

Book Reviews

MEMORY AND THE MEDIEVAL TOMB. Edited by Elizabeth Valdez de Alamo with Carol Stamatis Pendergast. 2000. Ashgate, Aldershot. £35.

ISBN 0-7546-0076-9.

Like the best collections of essays, this one is more than a sum of its parts. The essays are directed at widely different monuments from across western Christendom but acknowledge a common literature which permits a congruence of approach. Some are content to present case studies in how a particular tomb or group of tombs may be understood as a poised manipulation of mnemonic devices to a given end; others extend their discussion to suggest ways in which the physical commemoration of the dead contributes to more general pastoral or ideological agenda. The authors draw on modern neuropsychology as well as medieval treatises on memory to consider how memory is prompted. Each memorial considered is analysed, as one would expect, in terms of the space it inhabits, visually, spatially and liturgically, but that process then becomes an account of how memory is apparently accessed and its path controlled. The book's agenda is further pointed by the dedications which precede many of the essays, memorials to dead friends, family members or academic mentors. All the essays are succinct, accompanied by high-quality black and white photographs and extensive footnotes making this physically a very pleasing volume.

The tomb of Christ and the evolution of the iconography of pilgrim souvenirs is the subject of Stephen Lamia's opening essay. In the actual grotto three orifices enabled pilgrims to kiss the slab on which the body of Christ had lain. The three circles shown on many souvenirs were therefore recollective of the significant action performed by pilgrims which affirmed the relationship between living and dead. Two other essays use different evidence to demonstrate that the design of a specific tomb may be best understood by reference to the actions of a specific intended viewer. Anne McGee Morganstern offers a new analysis of the liturgical function of so-called 'weepers' on chantry tombs, pointing out that not all those illustrated on the tomb of Elizabeth de Montfort (d. 1348) in St Frideswide, Oxford, were available to weep when the deceased was interred, having predeceased her. She suggests that the 'weepers' are in fact a visual mnemonic abbreviation of the chantry commendations, and an aide memoir for the chantry priest. Geraldine Johnson considers Donatello's bronze

floor tomb for Bishop Giovanni Pecci in Siena (1427), designed to give the illusion of three dimensions but only when viewed from the end where celebrants stood during mass. The composition was designed to give Pecci a metaphorically cost-free mass every time a priest stood at the altar.

Posterity, it appears, was the intended viewer of the tomb of Doña Blanca de Castile (d. 1155), who died after a long illness following childbirth. Elizabeth Valdez de Alamo's absorbing account attributes the fact that all early Spanish historians pause at the story of Doña Blanca to the success of her tomb. Its iconography combines elements of maternity, martyrdom and salvation in a programme of scenes from the Bible, from *chansons de geste*, and from the aftermath of Doña Blanca's death, images which together meld motherhood and mourning, birth and death. Even the representation of the soul as the conventional eidolon is manipulated to appear like a baby, supported carefully by attendant angels. This memorial is a project in feminising Christian imagery, suggesting that twelfth-century attitudes to women were not wholly misogynist. Alvaro de Luna first minister of King John II of Castile, executed for treason in 1453, was by all accounts no comparable paragon of Christian virtue, but his tomb was more narrowly an exercise in propaganda aimed at posterity, according to Patrick Lenahan's equally gripping exposure of the evidence. Free-standing mourners, the sculptor's (Sebastián de Almonacid) great innovation, genuflecting at the base of a pyramidal composition recall the funeral. Viewed as part of the liturgy celebrated in the chapel the disposition of weepers and effigies reinforce the image of the commemorated as a devout Christian while the base of the tomb, visible only to the chantry priests, adds family lineage via coats of arms, moral character via saints and virtues, and the coat of arms of the Order of Santiago of which Luna was master. The total suggests a noble man who exercised his military obligations in defence of his faith. Luna was illegitimate, and the Infante had already ordered the destruction of his first tomb in Toledo cathedral on which the gilt-bronze figures could be raised and placed kneeling when desired. The author reflects that insurgents throughout history have laid hands on tombs when unable to reach their real target.

