

collectors can seldom acquire one. Those most sought-after have always been the 'first' editions: Edward Whitchurch's STC 16267 dated 7 March and Richard Grafton's STC 16268 dated 8 March. That search of ESTC suggested that seventeen copies of Whitchurch's first edition and seven copies of Grafton's still exist, including one of each at New College. Those numbers, however, need substantial correction.

As Katharine F. Pantzer wryly observed in 1976, 'Most bibliographers are hesitant to deal with liturgies from the period before, during, and after the Reformation' (i.e. liturgies, past, present, and future), and neither of those two celebrated editions has ever been examined really closely by experts. Nobody seems to have asked (let alone answered) the question of why Grafton dated his first colophon (on Y8^r after the Communion service) while leaving his second one undated (at the end of the book after the Litany), whereas Whitchurch's Litany follows the Communion service while dated colophon is at the end of his book. And although a new book's preliminaries were usually the very last pages to be printed, has anyone wondered how many days elapsed between each dated colophon and the imprecise ' ' on its associated title-page?

In order to discuss the chronology I shall temporarily ignore one two-sheet quire in each edition, and divide the rest of the book into three parts. Most of the quires consist of three sheets (six leaves, or twelve pages), and all exceptions require explanation. Each edition consists of the following parts.

Preliminaries: Two quires. The first has only two leaves, and contains the title-page, a list of contents, and a two-page preface. Title-pages are almost never signed, so the signature (an Aldine leaf) appears on the recto, but in both editions it is misprinted as .i. instead of .ii. The second quire has eight leaves and is signed A, but because the first quire of text is also signed A this one is conventionally identified as A (= p for preliminary). The first four pages explain how the Psalms and the books of the Bible are assigned to specific days of the month and year; the remaining twelve set out the liturgical calendar, one page for each month.

Part 1: Twenty-two quires of what can be called the 'usual' services whose content is determined only by the liturgical calendar.

1a: The order for Matins and Evensong on any day not requiring special celebration. One quire signed A, containing four sheets in Whitchurch's edition but only three in Grafton's.

1b: The Introit, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel to be used during the Communion service on each of ninety special days. Nineteen quires signed B–V (omitting J and U). Each printer's quire K contains four sheets, and so does Grafton's quire V.

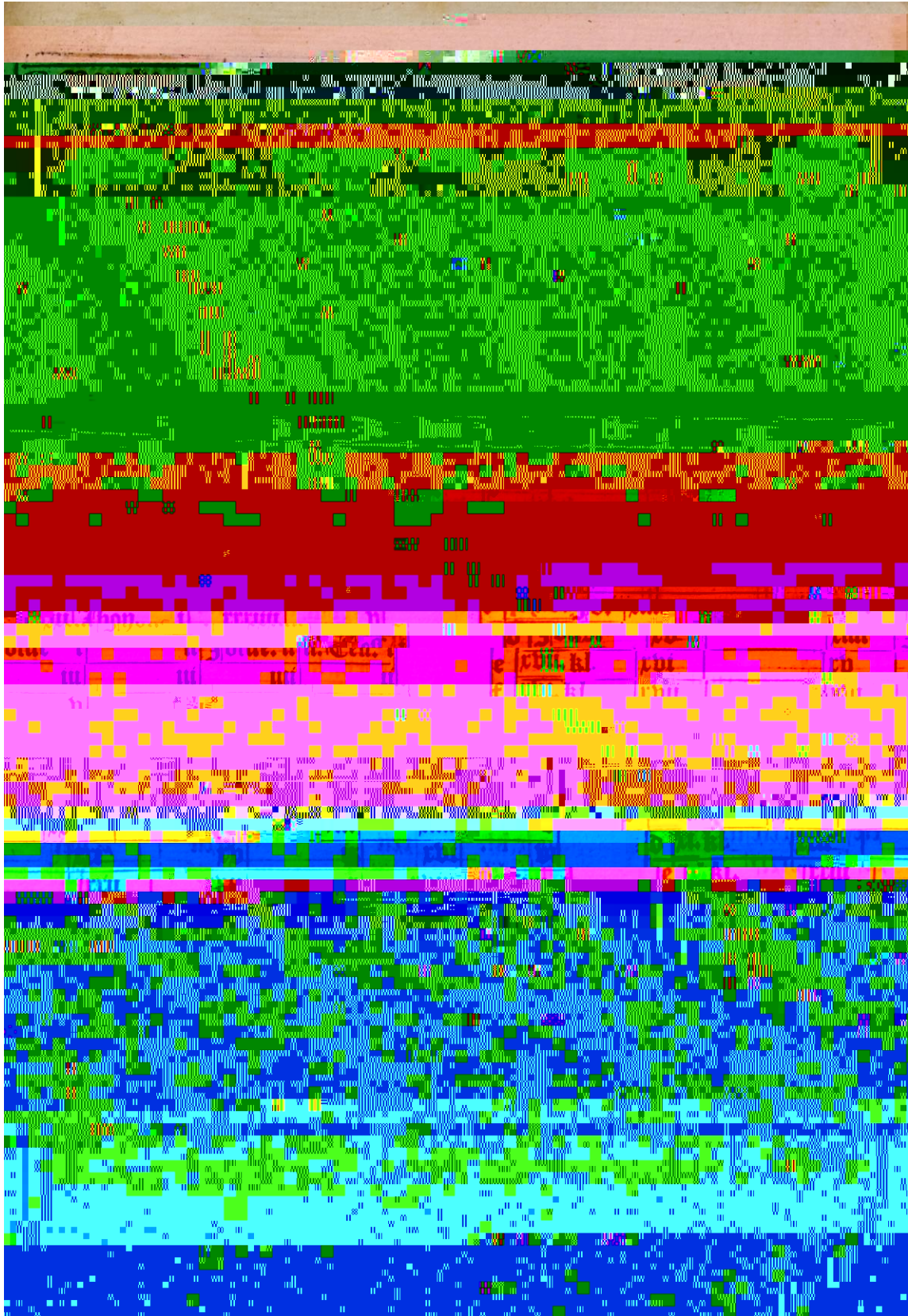
1c: The Communion service. Two quires, signed X (three sheets) and Y (four sheets). The text ends on the final recto (followed in Grafton's edition by his dated colophon) and the final verso is blank.

Part 2: Six quires of 'occasional' services.

2a: Five quires, signed ¶a–¶e by Whitchurch and Aa–Ee by Grafton, with services for baptism, confirmation, marriage, visitation of the sick, burial, and the churching of women.

2b: One four-sheet quire, signed ¶f by Whitchurch and f by Grafton. The Commination (eight pages) is followed by a four-page essay on Ceremonies. The next recto contains five 'Certayne notes' (both printers) followed in Whitchurch's edition by his dated colophon. The verso either has a

page did not follow the first in every particular, and the general layout could have been prescribed by the manuscript. But each starts with 'THE' in two-line great primer roman flanked by Aldine leaves, divides the rest of the title (differently) into nine lines of great primer textura, then uses smaller italic (english for Grafton, pica for Whitchurch) to identify himself in two lines, to claim



New College Library, Oxford, BT1.131.19, A.iiiij.

Turning now to the main text, the first important conclusion is that Richard Grafton printed the three sections of part 1 in the order b, a, and c. The running-titles used throughout the lengthy section 1b read 'A t the Communion'. Grafton's second and third editions (STC 16269 and 16269.5) are quired exactly as is his first, and in some copies of each, one or more sheets 'proper' to the other (or occasionally even to his first edition) can be found. In the copy of 16295 in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (shelfmark EP.V.11), the four running-titles of sheet A3:4 were likewise printed as 'A t the Communion', although they should have read 'Mattins' on both sides of A 3, 'E uensong' on A 4^v, while A4^r should not have had a running title at all. Each headline, however, has been corrected by a contemporary paste-on printed cancel. The same is true of pages A2^r and A5^v in that copy, although the running titles of pages A2^v and A5^r are correctly printed. But a co.n463hPrn 4oShPr2

a six-leaf quire V, leaving only a single blank page to focus attention on the beginning of the Communion service on X1^r. He could not have begun to do that without prior access to Grafton's finished quires N–V, in which he could measure and mark exactly how much text each of his own composers had to fit into their allotted pages. Rather than racing to finish a day ahead of Grafton, Whitchurch is here twenty-five completed sheets behind him.

II

Grafton's cancelled running-titles

had done, and the Whitchurch layouts sometimes seem eccentric.³

As a consequence of the misprinted signature ' .i.' on page 2^r, one of this volume's binders wrongly assumed that the preface (despite being correctly listed first in the list of contents on 1^v) ought to be placed between the calendar and the beginning of part 1. He therefore wrapped sheet 2^r around quire A⁸. I suspect that it was the first binder who made that mistake in or shortly after 1549, and that the misplacement was simply not noticed when the volume was rebound.