



From the library of the Cistercian Abbey of Hailes, Gloucestershire
(185 × 130 × 45 mm)

Petrus Lombardus

Novara, Lombardy *circa* 1100 – 1160 Paris

Textus magistri sente[n]tiarum in quatuor sectus libros partiales. Primus agit de inexplicabili mysterio summe sanctissime & individue trinitatis. Secundus tracta de rerum creatione & formatione corporalium & spiritualium & aliis rebus ad ea pertinentibus: agit pariter de lapsu hominis. Tertius agit de incarnatione verbi. Quartus tractat de sacramentis & signis sacramentalibus. Insuper in principio omniu[m] distinctionum ponuntur valde vtiles summarij necnon in margine concordantie Biblie et sanctorum patrum : item ponuntur etiam articuli erronei qui passim Parrhisius a doctoribus sacre theologie fuerunt conde[m]nati et ab ipsorum conditoribus reuocati ab anno D[omi]ni M.cclxxvij usq[ue] ad annum D[omi]ni M.dvij

[Lyon:] Vincent de Portonariis de Tridino de Monte Ferrato, 1527 [colophon:
Lyon: Jean Moylin, 10 July 1527]

Two parts, OCTAVO (178 × 125 mm), signed A-R⁸ S¹⁰ a-r⁸ s⁶ (blank s6); bifolium S5+S6 misbound between s3+s4); foliated [i]-cxlv, [i]-cxli (1, blank). Title printed in red and black, a border composed of woodcut ornaments enclosing device of Vincenzo Portonari.

PROVENANCE Stephen Sagar (died in or before 1551), inscriptions *Liber domini Stephani abbatis de Heyles* and *Heyles* at foot of second leaf — presented by Sagar to the Cistercian convent of Hailes, Gloucestershire; dissolved 1539 — Edward Gordon Duff (1863-1924), by 1891, his notes tipped to front paste-down and verso of title-page — sale by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, ‘Catalogue of the library of the late Edward Gordon Duff’, 16 March 1925, p.58, lot 134, where bought by Leighton, £27 — William E. Moss (1875-1953) — sale by Sotheby & Co., ‘Catalogue of the very well-known and valuable library the property of Lt.-Col. W.E. Moss of the Manor House, Sonning-on-Thames, Berks.’, London 2-9 March 1937, pp.157-158, lot 1134, where bought by Maggs Bros., London — Maurice Burrus (1882-1959), exlibris and acquisition label dated 1937 — sale by Christie’s, ‘Maurice Burrus (1882-1959): la Bibliothèque d’un homme de goût. Première partie’, Paris, 15 December 2015, lot 121

PASTEDOWNS fragments (170 × 115 mm) of Aristotle’s Latin *Opera* (Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula and Bartholomaeus de Blavis, de Alexandria, 1483), the lower from folio 83 ([image](#)).

Several wormholes, lightly waterstained in some lower corners, otherwise a bright, attractive copy. Binding also stained; title lettered on spine at later date; hinge of upper cover repaired.

BOUNDED in contemporary English brown calf over wooden boards, the upper cover decorated by a panel stamp displaying the Royal arms supported by a dragon and greyhound, flanked (left) by the moon and shield bearing the arms of the City of London and (right) the sun and shield bearing the cross of St George; lower cover decorated by a panel stamp displaying a Tudor Rose supported by angels (flanked as above), signed with the initials and trade mark of Julian Notary; three bands; traces of clasps.

A book from the library of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Blood of Christ at Hailes (or Hayles), near Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, a Cistercian house founded in 1246 by Richard, first Earl of Cornwall, which became a major pilgrimage destination after his son Edmond gave to it in 1270 a relic of the blood of Jesus Christ which he had acquired in Germany. One of nine extant books of this provenance, it has been untraced since 1937, and has yet to be seen by a modern scholar.

Approximately 380 printed books have been assigned with certainty or high probability to English and Welsh monastic houses.¹ Of these, forty-four were in Cistercian monasteries in England (none in Wales).² The verso of the title-page in our volume is boldly inscribed *Liber dompni Stephani abbatis de Heyles*, and opposite (in display textura) *heyles*, both inscriptions presumably in the hand of Stephen Sagar (Whalley, Whally), who in 1527 had succeeded Anthony Melton as abbot of Hailes.³

A similar presentation inscription, *Ex emptione dompni Stephani Whalley abbatis de heyles, 1538. pro domo capitulari*, and in large letters *heyles, chapter house, heyles*, appears in another of the nine extant books from Hailes.⁴ Two more books are similarly inscribed: one *heyles chapter howse heyles*, with a fragmentary purchase inscription *Ex emptione... 1538;*⁵ the other with fragmentary inscription ... *howse ... and again heyles chapter house. heyles.*⁶ All four books are assumed to have been presented by Abbot Sagar for use of the brethren in the chapter house.⁷ Stephen Sagar's name is reported in yet another volume, where it is written *Fratri Stephani Whalley* (in display textura) and *Stephanus Sagar*, without however any indication that the book was in the chapter house at Hailes.⁸



¹ *Medieval libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books*, edited by Neil R. Ker (London 1964), pp.94-95; ...*Supplement to the second edition*, edited by Andrew G. Watson (London 1987), p.38; see [MLGB3](#) (Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, beta-version of a new digital resource). Useful overviews are David N. Bell, 'Monastic Libraries: 1400–1557' in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume III: 1400–1557*, edited by Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge 1999), pp.229–254; David N. Bell, 'The Libraries of Religious Houses in the Late Middle Ages' in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, edited by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge 2006), pp.126–151.

² David N. Bell, 'Printed books in English Cistercian monasteries' in *Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses* 53 (2002), pp.127–162. The nine extant books from Hailes are described pp.150–155, as nos. 12–20. Our volume is Bell no. 20, the description taken from the 1937 auction sale catalogue ('untraced'); Ker, *op. cit.* (1964), p.95 ('untraced'); MLGB3 ([notice](#), 'untraced').

³ *The heads of religious houses: England and Wales, III: 1377–1540*, edited by David M. Smith (Cambridge 2008), p.299.

⁴ Pseudo-Bede the Venerable, *Secundi tomis operum Venerab. Bedae Presb. Comme[n]tarii* ([Paris:] Vœnundatur Iodoco Badio Ascensio, [1 June 1521]). Oxford, Balliol College Library, 30 f 115 (formerly 570 h 10). Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), pp.152–153 no. 16. MLGB3 ([notice](#)); Library [OPAC](#). No first volume was ever published; the *Tertius Tomus* appeared in 1522.

⁵ Denis the Carthusian, *In omnes Beati Pauli epistolas commentaria* (Coloniae : Apud Petrum Quentell. Anno. M.D.XXXIII. mense Septembri). Bound with: Denis the Carthusian, *In Epistolas omnes canonicas, in Acta apostolorum, & in Apocalypsim, piae ac eruditæ enarrationes* (Coloniae : Expensis Petri Quentell, anno 1533. Mense Septembri). Volume 2: Denis the Carthusian, *In quatuor Euangelistas enarrationes* (Coloniae : Petrus Quentell suis impensis excudebat, 1533 mense Septembri). Windsor, St. George's Chapel, III.c (8), III.c. (17). Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), p.154 no. 19. MLGB3 ([notice](#), [notice](#)). John Callard, *A catalogue of printed books (pre-1751) in the Library of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle* (Windsor 1976), p.71 nos. 120–122.

⁶ *Biblia. Breues in eadem annotationes, ex doctiss. interpretationibus, & Hebraeorum commentariis* (Parisiis : Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1532). Oxford, Corpus Christi College, CZ.12.6. Another inscription on title-page: *Gulielmus Harwood C.C.C. socius Bacalaureus Sac. Theologiae hunc librum ex testamento legavit eidem [... date cropped]; 'possibly William Harwood (or Harward), scholar CCC 1571, fellow 1579'* (Library [OPAC](#)). Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), pp.153–154 no. 17. MLGB3 ([notice](#)).

⁷ Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), pp.153–154.

⁸ Adam de Alderspach, *Summula clarissimi iurisconsultissimiq[ue] viri Raymundi breuissimo co[m]pendio sacramentorum alta complectens mysteria...* (Delft: [Christiaen Snellaert or Hendrik Eckert, van Homerch], 1497). Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, Bb.5.2. Library [OPAC](#). EBOB ([notice](#)).

Stephen Sagar

Stephen Sagar was born near the end of the fifteenth century, the younger son of prosperous gentry on the Yorkshire-Lancashire border. By 1505 he had entered the Cistercian order at Whalley Abbey, Lancashire, where he remained long enough to acquire its name as his surname. He was appointed abbot of Hailes on 9 August 1527.

A social and personal connection existed between the abbey and Christopher Urswick (1448-1522), lay brother of the Cistercian abbey of Furness in Lancashire, royal almoner, and former dean of York. In 1517-1518, Urswick donated to Hailes two large, illuminated manuscript books,⁹ and in his will (10 October 1521) made a further gift of books; Abbot Sagar apparently secured these from Urswick's executors. Like other superiors of this period, Sagar presented books for the use of his convent, either books from his own collection, or purchases. His commitment to claustral instruction remained to the very end: two of his extant gifts were presented only months before Sagar surrendered the abbey to the Crown (24 December 1539).

As early as 1535, before either the dissolution of the monasteries or the attack on images began in earnest, Hailes had been noticed by leading Reformers. Sagar, a religious conservative, was told in 1537 of the expected dissolution of his house, and he effectively agreed in 1539 not to challenge the government's decision. For his acquiescence, Sagar was granted a substantial annual pension (roughly equivalent to the combined total paid to the other twenty-one monks of the house), together with a manor house at Coscombe, close to Hailes. In 1542 he may have returned to academic study; in 1544 he secured the prebend of Ufton Decani in Litchfield Cathedral. He is recorded dead on 25 September 1551, when his Lichfield prebend was reassigned.¹⁰

Dispersal of the Library

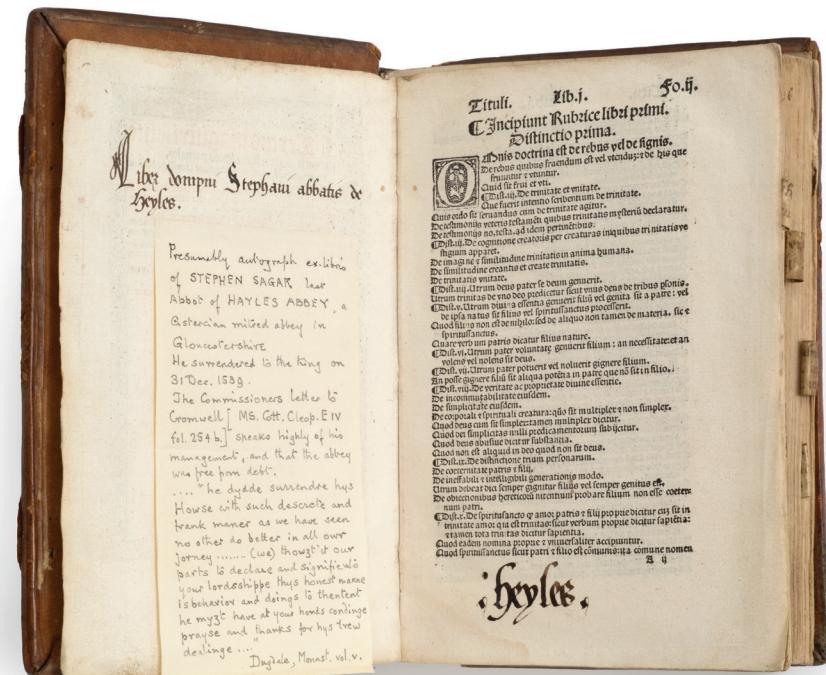
When Hailes was dissolved, the commissioners hastily sold over £400 in 'ornaments, goods, and chattels'.¹¹ It was usual practice for suppression commissioners to sell monastic ornaments locally, and while we have no details of this fire-sale, it is likely that the reading material in the cloister cupboards was immediately dispersed, as 'in those vncircumspect and

⁹ A psalter (1514) and George of Trebizond's version of St John Chrysostom upon St Matthew (1517), both written by Pieter Meghen (1466-1540), now held in Wells Cathedral Library, MSS 5 and 6; see J.B. Trapp, 'Notes on manuscripts written by Peter Meghen' in *The Book Collector* 24 (1975), pp.80-96 nos. 12-13. James G. Clark, 'Humanism and Reform in pre-Reformation English Monasteries' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 19 (2009), pp.57-93 (pp.89-91).

¹⁰ James G. Clark, 'Sagar, Stephen (d. in or before 1551)' in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (index number 101105487).

¹¹ The commissioner's accounts of the dissolution of Hailes (PRO E 315/494, pp.67-72) are studied by Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge 2002), Chapter 5: Selling the sacred: reformation and dissolution at the Abbey of Hailes, pp.162-196 (p.175).

carelesse dayes, there was no quyckar merchaundye than lybrary bokes'.¹² The handsome edition of Bede's Bible commentaries (Paris 1521), presented by Sagar to the chapter house in 1538, was acquired by the secular priest John Griffith (fl. 1524-1554), a fellow of Oriel College. Before he departed to become vicar of Holy Rood, Southampton, in 1543, Griffith donated the book to Balliol College.¹³



¹² As John Bale would later recall in a letter to Matthew Parker, 30 July 1560; *The recovery of the past in early Elizabethan England: documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the circle of Matthew Parker*, edited by Timothy Graham and Andrew G. Watson (Cambridge 1998), p.17.

¹³ Sagar's inscription (see above, note 5) was superseded by Griffith's donation note, *Liber collegii balliolli ex dono d[omi]ni Joh[ann]is Gryffyt et Ioh[ann]es Gryffyt. James G. Clark, 'Griffith, John (fl. 1539)', in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (index number 76815). 'Griffith's donation is noted in Balliol's benefactions book... and seems to have taken place between 1540 and 1543' (image of both inscriptions: [rare books @ Balliol](#)).*

Another benefactor of the chapter house library had been Philip Brode (or Brade), alias Acton, a monk at Hailes by 1530, and still a monk at the Dissolution.¹⁴ Four of the nine extant books from Hailes contain presentation inscriptions written by Brode: in one, as *Liber monasterii beate marie de hey[...] ex emptione [fratris?] philippi acton eiusdem t[...] monachi et scolares*;¹⁵ in another, a two-volume Duns Scotus, as *Liber monasterii beate marie preciosique sanguinis Christi de heiles emptus per fratrem philippum acton eiusdem loci monachum et scolarum* (vol. 1);¹⁶ in the third, a ten-volume edition of St Augustine's Works (bound as six volumes), as *Liber monasterii beate marie de heiles ex dono fratris philippi acton eiusdem loci monachi et scolaris* (in each volume);¹⁷ and in the fourth, a tract volume of six books, *Liber monasterii sancta marie de hei[es]* is written on the first leaf, with other inscriptions elsewhere, including *Phyllyppus Acton* and *Rogerus Coscv[m] me ivre [tenet]*.¹⁸

¹⁴ Brode received an annual pension of £8. Educated at Oxford in the Cistercian college of St Bernard's College (incepted as Doctor of Divinity on 11 July 1543), Brode is recorded as *regius prälector* of theology from 1542 until at least 1547. He was dispensed to hold benefices in 1540; the year after, he became vicar of Huddersfield, then in 1545 vicar of Adel, and in 1547, probably at Sagar's instigation, he was appointed to the prebend of Dernford. Brode was also a canon of Lichfield, a canon of York, and prebendaries of Givendale (all in Yorkshire); he died in 1551. Alfred B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford: A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford 1974), p.71; *Heads of religious houses, op. cit.* (2008), p.319.

¹⁵ Aegidius Aurifaber, *Speculum exemplorum : omnibus christicolis salubriter inspiciendum : ut exemplis discant disciplinam* (In imperiali oppido Hagenau : p[er] industriu[m] Henricu[m] Gran ... impensis ... Ioa[n]nis Rynma[n] de Oringaw, 1512). St. Andrews, University Library, GHF 34.e [1] (formerly Edinburgh, Theological College, Forbes e.34). This book was listed by Ker, *op. cit.* (1964), p.94, as a copy of the edition Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 4 December 1495; see Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), pp.150-151 no. 12. MLGB3 ([notice](#)).

¹⁶ *Sacratissima sente[n]tiaru[m] totius theologie quadripartita volumina ab excellentissimo theolo-goru[m] omniu[m] monarca edita Petro Lombardo Parisiensi Episcopo* (Venetijs : Per Gregorium de Gregoriis. Anno D[omi]ni. M.CCCCCXIII. Die. vii. mensis Aprilis); issued with: Duns Scotus, *Scriptu[m] primu[m] [=secundum, tertio] Oxoniense Doctoris Subtilis Ioan[n]is Duns Scoti Ordinis Minoru[m] super primo Se[n]te[n]tiaru[m] pristine integrati restituutu[m]* (Venetijs : p[er] Gregorium de Gregorijs, [1515]) and *Tabula generalis ac Mare magnu[m] Scotice subtilitatis octo sectio[n]ibus vniuersa[m] Doctoris Subtilis peritia[m] complectens miro artificio elaborata ab excelle[n]tissimo doctore Antonio de Fantis Taruisino primario inue[n]tore ac Scotice discipline illustrator* (Venetijs : Per Petrum de Quarengijs sumptibus Bartholomei de Gabiano [15 October 1516]). Three parts (of four), bound in two volumes. The second volume contains a similar inscription with variant *ex emptione fratris philippi acton*. Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya collection (formerly Insch, collection of Cosmo Alexander Gordon, 1886-1965; Edinburgh, collection of Joanna Gordon, 1923-2009; Bernard Quaritch Ltd., sale catalogue *Books from the library of Cosmo Alexander Gordon* [List 2010/14], London 2014, item 10, £11,000). Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), p.151 no. 13. MLGB3 ([notice](#)). EBOB ([notice](#)). Toshiyuki Takamiya and Richard Linenthal, 'Early Printed Continental books owned in England: Some examples in the Takamiya Collection' in *Makers and users of medieval books: Essays in honour*

A copy of the *Moralia* by the popular preacher Jérôme de Hangest is inscribed *Philippus Acton iure me possidet*, without any indication that the book was in the chapter house at Hailes.¹⁹ Another book bearing Brode's name was acquired after he left the abbey.²⁰

The aforementioned Roger Coscum (Coscom, Coscomb), was a scholar at Oxford and a monk at Hailes. He also entered his name in an edition of St Jerome's *Epistolae* (Lyon 1518), as *Per me fratrem Rogerum Coscom monachum de Heyles ac studentum Oxon' anno domini millesimo quintagesimo vicesimo octavo* [1528].²¹

Text

The *Sentences* of the Paris magister Petrus Lombardus, compiled in 1148-1151, was still the main textbook of scholastic theology at the beginning of the early sixteenth-century. First printed at Strassburg in 1471, it had passed through more than twenty editions before the end of the century. The text printed here is supplemented by a compilation of academic

of A.S.G. Edwards, edited by Carol M. Meale and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge 2014), pp.178-190 (pp.182-183, ownership inscription reproduced as Fig. 32).

¹⁷ *D. Aurelii Augustini ... omnium operum primus [decimus] tomus* (Parisiis : In officina Claudiu Cheualloni, 1531-1532). Ten volumes bound as six. Wells, Cathedral Library, G.1.3-8. Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), p.154 no. 18. MLGB3 ([notice](#)). EBOB ([notice](#)).

¹⁸ *Libellus sophistarum ad usum Oxonien[sis]* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1518?). Bound with: *Compilatum est hoc opusculum insolubilium secundum usum insignis schole Paruisi in alma universitati* (Oxford: J. Scolar, 1517). Bound with: *Libellulus secundarum intentionum logicalium* (London: Richard Pynson, 1502). Bound with: Johannes Murmellius, *In Aristotelis Isagoge* (Deventer: Theodoricus Borne, 15 July 1519). Antonio Ramírez de Villascusa, *Abbreviationes omnium parvorum logicalium collecte* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, c. 1513). Bound with a single leaf of: Cornelius Roelans de Mechlinia, *Opusculum aegritudinum puerorum* ([Louvain: Johann Veldener, not before 16 February 1486]). London, British Library, C.37.c.44. Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), pp.151-152 no. 14. MLGB3 ([notice](#)). EBOB ([notice](#)). Dennis E. Rhodes, 'A volume from the monastery library of Hayles' in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1985), pp.598-603. This volume later belonged to Hans Sloane and has been in the Library since its foundation.

¹⁹ Jérôme de Hangest, *Moralia* (Paris: Francois Regnault, Pierre Gaudoul, Nicolas de la Barre, Jean Petit, 26 November 1526). Oxford, Bodleian Library, 8° C 86(2) Th. Library OPAC ([notice](#)). EBOB ([notice](#)).

²⁰ [Johannes Gropper], *Antididagma, seu Christianae et Catholicae religionis*, translated by Eberhard Billick (Louvain 1544). Oxford, All Souls College Library, 8:SR.77.c.3. Contemporary manuscript inscription on title-page: *Philipp[us] Brade me jure possulet*; cf. Neil R. Ker, *Records of All Souls College Library, 1437-1600* (Oxford 1971), p.140; David Pearson, *Oxford bookbinding 1500-1640: including a supplement to Neil Ker's Fragments of Medieval manuscripts used as pastedowns in Oxford bindings* (Oxford 2000), p.160 no. 300.1. Library [OPAC](#). EBOB ([notice](#)).

²¹ *Diui eximij[que] doctoris Eusebij Hieronymi Stridonensis Aepistolarum libri : plurimis quidem quibus minoribus excusae formis, & mendis & mutilationibus squealent solutarum* (Impressum Luguduni : Per magistrum Iacob[us] Saccon, Anno 1518, die vero penultima octobris). Manchester, Chetham's Library, John Byrom Collection, 2.1.7.10. Bell, *op. cit.* (2002), p.152 no. 15. Library [OPAC](#). MLGB3 ([notice](#)). EBOB ([notice](#)). Emden, *op. cit.* (1974), p.139.

condemnations, from the *Articuli Parisienses* issued by the Bishop of Paris in 1277 to 1507, incorporating ‘Item quidam alii articuli in Anglia et Oxonia condemnati et ab ipsorum auctoribus tunc revocati’. In the second, separately foliated part, the reader is provided with various study-aids (‘Habes itaque studiose lector librum sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi viri in divinis litteris perbelle eruditio pensiculatiori examine recognitum una cum concordantiis sacre pagine’).

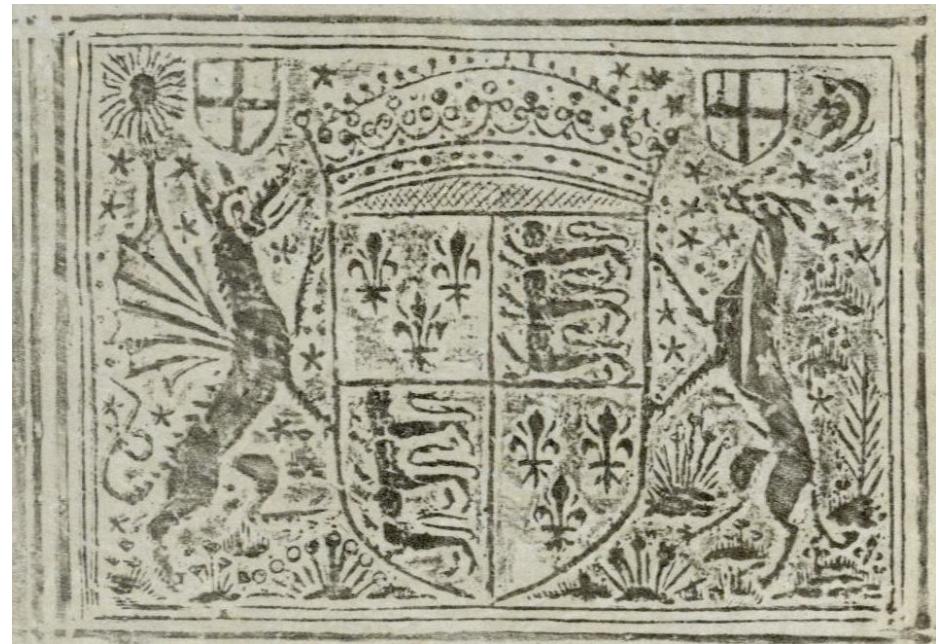
The publisher Vincenzo Portonari (d. 1547) had arrived in Lyon around 1500, and worked for his compatriot Baldassarre da Gabiano, before establishing himself independently in 1506. Jean Moylin *dit de Cambray* (d. 1541) was Portonari’s partner in numerous publications. This edition is a page-for-page reprint of one they published jointly, dated 10 January 1524 (leaf cxlv verso, folio S10) and 3 February 1525 (leaf cxli, folio O8).²²

These copies are traced

- Almería, Biblioteca Pública del Estado, F.A-35²³ • Badajoz, Biblioteca Pública del Estado ‘Bartolomé J. Gallardo’, 1670 • Burgos, Biblioteca Pública, 3745 • Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, SP.204²⁴ • Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, MAGAZ 017 008 (ex-Abbazia di Santa Maria del Monte)²⁵ • Durham, NC, Duke University Libraries, BX1749.P48 S468 1527²⁶ • Lanhydrock, National Trust • Léon, Real Colegiata de S. Isidoro, Archivo-Biblioteca, LARC.349²⁷ • London, Lambeth Palace Library, D75.L6²⁸ • Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Chomarat 5895 • Peterborough, Cathedral Library, G.6.38²⁹ • Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, 42. I.E.1 (ex-Convento di Santa Maria in Aracoeli)³⁰ • Toulouse, Institut Catholique, CAP 16P 055 (ex- Bibliothèque Capucins Toulouse)³¹

Binding

The calf binding is decorated on both covers with two panel stamps. The panel on the upper cover (72 × 106 mm) displays the quartered royal arms of Henry VIII, supported by the red dragon of Cadwalader, and the white greyhound of the House of Beaufort. In the upper right hand corner are the moon and a shield bearing the arms of the City of London, in the left the sun and a shield with the Cross of St George. In the background are flowers and other vegetation; the upper part is studded with stars. The panel is enclosed by a frame made by a three-line fillet which also is run round the edges.³²



Rubbing of panel stamp on upper cover (72 × 106 mm)

Several binders employed panels of similar design, from about 1522 until about 1528, when Henry VIII adopted the lion for his dexter and the dragon for his sinister supporter, and the die-cutters produced revised panels; that new design was altered in 1533, when Anne Boleyn’s arms replaced Catherine of Aragon’s. The City arms indicated that the binder was a citizen, and when this was not the case the citizen shield was replaced by another device.

²² Herbert M. Adams, *Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501-1600*, in *Cambridge libraries* (Cambridge 1967), P-901; Henri Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise* (Lyon 1895-1921), V, pp.427-428.

²³ Library [OPAC](#).

²⁴ Adams, *op. cit.* (1967), P-902; *Corpus of British medieval library catalogues, 10: The University and College Libraries of Cambridge*, edited by Peter D. Clarke (Cambridge 2002), p.239.

²⁵ Library [OPAC](#).

²⁶ ‘Imperfect: colophon leaf missing’ (Library [OPAC](#)).

²⁷ Library [OPAC](#).

²⁸ Library [OPAC](#).

²⁹ Deposited in Cambridge University Library; Library [OPAC](#): ‘Wants sigs d-g. Last leaf defective’.

³⁰ Library [OPAC](#).

³¹ Library [OPAC](#).

³² A rubbing of the panel on our volume made by William H.J. Weale (now London, National Art Library, 1933-1889) is reproduced in Weale’s *Bookbindings and rubbings of bindings in the National Art Library, South Kensington* (London 1894), p.122 no. 112. James Basil Oldham, *Blind panels of English Binders* (Cambridge, 1958), p.25 HE. 29 and plate XXII.



Rubbing of panel stamp on lower cover (73 × 106 mm)



Rubbing of Notary's trade-mark and initials (detail from lower cover)

³³ Oldham, *op. cit.* (1958), p.33 and Plate LXVII Fig. 1.

³⁴ Weale, *op. cit.* (1894), p.122 no.113 (with a reproduction of Julian Notary's trademark and initials, rubbed from the present binding). Oldham, *op. cit.* (1958), RO.14 and Plate XXXIX.

³⁵ Edward Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade: Short notices of all printers* (London 1905), pp.112-114; Henry R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde and his contemporaries, from the death of Caxton to 1535* (London 1925), p.175.

The panel on the lower cover (73 × 106 mm) displays in the centre large Tudor rose – a double rose with petals of red and white, signifying the union of the houses of York and Lancaster – surrounded by a border of flowers and foliage, and enclosed in two ribbons supported by angels. On the scrolls an elegiac couplet is lettered: *hec rosa uirtutis de celo missa sereno | Eternu[m] florens regia sceptra feret* (source unknown). Most elements of the design – rose, scroll, inscription, and angels – appear in a woodcut used by Pynson in 1512.³³ In the upper right corner is the moon and a shield bearing the arms of the City of London, in the upper left the sun and a shield with the cross of St George. The ground of the panel is studded with tufts of herbage and flowers. Below the rose are the initials 'I.N.' signifying Julian Notary, and his trade mark, with the 'N' in the trademark here wrongly cut in reverse. The panel is again enclosed by a frame made by a three-line fillet, which also is run round the edges.³⁴

The London stationer Julian Notary (c. 1455-after 1523) makes his first appearance in London in 1496, as a printer of *De modis significandi* by Albertus Magnus, which he signs with a device incorporating his initials I.N., the same as the one used on our binding. For the first twenty years of the next century, he published at least one edition a year, usually printing from existing editions. Notary is last recorded in the lay subsidy rolls of 1522-1523, when his property is valued at £36 6s. 8d.³⁵

Notary was at times among the largest importers of foreign books, which he sold both wholesale and retail. Our book was certainly bound for sale by Notary, but it is not known whether he employed a binder (or binders) on his premises. The binder seems to have possessed few tools. He owned four metal dies for panel stamps, two producing the heraldic panel and two producing the Rose panel, similar in design, but differing in the details (the cross line of the 'N' in the trademark runs the wrong way). The earlier of the Rose panels was observed by Oldham on thirty-five books, dated 1500, 1508-1533, in all cases paired with the heraldic panel. The later of the two Rose panels was identified by Oldham on three books only: our binding, which Oldham knew from the rubbing taken by Weale;³⁶ a binding in J.R. Abbey's collection (no. 6237, on a book published in 1532); and a binding in the Bodleian Library.³⁷ Oldham noted that these three books were later than any of the other group, and speculated that the new panel was a replacement.³⁸

In addition to these panel stamps, Notary's binder possessed a long panel bearing the Tudor emblems of the pomegranate, rose, portcullis, and lion, combined with the initials L.R. and R.L., which he employed on large-format books, placing it between two impressions of the

³⁶ The binding was rubbed by Weale in 1889, perhaps before its acquisition by Gordon Duff. The binding is described by Gordon Duff in *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of bookbindings*, edited by Edward Gordon Duff and Sarah Treverbian Prideaux (London 1891), Case A, p.4, no. 28 (no illustration).

³⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, 8° V 28 Th. On Joannes Ludovicus Vivaldus, *Aureum opus de veritate contritionis* (Paris 1530).

³⁸ Oldham, *op. cit.* (1958), p.7.

same panel on the same cover. He also owned a roll (signed enigmatically L.K.-K.L.), which occasionally accompanied the panels.³⁹ It is not known into whose hands these tools passed after Notary's retirement or death. Hobson speculated that Notary 'probably lived till 1528 at least, the book of 1533 (Peterborough K.2.32) may be either *emboité* or by a successor'.⁴⁰ No successor has been identified.

Four of the other nine extant books from the chapter house at Hailes are preserved in early bindings. The folio Bede (now Balliol College)⁴¹ and folio Bible (Corpus Christi College, Oxford)⁴² carry the marks of chain-staples, suggesting they were kept at Hailes attached to shelves or lecterns. The six-volume folio Augustine (Wells Cathedral) survives in contemporary Oxford bindings;⁴³ the two-volume folio Duns Scotus (Takamiya Collection) was bound in London.⁴⁴ One volume of the two-volume folio Dionysius Cartusianus (St George's Chapel Archives and Chapter Library) is in a contemporary Oxford binding,⁴⁵ the other volume has been rebound.⁴⁶ The tract volume (British Library) is bound in eighteenth-century calf;⁴⁷ the St Jerome *Epistolae* (Chetham's Library) also has been rebound.⁴⁸ We have no information about the binding on the collection of exempla attributed to Aegidius Aurifaber (St Andrews University).

FURTHER REFERENCES Henri Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise* (Lyon 1895-1921), V, p.430 and XII, p.390; Sybille von Gültlingen, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, II (Baden-Baden 1993), p.171 no 98 (and III, 1995, p.63 no. 111); *French books, III & IV: Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and languages other than French*, edited by Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby (Leiden 2012), p.1315 no. 82677

³⁹ J.B. Oldham, *Shrewsbury School library bindings* (Oxford 1943), p.101; J.B. Oldham *English Blind-stamped bindings* (Cambridge 1952), p.57, SV. a (6), as a roll used in London, 1516-1526; cf. Oldham, *op. cit.* (1958), p.34.

⁴⁰ Geoffrey D. Hobson, *Blind-stamped Panels in the English Book-trade* (London 1944), p.39.

⁴¹ 'Blind roll-tooled leather over wood boards. Remains of clasps on both boards. Unidentified manuscript material used as front and rear pastedowns. Chain staple scar on lower board' (Library [OPAC](#)).

⁴² 'Binding: 16th century mottled calf over pasteboard sewn onto 6 supports with raised bands; blind tooled panel design using decorative rolls and corner fleurons; blind tooled double fillets towards outer edges of boards; text block edges sprinkled red; chain staple mark on upper board edge; gold tooled lettering to spine.' (Library [OPAC](#)).

⁴³ Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxford bindings* (Oxford 1903), rolls III and IV, according to MLGB3 ([notice](#)). Neil R. Ker, *Fragments of medieval manuscripts used as pastedowns in Oxford bindings: with*

a survey of Oxford binding c. 1515-1620 (Oxford 2004 for 2000), p.14 no. 139. The set was given by John Bourne, D.D. and Canon Residentiary of Wells, died 1622.

⁴⁴ Bernard Quaritch Ltd., sale catalogue *Books from the library of Cosmo Alexander Gordon* [List 2010/14], London 2014, item 10: 'in a contemporary London binding of blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, sides panelled with a roll of heraldic ornament (Oldham, *English blind-stamped bindings*, no. 754), centre divided into lozenge shaped compartments each with a stylised foliate ornament; minor wear, some repair to binding of vol. 2'.

⁴⁵ Gibson, *op. cit.* (1903), roll V. MLGB3 ([notice](#)). Ker, *op. cit.* (2004 for 2000), p.194 no. cii.

⁴⁶ MLGB3 ([notice](#)).

⁴⁷ Rhodes, *op. cit.* (1985), p.598: 'eighteenth-century sprinkled calf, rebacked'.

⁴⁸ MLGB3 ([notice](#)).