The second section of the book considers how tombs shape communal memory. Three studies look at particular cases. Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk looks at how patristic commentary on the Exodus story provides the key to understanding the iconography of the tombs on the Via Latina catacombs, visually linking the past with the present and constructing the tomb as a dynamic and experiential memorial to the resurrection promised to every Christian at Baptism, an Exodus not yet complete. Kyle R. Crocker considers Upplandic commemorative rune-stones from the conversion period. The stones, which state little more than who raised them, in memory of whom,

virtually served during this period of upheaval to link the living with the dead, anchoring the collective memory of a semi-literate people in the physical landscape. Carolyn M. Carty considers the functional significance of the dreams depicted on the Charlemagne shrine at Aachen, the Hadelin shrine at Visé, and the Heribert shrine at Deutz, how they create 'a rich extra-narratorial thread' between the saint and others who have heaven-sent dreams. For the viewer they validate the other events of the commemorated life and corroborate the sanctity witnessed by the shrine.

Broader issues relating to the politics of communal memory are illustrated by Thomas Dale who tells the story of the tomb of St Mark in Venice, how the city stole the saint's remains from Alexandria, interred them in one place, translated them to the present church, then fabricated a tradition of *apparitio*, whereby the relic helpfully appeared to tell the viewer where he had gone. Three mosaics at the site of original shrine show the reception of the relics, the Deposition of Christ and the *apparitio*, establishing the original site as a locus of temporal and spiritual authority. The narrative demonstrates how *memoria* is adapted to the changing exigencies of a cult and the need to legitimise institutions. Kathleen Nolan draws on John Carmi Parson's work on English queens to explore the politics of royal female burial preferences in Capetian Paris, demonstrating convincingly that Adelaide of Maurienne (d. 1154) was not excluded from St Denis but rather chose to be buried in the church of the house of Benedictine nuns she founded in Montmartre because French queens maintained dynastic memory in a manner different to kings. They chose to be buried in institutions with which they had had significant connections in their lifetime, thus continuing their spiritual and financial connections beyond the grave, an act at once asserting autonomous status through a combination of the choice of tomb design and location of burial, and of significant philanthropy. Finally Rocio Sánchez Ameijeiras looks at the thirteenth-century Episcopal pantheon in León cathedral as both commemoration and pastoral propaganda. Each tomb evokes a complex range of mnemonic and apologetic functions, nuancing the imagery of the preceding one differently or introducing a new sculptural style. The last, Martín Fernández, pulled his predecessors together under mitred arches as part of a renovation project, 'absorbing the past into contemporary discourse' and asserting that '... the deceased prelates, immured in their tombs, became figuratively and literally the foundations of the Leonese church'.

PAMELA M. KING

GOD'S HOUSE AT EWELME. LIFE, DEVOTION AND ARCHITECTURE IN A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ALMSHOUSE. John A.A. Goodall. 2001. Ashgate Press, Aldershot. £49.95. ISBN 0-7546-0047-5.

Tucked away in picturesque Oxfordshire landscape, lies one of the most remarkable expressions of late medieval religion. The parish church at Ewelme, rebuilt in the fifteenth century, with adjoining almshouse and school founded by William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife, Alice Chaucer, has long deserved a monograph in its own right: John Goodall's book is therefore especially worthwhile. The best parts of the book concern the architectural development and features of the parish church: Goodall shows in convincing detail how the Ewelme project was related to other de la Pole foundations — especially St Andrew's church at Wingfield. But there is much else besides. The history of the manor at Ewelme, and of the de la Pole and Chaucer family connections, is carefully traced; so too is the difficult history of the almshouse's foundation. Goodall nicely shows how the Ewelme foundation was part of a wider campaign of national endowment as well as an expression of the duke's schemes to increase his local power within the region. An even grander monument to dynastic ambition seems to have been envisaged, but the duke's untimely end in 1450 seems to have prompted his widow to reduce the scale of the project. Despite this evidence of naked aristocratic aggrandisement, Goodall nevertheless prefers to regard the foundation as a whole as an expression of the kind of altruistic piety which Eamon Duffy regards as traditionally typical in the fifteenth century. Chapters on the devotional practices of the almshouses and school, and on the institutional life of the schoolmasters and the almsmen provide useful insights into how such institutions worked and into the particular tastes of Alice Chaucer herself. Perhaps the evidence on almsmen (although inevitably fragmentary) might have been linked to current debates about attitudes to the poor by the mid-fifteenth century: the semi-monastic and somewhat draconian regime expected of the almsmen, as well as their background (restricted to the duke and duchesses' tenants) show a discriminatory attitude to the poor which perhaps undermines Duffy's more communal vision of late medieval piety. The final chapter on the chapel of St John the Baptist within the church, where the double tomb of Alice Chaucer herself was built in the early 1470s, is also fascinating. Full attention is given to the iconography and inscriptions, showing a carefully worked-out programme centred around the history of salvation, from the Incarnation to the Apocalypse. Deft camera-work reveals Alice's cadaverous stone head, at the base of the tomb, staring at an image of the Annunciation. To Goodall, the iconographic scheme of salvation and the rather discrete

placing of Alice's stone corpse suggest that the tomb was 'not primarily intended as a striking warning of the transience of earthly glory', and that Alice 'did not intend that her soul should reside with her cadaver'. But perhaps there was an even more positive message intended. Alice may have hoped that her cadaver too would join her soul: the whole apocalyptic scheme of the chapel points theologically to the Day of Judgement when bodies would indeed be reunited with souls. Although there are other issues and debates into which the Ewelme foundation might have been set, this splendidly illustrated book, usefully rounded off with complete appendices of the almshouse statutes and accounts, is a very welcome addition to studies of late medieval piety amongst the English nobility.

ANDREW BROWN

THE KNIGHTS OF THE CROWN: THE MONARCHICAL ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD IN LATER MEDIEVAL EUROPE 1325-1520. D'A.J.D. Boulton. 2000. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge. £25 (pbk). ISBN 0-8511-5795-5.

The impact of the chivalric code on late medieval European society is a subject of enduring fascination to historians. The appearance of Dr Boulton's extensive survey for the first time in 1987 was met with widespread approval by scholars from many different areas of late medieval history. For the first time they had an easily accessible reference work to the principal orders of medieval knighthood. The structure, style, focus and conclusions of this second edition remains largely the same as the first edition. The emphasis is still firmly on the monarchical orders of knighthood, commencing with the Hungarian Society of St George created in 1325 and ending with the French Order of St Michael the Archangel created in 1469. Nevertheless, in this edition, the author has sought to address certain defects identified by other scholars.

In the preface to the second edition he has sought to clarify the definition of a monarchical order of knighthood. This, we are told, is an order with a monarchical constitution, endowed with statutes specifying a presidential office that is hereditarily attached either to the crown or dynasty of a princely founder. Moreover, in response to his critics the author also admits that monarchical orders were actually part of a much broader category of orders of knighthood which he terms 'curial' or courtly. This included not only monarchical orders, but also princely, confraternal and fraternal orders where the hereditary element was absent. To this end, the author has included more extensive examinations of all the European orders and societies that fell into this broader

category in a series of seven appendices at the end of the volume. The information included in these appendices is based on additional research and scholarship that has become available since the publication of the first edition. The most significant of these are undoubtedly appendices II–V which discuss French monarchical orders founded before 1430, Aragonese pseudo-orders founded between 1387 and 1410, German curial and quasi-curial societies founded before 1430, and curial and monarchical founded in the Holy Roman Empire after 1430.

While the inclusion of this extra information is certainly to be welcomed, the way in which it has been incorporated into the second edition is less pleasing for the reader. And this is the principal drawback of the new edition. The appendices are, in fact, located at the very end of the volume after the bibliography and index, neither of which have been revised to reflect the new information. The main body of the text is largely unchanged. Dr Boulton has not revised those sections where errors have been noted by other scholars, primarily when the orders are being placed within their historical and political context. Curiously, however, minor revisions have been made to the chapter on French princely orders founded before 1430. Thus, despite the rather clumsy structure of the second edition and Dr Boulton's failure to revise the main body of the text in light of scholarly comment, the volume does contain important new sections of scholarship and should be welcomed as such.

MALCOLM MERCER

THE PASTON FAMILY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: ENDINGS.
Colin Richmond. 2000. Manchester University Press. £45. ISBN 0-7190-5990-9.

All good things come to an end, and this is the third and last volume of Colin Richmond's account of the Paston family, which began, under the aegis of Cambridge University Press, ten years ago. There is nothing quite like the Paston trilogy: at once a meditation on how to 'do' history and a compelling and often moving evocation of provincial life in the fifteenth century. Not always easy reading, but full of wonderful and unexpected things — like John III's frantic efforts to get himself a hat fit to wear. Inevitably this final volume feels rather more bitty than the first two. The letters themselves are petering out, and there is no single issue around which the detail can coalesce, such as was provided by territorial aggrandisement and the dispute over the Fastolf inheritance in the previous books. Perhaps, too, it reflects the fact that with the death of John II much of the warmth seems to go out of the writer's feelings for

the family. John III, taste for fashionable hats notwithstanding, is presented as a rather colourless substitute.

In fact there is not much warmth — in the sense of likeable, or even admirable, people — in here at all. Certainly not the kings, although they remain rather marginal figures. Henry VII barely appears from behind his administrators, although in the context that is a criticism in itself. Being executed for treason by his regime 'was nothing less than honourable' [p. 189] — although in fact it was Henry VIII's regime wielding the particular axe at issue here. Richard III, of course, gets a bad press, although is given credit for his knowledge about naval matters in a footnote [p. 172] and there is a hint that, given a good foreign war to occupy him, he could have been a valuable member of society. That was Edward IV's fault: 'war was the risk the indolent and ultimately stupid Edward IV would not take' [p. 133]. Unlike Gloucester, Edward is allowed no redeeming features — mainly, one suspects, because of his cynical suggestion that Drayton Lodge might have fallen down rather than being pulled down by the Pastons' enemies. That throw-away remark echoes through the book, a reminder that the power of the soundbite is not restricted to our own times.

The nobility are no better. A bunch of monstrous egotists, they 'had little or no loyalty to their class, their country or their government' [p. 196]. Even Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the 'father of chivalry' was no better than the rest of them when his own interests were at stake. This is a very deliberate (although implicit) rejection of recent work arguing for the importance of idealism in the political culture of the period. The honourable exception, significantly, is a newcomer to their ranks, William, Lord Hastings, who gets a notably good press here. Most recent historians have concurred, and he does indeed seem to be an almost unique example of a royal favourite who managed to go on being regarded as a good chap. Interestingly, Edward IV's mistresses do not seem to have attracted odium either (and 'Jane' Shore was famously eulogized by More), which perhaps says something about the internal politics of the court in the 1470s.

There are a few other individuals who earn a kind word. Sir John Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, is one — and on rather similar grounds to Hastings: an unsnobbish man who could take a joke and who ended up being executed by a regime of which the author disapproves. But this is a signally dark reading of the fifteenth century. And, curiously from such an humane author, a generally unsympathetic one. Asides tend to be hostile. Sir Thomas Montgomery is characterised as a trimmer, and trimmers (as a footnote comments) 'get one's goat' [p.147]. Sir John Heveningham, who 'would that all thing were well' is described, on the strength of that wistful comment as 'weak-willed, possibly

even weak-minded ... [his words] the classic response of the feeble-minded observer of the world's ills' [p. 188]. This is why the Paston Letters are so irresistible, and so deceptive. Like a painted portrait, they trick us into thinking that we know what these people were like, even as our reason tells us that we can't ever be sure. Professor Richmond knows that as well as anyone, indeed that is the whole point of these books. History is the historian's response to the past, and those responses inevitably differ. William Lumnour, the author of the famous account of the death of the duke of Suffolk in 1450, is here presented as genuinely shocked and grief-stricken by the news because Richmond believes Lumnour's claim to have wept over the letter. I have always taken it as ironically meant, and the closing remark 'if the process be erroneous, let his council reverse it etc' as the fifteenth-century equivalent of 'Let's see him get out of *this* one'.

No one is going to read this book without some disagreement — usually interpretative, sometimes factual. The Lord Bastard whom Brackenbury escorted to Calais in the winter of 1484–5, for instance, is surely Richard's son, John of Gloucester, not Edward's son Arthur. But no one is going to read it either without great pleasure and profit. Congratulations to Manchester University Press for rescuing it — and for finding such a stunning portrait for the cover. Appropriately, it is of an unknown man, which is what the Pastons and many of their friends would now be without the survival of these letters.

ROSEMARY HORROX

**THE CAMBRIDGE URBAN HISTORY OF BRITAIN, VOLUME I
600–1540.** Edited by D.M. Palliser. 2000. Cambridge University Press. £95

ISBN 0-521-44461-6.

The three volumes of the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain* trace the complex development of British towns from the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements to the middle of the nineteenth-century. Taken together the volumes supply the first truly urban country with a fitting and comprehensive history.

In this, the first volume, the editor and 26 contributors seek to provide the reader with a detailed overview of the history of British towns from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries. Medieval urban history is at present a thriving and developing subject with a number of lively debates inspiring research. Publication has advanced apace in the last three decades and while Palliser obviously regards this as an excellent thing he does admit that it makes the task

of taking stock more difficult. He has done an admirable job however in guiding his contributors — social and economic historians, geographers and archaeologists — in the production of a coherent and systematic survey which is both scholarly and accessible.

The volume consists of three hefty *c.* 200 page sections sandwiched between the editor's short introductory and conclusory sections. Section two covers the early middle ages, generously defined as 600–1300, and section three the later middle ages, 1300–1540. Following a general survey these chronological sections are subdivided into more specialised explorations of topics such as 'power and authority', 'church and culture' 'economy', 'topography' and so on. The varying size and function of towns are also examined in sub-sections dealing with large towns, small towns, port towns and London. Structuring the investigation in such a way is an obvious attempt to allow for comparison between the two periods. However, given the wide range of sources used and the multiplicity of case studies combined with the often repeated emphasis on the apparent singularity of each urban place, such comparisons cannot be pushed too far.

Most of the contributors very profitably use their space to synthesise the fruits of the last three decades or so of research into different areas of urban history — bringing many micro-studies together for the first time. There are also some genuinely new and innovative investigations which fill real gaps in our knowledge. Derek Keene and Caroline Barron's contributions on London in the early and late medieval periods are examples of this. Despite its preminent position among English towns and its great wealth of documentary and archaeological evidence, London has been somewhat neglected up until comparatively recently. This situation is being redressed and Barron and Keene survey the current state of research and take it further in their sections. At the other end of the scale and working with much more restricted evidence John Blair and Chris Dyer between them build up a convincing and comprehensive picture of the small town throughout the period. While the inhabitants of these towns retained close contacts with rural pursuits they also display a developed urban outlook. Dyer uses the evidence of institutions, processions and cultural events to argue for a real sense of civic consciousness in towns such as Axbridge and Droitwich.

Throughout all the sections the attempt to provide balance in the treatments is very evident. The economic dimension is accorded due weight and space but not to the detriment of other dimensions. Many of the best known contributors to this work are primarily economic historians and their use of quantitative methods and models bears testimony to this. However the editor's desire to set a broader agenda emerges in the space given to valuable surveys of

urban society and culture, *mentalités*, customs and beliefs as well as in attempts to reconstruct the physical appearance of towns and the extensive use made of the evidence of urban morphology and archaeology (especially important for the pre-1200 period).

Section four deals with towns in their regional settings. England is divided into five regions which the authors believe represented provinces or areas within which dominant towns, rival towns or groups of towns played an important role. Two further sub-sections cover towns in Wales and the Marches and Scotland. (A number of chapters in the chronological sections are written jointly by English and Scottish experts). The material on Welsh and Scottish towns both in this and the previous sections is particularly welcome as towns in these countries have in the past received much less attention than their English counterparts. The turbulent history of Wales for much of the middle ages meant that the country was divided under different systems of administration, yet this was precisely the period of greatest urban growth with many towns created out of political or military imperatives. In 1300 Wales was almost as urbanised a country as England and thereafter, while virtually no new towns were founded, the country saw a re-ordering rather than a general decay of urban life with some towns contracting while others prospered in the greater peace and stability.

The recent work on Scottish medieval towns has stressed not only similarities with English and Welsh towns but also striking differences. Scottish burgh charters and burghal legislation underline the central importance of trade to these communities and the steps that were taken to ensure the success of commercial activities. Many burghs were granted the sole right to trade over an extended rural hinterland for example. Here the contrast with England, where privileges regarding trade monopolies were remarkably limited, is striking. In this respect as in many others medieval Scotland appears more similar to continental Europe than to neighbouring England.

A major conclusion of this work is that towns before the sixteenth century were collectively more important, populous and wealthy than previously (and occasionally still) acknowledged. The period 880-1086 saw sustained urban growth, with up to 10% of the English population living in towns at the time of the Conquest. By 1300 this proportion had risen to at least 15% with a further rise to 20% by 1370. The fifteenth century may have seen a slight decrease in the proportion of urban dwellers but by 1524 there was a return to 20%. The view that urbanisation in the centuries before the Industrial Revolution was slight is comprehensively dispelled by the authors whose contributions also stress the importance of towns to the population at large. This very welcome volume will prove essential reading to all interested in the history of medieval Britain and

will undoubtedly inspire new research into towns as institutions and as social and economic communities.

MARGARET MURPHY

INWARD PURITY AND OUTWARD SPLENDOUR: DEATH AND REMEMBRANCE IN THE DEANERY OF DUNWICH, SUFFOLK, 1730–1547. Judith Middleton-Stewart. 2001. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge. £60. ISBN 0-85115-820-X.

Judith Middleton-Stewart's careful study, based on the wills made by nearly three thousand inhabitants of the deanery of Dunwich between 1370 and 1547, outlines the beliefs and practices of late medieval Catholicism, stresses the concept that death was not the end but 'the next stage of the soul's journey' (p. 1) and recounts the numerous material and spiritual bequests made so that these testators would be remembered. Concern for the health of their soul and its safe, and hopefully speedy, passage through purgatory could be manifested in two ways: specific requests for prayers, especially by the poor of their parish, who would be paid for their efforts; alternatively (or additionally), bequests, or purchases by their executors, from a wide variety of artefacts, some more overtly religious than others, the use or sight of which would serve to remind parishioners to remember the donor in their prayers. The cut-off date of 1547 draws the line between the church in England under Henry VIII, which was arguably still Catholic, and the establishment of a truly Protestant church under Edward VI.

The shortcomings of the testamentary evidence are frequently acknowledged; in particular the many gaps in the records, some possibly 'due to imperfect testamentary recording or to the loss of whole registers'. (p. 53) However, the author also suggests that the wills themselves might not show the whole picture of *post-mortem* giving, for *ante-mortem* verbal provisions could have been made concerning commemoration, whether on the deathbed or earlier. Wills were personal documents, not written 'as beacons to enlighten later readership on the religious practices of the late Middle Ages' (p. 4), but, if used carefully, they can. Unfortunately, the deanery archives lack most parish records from the period, such as churchwardens' accounts and inventories of church goods, which might have provided more details of the contents of the parish churches being studied; but, where necessary, similar documents from elsewhere in East Anglia and further afield have been employed to supply pertinent information.

Whereas Eamon Duffy's dynamic *Stripping of the Altars* vigorously por-

trays the communal religious celebrations of late medieval parishioners, this book paints vivid images of the outward trappings of their religion. The author supplies details relating to many aspects that others have either ignored or taken as read; for example, she explains the funeral liturgy, including various offices, such as *Placebo* and *Dirige*, (p. 116), and shows how obits were, in effect, re-enactments of the funerals of those being remembered. (p. 137) