and of whome the
four cardynall | vertues springyth. | A² [8] T the fyoste begynnynges/
our lorde omnipotent' On A6^v, '¶ Of the originall of magnanymyte | of
strengthe of mynde.' On B2, '¶ Of the fyoste Cardynall vertue | named
prudence.' On C5, 'Of iustyce.' On D3^v, ' Of magnanymyte of strength
of | mynde' On E4, 'Of temperaunce' On H7^v, 'Rede this lyttell
treatyse/o iuuent of englonde | As mynour of good maners/ye chefely of
London | And Whan ye: it redynges/shall pofyte vnderstande | Gyue ye
lawde/and thankys/to Gyles Alyngton | knyght/at Whose pcept/this
tretyse was begon | If this do you pofyte/that shall my mynde excyte |
Of mo frutfull maters/after this to wyte' H8, colophon and borders.
 H8^v, device 6 surrounded by borders.

Copies: HN (32076).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2. This is Pynson's second edition of the Barclay translation. There are alterations in text (such as those in the concluding poem) which suggest the work was hastily published - perhaps because of a demand created by the Latin-English school edition published the same year.

Type 8 capitals are used.

150. C. Sallust. A. Barclay, trans. War Against Jugurth. 1520? STC 21626.

TP: al, ' ¶ Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre/ |
which the romayns had agaynst Iugurth | vsurper of the kyngdome of Numi=
| dy. which cronycle is compy= | led in latyn by the | renowned romayne
Salust. And translated into en= | glysshe by sye Alexander Barclay
preest/at | comaundement of the right hie | and mighty pince: Tho= |
mas duke of | North= | folke.' | Woodcut of a lion devouring a shield

with a lion on it.

Col: On Q5, ' ¶ Thus endeth the famous cronycle of the war | which
the romayns had agaynst Iugurth vsur= | per of the kyngdome of Numidy.
Which crony= | cle is cōpyled in laten by the renowned romayn | Salust.
And translated into englysshe by sir Ale= | xander Barclay p^{reest}: at
cōmaundement of the | right hye and mighty p^{rin}ce/Thomas duke of |
Northfolke. And imp^{re}nted at London by Ry= | charde Pynson/p^{ri}nter
vnto the kynges noble | grace: with p^{ri}uilege vnto hym graūted by our
| sayd souerayne lorde the kyng.'

RT: Varies with text. A5^V-A6.

'The batayle ||| of Iugurth.'

CF: 'Iugurth.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 2^o: a⁸ A-0⁶ P⁴ Q⁵; 101 leaves; signed \$1-3 or 1-4 as A.i., etc.;
 foliated beginning on A1, primo, ii-xCii.

Type: 95 textura for text, 80 roman for shoulder-notes giving the
 Latin original, 114 textura for running-titles, foliation and initial
 paragraphs of text with 130 textura for the title-page. D3, 43 ll. =
 108(152) x 200(214) (rt., fol., ct. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^V, COA. 2. On a2^r, contents begins. On a4, 'The
 preface of Alexander Barclay p^{reest}/vnto the | right hye and mighty
 prince: Thomas | duke of Northfolke.' | Vertical column of eight ver-
 tical orn. 2 and an horizontal orn. 2 and an horizontal orn. 1. | Text
 begins in parallel columns of the English preface to the Duke of Nor-
 folk and the Latin preface to Bishop John Veysey. On a8, Hodnett no.
 1510. a8^V, Hodnett no. 1496. On A1, '[HL:] An extract declaryng the
boke fo^lowyng.' On A3^V, prologue begins. On A5^V, ' ¶ Of what mater
Salust intendeth to treat in pro | ces of this boke/and what causes
moueth hym of | suche mater to write. ¶ The fyrst chapter. | I⁷ [FFUD]
N this warke I purpose to wryte of the' On Q4^V, 'Finis.' Q5, colophon.

Q5^v, device 44.

CW: .a6, warnyng pulchrū A6^v, age of B6^v, belonged D3^v, chose
 G4^v, [Me=] tellus H6^v, and at the K2^v, feble: M3^v, Plague 04^v,
that P3^v, their

Copies: L (G.9128) lacks two leaves; M (15402) lacks a1; C (Sel.3.167) lacks a1, a8, Q1, Q3, Q4 and Q5.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2. This represents the first edition of the work and the first printed edition in England of a work by Sallust as well as the first English printed translation of a work by that author.

The work was translated by Barclay and presumably printed under the patronage of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to whom the English preface is addressed. The Latin preface, however, which is printed beside the English preface, is addressed to Bishop John Veysey. The work is in sixty-seven chapters.

Catchwords are used somewhat erratically in the work with separate catchwords for both the Latin and the English prefaces appearing on both rectos and versos in gathering a, catchwords appearing only on the final verso in gatherings A and B and catchwords on all versos (except where the next recto begins with a chapter heading) throughout the rest of the work.

151. J. Stanbridge. Accidence. 1520? STC2 23147.8. STC 23141.

Col: On C4^v, 'C Enpoynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne |
of the Georde by Rycharde Pynson/poynter | vnto the Kynges noble grace.
 orn. 1.

CT: 'Stam. accidence.' on all signed rectoes.

Coll: 4^o: A-B⁶C⁴; 16 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-C³] as B i, etc.

Type: 95 textura for text, catch-title, signatures and some shoulder-notes, 65 rotunda for some shoulder-notes. A2, .33 ll. texture = 98 (115) x 154(158) (ct. & sig.). Unsigned pages have the same measurements but run 34 ll.

Cont: A1 & A1^v, unknown. On A2, text begins: 'H⁴ [F] Ow many partes
of reason be there. viii. Now' On C4^v, text ends: 'coridon.' orn.

1. 'C Finis. | C Additamen. | C Whan I haue of before a proper
name of a Cytie/tow' | 20 ll. ending: 'O aduerbiū ꝛ interiectio: et

sic de multis aliis. | colophon.

Copies: L (G.7560) (reel 19 as STC 23141) lacks A1 and A6.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC and STC2.
Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

152. J. Stanbridge. Vulgaria. 1520? STC2 23196A.2.

Type: 95 textura.

Cont: X1, blank.

X1^v, begins: 'Hoc brachium i. for the arme'

X2, begins: 'hoc iecur for a mawe'

X2^v, blank.

Copies: C (Broadsides B 1520 according to STC2; however the closest thing that could be found at Cambridge when I gave them this listing were the above leaves which were with two other leaves under Broadsides B Ab. 1508, Wynken de Worde 234 and listed as Stanbridge's Vocabula) 2 leaves supposed to be A3 and A4.

Notes: As the note on the copy indicates, I may well have viewed the wrong work - although I suspect something may be amiss with the listing in STC2 on this item. The dating and identification are from STC2, presumably based on type. If the work exists, it is Pynson's first known edition of the work and was likely published to capitalize on the rivalry between the Vulgarias of Horman and Whittinton. It differs from those works in that it is nothing more than the title implies - a collection of words and phrases in Latin and English to help the schoolboys increase their Latin vocabulary.

153. M. T. Cicero. Philippicae. April 15, 1521. STC 5311.

TP: al, in M & F no. 9A: 'M.T. CICERONIS | PHILIPPI= | CAE.'

Col: r8^v, in M & F no. 9B: 'IMPRESSVM Lō= | dini opera & sumptu |

Richardi Pynsonis | Anno a natiuita | te. M. D. XXI. | XV. Mensis |

Aprilis.'

RT: Varies with text a2^v-a3,

'IN. M. ANTONIVM. ||| PHILIPPICA I'.

CT: 'Cicero philip.' on all first rectos except q1 and r1.

'cice. philip.' q1 and r1.

Coll: 8^o: a-r⁸; 138 leaves; signed \$1-2 [-a1] as b.i., b.ii; 137 leaves foliated beginning with a2, 2 - 137.

Type: 80 roman for text, 114 roman for running-titles and on title-page. bl, 30 ll. = 72 x 120(129) (rt., fo., ct., & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, blank. On a2, 'M. T. CICERONIS IN. M. ANTONI=

| um orationes que Demosthenis in Re | gem Philippum Macedonum exem
plo Philippe nuncupantur | Prima. | A⁹ [FFL] Ntequō de republica Pa'.

On b3, 'M. T. C. in. M. Antonium. | Philippica. II.' On e7^v, 'M. T. C.

in M. Antonium. | Philippica III.' On g1^v, 'M. T. C. in M. Antonium ad

Quirites | Philippica quarta.' On g5, 'M. T. C. in M. Antonium | Phil-

ippica Quinta.' On i2^v, 'M. T. C. in. M. Antonium: ad Quirites. |

Philippica. VI.' On i7^v, 'M. T. C. in. M. Antonium. | Philippica. VII.'

On k5, 'M. T. C. in. M. Antonium. | Philippica. VIII.' On l5, 'M. T.

C. in. M. Antonium. | Philippica. IX.' On m1, 'M. T. C. in. M. Anton-

ium. | Philippica. X.' On m8, 'M. T. C. in. M. Antonium. | Philippica.

XI.' On o2^v, 'M. T. C. in. M. Antonium. | Philippica. XII.' On p2^v,

'M. T. C. in. M. Antonium. | Philippica. XIII.' On q8, 'M. T. C. in M.

Antonium. Philippica. XIII.' r8^v, colophon.

CW: Appear only on last versos of gatherings. a8^v, gloria c8^v,
dam Italiam h8^v, [none] 18^v, cius consules n8^v, [ar] dentem [in-
flammabitis]

Copies: L (C.20.b.28) (reel 5311); C (LE.20.47).

Notes: The first edition of the work to be printed in England. The work appears to have been published for the grammar school trade and the copies viewed either are currently or were formerly bound with copies of Pynson's edition of Aphthonius's Praeexercitamenta, a work on rhetoric which was apparently published to be used in conjunction with the

Philippicae.

One notes that it was during the course of the publication of this work that M & F no. 9A became no. 9B with the insertion of Pynson's initial on the previously black shield.

154. Henry VIII. Assertio Septem Sacramentorum. July 12, 1521. STC 13078.

IP: [a] 1, in M and F no. 8: 'ASSERTIO SEPTEM SA= | gramentorum
aduersus Martin. | Lutherū, aedita ab inuictis= | simo Angliæ et Frah=
ciæ rege, et do. Hy= | berniaë Henri= | co eius no | minis | o= |
ctauo.'

Col: On v2^v, 'Inclytam urbem Londinarum in aedibus Pynso= |
nianis. .AN. M. D. XXI. quarto idus Iulij. | Cum priuilegio a rege in-
dulgo.'

Coll: 4^o: [a] 4^{b-v}; 80 leaves; signed \$1 as b.

Type: 113 roman with shoulder-notes in 88 roman. a2, 28 ll. = 99
x 158.

Cont: [a]1, title. [a]1^v, blank. On [a]2, 'SANCTISSIMO DOMINO
NOSTRO | domino Leoni .x. pont. max. Henricus dei gra= | tia rex Ang-
liæ, et Franciæ, ac domi= | nus Hyberniæ perpetu= | am felicitæ=
tem.' On [a]3, 'AD LECTORES'. On b1, 'INDVLGENTIAE SVNT ADVLATO= | RVM
ROMANORVM NE= | QVICIAE'. On b3, 'PAPATVS EST ROBUSTA VENA= | TIO ROM-
ANI PON= | TIFICIS. | I⁶ [FFVD] ILLVD HERCLE NON'. On k2^v, 'DE POEN-
ITENTIA.' On l4^v, 'DE SATISFACTIONE.' On m3, 'DE CONFIRMATIONE'. On
n2, 'DE SACRAMENTO | MATRIMO | NII.' On r4^v, 'DE SACRAMENTO EX= | TRE-
MAE VN= | CTIONIS.' On v1^v, text ends: 'centiorem fraterculum | Fin-
is.' On v2, 'Annotatio eorum, quæ operarum | incuria sunt commissa.'
On v2^v, colophon. v3, blank. v3^v, blank. v4, blank. v4^v, blank.

CW: [a]2, [ne=] cessarium d3, in manus g4^v, Christus 12, Sed q2^v, [Barna=] bas t2, queam v1, quos v2, pag.

Copies: L (9.a.9) (G.1211/1) both lack blank v3 and v4 (reel 80); O (D.4.17.LINC.) lacks [a]1 and blank v3 and v4; O (4^oH.11.Th.Seld.); O (B.11.1); O (4^oH.6.Th.Seld./3); O (4^oG.29.Th.Seld.); C (Rel.c.52.2 lacks blank v3 and v4; M (18952) on vellum; E (call number not given); Lord Kenyon lacks blank v4; Ushaw Collegé; HN (30037) with title-page supplied; PML (W14B 32270); PML (W14B 763); FOLG (STC13078) formerly Harmsworth; FOLG (STC 13083) formerly Harmsworth.

Notes: The above description covers the original state of Pynson's first edition - most of the copies examined however are bound with the work beginning, "Libello Huic Regio Haec Insunt," preceding it and the Epistola ad Saxoniae Duces, following it. This is somewhat troublesome since the latter work is not supposed to have been written until 1523, yet no copies that I have examined have occurred bound with the 1522 edition of the Assertip.

The work composed by Henry with the help of numerous hands was probably the most important work printed by Pynson since it won Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith." The composition of the work appears to have been completed by May of 1521 and the printed version was completed on July 12, 1521. Although the general distribution of the work appears to have been withheld until after the presentation to the Pope in October, nearly thirty copies of the work (some being manuscripts) were dispatched to the various monarchs and universities of Europe, as well as to selected cardinals, by August 25.

Those copies sent to the Pope, cardinals and monarchs appear to have been printed on vellum. Four of these copies are currently known to be in the Vatican Library. The only other vellum copy generally noted, and the only one which I have viewed, is that originally intended for the King of Hungary which at some point seems to have made its way to the Vatican Library (since it has a papal binding) and eventually found its way to the Rylands Library. This latter copy has been fully illuminated through the first three leaves, after which the illuminator contented himself with making frames in purple around the remaining pages.

The work, which is as the title suggests, primarily a defense of the seven sacraments against the teachings of Luther, begins, however, with two chapters devoted to attacks on Luther's attacks on indulgences and to a defense of the Pope as head of the Church. It is generally believed that Henry originally wrote these first two chapters, although in somewhat different form, in 1517. The remainder of the work is concerned with the defense of individual sacraments.

155. W. Horman. Antibossicon. 1521. STC 13807.

TP: [a]1, in M. and F. no. 7: 'ANTIBOSSICON | Guil. Horman ad Guiliel= | mum Liliū. | Epistola Aldrisij ad Hor= | manum. | Epistola

protouatis ad eun= | dem Hormanum. | Apologeticon Hormani ad | protoyatem
bifarium.'

Col: On h3^v, 'LONDINI IN AEDIBVS PYNSO | NIANIS. AN. M. D. XXI.'

Coll: 4^o: a-f⁴g⁸h⁴; 36 leaves; signed \$1 [-a1], +g2, g3] as b i, but
letter varies between roman and textura so as to agree with the text
immediately preceding.

Type: 114 roman for most text, 114 textura, 95 textura and 65 rotunda
for other portions of the text, 80 roman for shoulder-notes through f3 [65
rotunda for shoulder-notes on f3^v and following], 104 roman small capitals
for titles. a3, 26 ll. 114 roman = 94(121) x 150(158) (cw.).

Cont: [a]1, title. [a]1^v, Hodnett no. 1504. On [a]2, 'GVIL. HOR-
MANVS CAESARIS= | BVRGENSIS GVIL. | LILIO. | S.P.D. | Q² [roman] VOD mea
significos uulgaria, candide Lili'. On b2, Roberti Whitintoni laureati
contra | Guil. Hormani inuectiuas li= | teras responsiua.' On b3, 'In
eximian laudem egregie opinionis o= | pūsculi nuper ab eodem Hormano. |
editi hexastichon.' | 6 ll. verse. | 'In eiusdem Hormani opuscu= | li
laudem pali= | nodia.' On b3^v, 'ROBERTVS ALDRISIVS ETO= | NEN. GVIL.
HORMA= | NO. S.P.D.' b4^v, Hodnett no. 1504. On c1, 'APOLOGETICI
GVILIELMI HORMA | NI CAESARISBVRGENSIS CON= | TRA ROBERTI VVHITINTO= | NI
PROTOVATIS ANGLI | AE INCIVILEM IN= | DOCTAMQVE | CRIMINA | TIO= | NEM
PARS PRIOR.' On f2, 'Apologetici Guilielmi Hormani Caesariſburgensis |
contra Roberti VWhitintoni protouatis An= | gliæ inciuilem indoctamq
crimi= | nationem pars po= | ſteror' On f4^v, dialogue between Horman and
Whittinton begins. On h3^v, 'Epigramma in opera vwhitintoniana.' | 8 ll.
verse. | colophon. On h4, Hodnett no. 1504. | IN BOSSVM. | Qui prior ense
ferit, miser ense perit, prior ipse | Dente feris: merito tu miser ergo
peris.' h4^v, blank.

CW: a2, Gratulor c2^v, Putriaq [Putriaque] d2, Esta; g2, in
hT, [none] [Horma.].

Copies L (C.70.e.16/2) (reel 301); L² (1521.4/3); C (SSS.44.3); Lord

Kenyon; HN (61554):

Notes: The only known edition of the work.

Unlike Lily's work of the same title which preceded it, the attack in this work is less general and more concerned with the differences in philosophy between Horman and Whittinton and the differences between their respective Vulgarias.

In general those portions of the work which are by Whittinton or which represent Whittinton speaking are in textura or rotunda while the rest of the work is in roman.

156. W. Lilly. Antibossicon. 1521. STC 15606.

TP: a1, 'ANTI | BOS | SICON.'

Col: On f4, 'LONDINI IN AEDIBVS | PYNSONIANIS | AN. M. D. | XXI.'

Coll: 4⁰: a-f⁴; 24 leaves; signed \$1 [-a1] as b.

Type: 114 roman for text, 80 roman for shoulder-notes and 65 rotunda for some text attributed to Whittinton. a2, 26 ll. roman = 97 x 148 (152) (cw.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^V, Hodnett no. 1504. On a2, 'ASBOLVS AGRENTIVS. | AD LECTOREM.' On a2^V, 'ICHOBATES GNOSIVS | IN BOSSVM'. On a3, 'LADON SICYONIVS' | 8 ll. verse. | 'POEMENSIS DALMATA'. On a3^V, 'DROMAS MEGARENSIS.' | 6 ll. verse. | 'LABROS LACEDAEMIVS.' | 4 ll. verse. | 'THERON THESSALVS' On a4, GVILIELMI LILII IN AENIGMA | TA BOSSI ANTIBOS | SICON PRI | MVM. | AD GVIL. HORMANVM. | N³ [FKDL] on te Hormane latet, tua quod uulgaria nup' b2^V, Hodnett no. 1504. On b3, 'MELAMPVS SPARTANVS.' | 8 ll. verse. | 'ORIBASVS HOSTIENSIS' | 4 ll. verse. | 'LAELAPS LANGENIS' | 4 ll. verse. | 'MELANEVS COLOPHONIVS'. On b3^V, 'LYCISCA. CALCYDENSIS' | 4 ll. verse. | 'HYLAS MENALIVS.' | 2 ll. verse. | 'THERIDAMAS IOPPETANVS.' | 6 ll. verse. | 'PTERELAS THREICIVS'. On b4, 'GVILIELMI LILII IN AENIGMA | TA BOSSI ANTIBOSSI | CON SECVN | DVM. | AD GVIL. HORMANVM.' d1, Hodnett no. 1504. On d1^V, 'AGRIADOS APPVLVS' |

18^r 11. verse. | 'AELLO CASTABALENSIS'. On d2, 'AGRE GARAMANTIS' | 6 11. verse. | 'MELANCHETES ALBANVS' | 6 11. verse. | 'TIGRIS HYRCANA'. On d2^v, 'LACHNE CYPRIA' | 2 11. verse. | 'DORCEVS ARCAS' | 6 11. verse. | 'NEBROPHONOS PHRY | GIVS' | 4 11. verse. | 'CANACHE CYRENSIS'. On d3, 'LEVCON CAPPADOX' | 12 11. verse. | 'ORESITROPHVS | VMBER.' | 4 11. verse. | 'THOVS M L OSSVS'. On d3^v, 'ANVBIS CYNOPOLITANVS' | 8 11. verse. | 'NAPE NARBONENSIS' | 2 11. verse. | 'ISSA PVBLII' | 2 11. verse. | 'STICTE LICHFELDIENSIS' On d4, 'GVILIELMI LILII IN AENIGMA | TA BOSSI ANTI BOSSI | CON TERTI | VM. | AD GVIL. HORMANVM.' On f3^v, text ends: 'Forte eris ipse breui tempore Grammaticus. | GVILIELMI LILII TERTIVM ET | VLTIVM ANTI BOSSI | CON EXPLICI | TVM. | ALCE ARPINAS | 5 11. verse. | HARPYIA | 2 11. verse. | HYLACTOR ILIENSIS'. On f4, 'TYPOGRAPHI ERRATA.' | 5 11. errata. | colophon. f4^v, blank.

CW: a3, Dromas [DROMAS] b2, [none] b3, Lycisa c2, Te c3, [none] d2, [none] d3, [none] e4, Laurum f2, Inde

Copies: O (4^oF.33.art.) (reel 85); L (C.70.e.16) lacks d1; L² (1521.4/2); C (SSS.44.3); Lord Kenyon; HN (61555) unbound.

Notes: This is Pynson's first and only edition of the work which is presumed to be slightly earlier than Horman's Antibossicon before which it is often found bound.

As noted in the text, the work is an attack on Whittinton in retaliation for his attack on Lilly and Horman. Like the other Antibossicon, the work features Hodnett no. 1504, a cut of dogs attacking a bear in allusion to Lilly and Horman attacking Whittinton, which was specially made for this and its companion piece.

The work, which is at once more general and more scurrilous in its attack than the work by Horman, consists of three main attacks on Whittinton, or "antibossicons," each of which is addressed from Lilly to Horman, and each of which is followed by a number of shorter verse attacks.

9 mm. roman capitals are used on the title-page.

157. Sophista Aphthonius. Praeexercitamenta. 1521? STC 699.

TP: a1, in M & F no. 1: 'APHTHONII SOPHI | STAE PRAEEXERCI |
TAMENTA IN | TERPRETE | VIRO DO | CTISSI | MO. | IMPRESSA Londini per
Ri= | chardum Pynson regiū impresso = | rem cum privilegio a rege in=
dulto/ne quis hunc in re= | gno Angliæ imprimat/ | aut alibi impres=
sum/ | importatūe in eo | dē regno Anglię | vendat.'

Coll: 8^o: a-c⁸; 24 leaves; signed \$1-2 [-a1] as b.i., b.ii.

Type: 80 roman throughout with some 114 roman on title-page. b1, 29
ll. and 2 spaces = 72(86) x 125(128) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, blank. On a2, 'GENTIANVS HERVETVS AVRELI= |
ENSIS IACOBO BERNAR | DO LONDONIENSI .S.P.' On a3, 'A APHTHONII SOPHI-
STAE | PRAEEXECITAMENTA. | FABVLA. | F⁹ [FFow1BD] Abula poetis sumpsit'.
On c8, 'C Finis Aphthonij prae exci= | tamentorum.' | errata. c8^v,
blank.

Copies: L (C.20.a.27/2) (reel 82); C (Syn.8.52.39).

Notes: Although STC dated this 1520, it seems more likely that it was
printed in 1521 as a companion piece for Pynson's edition of Cicero's
Philippicae which both copies viewed are bound with. Primarily a work
on rhetoric, the book was probably used in conjunction with the Cicero
to teach students the finer points of writing and declaiming in Latin.

158. A. Barclay. Book of Codrus and Mynalcas. 1521? STC 1384B.

Col: On d5^v, 'C Thus endeth the fourthe Eglogge of Alexandre | Bar-
cley cōteyning the maners of riche men | anenst poetes and other clerkes.
Em= | printed by Richarde Pynson/ | printer to the kynges no | ble
grace. | . . .

CT: 'The.iiii. eg.' on all signed rectos.

'the.iiii. eg.' d3.

Coll: 4⁰: a⁶b⁴c-d⁶; 22 leaves; signed \$1-3 or 1-2 [-a1] as c, c ii, c iii.

Type: 95 textura with 114 textura for the title. a3, 32 ll. = 92 x 150(155) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: On a1, ' ¶ The boke of Codrus and | Mynalcas. : ' | vertical border on left of orn. 4, ..., five orn. 1, ..., orn. 4. | Hodnett no. 1510. | ' ¶ The prologe of the fourthe Eglog|of Alexander Barclay. | c² [8] odrus a shepherde/lusty gaye and stout'. On a2, ' ¶ Here begynneth the fourthe Egloge/of the be= | hauour of riche men anenst poetes/inter= | locutours/be Codrus and | Mynalcus.' | Hodnett no. 1936. On c5^v, ' ¶ The discripcion of the towre of Uertue and Ho= | nour/in to whiche the noble hawarde contended | to entre by worthy actes of chiu- alry.' orn. 4. | Hodnett no. 1632. On d5^v, ' ¶ Explicit.' | colophon. d6, blank. d6^v, device 44.

Copies: HN (60334) (reel 128).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC. This represents the first edition of the work and the only one of Barclay's five eclogues to have been printed by Pynson.

The work represents a paraphrase by Barclay of J. Baptista Mantuan's fifth eclogue, De Consuetudine Divitum Erga Poetes for the most part, although the section on the "towre of Uertue" appears to be derived from the "Temple dhonneur et de vertus" of Jean Lemaire. This latter section is used by Barclay to pay honor to his long time patron, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

The work is printed as a dialogue with the speaker's name centered above his speech and the name and initial line of the speech set off by a "¶" sign inserted before them.

159. Galfredus Petrus. E. Soppeth, ed. De Vita... Sancti Nicholai de Tollentino. 1521? STC 19816.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Fratrīs Galfredi Petri Ba | iocē. Galli/lector // sacrarum litera= | rum/De vita/ac moibus/a[?] panis | miraculo sancti Nicholai de Tollen= | tino/Comedia.' , two orn. 1, orn. 4. | bord.

| bord. 108, Hodnett no. 1337, bord. 99. | bord. 132. [between the cut and the borders is the following text printed along each side of the cut and reading across the top, down the right side, across the bottom then up the left side: 'S. Nicolae de Tollentino. | Tecum Nicoleos si modo panis adest. | o[mn]ia p[ro] nobis. | Nō timeas maria. aut flāmā. mod[us] bos q[ui] furētes.']].

Coll: 8^o: A-B⁸; 16 leaves; signed A.ij. and B.i.

Type 65 rotunda for text, 95 textura on title-page and for some headings with 114 textura for the first line of text on the title-page and the first word of text on A1^v. B1, 31 ll. = 66 x 100(114) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ Frater Eduardus Soppeth Au= | gūstinianis nouitis/felici= | tatem dicit.' | 20 ll. text. | '¶ Hic incoatur hymnus angelicus. Hy9. Te sa= | nunt omnes Nicolae gen[er]es f̄c.' On A2, '¶ Actus primus. | ¶ Sanctus Nicolaus Tollentinas. | E⁵ [FWD] N hominum superumq[ue] sa=' On A4^v, '¶ Actus secundus.' On B7, text ends: 'Fer Cereris munus o Nicolae tue. | Telos.' On B7^v, '¶ In vigilia sancti Nicolai de Tollentino hymnus | qui canitur in tono. Ut queant laus reso. f̄c.' On B8, text of hymn ends: '[spiri] tvs sāctus de9 vnus idem: laus tibi semper. Amen. | ¶ Et sic est finis laud deo.' B8^v, device 3b.

Copies: L (C.122.a.42) (reel 122); L² (1493.4/4).

Notes: This is the first edition of a work by Galfredus Petrus, a monk of Bayeux, to be printed in England, as well as the earliest contemporary Latin drama to be printed there. Although STC2 dates the work as c. 1510, this date seems highly unlikely since device 3 is not known to occur in any book printed between 1500 and 1520, which would seem to suggest that the work, of necessity, was printed either between 1492 and 1499 or between 1521 and 1528. Since the borders used are unknown before 1520 in some cases and at least two of them are used in the Testament of Lydgate now assigned to c. 1520, and since one of these is damaged beyond its condition in the Testament, dating the work at least a year later than the Testament seems reasonable. The two initials used in the work (the one not described above is P [K]) are inconclusive since one is found in dated works from 1508 through 1527 and the other

appears in works ranging from an ascribed date of 1502 to a printed date of 1522. This tacit dating is also lent credence by the fact that Thomas Berthelet appears, although the evidence is circumstantial, to have worked for Pynson from 1521 through part of 1523 and in 1524, upon setting up his own shop, published, as his first book, the Opus Sane de Deorum, the only other work by Galfredus to see publication in England; thus raising the distinct possibility of Berthelet's involvement in the Pynson publication.

The work is, as the title indicates, a two act Latin play on the life and miracles of St. Nicholas of Tollentino, and features, besides the title-character, the characters of St. Augustine, the Virgin Mary, "Puella," "Fraterculus," "Muliercula" and the angels Raphael, Michael, Gabriel and Uriel. As indicated above, the work was edited by Edward Soppeth.

160. R. Whittinton. Declinationes Nominum. 1521? STC2 25446.5.

TP: A1, ' ¶ whyttyntoni Editio. | ¶ Declinationes nominū tam latinoꝝ ꝑ grecoꝝ/pa | tronimicoꝝ ꝛ barbaroꝝ eꝛ ꝑ pisciano Sipōtino Sul | pitio ꝛ Ascensio amusatim collecte cum commētariolo | interlinari et dictionū interpretatiūculis. In quibus nu | merose dirigendis a deo seruatur mediaꝝ sillabarum | ꝑꝛoductio ꝛ accentum mediaꝝ sillabarum in omnibus sal | tem cognoscere/vel parua ꝑꝛeceptoris dilucidatione | haud erit difficile.' | device 9 unframed with four vertical orn. 2, , one vertical orn. 2 on the right and five vertical orn. 2 on the left.

Col: On C4^v, ' ¶ Explicit Whyttyntoni Editio de declinatiōe nominum tam latinoꝝ ꝑ grecoꝝ patronimicoꝝ et | barbaroꝝ nouiter impressa Londonꝝ per Richardū | Pynson Regis impressoreꝝ ī vico vulgariter nūcupato | (the Fletestrete) ad intersiniū diui Georḡii ꝛ morantē.' |

RT: Varies with text. A2^v-A3,

'De prima declinatione ||| Nominum.'

CT: 'Editio. Whyt.' on A2.

'Whyt. editio.' on A3, B1.

Coll: 4⁰: A-B⁶C⁴; 16 leaves; signed \$2-3 [+B1] in textura capitals with roman numerals set off by periods except B2 and C2 which have rotunda capitals and superscript arabic numerals.

Type: 95 textura for text and some shoulder-notes, 65 rotunda for some text and shoulder-notes with 114 textura on the title-page. A3, 14 ll. textura and 24 ll. rotunda = 94(113) x 141(156) (rt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, Hodnett no. 1509. On A2, [HL:] 'De prima declinatione nominum. | ¶ Incipiunt declinationes nominum.' | 2 ll. rotunda | R³ [8] Ectis as/es/a/simul am/ dat flexio prima · On C4, text ends: 'Plurali recto quarto quinto dabit usq̄. | ¶ Finis.' On C4^v, colophon. | bord. 94 | bord. 131 , device 32 | , bord. 37 . | bord. 100.

Copies: M (9746).

Notes: The date is based on the state of the device; STC2 dated it as 1520. This is Pynson's second edition of the work.

161. R. Whittinton. Syntaxis. June 13, 1521? STC2 25547.3.

TP: In M. & F. no. 7: 'Syntaxis. | ¶ Roberti Whittintoni Lichfeldiensis/in florentissima | Oxoniensi academia laure | ati. Opusculū de Synta | xi siue constructione | recensitū. xxj. supra | sequimelismū no | stre salutis anno | Idi. Iun. | Humiliabit Calum | niatorem.'

CT: 'Syntaxis. VV.' on all signed rectos except gl
'Syntaxis.' on gl.

Coll: 4⁰: a-f⁴(?)g⁸h⁶; 38(?) leaves; signed \$1 [+f2, +f3, +g2, +g3, +g4, +h2, +h3].

Type: 80 roman for text with 65 rotunda for other text.

Copies: Oberlin (viewed on microfilm at Harvard).

Notes: This is Pynson's second edition of the work. The date is that given by STC2 which is also the date on the title-page. The state of the frame on the title-page tends to substantiate this date.

The lack of a description above is due to the haste with which I viewed the microfilm early in my researches. The copy involved is an imperfect one with C2-4 provided from a De Worde edition (STC 25554).

162. Henry VIII. Assertio Septem Sacramentorum. February 14(?), 1522. STC 13079.

TP: [a]1, in M & F no. 8: 'ASSERTIO SEPTEM SA= | cramentorum
aduersus Martin. | Lutherū, aedita ab inuictis= | simo Angliæ et Fran=
| ciæ rege, et do. Hy= | berniaë Henry= | co eius no | minis | o= |
ctauo.'

Col: On t5^v, 'Londini in aedibus Pynsonianis: An. M. D. XXII. |
XVII. Kalendas Februarij. Cum pri= | uilegio a rege indulto.'

Coll: 4^o: a-s⁴t⁶; 78 leaves; signed \$1 [-a1, +t3] as b.

Type: 113 roman with shoulder-notes in 80 roman. t5, 28 ll. = 97
(121) x 158(163) (cw.).

Cont: [a]1, title. [a]1^v, blank. On [a]2, 'SANCTISSIMO DOMINO
NOSTRO | domino Leoni .x. pont. max. Henricus dei gra= | tia rex Ang-
liæ, et Franciæ, ac domi= | nus Hyberniæ perptu= | am felicitæ=
tem.' On [a]3, 'AD LECTORES'. On b1, 'INDVLGENTIAE SVNT ADVVLATO=
RVM ROMANORVM NE= | QVICIAE'. On b3, 'PAPATVS EST ROBUSTA VENA= | TIO
ROMANI PON= | TIFICIS. | I⁶ [FFUO] ILLVD HERCLE NON'. On k2^v, 'DE
POENITENTIA.' On 14^v, 'DE SATISFACTIONE.'. On m3, 'DE CONFIRMATIONE'.
On n2, 'DE SACRAMENTO | MATRIMO | NII.' On r4^v, 'DE SACRAMENTO EX= |
TREMÆ VN= | CTIONIS.' On t5^v, text ends: 'centiorem fraterculum. |
Finis.' | colophon. t6, blank. t6^v, blank.

CW: [a]2, [ne=] cessarium d3, in manus g3^v, scripturis k2^v,
[remissio=] nis n2, deinceps p3, [sacerdō=] tibus s2, o nostri
t3, modo

Copies: L (C.37.f.4) lacks blank t6 (reel 102); O (Arch A.e. 51);

0⁸ (c.3/2); C² (C.7.9); Lord Kenyon.

Notes: Pynson's second edition of the work. In this edition gathering v with its two blank sheets was eliminated in favor of a six leaf gathering t. The errata section found in the final gathering of the 1521 edition has also been eliminated through corrections made in the text of this edition.

There appear to have been some problems with t5^V since there are several minor variants present with the Trinity copy reading "centiorem" for "centiorem" and the British Museum copy reading "MD." rather than "M. D." in the colophon.

All copies bear the impossible date of 17 kalends of February - which date does not exist on the Caesarian calendar. I have speculated that either 16 kalends was meant or that this was the compositor's method of dealing with a leap year, thus yielding a date of February 14.

163. R. Whittinton. De Syllabarum Quantitatibus. July 24, 1522. STC 25517.

Col: On M6^V, 'C Londini in aedibus Richardi Pynson. regis impres-
sorē | vigesimo secundo supra sequimillesimum | nostre salutis anno.
xxiiij. | mensis Iulij.'

RT: Varies with text. D1^V-D2.

'A in primis. ||| A in primis.'

CT: 'Syl. quan. vv.' on all signed rectos except as noted below.

'Syl quan. vv.' on IKL1, LM2, A3; also on B3 but with an upside-down capital S.

Coll: 4⁰: A-M^{4,6}; 60 leaves; signed \$1-3 as B.i., etc.

Type: 80(?) roman and 65 rotunda for text. A2, 11 11. roman and 35 11. rotunda = 97(118) x 157(161) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: On A1, in M. & F. no. 11, 'C Roberti VWhitintoni L. Secūda
gram | matice pars de syllabarū quātitate. | accentu. et varijs metroRz
generi= | bus. nuperrime recensita. lima= | tius polita. adiect}.

cōpluscu | lis: et nōnullis Calcogra | phoRz elimat} erratis. | ✕

| 23 11. of contents. On A1^V, 'Robertus VV. L. Candido lecto. SaP.'

On A2, 'C De syllabarum quantitate. | C Secūda pars grāmatice (vt

sentit tam Sulpi. ꝥ Sipōtin9) est syllaba. Et' | 5 ll. text in rotunda.

| 'S⁵ [FFyC-M] Yllaba dicatur. quāē vnum aut plures tenet in se' On

M6^v, text ends: 'Grecum untis vel odis genito dans/sic quoq; panthus. |

Ⓢ Finis quantitatis syllabarum.' | colophon.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.e.40) (reel 373); 0 (Mason.H.25) close-cropped on sides; Lord Kenyon (bound seventh); Dulwich (0a5/9); Crediton (194/12); HN (6T694).

Notes: This is either Pynson's second or third edition of the work. The Huntington, Crediton and Dulwich copies are bound with the second part of the work, the 1523 De Accentu, immediately following.

At times 3 spaces and a guide letter are left for possible illumination.

164. G. Tunstall. De Artē Supputandi. October 14, 1522. STC 24319.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 8: 'DE ARTE SVPPVTANDI | LIBRI QVATTVOR | CVTHEBERTI | TONSTALLI.'

Col: On &4, 'IMPRESS. LONDINI IN AEDIBVS RI= CHARDI PYNSONI. ANNO VER= | BI INCARNATI .M. D. XXII. | PRIDIE IDVS OCTO= | BRIS. CVM PRI= | VILEGIO A | REGE IN= | DVL= | TO.'

Coll: 4⁰: A-S⁴T⁶TV⁶V⁶X-Z⁴a⁴ab⁶b-z⁴&⁴; 204 leaves; signed \$1-3 [+T4; +TV4] as A1, etc.

Type: 112 roman for text with 84(?) roman for corrigenda. P2, 29 ll. = 105 x 166(170) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, errata and register. On A2, 'CVTHEBERTVS TONSTALLVS THO= | MAE MORO SALV= | TEM. P. D.' On B2, 'DE NVMERATIONE | I⁸ [SO] NITIVM NVMERATIO=' On D4^v, table. On G3, table. On I2, table. On O2^v, 'EXPLICITVS EST LIBER PRIMVS SVP= | PVTATIONEM DOCENS INTEGROR-- EM. | SEQVITVR SECVNDVS, DE PAR= | TIVM SVPPVTATIONE.' On O3, 'CVTHEBERTI TONSTALLI IN | LIBRVM SECVNDVM | PRAEFATIO.' On O4, 'DE PARTIVM NVMERATIONE.' On TV3, four figures. On TV4, diagram. On V3^v,

'SEQVITVR LIBER TERTIVS DE | VARIIS NVMERORVM QVAE= | STIONIBVS EXPLI= |
 CANDIS.' On v4, 'CVTHEBERTI TONSTALLI IN | LIBRVM TERTIVM|PRAEFA= |
 TIO.' On v5, 'REGVLA DE TRIBVS NOTIS | QVARTVM IGNOTVM | COMMONSTRAN=
 | TIBVS.' On h3, 'SEQVITVR LIBER QVARTVS | DE PROPORTIO= | NIBVS.'
 h3^v, blank. On h4, 'CVTHEBERTI TONSTALLI IN | LIBRVM QVARTVM | PRAEFA=
 | TIO.' On i4^v, table. On z3, 'EXPLICITVS EST LIBER | QVARTVS ET VL=
 | TIMVS.' z3^v, blank. On z4, 'APPENDIX EX BVDAEI LIBRO DE AS= | se ex=
 cerpta: in qua prisca Latinorem et Grecoꝝ | supputatio, ad aestima=
 tionem pecuniae, | tum Gallicae, tum Angli= | cae reuocatur.' On &3^v,
 'FINIS APPENDICIS.' &4, colophon. &4^v, blank.

CW: b3, leua, M2^v, De TV3, Simi= Y3, dem

Copies: HN (35075) (reel 155); PML (W14B 762); FOLG. (STC 24319); L (C.54.d.4); O (A.9.8.Linc.); O (Tanner.889) lacks &4; M (15398); Lord Kenyon.

Notes: This is the first edition of this work on mathematics which was reprinted several times on the continent but was not reprinted in England during this period.

As the dedication to More reveals, the work was intended by Tunstall as his farewell to academic life upon becoming Bishop of London. While the work represents the culmination of Tunstall's studies of mathematics, which had begun after some troublesome dealings with moneylenders at Oxford, it is apparently based largely on Pietro Borghi's Nobel Opera de Arithmetica and Luca Paccioli's Summa de Arithmetica, Geometica, Proportioni et Proportionalita.

The work is divided into four main books and an appendix. The first book deals with formulaic algebra, complete with illustrative problems and its application to business. The second book deals with fractions. The third book deals with the rule of three and other rules of computations. The fourth book deals with series, proportions and ratios. The appendix consists of excerpts from Guillaume Budé's 1515 De Asse, which dealt with the calculation of Roman currency.

165. R. Whittinton. De Octo Partibus. 1522. STC 25502.

Col: On C4^v, 'C Londini in aedibus Richardi Pynson. regis impressorē | vigesimo secundo supra sequimillesimum | nostre salutis anno. |

- ✱ ✱ | .(). | . . .
- RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,
'De nominibus. ||| De nominibus
- CT: 'Octo par. VWhitin.' on all signed rectos except A3.
'Octo. par. w.' on A3.
- Coll: 4^o: A⁴B⁶C⁴; 14 leaves; signed \$1-3 as B.i., B.ii., B.iii.
- Type: 65 rotunda for text with 80 roman for headings and examples.
A3, 40 ll. rotunda and 6 ll. roman = 97(115) x 152(158) (rt., ct., & sig.).
- Cont: On A1, 'C Roberti VWhitintoni alma invniuersitate Oxoniensi |
Laureati de octo partibus orationibus opuscu= | lum: iterum recognitum.
| C Authoris distichon. | Grammaticae faulrix reliquas dat adire
sorores. | Pegasidum pulses hac sine sero fores.. | C Facundissimi
Remacli florenatis hexastichon.' | 6 ll. verse. | text begins: G⁷
[GOOSE] Rammatica est congrue loquendi scientia: re'. On C4^v, text
ends: 'fitem. A Iesu mercy/a good loode. ꝛ c.' | colophon.
- Copies: O (Mason H.23) (reel 160) B2 is unphotographed; M (R4531);
Dulwich (Oa5/2); Crediton (194/6).

Notes: This is either Pynson's first or second edition of the work, depending on whether a copy at St. John's, Cambridge (A.2.10/2) dated 1519 and cited by Bennett in his "Checklist" is a Pynson grammar. (I somehow missed that work which was not listed in STC.)

According to Bennett, this was the seventh part of the first volume of the collected grammar.

166. R. Whittinton. De Verborum Praeterita et Supina. 1522. STC 25561.

TP: A1, 'Verborum præterita et supina. | GRAMMATICAE PRIMA PARS RO=
| berti VWhitintoni. L. L. nuperri= | me recensita. Liber | quintus. |
De uerborum praeteritis et supinis. cum | commento necnon interlini=
ari dictionum in= | terpretati= | one. EIVSDEM ROBERTI VVITIN= | TONI

TETRASTI= CHON. | Auētius exit opus. facit hoc mihi Zoilus acer |
 Arbiter. is credit nil sine teſte mihi. | Imprudens peragit quod nolit.
 nam ꝑ nocendo | Proſit. quod cupio conciliat ꝑ mihi. | HVMILIABIT
 CA= | LVMNIATO | REM.'

Col: On D8, 'Ꝁ Londini in ꝑdibus pynsonianis. xxij. supra ſesqui=
 | milleſſimum noſtre redemptionis anno.'

CT: 'pre. su.' on all ſigned rectos.

Coll: 4⁰: A-C^{4,6,4} D⁸; 22 leaves; ſigned \$1-3 [A.iii. ſigned A.ii.,
 +D4] as B.i., B.ii., B.iii.

Type: 80 roman and 65 rotunda. B1, 10 ll. roman and 34 ll. rotunda =
 97(113) x 150(154) (ct. & ſig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'Ꝁ Roberti VWhitintoni. L. L. Candidiſ |
 lectoribus SaP.' On A2, 'Ꝁ LIBER QVINTVS PRIMAE PARTIS | Grammaticae
 VVHITINTONI. | Ꝁ De uerborū praeteritiſ. | Ꝁ Prima cōiugatio. |
 cōiugationiſ vt amo amqſ amai. | P⁶ [FBBL] Rāeteritum primae formando
 ex aſ facit aui.' On D8, text endſ: 'Verſuſ formabunt ambo veror quoꝑ
 vertor.' | colophon. D8^v, device 44.

Copies: 0 (Mason H.13) (reel 194); M (9752).

Notes: This iſ Pynſon's firſt known edition of the work which conſti-
 tuted the fifth and ſixth bookſ of the firſt volume of Whittinton's
 collective grammar and which diſplaced the treatment of the ſubject ori-
 ginally contained in the latter portion of Whittinton's Opusculum
Affabre.

167. R. Whittinton. De Generibus Nominum. 1522.

Notes: All that iſ known about this edition iſ the entry in Herbert's
Typographical Antiquities, vol. 1, p. 272: "Whittyngtoni de generibus
 nominum. Ad H. viii. xxii. ſupra ſesquimilleſſimum noſtre redemptionis
 anno."

If the edition did exiſt it would be Pynſon's ſecond or third
 edition of the work and the only one with this title - if the title re-
 corded by Herbert iſ to be regarded aſ a tranſcription of the title -
 ſomething which iſ not at all certain.

168. W. Lily. Of the Triumphs...that Charles...and Henry VIII were Saluted with Passing Through London. 1522? STC 5017.

TP: a1, ' **C** Of the tryūphe/and the vses that Char= | les themperour
| z the moſt myghty redou= | ted kyng of Englonð/Henry the .viii. were
| saluted with/paſſyng thōugh London.' | Hodnett no. 1497.

Col: On a6^v, ' **C** Imprynted by Richard Pynson printer to the | kyngis
noble grace. Cum pōiui- | legio a rege indulto.'

Coll: 4^o: a⁶; 6 leaves; signed a.ii. and a.iii.

Type: 80(?) roman for Latin, 95 textura for English text with 114 tex-
tura on title-page. A2, 28 ll. textura and 3 spaces = 102 x 146.

Cont: a1, title: a1^v, COA. 12. On a2, text begins: 'T² [8] He
great triumphe/howe shulde one man discryue' On a3^v, ' **C** The acclamacion
of Gyllam Lily/to the | moost highe and mighty em= | perour Charles.'
On a4, ' **C** The salutacyon on London bōidge/in the | pagiant of Iason and
Medee.' | 13 ll. text. | ' **C** The gretyng at the pagiant in | Gracyous
strete.' On a4^v, ' **C** This gretyng/was at the pagiant | in Coonhyll.'
On a5, ' **C** This gretyng was at the pagiant | at the great condyte in
chepe.' On a5^v, ' **C** The gretyng that was at the pagiant | at the stand-
erd in | Chepe.' On a6, ' **C** This salutacyon was at the pagiant/at |
the lytell cundyt in chepe.' | 14 ll. text. | ' **C** The conclusion of the |
translatour.' On a6^v, ' **C** The tran. to the mayde and | senatours.' |
7 ll. text. | ' **C** The tran. to the bytezyns.' | 7 ll. text. | 'Finis.' |
colophon.

Copies: HN (56691) (reel 132).

Notes: This is the only known edition of the work which was issued to
mark the visit of Charles V to London on June 6, 1522. The work presents
the mottos and six Latin pageants composed by William Lily for the occa-
sion along with English translations. If the introductory poem is to be
believed, the work was not financed by the Crown but issued in response
to a public demand for translations of the works.

Type 8 capitals are used.

169. L. Lactantius. Carmen. 1522? STC 15118.

TP: a1, In M & F no. 11: 'L. LACTANTII FIRMI= | ANI CARMEN. | De
passione dominica. | De resurrectione. | De Phenice. | GVIL. LILII | In
laudem uerginis deipareꝝ car= | men eruditum. | AB ERASMO | Institutum
christiani hominis | feliciter editum'

Coll: 4⁰: a-b⁴ [all that is known]; 8 leaves+; signed 1-3 [-a1] as
b, b2, b3.

Type: 114 roman. b1, 26 ll. = 96 x 148(153) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, 'Io. Ritussi scholę Paulinę modera= |
toris primarij carmen ad lectorem.' On a2, 'L. LACTANTII FIRMIANI DE |
PASSIONE DOMINI | CARMEN. | ϱ² [roman] Visquis ades, medij ꝑ subis in
limina temp---' On a3^v, 'COELII LACTANTII FIRMIANI | DE RESVRRECTIONIS
DO= | MINICAE DIE. | s² [roman] ALVE festa dies tota uenerabilis aeuo.'
On b1^v, 'L. COELII LACTANTII FIR= | MIANI PHOE= | NIX. | E² [roman] St
locus in primo felix oriente remotus,'. On b4^v, last line of text
present: 'Nutrix ipso sui, semper alumna sibi.'

Copies: L (847. h. 1).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC and is, I suspect, based on
the fact that Rightwise appears to have succeeded Lily as headmaster of
St. Paul's School in the introductory piece. The work appears to have
been printed for use at St. Paul's school.

As the description suggests, the sole copy known is imperfect
and only the Lactantius pieces are present.

170. Diadochus Proclus. T. Linacre, trans. Sphaera. 1522? STC2
20398.3.

TP: a1, in M. & F. no. 9b: 'Ꝁ PROCLI DIA= | dochī Sphaera Tho |
ma Linacro An= | glo interprete. | , ' ,'

Col: On c3^v, 'Ꝁ Impreſsū ꝑ me RICHA= | DVM Pynson re= | giū
impreſso. | . .'

Coll: 8⁰: a-c⁴; 12 leaves; signed \$1-2 [-a1] as b.i., b.ii., etc.

Type: 80 roman. b1, 23 ll. and 4 spaces = 74 x 123(126) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, Hodnett no. 1592. On a2, 'C AD

ILLVSTRISSIMVM AR= | cturum Cornubiãe Valliãeq3 Principem | Thomãe
Linacri Angli in Pro= | cli Diadochi Speram | præfatio.' On a3, 'C
Procli Diadochi Sphãera Thoma Lina= | cro Anglo interprete. | C De
Axi & Polis. | A⁹ [FFLog] XIS mundi vocatur de=' On c3^v, text ends:
'finitorem teratur. | Telos.' | colophon. c4, blank. c4^v, device 32
in M. & F. no. 9b.

Copies: L (C.132.i.25).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and agrees with the states of the device and the compartment. This is Pynson's first edition of the work and the first edition of the work to be printed in England.

The work, which deals with a combination of geography, geometry and astronomy was translated into Latin by Linacre and was first printed by Aldus in 1499. Prior to the Pynson edition, the work was reprinted at least three times on the continent. The early date of composition and the fact that Pynson's edition is a reprint of the work accounts for the otherwise anachronistic dedication to Prince Arthur, who died in 1502.

171. J. Froissart. J. Bouchier, trans. Froissart's Chronicle, vols. 1 & 2. January 28, 1523. STC 11396.

TP: In a compartment composed of four border pieces: 'H⁶ [CKCR]

Ere begynneth the first volvm of sir | Iohan Froyssart : of the
cronycles of | Englande/Fraunce/Spayne/Po~~o~~ | tyngale/Scotlande/
Bretayne/Flaū | ders : and other places adioynnge. | Trãslated out of
frenche into our ma | ternall englysshe tonge/by Iohan Bouchier knight
| loode Berners : at the cōmaundement of oure moost | highe redouted
soueraigne loode kyng Henry the .viii. | kyng of Englande and of Fraunce/
highe defender | of the chriſten faythe. ꝛc.'

Col: On 3o4, 'Thus endeth the first volume of sir | Iohan Froissart
: of the cronycles of Englāde | Fraunce/Spayne/Portyngale/Scotlande/ |
Bretayne/Flaunders/and other places adioy= | nyng. Translated out of
frenche in to our ma= | ternall englysshe tonge : by Iohan Bouchier |
knight lorde Berners. At the cōmaundement | of our moost highe re-
douted soueraygne lorde | kyng Henry the .viii. kyng of Englande and |
of Fraunce/and hygh defender of the chōisten | faithe. ꝛc. Imprinted
at London in Fletestrete | by Richarde Pynson/pointer to the kynges no
| ble grace. And ended the .xxviii. day of Ianua | ry : the yere of
our lorde .M.D.xxiii.' orn. 8 | 'Cum p̄uilegio a rege indulto.'

RT: Varies with text. a1^v-a2,

'The cronicle III of Froissart.'

Coll: 2^o: A⁶B⁴a-v⁶2a-2v⁶3a-3n⁶3o⁴; 332 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, f1]
 textura ; 322 leaves foliated beginning with a1, primo, ii-
 lxxxiii, lxxx, lxxxvi-lxxx, xC.i-xC.xv, xC.vi-C, C.ii, C.ii-C.lxix,
 C.lxxx, C.xciii-CC, xxxvii, CC.xlviii-CC.lxxxx, CC.xci-CCC.xxi.

Type: 93 textura for text, 114 textura for title, running title and
 first and last lines of colophon. Specimen page, 12, 54 ll., 2 cols. =
 170(82) x 248(261) (rt., fol. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, COA 2. On A2, preface. On A3, contents be-
 gin. B4^v, blank. On a1, 'Here begynneth the p̄ologe of syr | Iohā
Froissart of the cronicles of frā= | ce/Englande/and other places adioy=
| nyng. The first chaptre. | T⁷ [FFK] O thentent that the ho=' 3o4,
 text ends: 'euery day.' | colophon. 3o4^v; device 35.

CW: There are none in a, b, 2e, 2o and 2s. They appear on all versos
 in d-r. They appear on the last verso only in all other gatherings.
 c6^v, and cryed d2^v, moche i3^v, so went m3^v, of Englande r1^v,
 none s6^v, [ap=] p̄arelled 2g6^v, mochnyng 2p6^v, than 3g6^v, frenche
 3k6^v, whereof

Copies: L (G.6242); F (STC 11396); HN (14169); DLC (D113 .F75 1523)
 lacks A, B, 3k and 3o3&4; O (Douce F subt. 23) F3-4, t24-5, 2f2-5, 2i2,
 2k1, 3f5-6 and 3n4 are from the Powel and Marshe edition; a facsimile
 of this copy was printed by DaCapo.

Notes: This is the first edition of the standard English translation of the work which was translated by Lord Berners at the command of Henry VIII. One suspects that Henry may have subsidized the massive work as well, although the use of the royal arms may only be a reference to his patronage, if such be the correct term, of Berners in the undertaking.

Apart from the size of the work, it is remarkable for the re-emergence of Pynson's device 35, the large cut of his arms last used prior to this in the 1509 Ship of Fools.

172. R. Whittinton. Grammatices. March 1523. STC 25485.

TP: In M & F. no. 11: ' ¶ GRAMMATICES Primæ partis | Liber primus Roberti VV. L. L. | nuperrime recogni= | tus. | De nominum generibus. | ¶ Ad florētissimum inuictissimumq; prin= | cipem HENRICVM octauum | regem Angliæ &c. Roberti VWhitintoni sup= | plicatio. | Sanguine troingenum claro de stemmate | princeps. | Henrici/angelici gloria prima foli. | Ecce tuam infestat pubem fera dira bri= | tannam: Grammaticen vatis dilaceratz; tui. | Cōsule diue pio studio/tex magne labori. | Edgarus vt fias/ora retunde Lyci. | HVMILIABIT CALVM= | NIATOREM.'

Col: On C4^v, ' ¶ Londini in aedibus Richardi Pynson, Christi ab incarnatione, Anno. | xxij. supra sequimille= | simū. Men. Mar.'

CI: 'Genera no. vv.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: A⁴B⁶C⁴; 14 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.j., B.ij., etc.

Type: 80 roman and 65 rotunda. B2, 32 ll. rotunda and 13 ll. roman = 98(111+) x 157(160) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, ' ¶ Ad florentissimum et inuictissimum principem | HENRICVM octauum regem Angliæ | et Franciæ &c. Rober. VV. L. Hexa= | Stichon dedicatorium.' | 6 ll. of verse. | ¶ Roberti VV. L. candidis lecto SaP.' | 23 ll. of text. | ' ¶ In eiusdem VWhitintoni Zoilum.' On A2, ' ¶ DE GENERIBVS NOMINVM. | Primo de noibus generis. |

0³ [notch] Mne dei proprium petit hic. maris. angeli. et illus' On
C4^v, text ends: ' ¶ Finis.' | colophon. device 3B.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.2.146; lacks B3) (reel 160).

Notes: This is either Pynson's fourth, fifth or sixth edition of the work (depending on the existence or non-existence of two editions cited by Herbert but otherwise unknown). This appears to be Pynson's first edition of the work under this title rather than under that of Opusculum Affabre. As the title-page indicates this is also the first edition to suggest that it is part of a collective grammar - part one of book one. As such, it is thought to be the first Pynson edition (though it is possibly the second) to contain only the De Nominum Generibus in its expanded form.

The dedication to Henry VIII reflects Whittinton's position in the Royal household as tutor to the pages which appointment he secured in 1519. The slogan, "humiliabat calumnatorem," here used for the first time in a Pynson edition, apparently refers to his supposed defeat by Lily and Horman in the "grammarians' war."

173. R. Whittinton. Syntaxis. May 12, 1523. STC 25549.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: ' ¶ Syntaxis. | ¶ Roberti VV. L. in florentiſſima Oxoni= | ensi academia laureati Opusculū-de Syn= | taxi, siue cōstructione recensitum. xxj. | supra sesquimillesimum nostrae salutis an | no, Idi Februa. | Ro. VV. L. in suñ Zoilū hexastichon. | Quod sū pollicit9,sulto, qd Lyce grūnis? | Denuo ad incumem si reuocetur opus. | Hoc fecit Cicero, vates hoc bilbilianus, | Hoc Augustinus diuus, hic atq; alij | Qū viri illustres fecere hoc ad sibi laudē | Qua frōte id vitio das sycophanta mi= | (hi? | ¶ Idem in eundem distichon. | ¶ lęta segete hic renouat9 noster agellus | Pullulat, vt uideas ruperis ipse Lyce. | HVMILIABIT CALVM= | NIATOREM.'

Col: On I4^v, ' ¶ LONDINI in aēdibus Richardi Pynsonis: | Christi ab incarnatione, anno .23. su= | pra sesquimillesimum .12. | die Maij.'

CT: 'Syntaxis .vv.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4⁰: A⁴ B⁶ C-I⁴; 38 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.i., B.ii., B.iii.

Type: 80 roman for text, catch-titles and signatures with 65 rotunda for some text and shoulder-notes. B1, 10 ll. roman and 35 ll. rotunda = 97(116) x 153(156) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'Robertus VV. L. Ioanni Stanbrigo suo olim | præceptorî SaP.' On A2^v, '¶ Stanbrigi ab aēdendi formidine dehor= | tanis Hexastichon.' | 6 ll. verse | '¶ Ad literariam Anglie militiam Tetrastichon' | 4 ll. verse | '¶ Contra inuidulos Hexastichon.' On A3, '¶ Nomina authorum quorum tutela hoc | opusculum confirmatur.' | 7 ll. of names of classical authors | 'DE SYNTAXI. | V⁹ [FFW] Erbū cū recto casu: quīto ve cohæret' On I4^v, 'FINIS. | Dissipa gentes quæ bella uolunt.' | 7 ll. text ending: 'sed quid dicatur attende.' | colophon. | device 3b.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.e.43) (reel 374).

Notes: Pynson's third edition of the work and the first in this format.

174. R. Whittinton. Declinationes Nominum. May 16, 1523. STC 25450.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: 'GRAMMATICAE VVHITIN= | tonianaē liber Secundus. de nomi= | num declinatione. | ¶ Declinationes noīm tam latinorum q̄ | græcorum patronymicorum et barbor̄ | e Prisciano Sipontino Sulpitio et Ascen= | sio amussatim collectę, cum cōmentariolo | interliniari et dictionum interpretatium= | culis. In quibus nūrose digerendis adeo | seruat̄ur mediarum syllabarum product̄io | et abbreviato, ut studiose eas legendi et | quantitatem et accentum mediarum syl= | labarum in nominibus salutem cognosce | re, uel parua præceptoris diluci= | datōje haud erit diffi= | cile. | .'. | HVMLIBIT CALVMNIA= |

Torem.'

Col: On C4^v, 'LONDINI in aedibus Richardi Pynsonis: Christi
ab incarnatione, anno. | 23. supra sesquimillesimum. 16. | Die.
Maij.' | orn. 7.

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,
'DE PRIMA DECLINATIONE ||| NOMINVM.'

CT: 'Declin. noim. vv.' on A2, C1, C2.
'Declina w.' on A3, B2.
'Declina no. vv.' on B1, B3, C3.

Coll: 4^o: A⁴B⁶C⁴; 14 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] in roman capitals
with roman numerals except A3 and B2 which use rotunda capitals.

Type: 80 roman for text and shoulder-notes with 65 rotunda for some
text. A2, 15 ll. roman, 27 ll. rotunda and 1 space = 98(105+) x 152
(157) (pt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'DE nominum declinatione.' | 3 ll. ro-
tunda | R⁴ [BFF] Ectis as, es, a, simul am dat flexio prima.' On C4^v,
text ends: 'Plurali recto quarto quinto dabit usq;.' | colophon.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.e.41) (reel 373); Crediton (194/9); HN (61688).

Notes: This is Pynson's third edition and the first in this format.

175. R. Whittinton. De Synonymis. June 16, 1523. STC 25532.

Col: On G6^v, 'LONDINI in aedibus Richardi Pynsonis: | ab Christi
incarnatione. anno. 23 su= | pra sesquimillesimum. 16. | die Iunij.'

RT: Varies with text.

CT: 'Synonyma .vv.' on all signed rectos except those noted
below.
'Syno. vv.' on A2, A3 and B2.
'Synony. vv.' on B1, B3.

Coll: 4⁰: A⁴ B⁶ C-F G⁴ G⁶; 32 leaves; signed \$1-3.

Type: 65 rotunda for majority of text, 82(?) roman for other text, catch-titles and running-titles with 95 textura for some text. B2, 48 11. rotunda on a 4 col. page = 104(22) x 152(162) (rt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: On A1, '☉ ROBERTI VVhitintoni Lichfeldiensis | lucubrationes.' | 'list of contents. | '☉ EIVSDEM VVhitin. Carmen dico= | lon | tetrastrophon.' | 12 11. verse. | '☉ EIVSDEM VVHITINTONI | DISTICHON.' On A1^v, '☉ ROBERTVS VVhitintonus Lichfeldiensis gram= | matices magister, protouates Angliæ, in floren= | tiſſima Oxoniensî academia laureatus Le= | çtoribus Salutem dicit.' On A2, 'SYNONYMA DE HAC LI= | TERA A.' On G2, '☉ DE MAGISTRATIBVS VETE= | RVM ROMANORVM.' On G6^v, text ends: '[Iudi=] ces. per Q Quirites. . . . | ☉ Finis.' | colophon. | device 3B.

Copies: HN (61693) (reel 160) lacks G3, G4 and has bottom of A2 torn off; L (C.40.e.2/8); O (Mason H.16) lacks G3, G4.

Notes: This is Pynson's third and last edition of the work and the only one to include the De Magistratibus section as part of the work.

As will be noted, the format has been drastically altered from the previous arrangement and the type-page reduced in size from the earlier editions.

176. R. Whittinton. De Accentu. July 10, 1523. STC2 25517, pt. 2, formerly STC 25516. -

Col: On E4, '☉ LONDINI in ædibus Richardi Pynsonis: | Christi ab incarnatione. anno. 23. su= | pra sesquimillesimum. 10. | diè Iulij.'

CT: 'VVhin. de accen.' on all signed rectos except A1.

'VVhitin. de accen.' on A1.

Coll: 4⁰: A-E⁴; 20 leaves; signed \$1-3 as A.i., etc.

Type: 80 roman and 65 rotunda for text. A2, 15 11. roman and 30 11. rotunda = 98 x 157(162) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: On A1, 'VVHITINTONI EDITIO CVM INTER | pretamēto Francisci nigri. Diomedes de accen= | tu in pedestri oratione potius q̄ so= | uta obseruanda. | A⁶ [BFV] CCENTVS eēt acutus/vel grauis vel in= On E4, text ends: 'varios sermonis affectus. . . . | colophon. E4^v, device 3b in M. & F. no. 9b.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.2.148) (reel 160); Dulwich (0a5/9+); Crediton (194/13); HN (61695).

Notes: This is Pynson's second and final edition of the work. All but the Bodleian and Huntington copies are bound with STC 25517, pt. 1.

177. Alphonso de Villa Sancta. De Libero Arbitrio Adversus Melancthon. November 18, 1523. STC 24728.

TP: π1, In M & F no. 7: 'DE LIBERO Arbitrio | Aduersus Melanchto= | nonem authore fratre | Alphonso a Villa | sancte mino= | rita regula= | ris obser= | uatio= | nis. | . . .'

Col: On L6, 'Impressum Londini, in aēdibus Pinsoniansis | Cum praēuilegio Regio. 14. Kalendas Nouē= | bris. Anno. D. Millesimo quingestesimo | xxij.'

RT: 'DE LIBERO ARBITRIO ||| ADVERSVS MELANCTONEM' π1^v-π2 through L5^v-L6.

Coll: 4^o: π⁴A-K⁴L⁶; 50 leaves; signed \$1-3 [D.2. for D.3.] as A.1., A.2., A.3.

Type: 114 roman. A2, 28 ll. and 1 space = 105(127) x 164(174) (rt., cw. & sig.).

Cont: π1, title. On π1^v, typographical note. On π2, 'Optimae Clarissimaeq; Angliæ. et franciæ | Regiñæ Dominaē Hyberniæ, Catharinæ | Hispanæ, fidei Defensatrici, Omniū illu= | struim soēminarū Principi. Frater Alphon= | sus a Villasancte Minoritanæ

institutio= | nis. Regularis obseruantiæ. S.D.' On $\pi 3^V$, 'Ad
lectorem.' $\pi 4^V$, blank. On A1, text begins: 'N⁶ [FKF] VNC VERO,
QVIAMOS EST' On L6, 'FINIS.' | colophon. L6^V, blank.

CW: 2, ſtu [dio] B2, mens E2, fir [mandana] F2, [Per]
tītio=[nibus] G3, [opera=] ri, eſt I3, [vitupera=] mur)

Copies: L (C.47.g.2) (reel 158).

Notes: This is the only edition of this work known to have been published in England.

Essentially the work is an attack on the deterministic views of Melancthon. Shoulder-notes are used to give references to arguments or to Scriptural passages. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the work, however, is the fulsome dedication to Queen Katherine including the extension to her of Henry's title of "Defender of the Faith."

The contents section above is somewhat misleading since the words appearing in capitals are actually in a set of small capitals.

Catchwords appear to have been in the experimental stage during the composition of this work since they appear on $\pi 2$, $\pi 2^V$ and $\pi 3^V$, then on all rectos and versos in gathering A, after which they appear on the first and all unsigned rectos and all versos in each of the remaining gatherings.

178. E. Pöwel. Propugnaculum. December 3, 1523. STC 20140.

TP: al, in M. & F. no. 8: orn. 8, 'PROPVG | NACVLVM SVMMI SA= |
cerdotij euangelici, ac septenarij sa= | cramentorum, editum per uirum |
eruditum, sacrarumq̄ literarū | profesſorem Edoardū Poue= | lum,
aduersus Martinū | Lutherum fratrem | famosum et VVi= | clefiſtan in= |
signem. | ., .'

Col: On 2Y4^V, 'Opus orthodoxum, pto summi sacerdotij euangelicij et
| septem sacramentorum defensione, aduersus Martinum | Lutherum, nuper
editum per Edouerdum Pouelum an= | glum, et Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sarum
canonicum residē= | tiarium. Impreſſum Londini in editibus Pynsonianis
An. | uerbi incarnati. M. D. XXIII. Tertio no. Decemb.'

RT: Varies with text. b1^v-b2,

'DE SVMMO SACER. EVAN. ||| LIBER PRIMVS.'

Coll: 2^o: a-z⁴ 2A-2Y⁴ 2Z⁶; 186 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1; 2P2 signed PP; 2A2 signed A2] as b, b2, b3, etc.; foliated beginning on a2, 4, 3, blank, 5-46, 43, 48-112, 103, 114-135, 137, 137-139, 1 0, 141-143, 1 4, 145-185.

Type: 114 roman for text with 80 roman for shoulder-notes. b2, 28 11. = 106(128) x 158(171) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, 'GVIL. DYNHAMI IN LVTHE= | RVM EPIGRAMMA.'

On a2, 'PAPYRIVS GEMINVS ELIATES | LECTOREM SALVTEM.' On a3, 'EDOARDI

POVELI IN LIBRVM | SVVM PRAEFATIO' On a5, 'DE SVMMO PONTIFICIO

EVANGE= | lico, et ueritate sacramenti altaris, contra | Martinum

Lutherum fratrem uere | famosum et VViclefistan in= | signem liber

primus. | POVELVS. | N⁶ [WBR] EMINI Christianorum (uti mea fert' On

f4^v, 'SEQVITVR LIBER SECVDVS DE | VERITATE SACRAMEN= | TI ALTARIS.' On

s3, 'SEQVITVR LIBER TERTIVS DE VE= | RO SENARIO RELIQVORVM |

SACRAMENTORVM.' On 2y4^v, text ends: 'tutoria: ut soli deo sit honor

et gloria in secula seculorum. | Amen.' | colophon. On 2Z1, 'DETEBITVR

HIC A QVIBVS HAE | resiarhis, suos in hoc libello errores, fra= | ter

Lutherus mendicauit.' On 2Z3, 'ADMONITIO AD LECTOREM.' On 2Z3^v,

'SEQVITVR INDEX ERRATO= | RVM TYPOGRAPHI.' On 2Z5^v, errata ends. 2Z6,

blank. 2Z6^v, blank.

CW: a2, perlegito d3, facile h2^v, [scili=] est 13^v, ipsa q2, [Om=] nis t4, concedis z3, bonū: 2A2, nisi a 2D3, dei 2H2^v, [quae-] uis 2L3^v, [qui=] dem 2Q2, Nam 2T4, nihil 2Z3, Sequitur [SEQVITVR]

Copies: L (C.37.f.9) (reel 151); O (KK.5.Th.) on vellum?; C (E.*10.43); C (F.9.55) lacks blank 2Z6; FOLG. (STC 20140) lacks blank 2Z6.

Notes: This is the first and only known early edition of the work.

The work, edited and apparently written by (although there is some dispute on this latter point) Edward Powel, canon of Salisbury, is divided into three main sections which present, respectively, a defense of the Pope as head of the Church, a defense of the sacraments performed

at the altar and a defense of the other sacraments against the numerous attacks on these matters by Luther. As noted above, the work is prefaced by an epigram attacking Luther composed by William Denham, a lawyer of some note who also oversaw the production of some of Pynson's legal publications, and an introductory letter by "Papyrius Geminus Eliates," who has been identified as Thomas Elyot.

One suspects, due to the anti-Lutheran nature of the work and the size of the volume, that Pynson may have received some sort of subsidy from the Crown for the work's publication; although the royal coat-of-arms normally associated with such subsidized works is not present.

179. J. Stanbridge. Vulgaria. 1523. STC2 23196a. 4.

TP: A1, Vulgaria Stanbridge² [xylographic 93 x 17] | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On C6, '¶ Thus endeth the vulgare of Stanbridge. Imprinted | at London in fletestrete/at the signe of the Ge- | oge. by Rycharde Pynson printer vnto | the kynges noble grace. Anno dni | M.D. xxiii.'

CT: 'Vulga. Stan.' on all signed rectoes.

'Vulga.' on B1 recto.

Coll: 4^o: A-C⁶; 12 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.i., etc.

Type: 94 textura for text, 65 rotunda for some English over Latin. B3, 32 11. textura = 99 x 150(154) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, text begins: 'S² [7] Inciput/ z vertex/ caput/occiput/ z coma crinis' On C6, text ends: 'tueatur te deus/ dominus dux vel custos tibi sit. | ¶ Finis.' colophon. C6^v, device 44.

Copies: Crediton (194/4), misfolded so that A4 precedes A3.

Notes: This is Pynson's second edition of the work. Essentially the work is a vocabulary in Latin and English featuring exercises made up of "vulgars," colloquial English sentences or idioms to be translated into Latin.

No capitals are used in the work.

180. R. Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus. 1523. STC 25465.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: '¶ De heteroclitus nominibus. | ¶ Grāmāticē Whitintoniane Liber. | tertius de nominum hete | roclisi. | Rober. W. tetraſtichon ad lectorem. | Protheos vt possis varios | dinoscere | vultus. | Tyoesie sexus ambiguosq̄ senis. | Salmocidos | ne vndis coeant heterocli- | ta mixta. | Hoc Whitintoni voluto lector | (opus | ¶ Eiusdē distichon in zoilū. | Conua Rhinoceros/dētem ne | zoile po= | nas. | Sanguinolenta feret tela Heca= | tebeletes.'

Col: On B4, '¶ Impress. Londini per me Richardum | Pynson | (Impressorem nobilissime Re | gis gratie) Comorantem in | vico | appellato the Flete | strete. Anno dñi. | M. D. xxiii. | . . '

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,

'¶ De heteroclitis. ||| ¶ Nominibus.'

CT: 'Heteroclitā. W.' on B1.

Coll: 4^o: A⁶B⁴; 10 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text and 65 rotunda for some text. A2, 20 ll. textura and 18 ll. rotunda = 96(114+) x 151(161) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ De nominum heteroclisi. | Q² [8] Uum | de heteroclitiiis varia inter grāmaticos sit dissentioque legen=' On B4, '¶ Finis.' | colophon. B4^v, device 44.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.e.42) (reel 193).

Notes: Pynson's third edition of the work.

181. T. More. Baravellus. 1523. STC2 18088.5.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: 'ERVDITISSIMI VIRI | Ferdiⁿadi
Barauelli opus elegas, do= | ctum, festiuum, pium, quo pulcher= | rime
retegit, ac refellit insanos Luthe= | ri calumnias: quibus inuictissi-
mum | Anglie, Gallia^e & regem HENRI= | CVM eius nominis octauum, Fidei
| defensorem, haud literis minus q̄ re= | gno clarum, scurra turpissimus
inse= | ctatur: excusum denuo diligentis= | sime, digestum & in
capita, ad= | iunctis indicibus opera | uiri doctissimi Io= | annis Car=
| cellij. | An. dom. M. D. XXIII.'

Coll: 4^o: A-Z⁴ 2A-2X⁴ X^{5(?)}; 269(?) leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, -G3;
C2 signed C.ii.] as B, B¹, B².

Type: 111(?) roman for text with 80 roman for shoulder-notes and ex-
tracts from Luther in the text. L2, 28 ll. 111 roman = 105(130) x
158(162).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'IOANNES CARCELLIVS CAN= | DIDO LECTORI. |
S.P.D.' On A3, 'FERDINANDVS BARAVELLVS ANTI= | QVAE NOBILITATIS
ORNATIS= | SIMO VIRO FRANCISCO | LVCELLO .S. P.D.' On B1^v, 'PRAEFATIO
LVTHERI. | Generoso et nobili uiro. D. Sebastiano Schlik comiti in
Paßsun | Domino in Elbogeñ et .c. suo in Christo maiori | Martinus
Luther. Ecclesiastes. | VVittembergensis.' On B3, 'RESPONDETVR AD
EPISTOLAM LV= | THERI INITIO LIBRI SCRIP= | TAM. CAP. PRIMVM. | T³
[roman] OTA ISTA SPIRAT EPISTOLA' On Q4^v, 'DOCTISSIMI VIRI FERDINANDI
BA= | RAVELLI, ADVERSVS LVTHE= | RI CALVMNIAS LIBER | SECVNDVS.' On
2V3^v, text ends: 'merdis et stercoreibus, ca= | cantem cacatumq̄ |
relinquere. | , ' 2V4, blank. 2V4^v, blank. On 2X1, 'PERORATIO OPERIS,
IN QVA MVL= | ta pie, ingeniose, et docte, nec minus | amone tractantur.'
On 2X4, text ends: 'daturus e | caelo. | FINIS.' 2X4^v, blank. On X1,
'LODOVICI VERAMVNDI, FRANCIS= | CI LVCELLI E SORORE NEPOTIS,

ADOLESCENTIS HVMANISSI=, | MI CARMEN IN LV= | THERVM.' On $\chi 1^V$, 'NICOLAI
 PANORMI AD LVTHE= | RVM CARMEN ADMO= | NITIORVM.' | 10 11. verse. |
 'RODERII CIDI EPITAPHIVM IN | LVTHERVOM OMNIBVS BO= | NIS IAM MORTVVM.'
 On $\chi 2$, 'INDEX EORVM, QVAE IN HOC O= | PERE CONTINETVR.' On $\chi 5$, end of
 index.

CW: A3, Messius F3^V, [respon=] des omnia H4^V, utroq; [utroque]
 M2, Sed hoc [SED HOC] X3, Et, ego 2A2^V, Quam 2F3, [profū=] dum ue=
 [nirut] 2L2^V, stolidum 2S2, quęcunq; [quaecunq;] 2V3, 'unquam'
 3, Q per= [plexe]

Copies: DUR⁵ (ELBP.B23.Ma).

Notes: The date given by STC2 and above is the date on the title-page. As the discussion by John Headley in his edition of the Responsio ad Lutherum (i.e. the Rosseus) reveals, there is some problem in the exact dating of the work since wear on a large roman Q used in the work suggests that it was published after the Propugnaculum of December 3, 1523, but Erasmus refers to More's attack on Luther as if he had already read it in his Spongia written in July 1523. The problem has not been satisfactorily resolved - although one wonders if the colophon of the Propugnaculum might not be in error since the work was composed in November 1522.

In any event, this represents the first and only edition of More's attack on Luther in its original form. In this incarnation of the work, More assumed the persona of a Spanish student, Ferdinandus Baravellus, visiting the uncle of Francisco Lucello, the correspondent to whom the work is addressed. Although the reasons for this choice of pseudonym are supposed to be the then current alliance with Spain and the Spanish origins of Pope Adrian, there may well be more to the matter than hitherto detected.

According to the account of "Baravellus," the work was written as an oration and the work divided into chapters by the printer, John Carcellius. Although this statement has been taken as the gospel truth by almost all writers on the work and Pynson identified as Carcellius, there seems no reason to believe that this is not merely another of More's fictions - especially since we know that More extensively revised parts of it for its final appearance as the Rosseus.

Although it is conjectured the printed version of the work was completed by June 1523, at which time copies were apparently sent by More to Erasmus and Tunstal, general circulation of the work was apparently withheld in the hopes of an affirmative response by the German dukes to Henry's Epistola. Although no such response was forthcoming, the edition was apparently suppressed and made over into the Rosseus. Although the only known copy is thought to have been Bishop Tunstal's because of his connection with Durham, it must be pointed out that the copy's earliest known owner was Richard Sparchford, Tunstal's chaplain in London and Durham, and that it came to Durham as the result of an 1854 bequest of M. J. Routh of Magdalen College, Oxford.

The work proper, which is divided into two books, is concerned with a defence of the Assertio and of the sacraments against Luther's attacks. It should also be noted that the unique copy features a tipped-in leaf, possibly of foreign provenance and not in Pynson types; inserted between A1 and A2. This leaf, which is unmentioned by Headley, features a cut of a man presenting a book to a Pope(?) on the recto and Latin verses respectively headed, "Opusculi presentis metrica commendatio," and "Materia quinq; librorum compilationis Gregoriane: quinq; carminibus subiectis elucidatur," on the verso.

182: T. More. Rosseus. 1523? STC 18089.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: 'ERVDITISSIMI VIRI | Guilielmi Rossei
opus elegans, do= | ctum, festiuum, pium, quo pulcher= | rime retegīt,
ac refellit insanas Luthe= | ri calumnias: quibus inuictissimum |
Angliæ Galliaeq; regem HENRI= | CVM eius nominis octauum, Fidei |
defensorem, haud literis minus q̄ re= | gno clarum, scurra turpissimus
inse= | ctatur: excusum denuo diligentisi= | sime, digestunq; in
capita, ad= | iunctis indicibus opera | uiri doctissimi Io= | annis
Car= | cellij. | Londini. Anno dom. | M. D. XXIII.'

Coll: 4⁰: A⁸B-G⁴H³⁰I-Z⁴ 2A-2X⁴ 2Y⁴⁶; 216 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1;
-A3; +A5-7; +H4-5; +H6-10; +H11-15; +H16-18; C2 signed C.ij.] as B, B2,
B3.

Type: 114 roman for text with 90 roman for shoulder-notes and extracts
from Luther in the text. A5, 28 ll. 114 roman = 106 x 162(166) (sig. &
cw.); H3, 28 ll. 114 roman = 115(130) x 162(167) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, 'GVILIELMVS ROSSEVS IOANNI |
CARCELLIO SVO. | S.P.D.' On A6, 'IOANNES CARCELLIVS GVILIEL= | MO
ROSSEO SVO. | S.D.P.' On A7^v, text of letter ends. A8, blank. A8^v,
blank. On B1, 'PRAEFATIO LVTHERI, SCRIPTA AD | quendam nobilem Bohemum:
qua suam ipse inui= | diam ac liuorem, tum in Pontificem, tum in | ipsum
Caesarem, ac Germaniæ principes | uiros uniuersos, produit: quos om= |
nes improbissimis cōuicijs | et contumelijs impro | bus incessit. |

GENEROSO ET NOBILI VIRO. D. SE= | bastiano Schlik comiti in Passum
 Domini in Elbogen | et.c. suo in Christo maiori Martinus Luther |
 Ecclesiastes VVitem= | bergensis.' On B3, 'RESPONDETVR AD EPISTOLAM
 LV= | THERI INITIO LIBRI SCRIP= | TAM. CAP. PRIMVM. | T³ [roman] OTA
 ISTA SPIRAT EPISTOLA,' On Q4^V, 'DOCTISSIMI VIRI GVILIELMI ROS= | SEI,
 ADVERSVS LVTHERI | CALVMNIAS LIBER | SECVNDVS.' On 2V3^V, text ends:
 'merdis et sterporibus, ca= | cantem cacatumq̄ | relinquere. | ;.'
 2V4, blank. 2V4^V, blank. On 2X1, 'PERORATIO OPERIS, IN QVS MVL= |
 to pie, ingeniose, et docta, nec minus | amoene tractantur.' On 2X4,
 text ends: 'daturnus e | caelo. | FINIS.' 2X4^V, blank. On 2Y1,
 'IOANNIS VITALLI LONDINEN= | SIS CARMEN IN LVTHERVM.' | 22 ll. verse. |
 'NICOLAI PACHETI AD LVTHERVM | CARMEN ADMONITORIVM.' On 2Y1^V,
 'LAVREMTII NEVLI EPITA= | PHIVM IN LVTHERVM OM= | NIBVS BONIS IAM |
 MORTVVM.' On 2Y2, corrigenda begins. On 2Y5^V, corrigenda ends. |
 'ATQVE HAEC quedia omnia sunt: quibus sen= | sum pe'turbari posse
 existauimus. Leuiora autem illa, | utpote, orthographia deprauata,
 et huiusmodi: quae faci= | le abs te lector candide, et animaduerti et
 emedari possint, | tibi reliquimus: quorum etiam ipsorum pleramq̄ partem
 | castigauimus. Hic igitur, uiri eruditissimi Guilielmi Rossei, |
 operis doctissimi festiuissimiq̄ finis esto. Quod, tu | lector, si
 quidem mecum sentis, dispeream nisi le= | gisse uoles, propter et
 amenitatem et acumen | differendi: quibus, non minus | erudiri, q̄
 delecta= | ri poteris | ;' 2Y6, blank. 2Y6^V, blank. On X1, 'INDEX
 EORVM QVAE IN HOC O= | PERE CONTINENTVR.' On X4, end of index.

CW: A5, ut puer F3^V, [respon=] des omnia H4, Praeterea
 [PREATEREA] H10, distinguit: M2, Sed hoc [SED HOC] X3, Et, Ego
 2A2^V, Quam 2F3, [profu=] dum ue= [nerint] 2L2^V, stolidum, 2S2,
 quecumq̄ [quaecumq̄] 2V3, unquam 2X2^V, obscoenissimis 2Y3, Item
 uer. 2, Q per= [plexo]

Copies: L (G.1211.2) lacks blank 2Y6 with A1 supplied? and gathering bound between gathering 2N and 2Y; O (4^o L.79.Th.) O (Douce.M.M.453); C (Re1.C.52.4); C (Se1.4.29); DUR³ (ELBP.B.23.M.b) lacks A1 and signature I; HN (24464) lacks 2Y6; FOLG. (STC 18089) with gathering X bound following gathering A.

Notes: The date is that given by STC as well as the title-page although Headley's conjectured date for the work is December 1523 at the earliest and possibly not until 1524. This is Pynson's first and only edition of the revised work which had previously seen limited distribution in a somewhat different form as the Baravellus.

According to Headley's account, a chief reason for the suppression of the Baravellus was the acquisition by More in June 1523 or thereabouts of a copy of Luther's Reply to Ambrosius Catharinus in which Luther clarified his view of the Church. This document apparently caused More to withdraw the Baravellus from circulation in order to insert a refutation of Luther's views on that subject and a defence of the papacy. The brunt of this attack is presented in an expanded gathering H of thirty leaves which actually appears to consist of three gatherings of eight and a gathering of six.

Apart from the expansion of gathering H, the majority of the sheets from the Baravellus appear to have been used in the Rosseus as they were with the exception of sheets bearing reference to the earlier pseudonym and a few other sheets. According to Headley, the only sheets and half-sheets that were actually recomposed were the whole of gatherings A, B, H, 21 and 20 and leaves Q1, Q4, R1, R4, V2, V3, Y1, Y4, 2Q1 and 2Q4 in addition to which the first leaf of the unsigned X gathering of the Baravellus has also been omitted.

Aside from the expansion of gathering H, the majority of alterations seem to be concerned with sections mentioning the former persona of Baravellus, which must, of necessity, have been altered to conform with the new persona of William Ross. Although Headley has made much of the shift of personas from a Spaniard in Spain to an Englishman in Italy as making the work decidedly more a statement of what might perhaps be best described as English solidarity in support of Henry against Luther, the argument is somewhat unconvincing since one is inclined to wonder why More, if such was his purpose, did not simply set aside his persona and come forth as himself. Among the problems associated with this persona is his identification with not one but several contemporary William Rosses, the most interesting of whom, from our point of view, was the William Rosse who appears to be identical with the "Guilielmus Roscus" of Oxford written about by Constable in his Epigrammata published by Pynson in 1520, who was certainly known to More and his circle.

183. J. Clerk and Henry VIII. Oratio J. Clerk and Epistola ad Saxoniae Duces. 1523? STC 13803.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: 'LIBELLO HV | IC REGIO HAEC | INSVNT. | Oratio Ioannis Clerk apud Ro. pon. | in exhibitione operis regij. | Responsio roman. pont. ad eundem ex | tempore facta. | Bulla ro. pon. ad regiam maiestatem, | pro eius operis confirmatione. | Summa indulgentiarū, libellum ipsum | regium legentibus, concessarum. | Libellus regius aduersus Martinum | Lutherum hæresiarchon. | Epistola regia ad illustrissimos | Saxoniae duces pie admonitoria.'

Coll: 4^o: A-c⁴...a-b⁴; 20 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, -b3] as B, B2, B3.

Type: 110 roman throughout except for an 80 roman catch-word on C1. A3, 28 ll. = 99 x 161(164) (cw. & sig.); a3, 28 ll. = 99 x 160(166) (cw. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, 'Io. Clerk. pro Henrico .viii. Angliæ, et Franciæ Rege | potentissimo fidei defensore, apud Leonē. x. | Pont. Max. oratoris: in exhibitione | regij libri in consistorio | habita oratio. | H⁸ [SOB] IS PROXIMIS ANNIS,' On B3^v, 'IN HAEC FERE VERBA RESPON | DIT SANCTISSIMVS PONT.' On B4, poem in praise of Henry VIII. B4^v, in M. & F. no. 7, 'BVLLA RO. PON. AD | REGIAM MAIES= | TATEM, PRO E= | IVS OPERIS | CONFIR= | MATI= | ONE.' On B4^v, text of the bull begins in M. & F. no. 11. C3^v, in M. & F. no. 11, 'L² [roman] IBRVM HVNC HEN= | rici. VIII. Anglię et Francię | regis potentiss. contra Mart. | Lutherum Legentibus, decem | Annorum et totidem quadra= | genarum Indulgentia, apošto= | lica autoritate concessa est.' C4^v, blank. a1, in M. & F. no. 8, 'EPISTOLA | REGIA AD ILLVSTRIS= | SIMOS SAXONIAE | DVCES PIE AD= | MONITO= | RIA.' | orn. 7. a1^v, blank. On a2, text begins: I⁸ [SO] LLVSTRISSIMI AT= On b2^v, text ends: 'utri serenissimi atq̄ animo meo longe charissimi.' On b3, 'ERRATA.' b3^v, blank. b4,

blank. b4^v, blank.

CW: A3, altricem B2, Pharaonis C2^v, [im=] mortale a3, meliosa
b1^v, profecerunt,

Copies: L (9.a.9) lacks C4; O (4^o H.6.th.Seld.) lacks blank C4; O (4^o H.11.Th. Seld.) lacks blank b4; O (4^o G.29.Th. Seld.); C (Rel.c.52.2) lacks Epistola; Ushaw lacks Epistola; E lacks Epistola; Lord Kenyon lacks blank b4; M (R9935.2), the Libello only bound with a number of non-Pynson items; PML (W14B 763); Folger (STC 13083).

Notes: These supplements present special problems which have hitherto gone unnoticed. Although the supplements are only found bound with the 1521 edition of the Assertio, they could not have been issued before 1523, the year in which the Epistola was written according to all documentary sources.

As indicated on the title-page of the supplement, the first section contained the speech made by John Clerk upon the presentation of the Assertio to the Pope, the Pope's reply to the presentation and a copy of the bull bestowing the title of "Defensor Fidei" on Henry. This was followed by the 1521 edition of the Assertio which was followed in turn by the Epistola.

184. J. Stanbridge. Accidence. 1523? STC2 23148.4.

TP: al, ' ¶ Accidētia ex Stābrigiana editione nu= | per recognita et castigata lima Roberti | whitintoni Lichfeldiensis in florentis= | sima Oxoniensi academia laureati. ' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On c6^v, ' ¶ Imprinted at Lōdon in Fletestrete by Rycharde | Pynson/pinter to the kynges noble grace. '

CT: 'Acci. Stan.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: a⁶b⁴c⁶; 16 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1] as b i., b.ii., etc.

Type: 114 textura for title, 93 textura for text. b2, 33 ll. = 92 (113) x 155(160) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: al, title. al^v, blank. On a2, text begins: 'H⁵ [FKL3M] Ow many partes of reason be there? | viii. Nowne/pronowne/verbe/parti ' On c6^v, text ends: 'vocatyue as ah coōdon. ¶ Finis. | ¶ Additamenta. | ¶ Whan I haue of before a pper name of a cite tow ' | 20 ll. of text

ending: ' 3 iūctio. O aduerbū ꝛ iteriectio/et sic de multꝝ aliis. |
colophon.

Copies: Crediton (194/1); Lord Kenyon which lacks a1-5 and is close-cropped.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2. This appears to be the first Pynson edition which mentions Whittinton as the editor in the title.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

185. J. Stanbridge. Sum, Es, Fui. 1523? STC2 23159A.5. STC 23156A.

Col: On A8^v, ' ¶ Enpꝛynted by Richarde Pynson. | pꝛinter vnto the kyngꝝ noble grace. '

CT: 'Stam.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: A⁸; 8 leaves; signed 1-4 as A.i., etc.

Type: 114 textura for title, 95 textura for text. A2, 31, 11. = 94(115) x 143(148) (sig. & ct.).

Cont: On A1, ' ¶ Sum es fui of Stambrige. | w⁵ [DO] Hat nownes maketh comparison all ad= On A8^v, text ends: 'malo preteriti vt factus/ futuri vt facturus. | ¶ Finis. ' | Colophon.

Copies: C (Se1.5.72; formerly Aa*.5.57/3) (reel 449 as STC 23156A), Crediton (194/2).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2, STC assigned it to 1515. This is Pynson's second and final edition under this title.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

186. Alphonso de Villa Sancta. Problema Indulgentiarum. Before March, 1523? STC 24729.

TP: a1, in M & F no. 11: 'Problema indulgentiarum, quo Lu= | theri errata dissoluuntur, et | theologorū de eisdē o= | pinio hactenus a= |

puđ eruditos | uulgata a= | ŝtrui= | tur.'

Col: On g1^v, 'Londini in aedibus Pynsonianis, cum pri= | uilegio a rege indulto.'

Coll: 4^o: a-f⁴g²; 26 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1, c3, g2] as b1, b2, b3.

Type: 113 roman with 80 roman for shoulder-notes. b1, 26 ll. and 1 space = 94(118) x 151(157) (cw. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, 'Fidei defensatrici, Catherinae Angliae et Franciae | reginae domine pariter et Hybernie: omnium prin= | cipum sceminarum facile clariŝsimae, et semper au= | guŝtae, frater Alphonsus de Villasancte: minorita | regularis obseruantiae. S.D.' On a2, 'Caput primum: quo indulgentia describitur: | ac nonnulla, que ad eam perti= | nent: perŝtringuntur. | S³ [roman] CRIPTVRVS sum cōtrouersiam: que de'. On g1^v, text ends: 'subirent. Et hec de indulgentijs dicta sufficient. | Finis.' | colophon. | 'ERRATA.' g2, blank. g2^v, blank.

CW: a3, Quo b2^v, Quarto c3^v, quan tulumcūng d2^v, [diligenti=] tur deus e4, cōminiscitur: f3, debellandos.

Copies: O (4^o.G.29.Th.seld./7) (reel 158) lacks blank g2; L² (1523/1).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC, which, I suspect, is based on the assumption that this is a companion piece to STC 24728 which was published in that year, as well as on the state of the compartment which is better than in STC 25485 published in March 1523. This is Pynson's only edition of the work.

As the title implies, the work was an attack on Luther over the indulgence controversy. The work was divided into fifteen chapters prefaced by an address to Catherine which, like its counterpart in the later De Libero Arbitrio, addresses her by the title of "fidei defensatrici."

Most sections are begun by 9mm. capitals.
Catchwords appear on all rectos and versos.

187. R. Whittinton. Verborum Praeterita et Supina. 1523? STC2 25561.2.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: '¶ Verborum praeterita et supina. |
 ¶ GRAMMATICAE prima pars | Roberti Vvhitintoni. L. L. nup= | rime
 recensita, Liber | quintus. | De verborum praeteritis et supinis cum |
 commento necnon interli= | niari dictionū in | terpretatio= | ne. |
 ¶ Eiusdem Roberti Vvhitintoni | Tetraſtichon. | Aucti9 exit opus. facit
 hoc mihi zoil9 acer | Arbitr. is credit nil sine teſte mihi. |
 Imprudens peregit qd nolit. nāq; nocēdo | Profit. quod cupio
 conſiliatq; mihi. | HVMILIABIT CALVM= | NIATOREM.'

CT: 'Praete. et fu. ver.' on ABC2, CD3.
 'Prae. et fu. ver.' on BCD1, D2, B3.
 'Praete. et fu. vre.' on E1, E2.
 'Praete. et fu. verboR ' on A3.
 'Prae. et fu. ver.' on E3.

Coll: 4⁰: A⁴ B⁶ C-E⁴; 22 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.j., B.ij.,
 B.ijj.

Type: 80 roman for text, catch-titles and signatures with 65 rotunda
 for other text. E2, 11 ll. roman and 32 ll. rotunda = 98(115) x 154(161)
 (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^V, '¶ ROBERTI VVHITINTONI. L.L. | Candidis
 lectoribus. SaP.' On A2, '¶ LIBER QVINTVS PRIMAE PARTIS | GRAMMATICAE
 VVHI= | TINTONI. | ¶ De verborum praeteritis. | ¶ Prima coniugatio |
coniugationis. vt amo. amas. amaui. | P³ [roman] Raeteritum primae
 formando ex as facit. aui.' On E4, text ends: 'Versus formabunt ambo
 verror quoq; vertor. | FINIS.' E4^V, device 44.

Copies: 0 (Arch.A.e.45), Crediton (194/8).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 although my notes on the
 state of the frame suggest an even earlier date. Logically the work
 must be later than the 1522 edition (STC 25561) because the format

adopted here is in agreement with the obviously later Pynson edition assigned to 1524. Thus this is Pynson's second edition.

188. J. Stanbridge. Vocabula. ides of April, 1524. STC2 23181.9.

TP: A1, '¶ Vocabula magistri Stābrigii primū | iam edita sua saltem
editione.' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On D4, 'Londini in edibus Pynsonianus rursus no= | uo recognita
atq̄ impressa. Anno | Christi. M. D. xxiii. | id̄. Ap̄ilis.'

CT: 'uoca. stan' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: A⁸B⁴C⁶D⁴; 22 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, +A4] as B, B.ii., etc.

Type: 114 textura on title-page, 94 textura for some text, 65 rotunda for shoulder-notes, Barclay's note and some text. B1, 14 ll. textura and 25 ll. rotunda = 89(119) x 145(150) (ct. & Sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ A lectorem epistola.' On A2, text begins: 'Sinciput et vertex/caput/occiput/et coma/crinis' On D4, text ends: 'Musicus/et modulos/pueri symphoniaci sunt | ¶ Finis.' | colophon. On D4^v, '¶ Alexander Barclay ad lectorem. | ¶ Vocabula Magistri Stanbrigii viri sane erudite. Impresso4 igno= | rantia et in curia: variis hucusq̄ viciata errorib: in lucē iam exterus | emendis emisim⁹ emēdata: ex officina impressoria Richardi Pynson | Hoc tamen sibi persuadeat lecto4 amicus: nō temerarie aut arrogāter | p̄uinciam corrigendi subi ce me/quo aliquid ex auto4 ipso depon= | ptum emendam: versi vt vitia que inique impresso4 manus passim | feminarunt extirparem/quo4 incurie facile indulserit quis ¶ q̄ eorum | auto4i sed eisde attribuas impresso4ib9. vale. ex imp̄soria officina Ri= | chardi Pynson ad Idus octob̄is anni p̄efati.' | device no. 6.

Copies: Crediton (194/5).

Notes: This appears to be Pynson's fourth edition of the work and the second edited by Barclay.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

189. T. Linacre. De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis Libri Sex.
December 1524. STC 15634.

TP: ㉑, in M & F no. 8: 'THOMAE | LINACRI BRITAN= | NI DE EMENDATA
| STRVCTVRA LA= | TINI SERMO= | NIS LIBRI | SEX.' | orn. 8.

Col: On 2T6^V, 'THOMAE LINACRI ANGLI DE | emendata structura siue de
constructio= | nis figuris liber Sextus finit. | LONDINI APVD RICHAR= |
dum Pynsonum mense Decembri. M. D. | XXIIII. Cum priuilegio | regio. |

RT: Varies with text. A1^V-A2,

. 'DE EMENDATA STRVCTV. LIB. PRI. ||| SIVE DE OCTO PARTIBVS.'

Coll: 4^o: ㉑A-2D⁴ 2E⁶ 2A-2S⁴ 2T⁶; 194 leaves; signed \$1-3 [- ㉑1, ㉑2, A1] as B, B 2, B 3; 113 leaves foliated beginning with A1, I, 2-24, 15, 26, 17, 28-113; 78 leaves foliated beginning with 2A1, PRIMO, II - LXXVIII.

Type: 114 roman, 80 roman for shoulder-notes, 114(?) greek. A2, 29
ll. = 108(131) x 164(176) (rt., fo., cw., & sig.).

Cont: ㉑1, title. On ㉑1^V, 'LECTORI. S.' | corrigenda begins. On
㉑2^V, 'REGESTVM OPERIS.' On A1, 'THOMAE LINACRI ANGLI DE EMEN= | DATA
STRVCTVRA LIBER PRI= | MVS, SIVE DE OCTO PAR= | TIBVS. FOL. I. | p⁶
[WB] ARTES ORATIONIS IN LIN='. On I3, 'THOMAE LINACRI ANGLI DE EMEN= |
DATA STRVCTVRA LIBER SE= | CVNDVS, SIVE DE PAR= | TIVM ENALLAGE.' On
N2^V, 'THOMAE LINACRI ANGLI DE EMEN= | DATA STRVCTVRA LIB. TER= | TIVS
SIVE DE CONSTRV= | CTIONE NOMINIS ET | PRONOMI= | NIS.' On VI^V, THOMAE
LINACRI ANGLI DE EMEN= | DATA STRVCTVRA LIBER QVAR= | TVS, SIVE DE
CONSTRV= | CTIONE VERBI ET | PARTICIPII.' 2E6, blank. 2E6^V, blank. On

²A1, 'THOMAE LINACRI ANGLI DE EMEN= | DATA STRVCTVRA LIBER QVINTVS, SI= |
VE DE NON DECLINATARVM | CONSTRVCTIONE.' On ²F2^v, 'THOMAE LINACRI ANGLI
DE EMEN= | DATA STRVCTVRA LIB. SEX= | TVS SIVE DE CONSTRV= | CTIONIS
FIGVRIS.' On ²T6^v, text ends: 'le est uiscum solet brumeli frigore.
&c.' | colophon.

CW: B3, nugine K2, Ljuius. V3, [fus=] tyrum ²A3, In abla=
[tium] ²B3 [po] scunt ²K2, Saepe [SAEPE] ²T6, ζουσι

Copies: L (625.d.14) (reel 85); O (4^o.R.16. Jur.); C (SSS.59.1) (Z.3.
65) (Aa*.9.31) (Pet. F.1.53); M (15210) lacks ²2 and blank 2E6, ²1
may be supplied; Lord Kenyon; HN (22808); Folger (15634).

Notes: The first edition of the work. Although the book did not see another edition printed in England, it was apparently highly popular on the continent where Dr. Shaaber records some twenty-six editions as having been printed before 1600.

As was remarked in one of the footnotes, it is possible that either this or the Rudimenta Grammatices was the final result of Linacre's efforts to compose a Latin syntax for use at St. Paul's school, which was rejected by Colet as being too unwieldy.

One suspects that in the present form the work was still under composition in 1524 at the time that printing of the work began since the last two books appear to have been composed after the skeleton for the preceding four books was broken up - as evidenced by a different running-title, "DE EMEN. STRVCT. LIB. QVIN," or "DE EMENDATA STRVCT. LIB. SEXTVS" (with minor variants), beginning with the second single alphabet. The fact that the latter two books were printed after the first books were completed and their forms broken up is also indicated by the new foliation beginning on ²A1; this also accounts for the blank 2E6, since the material for the fifth book was not available at the time of the completion of the fourth book. After the fifth and sixth books were completed the preliminary gathering of two leaves was set with the title-page, corrigenda and a register indicating how the work was to be bound.

The work is also of interest in that it features what may be the first greek type cast in England. The type which is set as 114 roman is mentioned in the introductory note on 1^v which is reproduced in footnote 270 to chapter 4.

Among the individual copies, Lord Kenyon's is of special interest in that the work, which formerly was the property of the dean and chapter of Chichester Cathedral, formerly contained two settings of a Pynson indulgence c. 1523 (STC 5531). Also of interest is the Folger copy, which according to an inscription on the title-page appears to have belonged to Nicholas Udall in 1525; Udall became headmaster of Eton in 1525 and is thought to have had a hand in preparing the translation of Terence's Andria published by Rastell (Simon, Education and Society, p. 96).

190. J. Palsgrave. Lesclarissement de la Langue Francoyse. 1524?
STC 19166.

RT: Varies with text. ²A1^v-²A2,

'The fyrst boke. ||| The fyrst boke.'

Coll: ²0: ²A-²D⁶ ²F-²K⁶; 65 leaves; signed \$1-3; foliated beginning on ²A1, primo, ii-xxiiii, xxxi-lix.

Type: 95 textura for English text, 80(?) roman with accented vowels for French portions with 114 textura for running-titles, foliation and some headings. A3, 37 ll. 95 textura and 3 spaces = 128(147) x 194(208) (Rt., fol., cw. & sig.).

Cont: On ²A1, '[HL:] The fyrst boke. | wherin the true sowndynge of the | frenche tonge resteth. Capi= | tulum primum. | I⁷ [FFK] He true soundynge of the frenche tonge re=' On ²F1, text of second book begins: 'I⁷ [FFKU] N the frenche tong be .ix. partes of speche/article' On K5^v, text ends: '[be=] gynnyng of the sayd Uoca= | bulyst. | ..' K6, blank. K6^v, device 44.

CW: ²B3, Thyrde/ ²D4, [a=] pon ²F3^v, robe ²H², Of the ²K4, Acci= [dentes]

Copies: L (C.71.ff.1) (reel 122); O (Douce.P.subt.115); M (15866).

Notes: The date is that given by STC and is based upon the date of the contracts between Pynson and Palsgrave as well as the date of the written request to Cromwell by Stephen Vaughn for a copy of the printed text. This is the first edition of the work which appears to have enjoyed a very limited circulation before some of its leaves were suppressed and the remaining leaves incorporated into the enlarged edition completed July 18, 1530 by Pynson's son-in-law, John Haukyns.

One presumes that Pynson's original edition was prefaced by one or more preliminary gatherings possibly containing a table of contents and a dedication to Mary Tudor and her husband, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, to whom Palsgrave acknowledges he originally offered the first two books in his dedication to Henry VIII in the preliminaries added by Haukyns. One suspects that such a dedication was also involved in the missing gathering E which came between the end of the first book and the apparent beginning of the second book - and which must have originally existed because of the gap its suppression leaves in the foliation.

The original work, described above, consisted of two books which dealt, respectively, with pronunciation and the parts of speech and basic grammar. No copy of the original is known, however, in its original format with Pynson's preliminaries and gathering E. We know the work only from Pynson's leaves which were incorporated into the

expanded version which collates as 2⁰: A⁶B⁴C⁸ 2^A-2^D 2^F-2^K 2^M-2^X 2^A-2^X 3^A-3^Z 6⁶. As one can see, the Pynson portion of the work is easily lost in the 1530 edition. The Haukyns additions, which are not included in the description above, consist of preliminaries including the dedication to Henry VIII, Latin poems by Leonard Cox, an appreciation by Andrew Baynton, one of Palsgrave's pupils, and introductory remarks by Palsgrave; this is followed by the Pynson section described above; the Pynson section is followed in turn by the bulk of the work which sets out to systematically examine French grammar in more detail than had ever been previously attempted. It is this detailed and systematic treatment of French grammar which made the work a landmark in the field, although Palsgrave took pains to acknowledge his debts to the earlier works of Alexander Barclay, Petrus Vallensys and Giles Dewes.

It should also be noted that as far as is known, no signature 2^L is known and the foliation for the rest of the work begins afresh with folio i. on the first recto of signature 2^M.

Although it cannot be proved, there is good reason to believe that the work on the Haukyns portion of the work was begun in Pynson's shop and then completed by Haukyns after Pynson's death - possibly at the same terms set forth in the contract between Pynson and Palsgrave.

191. J. Stanbridge. Parvulorum Institutio. 1524? STC2 23168.3.

TP: a1, ' ¶ Parvulorum institutio ex | Stambogiana col= |
lectione. | . . . | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On b6^v, ' ¶ Imprinted at London in Fletestrete by | Richarde
Pynson/printer to the | kynges noble grace. | . . .

CT: 'par. Stan.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4⁰: a-b⁶; 12 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1] as b.i., etc.

Type: 114 textura for title, 93 textura for text, 65 rotunda for Latin examples and shoulder-notes. a3, 28 ll. textura, 2 ll. rotunda and 4 spaces = 89(115) x 149(153) (ct. & sig.); b1, 32 ll. textura = 89(115) x 149(153) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, blank. On a2, text begins: 'W⁵ [D0] Hat is
to be done/whan an englysshe | is gyuen to be made in latyn? First the'

On b6^v, text ends: ' ¶ Nemo caret genito/quinto/numeroꝝ secūda. |

¶ Explicit. | colophon. device 3.

Copies: Crediton (194/3).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2. This is Pynson's second edition of the Long Parvula under this title.
No capitals are used in the work.

192. R. Whittinton. De Verborum Praeterita et Supina. 1524? STC2 25562.7.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: ' ¶ Verborum præterita et supina. | ¶ GRAMMATICAE prima pars | Roberti Vvhitintoni. L. L. nuper= | rime recensita. Liber | quintus. | De verborum præteritis et supinis cum | commento necnon interli= | niari dictionum in | terpretatio | ne. | ¶ Eiusdem Roberti Vvhitintoni | Tetrastichon. | Aucti9 exit opus. facit hoc mihi zoil9 acer | Arbiter. is credit nil sine teste mihi. | ' Imprudens peragit qđ nolit. nāq; nocēdo | Prosit. quod cupio consiliatq; mihi. | HVMILIABIT CALUM= | NIATOREM.'

CT: 'Præte. et su. ver.' on all signed rectos except those noted below.

'Præe. et su. ver,' on B, C, D1.

'Prete. et su. ver.' on A2.

[none] on A3.

Coll: 4^o: A⁴B⁶C-E⁴; 22 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1].

Type: 80 roman for text, catch-titles and signatures with 66 rotunda for some text and shoulder-notes. A3, 14 ll. roman and 31 ll. rotunda = 89(116) x 155(161) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'ROBERTI VVHITINTONI. L.L. | Candidis lectoribus. SaP.' On A2, 'LIBER QVINTVS PRIMAE | GRAMMATICAE VVI= | TINTONI. | ¶ De verborum praeteritis. | ¶ Prima coniugatio. | coniugationis. vt amo. amas. amau. | P² [roman] Raeteritum primae formando ex as facit aui.' On C4^v, ' ¶ LIBER SEXTVS de verborum for= | mis de defectiuis et anomalis. confusis, | syncopatis, et apocapatis.'

On D1, ' ◀ GRAMMATICES ROBERTI. VV. L. | LIBER SEXTVS.' On E4, text ends: 'Versus formabunt ambo verrear quoq; vector. | FINIS.' E4^v, device 3 in M. & F. 9b.

Copies: Dulwich (0a5/5); Lord Kenyon (bound 5th).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 and agrees with the state of the frames used in it. This is Pynson's third and final edition of the work and the first to so clearly mark the beginning of Whittinton's "Liber Sextus" on the defective verbs.

193. R. Whittinton. Grammatices. April 1525. STC2 25486.7.

TP: A1, in M & F. no. 11: ' ◀ GRAMMATICES Primæ partis | Liber primus Roberti VV. L. L. | nuperrime reco= | gnitus. | De nominum generibus. | ◀ Ad florētissimum inuictissimumq; prin | cipem HENRICVM octauum | regem Angliae. &c. Roberti | VWhitintoni sup= | plicatio. | Sanguine troingenum claro de stemmate princeps. | Henrice/angelici gloria prima soli. | Ecce tuam infestas pubem fera dira bri= | tannam: | Grammatioen vatis dilaceratz; tui | Cōsule diue pio/studio/rex magne labori. | Edgarus vt fias/ora retunde Lyci. | HUMILIABIT CALVM= | NIATOREM.'

Col: On C4^v, ' ◀ Londini, in aedibus Richardi Pynson, | Christi ab incarnatione, Anno | xxv. supra sesquimille= | simū, Mensis Aprilis.'

CT: 'Genera no. VV.' A2, B1, B2.

'Gene, no. VV.' A3.

'Gene. no. VV.' B3.

'Gene. no. vv.' C1, C2.

Coll: 4^o: A⁴B⁶C⁴; 14 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.j., B. ij., B. iij., except C3 which is signed C³ due to crowding of the signature line by the text.

Type: 80 roman and 64 rotunda. B2, 32 ll. rotunda and 13 ll. roman

= 94(116) x 151(158) (ct. & sig.).-

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ Ad florentissimum & inuictissimum principem | HENRICVM Octauum regem Angliæ et Franciaë. &ē. Rober. VV. L. Hexa= | stichon dedicatorium.' | 6 ll. of poetry. | Roberti. VV. L. candidis lecto, SaP.' | 24 ll. of text. | ¶ In eiusdem VWhitintoni Zoilum.' On A2, '¶ DE GENERIBVS NOMINVM. | Primo de nominibus masculini generis.' | 3 ll. rotunda. | O² [notch] Mne dei propiū petit hic. maris. angeli. & illud' On C4^v, text ends: 'Quod neutris iungas. plurali dat genus omne. | ¶ Finis.' | colophon. | de vice 3B.

Copies: Dulwich (Oa.5/4).

Notes: Pynson's fifth, sixth or seventh edition of the work, but only the second under this title. This is also the first book of the first volume of Pynson's second edition of the collected Whittinton grammar.

]94. R. Whittinton. Syntaxis. May 16, 1525. STC2 25552.5.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: '¶ Syntaxis. | ¶ Roberti VV. L. in florētissima Oxoniēsi | academia laureati Opusculum de Syn= | taxi, siue constructione recensitum. xxj. | supra sesquimillesimum nostrae salutis an | no, Id. Februa. | Ro. VV. L. in suū Zoilū hexastichon. | Qd sū pollicit9 cōsulto. qd Lyce grūnis? | Denuo ad incudem si reuocetur opus. | Hoc fecit Cicero, vates hoc bilbilianus, | Hoc Augustinus diuus, hic atq; alij | Qñ viri illustres fecere hoc ad sibi laudē | Qua frōte id vitio das sycophāta mihi? | ¶ Idem in eundem distichon. | Qz leta segetē hic renouat9 hōster agellus | Pullulat, vt videas ruperis ipse Lyce. | HVMIL(ABIT CALVM= | NIATOREM.'

Col: On I4^v, '¶ LONDINI in aedibus Richardi Pynsonis: | Christi ab

incarnatione. Anno 25 su= | pra sesquimillesimum. Deci= | masexta die
Maij.'

CT: 'Syntaxis.' vv.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: A⁴B⁶C-I⁴; 38 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.j., etc. with
some variance in the presence or absence of periods.

Type: 80 roman for text, catch-titles and signatures with 65 rotunda
for some text and shoulder-notes. B1, 10 ll. roman and 35 ll. rotunda =
95(117) x 154(158) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v; 'Robertus VV. L. Ioanni Stanbrigo suo
olim | praëceptori SaY.' On A2^v, '☉ Stanbrigi ab aëdendi formidine
dehor= | tantis Hexastichon.' | 6 ll. verse | '☉ Ad litterarium Anglie
militiam Tetrastichon.' | 4 ll. verse | '☉ Contra inuidulos Hexastichon.'
On A3, '☉ Nomina authorum quorum tutela hoc | opusculum confirmatur.' |
7 ll. of names of classical authors | 'DE SYNTAXI. | V⁹ [FFW] Erbū cū
recto casu: quito ve coheret' On I4^v, 'FINIS. | Dissipa gentes quae
bella volunt.' | 9 ll. text ending: 'sed quid dicatur attende.' |
colophon | device 3b.

Copies: Lord Kenyon (bound sixth); P (Pet. Sp.24/6); Dulwich (0a5/7);
Credifon (194/11).

Notes: Pynson's fourth and final edition of the work.

195. R. Whittinton. Declinationes Nominum. July 30, 1525. STC 25451.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: 'GRAMMATICAE VVHITIM= | tonianaē liber
Secundus. de nomi= | num declinatione. | ☉ Declinationes noīm tam
latinorum q̄|graëcorum patronymicorum et barborz | e Prisciano Sipontino
Sulpitio et Ascen= | sio amussatim clolectę cū cōmentariolo | inter-
liniari et dictionum interpretatiun | culis. In quibus nūerose
digerendis adeo | seruatur mediarum syllabarum productio | et abbreviato,

ut studiose eas legendi et | quantitatem et accentum mediarum syl= |
 labarum in nominibus salutem cognosce | re, uel parua praeceptoris
 diluci= | datidie haud erit diffi= | cile. | ... | HVMILIABIT CALVMNIA=
 | TOREM.'

Col: On C4^v, 'L LONDINI in aedibus Richardi Pyn | sonis: Christi
 ab incarnatione, anno. | 25. supra sesquimillesimum. 30. | Die.
 Iulij.' | orn. 7.

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,
 'DE PRIMA DECLINATIONE ||| NOMINVM.'

CT: 'Declina. no. vv.' on all signed rectos [A3 in rotunda].

Coll: 4^o: A⁴B⁶C⁴; 14 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] in roman capitals with
 roman numerals except A3 which has rotunda.

Type: 80 roman for text and some shoulder-notes with 64 rotunda for
 some text and shoulder-notes. A2, 15 ll. roman, 27 ll. rotunda and o
 space = 97(120) x 150(161) (rt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'DE nominum declinatione.' | 3 ll. rotunda
 | 'R⁵ [BWKL] Ectis as, es, a, simul am dat flexio prima,' On C4^v, text
 ends: 'Plurali recto quarto quinto dabit usq;. | FINIS.' | colophon.

Copies: L (C.40.e.2/4); Dulwich (Oa5/3); Lord Kenyon (bound fifth).

Notes: This is Pynson's fourth and final edition and closely resembles
 the immediately previous edition.

196. J. Froissart. T. Bouchier, trans. Froissart's Chronicle. Aug-
 ust 31, 1525. STC 11397?

TP: a1, in M. & F. no. 8: 'Here begynneth the thirde | and
 fourthe boke of sir Iohn Frois= | sart of the cronycles of Englande/ |
 Fraunce/Spaygne/Poetyngayle/ | Scotlande/Bretayne/Flaunders/ | and other
 places adioynyng/trans= | lated out of Frenche in to englysshé | by

Iohan Bouchier knyght lorde | Berners/deputie generall of y kyn | ges
towne of Calais and marchesse | of the same/at the comaundement of |
our most highe redouted souerayne | lorde kyng Henry the eyght/kyng
of Englande and of Frauce ⁊ highe | defender of the Christen faithe.
 ⁊c.'

Col: On 308, 'Imprinted at London in Fletestrete by Rycharde Pynson/
 | printer to the kynges most noble grace.. And ended the last | day of
August: the yere of our lorde god. M.D. xxv.' orn. 3. | 'C Cum
privilegio a rege in dulto.'

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,

'The cronycle ||| of Froissart.'

Coll: 20: a⁸A-U⁶2A-2U⁶3A-3N⁶30⁸; 334 leaves; signed \$1-3 or 1-4 as A,
 A.ii., etc.; foliated beginning on A1, Primo, ii-liiii, lvi-lxxxi,
 lxxix-lxxxix, lxxxix-CC1, CCx1xi-CCx1xii, CCliiii-CCxcv, CCxcix, CCxcvii-
 CCCxix, CCCxix.

Type: 95 textura for text with 114 textura on the title-page and for
 running-titles, chapter headings and foliation. 2F2, 2 col., 52 ll. = 166.5
 (80.5) x 241(254) (rt., fol., cw. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, COA. 2. On a2, 'C The p~~re~~face of sir Iohan
Bour= | chier knyght lorde Ber= | orn. 3, 'ners.', orn. 3. On a2^v,
 contents begins. On a8, contents ends. a8^v, blank. On A1, 'C Howe
sir Iohn Bouchier gouer= | nour of Gaunt during the truse/had | newe
vitayled the towne of Gaunt/ | And howe a maner of people called |
composels dyde moche hurte in the countre. / Capitulo Primo. | S⁷ [FAHC]
Ir Iohn Bouchier who' On 308, text ends: 'For they sayd/as many |
messangers as | cometh | with any suche message/shalbe | d~~o~~wned in the
ryuer | of Moeuze. | .:.' | orn. 4. | .:.' | 'Finis totius Froissart.' |
 orn. 1. | two orns. 4. | orn. 1. | 'C Thus endeth the thirde and fourthe
boke of sir Iohn Fro= | issart/of the cronycles of Englande/Frauce/

Spayne/~~Poo~~ | tyngale/Scotlande/Bretaygne/Flaunders/and other pla= | ces
 adioynynge: Translated out of Frenche in to maternall | Englysshe/ by
Iohn Bouchier knyght lōde Berners/de= | putie generall of the kynges
towne of Calais/and marches | of the same. At the hyghe commaundement
of our moost | redouted souerayne lōde kyng Henry the eight/kyng of
En | glande and of Fraunce/and hyghe defender of the chriſten | faythe.
 ꝛc. The whiche two bokes be cōpyled in to one vo= | lume/ ꝛ fynyſhed
in the sayd towne of Calais the x. day of | māche/in the .xvi. yere of
our said souerayne lōdes raigne.' | colophon. 308^v, device 35.

CW: a3, beroth [berothe] C6^v, well by T2, tourned 2E3^v,
footune 204, Char= [Charters] 304, [ne=] uer lerne

Copies: L (G.6242) with gathering a from the 1560 edition; L (C.114.i.772) lacks a1 and 308; O (Douce.F.subt.23/2) lacks a1 and has A3-4, B1-2, G3-4, N6, R6, 2B6, 2D2, 2L6, 3A5, 3B5-6, 3D1, 3E4, 3F1-2 and 3I4 supplied from the 1560 edition and an extra S3-4 added from that edition; HN (14169/2) lacks a1; HN (53977); FOLG. (11396/2).

Notes: This is Pynson's first and only edition of the last two volumes of Froissart's Chronicle. Another edition which purports in its colophon to have been printed by Pynson was apparently actually printed by Powell and Marsh in 1560. Sheets from the two editions are often mixed in individual copies and have been the source of much confusion. Adding to the confusion is the fact that minor corrections and variants appear to be present even within the Pynson leaves - examples which I have noted are in Huntington 53977, where, on a1 the initial is on its side, S3 is unsigned and I2 is signed I3.

There is also some variance in the use of catchwords in the Pynson edition with their normal appearance on all rectos and versos being replaced in gatherings A-S by their use only on the last verso of the gathering.

Again, one suspects that the publication of the work may well have been subsidized by the Crown.

The question mark following the STC number refers to the fact that there was some question as to whether the Pynson edition or the Powell and Marsh edition would be assigned the number 11397 or 11397a in STC2.

197. R. Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus. 1525. STC2 25468.5.

IP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: '☞ DE HETEROCLITIS | nominibus. | ☞ Grammaticæ whitintonianæ Liber | tertius de nominum hete= | oclisi. | Rober. w. tetrastichon ad lectorem. | Protheos ut possis uarios dinoscere | vultus. | Tyresie`sexus ambiguos ꝑ senis. | Salomocidos ne undis coeant heterocli= | ta mixta. | Hoc whitintoni uoluito lector opus. | ☞ Eiusdem disticon in zoilum. | Cornua Rhinoceros, dētem ni zoile po= | nas. | Sanguinolenta feret tela Heca= | tebeletes.'

Col: On B4, '☞ IMPRESS. Londini per me Richardum | Pynson (Impressorem nobilissime Re= | gis gratiae) Commorantem in | vico appellato the Flete | ſtrete. Anno dñi. | M. D. xxv.'

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,
'De heteroclitis. ||| Nominibus.'

CT: 'Heteroclitis.' on A2, A3.
'Heterocli. w.' on B2, B3.
'Heteroclitita. w.' on B1.

Coll: 4^o: A⁶B⁴; 10 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.j., etc.

Type: 80 roman for text with 65 rotunda for some text. A2, 17 ll. roman and 22 ll. rotunda = 98 x 149(157) (rt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '☞ De nominum heteroclisi. | Q⁴ [roman] Uum de heteroclitisvaria inter grāmaticos sit dissētio: quelegē' On B4, text ends: 'dicens strenuus quisꝑ maxime strenuus: docet strenuissimus vix reperiri. | ☞ FINIS.' | colophon. B4^v, device 3b in M. & F. no. 9b.

Copies: Dulwich (0a5/6).

Notes: This is Pynson's fourth edition of the work. Note that in this edition the shoulder-notes have been eliminated.

198. Aesop. Aesop's Fables. 1525? STC2 177.7.

Type: 95 textura with w¹. X1, 39+ 11. = 121 x 183+.

Cont:

On X1, Hodnett no. 1670, text begins to right: 'A² [8] Nd within a'

On X1^v, Hodnett no. 1671.

Copies: HN (13140.1.Huth.frag.2).

Notes: The date is that given by STC2. The fragment involved is a bifolium of which only the first leaf is described above, the second leaf is all text on both sides and torn on the outer edge. Both leaves are cut short on the bottom. The fragments are from relatively early in the work since they are from the "Life of Aesop" section.

Type 8 capitals are used.

This is either Pynson's third or fourth edition of the work.

199. P. Gringoire. Castle of Labor. 1525? STC 12382.

Coll: 4⁰: in 6's ?; signature G.ijj. present.

Type: 95 textura with w² small, w^{5c}, s², h¹ (more curved than normal) and y² (more curved than normal). G4(?), 24 ll. and 3 spaces = 80 x 121(131) (title).

Cont:

On G3, text ends: 'Who in this castell falshode conceyueth'

On G3^v, Hodnett no. 1611.

On G4(?), 'The auctour. | T⁴ [FCHKBF] Hus as I hauynge grete delyte'

On G4^v(?), Hodnett no. 1612 | 'T⁵ [RBG] Han entred we in to the way'

Copies: 0 (Douce.frag.e.9) two leaves only.

Notes: The date and ascription to Pynson are both from STC2. I have serious reservations about whether the work was, in fact, printed by Pynson since, although the woodcuts are undeniably Pynson's, the type looks somewhat suspect and the initials are somewhat suspect as well. I suspect that the work is more likely to be either a Pynson-De Worde collaboration or a De Worde edition borrowing Pynson's cuts.

The key to this belief is the fact that the second initial above is a grotesque T which I have not viewed in any Pynson imprint apart from those printed by De Worde in collaboration with Pynson (RBG stands for Royal Book Grotesque). The other initial present is a

frilled cross-hatched knobbed T with a bird and flower which I suspect is also De Worde's, although an initial with a similar design does occur in Pynson works of 1525 and 1526. The type does not appear to be Pynson's on the basis of the letters h and y which feature pronounced curving serifs which are alien to the Pynson types but which do agree with types I have viewed in some of De Worde's publications.

200. T. Linacre. Rudimenta Grammatices. 1525? STC 15636.

TP: A1, in M & F no. 7: orn. 7 'RVDI= | MENTA GRAMMA= | tices

Thomae Linacri di= | ligenter castigata | denuo . . .'

Col: On M4, 'IMPRESS. Londini in aedibus Pyn= | sonianis. Cum priuilegio a re= | ge indulto.'

RT: Varies with text. A2^V-A3,

'RVDIMEN. ||| DECLINA.'

Coll: 4⁰: A-M⁴; 48 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B, B2, B3.

Type: 80 roman with a textura 'w²' for text, colophon and shoulder-notes, 14 roman for running-titles, titles, signatures and poems, 9 mm. high roman capitals used for the first line of the title on the title-page. B2, 32 ll. = 90(110) x 149(158) (rt., sig. & cw.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^V, 'ILLVSTRISSIMAE MARIAE INVI= | ctissimi Angliae Franciae & regis, ac fidei defen= | soris filiae, Cornubiae et Walliae principi, | Thomas Linacrus medicus, cu omni | obseruantia. S.D.' On A2, 'RVDIMENTA DECLI= | NATIONVM. | T³ [roman] HERE be. viij. partes of speche, nowne, pro=' On G1^V, 'Declin. & Definit. finis. Sequitur de | Construct. & Supplimen. | AD² [roman] SERENISSIMAM MA= | RIAM CORNVBIAE VVAL | LIAE QVE PRINCIPEM GVI= | LIELMI LILII EPI= | GRAMMA'. On G2, 'GENERALLY OF CON= STRVCTION.' On K2^V, 'SVPLIMENTA'. On M4, text ends: 'and rogau, and Samia mihi mater fuit, for erat. | FINIS. | RICHARDII HIRTII, IN RV= | DIMENTA GRAMMATICES, | THOMAE LINACRI, | EPIGRAMMA.' | 12 ll. verse. | colophon. On M4^V, device 3B

in M & F no. 9B.

CW: C2, Plur. G3, Cui simi= [lem] K2, Xenophon et L2,
quanticunq3, M3, A coniu= [ctiam].

Copies: L (C.21.b.37/1).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC. This is probably the second edition of the work, despite the STC system of numbering, since this appears to be an expanded version of STC 15637, with additional material, including the closing epigram by Richard Hirt, not present in the other edition.

201. T. Linacre. Rudimenta Grammatices. 1525? STC 15637.

Col: On E4^v, 'Impress. Londini In aedibus Pynsonianis. | Cum priuilegio a rege indulto.'

RT: Varies with text. b1^v-b2,

'RVDIMEN. ||| DECLIN.'

Coll: 4^o: speculated a-e⁴A-E⁴; 40(?) leaves; signed \$1-3 as b, b2, b3.

Type: 80 roman with a 70 textura with a w⁴ for text, signatures and catchwords, 114 roman for running-titles and poems and 9 mm. roman capitals for 'AD SERENISSI' on e4^v. b1, 36 ll. = 85 x 144(155) (rt., cw. & sig.).

Cont: On b1, first line of text: 'singuler, is, the gen. eius, the dat. ei, the accu. eum.'. On e4^v, 'Declin. & Definit. finis. Sequitur de Cōstruct. & | Supplimen. In edibus Pynson. cum priuilegio. | AD SERENISSI | MAM MARIAM CORNVBIAE | VVALLIAE QVE PRINCI= | PEM GVILIELMI | LILII EPI= | GRAM= | MA.' On A1, 'GENERALLY OF CON= | STRVCTION.' On C4^v, 'SVPPLEMENTA.' On E4^v, text ends: 'rogau. and, Samia mihi mater fuit, for erat. | Finis.' | colophon.

CW: c2, the d3, Partic. [iples] - A3, case? D2, with

Copies: L (C.21.b.37/2) lacks gathering a.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC. Despite the STC numbering and the fact that this copy is bound following the copy of STC 15636 in the British Museum, this appears to be the actual Pynson first edition on the grounds that the other work appears to be an expanded version of this work with a concluding epigram by Richard Hirt not present in this edition. One should also note that there is a strong possibility that, as originally envisaged, this edition was to contain only the "declinations" as indicated by the needless use of two alphabets for signatures and what appears to have been the original colophon on e4^v. The decision to print the remainder of the work appears to have been made while the final gathering of the first part was still waiting to be printed - as indicated by the reference to the following part inserted before the aborted colophon - suggesting that perhaps a two part work was envisaged.

As indicated above the only copy known lacks the whole first gathering. The first gathering, presumably, like its counterpart in the second edition contained a dedication to Princess Mary, whom Linacre served as tutor beginning in 1519, although the work may owe a debt to Linacre's earlier abortive attempt to compose a grammar for use in St. Paul's School. There is also an outside chance that this copy may have been intended as a presentation copy to Mary since it is printed on vellum.

202. C. Sallust. A. Barclay, trans. War Against Jugurth. 1525? STC 21627.

TP: al, ' **C** Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre/ |
which the romayns had agaynst Iugurth | usurper of the kyngdome of
Numi= | dy: whiche cronycle is compy= | led in latyn by the | renowned
romayn Salust. And translated into en= | glysshe by syr Alexander
Barclay p^{reest}/at | cōmaundement of the right hye | and mighty p^{rin}ce:
Tho= | mas duke of | North= | folke. | . . . | the unlisted woodcut of
the lion devouring a shield with a lion on it.

Col: On P4^v, ' **C** Thus endeth the famous cronycle of the war | whiche
the romayns had agaynst Iugurth | usurper of the kyngdome of Numidy: |
which cronycle is cōpyled in laten | by the renowned romayn Sa= | lust.
And translated into | englysshe by syr Ale= | xander Barclay | p^{reest}:
at com=, | maunde= | ment of the right hye and mighty p^{rin}ce/Tho= | mas

duke of Northfolke. And imp~~o~~en= | ted at London by Richarde Pynson |
 p~~o~~inter vnto the kynges noble gra= | ce: with p~~o~~iuylege vnto hym
 graunted by our sayd so= | uerayne lo~~o~~de the | kyng. | .'.'

RT: Varies with text. A5^V-A6,

'The batayle ||| of Iugurth.'

CT: 'Iugurth.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 2^o: a⁶A-N⁶O-P⁴; 92 leaves; signed \$1-3 as A.i., etc.; foliated beginning with A1, primo, ii, iii, iii-xx, xxiii, xxiii, xxiii-lxxxvi.

Type: 95 textura for text, 80 roman for shoulder-notes giving the Latin original, 114 textura for titles with 130(?) textu-a on the title-page. B1, 45 ll. = 110(158) x 211(224) (rt., fol., ct. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^V, contents begin. On a4, 'The p~~o~~eface of Alexander Barclay p~~o~~est/vnto the | right hye and mighty p~~o~~ince: Thomas | duke of Northfolke.' | vertical column of eight vertical orn. 2 and an horizontal orn. 1, Hodnett no. 1498, vertical column of eight vertical orn. 2 and an horizontal orn. 1 | text begins in parallel columns the English preface to the Duke of Norfolk and the Latin preface to Bishop John Veysey. On A1, '[HL:] An extract declaryng the boke folowyng.' On A3^V, prologue begins. On A4^V, '¶ Of what mater Salust intendeth to treat in p~~o~~o= | ces of this boke/and what causes moueth hym of suche mater to w~~o~~ite. ¶ The fy~~o~~st chapter. | I⁷ [FFUD] N this warke I purpose to w~~o~~yte of the' On P4^V, 'FINIS' | colophon.

CW: a4, and cōpare [and compare] [roma=] na lin= [gua]

Copies: C (Adams.4.52/1) lacks gathering a and leaves A1 and A2 (reel 483); C (Sel.3.166); L (C.12.h.15); M (9855); HN (69245).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC. The lesser number of pages in this second edition appears to be the result of a combination of the omission of the royal arms and an increase in the size of the type-page from 108 x 200 to 110 x 211.

The woodcut which appears on the title-page of both this and the previous edition has been referred to in notes to several of the copies as the arms of Scotland; whether that is what is supposed to be repre-

resented and, if so, why they should be present here remain subjects for possible conjectures.

203. J. Stanbridge. Vocabula. February 21, 1526. STC2 23182.3.

FP: A1, '¶ Vocabula magistri Stanbrigij/poi= | mum iam edita sua saltem editione.' | Hodnett no. 1509.

Col: On D4, 'Londini in edibus Pynsonianis rur= | sus nouo recognita atq; impressa. | Anno christi. /M. D. xxvi. | xxi. die Mensis | Februarij.'

CT: 'Voca. Stan.' A2, B2-3, C-D1-3.

'Vulga stan.' A3, B1.

Coll: 4^o: A⁸B-D⁴; 20 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1; +A4] as B.i., etc.

Type: 65 rotunda for lists of words and phrases, 80 roman for other text, 114 textura for title-page. B1, 15 ll. roman and 30 ll. rotunda = 88(107) x 152(158) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ Ad lectorem Epistola.' On A2, text begins: 'Sinciput et vertex/caput/occiput/et coma/crinis.' On D4, text ends: 'Musicus/et modulos/puer isymphoriaci sunt. | ¶ Finis. | ¶ Alexander Barclay ad lectorem. | V [GZZ.] Vocabula Magistri Stanbrigij viri sane eru | dite Impressorem ignoratia et in curia/ | varijs hucusq; viciata erroribus: in luce | iam extersis emendis emisibus emedata | ex officina impressoria Rychardi Pynson | Hoc tamen sibi persuadeat lector amicus: non teme | rarie aut arroganter prouinciam corrigendi subij= | ce me/quo aliquid ex autore ipso depromptum eme= | darem: versum vt vitia que inique impressorem ma= | nus passim seminarunt extirparem/ quorum incurie | facile indulserit quisq; qui eorum festinum precipi= | temq; laborem est intuitus: si quid autem erroris re= | stat id non

autori sed eiusdem attribuas impressorib9 | Vale.' | colophon. D4^v, de-
vice 3 in M & F no. 9B.

Copies: Dulwich (0a5/1).

Notes: This appears to be Pynson's fifth edition of the work and the third to contain the editorial note by Barclay. The work has been condensed from the 22 leaves of the previous edition to 20 leaves through the substitution of 80 roman for the text previously in 94 textura and the lengthening of the type-page from 145 mm. to 152 mm.

204. G. Chaucer. The Canterbury Tales. June 4, 1526. STC 5086.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Here begynneth the boke of Caunter= | bury tales/
dilygently and | truely corrected/and | newly printed.' | bord. |
bord. 86 | orn. 4, bord. 87, orn. 2, bord. 116, orn. 2, Hodnett
no. 1642, bord. 42 | bord. 101. | bord. 46.

Col: On y3^v, ' ¶ Thus endeth the boke of Caunterbury | tales.
Impointed at London in flete= | strete/by me Rycharde Pynson/ | pinter
vnto the kynges no= | ble grace: and fynis= | shed the yere of our
lode god a. M. CCCC. | and .xxvi. the fourth | day of Iune.' | orn.
4. | . . .

RT: Varies with text. C4^v-C5,

'The knyghtes tale. ||| The knyghtes tale.'

Coll: 2^o: A-X⁶y⁴; 130 leaves; signed \$1-3.

Type: 95 textura for text and signatures with 114 textura for the running-titles and some headings. A3, 2 col., 50 ll. = 168(85) x 234 (246) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, [HL:] ' ¶ The proheme of the printer.' orn.
3. | . . . | 'G⁷ [FFDB] Reat thankes/laude' On A2, ' ¶ The prologue of
the auctour/in whiche he | maketh mencyon/howe and where this | company
met/and of their condy | cions and array/and what | they be: As ye

shall | se herafter. | [3 spaces left for guide w] Han that Ap^oill with
his shoures sote. On y3^v, text ends: 'bought vs with his p^oeciouse
blode. Amen. | **C** Explicit tractat9 Galfridi Chau= | cer de Penitentia/
vt dicitur | p^oo fabula rectoris. | two orns. 3. | 'N⁵' [0] Owe p^oay
I to hem all/that her' | text ends next col.: 'Per omnia secula
seculum. Amen. | | colophon. y4, device 35. y4^v,
 blank.

Copies: L (G.1158/3); G² (Bv. 2.8) lacks y4?; Lord Kenyon lacks A1-2, A5, B1, I3-4, S1, S3-4 and y4 and has the title-page from Godfray's edition supplied in place of A1.

Notes: This is Pynson's second edition of the work which appears to be part of what has been taken to be the first attempt at a publication of Chaucer's Works. This is the only one of the three volumes involved to contain a dated colophon. The fact that this book is bound last in the British Museum volume containing all three works may suggest that this was the last book of the trilogy printed, but may equally reflect a whim of the bookbinder to put the only dated section of the works last.

In the British Museum copy, the Canterbury Tales are bound following Troilus and the omnibus collection of works headed by the Book of Fame. There is some evidence that this may reflect the actual order of publication since, although all three works share a degree of uniformity in that they are printed in two columns with 95 textura for the text and 114 textura for the headings and all three vary significantly from each other in the measurements of their type-pages, the Book of Fame and the Canterbury Tales appear to be linked through the use of the same top and bottom border-pieces on their respective title-pages. Although entirely conjectural, this would seem to suggest that Pynson originally planned to print only the Troilus and had probably completed it when he decided that there was sufficient demand to warrant the printing of the omnibus volume of the Book of Fame. It was probably only after this was completed, that the idea of turning the project into the collected works presented itself with the subsequent printing of the Canterbury Tales in a format and with a title-page linked to that of the Book of Fame.

In general, the work seems to have been adapted from the earlier Pynson edition which in turn was adapted from Caxton's second edition and includes the adapted printer's "proheme" mentioned in connection with Pynson's first edition.

The work features a number of new cuts, most of which are reversed cuts of those which had been used in Pynson's first edition which, in turn, were copies of Caxton's set of cuts, as well as some of the cuts used in Pynson's earlier edition. The most noteworthy and most frequently reproduced of the new cuts, however, is Hodnett no. 1943, a new knight cut unrelated to the rest of the series. The cuts as they appear in the work are: on A2, Hodnett no. 1943; on A6, no. 1662; B1,

no. 1943; D1, no. 1660; D5, no. 1649 with borders; E1^v, no. 1664; E2^v, no. 1663; G3, no. 1642; H1, no. 1668; H5^v, no. 1658 with borders; I4, no. 1658; I6^v, no. 1648; K3, no. 1668; K6^v, no. 1650; M2^v, no. 1645; M6, no. 1643; N4, no. 1652(?); N6^v, no. 1656; O3^v, no. 1664; O6^v, no. 1645; P2, no. 1654; P4, no. 1654; R2^v, no. 1647; S1^v, no. 1666; S5^v, no. 1668; and on T1^v, Hodnett no. 1652.

205. Henry VIII. Literarum. December 2, 1526. STC 13084.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 9b: 'Literarum, quibus in= | uictissimus princeps, | Henricus octauus; rex | Angliæ et Franciaë, dñs | Hybernię, ac fidei defen | sor respondit, ad quan= | dam epistolam Martini | Lutheri, ad se missã, et | ipsius Lutheranę quoc | epistolę exemplum.'

Col: On G2, 'Londini in ædibus Pynso= | nianis. Anno domini Mil= | lesimo quingentesimo uicesi= | mo sexto, secunda Decem= | bris. Cum priuilegio | a regē indulto. | ...'

Coll: 8^o: A-F⁸G⁴; 52 leaves; signed \$1-5 [-A1, -A3, -A5, -C5, -G2, -G4; E5 signed D5] as B1, B2, etc.

Type: 114 roman for text with 80 roman for shoulder-notes. B4, 17 ll. and | space = 66(86) x 103(108) (sig. & cw.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, 'PIO LECTORI.' On A3^v, 'EPISTOLA LVTHERI. | INVICTISSIMO ILLV= | strissimoꝝ principi et domino, do= | mino Henrico octauo, regi Anglię et | Francię, domino suo clementiſſimo. | G² [roman] RATIAM et pacem in christo' On A7, 'INVICTISSIMI PRIN= | cipis HENRICI octaui, | regis Angliæ et Franc. &c. | Ad Martini Lutheri epi= | stolam responsio. | Q⁶ [roman] VAS TV Luthere' On G2, text ends: 'miserrime passim | perire. | ... Finis.' | colophon. G2^v, blank. On G3, 'D² [roman] Vx Anchisiades, patrios ex hoste penates' On G3^v, text ends: 'Viue diu populi spesꝝ falusꝝ tui.' G4, blank. G4^v, blank.

CW: A4, temptu, B5, [ditio=] nem C5, Vtinam [VTINAM] E5,
notarijs, G3, Viderit

Copies: L (C.36.b.20); E () with a supplied A1?; C (Syn.8.52.23);
Lord Kenyon lacks blank G4, HN (35347); FOLG. (STC 13084) lacks blank
G4.

Notes: This appears to be the first state or issue of the first print-
ing of the work.

This work was occasioned by a conciliatory letter from Luther
to Henry which was written in the mistaken belief that Henry had come
over to the Lutheran camp. Henry had not, of course, changed his posi-
tion and reiterated his opposition to Luther in the letter which he had
Pynson publish along with that of Luther.

206. Henry VIII. Literarum. December 2, 1526. STC2 13084.5.

Copies: 0 (Radcliffe.f.4); DUR⁵ (Select.56/4) lacks G4?

Notes: The detailed description has been omitted above because it is
identical with that for STC 13084. Although the designation of this
work by a different STC number might lead one to expect it to be a
different edition from STC 13084, what we actually seem to be dealing
with is a variant state or, at most, a variant issue of STC 13084 in
which a number of minor errors appear to have been corrected and some
contractions expanded. The nature of the differences between the two
states can perhaps best be shown by the following list of differences
between the two states as taken from a letter from W. A. Jackson to
Lord Kenyon:

STC 13084	STC 13084.5
A2 ^v , l. 4, "scurrilia conuicia"	"et scurrilia cōuicia"
B1, l. 9, "præterea"	"præterea"
C1, l. 14, "obscenas"	"obscōenas"
D1 ^v , l. 14, "sapientię"	"sapientiæ"
E1, l. 1, "uolūtas"	"uoluntas"
F1, l. 14, "Ceterum"	"Caeterum"

In addition to the above, one should note the closing of
Luther's letter on A6^v, which reads "...Regię...tuę" and has a full
capital D used with small capitals in the date of the letter in STC
13084, while STC2 13084.5 reads "...Regiæ...tuæ" and uses all small
capitals for the year.

207. R. Whittinton. Vulgaria. 1526. STC2 25577.5.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 7: 'VVLGARIA ROBER= | ti vvhitintoni
Lichfeldien= | is, et de inſtitutione gram= | maticulorum opusculum:
li= | bello suo de cōcinnate grā= | matices accōmodatum: et in |
quatuor partes digeſtum. | Apud inclytam Londini | urbem. M. D. xxv.'

Col: On M4^v, 'Ex calcographia Richardi Pyn= | sonis regij
Impreſſoris. Anno | verbi incarnati. M. | D. xxvi.'

RT: Varies with text. A3^v-A4,
'PRIMA PARS ||| DE CONCORDANTIOLIS'

CT: 'vulgar vvhitin.' on BCEFGHK1.
'vulga vvhitin,' on IL1, BCDEFGHIKL2, CDEFGHIKL3.
'Vulga. vvhitin.' on D1, A2, AB3.
'vul. whi.' on M1, M2.

Coll: 4^o: A-M⁴; 48 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, -M2, B3 signed A3, F3 signed E3]; 42 leaves foliated beginning with A3, i, 2-34, 37, 36-42.

Type: 80 roman for text, 114 roman for running-titles, titles and the Bercula letter, 65 rotunda for some text and 116(?) textura on A3. A3, 1 l. 116(?) textura, 16 ll. 80 roman and 18 ll. rotunda = 92 x 137(152) (rt., fol., ct. & sig.); M1, 2 cols., 4 ll. 80 roman and 40 ll. rotunda = 92(45) x 146(155) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, letter to readers. On A2^v, 'EIVSDEM
DISTICHON.' | 2 ll. verse. | LECTORI TYPOGRAPHVS | THOMAS BER= | CVLA.'
On A3, 'Prima pars de concordantiolis. | ¶ Pcept. | T³ [8] He verbe
shall accord with his no=' On L4^v, 'TELOS. | Index primæ partis de^a
concordantiolis.' | 2 columns of contents. On M4^v, '¶ Epilogorum
fnis. | Errata.' | 5 ll. of errata. | colophon.

Copies: L (C.122.bb.33); L (C.40.e.2/7) lacks M3 and M4; Lord Kenyon (bound tenth) lacks signature B and M3 and M4.

Notes: This is Pynson's second and final edition of the work. As will be noted above the dates on the title-page and in the colophon are somewhat contradictory - I am following STC2 in adopting the latter date.

This redating is also responsible for the STC2 number which replaces STC 25575.

208. Aesop. Aesop's Fables. 1526? STC2 177.3.

Coll: 2^o: ...d -n⁶...; 60 leaves +; signed \$1-3 [+h4 signed h3] as f.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura with a notched-top k, w^{5c} and a capital w³. d5, 35 ll. and 4 spaces = 121 x 177; f3, 19 ll., 1 space and a woodcut = 121 x 186(196) (sig.); m2, f1 ll. = 128 x 191(196) (sig.).

Cont: On d3, '¶ The firste fable is of Cocke and the Precyous.....' | Hodnett no. 1681. | 'A² [8] \$ a Cocke bought ones his pasture in the dunge hyll he so...' On e6, '¶ Here Fenyssheth the fyrst boke of Esope and here begyn= | neth the regester of table of the secoude boke of Esope.' On g2^v, '¶ Here fynyssheth the secoude boke of Esope and begynneth the | registre of table of the thyrde boke of Esope.' On k3^v, '¶ Here fenissheth, the Fourthe boke of the subtyll fables of Esope.' And | howe be it y more of the be nat founde in any regestre. Neuertheles ma= | ny other fables coposed by him haue be foude which hereafter folowen.' On n5^v, Hodnett no. 1780. | '¶ The .xii. fable is of the Bee and Iupiter.' | Hodnett no. 1781.

Copies: Lord Kenyon lacks all before d3, all after n5 as well as K4-6, I1, m6 and n6; the copy also lacks gathering i, of which leaves i3-5 appear to have been supplied from a copy of STC 177.

Notes: STC2 dates the work as 1500. The date I have assigned may be up to ten years on the late side since it was based largely on the fact that the type agrees with that found in the 1526 Pylgrymage of Perfection and I now think the general characteristics involved may be found as early as 1516. While my dating of the work may be incorrect in this regard, it is not logical to assign two editions of this particular work to the same year; in addition to the fact that the type does not appear to support the earlier date it should be noted that type ornaments are also present which are unknown in any of Pynson's work before 1507.

The work features some new cuts along with much-worn cuts found in previous editions. Those present in this unique copy (ignoring the

supplied i gathering) and their locations are as follows: on d3^v, Hodnett no. 1682; on d4, no. 1683; d4^v, no. 1684; d5, no. 1685; d5^v, no. 1686; d6, no. 1687; d6^v, no. 1688; e1, no. 1690; e1^v, no. 1691; e2, no. 1692; e2^v, no. 1693; e3, nos. 1694 and 1695; e3^v, no. 1696; e4, no. *1696a; e4^v, no. *1696b; e5, no. 1697; e5^v, no. 1698; e6^v, no. 1699; f1, no. 1700; f1^v, no. 1701; f2, no. 1702; f2^v, no. 1703; f3, no. 1704; f3^v, no. 1705; f4, no. 1706; f4^v, no. 1707; f5, no. 1708; f5^v, no. 1709; f6, nos. 1710 and 1711; f6^v, no. 1712; g1, no. 1713; g1^v, no. 1714; g2, no. 1715; g2^v, no. 1716; g3, no. 1717; g4, no. 1718; g4^v, no. 1719; g5, no. 1720; g5^v, no. 1721; g6, no. 1722; g6^v, no. 1723; h1, no. 1724; h1^v, no. 1725; h2, no. 1726; h2^v, no. 1727; h3, no. 1728; h3^v, no. 1672; h4, no. 1729; h4^v, no. 1730; h5, no. 1731; h5^v, nos. 1732 and 1733; h6, no. 1734; h6^v, no. 1735; k1, nos. 1748 and 1749; k1^v, no. 1750; k2, no. 1751; l2, no. 1762; l3, no. 1763; l5, no. 1764; m1, no. 1765; m1^v, no. 1766; m3^v, no. 1767; m4^v, no. 1768; m5, no. 1769; n1, no. 1771; n1^v, no. 1772; n2, no. 1773; n2^v, no. 1774; n3, no. 1775; n3^v, no. 1776; n4, no. 1777; n4^v, no. 1778; and on n5, no. 1779.

As mentioned above, what remains of gathering i appears to have been supplied from STC 177, a fact which is confirmed by the type-page measurement in this section of 123 x 200(204) (sig.) which is both wider and longer than the standard page in this edition. The unique copy in Lord Kenyon's collection is bound with Lawrence Andrewe's 1527 edition of Vincent De Beauvais' Mirror of the World, which also contains cuts belonging to Pynson.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

209. Paul Busshe. Extripacion of Ignorancy. 1526? STC 4186.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Here begynneth a lytell treatyse in En= | glysshe/
called the Extripacion of ignoꝛancy: and | it treateth and speketh of
the ignoꝛance of people/ | shewyng them howe they are boude to feare
god/ | to loue god/and to honour their pꝛince. Which trea= | tise is
lately compyled by sir Paule Busshe pꝛeeſt/ | and Bonhome of Edyndon:
and dedicate vnto the | yong and moſt hye renomēd lady Mary/pꝛinces R
| daughter vnto the noble progenytour/our woꝛthy | souerayne kyng Henry
the eight/kyng of Englāde | and of Fraūce/ R hye defēder of G
christenfaithē. R c.' | COA. 12.

Col: On D4, ' ¶ Thus endeth this boke/entytuled of called G ex= |
tyꝛpacion of ignoꝛancy. Impꝛinted at London | in fletestrete/by Richarde

Pynson/prin | ter to the kynges, most noble grace | Cum priuilegio.

CI: 'extri. of igno.' A2, A3.
 'extri. of ig.' B1.
 'exti. of ig.' B3, C1, D2.
 'exti. of igno.' C2, C3, D1.

Coll: 40: A⁴B⁶C-D⁴; 18 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1, -D3] as B, B .ii, B .iii.

Type: 95 textura for text with 114 (?) textura on the title-page. B1, 29 ll. and 2 spaces = 91(110) x 148(152) (cw., ct. & sig.).

Cont: 'A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, '¶ The p^ologue of Paule Busshe/ | vnto the p^oinces grace.' On A2^v, '¶ The p^ologie generall of Paule Busshe/ | composy tour of this lytell treatyse.' On B1, '¶ Thus endeth the p^ologue of Paul Busshe/ cō | positour of this worke/ and begynneth the | first treatyse/whiche speketh of the | dede & feare that every man | ought to haue to offēde | almighty god.' | orn. 4. On B1^v, text begins: 'A² [8] S ornaments freshe/pleasaunt and comely.' On B6, '¶ Here endeth the first part of this volume/whi= | che hath shewed howe man is bounde to feare god | by manyfolde examples. And nowe immediately | here foloweth the seconde parte/whiche shall speke | of y^e loue that man ought to haue to almighty god.' On C3^v, '¶ Here endeth the seconde pte of this volume/whi | che hath shewed/howe man is bounde to loue al= | mighty god: And nowe here after foloweth y^e thir= | de parte/whiche shall speke of the honour that eue | ry man is bounde to reuerente his prince and soue= | rayne with all.' On D3^v, '¶ Here foloweth a brefe conclusyon of Paule | Busshe/composytour of this worke/ | to the reders of the same.' On D4, text ends: 'For ent^rprisyng this cause/huyng so lytell cōing.' | colophon. D4^v, device 44.

CW: A2, Histo= [is] B4^v, yf Esaye [¶ If Isaye] B5, O blessed

[C O blessed] C3, And [C And] D3^v, That

Copies: C (Sel.5.58. formerly AB.5.37/9) portions of colophon cut out; HN (31299).

Notes: The year is that assigned by STC. As the title-page suggests, the author was a friar among the Bonhommes which he eventually became the provincial of, and also served as provost of the Bonhommes' house at Edington, Wiltshire and as chaplain to Henry VIII. He was apparently close to Queen Catherine who receives much praise in the dedication to her daughter, Princess Mary.

As the contents suggest, the work is divided into a general prologue, three treatises and a conclusion. All of these are in verse with the standard A,B,A,B,B,C,C pattern of rhyme. There are nineteen stanzas in the general prologue, thirty-nine stanzas in the first treatise, twenty-five stanzas in the second treatise, twenty-nine stanzas in the third treatise and nine stanzas in the conclusion.

The general prologue portrays the author walking in a garden where he decides to write a treatise on man's ingratitude and folly to comfort those who would be virtuously occupied. The first treatise is concerned with the fear of God and has the refrain "Deum timete" interspersed between the stanzas. The second treatise is concerned with the love men should have for God and has the refrain "Deum diligite." The third treatise deals with the reverence men owe their prince and has the refrain, "Regem honorificate," except on C4, where, "Prepositos honorificate" is found. The conclusion does not sum up the arguments of the work but is rather a pseudo-Lydgatian or pseudo-Chaucerian pretense of humility as the author commends the book to the reader.

One suspects that the work may be somewhat earlier than the date assigned by STC owing to the praise given Catherine in the introduction, but all one can say is that the work is 1520 or later.

210. G. Chaucer. Book of Fame. 1526? STC 5088.

TP: a1, 'C Here begynneth the boke of Fame/ | made by Geffray

Chaucer: | with dyuers other of | his workes.' | bord. 119 | two vertical stacked orns. 1, bord. 117, Hodnett no: 1500, bord. 118 | bord. 46.

Col: On f6, 'C Imprinted at London in Fletestrete | by Richarde Pynson/pointer | to the kynges most no= | ble grace.'

RT Varies with text. a2^v-a3,

'The boke of Fame. ||| The boke of Fame.'

Coll: 2⁰: a-e^{6,4,6}f⁶; 32 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1; e3 signed e1]
as b, b.ii., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text with 114 textura for headings. a2^v, 47 ll.
= 157 x 222(236) (rt. & cw.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, Hodnett no. 1500 with borders. On a2, '¶ The
prologue of Geffray Chau= | cer/authoure' of this | wooke. | G² [8] od
tourne vs euery dome to good' On a4^v, book two begins. On b1^v, book
three begins. c3^v, blank. On c4, Hodnett no. 1502 and borders |
'Assemble of Foules' begins. On d2^v, Hodnett no. 1944 with borders |
'La Bell Dame Sauns Mercy' begins. On e4, '¶ Ecce bonum consilium
Galfridi | Chaucer contra fortu= | nam.' | 21 ll. of verse. | '¶ Finis.
| '¶ Mo~~ra~~ll p~~ro~~uerbes of Christyne.' On e5, Hodnett no. 1326 surrounded
by borders and ornaments. | '¶ Thus endeth the mo~~ra~~ll p~~ro~~uerbes/ | and
here foloweth the complaynt | of Mary Magdaleyne.' On f3^v, '¶ Thus
endeth the cōplaynt of Mary ma | gdaleyn/and hereafter foloweth the |
letter of Dydo to Eneas: and f~~o~~st the p~~ro~~logue of the | translatour.'
On f4, Hodnett no. 1494. On f5, '¶ Thus endeth ^e letter of Dydo to
Eneas | and here foloweth a lytell ex~~o~~ta | cion/howe folke shulde be= |
haue them selfe | in all cōpa | nyes.' On f6, text ends: 'To his
pleasure/to utter our langage. | ¶ Finis. | colophon. f6^v, blank.

CW: a3, And b4, Tell c3, The [picked up on c4] d4, yf suche
f2^v, Alas/ [ATas I se/] f3, A due

Copies: L (G.1158/2) with e4-f6 supplied in facsimile; G² (Bv.2.6).

Notes: This is Pynson's first and only edition of the work and the
first printed edition of this particular collection of Chaucerian and
pseudo-Chaucerian pieces. This has been taken to be the second part of
Pynson's three part edition of Chaucer's Works. As noted earlier, the
title-page of this piece has the same top and bottom borders used on
that of the Canterbury Tales.

Catchwords are found on both rectos and versos of all pages ex-
cept a1, a1^v, a4^v, b1^v, c3^v, f3^v, f5 and f6.

211. G. Chaucer. Troilus. 1526? STC 5096.

TP: A1, ' ¶ Here begynneth the boke of Troylus | and Creseyde/newly
prin= | ted by a tewe cotype. | . . . | bord. 21 . | bord. 119, Hodnett
no. 1933, bord. 38. | bord. 116, ✠, bord. 37.

Col: On K6, ' ¶ Here endeth the boke of Troylus and | Creseyde/
emprinted at London in | Fletestrete by Rycharde | Pynson/pinter vnto..|
the kynges no= | ble grace. | . . .

RT: Varies with text. A2^v-A3,

'The fyst boke ||| of Troylus.'

Coll: 2^o: A⁶B-K^{6,4,6}; 52 leaves; signed \$1-3 as B.i., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text with 114 textura for headings. D2, 2 col.,
45 ll. and 5 spaces = 167(80) x 219(233) (rt. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, Hodnett no. 1933 with borders. On A2,

[HL:] 'The fyst boke of Troylus. | ¶ Here begynneth the p^ologe | of
the first boke. | [3 spaces left for guide T] He double so^ow^e of

Troylus to tell' On B2, '¶ Here endeth the first boke/and be= | gynneth
the p^ologe of the | seconde boke. | . . .' | Hodnett no. 1628 and bor-

ders. On D2^v, '¶ Here endeth the seconde boke/and | herafter foloweth
the thy^ode | boke/and first the | p^ologe. | . . .' | Hodnett no. 1629 and

borders. On F3, '¶ Here endeth the thy^ode boke of Troy= | lus and
Creseyde/and herafter | foloweth the fourthe | boke.' orn. 4. | . . .

F3^v, blank. On F4, [HL:] 'The fourth boke of Troylus.' | Hodnett no.
1625 with borders. On H4, '¶ Here endeth the fourthe boke of | Troylus

and Creseyde/and | herafter foloweth | the fyfthe.' orn. 4. | . . .

H4^v, blank. On H5, [HL:] 'The fyfthe boke of Troylus.' | Hodnett no.

1630 and borders. On K6, text ends: 'For loue of mayden/ ~~7~~ mother
thyne benygne.' | colophon. K6^v, device 44.

CW: A6^v, And also B6^v, This yerde G1^v, I wyll G4, Thus

Copies: L (G.1158/1); G² (Bv.2.6/2).

Notes: This is Pynson's first edition of the work and the third edition to be printed in England. The date is established by the fact that this appears to have been part of an edition of Chaucer's Works in which the Canterbury Tales volume is dated 1526. If the theory I have set forth in the notes to STC 5086 above is correct and this volume preceded the concept of a Chaucer's Works, the date of this volume may actually be late 1525.

Despite the claim on the title-page that the work was "newly printed by a trewe copy," the Pynson edition has generally been regarded as derived from Caxton's edition of 1484 and of no independent value.

The irregular use of catchwords in the work offers no ready explanation. They are found on all rectos and versos in gatherings A, B and G but are totally absent in the rest of the work. In a similar vein, the blank versis of F3 and H4 must be noted. All of which suggest that the composition of the book may have been disturbed or done episodically between Pynson's other productions. One suspects that something major may have gone wrong with gatherings A, B and G and that all of these may have had to be reset by a different compositor who was used to using catchwords, but this is purely speculative.

Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

212. R. Pace. Praefatio...in Ecclesiastem Recognitum ad Hebraicam Veritatem. 1526? STC 19082.

TP: A1, in M & F no. 7: orn. 8 'PRAE | FATIO. D. RICHAR= | di
Pacēi in Ecclesiastem re | cognitum ad Hebrai= | cam ueritatem, et |
collatum cū | transla= | tiōe. lxx. interpretum et ma= | nifesta
explicationē cau= | sarum erroris ubi= | cūq; incidit.'

Coll: 4^o A-F⁴; 24 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B 1, B 2, B 3.

Type: 114 roman, 80 roman for shoulder-notes, two sizes of hebrew and a greek. E1, 25 ll. = 87(105.5) (sh. nts.) x 143(148) (cw. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, 'RICHARDVS PACAEVS ERV= | DITIS
ET PIIS LECTORI= | BVS, S.P.D. | Q⁸ [dragon] VVM NVPER AD'. On F4^v,
text ends: [scri=] bis et principibus sacerdotum.' | hebrew type. |
'Explicit praefatio.' | 2 ll. of large hebrew type.

CW: A3, [he=] braice B2, et Theo= [dotiōe,] C3^v, cruci D2^v,
expressit, E3, esset. F2, [mi=] nus E2, in .87. [in psal. 87.]

Copies: 0 (4⁰W.1/2 Th.).

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC. This appears to be the only edition of this work. As remarked in the text, Pace's efforts with Hebrew would seem to suggest that the work may be a year or two later than that assigned by STC.

As far as I have been able to determine, the work is the first book printed in England to use hebrew type.

213. Henry VIII. Literarum. February 10, 1527. STC 13085.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 9b: 'Literarum, quibus in= | uictissimus
princeps, | Henricus octauus, rex | Angliæ et Franciæ, dñs | Hybernię,
ac fidei defen | sor respondit, ad quan= | dam epistolam Martini |
Lutheri, ad se miſſã, et | ipsius-Lutheranę quoq̃ | epistolę exemplum.'

Col: On G2, 'Londini | in aedibus Pynso | nianis. Anno domini Mil=
| lesimo quingentesimo uicesi= | mo septimo, decima Fe= | bruarij. Cum
priuilegio | a rege indulto. | . . .'

Coll: 8⁰; A-F⁸G⁴; 52 leaves; signed \$1-5 [-A1, -A3, -G2, -G4; B4
signed D4; F4 signed E4] as B1, B2, etc.

Type: 114 roman for text with 80 roman for shoulder-notes. B4, 17
ll. and 1 space = 66(85) x 102(108) (sig. & cw.).

Cont: . A1, title. A1^v, blank. On A2, 'PIO LECTORI' On A3^v,
'EPISTOLA LVtheri. | INVICTISSIMO ILLV= | strissimoq̃ principi et
domino, do= | mino Henrico octauo, regi Anglię et | Francię, domino suo
clementiſſimo. | G² [roman] RATIAM et pacem in christo' On A7,
'INVICTISSIM PRIN= | cipis HENRICI octauı, | regis Angliæ et Franc.
&c. | Ad Martini Lutheri epi= | stolam responsio. | Q⁶ [roman] VAS TV
Luthere' On G2, text ends: 'miserrime passim | perire. | . . . | Finis.'
| colophon. G2^v, blank. On G3, 'D² [roman] Vx Anchisiades, patrios ex

hoste penates'. On G3^V, text ends: 'Vive diu populi spesq̄ falusq̄
tui.' G4, blank. G4^V, blank.

CW: A4, temptu B5, [ditio=] nem C5, Vtinam [VTINAM] E5,
notarijs, G3, Viderit

Copies: L² (1547.3/5); C (Pet.Sp.45); C² (Vi.I.10) lacks blank G4;
FOLG. (STC 13085).

Notes: This is apparently Pynson's second edition of the work. It in-
corporates all the changes found in STC2 13084.5 plus a new colophon and
some decorative recasting of the material at the end of each letter.

214. G. Boccaccio. J. Lydgate, trans. The Fall of Princes. February
21, 1527. STC 3176.

TP: a1, in a compartment composed of bord. 119at the top, bord. 28
over bord. 27 at the right, bord. 46 at the bottom and bord. 134over
bord. 135 at the left: '¶ Here begynneth the boke of Johan Bochas/
discryuing the fall of p̄nces/ | ces/p̄ncesses/and other nobles:
Translated in to Englysshe by Johñ Lyd= | gate monke of Bury/begynnyng
at Adam and Eue/and endyng | with kyng Iohan of Fraunce/taken p̄isoner
at | Poyters by p̄ince Edwarde.' | Hodnett no. 1512..

Col: On 2P8, '¶ Thus endeth the nynth and laste | boke of Iohñ
Bochas/whiche trea | teth of the fall of p̄nces/p̄ncesses/ | R other
nobles. Imp̄inted at Lon= | don in flete strete by Richarde Pyn= | son
p̄inter vnto the kynges moſte | noble grace/R fyniſshed the .xxi. day |
of Februarye/ the yere of our loode | god. M. CCCCC. xxvii.'

RT: Varies with text. A4^V-A5,

'The fyrst ||| boke.'

Coll: 2^o: a⁶A-X⁶2A-20⁶2P⁸; 224 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-a1; +2P4];
foliated beginning on A3, Primo., ii-xxxvii, xxxvii, xxxviii, [none],
xlii-lxviii, [none], lxx-xcv, [none], xcvi-xc, [none], C-C.iiii., Cvi,
Cvi-C.xvii., C.xix.-C.lxxv., [none], C.lxxvii.-CC.xvi.

Type: 93 textura for text with 114 textura for running-titles and the first line of the title-page. B1; 2 col., 49 ll. = 164(78) x 238(250) (rt., fol., cw. & sig.).

Cont: a1, title. a1^v, blank. On a2, contents begin. On A1, '¶ The prologue of John Lydgate | monke of Bury/ translatur | of this booke. | He that somtyme dyde his dilygence' On A3^v, '¶ Thus endeth the authours prologue/ | And here begynneth | the fyrst boke. | . . . | Hodnett no. 1968. On A4, Hodnett no. 1945. G6^v, blank. On H2, Hodnett no. 1947, book 2. M4^v, blank. On M6, Hodnett no. 1949, book 3. On S1, Hodnett no. 1951, book 4. On X6, Hodnett no. 1953, book 5. On 2D1, Hodnett no. 1955, book 6. On 2G5, Hodnett no. 1957, book 7. On 2I5, Hodnett no. 1959, book 8. On 2M6, Hodnett no. 1961, book 9. On 2P8, text ends: 'Who wyll encrease/by vertue must ascende. | | colophori. On 2P8^v, device 44 with bord. 119 above, bord. 130 to the right, bord. 46 at the bottom and bord. 118 to the left.

CW: a2, trans= [latour] was A3, And D4, Fyll G3^v, The K6^v, And yeue P6^v, This 2B6^v, Of cruell 2K6^v, The felde 2N6^v, To whose 206^v, To a

Copies: L (C.12.i.8); L (G.11591); M (18934); C² (Capell.G.2); HN (99590); FOLG (STC 3176); NY (Spencer Collect. Eng. 1527); LC ().

Notes: This is Pynson's second edition of the work.

As in the case of the first edition, the text proper of each book is preceded by a woodcut. Although the prologues of each book are earlier, for the sake of brevity only the appearance of the woodcut and the beginning of the first chapter of each book have been noted.

As with other works of this period there is evidence of either haste in composition, interrupted composition or division of the work among several compositors in the occasions upon which one book will end on a recto and the next book will not begin until the following recto, leaving an inexplicable blank verso.

Equally problematic is the question of the usage and purpose of the catchwords. Catchwords are employed on all rectos and versos in gatherings A-G, gatherings H-P, 2B-2E, 2I-2K and 2N-2O have catchwords on the final verso only and gatherings S-2A, 2G-2H and 2L-2M lack any catchwords. While the above proceedings may simply reflect the whims of the individual compositors (which would mean the catchwords were intended as composition rather than binding aids), the usage in gathering a seems entirely inexplicable since a catchword is provided for each

column of text, but the catchword for the first column is picked up at the beginning of the second column on the same page and does not seem to perform any logical function.

215. R. Whittinton. Grammatices. May 1527. STC2 25489.3.

Notes: The only copy of this edition known to be extant is in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, which is why it has not been viewed. The above information is from the notes for STC2, which also record that the colophon reads "in edibus Richardi Pynson" and that the work is a 4^o in 6/4.

This would be Pynson's sixth, seventh or eighth edition of the work, the third under this title. This would also make this the first book of the first volume of the third and final Pynson edition of the collected Whittinton grammar.

216. R. Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus. 1527. STC 25471.

TP: A1, in M. & F. no. 11: 'Ⓢ DE HETEROCLITIS. | nominibus. |
 Ⓢ Grammatice vvhittintonianæ Liber | tertius de nominum here= | roclisi.
 | Rober. vv. tetrastichon ad lectorem. | Protheos ut possis uatios
 dinoscere | vultus. | Tyresie sexus ambiguos q; senis. | Salomocidos ne
 undis coeant heterocli= | ta mixta. | Hoc vvhittintoni uoluito lector
 opus. | Ⓢ Eiusdem distichon in zoilum. | Cornua Rhinoceros, dentem ni
 zoile po= | nas. | Sanguinolentes feret tela Heca= | tebeletes.'

Col: On B4, 'Ⓢ IMPRESS. Londini per me Richardum | Pynson
 (Impressorem nobilissime Re= | gis gratiæ) Commorantem in | uico
 appellato the Flete | strete. Anno dñi. | M. D. xxvij.'

RT: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,

'De heteroclitis. ||| Nominibus.'

CT: 'Heterocli. vv.' on A2, A3, 63.

'Heteroclitita. vv.' on B1, B2.

Coll: 4^o: A⁶B⁴; 10 leaves; signed \$1-3 [-A1] as B.j., etc.

Type: 84(?) roman for text and 65 rotunda for some text and shoulder-notes. A2, 20 ll. roman and 18 ll. rotunda = 90(114) x 138(149) (rt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, '¶ De nominum heteroclisi. | Q⁴ [roman]

Uum de heteroclitis varia inter grāmaticos sit dissētia: que legē' On

B4, text ends: 'dicens strenuus quisq; maxime strenuus: docet

strenuissimus vix reperiri. | ¶ FINIS.' | colophon. B4^v, device 3b in

M. & F. no. 9b.

Copies: L (C.40.e.2/5); Lord Kenyon (bound fourth).

Notes: This is Pynson's fifth and final edition of the work. The colophon above is that of Lord Kenyon's edition which is in agreement with the states of the two compartments involved. The copy in the British Museum is identical except that the date in the colophon incorrectly reads "M. D. xxij."

217. R. Whittinton. De Octo Partibus. 1527. STC2 25505.5.

Col: On C4^v, '¶ Londini in aēdibus Richardi Pynson. regis im= | pressorē vigesimo septimo supra sesquimil= | lesimum nostre salutis anno.'

RF: Varies with text. A1^v-A2,

'De nominibus. ||| De nominibus.'

CT: 'Octo par. VWhitin.' on all signed rectos except A3.

'Octo par. w.' on A3.

Coll: 4^o: A⁴B⁶C⁴; 14 leaves; signed \$1-3 as B.i., B.ii., B.iii.

Type: 63 rotunda for majority of text with 80 roman for headings and examples. B3, 47 ll. rotunda = 97(117) x 151(162) (rt., ct. & sig.).

Cont: On a1, '¶ Roberti VWhitintoni alma in vniuersitate Oxoniensi | Laureati de octo partibus orationis opuscu= | lum: iterum recognitum. |

Ⓒ Authoris distichon. | Grammaticae fau-trix reliquas dat adire sorores.
 | Pegasus pulchre hac sine fero sorores. | Ⓒ Facundissimi Remacii
 florenatis hexastichon. | sfx 11. verse. | text begins: G⁷ [GOOSE]
 Grammatica est congrue loquendi scientia: re'. On C4^v, text ends
 'fidem. A Jesu mercy/a good lode. + c. | colophon. | device 3b.

Copies: Lord Kenyon.

Notes: Pynson's second or third edition of this work.
 Type 8 capitals are used throughout.

218. Anonymous. Everyman. 1527? STC2 10604.5.

Col: On C4^v, 'Ⓒ Imprinted at London in Fletestrete/by me | Rycharde
 Pynson/printer to the kynges | moost noble grace.'

CT: 'Every man.' all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: speculated A⁴B⁶C⁴ (gathering A is unknown); 14(?) leaves;
 signed \$(?) 1-3 as B, B.ii., B.iii.

Type: 90 textura for text with 70(?) textura for shoulder-notes.
 B1, 32 ll. = 90(110) (sh. nts.) x 144(150) (ct. & sig.).

Cont: On B1, first line of text: 'Lo felowshyp forsaketh me in my
 moost nede' On C4^v, text ends: 'Amen say ye/foe saynt charite. | Ⓒ
Finis.' | colophon.

Copies: L (C.21.c.17) lacks gathering A.

Notes: STC2 assigns the work to 1526-1528. I have simply split the
 difference for convenience's sake. This is believed to be Pynson's second
 edition of the work.

The 90 textura type is particularly troublesome since it is
 generally unknown. While Pynson's 95 textura and 93 textura are widely
 used, the only other book viewed with 90 textura is the 1523 edition
 of the Book of Surveying (STC 11005).

219. Henry VIII. A Copy of the Letters. 1527? STC 13086.

TP: In a compartment formed by bord. 94 at the top, bord. 22 at the right, bord. 37 at the bottom and bord. 31 at the left: '¶ A copy of the letters/wher= | in the most redouted & mighty pri | ce our souerayne loode kyng | Henry the eight/kyng | of England & of | Fraūce/defē= | so^o of the | faith/ | and loode of Irlāde: made answe^re | vnto a certayne letter of Mar= | tyn Luther/sente vnto him by the same/and also the | copy of the fo^resaid. | Luthers letter/ | in such ^o= | der as | here after foloweth.'

Col: On F5^v, '¶ Im^printed at London in Flete= | strete by Rycharde Pynson/p^ointer | to the kynges most noble grace. | ¶ Cum p^oiuilegio/ a rege indulto.'

Coll: 8^o: A¹²B-E⁸F⁶; 50 l^oes; signed \$1-2 [+A3-5; +F3] as B, Bii., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text with 65 rotunda for shoulder-notes and 120(?) textura for introductory paragraphs. C2, 22 ll. = 66(85) x 105 (108) (cw. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, bord. 100 | '¶ Fy^rst a p^reface of our souerayne | loode the kyng/vnto all his faithfull | and enterely beloued subiectes. | ¶ Copye of the letter/whiche Mar= | tyne Luther had sent/vnto our sayd | souerayne loode the kyng. | ¶ The copye of the answe^re of our | sayd souerayne loode/vnto the same | l^ett^re of Martyn Luther.' | bord. 36 : On A2, '¶ Henry the eight by the gra= | ce of god/kyng of Englande & | of Fraūce/defēso^r of the faith/ | and loode of Irland^e: vnto all | his faythfull and welbeloued | subiectes/ gretyn^g.' orn. 1, two and a half orns. 3. | 'I⁵ [BFK] T hath semed to vs' On A9, '¶ The l^ett^re of Martyn Luther.' On B1, '¶ The answe^re of the most | mighty & noble p^rince kyng Hē | ry the .viii. kyng of Englāde

R | of Fraūce/defēso^o of the fayth | and lo^ode of Irelāde/vnto the
letters of Martyn Luther. On F5^V, text ends: 'you so many mo/pi=
tuously spylt | and lost. | . . . | ¶ Finis.' | colophon. F6, blank. F6^V,
 device 3b.

CW: All, the B2, herde/ B6, ¶ It is C5, scrip C8^V, haue
 D1^V, faithe D2, of Christ D6, fo^ope E2, teache E3^V, condemp= [ed]
 E7, loke vp E8, it: For F3, vnder

Copies: L (C.55.b.6); HN (88093); FOLG (STC 13087).

Notes: The date is that given by STC2, STC dated the work a year ear-
 Tier. Although only two editions were listed by STC, there appear to
 have been three editions or issues. All that I have been able to do
 with the material is note the three different editions and their differ-
 ences.

This is the English version of the Literarum which was issued by
 Pynson in December 1526 and which makes the publication of this transla-
 tion likely to have been in 1527.

220. Anonymous. La Conusaunce D'Amours. 1528? STC 5631.

Col: On d4^V, ' ¶ Thus endeth la conusaunce damours. Im= | p^ointed
 by Rycharde Pynson/p^ointer | to the kynges noble grace. | Cum
 priuilegio.'

CT: 'la co.' on all signed rectos.

Coll: 4^o: a-d⁶; 24 leaves; signed \$1-3 as b, b.ii, b.iii.

Type: 95 textura. a2, 28 ll. & 3 spaces = 88 x 146(150) (ct. &
 sig.).

Cont: a1, unknown. a1^V, unknown. On a2, text begins: 'T² [8] He
 thy^ode idus/in the moneth of Iuly'. On d4^V, text ends: 'And I went
strayght to my home also.' | colophon.

Copies: L (C.39.d.53) lacks a1.

Notes: The date is that assigned by STC2 based upon Isaac's estimate
 of the type. On a non-type basis all that can be definitely said is
 that the work is later than 1518 because of the use of "privilege."

The work is a poem in the Romance of the Rose tradition, presumably, but not necessarily, translated from a French original. It is composed of a series of seven line stanzas patterned a,b,a,b,b,c,c.

It should be noted that according to Hodnett (p. 99), Hodnett no. 1503 is supposed to be present in the work. There is no cut in the British Museum copy, so I must assume, if the cut is present, it must be on the title-page or a^v. It is possible that another copy of the work exists since STC listed one at the Huntington; however, no copy of the work was known to be there during my visit to California.

221. Henry VIII. A Copy of the Letters. 1528? STC 13087.

TP: In a compartment formed by bord. 94 at the top, bord. 22 at the right, bord. 100 at the bottom and bord. 31 at the left: 'A copy of the letters/wher= | in the most redouted & mighty p^{ri}= | ce our souerayne lo^{de} kyng | Henry the eight/kyng | of Englande & of | Fraūce/ defē= | so^o of the | faith/ | and lo^{de} of Irlāde: made answe^r | vnto a certayne letter of Mar= | tyn Luther/sent vnto hym | by the same/ & also the | copy of y^e fo^oesayd | Luthers letter/ | in suche o^o= | der/as | here after foloweth.'

Col: On F5^v, 'A Im^oprinted at London in Flete= | strete by Rycharde Pynson/p^{ri}= | ter to the kynges most no= | ble grace. Cum pri= | uilegio a rege | indulto. | . . .

Coll: 8^o: A¹² B-E⁸F⁶; 50 leaves; signed \$1-2 [+A3-5; +F3] as B, B.ii., etc.

Type: 95 textura for text with 65 rotunda for shoulder-notes and 120(?)-textura for introductory paragraphs. C2, 22 ll. = 65(85) x 103 (107) (cw. & sig.).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, bord. 100 | 'A Fy^ost a preface of our soueraygne | lo^{de} the kyng/vnto all his faithfull | and enterely beloued subiectes. | A Copye of the letter/whiche Mar= | tyn Luther had sent/vnto our sayd | soueraygne lo^{de} the kyng. | A The copye of

the answe're of our | sayd souerayne loode/vnto the same | letter of
Martyn Luther.' | bord. 36. On A2, ' Henry the eight by the gra=
ce of god/kyng of Englande Æ | of Fraūce/defēso of the faith/ | and
loode of Irlāde: vnto all | his faythfull and wel beloued |
subiectes/gretyng.' orn. 1, two and a half orns. 3. | I⁵ [BFK] T hath
semēd to vs' On A9, ' The letter of Martyn Luther.' On B1, ' The
answe're of the moost | mighty Æ noble price kyng Hē | ry the .viii.
kyng of Englāde Æ | of Fraūce/defēso of the faith/ | and loode of
Irelāde/vnto the | letters of Martyn Luther.' On F5^v, text ends: 'you
so many mo/pi= | tuously spylte | and lost. | Finis.' | colophon. |
bord. 100. F6, blank. F6^v, device 9b.

CW: All, the faith B2, herde B6, It is C5, scrip= C8^v,
[ha=] ue gyuen D1^v, faythe D2, of D6, foode/ E2, teche E3^v,
con= [dempned] E7, loke E8, it: F3, vn= [der]

Copies: M (R 16398); USHAW; HN (61381).

Notes: The date is that given by STC and STC2, although it is not altogether clear why this is the latest version and STC 13086 the earliest. There are extensive differences in the text, but mostly of a minor spelling variety. As with the intermediary piece which I have labeled STC 13086+ the bottom border-piece on the title-page is that with the ape rather than the stag. The most easily seen differences between this and STC 13086 lie in the catchwords.

It must also be noted that the catchword on C5 of the Rylands copy is not that listed above, but that found in the copy designated STC 13087+. This suggests that sheets from the different editions or issues may have been mixed and that a detailed study covering all known copies of the works is needed to straighten out the nature and priorities of the separate issues or editions.

222. Henry VIII. A Copy of the Letters. -1528? STC 13087+.

CW: All, the faith B2, herde B6, It is C5, as scrip= C8^v,
[ha=] ue gyuen D1^v, fayth D2, of D6, foode/ E2, teche E3^v, con=
[dempned] E7, loke E8, it: F3, vn= [der]

Copies: O (Crynes.863/2).

Notes: The remainder of the description proper has been omitted because it agrees in all particulars with that of STC 13087 except on A2, where in line 2, "king" is found rather than "kyng," and in line 5, where "faithfull" is found in place of "faythfull," and on B1, line 4, where "faith" is found instead of "faith/." Also in terms of undescribed pages, it should be noted that this copy has the word "Christe" on line 1 of A9^v, while both STC 13806 and STC 13087 have "Chryste."

It is unclear at this juncture whether this is an intermediate work between the other two, or whether this is, in fact, the final version of the work to come from Pynson's press.

223. Plutarch. T. Wyatt, trans. Quite of Mind. 1528? STC2 20058.5.

TP: a1, ' Tho. wyatis translatyon | of Plutarckes boke/of | the
Quyete of | mynde. | . . .

Col: On d4, ' Imprinted at London in Fleteſtrete | by Richarde
Pynson/printer | to the kynges moost | noble grace. | Cum
priuilegio.'

Coll: 8^o: a-c⁸d⁴; 28 leaves; signed \$1-2 [-a1] as b, b.i.

Type: 72 textura with 114 textura on title-page. b1, 28 ll. = 62 x 103(106) (sig.).

Cont: a1, title. On a1^v, ' To the reder.' On a2, ' To the most
excellent and most | vtuous p^oinces Katheryn/queene | of Englande and of
Fraunce. c. | encrease & contynuance of moche | helth and honour.' On
a3, ' Of the Quiete of mynde. | I receyued very late thy letter/
wherein'. On d4, text ends: ' the last we shulde owe towarde thyn=
ges to come/vnferefully and assu | redly/with sure and glad | some
shyning | hope. | Thende.' | colophon. d4^v, device 3B.

Copies: HN (88834)

Notes: The date of the work is established by Wyatt's letter to Queen Katherine which indicates the manuscript version of the work was sent to her on December 31, 1527 as a New Year's gift from Wyatt's family seat of Alington, meaning that it could not have been printed until 1528. This represents the first edition of any work by Wyatt to be

published.

As the letter to the Queen informs us, the work was substituted by Wyatt for a translation of a work by Petrarch requested by the Queen. The work chosen was certainly appropriate and likely to provide Katherine with some consolation during her period of tribulation regarding the divorce proceedings. Wyatt, of course, was motivated not only out of loyalty to the Queen but through his own melancholy over the fact that he had a more than passing interest in Anne Boleyn, who was to be the next queen.

The surprising thing about the work is that it was published by Pynson, who, as King's Printer, one would expect to be the last person to publish the work under the circumstances. One suspects that the publication may have been a reflection of some sympathy for Katherine on Pynson's part.

224. J. Skelton. A Replication Against Certain Young Scholars. 1528?
STC 22609.

TP: A1, with bord. 130 at right and bord. 127 below:

'HONORIFICATISSIMO, Amplissimo, | longeq̄ reuerendissimo in Christo,
patri: Ac do= | mino, domino THOME &c. Tituli sanctę Ce= | cilie,
sacrosacte Romanę ecclesie presbytero Car | dinali meritiissimo, et
Apostolice sedis legato. a | laterę legato superillustri &c.
Skeltonis lau= | reatus Ora, reg. Humillimum, dicit obsequium | cum
omni debita reuerētia, tanto tamq̄ magni= | fico digna principe
sacerdotum, totiusq̄ iustitie | equabilissimo moderatore. Necnon
presentis | opusculi fautore excellentissimo &c. Ad cuius |
auspicatissimam contemplationem, sub memo | rabili prelo gloriose
immortalitatis presens pa= | gella felicitatur &c.' three orns. 1,
orn. 3. | ' A replycacion agaynst certayne yong | scolars/abiured of
late Ac. | ARGUMENTVM. | C [roman] Raſſātes nimiū. Nimiū sterile q̄
labruscas † (Vinea quas dñi, sabaot non sustinet ultra | Laxius expandi).
nostra est resecare uoluntas. | Cum p̄uilegio a rege in dulto.'

Col: On B4, 'Imprinted by Richard Pynson/p̄inter | to the kyng's most

noble grace.'

Coll: 4⁰: A⁶B⁴; 10 leaves; signed A2, A3, B, B3 for B2.

Type: 95 textura for text, 80 roman for Latin text, 65 rotunda for shoulder-notes with 114 textura on the title-page. A1^v, 12 ll. textura, 15 ll. roman and 4 spaces = 88(112) x 144; A2, 29 ll. textura, 3 ll. roman and 1 space = 70(116) x 150 (sig. on line with last of text).

Cont: A1, title. On A1^v, 'p⁵ [BBWL] Roteſtacion alway canonically
po=' On B1^v, '¶ Tantum po secundo.' On B4, '¶ Tantum po tertio' |
text ending: 'Romanus/celebrēs semper coluere Poeta. | ¶ Thus endeth
the Replicacyon of Skel. L. ꝛc.' | colophon. B4^v, device 9b.

Copies: HN (59202); C⁴ (37) lacks A1.

Notes: This is Pynson's first edition of the work and also the first printed edition. The date is that given by STC2 and replaces the date of 1519 assigned by STC. The redating is due to the fact that the abjuration of Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur with which the poem is concerned did not occur until December 8, 1527.

The poem is supposed to have been written by Skelton to end his feud with Wolsey, to whom the work is fulsomely dedicated. It is thought to have been written to compliment Wolsey's campaign against Lutheran heretics of 1527.

225. Anonymous. The Sayings or Proverbs of Solomon. 1529? STC 22899.

TP: A1, '¶ The sayinges of p^oouerbis of king | Salomon/with the
answers | of Marcolphus/trāslated | out of frenche in to | englysshe' |
orn. 3, seven orn. 1, orn. 3. | slouch-hat factotum, Hodnett no. 1491. |
six orn. 2, orn. 1.

Col: On A4^v, 'Cum priuilegio. | ¶ Imprinted at London in flete
ſtrete by Ry= | charde Pynson:' And be fo^o to sell at ſ^g ſigne | of
ſaynt Iohn Euangelyst. in ſaynt | Martyns parysshe/besyde | Charynge
crosse.'

Coll: 4⁰: A⁴; 4 leaves; signed A.ii., A.iii.

Type: 93 textura. A3, 32 ll. = 69 x 148(154) (sig.).

Cont: A1, title. A1^v, orn. 3, seven orn. 1, orn. 3. | slouch-hat factotum, Hodnett no. 1491. | six orn. 2, vertical orn. 1. On A2, text begins: ' ¶ Salomon. | H³ [FKH-M] E that wyll measure | Of all the sees the water | Is nat very sage. | ¶ Marcolphus. | ¶ He, that holdeth in his honde | The faythe of an hoope/as a good bonde | He is full of rage.' On A4^v, text ends: ' ¶ Marcol. | ¶ A hoope foloweth that waye | Where as she seeth a pray | Of Rybawdes a great nest. | ¶ Finis.' | colophon.

Copies: HN (31857) (reel 146).

Notes: The date is that given by STC, apparently on the assumption that the work was printed for Robert Wyer and that Wyer did not start printing until 1529; however there is evidence that Wyer was in business in 1526, so the work may be that early.

Although the work in question was popular on the continent in numerous German and Latin editions, the copy translated into English for Wyer derives from a more scurrilous French version in which Marcolphus's remarks are based upon the manners of prostitutes. As the sample given in the contents above indicates, the work consists of a series of exchanges on a variety of subjects as expressed in the divergent manners of Solomon and the peasant Marcolphus.

226. J. Tonney. Rules of Grammar.

Notes: No copy of this work first mentioned by Samuel Palmer in 1732 as existing in a Pynson edition is presently known despite the references to it by Herbert and Duff in their compilations of Pynson's output. Indeed, no copy of any edition of the work appears to be known and one cannot even be sure that it was a Latin grammar if it existed.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I - DEVICES

The preliminary numbers given for devices below are those assigned by R. B. McKerrrow in his Printers' & Publishers' Devices, those numbers following in parentheses refer to the numbers assigned to the devices by Duff in the Handlists and Fifteenth-Century Books, by Dibdin and Herbert in their respective editions of Ames' Typographical Antiquities and by H. W. Davies in his Devices of the Early Printers. In listing the correspondences between all of these and McKerrrow except for Davies, I must acknowledge my debt to Lord Kenyon's notes in which he worked out the correspondence.

Pynson's earliest device is McKerrrow no. 3 (Herbert and Dibdin no. 2, Duff no. 1), a 40x51 mm. device consisting of Pynson's combined initials on a black background surrounded by a white inner border and a black outer border. The device has been supposed to have been modeled on that of Guillaume Le Talleur of Rouen whom Pynson has sometimes been thought to have learned the art of printing from; however, Le Talleur's device is much more complex with a leaf frame and combined letters which separated spell out Le Talleur's entire name.

Device no. 3 exists in two states. In that state designated 3a, there is no white dot at the top of the central upright. In this state the device is found only in undated books which are generally agreed to form the earliest output of Pynson's press. In Pynson's first dated book, the 1492, Alexander Grammaticus, the device is already in state b with the white dot above the upright and is also marked by several breaks and a blotch between the legs of the initials which, since they come and go according to inking, are not useful for dating. The device is used through dated works of 1499 after which it is supplanted by devices 6 and 9; it again comes into use in dated works beginning in 1521 and is used until Pynson's death, after which it passes to Robert Redman.

In dated books of 1494 and 1496, device no. 3 is framed by four border pieces: 1) 7 x 42 mm. flower, bird, flower, upside-down bird, flower 2) 10 x 62 mm. serpent-headed bird 3) 8 x 61 mm. archer 4) 9.5 x 61 mm. floral piece. This combination looks forward to Pynson's more elaborate devices with the birds referring to a pun on the name Pynson which is also the French term for a kind of finch. Also, although the purpose of the allusion is not known, the figure of the archer prefigures that of the boy hunting with a blowgun at the top of the frame of Pynson's device no. 9 and also prefigures the boy stabbing a bird on another of Pynson's border pieces.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
pre1492	5084	Canterbury Tales, 3a
pre1492	9825	YB-Ed. IV, 9. 3a
pre1492	7014	Donatus Melior. 3a
1492	316	Alexander Grammaticus. 3b in this and all following.
1493	19212	Dives and Pauper.
1493	15851	Festum Nominis Iesu.
1493	17060	Liber Festivalis.

<u>1494</u>	23425	Sulpitius. borders.
<u>1494</u>	15395	Book of Good Manners. borders.
<u>1494</u>	15721	Littleton's Tenures. borders. Le Talleur printed this edition and died that year thus setting date.
1494-6	18385	Natura Brevium. borders.
1494-6	19812	St. Petronilla. The Parite Lyfe. borders.
1494-6	17105	Lyndewode's Constitutions. borders.
1494-6	790	Art and Craft to Know Well to Die. borders.
1494-6	17961	Liber Festivalis. borders. unviewed but based on Duff's description.
1494-6	15855	Festum Transfigurationis Iesu Christi. borders. I suspect that this and all the pieces with the borders should be dated 1494-5.
1497	176	Aesop's Fables.
1498	12470	Manipulus Curatorum.
1499	9514	Abbreuiamentum Statutorum.
<u>1499</u>	9515	Abbreuiamentum Statutorum.
<u>1521</u>	14867	Justices of the Peace.
<u>1521</u>	19816	De Vita...Sancti Nicholai de Tollentino. Almost certainly either before 1499 or after 1520 since it is not logical that the device would be used for one work by itself.
1521	9516	Le Bregement de Toutes les Estatutes.
<u>1522</u>	11532	De Motu Musculorum. In M & F no. 9b.
<u>1523</u>	25485	Whittinton. Gramatices.
<u>1523</u>	25516	Whittinton. De Accent.
<u>1523</u>	25549	Whittinton. De Syntaxi.
<u>1523</u>	11533	De Naturalibus Facultatibus. In M & F no. 9b.
<u>1524</u>	11535	De Symptomatum Differentiis. In M & F no. 9b.
1524	20896	Retourna Brevium.
1524	25562.7	Whittinton. Verb. Praet. & Supina.
1524	23168.3	Strabridge. Parvulorum Institutio.
1525	25468.5	Whittinton. De Heteroclia Nominibus.
<u>1525</u>	25486.7	Whittinton. De Nominibus Generibus.
<u>1525</u>	25552.5	Whittinton. Syntaxis.
<u>1525</u>	18389	Natura Brevium.
<u>1525</u>	23880	Old Tenures.
<u>1525</u>	812	Articuli ad Narrationes Novas.
1525	15636	Linacre. Rudimenta Grammatices. In M & F no. 9b.
1525	1967	Church of Evil Men.
1526	10946	Diversite de Courtz.
<u>1526</u>	23182.3	Stanbridge. Vocabula.
<u>1526</u>	3277	Pylgrimage of Perfection.
1526	11006	Book of Surveying.
1526	13086	Henry VIII. A Copy of the Letters.
<u>1527</u>	9269.5	Magna Carta.
<u>1527</u>	25471	Whittinton. De Heteroclitus Nominibus. In M & F no. 9b.
<u>1527</u>	25505.5	Whittinton. De Octo Partibus.
<u>1528</u>	18390	Natura Brevium.
<u>1528</u>	15728	Littleton's Tenures.

1528 22609 Skelton's Replycacion.
1528 20058.5 Wyatt's Quyete of Mynde.

Pynson's second device is McKerrow no. 6 (Herbert no. 6, Dibdin no. 4, Duff no. 2) is a 115 x 94 mm. woodcut featuring Pynson's combined initials on a shield surmounted by a helmet with a bird on top, and surrounded with a frame of leaves and flowers interspersed with a face at the top, a bird on the left, a hump-backed dog and hopping bird at the right and another dog at the bottom. The motifs of the two birds and the hump-backed dog are reproduced in some of Pynson's border.

According to Duff, the device first appears in the 1494 Fall of Princes; however, it has not been present in any copy which I have examined. The next dated books, and the first in which I have seen it present are two works of Garlandia dated 1496, by which time damage has already begun to the upper left hand corner. The piece decays rapidly, which provides a useful guide to dating through 1500. After 1500 it is found in dated works of 1515, 1519 and 1524.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
1494	3175.	Fall of Princes. According to Duff but unobserved by myself.
pre1496	3262	Speculum Vita Cristi. intact.
pre1496	15722	Littleton's Tenures. intact.
pre1496	15852	Festum Nominis Iesu. intact.
pre1496	23163.14	Stanbridge. Long Parvula. intact.
<u>1496</u>	11609	Garlandia. Synonyma. crack in upper right corner through the first two flowers.
<u>1496</u>	11601	Garlandia. Multo Vocabulorum. crack has progressed through lower leaf above the dog; a crack has begun at the bottom on the left and extends through the first pair of leaves.
<u>1497</u>	23885	Terence. Andria. upper right break has progressed to the juncture of the border and the dog's neck and has broken off.
<u>1497</u>	17724	Directorium Sacerdotum. additional 1 mm. break at top; the break at the bottom left has progressed through the bird and is splitting away.
1497	15574.5	Libellus Sophistarum ad Usum Cantabrigie.
<u>1497</u>	23242.5	Stella Clericorum. Dulwich College copy.
1497	7566	Elegantiarum Viginti Precepta.
1498	23426	Sulpitius.
<u>1498</u>	15872	Libellulus Secundarum Intentionum Logicalium.
1500	7017	Donatus Pro Pueris. additional cut at the top on the left.
<u>1515</u>	25509.7	Whittinton. De Syllabarum. large chunks gone from top to left of bird and from the top of the face.

1516	7707	Modus Tenend Cur̄ Baroñ. the left outer border has broken off and is gone leaving only half the bird present; a break has developed between the legs of the dog at the bottom.
<u>1519</u>	25461.5	Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus. at the right the inner outer border is gone from the top to the neck of the dog, for 2 mm. above the wing of the bird and from the tip of the wing of the bird to the bottom.
1520	17242.5	Mancinus. Mirror of Good Manners.
<u>1524</u>	23181.9	Stanbridge. Vocabulorum.

Pynson's third device is McKerrow no. 9 (with border: Herbert and Dibdin no. 3, Duff no. 3a; without border: Herbert no. 4, Dibdin no. 5 and Duff no. 3b), a 112 x 93 mm. metal device composed of Pynson's name below a shield containing Pynson's combined initials which is supported by a naked girl and boy and topped by a helmet with a bird on top. This is normally used in conjunction with a floral frame with a boy firing a blowgun and two birds at the top, the madonna and child in the lower left corner, St. Cathering and an emperor in the lower right corner and an empty scroll at the bottom.

Davies in his discussion of the device (no. 70) points out that the boy and girl are probably meant to represent Adam and Eve who were associated in some towns with pageants staged by the glovers and breeches-makers which would tie in with Pynson's early trade as a glover and pouchmaker; regrettably he does not go so far as to determine whether this was true in London or Westminster. The figure of St. Catherine was often used as a patron saint for any learned endeavour and was, together with St. Nicholas, one of the two patron saints of the University of Paris where Pynson received his education.

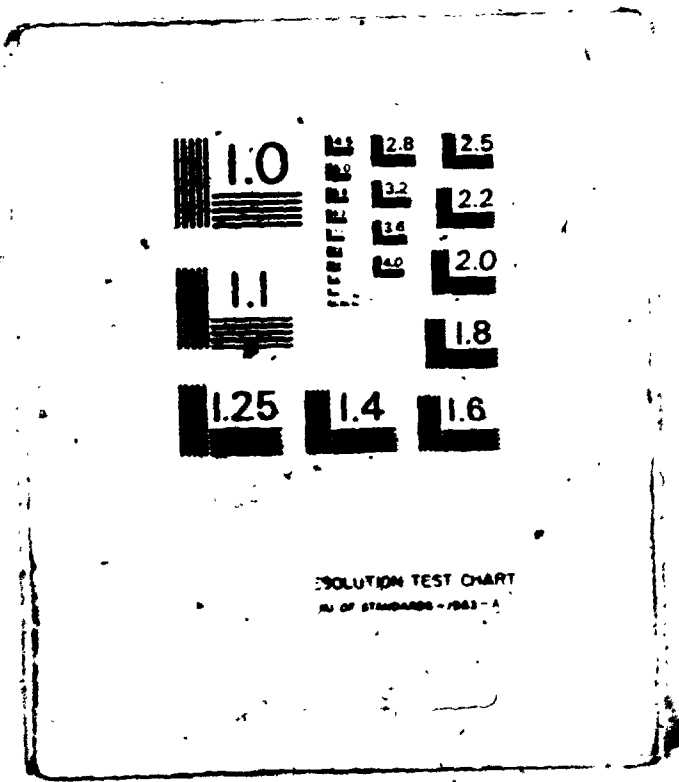
The device is first used in a dated work in two works dated 1497 and is last seen in a dated work of 1518 although STC has persisted in assigning a number of works in which it appears to a later date. The piece remains intact in 1497 and 1498. In 1499, the weak spot caused by the empty scroll begins to give and a bend begins developing below the scroll. In 1502 a crack appears above the boy with the blowgun at the top and by 1505 another crack has appeared in the inner frame above the sceptre of the emperor at the bottom. Although there appears to be a break in the bottom of the scroll as early as 1510, this is largely due to inking problems due to the ever increasing bend; the scroll is actually broken at the bottom in 1512 and in 1513 the bottom breaks off completely. In 1516 a crack which had begun in 1510 through the wing of the bird at the right is joined by another through the branch below it and the same year a circular break appears in the same bird's beak.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
1496	25001	Foundation of Walsingham. in this and all subsequent entries the device is considered to be with frame unless it is stated otherwise.

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<u>1497</u>	16111	Sequuntur Hymni.
<u>1497</u>	280	Alcock's Mons Perfectionis.
<u>1498</u>	277	Alcock's Gallicantus.
<u>1498</u>	317	Alexander Grammaticus.
<u>1498</u>	14477	Smerte's Epitaph of Jasper.
1498	17246	Mandeville's Travels. frame upside-down.
<u>1499</u>	20434	Promptorium Puerorum.
<u>1499</u>	19325	Parron's Prognostication.
<u>1499</u>	15575	Libellus Sophistarum ad Usum Oxoniensis.
1499	15576.6	Libellus Sophistarum.
1499	17106	Lyndewode's Constitutions. without frame.
1500	16173	Morton Missal. red device in black frame.
<u>1500</u>	12471	Manipulus Curatorum. without frame.
<u>1500</u>	177	Aesop's Fables.
1500	18286	Natura Brevium.
1500	14079	Libellus Qui Informatio.
<u>1501</u>	17727	Directorium Sacerdotum.
<u>1501</u>	4814	Traduction and Marriage of the Princess.
<u>1502</u>	16232.8	Processionalib ⁹ ad Usum Sarum. red device in black frame.
<u>1502</u>	17969	Liber Festivalis.
<u>1502</u>	16116a.5	Expositione Hymnorum.
<u>1502</u>	168	Esopus cum Commento.
<u>1502</u>	3296	Book of Comfort Against Tribulation.
1502	15573	Tractatus.
<u>1503</u>	17728	Directorium Sacerdotum.
<u>1503-4</u>	23955	Imitation of Christ.
<u>1503</u>	23243	Stella Clericorum.
1504	16179	Missale ad Usum Sarum. unframed.
<u>1505</u>	696.3	Anwykyl. Latin grammar.
<u>1505</u>	23427a	Sulpitius.
<u>1505</u>	17181.5	Celsus Maffeus. Dissuasoria. unframed.
<u>1505</u>	17033.3	Lydgate's Temple of Glass.
1505	13432	Hieronymous de Sancto Marco. Opusculum. on title-page.
1505	12380	Castle of Labor.
1505	23940	Theodolus.
1505	6894.5	Mirror of Gold for the Sinful Soul.
1505	15573	Libellus Secundarum Intentionum Logicalium.
<u>1506</u>	16117.5	Expositione Hymnorum.
<u>1506</u>	22408	Shepherd's Calendar. unframed.
<u>1506</u>	3263	Speculum Vita Cristi.
1506	14862	Book of Justices of the Peace.
<u>1507</u>	24878.5	Golden Legend.
<u>1507</u>	21430a	Royal Book.
<u>1508</u>	11606	Garlandia. Vocabulorum.
<u>1508</u>	19917.5	Peregrinatio Humani Generis.
<u>1508</u>	12474	Manipulus Curatorum. unframed.
<u>1508</u>	17728.5	Directorium Sacerdotum.
<u>1508</u>	4659	Petrus Carmelianus. Carmen.
1508	17558	Solempnifies...at..sposells of Kyngs daughter.
1508	16899	Peregrinus de Lugo. Principia. frame used without the device.

1505-8	18387	Natura Brevium.
1509	3545	Ship of Fools.
1509	13830	Ortus Vocabulorum.
1509	13830.3	Ortus Vocabulorum.
1509	16123	Epositio Hymnorum.
1509	12413	Oratio Gryphi.
1510	14116	Intrationum.
1510	10905	Fisher. Sermones.
1510	10580	Euatorium. unframed.
1510	9999	Chronicle.
1510	9631	YB-Henry VI, 3.
1510	15723	Littleton's Tenures.
1511	17017	Governance of Kings.
1511	12549	Pilgrimage of Guilford.
1512	16190	Missale ad Usum...Sarum.
1512	735.7	Palamedes Palliata Comedia. on title-page.
1512	25479.2	Whittinton. Opusculum Affabre.
1512	5545	Colet. Oratio...ad Clerum in Convocatione.
1512	11562.5	Gardynr's Passetauce.
1512	9710	YB-Henry VI, 27.
1513	5579	Lydgate's Troy Book. unframed.
1513	9333	Statutes on War.
1513	20060	Plutarch. De Tuenda Sanitate Precepta Erasmo.
1513	23179	Stanbridge. Vocabula.
1514	11607	Garlandia. Vocabulorum.
1514	23179.5	Stanbridge. Vocabula.
1515	25509.7	Whittinton. De Syllabarum (pt. 2).
1515	25443.8	Whittinton. Declination Nominibus.
1515	25479.3	Whittinton. De Nominibus Generibus. unframed.
1515	22992.1	Life of St. George.
1515	3270	Life of St. Francis.
1515	24787	Vergiliana Poesis. unframed.
1516	4602	New Calendar of the Legend of England.
1516	15724	Littleton's Tenures.
1516	20894.4	Returna Brevium.
1516	320	Alexander Grammaticus.
1516	1859	Rule of St. Benet
1516	10659	Fabyan's Chronicle.
1517	9594	YB-Edward III, 46.
1517	23957	Imitation of Christ.
1517	23958	Imitation of Christ.
1517	9358.5	Act of Kynge's Revenue.
1518	9553	YB-Edward III, 7.
1518	9590	YB-Edward III, 42.
1518	9591	YB-Edward III, 43. unframed.
1518	9592	YB-Edward III, 44.
1518	9593	YB-Edward III, 45.
1518	9624	YB-Henry VI, 2.
1518	9651	YB-Henry VI, 9.
1519	9597	YB-Edward III, 49.
1520	25446.5	Whittinton. Declinatione Nominibus. unframed.

Pynson's fourth device is McKerrow no. 32 (Herbert's and Dibdin's no. 1, Duff's no. 1), a 50.5 x 43 mm. device with Pynson's name in the lower compartment and the shield with his combined initials supported by a naked boy and girl and topped with a helmet with a bird on top in the upper compartment. The device appears to have been of wood since chunks keep breaking off. McKerrow views it as being in two states, with the rules at the side and with the rules cut away as is the case in 1519. The device is first used in a dated work of 1506 and continues to be used infrequently through a dated work of 1522.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
1505	3945.5	Cronica Summaria Serenissime Dñe Hispaniarum Regine. wholly intact.
1506	16140	Manuale ad Usum... Sarum. intact.
<u>1507</u>	15806a	Breviarum Secundum Usum Sarum. 1 mm. and 5 mm. breaks in the bottom.
1507	504	Almanach Ephemerides. nick in the girl's arm.
<u>1508</u>	9266	Magna Carta. only odd pieces of the bottom remain.
<u>1509</u>	21800	Savonarola. Sermo... in Vigilia Nativitatis Domini.
1513	14789	Meditationes Jordani. 2 cuts on top at right; dent on upper right side; bottom line totally gone.
<u>1514</u>	9267	Magna Carta.
<u>1515</u>	25525.5	Whittinton. De Magistratibus.
<u>1516</u>	12512.5	Guillermus Parisiensis de Septem Sacramentis. large section of outer border at top on the left appears to be gone.
1518	25527.8	Whittinton. De Synonymis. In the frame usually used with device 9.
<u>1519</u>	9268	Magna Carta. the rules are gone beside Pynson's name; there is a break in the left outer border by the girl's shoulder; there is a break in the ground line above the "a" in "Rychard."
1520	10630	Exoneratorium Curatorum.
1520	16224.5	Missa Preciosissimi Sanguinis Domini Nostri.
1521	25446.5	Whittinton. Declinatione Nominum. 1.5 mm. and 5 mm. breaks in the groundline above Pynson's name.
<u>1522</u>	15933	Horae. outer rules are gone at the sides and a new bottom rule has been attached; in M & F no. 9b.
1522	20398.3	Proclus's Sphaera. in M & F no. 9b.

Pynson's fifth device is McKerrow no. 35 (Herbert's no. 7, Duff's no. 5 and Davies' no. 19), a 250 x 182 copy of Pynson's coat-of-arms. The heraldic description as quoted by McKerrow from Papworth's Dictionary of Arms is "gyronny of eight gu. and sa. on a fess engr. betw. three eagles displ. or as may cinquefoils pierced az." The whole is topped by a helmet on top of which is a demi-eagle or demi-heron holding a branch with two pine cones. The eagles and demi-eagle are meant to be chaffinches for which the French term is "pinson." The pine cones also serve as a play on Pynson's name.

Although no record of a grant of arms to Pynson survives, his arms seem to be recorded with sufficient frequency to establish that he was entitled to them.¹ The question of whether they were awarded along with the title of Esquire on his appointment as King's Printer, as Duff suggests in his A Century of the English Book-Trade, is a bit more problematical as we have seen in the text. There is something strange going on with the device as is seen by the infrequency of its use.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
<u>1509</u>	3545	Ship of Fools.
<u>1523</u>	11396	Froissart's Chronicle, vols. 1 & 2.
<u>1525</u>	11397	Froissart's Chronicle, vols. 3 & 4.
<u>1526</u>	5086	Canterbury Tales. with wormholes.

¹ A. Colin Cole, Windsor Herald, has provided me with the following references: College of Arms: L.10/112v.; Prince Arthur's Book, ii, 624; L.10/104v; L.1/514; L.9/100v; Vincent MS. 153/205; at the Society of Antiquaries: Wall's Book, 679/14&164v; and at the British Museum: Wryth's Book of Knights, no. 710.

Pynson's sixth device is McKerrow no. 41 (Herbert's no. 8), a 75 x 60 mm. device with Pynson's initials on a shield supported by highly stylized male and female figures and topped by a helmet with the bird holding the pinecones of Pynson's coat-of-arms on top. The device is used on only two books, both of which were printed in 1518 to celebrate the betrothal of Princess Mary to the Dauphin of France.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
<u>1518</u>	19081a	Oratio R. Pace.
<u>1518</u>	24320	C. Tonstali in Laudem Matrimonii.

Pynson's seventh device is McKerrow no. 44 (Herbert no. 5 and Dibdin's and Duff's no. 6), a 148 x 98 mm. device of the monogram of Pynson on a shield supported by a man and woman and topped by a helmet and the bird with the pinecones; there is a scroll below and the madonna and child at the bottom left and St. Catherine and the emperor at the bottom right. The device appears to have been a metal one and thus largely undamaged and of no great help in dating works. The one bit of apparent damage is to the faces of the figures supporting the shield but since the damage seems to come and go in works of varying date this appears to be more a matter of inking than of actual damage. The device is used in dated works from 1519 through 1526; although the STC has assigned works having this device to both earlier and later dates, those assigned to earlier dates must be suspect in their dating: the later dates are possible since the device passes to Redman after Pynson's death.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
1516	7726	Modus Tenendi Unum Hundredum.
1516	18388	Natura Brevium.
1516	18362	Nova Narrationes.
1518	9983.3	Chronicle of All the Kings Names.
1519	13811	Horman's Vulgaria.
1519	9598	YB-Edward III, 50.
1520	5639	Constable's Epigrammata.
1520	18088	T. Mori Epistola ad Brixium.
1520	25529	Whittinton. Synonyma.
1520	9576	YB-Edward III, 38.
1520	9595	YB-Edward III, 47.
1520	13256	Hetoum's Chronicle.
1520	17035	Testament of Lydgate.
1520	21626	Sallust's Jugurthan War.
1520	14807	Life of Joseph of Armathea.
1520	9865	YB-Edward IV, 18.
1520	9883	YB-Edward IV, 21.
1520	538.5	Alsoppe's Hystorie of Custance.
1521	3506	Life of St. Werberge.
1521	3507	Life of St. Radegunde.
1521	1384b	Barclay's Codras and Mynalcas.
1521	9358.7	Statutes-Anno Primo Henrici. viii.
1522	25561	Whittinton. Verborum Preterita et Supina.
1522	15725.5	Littleton's Tenures.
1522	9361.3	Statutes-Anno Regni Regis Henrici. viij. Tertio.
1523	25465	Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus.
1523	23196.4	Stanbridge. Vulgaria.
1523	11005	Book of Surveying.
1523	17242	Mirror of Good Manners.
1524	19166	Palsgrave's Lesclarcissement. Pynson's portion.
1526	4186	Extripacion of Ignorance.
1526	5096	Chaucer's Troylus.
1527	3176	Fall of Princes.
1529	9364	Statutes - Henry viii. I suspect printed by Redman.

APPENDIX II - COMPARTMENTS

The following is largely an expansion of R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson's Title-Page Borders used in England and Scotland, 1485-1640, which it follows in both numbering and in brief descriptions. I use the term compartment rather than border to discriminate between these wholly enclosed units and those made up of combinations of various vertical and horizontal units which I term border pieces on the grounds that this is what they are primarily used for and is a much less vague term than Plomer's "ornaments."

The following lists are complete for all Pynson items which I have viewed but may be added to before submission of the dissertation in regards to the ongoing use of the compartments by Pynson's successors.

M & F no. 1. (117 x 86 mm., enclosing 83x 61 mm.) A compartment of floral scrolls. The compartment was first used by William de Machlinia in a Horae ascribed to the year 1485. Its later use by Pynson has provided one of the key arguments for the theories that Pynson learned the art of printing from Machlinia and that he later took over Machlinia's shop. These theories, however, overlook the fact that Pynson does not use the compartments until the 1520's, suggesting that Pynson did not acquire them until about that date.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
1485	15869	<u>Horae ad Usum Sarum</u> (Machlinia). Used as a title-page border.
1520	699	Apthonius. <u>Praeexercitamenta</u> . Title-page.
<u>1526</u>	3277	Bonde. <u>Pilgrimage of Perfection</u> . Used on verso of title-page as frame for Hodnett no. 457; also on the first verso of the appendix, Rosary of Our Savior, formerly STC 14571, as a frame for Hodnett no. 1465

M & F no. 2. (119 x 87 mm., enclosing 85 x 61 mm.) A compartment of floral scrolls. As with M & F no. 1, the problem arises of why, if Pynson took over Machlinia's stock in the 1490's, he put off using these compartments until c. 1520.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
1485	15869	<u>Horae ad Usum Sarum</u> (Machlinia). Used as a text border on several pages of text.
1519	7726	<u>Modus Tenendi Unum Hundredum</u> . Used to enclose royal arms on title-page.
?		<u>Modus tene Cur̄ Baroñ</u> . L (C.40.c.9). Used to enclose royal arms on the title-page.

M & F no. 7. (153 x 100 mm.; enclosing 73 x 53 mm.) A somewhat coarsely cut compartment with two shields, usually blank, in the upper corners, and two winged boys at the foot. Apparently copied from a compartment attributed to Urs Graf, used at Basle by John Friben in his Alphabetum Graecum of 1518. A similar compartment was used by Konrad Caesarius, also of Basle, who began to print in 1518. Both originals have coats of arms on the shields and other differences.

Date	STC	Short-title and Comments
<u>1519</u>	13811	Horman. <u>Vulgaria</u> . Not perfect as M & F indicate but with one nick in the right side of the inner frame.
<u>1520?</u>	5639	Constable. Epigrammata. The above nick is not present suggesting that either this or the preceding work is misdated.
<u>1520</u> (id. Oct.)	25570	Whittinton. <u>Vulgaria</u> . The nick is again present in this and all following works.
<u>1520</u>	18088	More. Epistola ad Brixium.
<u>1521</u>	13807	Lilly & Horman. Antibossicon. A nick has developed in the top inner border and is present in all the following works.
1521	13083	Libello Huic Regio Haec Insunt. This pamphlet is bound preceding some copies of STC 13078, <u>Assertio Septem Sacramentorum</u> (4 id. July, 1521). Appears on B4V, as frame for Bulla Ro. Pon. ad Regiam Maiestatem, etc. Additional damage occurs at the top right corner of the outer frame and is present in all following works.
1522	11534	Galen. <u>De Pulsum Usum</u> .
<u>1523</u> (8 cal. June)	11533	Galen. <u>De Naturalibus Facultatibus</u> .
<u>1523</u> (14 cal. Nov.)	24728	Alphonso de Villa Sancto. <u>De Libero Arbitrio adversus Melancthon</u> . Beginning of what will be a 2 mm. dent towards the bottom of the right inner border.
<u>1524</u>	11535	Galen. <u>De Symptomatum Differentiis</u> . The dent is now fully developed and present in all following works.
<u>1525</u> (col. 1526)	25577.5	(STC 25575) Whittinton. <u>Vulgaria</u> .
1525	15636	Linacre. Rudimenta Grammatices.
1526	19082	Pace. <u>Praefatio... in Ecclesiastem Recognitum</u> .
1528	9896	YB - Edward V, I. The citation is carried over from M & F on the chance that they have viewed an edition that I have missed. The editions which I take to be STC 9896 have M & F no. 8 on the last page containing device 3b.
1542	12102	Gosynhill. <u>The Prayse of all Women</u> . (Middleton). This and all the following items are taken verbatim from M & F. Worm-hole in right inner borderline, 56 mm. from top, and another in the left portion of the design. 59 mm. from foot.

<u>1547</u> (July 15)		Borde. <u>The Breviary of Helthe.</u> (Middleton). With W and M in shields. On both titles. First title: additional worm-holes in the left portion of the design, 43 and 89 mm. from foot. Second title: additional worm-hole in the left portion of the design 86 mm. from foot.
<u>1552</u>		Borde. <u>The Breviary of Helthe.</u> (W. Powell). With W and P in shields. A break in the inner lower border-line, 40 mm. from left, extending 3 mm., and one 50 mm. from left; another in the lower outer border-line, 9 mm. from right.
1552		<u>Westerne Wyll, upon the Debate betwyxte Church- yarde and Camell.</u> (W. Powell).
<u>1557</u>	3375	Borde. <u>The Breviary of Helthe.</u> (W. Powell). With W and P on shields. The break in the inner lower border-line, 50 mm. from left, now measures 3 mm.
<u>1561</u>	24019	Thomas. <u>The Historye of Italye.</u> (T. Marshe). Shields empty. The break in the inner lower border-line, 50 mm. from left, now measures 6 mm.
<u>Addenda</u>		
<u>1522</u>	14531.5	Galen. <u>De Morborum Differentiis.</u>

M & F no. 8. (183 x 120 mm., enclosing 93 x 67 mm.) A compartment with boys playing at the head and the story of C. Mucius Scaevola and King Porsenna. On the right hand Mucius is represented as slaying the secretary of Porsenna in mistake for the king himself; on the left he is seen thrusting his hand into the fire in order to show his indifference to the king's threat that he should be burnt alive.

This is a somewhat coarsely-cut copy of a compartment designed by Hans Holbein (whose initials appear on the left side) for Froben at Basel. It differs from the original in that a wavy line has been substituted for the word, ROMA, below the wall of the city on the left, and in omitting the first two letters of the inscription, MVTIVS & PORSENA, above the tent. The first use known to M & F of the original is in Aeneas Gazaeus's Aenei Platonici Christiani de Immortalitate Animae, printed by Froben in 1516.

<u>Date</u>	<u>STC</u>	<u>Short-Title and Comments</u>
<u>1518</u> (id. Nov.)		Pace. <u>Oratio in Pace.</u> Cited on p. 264 of Herbert's <u>Typographical Antiquities</u> , no copy of this edition is presently known. There is no compartment in STC 19081a, which is dated Nonis Decembris.
<u>1518</u>	16797	Longland. <u>Sermones.</u>
<u>1521</u> (4 id. July)	13078	<u>Assertio Septem Sacramentorum.</u>

- 1521
(after Oct. 11) Epistola Regia ad Illustrissimos Saxoniae Duces.
Although M & F list this as STC 13083, Libello Huic Regio, on which title-page this work is mentioned, it seems more fitting to list the Epistola separately since it does use a separate alphabet for its signings and is customarily bound following the Assertio rather than directly after the Libello. I suspect that there may be two printings of this section since in some copies the compartment is intact while in others the damage to the top right inner corner appears. Assertio Septem Sacramentorum.
- 1522 13079
(17 cal. Feb.)
- 1522 24319
(pridie id. Oct.)
- 1523 20140
(3 no. Dec.)
- 1524 (Dec.) 15634
- 1528 9896
- 1525 11397
(Aug. 31)
- 1528 16797
- 1534 14553
(Dec. 12)
- 1538 2815
- 1540 2967
- 1542 2969
- 1545 2968
- 1547
- Tunstall. De Arte Supputandi.
- Powell. Propugnaculum adversus M. Lutherum.
Breaks in innermost top border-line, 43-51 mm. from right.
- Linacre. De Emendata Structura Latini.
YB-Edward V, 1. As frame on last verso for device 3b.
- Froissart. Third and Fourth Book. In some copies only, there appears to be an alternative title-page.
- Longland. Sermones.
The Myrroure or Glasse of Christes Passion.
(R. Redman).
- The Newe Testament in Englyshe and Latyn. (R. Redman). Two breaks in innermost lower-line border, 29 and 57 mm. from left. On first title has one worm-hole in the body of Porsenna's secretary and one in the middle of the edge of the board of the table in the tent scene.
- The Epistles and Gospelles. (R. Bankes sold by A. Clerke). Four breaks in innermost bottom border-line and about ten worm-holes in the lower right corner of the block.
- The Epistles and Gospelles. (R. Bankes). More worm-holes including one above the garter on the right leg of Mucius in the tent and another at the top on the right foot of the boy sounding the horn.
- The Epistles and Gospelles. (R. Bankes, sold by T. Petyt). Additional worm-hole on the left of the P in PORSENA.
- YB, Henry VII, 1-8. (Middleton). Additional worm-holes in cloak of Porsenna, head of Mucius, cloak of man in the center behind Porsenna; two in curtain of tent on the right, one in innermost double border-line, 69 mm. from foot; one in inner double border-line, just above the standard, 51 mm. from right.

<u>1548(7)</u>	2819	<u>The Neue Testament in Englishe and in Latin.</u> (W. Powell). Colophon is dated 1547. Worm-hole in right innermost double border-line, 80 mm. from foot, and right lower corner is defective.
<u>1549</u>		<u>The Neue Testament in Englysshe and Latin.</u> (W. Powell). Additional break in innermost lower double border-line, 29 mm. from left.
<u>1552</u>	9798	<u>YB-Edward IV, 5.</u> (W. Powell). Block now badly cracked in several places at top and bottom.

M & F no. 9. (119 x 81 mm. enclosing 67 x 41.5 mm.). A compartment with two boys at upper corners, pillars at the sides, and two men supporting a shield at the foot (= Device 53). A close copy of a compartment used at Mainz by J. Schoeffer in 1520, which is the source of the I.S. monogram above the shield which in the original contains Schoeffer's device.

<u>Date</u>	<u>STC</u>	<u>Short-Title and Comments</u>
<u>1521</u>	5311	Cicero. <u>Philippicae</u> . On the title-page it is found with the shield black. On the last verso it is found with Pynson's initial in the shield enclosing the colophon. All subsequent Pynson entries have Pynson's initials in the shield.
<u>1522</u> (Jan. 18)	15933	<u>Hore beatissime...Sariburiensis eccl'ie ritum.</u> On the last verso enclosing device 32. In the Bodleian copy in which I viewed the device, the device and the shield portion of the compartment were printed in red with the rest of the compartment printed in black. As described by M & F, the device and the entire compartment would be printed in red.
<u>1522</u>	11532	Galen. <u>De Motu Musculorum</u> . On last verso enclosing device 3b.
1522	20398.3	Proclus. <u>Sphaera</u> . On title-page enclosing title and on last verso enclosing device 32.
<u>1523</u> (8 cal. June)	11533	Galen. <u>De Naturalibus Facultatibus</u> . On last verso enclosing device 3b.
<u>1523</u> (July 10)	25516	(STC2 pt. 2 of 25517) Whittinton. <u>Editio cum Interpretamento (De Accentu)</u> . On last verso enclosing device 3b. There appears to be damage to the outer frame at the top of the right side, however, this is likely only a problem in inking.
<u>1524</u>	11535	Galen. <u>De Symptomatum Differentiis</u> . On last verso enclosing device 3b. A 4 mm. break is present in the top inner border.
1524	25562.7	Whittinton. <u>Verborum Preterita et Supina</u> . On last verso enclosing device 3b. The break in the top inner border has enlarged to 20 mm.; in addition, there are cracks in the lower left

- corner of the inner border and in the right inner border, with a bend below the crack in the latter case. There is also a 5 mm. break in the bottom inner border.
- 1525 25468.5 Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus. On the last verso enclosing device 3b. An additional break in the bottom inner border. Apparent 3 mm. and 5 mm. breaks in the left inner border appear to be the result of the device being set too close to that border and do not recur.
- In connection with this compartment one should also note M & F no. 15, used by Redman and Grafton which copies the lower part of the compartment no. 9 but substitutes the initials I. M. for I. S. and the initials I. N. for the shield and Pynson's monogram.
- 1525 15636 Linacre. De Emendata Structura Latina. On the last verso enclosing device 3b.
- 1526 3277 Bonde. Pylgrimage of Perfection. On the last verso enclosing device 3b. Four additional breaks in the top inner border.
- 1526 23182.3 Stanbridge. Vocabula. On the last verso enclosing device 3b. An additional crack in the middle of the bottom inner border; the right inner border has acquired a new crack towards the top, the previous crack by the middle of the column has become a 44 mm. break and a 2 mm. break has developed below it on the lower right inner border.
- 1526 11006 Fitzherbert. The Book of Surveying. On the last verso enclosing device 3b.
- (Oct. 25)
- 1526 13084 Henry VIII. Literarum. Enclosing title. An additional crack appears on the left inner border; the right inner border has three additional cracks and the 2 mm. break at the base of the pillar has expanded to 4 mm; the break in the bottom inner border measures 7 mm. (M & F say 7.5 mm.).
- (Dec. 2)
- 1526 13084.5 Henry VIII. Literarum. As above.
- (Dec. 2)
- 1527 25471 Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus. On last verso enclosing device 3 b.
- 1528 22609 Skelton. Repylacion Agaynst Certayn... Scolers. On last verso enclosing device 3b.
- 1530 10489 Erasmus. An Epystell unto Christofer. (T. Godfray).
- 1534 10634 Exonoratorium Curatorū. The break in the bottom inner border line measures 8.5 mm.
- 1558 Sternhold. Al Suche Psalmes of David, as Thomas Sternhold did in his Lyfe Time Drawe into English Meter. (J. Day). The I. S. monogram above the shield and Pynson's monogram in the shield deleted.

M & F no. 11 (171 x 114 mm., enclosing 108 x 72 mm.). A compartment with a winged figure at top, winged figures on pedestals at the sides, and a procession of naked boys with an elephant at bottom. Herbert (p. 464) regarded it as by Holbein, but M & F did not observe it in any of Froben's books. The same design was used in 1522 by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten; another of similar design was used by Johan Hoochstraten at Malmq in 1533 and 1534.

Date	STC	Short-Title and Comments
1521 (after Oct. 11)	13083	Henry VIII. <u>Libello Huic Regio Haec Insunt.</u> On the title-page enclosing title, and enclosing text on C1 and C3 ^v . A 7 mm. break in the right inner border-line, 72 mm. from the top, beside the middle of the column. Also a crack in the inner lower border-line, 45 mm. from the left, above the head of the chief on the elephant.
<u>1522</u>	11532	Galen. <u>De Motu Muscularum.</u> Enclosing title. A second break above the head of the chief on the elephant in the inner lower border-line. Also a 1 mm. break in the left inner border-line in the top corner and another 1 mm. break in the same border-line, 53 mm. from the top, at the junction of the winged figure and the upper element of the pedestal.
1522, <u>1523</u> (Mar.)	15118 25485	Lactantius. <u>Carmen.</u> Enclosing title. Whittinton. <u>Grammatices Primae Partis.</u> Enclosing title. Additional breaks in the left inner border-line, 33 mm. from the top, beside the wing of the top figure, and 80 mm. from the top, at the junction of the two elements of the column. Also a break above the head of the elephant in the bottom inner border-line.
<u>1523</u> (May 12)	25549	Whittinton. <u>Syntaxis.</u> Enclosing title. Apparent large areas of damage on right side by the pedestal is due to the type being too near the frame.
<u>1523</u> (May 16)	25450	Whittinton. <u>Grammaticae...Liber Secundus.</u> Enclosing title.
<u>1523</u>	25465	Whittinton. <u>De Heteroclitus Nominibus.</u> Enclosing title.
1523 (after Jan. 19)	24729	Alphonso. <u>Problema Indulgentiarum.</u> Enclosing title. Additional break in right inner border-line at bottom corner.
1523	18088.5	More. <u>Eruditissimi Viri Ferdinādi Baravelli Opus Elegās.</u> Enclosing title. The break in the right inner border-line now measures 13 mm. A crack through the top portion of the compartment, 42.5-40 mm. from left, through the left appendage of the winged man at the top; Also a crack through the bottom portion of the compartment, 71 mm. from left, ending by the foot of the figure in front of the elephant.

1523	18089	More. <u>Eruditissimi Viri Guilielmi Rossei Opus Elegans</u> . Enclosing title.
<u>1524</u> (July)	25517	(on basis of frame it is misdated and should be 1523). Whittinton. <u>Secūda Grammaticae Pars de Syllabarū Quātitate</u> . Enclosing title but without the cracks through the top and bottom of the frame.
1524	25562.7	Whittinton. <u>Verborum Preterita et Supina</u> . Enclosing title.
<u>1525</u> (Apr.)	25486.7	Whittinton. <u>Grammaticaes Primae Partis</u> . Enclosing title.
<u>1525</u> (May 16)	25552.5	Whittinton. <u>Syntaxis</u> . Enclosing title.
<u>1525</u> (July 30)	25451	Whittinton. <u>Grammaticae...Liber Secundus De Nominum Declinatione</u> . Enclosing title.
<u>1525</u>	25468.5	Whittinton. <u>De Heteroclitus Nominum</u> . Enclosing title.
<u>1527</u>	25471	Whittinton. <u>De Heteroclitus Nominibus</u> , Enclosing title.
1521*	25569	Whittinton. <u>Verborum Praetorita et Supina</u> . Enclosing title. This entry is inserted here for the moment because the date assigned by STC2 is 1527 under STC2 25564.4; the breakage is such, however, that the correct date must be c. 1521 or 1522.
1527	5542?	Colet. <u>Ioannis Coleti aeditio. una cum quibusdam G. Lili Grammatices Rudimentis</u> . Bagford Collection, Harl. 5974, title only. This is a carry-over from M & F which I have not viewed. As far as I know it is not Pynson and sounds suspiciously like an early version of the Authorized Grammar.
1529	24856	Vives. <u>Instructiō of a Christen Womā</u> . (Berthelot).
<u>1552</u>	1849	Bello-Poelius. <u>Gallitarnāci de Pace Oratio</u> . (W. Powell). Defect in outer border-line, 5 mm. from top. Several breaks in lower inner border-line.
<u>1553</u>	20837	<u>Registrum Omnium Brevium</u> . (R. Tottel). Reissue of sheets from Rastell's edition of 1531. Defect in left outer border-line, 39 mm. from foot.
<u>1554</u>	12090	Gorecius. <u>Oratio de Matrimonio Regis ac Reginae Angliae, Hispaniae</u> . (W. Powell). Portion of lower inner border remaining measures 68 mm.
<u>1555</u>	645	Anglerius. <u>The Decades of the Newe Worlde</u> . (W. Powell). (also colophons of R. Jug, W. Seres, E. Sutton and R. Toy). Portion of lower inner border remaining measures 41.5 mm.
1556	20091	Pollard. <u>Fyve Homiles</u> . (W. Gryffyth). The block appears very worn.

tandem expergiscā ipse/et som= | niculoso soporem excutit/tantum |
 adiumenti afferens quantum | suis negocijs repen= | deronem li= | cet. |
 Vale.

Although this latter item is not strictly speaking a Bercula typographical note - indeed it may refer to Alexander Barclay rather than Thomas Barclay since the Bercleus referred to lacks any initial in the reference - but it is included here because of Duff's reference to the note in his arguments concerning the identity of Bercula and his relationship with Pynson. It should be noted, however, that Duff refers to a prefatory letter in the 1528 edition of Le Bregement (STC 1517) which refers to "Tho. Bercleus, typographus" which suggests this may be the wrong item; however I have not noted anything else referring to Bercleus in any of the copies of the 1521 or 1528 editions of Le Bregement which I have viewed.

APPENDIX III - COATS-OF-ARMS

The following is a descriptive list of those coats-of-arms noted in the books I have viewed. Coats-of-arms have generally been ignored in studies dealing with the ornamental stock of printers. While Pynson's own arms are dealt with by McKerrow in his book on devices, the remainder of the sets of arms in Pynson's possession have been largely ignored.

Although Hodnett in his second edition of English Woodcuts takes cognizance of what I take to be the arms of Castile as no. 1484a, he omits most other arms from his lists including the so-called "arms of Scotland" in Barclay's translation of the War Against Jugurth - which I have omitted from the discussion below because it does not really fit the normal description of a coat-of-arms. Robert Steele in his Bibliography of Royal Proclamations published a number of facsimiles of the royal coats-of-arms found in the proclamations; at least one of these is misleading however, since while it is credited to Berthelet, it is found earlier in Pynson's hands.

Other facsimiles of both arms and borders are to be found in Joseph Beale's Bibliography of Early English Law Books; however, it must be noted that there are several instances in the work where works published by Pynson and De Worde appear to be confused which has led to the misattribution of at least the Elegy on Henry VII to Pynson's press. While a few arms will be found in Plomer's English Printers' Ornaments, they are largely ignored. The only large scale attempt to deal with the subject is the collection of facsimiles kept at Harvard which was begun by F. S. Ferguson and which Miss Pantzer has continued to add to between her chores with STC2.

Before proceeding to the descriptions a number of facts must be pointed out. Firstly, this is by no means a complete list of the use of coats-of-arms by Pynson since almost all indulgences and proclamations have been omitted in this study along with some other books which have not been viewed. Secondly, even given these limitations some coats-of-arms used in only one book have been omitted such as the shield containing three frogs' heads which is described as the "old arms of France" where it appears in Fabyan's Chronicle; in general, those arms which are included in the following list are those which appear in several works or appear in a place of such prominence that they are mentioned in one of the "Descriptions." Thirdly, I am not an expert in heraldry and my ascriptions as to who a given coat-of-arms belongs to is based upon whom the arms are associated with in the books published by Pynson rather than what the numerous books on heraldry may note; in a similar vein, my descriptions of the arms are similar to those given by Hodnett for woodcuts rather than being couched in the arcane language of the heralds.

COA. 1. Arms of Henry VII. 177 x 126. In an inner compartment, an angel with a cross on its head holding two scepters above two crowned shields; the left shield contains three fleur-de-lis while the right is quartered alternately with three fleur-de-lis and three lions; below the

shields is a peacock between two portcullises, each of which is topped by two Tudor roses and an eagle with a crown around its neck. The outer frame has a Tudor rose centered between eagle and rose topped portcullises at the top; the left side features from top to bottom a strange horned animal, a Tudor rose, an eagle and rose topped portcullis, a Tudor rose and a greyhound; the right side features from top to bottom a stag, a Tudor rose, an eagle and rose topped portcullis, a Tudor rose and a dragon; at the bottom are three crowned shields, the middle one of which contains three plumes while the others are blank but vertically bisected, above a banner bearing the motto ".Dieu . et . mon . droit .".

The cut closely resembles that used by De Worde in STC 9352 published in 1496. Although clearly originally used as one version of the royal arms of Henry VII, the cut was somewhat inexplicably used in one official publication after the death of Henry VII, an occasion which led one heraldic writer to publish a reproduction of the work in 1973 as the arms of Henry VIII.

Even in its first appearance in a Pynson book the cut is badly damaged with 12 mm. of the top left corner gone, a 4 mm. break on the left side, a 2 mm. gap in the inner border at the top and 23 mm., 10 mm. and 14 mm. breaks on the right side.

Date	STC	Title
1496	23878	Old Tenures.
1500	16173	Morton Missal.
1513	.9333	Statutes on War.

COA. 2. Arms of Henry VII(?) and of Henry VIII. 215 x 175. In a compartment with a double frame, two angels with crosses on their heads, each holding a banner into which a motto in type is usually set, to either side of a Tudor rose which is above a crowned shield quartered into alternating compartments of three lions and three fleur-de-lis which is flanked by two portcullises and supported on the left by a male dragon and on the right by a male greyhound; there are also four plants and two clumps of grass growing from the ground below, the most prominent of which is the central plant with three buds on it.

As mentioned above, the cut seems to have been used first as the arms of Henry VII in the Missal (STC 16179) published by Pynson for Henry VII in 1504. It continues to be used long after Henry VII's death, however, and in subsequent works appears to represent the arms of Henry VIII.

The cut appears to have been a metal one. The cut steadily deteriorates through the years. In its first noted appearance in 1504, there is already a 1 mm. cut below the right leg of the dragon. By 1506 a second break has occurred in the outer frame beside the right leg of the greyhound and two breaks are present in the upper-border of the upper loop of the banner on the right. By 1510, a break has developed in the outer border at the top at the right, several breaks are present in the buds of the central plant, and breaks have developed in the greyhound's tail. By 1516, a third crack has occurred in the upper

banner and a large break in the lower loop of the same banner, the lower edge on the right side of the cross on the crown has disappeared, as has the top of the left arm of farthest right of the upper sets of fleur-de-lis, and a break has developed in the middle tooth of the right portcullis. By 1520, there is considerable damage to the lower left banner as well as further damage to the banner on the right side; in addition, the left portcullis has developed a break in the chain at the upper left and the right portcullis has developed a cut on the left side of the first tooth. The later uses of the coat-of-arms are marked by a further deterioration in the banners.

The normal motto inserted in the banner reads: "Hec rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno. Eternum florens regia sceptrum feret." The exact spelling and use of contracted forms varies with each work.

Date	STC	Title
1504	16179	Missal.
1506	16140	Missal.
1510	14116	Intrationum.
1512	16190	Missal.
1513	5579	Troy Book.
1516	10659	Fabyan's Chronicle.
1516	15724	Littleton's Tenures.
1516	9362.6	Statutes, 7 Henry VIII.
1517	9358.5	Act of Kynges Revenue.
1520	16202	Missal.
1520	18388	Natura Brevium.
1520	21626	War Against Jugurth.
1523	11396	Froissart, parts 1 and 2.
1525	11397	Froissart, parts 3 and 4.

COA. 3. Arms of Margaret Beaufort(?). 106 x 160. A tripartite compartment surrounded by double borders with a crowned portcullis flanked by Tudor roses above the initials "I h C" which are in turn above a crowned portcullis with a banner inscribed "Dieu. et . mon . droit." in the central compartment. Each of the side compartments is composed of the initials above a portcullis above a Tudor rose above the initials.

Date	STC	Title
1504	23955	Imitation of Christ.
1505	6894.5	Mirror of Gold.
1517	23957	Imitation of Christ.
1517	23958	Imitation of Christ.

COA. 4. Arms of Henry VIII. Measurement not taken. A crowned shield quartered into compartments containing three fleur-de-lis or three lions supported by two crudely cut angels, the one of the left with a most pronounced nose. There is a substantial gap in the left border at the top.

The coat-of-arms has been reproduced by Robert Steele in his Bibliography of Royal Proclamations where it is no. 3 and credited to Berthelet. The confusion is compounded by the fact that in his description of the work from which the reproduction is supposed to have been taken, Steele says arms no. 2 rather than no. 3 is present.

Date	STC	Title
1516	20894.4	Retorna Brevium.
1517	23957	Imitation of Christ.
<u>1517</u>	23958	Imitation of Christ.

COA. 5. Arms of Henry VIII. 80 x 54. A crowned shield quartered into compartments containing three fleur-de-lis or three lions supported by two angels in a single-bordered frame. This coat-of-arms is most easily distinguished from COA. 6, by the fact that of the two plants present below the shield, the one of the left in this cut has four leaves while that in COA. 6 has three leaves; this difference is negated, however, by the fact that in its later states COA. 5 loses the lower leaf. It should also be noted that this cut can be distinguished from COA. 6 by the fact that the right angel in the latter looks almost cross-eyed.

As early as its first usage there is a break in the top of the right border by the tip of the angel's wing; by 1508 a second crack appears below this and by 1509 the two breaks have been combined. By 1512, the left border appears to be severely damaged as well. STC 9337, A Statute for the Ordering of Purveyors supposed to have been issued in 1525 presents special problems since it appears to be totally intact except for a portion of the right border; either our dating of the year of the statute's passing is severely off or the cut has been either repaired or copied.

A word of caution is necessary in the use of this part of the list of coats-of-arms since a good number of the items using COA. 5 and COA. 6 have not been microfilmed with the result that I have not been able to double-check these listings and may have occasionally confused the two arms in my notes.

Date	STC	Title
1505	14862	Book of Justices of the Peace.
1508	4659	Petrus Carmelianus. Carmen.
1508	17558	Solemnities & Triumphes.
1509	12413	Oratio Gryphi.
<u>1510</u>	10905	Fisher's Sermon on the Sayings of David.
<u>1511</u>	17017	Governance of Kings.

1511	12549	Pilgrimage of Richard Guilford.
1512	25585	Whytston's De Justicia.
1520	7708	Courts Baron.
1525	9337	Statute for the Ordering of Purveyors.

COA. 6. Arms of Henry VIII. 53 x 87. A crowned shield quartered into compartments containing either three fleur-de-lis or three lions supported by two angels in a single border. Only three leaves are present in the plant on the left, and the angel at the right looks somewhat cross-eyed.

Date	STC	Title
1517	7768	Proclamation for Putting Apart Excess Fare.
1518	19081a	Pace's Oratio.
1518	24320	Tunstall's In Laudem Matrimonii.
1523	20896	Retburna Brevium.

COA. 7. Beaufort Arms. 55 x 37. A crowned portcullis within a single border.

Although a portcullis is also associated with the City of Westminster, its use in the devices associated with Henry VIII clearly refer to its use as a Beaufort crest. One should note that the Pynson cut is not in a double border as Beale's erroneous citation of a De Worde title-page as a Pynson one has led some to believe.

There is a wide break in the top border at the left beginning c. 1505. Other breakage is somewhat problematic, suggesting that there may have been two cuts both flawed at the top.

Date	STC	Title
1505	1967.3	St. Bernard's Epistola. Intact.
1505	6894.5	Mirror of Gold. Intact?
1505	14862	Book of Justices of the Peace. Top break.
1508	4659	P. Carmelianus's Carmen. Break in lower frame between two farthest left teeth of portcullis.
1508	17588	Solemnities and Triumphes. Additional break at bottom between farthest right teeth.
1509	12413	Oratio Gryphi. Top break and bottom left breaks only.
1510	10905	Fisher's Sermon on the Sayings of David. None of the above breaks is present, what damage does seem present is more likely a result of faulty inking.
1517	23957	Imitation of Christ. Top break, apparent break between middle tooth and second from right tooth in the bottom and between the first and second teeth at the left (this latter may only be poor inking).

1517 23958 Imitation of Christ. Same as directly above.

COA. 8. Crest of Henry VIII. 56 x 37. Crowned Tudor rose in a single border.
There are almost certainly several identical cuts involved.

Date	STC	Title
1505	14862	Book of Justices of the Peace. Intact.
1505	6894.5	Mirror of Gold. Slight breaks in bottom at left (possibly inking problem).
1505	1967.3	St. Bernard's Epistola. The bottom of the right arm of the central cross is gone, a 4 mm. break in the left border and breaks of 2 mm., 2 mm., 1 mm. and 1 mm. in the bottom.
1508	4659	Petrus Carmelianus's Carmen. The damage to the cross is noted but the only other damage noted is a break in the top left corner.
1508	17558	Solemnities and Triumphes. Damage as directly above, other apparent damage to the bottom is likely due to inking.
<u>1509</u>	12413	Oratio Gryphi. Damage as above plus a break midway in the bottom border, a break running to the rose petal on the left in the bottom border and two lesser breaks to the left of that.
<u>1510</u>	10905	Fisher. Sermon on the Sayings of David. Damage as directly above.
<u>1511</u>	17017	Governance of Kings. Damage as above plus a nick below the lower right petal and a nick in the lower left portion of the central cross.
1525	812	Articuli ad Narrationes. Damage as above plus much of the right bottom petal is gone and there is damage to the left cross on the crown.

COA. 9. Arms of Henry VIII. 64 x 52. A crowned shield quartered into compartments containing either three lions or three fleur-de-lis in a single border.

In its earliest known use there is already apparent damage to the base of the left fleur-de-lis in the upper compartment, probably as a result of careless cutting. By 1525 there are breaks in the top of the cross, in the top of the central diamond of the rim of the crown and in the central part of the center fleur-de-lis in the bottom compartment. In 1528 an additional break or wormhole is found in the bottom of the third jewel from the right.

Date	STC	Title
1516	7726	Hundred Courts.
1525	15726	Littleton's Tenures.
<u>1525</u>	23880	Old Tenures.
1525	18389	Natura Brevium.
1526	10946	Diversite de Courtz.
<u>1528</u>	15728	Littleton's Tenures.

COA. 10. Entry cancelled.

COA. 11. Arms of Catherine of Aragon. 57 x 59. Three castles in a shield. Hodnett lists this in his second edition as no. *1484a with a 2 mm. break in the bottom in 1512.

Date	STC	Title
1511	17017	Governance of Kings.
<u>1511</u>	12549	Pilgrimage of Richard Guilford.
1512	11562.5	Gardyner's Passetaunce.
1513	9333	Statutes on War.

COA. 12. Arms of Henry VIII. 91 x 83. A crowned shield quartered into compartments containing three fleur-de-lis or three lions supported by a dragon on the left and a greyhound on the right within a single border. In 1526 there is damage to the top of the uppermost fleur-de-lis and breaks in the line dividing the two right quarters of the shield.

Date	STC	Title
<u>1512</u>	14867	Book of Justices of the Peace.
<u>1522</u>	5017	Of the Triumphs of ... Charles V in London.
1526	4186	Extirpation of Ignorancy.

COA. 13. Arms of Julius II. 147 x 105. Triple tiara with tassels and crossed keys above a shield with a three rooted oak tree with ten acorns on it; all within double borders. In 1509, there are three breaks in the top inner border to the right of the cross, one break in the lower inner border to the left of the shield and one cut in the left center of the bottom outer border as well as damage to the designs in the pieces of fabric trailing from the tiara. By 1512 the cut also has seven cuts in the oak tree, damage to the middle portion of the upper part of the right key as well, as damage to the lowest row of ornaments on the tiara.

Date	STC	Title
1509	12413	Oratio Gryphi.
1512	25585	Whytson's De Justicia.

COA. 14. Arms of England? 25 x 23. St. George's cross on an unframed shield.

Date	STC	Title
1512	25585	Whytston's De Justicia.

APPENDIX IV - BORDERS

The items described in this appendix are the separate border pieces used by Pynson - as opposed to compartments. Generally, I have tried to organize this appendix along the lines used by Hodnett in English Woodcuts for his treatment of the miscellaneous cuts, that is with borders found together listed beneath the books in which they all appear and with individual appearances listed under each border.

In the descriptions of the borders, the initial entry (following the number) is the letter H, V or A, which stand for horizontal, vertical or ambiguous. In the case of the vertical borders, the initial V may be followed by either an R or an L; this indicates that the border involved appears to have originally been part of a compartment, as evidenced by the beginning at the top and bottom of an open horizontal portion of double-frame, and that this border formed either the right or left side of such a compartment. The description which follows these letters lists the elements found in the borders from left to right or top to bottom.

A word of caution is in order regarding this list since it has been possible to double-check only a small number of the borders covered. It is quite possible that the same border may be inadvertently listed twice in some instances. In other cases an entry will actually cover two or more nearly identical borders which are here undifferentiated.

It must also be noted that there is a marginal type of border-piece or woodcut used by Pynson which is not covered here or in Hodnett. In the main this grouping of pieces is found in Pynson's early religious works, in the Shepherd's Calendars and some other miscellaneous works. Included in this group are a number of religious corner-pieces, three scene vertical religious borders with spaces between for type insertion, horizontal units with two upper bodies and heads with spaces between for type insertion and a number of cuts of men or women in arches.

Finally, one must note the fact that although many of Pynson's borders show signs of previous usage and although some appear to be made from cut up compartments, I have not been able to find the provenance of any of these pieces.

DEVICE 3 GROUP

1494	15395	Book of Good Manners
<u>1494</u>	23425	Sulpitius.
1494-6	790	Art and Craft to Know Well to Die.
1494-6	15721	Littleton's Tenures.
1494-6	18385	Natura Brevium.
1494-6	15855	Festum Transfigurationis Iesu.
1494-6	17105	Lyndewode's Constitutions.
1494-6	17961	Liber Festivalis.
1494-6	19812	The Parfite Lyfe.

These borders are the earliest in any of Pynson's works and are used only to form a compartment to hold device 3. Since the motifs of the hunter and the birds are picked up in the compartment which normally accompanies device 9, it seems reasonable to assume that 1496 is the terminal date for the use of this configuration.

- 1 H, flower, bird, flower, upside-down bird, flower. 7 x 42.
- 2 H, serpent or lioness-headed bird. 10 x 62.
- 3 A, taken as H, 2 1/2 half flowers over 2 1/2 half flowers. 9.5 x 61.
- 4 V, Archer aiming up with a patterned floor below. 61 x 8.

1497 HORAE GROUP I

1497 15886 Horae ad Usum Sarum.

As a matter of convenience, the borders which appear to have been introduced in this work have been broken down into three groups. This first group contains only those borders which I have recorded only in this work; no measurements are given for this group because the work lay outside the works which I set out to do descriptions of, with the result that these descriptions have been made from the microfilm copy after I had checked the actual work for watermarks. The second group is composed of borders found in this work as well as the 1513 Troy Book. The third group is composed of those borders found in this work and later works but not in the 1513 Troy Book.

- 5 H, winged dragon, two flowers, snail in a double border open at the left.
Although I have not noticed this in any other Pynson works, it or a similar piece is used by Redman in his 1534 edition of the Mirror of Christ's Passion (STC 14553).
- 6 H, crested bird facing right, leaf, flower, spotted bird, leaf in a double border open at the right.
- 7 H, three flowers, leaf, bud and flower in a double border open at the left.
- 8 H, five petalled rose, five petalled flower, leaf, four petalled flower with a prominent center in a double border open at the right.
- 9 H, leaves, flower, bird facing left, part of another leaf in a double border.
- 10 V, leaf, man with a hat, flower, two flowers in a double border which may have an opening in the right side at the top.

- 11 VL, leaves, long beaked crested bird, flower, two dots in a double border.
- 12 VL, bird with raised leg, flower, naked man, leaf, dragon in a double border. The opening is at the top only.
- 13 VR, bird with raised leg, flower, merman with hat and spear, leaf or fire (?) emanating from the mouth of a sitting beaked dragon in a double border.
- 14 VR, seven loops of leaves and four flowers around a shaded branch in a double border. The opening is at the top only.
- 15 A, four loops of leaves and five flowers around a log shaded at one end in a double border. The frame is open at the shaded end.

HORAE GROUP II

1497	15886	Horae ad Usam Sarum.
1513	5579	Troy Book.

- 16 H, finely vined flowers, bird with wings spread facing left, finely vined flowers. 14 x 73 in 1513, by which time the right end containing one flower and the only fully intact outer border has been lost.

1509	3545	Ship of Fools.
1517	22409.7	Shepherd's Calendar.
1520	17035	Testament of Lydgate.
1520	10630	Exonatorium Curatorium.

- 17 V, flowers, long-necked monster with a man's head, flower.

- 18 V, ostrich, flowers. 95 x 8.

- 19 V, leaves, flowers, winged-hump-backed beast, leaves, flowers. 118 x 13. Apparent breakage in both side borders may be due to positioning or inking rather than actual damage. Pynson had at least two cuts of this border since they are used on the same page in STC 3270.

1515	3270	Life of St. Francis.
1516	10659	Fabyan's Chronicle.

- 20 V, flowers, crested winged monster, flowers. 95 x 14. By 1509 there is a break in the top border which deteriorates.

1509	3545	Ship of Fools.
1517	22409.7	Shepherd's Calendar.
1518	17242	Mirror of Good Manners.
1520	16202	Sarum Missal.
1520	17242.5	Mirror of Good Manners.
1526	5086	Canterbury Tales.

21 V, flowers, spotted winged beast, flowers. 95 x 13. By 1513 about half the top border appears to be gone and by 1520 about half the bottom border appears to be gone as well.

1518	17242	Mirror of Good Manners.
1520	17035	Testament of Lydgate.
1520	17242.5	Mirror of Good Manners.
1521	3507	Life of St. Radegunde.
1526	3277	Pilgrimage of Perfection.
1526	5086	Canterbury Tales.
1526	5096	Troilus.

22 VL, bird, leaves, merman, flowers, top half of a bird in a double border. 112 x 8. In its earliest use by Pynson the border appears to be cut off at the bottom, there is a cut in the top outer border and the right border is open at the top. By 1513 there is a large piece gone from the left outer border by the wing of the bird at the top. By 1523 a piece of the left outer border is gone which runs from the second flower of the bottom group to the top of the bottom bird's head; by 1528, this break has reached the curve of the bottom bird's bill.

1523	11005	Book of Surveying.
1526	5088	Book of Fame.
1526	13086	A Copy of the Letters.
1528	13087	A Copy of the Letters.
1528	13087+	A Copy of the Letters.

23 A, fine vines and flowers. 15 x 62. This appears to be a companion piece to border no. 16.

1515	3270	Life of St. Francis.
1517	22409.7	Shepherd's Calendar.

24 A, bird, fine vines with leaves and a banner inscribed "i: aue mar". 14 x 83. The style of cutting suggests that this is a companion piece of nos. 16 and 23.

1504	3296	Book of Comfort Against Tribulation.
1517	22409.7	Shepherd's Calendar.

25 A, five spotted leaves around a branch. 6 x 65.

1517	22409.7	Shepherd's Calendar.
1526	3277	Pilgrimage of Perfection.

HORAE GROUP III.

1497	15886	Horae ad Usum Sarum.
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26 H, five vined flowers, double-winged monster, fine vines and flowers. 15 x 61. The vines suggest this is of a type with nos. 16, 23 and 24.

1517	22409.7	Shepherd's Calendar.
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27 H, two leaves, a cat(?), two dots, a flower in a double border. 11 x 79. In its earliest use by Pynson there is a break in the middle of both left borders and the piece is open at the right. By 1527 the upper and lower borders have broken off at the right so that the final petal of the flower projects beyond them.

1527	3176	Fall of Princes.
1530	1911	Golden Epistle. (Godfray).
1534	3321	Book of Merchants. (Godfray).
1535	21588	Treatise Concerning the Power of the Clergy. (Godfray).
1535	659	An Answer to a Letter. (Godfray).
1535	4240	A Treatise Concerning Improperities of Benefices. (Godfray).

28 H, pineapple, cone-flower, winged dragon, flower, two dots in a double frame open at the right. 11 x 78.

1527	3176	Fall of Princes.
1528	9517	Abridgement of the Statutes.

29 VR, crested bird on one leg, flower, long-necked hump backed beast with head down, leaves, duck with a man's face for a stomach in a double border with an opening in the left border at the top. Initially there is also a break in the bottom border. By 1523 there are also breaks in the inner border to the left of the central beast and in the right outer border below the nose of the face.

1523	11005	Book of Surveying.
1526	5088	Book of Fame.
1526	5096	Troilus.

30 VR, leaf, wolf-headed bird, flower, bird in a double border open at the top left. 102 x 8. The piece is also open at the bottom. By 1520, the top of the leaf at the top is gone.

1520	16202	Sarum Missal.
1526	5086	Canterbury Tales.
1526	3277	Pilgrimage of Perfection..

31 VL, flower with a cone stamen, leaf, three flowers, bird on one leg, leaf, flower in a double border open at the bottom and at the top right. 116 x 8. There is an apparent break to the left of the top leaf from the initial usage of the piece. By 1526, there are also breaks in the outer left border beside the top frond of the lower leaf and in the inner right border at the lower flower.

1526	13086	A Copy of the Letters.
1528	13087	A Copy of the Letters.
1528	13087+	A Copy of the Letters.

32 V, vine and three strawberries, naked man with club, leaves open at the top and bottom. 90 x 14. By 1520, the bottom of the border has been lost and there are two cuts in the left border beside the man.

1504	16179	Sarum Missal.
1515	25479.3	De Nominum Generibus.
1520	16202	Sarum Missal.

MORTON MISSAL GROUP

- | | | | |
|--|------|-------|----------------|
| | 1500 | 16173 | Morton Missal. |
|--|------|-------|----------------|
- 33 H, bird, two flowers, snail, two flowers, bird on a spotted background. 11 x 61.
- 34 H, leaf, three flowers, winged dragon in flight, leaf, three flowers. 21 x 139.
- 35 H, three flowers, bird looking left, two flowers on a spotted background. 11 x 60.
- | | | | |
|--|------|---------|----------------------|
| | 1517 | 22409.7 | Shepherd's Calendar. |
|--|------|---------|----------------------|
- 36 H, naked boy, flowers, bird stabbed by a naked boy on a spotted background. 11 x 60.
- | | | | |
|--|------|---------|--------------------------------|
| | 1504 | 18362 | Narrationes. |
| | 1517 | 22409.7 | Shepherd's Calendar. |
| | 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
| | 1521 | 16224.5 | Missa Preciosissimi Sanguinis. |
| | 1526 | 13086 | A Copy of the Letters. |
| | 1528 | 13087 | A Copy of the Letters. |
| | 1528 | 13087+ | A Copy of the Letters. |
- 37 H, griffin, two flowers, stag, flowers on a spotted background. 11 x 61.
- | | | | |
|--|------|---------|--------------------------------|
| | 1517 | 22409.7 | Shepherd's Calendar. |
| | 1520 | 10630 | Exoneratorium Curatorum. |
| | 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
| | 1520 | 25446.5 | Declinationes Nominum. |
| | 1521 | 16224.5 | Missa Preciosissimi Sanguinis. |
| | 1526 | 5088 | Book of Fame. |
| | 1526 | 5096 | Troilus. |
| | 1526 | 13086 | A Copy of the Letters. |
| | 1528 | 13087+ | A Copy of the Letters. |
| | 1528 | 9692 | Year Book, Henry VI, 20. |
- 38 H, snail, leaf, man-faced mouse, two flowers, flying bird, leaf, winged dragon. 13 x 144. By 1523 there is a break in the lower frame to the right of the bird. By 1526, the border above the snail is gone along with the section of the lower border under the tail of the dragon. By 1540, Redman had a copy of this border in use which is distinguishable from Pynson's in that the Redman border has a double frame.
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|--|------|-------|---------------------------------|
| | 1504 | 16179 | Sarum Missal. |
| | 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
| | 1523 | 11396 | Froissart's Chronicles, Part I. |
| | 1526 | 5088 | Book of Fame. |
| | 1526 | 5096 | Troilus. |
- 39 H, four flowers, three raspberries, Morton tun, two raspberries, beast with man's face for rump, leaf. 20 x 143.

- 40 V, winged dragon, four flowers, bird, leaves, long necked bird, four flowers, winged dragon. 244 x 18.
- 41 V, leaves, snake-necked man, four flowers, bird, leaf, bird, three flowers, monster with a man's face for a back, leaves, two humped monster. 244 x 13.
- 42 V, snake-necked monster, four flowers, bird on one leg, four flowers, hump-backed wolf. 204 x 18. By 1523, there are 9 mm. breaks to the left of the upper flowers and to the left of the top of the leaf and a 6 mm. break at the bottom of the leaf.
- | | | |
|------|-------|--------------------------------|
| 1523 | 11396 | Froissart's Chronicle, Part I. |
| 1526 | 5086 | Canterbury Tales. |
- 43 V, bird, flowers, pug nosed monster, leaves, bird, flowers, pointed eared monster. 209 x 13. By 1520, the right border is gone at the top down to the legs of the bird, there are three breaks at the bottom of the piece. There appear to actually have been at least two of these pieces since only half the top bird is present in one 1520 occurrence but the whole top bird appears to be present in 1523.
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|------|-------|--------------------------------|
| 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
| 1523 | 11396 | Froissart's Chronicle, Part I. |
- 44 A, eight loops of leaves. 8 x 138.
- 1504 MISSAL GROUP
- | | | |
|------|-------|---------------|
| 1504 | 16179 | Sarum Missal. |
|------|-------|---------------|
- 45 H, three flowers, leaf, man with a serpent body, flowers, duck, leaf, bird, wolf-headed beast with a man's face for a back, leaves, monster with three humps. 12 x 285.
- | | | |
|------|-------|---------------|
| 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
|------|-------|---------------|
- 46 H, three flowers and two birds, pelican feeding young, cross in an arch, phoenix among flowers. 27 x 156.
- | | | |
|------|-------|--------------------------------|
| 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
| 1523 | 11396 | Froissart's Chronicle, Part I. |
| 1526 | 5086 | Canterbury Tales. |
| 1526 | 5088 | Book of Fame. |
| 1527 | 3176 | Fall of Princes. |
- 47 V, three flowers, owl, leaf on a spotted background. 64 x 10.
- 48 V, leaves, eight half flowers on left and seven half flowers on right divided by a plain divider, leaves. 189 x 9.
- 49 V, four flowers, winged dragon, four flowers, bird, leaves, duck, four flowers, dragon. 285 x 18.
- | | | |
|------|-------|---------------|
| 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
|------|-------|---------------|
- 50 A, nine spotted leaves around a branch. 9 x 61.

51 A, banner with diamonds in it around a spotted log. 8 x 84. By 1521 this is down to 8 x 54.

1521 16224.5 Missa Preciosissimi Sanguinis.

52 A, continuous scallop shell pattern. 10 x 71.

1513 5579 Troy Book.
1520 10630 Exonatorium Curatorum.
1520 17035 Testament of Lydgate.
1522 15933 Horae.
1526 5096 Troilus.

BOOK OF COMFORT AGAINST TRIBULATION GROUP

1504 3296 Book of Comfort Against Tribulation.

53 H, leaf, man-faced mouse, leaf on a spotted branch in a frame open at both ends. 10 x 30.

54 VL, six half fleur-de-lis on the left, one half fleur-de-lis on the right above five half thistles on a spotted background divided by a two element divider in a double frame. 119.5 x 9.

55 V, thistle, fleur-de-lis, thistle, fleur-de-lis on the left, fleur-de-lis, thistle, fleur-de-lis on the right, separated by a two element divider. 117 x 9.

56 V, two flowers, leaf, flower in a double frame. 65 x 6.

MIRROR OF GOLD GROUP

1505 6898 Mirror of Gold for the Sinful Soul.

57 V, six leaves around a branch. 41 x 5.

58 V, a five pointed star above a lily in a vase. 47 x 5.

1506 16140 Manuale ad Usum Sarum.
1513 14789 Meditationes Jordani.
1521 16224.5 Missa Preciosissimi Sanguinis.

59 A, a four sectioned border; each section contains two diagonal lines, three linked circular elements with a circle in the center of each element, two diagonal lines, three banks of three featherlike elements.

1513 14789 Meditationes Jordani.
1522 6895 Mirror of Gold. (De Worde).

60 A, a three sectioned border; each section contains two curved lines, an unshaded bank of three feathers, a bank of two shaded feathers, and two banks of three shaded feathers. 7 x 47.

1513	14789	Meditationes Jordani.
1521	16224.5	Missa Preciosissimi Sanguinis.
1522	6895	Mirror of Gold. (De Worde).

SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR GROUP

1506	22408	Shepherd's Calendar.
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61 H, three flowers, winged man, flower on a spotted background. 15 x 60.

62 H, rabbit, greyhound and bird separated by grapevines on a spotted background. 15 x 60.

63 H, flower, figure with a lance on a horse, two flowers, figure with a lance on a unicorn, flower. 16 x 60.

64 H, flower, bird, two flowers, bird, flower. 16 x 60.

65 H, flower, closed flower, flower on a spotted background in a double frame. 10 x 61.

1512	16190	Sarum Missal.
1520	16202	Sarum Missal.
1526	3277	Pilgrimage of Perfection.

66 VL, flower, long-beaked bird, leaf, flower, bird in a double frame open on the right at the top and bottom. 118 x 9. By 1526 there are two cuts by the leaf and one by the bird, all on the left side.

1526	3277	Pilgrimage of Perfection.
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67 V, bird, two flowers, bird, two flowers, bird. 9 x 118.

68 V, three dots, six petalled flower and leaf, winged dragon, flower, pineapple. 78 x 11.

69 V, four petalled flower with a raised center, leaf, flower, leaf, five petalled rose. 79 x 11.

RED'S ALMANAC GROUP

1506	504	Red's Almanac Ephemerides.
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70 V, flower, bird with wings spread looking over its shoulder, flower. 60 x 8.

71 V, flower, crested bird looking right, flower. 61 x 9.

1512	16190	Sarum Missal.
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72 A, three sections of banks of unshaded feather patterns. 4 x 51.

SHIP OF FOOLS GROUP

1509 3545 Ship of Fools.

73 V, bird, flower, bird, flower on a spotted background. 119 x 14.

74 V, bird, leaf, boy with shield, flower, dragon on a spotted background. 118 x 14.

75 V, three and a third fleur-de-lis on the left and three thistles on the right divided by a segmented divider in a double border open on one end. 114 x 13.

1526 3277 Pilgrimage of Perfection.

76 V, three fleur-de-lis on the left and one half, two and one half thistles on the right divided by logs in a double border open at one end. 113 x 13.

1526 3277 Pilgrimage of Perfection.
1526 5086 Canterbury Tales.

MEDITATIONES JORDANI GROUP

1513 14789 Meditationes Jordani.

77 H, 3 1/2 half flowers over 4 half flowers with a plain divider in a double frame.

78 H, 1/2, 3 and 1/2 half flowers above 4 half flowers in triangles. 6 x 50.

79 H, six leaves on a spotted background in a double frame.
1520 16202 Sarum Missal.

80 V, three folds of ribbon topped by a flower on a spotted background in a double frame.

81 V, flower and winding leaves on a spotted background in a double frame. 6 x 47. The bottom of the frame is gone and there is damage to the top border as well.

82 V, a flower on a stem above a six pronged leaf. 6 x 48.

TROY BOOK GROUP

1513 5579 Troy Book.

83 H, strawberries with a flower below. 6 x 66.

84 H, fine flowers and vines with a vase in the center. 8 x 79.
 1517 22409.7 Shepherd's Calendar.
 1521 3507 Life of St. Radegunde.
 1522 11005 Book of Surveying.
 1523 20896 Retourna Brevium.
 1526 3277 Pilgrimage of Perfection (Rosary
 part).
 1526 5086 Canterbury Tales.

85 V, thirteen balls on a rod in a double frame. 66 x 7.

86 V, a woman, man and a man above each other in rounded compart-
 ments. 117 x 14.
 1520 406.7 Prognostication of Master Adrian.
 1523 17242 Mirror of Good Manners.
 1523 17242.5 Mirror of Good Manners.
 1526 3277 Pilgrimage of Perfection.
 1526 5086 Canterbury Tales.
 1526 5088 Book of Fame.

87 A, rose and a pepper shaped flower. 18 x 82. By 1526 there is
 a cut below the lower leaf of the rose and another beneath the lower
 leaf of the other flower.

1523 11005 Book of Surveying.
 1523 20896 Retourna Brevium.
 1526 5086 Canterbury Tales.
 1526 5096 Troilus.

88 A, five spotted leaves. 5 x 96.

FABYAN'S CHRONICLE GROUP

1516 10659 Fabyan's Chronicle.

89 V, bird, grapes and fox in a double frame. 115 x 12.

90 V, bird, flower, fox(?), leaves, dragon.

91 VL, leaf, man with hat, flower, ape in a double frame open on the
 right side at the top and bottom. 118 x 14. In its earliest use by
 Pynson the left outer border is gone at the bottom and the right outer
 border is gone beside the middle of the leaf. By 1526 there is also a
 break in the top of the frame, a large section in the left side of the
 frame by the flower is gone and there is a hole at the top of the leaf.
 1526 5088 Book of Fame.

92 V, bird, leaves, dog, flower, dragon in a double frame. 118 x
 13. There is a break in the top in 1516. By 1523 there is a second
 break in the top and a large piece of border and ornament has been lost
 to the left of the dog.

1523 17242 Mirror of Good Manners.
 1523 17242.5 Mirror of Good Manners.

93 V, two flowers, hopping bird, leaves on a branch, wolf-headed
bird in a double frame. 119 x 9.
1517 22409.7 Shepherd's Calendar.
1523. 17242.5 Mirror of Good Manners.

1517 SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR GROUP

1517 22409.7 Shepherd's Calendar.

94 H, two flowers, horned bird facing left, two flowers on a spotted
background. 10 x 60.
1520 25446.5 Declinationes Nominum.
1526 13086 A Copy of the Letters.
1528 13087 A Copy of the Letters.
1528 13087+ A Copy of the Letters.

95 V, flower, gnome-headed two legged animal, two flowers. 67.5 x
10.5.

96 V, three loops of ribbon with diamond design and a spotted bird.
54 x 8.

97 V, flower, hopping bird, top of a flower with a cone stamen. 49
x 11.

98 V, four flowers, crested bird looking left. 67.5 x 10.5.

99 V, bird facing right, flower, dog with pointed ears, flower in a
double frame. 67.5 x 10.5.
1521 19816 De Vita Sancti Nicholai.

100 V, winged dragon, flowers, baboon, flowers on a spotted back-
ground.

1519 18362 Narrationes.
1520 16202 Sarum Missal.
1520 25446.5 Declinationes Nominum.
1522 15933 Horae.
1526 13086 A Copy of the Letters.
1528 13087 A Copy of the Letters.
1528 13087+ A Copy of the Letters.

101 V, bird, three flowers, winged wolf, three flowers, winged animal,
two flowers on a spotted background. 119 x 13.

1526 3277 Pilgrimage of Perfection.
1526 5086 Canterbury Tales.

102 A, three five-petalled flowers. 14 x 62.
1515 3270 Life of St. Francis.

103 A, four leaves on a spotted background. 7 x 32.

NARRATIONES GROUP

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-------|---------------------------|
| | 1519 | 18362 | Narrationes. |
| 104 | V, 4 half thistles and 1 half fleur-de-lis at left and 1/2, 4 and 1/2 fleur-de-lis at right divided by shaded logs. | | |
| 105 | V, leaf, seated nude, flower in a double frame. 65 x 11. | | |
| | 1526 | 3277 | Pilgrimage of Perfection. |
| 106 | V, five bunches of grapes with vines in a double frame. 67 x 12. There are openings in the frame at the top and bottom of one side suggesting that this piece was once part of a compartment. | | |
| | 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
| 107 | V; flower, eagle, flower on a spotted background in a double border. 68 x 6. | | |
| | 1520 | 17055 | Testament of Lydgate. |
| 108 | A, a patterned piece. 5 x 68. | | |
| | 1520 | 17055 | Testament of Lydgate. |
| | 1521 | 19816 | De Vita Sancti Nicholai. |

1520 MISSAL GROUP

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------|---------------|
| | 1520 | 16202 | Sarum Missal. |
| 109 | H, leaf, possum, flower on a spotted background. 9 x 60. | | |
| 110 | V, five flowers in compartments formed by logs on a spotted background. 118 x 9. | | |
| 111 | V, floral. 260 x 13. | | |
| 112 | A, five and one half leaves divided by a five part stem on a spotted background. 9 x 57. | | |

TESTAMENT OF LYDGATE GROUP

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------|--------------------------|
| | 1520 | 17035 | Testament of Lydgate. |
| 113 | H, four spotted leaves around a pole. 10 x 86. | | |
| 114 | V, seven leaves around a stick on a spotted background in a double border open at one end. 63 x 6. | | |
| | 1521 | 19816 | De Vita Sancti Nicholai. |
| 115 | V, leaf, long-beaked bird, flower, leaf on a spotted background. 64 x 6. | | |

1526 3277 Pilgrimage of Perfection.

BOOK OF FAME GROUP

1526 5088 Book of Fame.

116 H, flower, bird with wings spread, flower on a spotted background.
15 x 61.

1520	10630	Exonatorium Curatorum.
1520	25446.5	Declinationes Nominum.
1526	3277	Pilgrimage of Perfection..
1526	5086	Canterbury Tales.
1526	5096	Troilus.
1528	9692	Year Book, Henry VI, 20.

117 V, flower, bird, three leaves and berries, bird, flower, bird.
140 x 18.

1527 3176 Fall of Princes.

118 V, flower, bird, two leaves and berries, bird, flower. 145 x 16.
By 1527 the border is gone at both the top and bottom and there are numerous breaks in the side.

1527 3176 Fall of Princes.

119 A, eight flowers. 18 x 145.

1526	5086	Canterbury Tales.
1526	5096	Troilus.
1527	3176	Fall of Princes.

PILGRIMAGE OF PERFECTION GROUP

1526 3277 Pilgrimage of Perfection.

120 VL, flower, crested duck, leaves, flower in a double frame open
at the top and bottom on the right side. 106 x 9.

1526 5096 Troilus.

121 V, leaf, bird, flower, leaf two-legged creature with an animal
head in a double border open at the top and bottom of one side.

122 V, bird, flowers, winged dragon, leaves, bird in a double frame.

1520	406.7	Prognostication of Master Adrian.
1523	17242	Mirror of Good Manners.

123 V, half fleur-de-lis, half thistle, half fleur-de-lis on the left
separated by a segmented divider from the half fleur-de-lis, half
thistle, half fleur-de-lis on the right.

124 V, 3 half thistles, 1 half fleur-de-lis on the left separated by

shaded logs from 4 half fleur-de-lis on the right in a double border open at the top.

125 V, half fleur-de-lis, half thistle, half fleur-de-lis and a fragment on the left separated by a segmented divider from a fragment, half fleur-de-lis, half thistle, half fleur-de-lis on the right on a spotted background.

126 A, nine spotted leaves around a log. 9 x 95.
 1521 3507 Life of Saint Radegunde.
 1526 5096 Troilus.
 1528 9692 Year Book, Henry VI, 20.

1528 YEAR BOOK GROUP

1528 9692 Year Book, Henry VI, 20.

127 H, five and a half flowers above five and a half flowers divided by a plain divider. 9 x 113.

128 V, five loops of leaf around a branch. 63 x 9.

129 V, half thistle, fleur-de-lis, thistle, fleur-de-lis, thistle in diamonds formed by a plain divider with half fleur-de-lis and half thistles alternating at the sides. 65 x 11.

MISCELLANEOUS GROUP

130 V, bird, flower, bird, two berries, bird, flower.
 1528 22609 Replication Against Certain Scholars.

131 H, flower, bird with wings spread, two flowers.
 1521 25446.5 Declinationes Nominum.

132 H, flower, strawberry, leaves in a double border. 8 x 47.
 1521 19816 De Vita Sancti Nicholai.

133 V, bird, flowers, winged wolf, flowers, griffin. 14 x 118.
 1526 5086 Canterbury Tales.

134 H, ten and a half diamonds containing half fiery flowers with leaves on one end. 9.5 x 115.
 1527 3176 Fall of Princes.

135 H, five and a half diamonds containing fiery flowers. 9 x 70.

136 V, 2 half thistles on the left divided by a segmented divider from two half fleur-de-lis on the right on a spotted background. 50 x 9.
 1528 18390 Natura Brevium.

137 V, 4 half fleur-de-lis on the left divided by a plain divider from 4 half thistles on the right on a spotted background.
 1528 18390 Natura Brevium.

APPENDIX V - INITIALS

Due to the large numbers of initials involved, the following appendix is not a detailed listing of Pynson's initials, their states and appearances; instead, I have attempted to provide a brief discussion of the initials by series and period with my somewhat cryptic abbreviations for each initial or series provided in square brackets. Wholly excluded from the list are several series of lombardic initials containing various types of wavy lines which I have not yet attempted to fully differentiate.

TO 1500

The earliest Pynson books are generally devoid of ornamental initials, or even of two-line capitals, spaces being left instead for the insertion by hand of rubricated initials. Pynson's earliest initial appears to be a very black D [F¹] surrounded by fine vines and flowers and with vines and flowers in its center which is found only in the 1493 Dives and Pauper. The lone rival for the earliest initial is a large black knobbed lombardic H [K] first found in the Life of St. Margaret which is assigned a date of 1493 and which is also found in several other works through 1495.

The first initials which appear to be part of a series [F¹] are an A, H, T, U and W; all of which, while different in several details, are white on a black background and incorporate a floral pattern. These initials appear to have been acquired c. 1494, at which date the A is first found in the Speculum, the U in the Fall of Princes, and the W in the Vocabula; the T is first found in several works of 1496, while the H is not noted until its appearance in the Libellus of 1500. Although the U is found only in the work cited above and in the Hecyra of 1495, the other initials in the series are surprisingly long-lived, with the W last noted in use in a work of 1505, the H in a work of 1510, the T in a work of 1518 and the A in a work of 1523. Although each of these initials has certain characteristics in common with the others, as noted above, they are each somewhat different as well; thus the U stands alone in having three paisley-like floral patterns in the bow of the letter; the T and W, although similar in that each has a flower in each corner of its cut, differ in that the W also has a man's face in the first bow of the letter; the H and T share the common motif of having a large plant within the open portion of the letter; while the A has flowers in its upper compartment and vines below.

In addition to those initials already mentioned, Pynson had two Q's, each of which was used in one of the two editions of the Statute collection published in 1499. The Q used in STC 9514 features a leaf within the letter [L], while that used in STC 9515 has a flower going down from the top [F] in it. The only other initial noted before 1500 is a floral U with diamond pointing around it found in the 1499 edition of Lyndewode's Constitutions (STC 17105).

1500 TO 1509

The first Pynson imprint to introduce and employ large numbers of initials was the Morton Missal of 1500. There appear to be at least three series of floral initials employed in the work along with several other initials not readily assigned to any series. The first of these series [F²] consists of relatively simple initials with flowers in them and is used as late as 1519; the letters definitely in the series are a D, G, H, I, L and O. Possibly related to the series are an H, N and S with leaves [L] and an E with a leaf and flower design [LF]; the latter first found in the Book of Good Manners of 1500; all of which differ from the plain floral series in that they have designs cut in one or more corners of each block.

The second floral series introduced in the Morton Missal [F³] differs from the previous floral series in that each initial has a series of what may best be described as squiggles attached to the serifs or surrounding the letter. The series includes the letters B, C, D, M, P, R, T and U, and they are found as late as 1521. Possibly part of the series are an M with squiggles [Sq], but no flower, and an A, E, and F with two leaves and squiggles [2L].

The third major series introduced in the Morton Missal is a group of larger initials (39 mm. high as compared with 16 mm. to 18 mm. high for the two immediately preceding groups) with wavy lines through them and leaves and flowers incorporated into their design [WLF]. The series consists of the letters B-E, G, P, R and S, which have only been observed in this work. This raises the strong possibility that these initials, together with a wavy A incorporating a dragon and the Morton tun [WDT], were specially cut for the work; it must be noted however, that the latter initial is found in two later Missals.

In addition to introducing the series of initials already mentioned, the Morton Missal also introduced two individual initials which do not appear to be related to any of the series. The first of these is a floral N with a rose [FR] which I have not noted in any of the other works viewed. The second is a floral with frilled leaves O [F⁶] which is found through 1526.

The 1500 edition of the Book of Good Manners introduced an A with vines and squiggles [VS] last noted in a work of 1517.

The next book to feature the introduction of a large number of initials was the Processionalibus of 1502, which introduced a series of grotesque initials characterized by a zig-zag pattern within the body of the letters [GZZ] which was used through works of 1520. In addition to the main series of initials, which had faces incorporated into them, there is also an I with a bird and the zig-zag pattern (BZZ] and an ornate A, B, C, H, M, O, S and U incorporating the zig-zag pattern [OZZ], which one suspects were either part of the same series or were cut for use with it. Somewhat more problematic are certain other grotesque initials found in the same work [G² and G³] which share certain characteristics with some of the zig-zag grotesques, but which lack the distinctive pattern.

Also introduced in the Processionalibus are a small white floral C and P [F^{1a}], which appear to be part of a set with a Q first noted in the Magna Carta collection of 1508, and an A and B first noted in the Troy Book of 1513, which are found as late as 1527. In addition to the above series, the Processionalibus also introduced a very strange looking

outlined black M with white highlights [Out], which is also used in works of 1508.

The next series of initials to be introduced during this period was a group of grotesque facial initials first found, and possibly cut for, the 1505 edition of the Castle of Labor [CLG]. This series of grotesques, which continued in use until Pynson's death, is characterized by a series of intertwined diamondlike appendages coming out from the letters in imitation of a series of initials owned by Verard. Also in the series, although not grotesques, are a D, L, N, P, R and S with the diamond appendages [D].

Also introduced in the Castle of Labor is a plain white W [P], similar to one employed by De Worde. In later works the initial, which was used through 1519, develops apparent spurs due to wormholes.

The only other series of initials found during this period are the grotesques found in the Pynson - De Worde Royal Book of 1507; since these are obviously De Worde's, there is nothing more to be said about them.

The remainder of the initials introduced during this period are single initials introduced in individual works; thus we find that the 1502 Esopus employed a floral G [F] noted only in that work; the 1505 Statutes (STC 9265) introduced a frilled R [Fr] also noted in the 1514 edition of the same work and a flower and leaf E [FL] which was also used in the Oratio Gryphi; the copy of the Long Parvula assigned to 1505 introduced a plain black W [PB] which was used through 1520; the 1506 Shepherd's Calendar introduced a P with a portrait of a man wearing a hat enclosed in it [HP] which also appeared in the 1510 edition of Littleton's Tenures; the 1507 Horae (STC 15806A) introduced a leaf and corn ear Q [LC] noted only in that work, and a leaf and flower B [LF] found in works through 1516; the 1508 edition of Maydestone's Ordinale Sarum featured the only use noted of a lined Q with leaves and berries [LLB]; and the Missal of 1506 introduced an ornate O with leaves and a flower with a cone shaped pistil [LOCF].

Also noted during this period is the introduction of several varieties of knobbed initials. An unframed black knobbed H [BK] is first noted in the Horae of 1507, while a black knobbed M [BK] is first noted in the Horae of 1507, and both initials are last noted in Fabyan's Chronicle of 1516. A series of unframed white initials on a dark background [K] are first noted with the introduction of a T in the 1505 Castle of Labor and the subsequent appearance of an H in 1506 and of an F and a P in 1508; these initials, or copies of them, remained in use through 1527.

1509 TO 1518

The first initial to be introduced in Pynson's third period was a closed T with a fleur-de-lis inside [F-D-L], first found in the 1509 Ship of Fools and last noted in works of 1520. The next initial noted is a W enclosing a leaf in each bow of the letter [DL] first viewed in a Year Book (STC 9358) of 1510 and last seen in a work of 1523; the letter is either copied from one used by both Caxton and De Worde, or may have been obtained from De Worde; in its earliest appearance in a Pynson work, the top serif is separated from the body of the letter, and in later

occurrences the serif is lost altogether.

The Intrationum of 1510 introduced an initial with obvious Tudor associations in the form of an A with a rose and portcullis [RP], which is also found in the Missals of 1512 and 1520. The Magna Carta collection of 1511 (STC 9268) introduced a crowned R with diamond appendages similar to those found in the CLG series which remained in use through 1525. The Missal of 1512 introduced a frilled knobbed D with a kneeling king inside (presumably representing King David) which remained in use through the 1520's. 1512 also saw the introduction of an ornate white N [BO] in a Year Book (STC 9698) which remained in use through 1526, and of a black and white I with a bird (but no zig-zags) in the Gardyners Passetance which continued in use through 1523. Slightly earlier is a double grotesque O with a face on either side [DG] which was introduced in the Pilgrimage of Guilford and which continued in use through 1526. Finally, the 1513 Troy Book introduced an unframed black floral O [F⁴], which is also found in the 1523 Book of Surveying.

Works assigned to the year 1515 saw the introduction of several other non-series initials. A C featuring a knight and dragon [DK] is introduced in the Narrationes (STC 18362) and is used, mainly in works printed in roman, through 1525. A peculiar W, which I term double ornate [DO] because it is composed of two twined U's with a patterned background, is first noted in the Gradus Comparationum (STC 2315) and is used until Pynson's death. Finally, a portrait O [P] is found in a Year Book (STC 9813) of that year.

The greatest influx of new initials during the period is found in the 1516 edition of Fabyan's Chronicle. The main series introduced in the work is a group of initials in the form of ornamental plant stalks with stylized leaves [OS] which is found in works through 1526, after which several of the initials appear to have been obtained by Thomas Godfray and Henry Tab as well as Redman. Apart from the ornamental stalk series, Fabyan's Chronicle also appears to have introduced an ornate M [O] found in works printed through 1526, an ornate frilled S [OF] with the same lifespan and a frilled floral I which was used through 1525.

1516 also saw the only appearance noted of a seated man F [SM] in the Rule of St. Benet, the introduction of a dolphin top T [DT] in Littleton's Tenures (STC 15724) which continued in use through 1523, and the introduction of an H with banners or streamers at the sides [B] in the Hundred Court piece (STC 7726) which was also used in one of the Anti-bossicons (STC 13807) of 1521.

The remaining initials introduced during the period are found in the Shepherd's Calendar assigned to 1517. A wavy floral O with squiggles and having an eight rayed sun in the center [WFS] and a wavy unframed black F with a crowned portcullis [WFP] have been noted only in this work. Seeing somewhat wider usage are a knobbed black H with a maltese cross in the center [KMC] also found in Year Books of 1519 and 1520, a frilled E with twined leaves [FTL] used through 1528, a frilled floral P [FFD] used through 1525, a frilled S with an animal's head in the center [FA-H-C] found through 1526, and a frilled knobbed leaf N with a dotted background [FKDC] found in works through 1527.

1518 ON

The most noteworthy series of initials introduced during the final is a group of large notched letters with frilled serifs and spotted backgrounds, but a wide variance in other details. Actually, the frilled E and P of the 1517 Shepherd's Calendar already noted are part of this series. Also first noted in the Shepherd's Calendar, if the date currently assigned that work is correct, are a frilled floral knobbed I with unicorns [FFUD] used through 1525 which was copied in 1521 in a variant cut with dotted knobs which was used contemporaneously with the original version; and a notched O with a dragon in the center [DD] which also has several variant cuttings.

Horman's Vulgaria of 1519 introduced a knobbed frilled floral D with a goat and bird in the middle [FFKGB] used through 1523, and a frilled floral G with a bird [FFB] in the same series. The greater part of the series, however, is first noted in the Missal of 1520 (STC 16202), which saw the introduction of a notched snake and dragon D [SD], a frilled notched B with two twined animals [FTA], a notched Q with a dragon [BDD], sometimes used as a D, a knobbed frilled floral M [FFKD], a frilled floral S [FF], a frilled L with a falling figure [FKFF], a frilled floral knobbed R [FFK] and a frilled floral knobbed T [FFK]. Also in the series are a frilled knobbed vine and flower W [FFKV] first noted in the 1523 Froissart, and a frilled floral A with log [FFL] first noted in the 1520 War Against Jugurth; both of which initials are found in several cuttings which may be determined by varying numbers of dots below the T and varying numbers of knobs containing dots in the W. All of these initials can be found through works of 1526, and most remained in use until Pynson's death.

The 1520 Missal also served to introduce a series of somewhat smaller white initials, most of which have a leaf pattern. Those noted in the work include an E with a log [KLF], a knobbed F [BKF], a D with a caterpillar [BBWLC], a Q [BBWL], R [BWKL], S [BFK], L [BKF], K [BKF], P [BFF] and V [BKL], some of which are found in use until Pynson's death. Other initials which appear to be in the same series include an R [WKF] with a flower going up, first noted in the 1525 War Against Jugurth and Froissart, an R with the flower going down [BFF] found in works of 1523, a Y [BKF] first found in 1523 and used through 1527, and a T [BF] first found in the Life of St. George assigned to 1515 (but first found in a dated work in 1523) which remained in use through 1528.

In addition to the initials in the two series, the 1520 Missal served to introduce a number of individual pieces as well. Among these non-series initials are a T supporting the crucified Christ with the two Marys at either side [CC2M], an O with Christ holding a cross and a lamb [CCL], an O with a portrait of a crowned lady surrounded by flowers [PC], a U with a portrait enclosed [P] and an H with a crowned king and a crowned rose [CKCR]. Miscellaneous floral and vine patterns introduced in the work include a white frilled vine A [BFV] in two forms (one with a circular bud, the other with a three leaf clover-like appendage) used through 1528, a C or E with four flowers [F4F], a frilled G with three flowers [F3F], a frilled I with leaves [FLD] and a frilled leaf P with a broken bud [FBBL]. Also noted for the first time in the work are a frilled S with two birds and two knights [F2B2K], an unframed C with a crane [BC], a frilled floral E with an owl [FFOwl] and a frilled crowned A with a double cross-piece [FCC-P].

The Testament of Lydgate now assigned to 1520 featured a white floral D [F6] and O [F5] noted only in that work. First noted in the 1520 Aphthonius and other works of the same year are a frilled white dotted E [FWD] (also noted in some works dubiously assigned the date of 1502), a frilled dotted V with vines [FVD], a frilled dotted A with cross-piece [FC-PD], a frilled dotted floral C [FFD], a frilled white L with a strawberry [FWS-B] and a frilled S with a fiery circle in the middle [FFyC-M]. The 1520 edition of the War Against Jugurth saw the introduction of a frilled H with a horseshoe shaped cross-piece [FH-M] and of a large ornate scrollwork I [OS], which is a companion piece to the scrollwork H first noted in the Libello Huic Regio. Whittinton's Vulgaria of 1520 introduced a floral C with spurs [SpF], while the 1520 De Nominum Generibus introduced a knobbed frilled floral H with a leaf and a horseshoe shaped cross-piece [FFKH-CL]. Finally, a frilled floral E with trilliums in two corners [FF]T and a floral D with trilliums in three corners [F3TF] were introduced in various Year Books assigned to 1520.

1521 saw the introduction of a leaf U with the madonna and child enclosed in the letter [LMC] in one of the forms printed for the Guild of St. Mary at Boston. 1522 was somewhat more prolific with the introduction of Pynson's last set of initials in the form of a framed white roman Q on a black background in the Propugnaculum; this was joined by an A, E, N, P and S in works of 1523, and a C in a work of 1526.

The 1522 Sphaera featured the only use noted of a frilled notched floral Q or D with trilliums in three corners [FNF3T] and of a frilled knobbed floral T with four leaves and with a squiggle on top [FFK4LS]. The Horae (STC 15933) of 1522 introduced a frilled black B with leaves and a strawberry [FLBS-B], while the Littleton's Tenures of the same year introduced a frilled floral E with outshoots [FFO], and Whittinton's De Octo Partibus and De Verba Praeterita of the same year introduced a black floral G with a goose [FGoose].

The 1523 edition of the first part of Froissart's Chronicles, introduced a frilled knobbed floral leaf N [FFKDL], a black freestanding rose H [BR], a white floral G with trilliums in three corners [W3TF] and a white leaf K with three monsters [WL3M]. The same year also saw the first use noted of a white frilled knobbed H with leaves and squiggles [FKLS] and of a white frilled leaf I [WLF].

The Psalter (STC 16262) of 1524 introduced a frilled notched floral D with squiggles [FNL]. 1525 saw the introduction of a frilled floral I with birds [FFB] in several works, and of a frilled knobbed T with birds and flowers [FKBF] in Littleton's Tenures.

The remaining initials are all somewhat suspect in regard to whether they were actually owned by Pynson. The Pilgrimage of Perfection of 1526 featured a cross-hatched frilled knobbed leaf T [C-HFKL] and a frilled floral divided F with a bird [FFDB], while a frilled S with a floral design in the center [FFDC] is found in the Longland Sermones (STC 16793) assigned to 1527, a plain lined W in a frame [PWLb] which looks suspiciously like one belonging to De Worde is found in Skelton's Replication and a frilled T with two birds is found in the Statutes of Henry VIII (STC 9364) of 1529.

APPENDIX VI - SHEET SIGNING

Sheet signing, simply described, is the practice in a quarto in eights of signing the first leaf of a gathering 1, omitting the signature on the second leaf, and signing the third leaf (the first leaf of the second sheet in the gathering) as 2. According to Duff in Early English Printing, this was a practice common to the printers at Rouen and is thus taken to be evidence of Pynson's learning the art from Le Talleur; it must be pointed out, however, that the practice is not used by Le Talleur in either of the two books that he printed by Pynson, nor have I viewed the practice employed in any of the books printed in France that I have examined.

As the table below indicates, sheet signing in Pynson's shop was restricted to the period from 1493 to 1504. It does not occur in any of the books which are speculated to have predated the first dated work of 1492; thus it is quite possible that the practice is a characteristic of one of Pynson's workmen, rather than of Pynson himself.

Date	STC	Short Title
1493	15851	Festum Nominis Iesu.
1494	790	Art and Craft to Know Well to Die.
1496	17246	Mandeville's Travels.
1496	15852	Festum Nominis Iesu.
1499	15576.6	Libellus Sophistarum. (in 6's and 8's).
1502	16232.8	Processionalibus.
1502	17969	Liber Festivalis.
1503	1988	Bevys of Southampton. (in 6's and 8's).
1504	3296	Book of Comfort Against Tribulation.

A related practice, which I have referred to throughout the text as quasi-sheet signing, is the same method of signing in a gathering of six where the third and fourth leaves are a half-sheet. Apart from those works with a mixed format cited above, quasi-sheet signing has been noted in the following list of works.

Date	STC	Short Title
1492	316	Alexander Grammaticus. (in 6's and 4's).
1496	23177	Stanbridge's Vocabula.
1500	14079	Libellus Qui Informatio.
1500	15396	Book of Good Manners.
1502	494.6	Parron's Prognostication.
1503	23243	Stella Clericorum.
1504	23955	Imitation of Christ (last section only).
1507	21430A	Royal Book (De Worde and Pynson).

APPENDIX VII - CATCH-TITLES

The catch-title is an abbreviated form of the title or of the author's name which normally occurs next to the signature on all signed rectos in books in which it appears. The practice has generally been ignored by bibliographers; this is regrettable since variations in catch-titles, as in running titles, may provide evidence of reworking of the text, substitution of pages or the determination of which compositor was setting a given section of text.

As will be seen from the accompanying table, the practice does not appear to have been adopted by Pynson until 1515, suggesting that the dating of the first four works on the list is incorrect and that they must be dated 1515 or later. The primary purpose of the practice would appear to be to provide a ready means of identifying the sheets of a given work - particularly when a large number of books of similar format and content were being produced in close proximity to one another, as was especially the case with year books and grammars.

In the following table it should be pointed out that only the most prevalent form of the catch-titles used in a given work is listed; in the case of those works of a literary nature, fuller notes will be found under the entries for the individual works.

Date	STC	Short Title	Catch-Title
1515	14517	Destruction of Jerusalem	Vas ꝛ Tytus.
1515	25509.7	Whitt. De Syl.	whyttyn. or whittin.
1515	23158A	Stanb. Sum, Es, Fui	Stam.
1515	3270	Life of St. Francis	S Fraū.
1515	25479.3	Whitt. De Nom. Gen.	Opusculum affa.
1516	23428A.5	Sulp. Stans puer	stans puer.
1516	7726	Hundreds Court	modus te.
1516	9913	YB-Rich. III, 2	Richardi .iii.
1516	18874.5	Stanb. Vocabula	Voca. stan.
1517	23957	Imitation of Christ	Imitatio cristi.
1517	23958	Imitation of Christ	Imitatio cristi.
1517	22409.7	Shepherd's Calendar	Shepherd's kal.
1518	9553	YB-Ed. III, 7(?)	Edwardi .iii. xlvi.
1518	9596	YB-Ed. III, 48	Quadragesimo .octavo. E .iii.
1518	25545.5	Whitt. Synonyma	Whitin .con.
1518	9590	YB-Ed. III, 42	Quadragesimo scdo. E .iii.
1518	9591	YB-Ed. III, 43	Quadragesimo .iii. E .iii.
1518	9592	YB-Ed. III, 44	Quadragesimo quarto. E .iii.
1518	9617	YB-Hen. VI, 1	Anno priō H. sexti
1518	9624	YB-Hen. VI, 2	Henrici .vi.
1518	9636.5	YB-Hen. VI, 4	Quarto H. vi.
1518	9651	YB-Hen. VI, 9	Henrici .vi.
1518	9704	YB-Hen. VI, 22	Uigesimo scdo .H. vj.
1518	9983.3	Chronicle of Kings	Cron.
1519	9268	Statutes-Magna Carta	Mag.

Date	STC	Short Title	Catch-Title
1519	9598	YB-Ed. III, 50	Quinquagesimo.E.iii.
1519	25461.5	Whitt. De Het. Nom.	Hetero. whitt.
1519	9597	YB-Ed. III, 49	Edwardi .iii.
1519	9930	YB-Hen. VII, 9	Anno. ix. H. vii.
1520	5639	Constable. Epigram.	Epigrāma.
1520	9576	YB-Ed. III, 38	Anno.xxxviii.E.iii.
1520	9595	YB-Ed. III, 47	Anno.xlvii.E.iii.
1520	14807	Joseph of Armathea	Ioseph of Arma.
1520	25479.15	Whitt. De Nom. Gen.	Opus affa.
1520	25570	Whitt. Vulgaria	Vulg. vwhitin.
1520	538.5	Alsoppe. Custance	Costa.
1520	9561	YB-Ed. III, 21	Uigesimo prii. E.iii.
1520	9658	YB-Hen. VI, 10	Decimo. H. vi.
1520	9669	YB-Hen. VI, 12	Duodecimo. H. vi.
1520	9681	YB-Hen. VI, 18	Decimo octavo. H.vi.
1520	9692	YB-Hen. VI, 20	Uigesimo H.vi.
1520	9756	YB-Hen. VI, 37	Tricesimo septimo. H.vi.
1520	9764	YB-Hen. VI, 39	Trige. nono. H.vi.
1520	9851	YB-Ed. IV, 15	An. xv. E. iiiii.
1520	9856	YB-Ed. IV, 16	Decimo sexto. E.iii.
1520	9865	YB-Ed. IV, 18	Decimo octavo. E. iiiii.
1520	9871	YB-Ed. IV, 19	An. xix. E. iiiii.
1520	9883	YB-Ed. IV, 21	Uigesimo primo. E. iiii.
1520	13256	Hetoum's Chronicle	Crona.
1520	17035	Testament of Lydgate	testa. of I.L.
1520	21626	Sallust. Jugurthan War	Iugurth.
1520	23147.8	Stanb. Accidence	Stam. accidence.
1520	23166.5	Stanb. Parvulorum	Parvul.
1520	23954	Life of St. Thomas	S. Thomas.
1521	3506	Life of St. Werburg	Werburge.
1521	5311	Cicero. Philippicae	Cicero philip.
1521	14867	Justices of the Peace	Iust. of peas.
1521	3507	Life of St. Radegunde	S. Radegunde.
1521	13848	Barclay. Codrus & Mynalc.	The .iiii. eg.
1522	15725.5	Littleton's Tenures	Lit. tenures.
1522	25502	Whitt. De Octo Part.	Octo par. VWhitin.
1522	25561	Whitt. Pret. & Sup.	pre. sup.
1522	9361.3	Stat.- an. Hen.viii, 3-4	Henrici octo. quarto.
1523	11005	Book of Surveying	Survey.
1523	23196A.4	Stanb. Vulgaria	Uulga. stam.
1523	25450	Whitt. Dec. Nom.	Declina no. vv.
1523	25465	Whitt. De Het. Nom.	Heteroclitia W.
1523	25485	Whitt. Dec. Nom. Gen.	Genera no. vv.
1523	25517(p.2)	Whitt. De Accen.	VWhin. de accen.
1523	25532	Whitt. Synonyma	Synonyma .vv.
1523	10994	Book of Husbandry	Husban.
1523	17242	Mancinus. Mirror of Gold	Mancy.
1523	17242.5	Mancinus. Mirror of Gold	Mancy.
1523	20896	Returna Brevium	Re. bre.
1523	23148.4	Stanb. Accidence	Acci. Stan.

Date	STC	Short Title	Catch-Title
<u>1524</u>	23181.9	Stanb. Vocabula	voca. stans.
<u>1524</u>	25517	Whitt. Syllabarum	Syl. quan. vv.
<u>1524</u>	16262	Psalter	Psalte. (in 1st alpha- bet only)
1524	23168.3	Stanb. Parvulorum Inst.	par. Stan.
1524	25562.7	Whitt. Pret. & Sup.	Praete. et su. ver.
<u>1525</u>	15726	Littleton's Tenures	Lyttyl.
<u>1525</u>	18389	Natura Brevium	Natura.
<u>1525</u>	25451	Whitt. Dec. Nom.	Declina. no. VV.
<u>1525</u>	25468.5	Whitt. De Het. Nom.	Heteroclitia. W.
<u>1525</u>	25486.7	Whitt. De Nom. Gen.	Genera. no. VV.
<u>1525</u>	25552.5	Whitt. Syntaxis	Syntaxis. vv.
<u>1525</u>	25577.5	Whitt. Vulgaria	vulgar vvhitin.
<u>1525</u>	1967	Church of Evil Men	the chur. (1st & 2nd rectos only)
1525	9931	YB-Hen. VII, 12	Henrici septemi .xij.
1525	21627	Sallust. Jugurthan War	Iugurth.
1526	3277	Bonde. Pilgrimage of Perf.	The pil of per.
<u>1526</u>	4186	Busshe. Extrip. of Ignor.	extri. of ig.
<u>1526</u>	11006	Book of Surveying	Survey.
<u>1526</u>	23182.3	Stanb. Vocabula.	Voca. stan.
<u>1525</u>	9692	YB-Hen VI, 20	Uigesimo H. vi.
1525	9945	YB-Hen. VIII, 14	An. xitii H. viii.
1525	9362.10	Stat- Hen. VIII, 14 & 15	Statu.
1527	9269.5	Statutes-Magna Carta	Mag.
<u>1527</u>	25471	Whitt. De Het. Nom.	Heterocli. VV.
<u>1527</u>	25505.5	Whitt. De Octo Par.	Octo. par. VWhitin.
<u>1527</u>	9876	YB-Ed. IV, 20	Vigesimo E. iiij.
1527	10604.5	Everyman	Euery man.
1527	25569	Whitt. Pret. & Sup.	Praet. et su. ver.
<u>1528</u>	9517	Owein. Abridgement	Addic (in added pre- liminaries only)
<u>1528</u>	15728	Littleton's Tenures	Lyttylt.
<u>1528</u>	18390	Natura Brevium	Natura.
<u>1528</u>	9738	YB-Hen. VI, 34	Trige. iiiij. H. vi.
1528	9750	YB-Hen. VI, 36	Tricesimo. vi. H. vi.
1528	5631	La Consaunce Damours	la co.
1528	9889.5	YB-Ed. IV, 22	Uigesimo scdo E. iiij. (or An. xxii. E. iiij)
1528	9896	YB-Ed. V, 1	An. pri. E. vi.

APPENDIX VIII - BINDINGS

As has already been mentioned, since Pynson seems to have started as a glover and pouchmaker, it is not surprising that he was engaged in binding books as well as printing them. Although the following discussion is limited largely to books printed as well as bound by Pynson, it should be pointed out that he is known to have bound works other than those of his own press¹; one suspects that several of these may still exist undetected somewhere - probably in very plain bindings.

In essence, the criteria that have been used for identifying books bound by Pynson are: 1) that the book has been printed by Pynson, 2) that the work features either one of the two blind-stamped panels with Pynson's initials on them or panels known to have been used with either of the signed panels. In addition, there are certain other panels which are also speculated to have belonged to Pynson. Those panels used by Pynson or thought to be used by Pynson may be divided into four classes as follows:

I. Panels with Pynson's initials:²

1) MISC. 14. Essentially the same as Pynson's device 9. The inner compartment is composed of a shield with Pynson's initials on it supported by Adam and Eve and topped by a helmet with a bird on top. In the outer frame are two birds with a boy with a blowgun between them at the top and the figures of the madonna at the bottom left and St. Catherine at the bottom right.

2) MISC. 4. The central figure is that of a crowned emperor with sword with Pynson's initials in a shield below. The outer border is a portrayal of the legend of the Ara Coeli in which Emperor Augustus turns down recognition as a god after consulting the sybil and seeing a vision of a circle around the sun in which the Virgin appeared with the infant Jesus.

II. Unsigned panels used in conjunction with signed panels:

1) RO. 1. A central rose with rambling bunches of grapes around it and 4 cruciform leaves at the corners. An outer floral border.

2) RO. 2. As above but with more tightly bunched grapes.

3) ST. 18. A central scene with John the Baptist with his hand on a wooden crossbar in front of him preaching to two people. The figures in the outer border are too indistinct in Oldham's rubbing to accurately describe apart from noting that there is what appears to be an owl in the upper left corner with a banner that seems to say "S IAIQUE" and the madonna and child to the right of it. On the left outer edge is the legend, "Maior Iohanne Baptista" and on the right outer edge is the legend, "Inter natos mulierum non surrexit."

III. Unsigned panels used only on Pynson books:

1) RO. 8. Generally as in RO. 1 and RO. 2.

2) ST. 22. Central scene of St. John the Baptist with his hand on a wooden crossbar. Outer border is a hunt scene.

3) BIB. 18. Christ and the woman of Samaria.

IV. Other panels thought to have been in Pynson's possession:

1) AN. 6. Agnus dei, bird, eagle, flowers and fleur-de-lis

in circles facing towards center with signature of Martinus de Predio, a Netherlandish binder of whom nothing is known.

2) AN. 4. Three animals in circles on either side of the signature "IACOBVS ILLUMINATOR:" It is surrounded by an outer floral border. The original owner, whose signature is on the piece, has been identified as a fifteenth century binder possibly from Limburg. He also owned panels AN. 3 and AN. 24.

3) REL. 2. The madonna and child with a man kneeling at their right, at their left the signature, "WOTER VAN DVFFLE." An outer border of leaves. This is the oldest blind-stamp known, having originally been used as the seal of a canon who lived in Antwerp in the latter half of the thirteenth century, where it, in turn, was copied from the seal of Jacob Betto, another Antwerp ecclesiastic.

4) HE. 26. A crowned royal arms supported by a dragon and a greyhound with a sun and a shield with a cross in it at the upper left and a shield with the arms of the city of London in it and the moon at the upper right.

5) RO. 21. A rose with a pomegranate below with two angels supporting banners on which is written "hec rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno | Eternu: florens regia scepra feret."

6) RO. 24. A small rose supported by angels with a cross in a shield in the upper left corner.

7) BIB. 10. A small annunciation scene with floral border.

8) AN. 21. Four animals on each side of a central spine with an outer border of leaves.

9) HE. 16. A quartered panel with a rose above a fleur-de-lis in the compartments at the left and a castle above a pomegranate in the compartments at the right with the arms of Henry VIII in a shield surrounded by a circle bearing the motto "Deus clei nobis.....pacem et post mortem vitam eternam amen."

The reason for the ascription of the first three sets of panels is obvious, those in the fourth category require some brief explanation. The earliest book of Pynson's, which we may conjecture to have been bound by Pynson as well, is the unique copy of the 1492 Alexander Grammaticus in an unstamped binding, but with leaves from Machlinia's Chronicle as end-papers. In this regard, there has long been held to have been a link between Pynson and both Machlinia and Lettou, whom Pynson succeeded as the principal publisher of legal works. If the theories of Hobson³ and Pollard⁴ are correct, Pynson also took over a blocking press, some tools of Lettou's and panels AN. 6, AN. 4 and REL. 2. These panels occur on the first volume of a six volume set of the works of Vincent of Beauvais printed by Johann Mentelin and Adolph Rusche at Strasburg from 1473-6, and presented by Bishop Richard Foxe to Corpus Christi College between 1517 and 1528. The second, third, fourth and sixth volumes have been shown to have been bound at Lubeck; while the fifth was bound at the same time in the lower Rhineland. Hobson believed that Machlinia bound the first volume, while Pollard argues that the set was assembled by Pynson for Bishop Foxe, who Pynson printed the Rule of St. Benet for in 1516. At any rate, AN. 6 occurs again on a cover at Shrewsbury School which formerly contained a copy of Lyndewode's Constitutions with a flyleaf from a copy of a Machlinia Horae. Pollard's theory that Pynson bound the first volume to accompany those already bound with a compatible binding seems reasonable enough, but does not rule out the

possibility that the panels had formerly been in Machlinia's hands.

HE. 26 and RO. 21 are always found together and appeared on twenty-nine books known to Hobson printed between 1502 and 1531, of which eight are the 1521 Assertio. Circa 1519 some of these appear with the seal of John Reynes on them causing Hobson to speculate that Reynes obtained them from Pynson about that time. Oldham thinks they always belonged to Reynes. The evidence would be easier to assess if either Hobson or Oldham saw fit to say what the other earlier books featuring the panels were. It should be mentioned that there are a number of odd coincidences concerning Reynes and Pynson, apart from both being directly patronized by the Crown, both apparently using some of the same panels in their bindings, both working from addresses known as the sign of the George, the name "John Rynes" appears as that of one of the two Churchwardens for the church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West in 1517 on the last page of accounts for that year while on the first page of that year's accounts the name appears as "John Pynson".⁵

HE. 16, or a panel very much like it, although it has not been attributed to Pynson by Oldham, has been observed by me on several books with Pynson imprints. The arms are those of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon and would presumably be used only by a binder with royal support, meaning either Pynson or Reynes.

A Partial List of Possible Pynson Bindings

Date Printed	Printer	Title and location	Panels Used and Notes
1492	Pynson	Alexander Gram. L (IA 55490)	leaves from Machlinia's Chronicle as endpapers.
1493	Pynson	Dives and Pauper. O (Douce 236)	leaves from Pynson's Donatus Melior since removed - reference from Duff.
1498	Pynson	Alexander Gram. Lincoln's Inn	Misc. 14, RO. 1.
1498	J. Petit	Dictionarium Pauperium. Lambeth (1498.3)	MISC. 4, ST. 18.
1499	Pynson	Abbreviamentum Statutorum. Paris, BN (Res.F.1700)	MISC. 4, ST. 18.
1499	Pynson	Abbreviamentum Statutorum. L (IA. 55514)	MISC. 14, RO. 1.
1499	Pynson	Lyndewode's Constitutions. Shrewsbury School binding.	AN. 6, leaf from Machlinia's Horae as fly-leaf.
1499	Pynson	Lyndewode's Constitutions. O (Rawl. 167)	RO. 8.
1484	Machlinia	Nova Statuta. HN (59497)	AN. 21, according to Pollard bound by Pynson c. 1500.
1501	Pynson	Maydestone's Directorium Sacerdotum. Lord Kenyon.	MISC. L4, RO. 2 (according to Lord Kenyon's notes, other sources suggest RO. 1).

?		MS. Hale 107. Lincoln's Inn.	established by Lord Kenyon to have contained Pynson's Guy of Warwick frags. now in L as endpapers. Binding contained most of a unique Pynson Alexander Gram. c. 1505.
1508	Pynson	Manipulus Curatorum. Lord Kenyon.	MISC. 4, ST. 18, with a Pynson indulgence as an endpaper.
1474	J. Mentelin	Vincent of Beauvais, vol. 1. Corpus Christi, Oxford.	REL. 2, AN. 4, AN. 6, thought to have been bound by Pynson c. 1500.
1515	Pynson	Life of St. Francis. PML (W14B)	ST. 22, BIB. 18.
1517	Pynson	Imitation of Christ. O (4 ^o G. 56 Th.)	ST. 22, BIB. 18, formerly contained portions of Pynson's Prognostication of Master Adrian as endpapers, these are now at HN.
1521	Pynson	Assertio. PML (W14B 763)	HE. 26, RO. 21, bound by either Pynson or Reynes.
1521	Pynson	Owein. Le Bregement de Toutes les Estatutes. L (C.65.c.1)	HE. 16?
1527	Pynson	Magna Carta. Broxbourne	RO. 24, BIB 10.

1 Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, Guildhall Library, London, MS. 2698/1, 3^r (1516) "Item pd to ye Goodman Pynson for bynding of my small boke iij s".

2 The abbreviations used are those assigned by J. B. Oldham in his Blind Panels of English Binders, Cambridge University Press, 1958 in which these are all illustrated as well.

3 G. D. Hobson, Blind-Stamped Panels in the English Book-Trade, London: Bibliographical Society, 1944, pp. 22-29. There is much confusion here and in Pollard over whether Machlinia or Lettou is supposed to have bound the first volume due to Hobson's identifying Lettou as the "Indulgence Binder" but insisting that Machlinia bound the first volume.

4 Graham Pollard, "The Names of Some English Fifteenth-Century

Binders," Library, 5th series, vol. 25 (1969), pp. 193-218.

5 Guildhall MS. 29681, fo. 9v, "John Pynson;" fo. 10, "John Ryns;" but it should be added that a similar appearing name occurs as the warden in 1523 and 1524 and there appears as "John Nynes" on fos. 43 and 45. Colin Clair, A History of Printing in Britain, London: Cassell, 1965, p. 40, noted the first occurrence of the name John Pynson in the accounts but did not bother to look at the end of the years accounts where the name is found not to be Pynson after all; without any other supporting evidence he has assumed that John Pynson was a brother of the printer.

APPENDIX IX - BERCU LA TYPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

J. Constable. Epigrammata, 1520?. STC 5639, d4.

CVIQ; IN EPIGRAMMATA TYPO= | GRAPHI THOMAE BERCV= | LAE EPISTOLA. |
 Q⁸ [BDD] VVM POST tot tantas q | linguâe latinâe strages/rui- | nas/
 veluti labes barbaries | nos inuaserat/postremo pri | ori statui totum
 p orbem re | dire multo gratulor. Porro | etiâ maxima mihi lætitia
 est | ad eam vindicandam tot et | tam fortissimos milites omnigenis
 armatos doctri | nis attentos pensosque sentio. Quos inter/apud | nos
 Anglos præstantissimus (meo quidem iudicio) | Guilielmus Hormanus haud
 dubie (non sine pul- | uere) palmam meruit/qui pulsa barbarie librū
 ædi- | dit. que mellitissima cãdidiissimaque uulgaria quis- | q̄ recte
 vocet. Cãeterum superioribus hisce diebus/ | præstons vir Ioannes
 Constablius ad linguam lati | nam illustrandum/ac studio rei literariãe
 sæpius oci- | osus/nobis epigrammata/quãe contractus manibus | deit/
 quãeque typis nostris/vti seria atque multo | egregia/cudimus. Quis si
 in errata præteriuere au- | thore/atqui potissimum incuria nostra/vt
 obtesta- | mur velis castigare. Vale.

R. Whittinton. Vulgaria, 1520. STC 25570, on A2^v

LECTORI TYPOGRAPHVS | THOMAS BER= | CVLA. S³ [FFyC-M] CIO SANE
 plurimos anglorū in grã- | maticen opuscula/lingua in uernacula/ |
 satialique atque libellos multa/ad pue- | ros erudiendos scripsisse.
 Q; q̄ egregie nonnul- | li ædidere/omnes fere vvhitintoni opuscula ex- |
 tollunt/præterque alia cupiunt. Quamobrem | uti suorum auidos sentimus
 /aliis cum opuscu- | lis typis nostris uulgaria sua sicuti frugifera
 nō | parua sollicitudine (ut pariformiter usui respō- | deant) cudimus.
 Quãepiam si incidere errata | potius nostra ubi cura deerat/te ad
 calculum uo | citare obtestamur. Vale.

G. Owein, ed. Le Bregement de Statutis, 1521. STC 9516, on 2b7^v-2b8.

Guil. Dynhamus lectori. S. | P⁶ [BBWL] Robatissima sic tandē an= |
 tiquorum inualuit consu | etudo: vt nemo accurati⁹ | quid faciat/quod
 suo vel | patrono vel amico nō de= | decet. Quãe vetustatis ve= | stigia
 meus Bercleus subsequere cupiēs | mihi suos dedicat labores. Non patro=
 | no: vt cui vix cōmittas imperium in be= | luas. Non amico: vt cui
 ob fragilem æe= | tatem ppetuãe amicitiaē nomen adoptes | non licet. Sed
 agedum vel patroni vel | amici personam induamus. Patronum | supplex
 adit. Mendis emūcta britānici | concilij decreta offert. Gratuitum mu=
 | nus accipiam? quid ni. Amicū vt amici | nomen prima codicis fronte
 inscribi p= | ferat obtestatur: obsequor. Alteri her= | cle non parua
 in additis quibusdam se= | natus consultis claret industria. Hanc | mihi
 vendico minime. Nam quod pleri= | que vel excellentis doctrinãe vel
 accura= | tioris industriaē viri faciunt: vt suis sua | [end of 2b7^v] |
 vel patrono crudeli vel amico cessatori | dedicent: Huius cessationē vt
 eradicēt | Illius crudelitatem vt expugnent. Hoc | tantum noster
 Bercleus nobis impendit | vt huius perspicuam admitatus indu= | striam

tandem expurgiscā ipse/et som= | niculoso soporem excutit/tantum |
adiumenti afferens quantū | suis negocijs repen= | derenon li= | cet. |
Vale.

Although this latter item is not strictly speaking a Bercula typographical note - indeed it may refer to Alexander Barclay rather than Thomas Barclay since the Bercleus referred to lacks any initial in the reference - but it is included here because of Duff's reference to the note in his arguments concerning the identity of Bercula and his relationship with Pynson. It should be noted, however, that Duff refers to a prefatory letter in the 1528 edition of Le Bregement (STC 1517) which refers to "Tho. Bercleus, typographus" which suggests this may be the wrong item; however I have not noted anything else referring to Bercleus in any of the copies of the 1521 or 1528 editions of Le Bregement which I have viewed.

APPENDIX X - PYNSON'S WILL

In the name of god amen The xvij day of Novembre the yere of our Lord god a thousand fyve-hundred twenty and nyne. I Richard, pynsōn of the pisshe of saint Dunstanes in the west of London Being hole in myndē and of my good memory make this my last wille and testament in (mainer?) and (fourme?) insuyng/first and principally I geve and bequite my soule to almighty god our lady saint mary and to all the saintys in heven my body to be buried in the church yarde of saint Clement w^tout Temple barre there to lye next my wife Item I Bequeth to the high awter of the said parishe church of saint Dunstones for my tithes negligently forgotten xij d Item I bequethe to the said parishe church of saint Clement for the repacion and maytenūce of the crosse in the same church yarde twenty shillinges Item at my buriall day I will have a Trentall of masses songe in saint Dunstones church 'for my soule' my wife soule and all xpen soules Item I bequethe to the Cathedrall church of saint powle in London xij d Item I will that there be dystrubute to poore people at my buriall Day in bred and money xx s / Item I will and bequeth that oon (scouler?) preest shall singe and praye in saint Dunstones said pishe church the terme of oon hole yere for my soule my wyfe soule and all xpen soules and the said preest to have for 'his stipend (wagis?) twenty nobills sterlinge Item I bequeth to Elizabeth Tomson widowe a dwelling chambre for terme of hir naturall lyfe at the assignment of my executrix amonge my tenementys at the Andrewes Crosse in Chauncellor Lane and every yere as longe as she doth lyve vj s viii d in monēy to be paid to hir by thands of myn executrix quarterly xx d the quarter Item I bequeth to Edward (Febolde?) tenne shillinges a yere the terme of sevn yeres yf he lyve solonge Item I will that my two apprentices named John Snowe and Richard Withers shall serve their yeres at the assignment of my executrix and at thende of their saide yeres. my said executrix; to make them free of my crafte And the said John Snowe to have for his parte vj s viij d. And that said Richard Wythers to have for his parte xl s paid to them by thandes of myn executrix/yf the said John and Richard doo serve their yeres as true apprentices ought to doo Item I bequeth to (Alice?) Smyth my (servant?) twenty shillinges Item I bequeth to Joanne Pynson the daughter of Richard Pynson my sonne late decessed when she cometh to thage of xvj yeres tenne poundys sterlinge, the whych x^{li} I will it be delivered by my executrix into the Chambre of London w^{tn} half a yere after my deceas And the Chambre with the Chamberleyn and maisters of the same to be bounde to my said executrix the said tenne poundys weale and truely to be delivered to the said Joane Pynson when she comyth to the said age of xvj yeres. yf she lyve solong but and she deceas or she come to the said age of xvi yeres then I will the said ten pounds to be divided by egall porcions to Amye Campyon and Joane Campyon the daughters of William Campyon late decessed and any of them to be othere heir of the said ten pounds [verso] And if it fortune the said Joane or Amye to dye or they come to the said age of xvj yeres. Then I will that the said tenne poundys shall remayne and pteyne to Margaret Warde my daughter and she to dispoase the said tenne poundys in dedes of (charitie?) for my soule my wife soule and all xpen soules. Item I bequeth my two houses that I have of master Elderton at Tottenham to the said Margaret Warde my daughter till the said Amye Campyon and Joane

Campyon cometo the age of mariage And she that is first married to entre
 the oon halfe of the said houses at the said day of her mariage. And
 thother sister to enter in like wise at the day of her mariage. But and
 if it fortune the said Amye or Joane to deceas or she come to the said
 day of mariage Then I will that she that (overlyveth?) to be the others
 heire and to have the said two houses during my leas Also if it fortune
 the said Amye and Joane both to deceas before the said Margaret Warde
 their mother Then I will the said Margaret shalhave the said two houses
 with all their appurteniuse during my said leas to hir and hyr assigns
 The residue of all my goodes moveable and unmoveable about not bequethed
 my (debts) first and principally content and paid my legacees perfourmed
 and delivered I geve and bequeth to the disposicion of Margaret Warde my
 daughter late wife unto Stevyn Warde decessed whom I ordeyn constitute
 and mak my soul executrix of this my last wille and testamente And she
 to dispoase all my said goodes as she shall thinke moost pleasure to god
 and profite to my soule Also I instantly desire maister Robert Chidley
 gentilman to be Supvisor of this my said last will and testament. And
 he to have for his labour forty shillings Moreover I desire and pray
 Mathewe Saunders curate of the said pisse church of saint Dunstones
 with xpofer Chillorne and Richard Dawson to be testeas and bere witnesse
 my last will and testament perfourmed and fynysshed the yere and day
 above written. In presens of whom I have hereto my seale setten and
 subscribed my name

(Probated February 23, 1530)

APPENDIX XI - THOMAS KELE CHANCERY BILL

Public Record Office, c 1/649, item 32.

To the right honorable sir Thomas more
knyght Lord chauncellor of ynglond

Showyth and complayneth vnto yo^r good lordshype yo^r dayly orator Thomas Kele of London stacioner that wheras your seyde orator was prentes & afterwarde servant with Rich pynson of London printer by the space of viii yeres..... And afterwards the seyde Rych. to thentent to sett the same yo^r orator fourth that he might begynne the worke & so to gaine a competent lvyng in hys age delyured unto the same yo^r orator a stoke of xxiiij li for repayment whereof the same yo^r orator was bounden by hys dede obligatocon vnto the seyde Rich. in the same some of xxiiij l payable att certayn dayes as apaying byboke of Rekenyng/ So it is good lorde that the seyde Rych pynson consydering hys great age & ympotence & the god & trewe longe seruys that yo^r seyde orator haing done vnto hym & intending to do goode dedes of charyte in hys lyfe the same Rich of hys owne goodnes yn presens of diuerse honest persons frely forgave vnto yo^r seyde orator the seyde obligation & all the dette in the same contaynyd & wold then & ther have delyvred the same oblygation vnto yo^r seyde orator yf he coud then have found the same/ which Rich afterwardis made one Margarette hys daughter hys sole executrix/-----since when the same Margarette havyng taken to husband one John Haukyns wich John..... sith the deyth of the seyde Rich pynson yo^r seyde orator hath many & divers tymes requyryd delyuas of the seyde oblygation wych to delyre the same John & margett hys wyf have att alle tymes refusyd & yette refusyth thretening to seke yo^r seyde orator upon the seyde oblygation contrary to all ryght & good concyence contrary to the mynde of the seyde Rych pynson/ And bycause that yo^r seyde orator hath noe specyale prouyng the seyde remyssyon & forgauyng of the seyde dette but onle the bare worde of the seyde Rych pynson he is wyttout remedy by the co^rs of the comon lawe/ In consyderacon wherof please it yo^r god lordshype to graunt a writ of Susppend [?] to be durectyd to the seyde John Haukyns comaundyng tham. For the same to apper befor the kyng yn hys channacery att a certayn daye & upon a certayn payn by yo^r seyde lordshype to be lymittyd ther to answer to the premysse^{on} that to abyd & obey all such dyrecyons & Juggementes as shalbe thought by yo^r seyde lordshype most resonable yn the premysse & thys for the loue of god & yn the name of christ

John Shewis

APPENDIX XII - HENRY TAB CHANCERY BILL

Public Record Office; C 1/680, item 45.

To the Ryght Worshypfull $\bar{\text{p}}$ Thomas More
knyght lorde Chaunsler of yngland

Shewyth and complayneth vnto y $\bar{\text{o}}$ good lordshypp your dayly orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ Henry Tabbe. that wher as yo $\bar{\text{r}}$ seyde orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ was prentys and aft seruant with Richard pinson of london prynter by the space of viij yere and afterwards the seyde Rychard to thentent to sett the same Henry fourth so thatt he myght begynne the work and soe to gain competent levyng in hys age. delyvred vnto the same Henry a sakk of xv $\bar{\text{l}}$ for payment therof the same Henry was bounden by hys sede oblygacon vnto the seyde Rych in the some of xx $\bar{\text{l}}$ payable at certayn dayes now past/ whereof yo $\bar{\text{r}}$ seyde orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ hath repayed liij s iiii d/ so yt was good lorde that the seyde Rych aboute the fest of all saynts last past consydering hys grett age and Impotence. τ the good and trew longe seruice that yo $\bar{\text{r}}$ seyde orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ had done onto hym τ pretending to doe good dedes of charyte in hys lyf $\bar{\text{c}}$ consydering also the substance in the goodes that the same Rychard had by Jane Tabbe Aunt vnto yo $\bar{\text{r}}$ seyde orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ by reason that the same Rych was hyr executo $\bar{\text{r}}$ / the same Rych of hys owne goodes in presens of diuers honest men frely for gave vnto yo $\bar{\text{r}}$ seyde orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ the seyde obligacion and all the dette in the same contaynyd and would have them delyvryd vnto yo $\bar{\text{r}}$ seyde orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ the seyde obligacion yf he coud have founden it/ And bycause that the same Rychard is very agyd and feble and also as nowe nott perfitt of remembrauns τ so nott able by suche lacke to make aquitance or releas τ also Suche wytnes as then was ther present be yn leke case agyd/ And weder the seyde oblygacon may be fond in the seyde Rychard lyf or not it is adone And yf the seyde wytnes shuld deces byfore the seyde Rychard τ the seyde oblygacon shuld come to hys executors handes yo $\bar{\text{r}}$ seyde orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ shuld be dryvyn to paye the seyde dette contrary to the mynde of the seyde Rychard and against all good cōcyense In consyderacion wherof that it may please your seyde lordshype thatt all suche wytnes as yo $\bar{\text{r}}$ seyde orato $\bar{\text{r}}$ shall hereafter bryng vnto this court upon the premisses may be ther sworne and examynyd ad ppetuam et memoriam And thys for the love of god and in the name of chryst

John Shewid

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----- De Banco Rolls 956 and 958.

In addition to the above, one must acknowledge correspondence with Katherine Pantzer, A. I. Doyle, Margaret Wright, A. Colin Cole, Windsor Herald, as well as with the clerk of the Lethersellers' Company (whose name, I regret, I am unable to decipher).

EARLY PRINTED BOOKS

According to my notes, there are approximately 531 works printed by Pynson extant; I have viewed one or more copies each of 417 of these works. In the interest of brevity, rather than list the Pynson volumes consulted, over 200 of which have already been described in the description section above, it seems expedient to list, instead, the 113 books

not viewed. I have viewed all the Pynson imprints listed in the tentative printer's index for STC2 as of the date I viewed the notes for STC2 (in 1974) with the exceptions of STC and STC2 numbers 385.7, 3297, 7761.3, 7762, 7763, 7763.5, 7764, 7765, 7765.5, 7766, 7767, 7767.5, 7769.3, 7769.5, 7770, 7772, 7773, 9332, 9358.3, 9361.3, 9362.4, 9362.5, 9362.7, 9362.8, 9362.9, 9364, 9611, 9611a, 9613, 9631a, 9650, 9691, 9771, 9784.7, 9813, 9833, 9839.8, 9845, 9930, 14077c.1, 14077c.18, 14077c.22, 14077c.23, 14077c.24, 14077c.33, 14077c.35, 14077c.38, 14077c.39, 14077c.40, 14077c.49, 14077c.52, 14077c.53, 14077c.54, 14077c.55, 14077c.57, 14077c.58, 14077c.76, 14077c.82, 14077c.96, 14077c.101A, 14077c.103, 14077c.103b, 14077c.117a, 14077c.118, 14077c.120, 14077c.121, 14077c.126, 14077c.129, 14077c.130, 14077c.131, 14077c.133, 14077c.134, 14077c.135, 14077c.136, 14077c.137, 14077c.138, 14077c.139, 14077c.140, 14077c.141, 14077c.142, 14099, 14323.3, 15807, 15850, 15873.5, 15893, 15894, 15900.5, 15907, 15911.5, 15915, 15917, 16102, 16113, 16232.6, 17960, 17961, 17966.5, 18388, 18571.5, 21310.5, 22409.3, 23155.6, 23163.8, 23181, 23879, 23879.5, 23940.7, 23954.7, 24323.5, 25071.5, 25947.3 and 25947.7. The majority of these works are indulgences, licenses to clergy, year books and proclamations. The few literary or quasi-literary works not covered are either in private hands or in relatively inaccessible places, given the time and budget limitations involved, such as Dublin, Copenhagen and Seville.

In addition to those works printed by Pynson I have examined (in many instances via microfilm) between one and nine works each of the outputs of William Bretton, André Bocard, Guillaume Le Talleur, G. Barrevelt, A. Van Berghen, Henry Jacobi, Froben, N. Comitis, John Michell, J. Van Doesborch, A. Vêrard, J. Du Prê, J. Badius Ascensius, Thielman Kerver, B. Trotz, A. Couteau, G. Couteau, Pigouchet, Martin Morin, R. Goupil, Pierre Violette, Jean Granjean, N. Le Rouge, G. Anabat, Jean Marchant, G. Godard, J. Ferrebanc, John Butler, John Lettou, Richard Faques, William Faques, John Rastell, William Rastell, William Middleton, Robert Copland, Lawrence Andrewe, Richard Bankes, John Byddell, John Skot, John Siberch, Julian Notary, John Scholar, and Robert Wyer, primarily in the hope of noting transference of printing materials. With the same end in mind, I have also examined 63 of Caxton's works, 10 of Machlinia's, 10 of Tab's, 22 of Godfray's, 30 of Berthel's, 67 of Redman's and 156 of De Worde's.

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1505	696.4	286	Anwykyl. Quattuor Partes Grammatices.
1505	23427A	286	Sulpitius. Grammatices Sulpitiona.
1505	319.3	288	Alexander Grammaticus. Textus cum Sententiis.
1505	12380	288	Gringoire. Castle of Labor.
1505	13432	290	Hieronymus de Sancto Marco. Opusculum de Universali Mundi Machina.
1505	17007	291	Lydgate? Assembly of the Gods.
1505	17033.3	292	Lydgate. Temple of Glass.
1505	20921.3	293	Reynard the Fox.
1505	23139.5	293	Stanbridge. Accidence.
1505	23155.4	294	Stanbridge. Gradus Comparatione.
1505	23155.6	295	Stanbridge. Gradus Comparatione.
1505	23163.17	295	Stanbridge. Long Parvula.
1505	23940	296	Liber Theoduli.
1505	24133	296	Torent of Portyngale.
1506	22408	296	Shepherd's Calendar.
1506	3945.5	298	L. Brunus. Cronica Summaria.
1507	21430A	299	Caxton. Royal Book.
1507	16899	301	Peregrinus de Lugo. Principia seu Introductiones.
1508	11606	304	Garlandia. Vocabulorum.
1508	19917.5	305	Hendred? Peregrinatio Humani Generis.
1508	23940.7	305	Liber Theoduli.
1509	3545	306	Barclay. Ship of Fools.
1509	11615	308	Garlandia. Synonyma.
1509	12413	309	Petrus Gryphus. Oratio.
1509	13830	309	Ortus Vocabulorum.
1509	13830.3	311	Ortus Vocabulorum.
1509	4659	312	Carmelianus. Carmen.
1509	13075	313	Elegy on the Death of Henry VII.
1509	17558.	313	Solemnities and Triumphs...at the Spousals of the King's Daughter.
1510	9999	314	Higden. Description of England.
1510	9999	316	Chronicle.
1510	12381.7	317	Gringoire. Castle of Labor.
1510	20107	319	Pothus.
1510	22409.3	320	Shepherd's Calendar.
1510	22653.7	320	Smith that Forged Him a New Dame.
1510	23143	321	Stanbridge. Accidence.
1510	23143.5	321	Stanbridge. Accidentia ex Stanbrigiana.
1510	23155.8	322	Stanbridge. Gradus Comparatione.
1510	23156	322	Stanbridge. Sum, Es, Fui.
1511	17017	323	Lydgate. Governance of Kings.

1511	5545	324	Colet. Oratio ad Clerum.
1511	12549	325	Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guilford.
1512	735.7	326	Remacle D'Arduenne. Palamades.
1512	25585	328	Whytstons. De Iustitia et Sanctitate Belli.
1512	11562.5	329	Gardener's Passetaunce.
1512	25479.2	331	Whittinton. Opusculum Affabre.
1513	20060	332	Erasmus. De Tuenda Bona.
1513	319.5	333	Alexander Grammaticus. Textus cum Sententiis.
1513	5579	333	Lydgate. History of Troy.
1513	15601.3	336	Lily. Libellus de Constructione.
1513		339	Four Sons of Aymon.
1513		339	James IV of Scotland. Epistola Regis Scotorum ad Angliae Regem.
1513		339	Carmelianus. Epitaph on James IV.
1514	11607	339	Garlandia. Multorum Vocabulorum.
1514	23179.5	340	Stanbridge. Vocabula.
1515	25509.7	341	Whittinton. De Syllabarum Quantitatibus.
1515	25509.7	342	Whittinton. De Accentu.
1515	25479.3	343	Whittinton. Opusculum Affabre.
1515	25525.5	344	Whittinton. De Magistratibus.
1515	10604	345	Everyman.
1515	14517	345	Destruction of Jerusalem.
1515	23166.5	347	Stanbridge. Parvulorum Institutio.
1515	24787	347	Vergil. Vergiliana Poesis.
1516	10659	349	Fabyan. Fabyan's Chronicle.
1516	320	351	Alexander Grammaticus. Textus cum Sententiis.
1516	23428A.5	352	Sulpitius. Stans Puer ad Mensam.
1516	18874.5	352	Os, Facies, Mentum.
1516		353	Barchley. Grammatica Latina.
1517	22409.7	353	Shepherd's Calendar.
1518	24320	355	Tunstall. In Laudem Matrimonii.
1518	19081A	356	Pace. Oratio.
1518	25545.5	357	Whittinton. Syntaxis.
1518	9983.3	358	Lydgate? Chronicle of All the Kings.
1518	17242	360	Mancinus. Barclay. Mirror of Good Manners.
1519	13811	361	Horman. Vulgaria.
1519	25461.5	363	Whittinton. De Heteroclitus Nominibus.
1518	25527.8	364	Whittinton. De Synonymis.
1519	23181	365	Whittinton. Vocabula.
1520	25479.15	366	Whittinton. Opusculum Affabre.
1520	25570	367	Whittinton. Vulgaria.
1520		368	Whittinton. Opuscula Affabre.
1520	25529	368	Whittinton. De Synonymis.
1520	18088	369	More. Epistola ad Brixium.
1520	538.5	370	Alsoppe. History of Custance.
1520	5639	371	Constable. Epigrammata.
1520	13256	373	Hetoum. Hetoum's Chronicle.
1520	17035	374	Lydgate. Testament of Lydgate.
1520	17241	375	Mancinus. De Quattuor Virtutibus.
1520	17241	376	Mancinus. English of Mancinus Upon the Four Cardinal Virtues.

1520	17242.5	378	Mancinus. Barclay. Mirror of Good Manners.
1520	21626	379	Sallust. Barclay. War Against Jugurth.
1520	23147.8	381	Stanbridge. Accidence.
1520	23196A.2	382	Stanbridge. Vulgaria.
1521	5311	382	Cicero. Philippicae.
1521	13078	384	Henry VIII. Assertio.
1521	13807	385	Horman. Antibossicon.
1521	15606	387	Lily. Antibossicon.
1521	699	389	Sophista Athonius. Praeexercitamenta.
1521	13848	389	Barclay. Book of Codrus and Mynalcas.
1521	19816	390	Galfredus Petrus. De Vita Sancti Nicholai de Tollentino.
1521	25446.5	392	Whittinton. Declinationes Nominum.
1521	25547.3	393	Whittinton. Syntaxis.
1522	13079	394	Henry VIII. Assertio.
1522	25517	395	Whittinton. De Syllabarum Quantitatibus.
1522	24319	396	Tunstall. De Arte Supputandi.
1522	25502	397	Whittinton. De Octo Partibus.
1522	25561	398	Whittinton. De Verborum Praeterita.
1522		399	Whittinton. De Generibus Nominum.
1522	5017	400	Lily. Of the Triumphs that Charles and Henry VIII Were Saluted With.
1522	15118	401	Lactantius. Carmen.
1522	20398.3	401	Proclus. Linacre. Sphaera.
1523	11396	402	Froissart. Berners. Froissart's Chronicle, pts. 1 and 2.
1523	25485	404	Whittinton. Grammatices.
1523	25549	405	Whittinton. Syntaxis.
1523	25450	406	Whittinton. Declinationes Nominum.
1523	25532	407	Whittinton. De Synonymis.
1523	25517	408	Whittinton. De Accentu.
1523	24728	409	Alphonso de Villa Sancta. De Libero Arbitrio Adversus Melancthon.
1523	20140	410	Powel. Propugnaculum.
1523	23196A.4	412	Stanbridge. Vulgaria.
1523	25465	413	Whittinton. De Heteroclitus Nominibus.
1523	18088.5	414	More. Baravellus.
1523	18089	416	More. Rosseus.
1523	13803	419	J. Clerk and Henry VIII. Oratio J. Clerk and Epistola ad Saxoniae Ducis.
1523	23148.4	420	Stanbridge. Accidence.
1523	23159A.5	421	Stanbridge. Sum, Es, Fui.
1523	24729	421	Alphonso de Villa Sancta. Problema Indulgentiarum.
1523	25561.2	423	Whittinton. Verborum Praeterita.
1524	23181.9	424	Stanbridge. Vocabula.
1524	15634	425	Linacre. De Emendata Structura Latini.
1524	19166	427	Palsgrave. Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse.
1524	23168.3	428	Stanbridge. Parvulorum Institutio.
1524	25562.7	429	Whittinton. De Verborum Praeterita.
1525	25486.7	430	Whittinton. Grammatices.
1525	25552.5	431	Whittinton. Syntaxis.

1525	25451	432	Whittinton. Declinationes Nominum.
1525	11397?	433	Froissart. Bouchier. Froissart's Chronicle, pts. 3 and 4.
1525	25468.5	436	Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus.
1525	177.7	437	Aesop's Fables.
1525	12382	437	Gringoire. Castle of Labor.
1525	15636	438	Linacre. Rudimenta Grammatices.
1525	15637	439	Linacre. Rudimenta Grammatices.
1525	21627	440	Sallust. Barclay. War Against Jugurth.
1526	23182.3	442	Stanbridge. Vocabula.
1526	5086	443	Chaucer. Canterbury Tales.
1526	13084	445	Henry VIII. Literarum.
1526	13084.5	446	Henry VIII. Literarum.
1526	25577.5	447	Whittinton. Vulgaria.
1526	177.3	448	Aesop's Fables.
1526	4186	449	Busshe. Extripacion of Ignorancy.
1526	5088	451	Chaucer. Book of Fame.
1526	5096	453	Chaucer. Triolus.
1526	19082	454	Pace. Praefatio in Ecclesiastem Recognitum.
1527	13085	455	Henry VIII. Literarum.
1527	3176	456	Lydgate. Fall of Princes.
1527	25489.3	458	Whittinton. Grammatices.
1527	25471	458	Whittinton. De Heteroclitis Nominibus.
1527	25505.5	459	Whittinton. De Octo Partibus.
1527	10604.5	460	Evans.
1527	13086	461	Henry VIII. Copy of the Letters.
1528	5631	462	La Conusaunce D'Amours.
1528	13087	463	Henry VIII. Copy of the Letters.
1528	13087+	464	Henry VIII. Copy of the Letters.
1528	20058.5	465	Plutarch. Wyatt. Quiet of Mind.
1528	22609	466	Skelton. Replication.
1529	22899	467	Sayings or Proverbs of Solomon.
nd		468	Tonney. Rules of Grammar.