THE MORTON MISSAL:
THE FINEST INCUNABLE MADE IN ENGLAND

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The tenth known edition of the Salisbury Missal was printed by Richard Pynson at the expense of John Morton, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, in London in 1500. The Morton Missal was only the second edition of the Sarum Missal to have been printed in England, after the Missal of Notary and Barbier of 1498 (STC 16172). Celebrated as 'the finest book printed in the fifteenth century in England', the impressive folio volume includes full decorated woodcut borders and initials for the major Masses of the liturgical year, an emotionally expressive full-page Canon cut, extensive printing in red, and is the only known English incunable with printed music. Prior to this examination, this important Missal has remained essentially unstudied. It survives today in five substantially complete copies, the most handsome of which is now preserved at Trinity College Cambridge. It is a luxury volume distinguished by its manuscript Canon decorated with large illuminated initials and borders. The remaining four copies are at the Bodleian Library, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, John Rylands University Library,

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1 I am grateful to numerous individuals for their help, but I wish to express my deepest gratitude to David McKitterick, Mirjam Foot, Elizabeth Danbury, Oliver Pickering, Paul Needham, Jill Whitelock and two anonymous referees who have each offered me various helpful suggestions and generous direction throughout my research on this fascinating book.


3 E. G. Duff, The printers, stationers, and bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535 (Cambridge, 1906), 68.

4 No. 133 in S. Sanders, An annotated list of books printed on vellum to be found in the University and College Libraries (Cambridge, 1878); no. 9 in R. Sinker, A catalogue of the fifteenth-century printed books in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1876).

Manchester, and Pusey House Library in Oxford, in addition to which there are three small fragments. This article examines all the surviving copies in order to investigate how the printing of the edition was carried out and what happened to the copies after they left the printer's shop. The investigation will then focus on the deluxe copy at Trinity College, describing its elaborate decoration and the evidence revealing its recipient as John Rede (d. 1521), Warden of New College, Oxford, and the tutor and chaplain to Henry VII's firstborn son, Prince Arthur (1486–1502).

*Description of the book as it left the press*

Bibliographical description

**Missale ad usum Sarum.** London: Richard Pynson, 10 January, 1500. Folio. 10 A–I8 K–M6 [X]2 N4 O–X9 Aa–I8 Kk6. This collation corrects pre-existing descriptions of the book, which state that quire M has eight leaves; instead the quire M of six leaves is followed by an unigned bifolium. 248 leaves. 2 columns. 1 blank (:.1). Signed to the fold with letter and roman numeral. 39 lines and headlines.

Type-page: 218 × 146 mm.

Type: main text: 6: 114G, 3 mm; commentary: 2.5 mm. 8

2-line initials: set 7, 10 mm.

1-line initials: set 6.5 mm. 9

Device C4, metal cut, 73 × 61 mm, with a separate metal-cut frame 109 × 92 mm.

12 woodcut border pieces used in total.

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6 English incunabula in the John Rylands Library: a catalogue of books printed in England and of English books printed abroad between the years 1475 and 1500 (Manchester, 1930), 57–8.

7 No. 1210 in D. E. Rhodes, A catalogue of incunabula in all the libraries of Oxford University outside the Bodleian (Oxford, 1982).

8 The commentary type used appears not to be Pynson's type 3: 64G. This less rounded commentary type in the Morton Missal was perhaps also obtained from Paris or Rouen; cf. Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Library: BMC part XI, England (1 Guy–Houten, 2007) (hereafter BMC XI), 402.

9 Used as 2-line initials with type 5 in 1497 in *Expositiones*. Includes G and L not noted for Pynson's initial set 6 in BMC XI. On occasions in the Morton Missal, smaller Ms are used for 1-line initials from the initial set 4.

Full woodcut border printed with 4 pieces on 11 leaves: a side piece with dragons, birds, flowers and leaves (18 × 242 mm), a side piece with a camel, hybrids, birds, flowers and leaves (12 × 242 mm), a top piece with a snail, a hybrid, a dragon, a bird, flowers and leaves (11 × 146 mm), and a bottom piece with a hybrid, Morton's rebus, flowers, berries and leaves (19 × 145 mm).

Woodcut of the royal arms of Henry VII, with a full border made of 2 side pieces with birds, fantasticals, leaves and flowers, and 2 top and 2 bottom pieces, attached, with children, birds, a snail, a dragon and a deer; one printed upside-down.

Woodcut of the coat of arms of John Morton, with a full border made of 2 side pieces as above, a top piece with a long curling acanthus leaf and a bottom piece with a dragon, leaves and flowers.

10 woodcut initials, 7-lines.

1 full-page Canon cut, *Christ on the Cross*, with an integral decorated border, 216 × 141 mm.

Extensive red printing. Four-stave music printed with notes.

Quire B:


. .2r ‘Tabula’

. .4r ‘Benedictio salis et aquae’

. .5r [Calendarium]

A1r [Woodcut: the royal arms of Henry VII]

A1v [Woodcut: the coat of arms of John Morton]

A2r [Proprium de tempore]

M1r [Ordinarium missae]

[X]1v [Canon woodcut]

[X]2r [Canon missae]

T3r ‘In dedicacione ecclesiae’. Followed by ‘In octaua dedicationis’, ‘In consecratione ecclesiae’, ‘in reconciliacione ecclesie’

T5r [Proprium de sanctis]

Ec1r ‘Commune sanctorum’

Fr7v [Missae votivae]

Ii1r ‘Ordo ad faciendum sponsalia’

Ii5v ‘Ordo ad seruillum peregrinorum’
Chancery paper, measuring in sheets usually about 320 × 450 mm, gives an uncut leaf size of 320 × 225 mm and likely leaf dimensions for a Chancery folio volume in original binding of c.300 × 210 mm. 13 There was a corresponding issue on vellum in a very similar size. As will be discussed below, some of the smaller surviving copies of the edition would have been cut down during rebinding that happened over the centuries. The largest of the surviving copies, the deluxe volume now at Trinity College, printed on vellum, has the advantage of having suffered minimal cutting as it is in its original binding. Its leaf dimensions of 313 × 222 mm correspond to the Chancery folio issue on paper. 14

Woodcut borders

The text of the Missal begins on A2v. This incipit page and the beginnings for Masses of nine other main feasts and the Canon of the Mass stand out with their full decorated woodcut borders and 7-line woodcut initials:

A2v: Initial A begins the Introit for the Mass of the First Sunday in Advent, which begins the Temporale (plate 1).
B5v: Initial B begins the Christmas Mass celebrated after Terce.
[x]2v: Space left for the initial T of the Te igitur prayer beginning the Canon of the Mass.
O1v: Initial R begins the Mass for Easter Day (plate 2).
P4v: Initial U begins the Mass for Ascension Day.
P7v: Initial S begins the Mass for WhitSunday.
Q5v: Initial B begins the Mass for Trinity Sunday.
Q6v: Initial C begins the Mass for Corpus Christi.
T5v: Initial D begins the Mass for the Vigil of St Andrew Apostle, which begins the Sanctorale.
U4v: Initial S begins the Mass for the Purification of the Virgin Mary.
Ee1v: Initial E begins the Mass for the Common of Saints.

10 The copies at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, John Rylands University Library and Trinity College, Cambridge.
11 L. Hellinga, 'Introduction', in BMC XI, 1–70, at 34.
14 In various editions, starting with the Gutenberg Bible, the vellum sheets were slightly larger than the paper. However, if a paper copy survived in the dimensions of the Trinity copy, it would suggest the original sheet was larger than ordinary Chancery; cf. ibid. 315.
Amongst the grotesques, birds, dragons, flowers, leaves and a snail that are carved into the border pieces, there is a barrel or a ‘tun’ containing the letters ‘Mor’, thus forming a pun or rebus on Morton’s name: ‘Mor–tun’.

The border, generally acclaimed as ‘well designed and cut’, is in the same style as that used by Pynson in his *Horne* of 1495; the same flower, snail and dragon motifs appear in both. In design and manner of use Pynson follows the French model as can be observed for instance in the Sarum Missal of 1497 printed in Rouen by Martin Morin. In reality, most woodcuts in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century English Missals were based on French originals, or French blocks were used.

The pressman rearranged the four-piece border before printing each of the eleven leaves: the two side-pieces are swapped around in such a way that the same piece is always in the outer or inner margin, whether printed on recto or verso. The pieces have been fitted together with a varying degree of success on the different pages, with the result that the edges of the pieces at times fail to meet in the corners. There is evidence to suggest that one of the woodcut pieces was damaged while the edition was going through the press, as can be seen clearly in one identical place in all the surviving copies. On leaves M8, O1, P4, P7, Q5, Q6, T5, U4 and E1, the edge of the border has not been printed at lines 23, 24 and 25 beside the open beak of the bird, seen in the outer margin on recto pages and in the inner margin on verso pages. A gap appears where the line should have printed, suggesting that a piece has broken off the woodblock (plate 2). On leaves A2 and B5, in all copies, the border is printed with an unbroken line, showing that the border was undamaged at this stage (plate 1). This demonstrates that the eleven sheets with borders were printed in the order in which they appear in the Missal. Elsewhere in the copies there are examples of uneven register of the woodblock border, but these occur randomly and thus are more likely to be cases of uneven inking.

The pages with woodcut borders and initials could have been printed either with two forms and two impressions, or with three forms and three impressions, since—in theory—either the type to be printed in black could have been printed at the same time as the border, or the border could have been printed separately. By 1500, however, this would have been very unusual. There is no overlapping to suggest the border was printed separately, but there is evidence to the contrary, that it was printed with the type for the text in black, as would be expected. It can be observed that when text in black appears immediately next to the border, the impression of the border’s narrow edge is irregular, whereas next to the text printed in red it is clear and even (plate 1). This would suggest that the narrow edge of the border has not been properly inked when next to the type that was also in inked in black, whereas the inking of the border caused no problems when there was no type set next to it, as was the case for the paragraphs printed in red, which would have been printed in a separate impression, as will be argued later. It is possible that when the black type and the border were locked into the forme together, the harder metal type pushed against the softer wooden border under pressure, causing the type to lift slightly higher than the wood, thus leaving it un-inked. Or there could have been a slight error in cutting the block, or even more probably, the border and type were not locked exactly parallel into the forme.

**Initials**

There is a hierarchical system of initials throughout the Missal. Ten of the eleven leaves with woodcut borders also have 7-line woodcut initials printed in red. In the beginning of the Canon a space is left for the initial *T* for the *Teigitur* prayer to be painted in by hand afterwards, and a small guide letter *t* has been stamped in the space. The first of the ten woodcut initials is *A* on A2, decorated with flowers, foliage, a grapevine, a dragon, another beast and Morton’s rebus. The other 7-line woodcut initials are decorated with various types of birds, flowers and leaves. For the Mass introit, 3-line woodcut initials decorated with floral motifs and foliage

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16. Ibid., fig. 70.
17. STC 16171.
18. Hind, *Introduction*, 721. Plomer has suggested that the bottom panel with Morton’s rebus, as well as the woodcut initials, may have been native work (see H. R. Plomer, *English printers’ ornaments* (London, 1924), 38, 92); yet the style of the border pieces is consistent and they thus appear to have been cut by the same craftsman.

19. In addition to EEBO, the initial is reproduced as fig. 456 in Hind, *Introduction*, 723, and the whole page (A2) from the Bodleian copy is reproduced as frontispiece in Plomer, *English printers’ ornaments*, 3.
were printed in red. To indicate the beginnings of readings and prayers within the Masses, 2-line initials were printed in red from metal type. In setting the type the compositors seem to have run short of the 2-line initials P and R on leaves X3r, X6r, Cc2r, Cc3r and Cc6r. Guide letters were printed or stamped in the middle of the spaces left blank, but in all the surviving copies none of these initials has been added, except in the Trinity copy where initials were painted throughout. In addition to a hierarchical system of initials, two different sizes of type are used to establish organisation within text, in order to distinguish between various functions within the liturgy.

The Canon cut: Christ on the Cross

The full-page Canon cut, Christ on the Cross (216 × 141 mm) is placed on the verso of [x]1, where it faces the beginning of the Canon on the recto of [x]2.20 The Canon cut is similar in composition to those found in Gering and Rembolt's Paris Missal of 1497 and Hoptyl's Sarum Missals of 1500 and 1504, all of which show St John holding his hand to his face.21 In the Morton Missal Crucifixion, St John holds a cloth to his face in a similar manner as a symbol of expressing sorrow. The border which is integral to the woodcut is in the same style as the separate border pieces used elsewhere in the book. It is decorated with a cross, a dragon, a hybrid, a Sagittarius, birds, flowers and leaves. There is no evidence of Pynson using this cut again, which may be due to its having got lost or damaged. A new Canon cut was provided for his 1504 Missal.

Colour printing

The register maintained between the two colours in the Morton Missal is generally very good, but there are instances where the impression from the second printing in black overlaps that of the first printing in red. This could have resulted from either the one-forme or the two-forme colour printing method, since the difficulty in both methods lies in the necessity to place

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20 Described and reproduced as no. 1357, fig. 118, in E. Hodnett, English woodcuts 1480–1535 (London, 1935).
incunabula, Pynson included music before, within and after the Canon. Music is provided for the Passion Vigil (L1–L4), with one line for Gloria in excelsis deo on L5), the Ordinary of the Mass (M1–), including Proper Prefaces for Christmas (M4), Easter (M4), Ascension (M5), Trinity Sunday until Advent (M5), Feast of Apostles (M6), Daily Feasts (M6–[x1]), Canon of the Mass (N), and in the Sanctus for the Feast of the Purification (U2–U3), and one line only in the Office of the Virgin (Gg6; Gloria in excelsis deo) and in the Mass for the Dead (Kk1), no words.

Pynson’s type for notation is of the roman style, rather than the gothic style favoured in German countries. The notation in the Morton Missal includes both the stemmed vagina and the unstemmed punctum for single notes, and several variations of ligatures with two or three ascending and descending notes. The occasional lozenge-shaped punctum in the gothic style of notation can also be found. Vertical bars have been printed in black to separate one sentence of the text to be sung from another. The C clefs at the beginning of each stave, as well as the F clefs at the ends of most staves, were also printed.

First the rubrics and staves were printed in red. The 4-line staves were printed from individual pieces of type measuring 13 mm deep × 8 mm wide, set one next to another, but leaving minute, yet noticeable, gaps between the pieces. The staves were followed by the notes and text in black. Setting the type accurately in order to print the second impression of the notes exactly in the correct place on the staves required special skill, and Pynson most probably recruited suitably trained individuals from France to do it.

Colophon

The colophon was printed in red on leaf Kk6, stating that the book was printed in London by Richard Pynson at the expense of John Morton, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, on 10 January 1500. Below the colophon is printed Pynson’s device C in red within a black border; the state is C with the bend in the bottom of the frame clearly visible. It is the first metal device used by Pynson and the earliest metal device to be made or used in England. The border is in a French design making use of the familiar bird, flower and leaf motifs, as well as the figures of a boy with a blowpipe, the Virgin and Child, and St Catherine of Alexandria trampling on the emperor Maxentius.

Patron

Apart from Cardinal Morton, none of Pynson’s patrons are named in his publications, and hardly anything of them is known. In his early career Pynson printed a number of service books for the London merchant John Rushe, followed by a small number of official publications which may have brought him to Morton’s notice. The evident trouble and care that Pynson invested in printing the Missal for the Cardinal may suggest that he hoped to win his support for further commissions. This was rendered futile by Morton’s death in the same year in 1500, yet it most probably helped Pynson in securing the support of Henry VII for the Sarum Missal of 1504, and subsequently in becoming appointed the King’s Printer in 1506.

25 L1 is reproduced ibid., no. 12 following xlv; See also no. 186 in the catalogue.
26 Ibid. xxii.
27 The F clefs are of very irregular shapes, and of none of the formats normally used in fifteenth-century musical notation as illustrated, for instance, in M. K. Duggan, Italian music incunabula: printers and type (Berkeley, 1991), 6, table 1.
28 Pynson also used a 13 mm deep stave-type for his subsequent folios, but a 9 mm deep stave-type for the quartos in 1502; See R. Steele, The earliest English music printing (London, 1903), 4.

30 Davies, Devisers, 320.
32 Morton died on 15 September 1500, which together with the colophon in the Morton Missal is strong evidence that Pynson began his year on 1 January rather than 25 March, as he then surely would have spoken in the colophon of Morton as lately dead; see Duff, Printer, 68–9.
In the current investigation concentrating on the formal aspects of the Morton Missal, it has not been possible to explore the contents nor the reasons Cardinal Morton had for commissioning the Missal. It was no doubt Morton's determination to standardise the liturgy of the English Church, another aspect in his strategy towards good order for the Church and State. The printing of the Morton Missal in 1500 follows, on one hand, a series of papal bulls obtained by Morton to receive sanction for reform and centralisation of power within the Church and, on the other, a series of new editions of the Sarum Missal printed from 1494 onwards. A comparative study of these editions would shed light on the liturgical reformation that appears to have taken place in England at the turn of the fifteenth century, and the contribution made to it by the Morton Missal.

Surviving copies

In addition to five substantially complete copies, three small fragments survive:

National Library of Wales, MS 874B
This fragment consists of the originally conjugate leaves Gg1 (290 x 145 mm) and Gg8 (260 x 120 mm) on vellum. The fragment is now in very poor condition, having been used as binding material for a mid-seventeenth-century volume of manuscript Welsh-language poetry from various periods.35

Bodleian Library, Douce Fragm. b.1(33,34)
This is a fragment of the conjugate leaves Q4.5 on vellum (300 x 210 mm).34 The border for the Trinity Sunday Mass on leaf Q5v was not coloured.

Cambridge University Library, Inc.2.J.3.6[3621]
This comprises a small section of leaf T5 printed on vellum, made up of two strips which have been mounted onto paper and joined back together (285 x 83 mm joined up).35 The border decorating the beginning of the Sanctorale, as preserved on this fragment, was not coloured.

Other, yet to be identified, fragments may well exist. The surviving complete copies are as follows:

Bodleian Library, Arch G.d.57
...:10 A–I8 K–M6 [X]12 N4 O–X8 Aa–li8 Kk6 292 x 201 mm, paper (but [X]12 on vellum).

This copy includes all the leaves as intended by the printer. The unsigned leaf A1, with the full-page woodcut of the royal arms of Henry VII on the recto and the full-page woodcut of John Morton's coat of arms on the verso, only survives in this and the John Rylands copy. The unsigned bifolium, referred to as [X]3, containing the Crucifixion woodcut and the Teigitur prayer for the opening of the Canon have been printed on vellum. A number of copies may have been printed in such a manner, including this bifolium on vellum within a paper copy, in order to provide protection and grandeur for the most used and important part of the Missal. The Canon cut and the facing border on [X]2v for the beginning of the Canon have been very crudely coloured, while the space for the initial T for the Teigitur prayer has been left blank.

In 1507 this copy was owned by a prelate, Richard Nix (c.1447–1535), Bishop of Norwich.36 Nix wrote the inscription 'Liber Ric[ard]i Nor[wic]ensis episcopi 1507' on the last leaf (Kk6v), and it was perhaps also he who added in manuscript the office of Henry VII on the rear endleaf. The copy also includes later sixteenth-century inscriptions by Ralph Cantrell and members of his family.37 The book is now bound in

36 Bod-inc M-276; Hellinga, 'Introduction', 70.
37 Hellinga, 'Introduction', 70.
eighteenth-century gold-tooled sheep, with two metal clasps, and measures 298 × 220 × 43 mm.  

Pusey House Library, Oxford, 71.42d.7
G8 H–I8 K–M6 [x]2 N4 O–X8 Aa–Gg8; i.e. lacking all before G8 and all after Gg8
286 × 210 mm, paper.

The border on [x]2t for the beginning of the Canon has been very crudely coloured, and a simple T for Teigitur has been painted with some crude decoration in red. Also on the facing page the blood pouring from Christ’s wounds in the Canon cut is coloured in red. The references to popes have been struck out in the beginning of the Canon and then restored by a later owner, as can be seen from evidence visible under ultraviolet light.

The Pusey House copy, measuring 295 × 220 × 40 mm, was rebound in plain calf with marbled doublures and endpapers in the nineteenth century. The inscription on the first flyleaf gives the date of the rebinding: ‘This book was bought at Mr F. N. Dickinson’s sale in Nov 1886. I had it cleaned and bound. It had belonged to Rev W. Maskell. H. P. Liddon. Ch.Ch. Jan 28. 1887’. Maskell (1814–90) was an important and controversial liturgical scholar, while Dr H. P. Liddon (1829–90), who was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he kept rooms for the rest of his life, was a friend of Dr E. B. Pusey (1800–82), and was involved in founding Pusey House and Pusey Memorial Library.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, SI.3.12
257 × 190 mm, vellum.

38 Bod-inc M-276.
39 As brought to my attention by Fr. Barry A. Orford, the Archivist of the Pusey House Library.
40 Sale of Francis Henry Dickinson, Sotheby’s, London, 10 Nov. 1886, lot no. 379.

The Emmanuel copy shows evidence that the sheets for this copy were folded and grouped into gatherings before the ink on the last sheet to be printed, the middle sheet, had managed to dry. This is particularly apparent on pages with a woodcut border in the middle of a gathering, P4v, Q5v, T5 and U4v, which have made images of the border on the facing pages, but the sheet printed with type only on Hh4v–Hh5v was also folded too soon and the wet ink from the type on one page has registered on the facing page. This set-off might be explained by the fact that the Morton Missal was the first substantial book Pynson printed on vellum. As similar mistakes are not noticeable in the John Rylands or the Trinity copies, the error must have been noticed and more attention was subsequently paid to drying out the vellum sheets.

The Emmanuel copy no longer retains the original bifolium [x]2 with the Canon cut and the beginning of the Canon with the Teigitur prayer. It has two Canon leaves inserted (before N1) from another edition instead, the quarto Missal printed by Nicolas Higman in Paris in 1519 for the London booksellers François Regnaut and Francis Byrckman (Missale ad vsnum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, STC 16200). They bear the folio numbers ‘fo. clvi.’ and ‘fo. clvii.’ and the running title ‘Canon’. The original bifolium [x]2 was evidently lacking when the replacement leaves from the 1519 Missal were inserted. The printed bifolium 2[x]2 replaced [x]2 and a leaf in manuscript was added to replace [x]1. This latter is a singleton on vellum, slightly thinner than the preceding original vellum leaves, and it provides the missing music in manuscript on the recto, while its verso, normally the place for the Crucifixion woodcut, is blank.

The Emmanuel copy measures 270 × 200 × 80 mm. It was rebacked in the twentieth century, on which occasion the original boards were reused. The binding is in plain calf with double gilt fillets around the boards. The arms of the Archbishops of Canterbury are stamped in gilt on the upper and lower covers bearing witness to its seventeenth-century owner.

41 Prior to the Morton Missal, Pynson only used vellum for his Sarum Hours of c.1498 (Duff 192; Bod-inc H-187), and for indulgences and other single-sheets.
42 As noted in manuscript on the first front flyleaf by Dr F. H. Stubbings, Fellow of Emmanuel College and College Librarian 1959–80, and Honorary Keeper of Special Collections until 2000; this was confirmed by comparison with the Bodleian Library copy available on EEBO.
Trinity College, Cambridge, VI.18.21


Support

The copy of the Morton Missal preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, is magnificent in every aspect of its production. Its vellum is of very good quality and apparently especially chosen: it is creamy white and clean. In comparison, the vellum used for the Emmanuel and John Rylands copies is in places yellow and shows marks of the underbelly and remains of hair follicles. In the Emmanuel copy there are also several contemporary repairs visible, showing holes patched up with pieces of vellum and missing text added in manuscript.

Woodcut borders

In the Trinity copy the woodcut borders have been finely coloured by hand. The backgrounds have been decorated with small blobs of gold with narrow lobes in black penwork, perhaps intended to depict bees or other small insects. The background of the border on B5^v has been painted in light brown, and decorative gold dots have been added. Gold has also been used for highlighting the figures, flowers and leaves in all ten borders that survive in this copy.

Decorated initials

The large woodcut initials have been replaced in the Trinity copy with initials hand-painted in pink and blue with white penwork, on burnished gold grounds, and decorated with acanthus leaves and flowers in pink, blue, green and red. The initials on A2^v, B5^v, O1^v, P7^v and T5^f each contain a fine aroid flower, the initial on Ee1^v has two bell flowers, and the rest of the initials contain curved acanthus leaves. Often the initial is shown transforming into a stem of a leaf or flower which infills the initial and wraps its leaves around it (plates 1 and 2). Faint traces of red ink can be
observed along the edges of some of the illuminated initials, from the original printed initials, but due to the over-painting and thick gold leaf used on top, it is difficult to determine whether they were erased before the illuminator began his work.

The 3-line woodcut initials for the Mass introit were erased and 3-line initials in gold (16 x 20 mm) were painted in their place to introduce each Mass. The 2-line initials indicating the beginnings of readings and prayers within the Masses were also erased and 2-line initials in gold and blue were painted alternately (12 x 15 mm). These painted initials were decorated by the illuminator with spray penwork which extends into the margins and the space between the columns, yellow being used for the gold capitals and red for the blue.

Rubrication

The Trinity copy contains a considerable amount of decoration applied by hand. The KL (Kalendis) monogram was printed in red from woodcut initials in all copies at the head of each month in the Calendar, with two different blocks used alternately for the KS. In the Trinity copy the monogram was hand-painted in gold and blue alternately, and decorated with elaborate penwork: dark yellow penwork for the initials in gold, and red for the ones in blue. In addition, every alternate 1-line capital A for the dominical letters indicating the position of Sundays in the Calendar, originally printed in red, have been replaced in the Trinity copy by hand-painted capitals in blue. It appears that the rubricator who added the manuscript embellishments to the printed copy started painting these capitals on top of the printed capitals, as seen on ...5, but was dissatisfied with the result as the printed red ink shows through. He then switched to erasing the printed capitals first, and painting the blue capitals in the spaces that were left blank, as can be seen from the evidence of the rough vellum surface resulting from the scratching of the skin and nearby letters losing some of their ink in the process, visible for instance on ...9.

Decoration by hand has been added throughout the volume, including paragraph signs and curvilinear line-fillers in blue in spaces left blank in the plain printed copies. The rubricator added a dash of yellow to all the capitals beginning phrases printed in black. Every second red capital was erased and hand-painted blue capitals were added in their place. Where the pressmen had made the mistake of printing the second impression in black too close to the first impression of the 1-line capitals in red, as on the already discussed leaf O1', the rubricator of the Trinity copy was able to reposition the capitals nearer the middle of the available space and improve the aesthetics of the page.

In this copy, lines have been ruled in red ink throughout the volume, including on the blank page. There are prickings for the even distribution of the lines although they were ruled after the pages were printed. The colophon and Pynson's device have been erased from this copy, with traces of red ink still visible in their place under close examination. No doubt these unnecessary additions and erasures were made in order to maintain consistency with the expected appearance of the book in the long-established manuscript tradition, yet it is interesting that the full-page Canon woodcut has been left uncoloured.

Canon of the Mass in manuscript

In the Trinity copy, the bifolium [x] only preserves its first leaf [x]1, now a singleton, with the end of the preface to the Common of Saints (beginning on M6 with the words 'Vere dignum[m] et [i]ustum[m] est') on its recto and the full-page Canon woodcut of the Crucifixion on its verso (plate 3). The five interpolated manuscript leaves [x]5 in this copy provide the text of the Canon Missae and of part of the Ordo Missae. The Ordo Missae begins on [x]4 and is completed on the two remaining printed leaves, N3 and N4. Thus the five manuscript leaves in the Trinity copy replace the original printed leaves [x]2, N1 and N2. The shift from manuscript to print on the opening comprising [x]5 and N3 is fluent and uninterrupted from one medium to the other (plate 4).

In the full-page Canon cut of Christ on the Cross a former owner has added another spire in brown ink to the city landscape on the background (plate 3). The otherwise plain uncoloured cut creates a sharp contrast with the opposing richly illuminated manuscript leaf beginning the Canon, which has a fine decorated border and an elaborate 6-line (450 x 450 mm) initial T for the Teigitur prayer (plate 5). The blue initial with white shading, stylised with regular indentations and rows of small white dots, is on a burnished gold ground, backfilled with curled ananthus leaves in the conventional colour scheme of pink, blue, brown and green, in a fully
English style. The border is assembled from a double bar-frame, where the outer frame is in gold and extends to provide backgrounds for the initial and the leaf and flower motifs in the corners and middle of the outer margin. The inner frame is formed of an acanthus vine in blue, pink and brown with regularly spaced clusters of curled leaves in pink, blue, green and brown, and a large flower as a corner-piece. The initial is also formed as part of the continuous vine bar-frame. The margins are further decorated with elaborate curling feathering in black ink that develops from the stubs of the vine, bearing circular lobes tinted in green and yellow and small gold balls with three round lobes. The motifs of the sprays are curled acanthus leaves and cup flowers.\(^{44}\) In the lower border, two sheaves of grain surround the hand-painted coat of arms, which will be examined later.

On the rest of the manuscript leaves there are 2-line initials in gold either on rectangular-shaped backgrounds halved pink/blue, pink/green, brown/blue or brown/pink, or on grounds in one colour with the letter backfilled with another colour from the same colour scheme. The edges of the initials and the grounds are outlined in black ink, and the grounds are infilled with curled acanthus leaves painted in white filigree on a darker background tint, creating a three-dimensional illusion. The last three Canon prayers have 3-line initial Ps in a similar style at the beginnings of musical staves: *Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Oremus. Preceptis ...* and *Pater noster qui es in coelis sanctificetur nomen tuum ...* on \(2^\mid x_{3^7}\), and *Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Pax domini ... Agnus ...* on \(2^\mid x_{3^7} - x_{4^7}\). At the ends of staves there are decorative vertical bars in blue with red penwork and in gold with black penwork. One-line initials alternate between blue initials decorated with red penwork and gold initials with black penwork.

The rounded and curved line of the turned-back leaf-forms and the softer, three-dimensional shading of the colours create an illusion of depth that developed in English bordertwork in the fifteenth century.\(^{45}\) A similar double bar-frame border, with leaf-motiifs that are larger and fewer than in earlier borders, single leaf-motiifs that are shaded in self-colour, and an initial with similar continuous shading, is dated by Kathleen Scott to about 1496, and identified as London work, carried out by an artist who illustrated books for Henry VII.\(^{46}\) An initial localisation and dating to London at the beginning of the sixteenth century is thus proposed for the manuscript Canon, and it is possible, as will be suggested below, that the same artist of Henry VII illuminated this copy of the Morton Missal. The manuscript Canon was most probably commissioned soon after copies of the Missal became available, and it seems likely that the scribe/illuminator employed for the job was the same person who finished the printed leaves by painting initials for the main offices and including initials and manuscript decoration throughout the volume, as described.

The script of the manuscript Canon is Gothic textualis quadrata with small diamond-shaped serifs and feet. The Tironian et-symbol takes the form of a crossed z, a later adaptation of the 7-like symbol. The text has generous spacing and is very clear and large—much larger than the type size of the preceding text—with only 33 lines to the page, in comparison to 39 lines of type. The original manuscript text had references to the pope which were later erased and replaced by inscriptions referring to Henry VIII, further indicating that the manuscript Canon was written for the Missal’s first owner, or at least before 1535 when their erasure became obligatory in England.\(^{47}\)

**Binding**

The Trinity College copy is the only copy of the Morton Missal that survives in its original binding (plate 6). The binding is English: the clasps are arranged the English way to fasten at the lower board and the blind tooling makes use of Tudor rolls. The clasps themselves no longer survive, but the two original metal catches remain attached to the fore-edge of the lower board. The volume measures approximately \(338 \times 238 \times 104\) mm,

\(^{44}\) Apparently the cup flower motif is not a standard design of the period; cf. K. L. Scott, *Dated and datable English manuscript borders c. 1395–1499* (London, 2002), 96.

\(^{45}\) Ibid. 8–9, 44–5.

\(^{46}\) Ibid. 110–11, pl. XXXVIIa.

\(^{47}\) Also all references to St Thomas of Canterbury and to popes have been erased from the printed parts in the Tabula, Calendar and elsewhere in each of the surviving copies of the Missal. The erasure of the references to Thomas Becket became obligatory from 1538. Yet, as not everyone took notice of the royal proclamations ordering the removal, it is difficult to know for certain when the erasures happened.
and has been rebacked, but the original covers of light coloured calf skin over dark oak boards survive. The covers have been tooled in blind with two different rolls in a pattern of three concentric rectangular frames. The outermost roll, identified as Oldham’s TC. a (6), is a crested roll with the following Tudor emblems: Tudor rose, Tudor crown (with a single surmounting arch), pomegranate, portcullis and fleur-de-lis, the last of these being repeated after every other emblem. It is recorded in three other bindings, produced in London in 1499, 1592 and 1623. 48 The two inner frames are tooled with a heads-in-medallions roll, not in Oldham, with conventional foliage ornaments engraved in between three different head-in-medallion designs. There are five raised bands on the spine, and five metal bosses on each of the upper and lower covers. Small tabs of vellum have been attached to the fore-edges of leaves that begin important sections, enabling efficient location of the correct place in the Missal.

The original front and rear pastedowns of the Trinity copy survive and have been lifted. They appear to be reused vellum leaves from an early fifteenth-century Breviary. Each pastedown was originally a sheet folded to make two manuscript leaves. The text on the pastedowns is written in pale black ink, by the same hand in both, in anglicana formata, with the minuscule r in 2-form, a double-compartment minuscule a, an 8-shaped g, a long initial s and a short final s. There are blue 2- and 3-line initials for each reading, and the rubrics and the ruled music staves are in red. On the front pastedown the text is part of a homily by Gregory the Great on a passage from St Luke’s Gospel and, on the other side, part of a homily by Origen on a passage from St Matthew’s Gospel, and a passage from St Mark’s Gospel. On the rear pastedown the text is Lesson IX from the service for the seventh and eighth Sunday after Pentecost with music provided for the sung parts, the last beginning ‘Attendite a falsis prophetis’ (Matthew 7:15).

Provenance

The arms painted in the manuscript Canon of the Trinity copy are as follows: quarterly, 1 and 4, azure a griffin passant or holding a branch vert; 2 and 3 argent three cross bows stringed and barbed gules (plate 5). The first quarter represents the family of Rede and the second quarter Reade of Gloucester. 49 The arms have been recorded for John Reed 50 and Master Rede of Kent, 51 and for Master John Rede of Otlandes, Sussex, and Rede of Petersfield. 52 Archbishop Morton’s Register records Master John Reed as an auditor of causes of the Court of Canterbury in 1495. 53 The auditor of causes exercised jurisdiction over cases that had been reserved for the Archbishop’s personal hearing as particularly important or grave, and for this significant office the Archbishop appointed an especially skilled canon lawyer to hear them on his behalf. 54 Master John Reed’s direct connection with Archbishop Morton, his important personal position, his practice of ecclesiastical law, and his vicinity to binders’ and illuminators’ shops in London where the Court of Canterbury held its sessions, make him a likely first owner of the copy. However, the Trinity copy of the Morton Missal was owned by another John Rede.

John Rede (also in some sources spelled Reed) 55 of Kingsley, Hampshire, was educated at the double foundation of Winchester College (1467–72) and New College, Oxford (1472–84). 56 He became a Fellow of New College in 1474, and took his BA in 1477 and MA in about 1480. In 1484 he was appointed the headmaster of Winchester College, an appointment he kept until 1490. After the 1420s schoolmasters regained the high status in which they had been held in the twelfth century and the


49 For this identification I am indebted to Dr Adrian Ailes.

50 J. Foster, Two Tudor books of arms: Harleian MS. nos: 2169 & 6163 (London, 1904), 286.

51 Ibid. 316.

52 T. Woodcock, J. Grant, and I. Graham, Dictionary of British arms: medieval ordinary, ii (London, 1996), 214. For these sources I am indebted to Professor Sir John H. Baker, who also confirms the arms are not those of Sir Robert Rede (d. 1519), Chief Justice.

53 R. W. Seton-Watson (ed.), Tudor studies: presented by the Board of Studies in History in the University of London to Albert Frederick Polland being the work of twelve of his colleagues and pupils (London, 1924), 27.


55 J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714: their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees (Oxford, 1891), 1240.

most distinguished professional educators were entrusted with the education of royal princes.\textsuperscript{57} Winchester College was one of the four leading English schools, alongside Eton, Magdalen and St Paul's (London),\textsuperscript{58} and as its headmaster Rede held an impressive position. This together with his instrumental role in introducing humanist teaching into English schools would have appealed to Henry VII in selecting him to educate the heir to the throne.\textsuperscript{59} Although no exact dates of Rede's appointment as a royal tutor survive, it is known from the writings of Bernard André that after Prince Arthur had been taught the alphabet by a tutor who remains anonymous, Rede became his tutor, probably in 1490 or 1491; and in a letter of 1500 from the University of Oxford to William Smith, its Chancellor elect, Rede is referred to as the prince's chaplain.\textsuperscript{60} Moreover, as Rede vacated his position as the headmaster of Winchester College in 1490 and returned to the College to become its Warden in 1501, it is most probable that this period corresponds with his appointment in the royal household.\textsuperscript{61} It seems likely that Rede was joined, rather than replaced, by André, the blind poet laureate, in teaching Arthur from 1496 to 1500, which is implied by the wording of André's description of his own appointment.\textsuperscript{62} And it seems appropriate that Rede was apparently freed from his duties either in 1500, like André, or in 1501, the year of Arthur's marriage to Catherine of Aragon.

That Rede would have been in the royal household in 1500 strengthens the case for his being the original owner of the Trinity copy, since there is iconographical evidence suggesting a connection with the court of Henry VII within the copy. Most of the dragons decorating the woodcut borders throughout the volume have been painted in bright red, with at least two red dragons on each leaf with borders, clearly distinguishing the motif from the others, and the red dragon was one of the most important badges of Henry VII. Adding to the argument, the original binding, as shown, was decorated with Tudor emblems, and the marginal decoration of the manuscript Canon shows close similarity to the style of the illuminator who worked for Henry VII. The Missal may have been offered to Rede in 1500/1 as a reward for his services for over a decade as the future king's tutor and chaplain. There is no evidence in the volume for its being a presentation copy, but any such evidence would most probably have been included on the preliminary leaf containing the king's arms, which is now lost. Rede was rewarded for his services by being made a canon of Newark College, Leicester, and a prebendary of the 11th prebend, apparently while still serving at court.\textsuperscript{63} In 1498 Rede was made the master of St Mary Magdalen Hospital, Winchester (a position he held until 1499), and in 1503 a canon of Lincoln and a prebendary of St Mary Crackpool (until 1519). He was then made a canon of Chichester and a prebendary of Bracklesham, and in 1520 Warden of New College, Oxford, positions which he kept until his death on 1 April 1521.\textsuperscript{64} It is not certain whether there was a personal connection between John Rede and Archbishop Morton, although it is at least likely, and it may be significant that John Holt, who went on to tutor Henry VII's second son, the future king Henry VIII, had previously taught the boys in Morton's household at Lambeth Palace between about 1496 and 1501.\textsuperscript{65}

The final evidence for Rede's ownership of the Trinity Missal comes from his will dated 27 April 1521. After listing various bequests, the will ends with the following words: 'that my last will/witnesse of that testament Mass Books for worthy lombard Roger Tryppe and John Lambe'.\textsuperscript{66} Roger Tryppe is recorded as a bailiff of Brent Eleigh Hall manor in Baberg, Suffolk, in 1555,\textsuperscript{67} but it was for his other Lombard, John Lamb, that John Rede left his luxurious copy of the Morton Missal.\textsuperscript{68} John

\textsuperscript{57} N. Orme, Medieval schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England (New Haven, 2006), 120.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid. 168.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid. 259–61. For André, see ODNB.
\textsuperscript{61} Carlson, 'Royal tutors', 261.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{63} Orme, Medieval schools, 179–80, 186; Emden, Biographical register, 1556.
\textsuperscript{64} Emden, Biographical register, 1556.
\textsuperscript{65} Orme, Medieval schools, 121.
\textsuperscript{66} The National Archives, prob/11/20.
\textsuperscript{67} Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch, Brent Eleigh Hall Estate Records, 1754/1/225, 226, 351, 352.
\textsuperscript{68} OED records the now obsolete meaning of 'Lombard' as a banker, money-changer, or pawnbroker, and thus the Missals may be connected with a payment of debts.
Lamb's death is recorded in the copy, with the death of Robert Lamb and the birth of Alice Lamb, all noted in manuscript in the Calendar:

[October] 'Obitus Johanne Lambe A°. 1539 A°. xxxii R. h viij' 60  
[October] 'Obitus Roberti Lambe A°. 1540 A°. xxxii R. h viij'  
[November] 'Alicia Lambe nat[u]a fuit'  

Later in the sixteenth century the book was acquired by Sir Edward Stanhope (1546–1608), 70 whose inscription is found at the head of the incipit on A2r (plate 1). During his career in civil law Stanhope held several offices, including those of a master in chancery (1577–1608), chancellor of the diocese of London (1578–1608), an ecclesiastical judge and a member of the High Commission (1584–1608), vicar general to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft (1605–1608), rector of Terrington, Norfolk (1589–1608), canon and chancellor of St Paul's Cathedral (1601–8), and MP for Marlborough, Wiltshire (1584, 1586). He gained high status as well as exceptional wealth, and in his will, dated 1608, he bequeathed to Trinity College Cambridge, having been both a student and a Fellow there, £700 for the founding of a librarianship and 238 volumes including the Morton Missal. 71


60 Henry VIII's 32nd regnal year was from 22 April 1540 to 21 April 1541 and correspondingly his 33rd regnal year was from 22 April 1541 to 21 April 1542; thus the dates have been counted incorrectly.
70 For Stanhope, see ODNB.
71 Memorials Collegii Triiitatis, 1614, Trinity College, Cambridge, R.17.8, fo. 94v. This is a Register of the benefactors of the College, given to Trinity College by Sir Edward Stanhope, who gave instructions and appointed funds for its making in his will. See also P. Gaskell, Trinity College Library: the first 150 years (Cambridge, 1980), 88, 132.
Plate 6: Cambridge, Trinity College, VI.18.21, the front cover of the binding.
Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows Trinity, College Cambridge.

Plate 7: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 16904, front flyleaf.
Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director,
The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester.
SUMMARY OF THE SOCIETY'S ACTIVITIES

October 2008 to July 2009

The season opened with another of Gerald Gifford's entertaining lecture recitals, this time on Brownlow Cecil and the music collection at Burghley House. This was followed by a timely talk by Philip Ford on Montaigne and Marie de Gournay, to mark the accession of the Montaigne Library of Gilbert de Botton to Cambridge. Next came Rebecca Rushforth, speaking on the Red Book of Darley in the context of the Parker digitisation project. Finally Deirdre Sarjeantson, the Munby Fellow for the year, spoke on the reception of Petrarch's 'Babylon' sonnets in England. The AGM was held at Newnham College, followed by a visit to the Library, and for the visit we went to see the amazingly rich collections of the Getty family at Wormsley.

N.A.S.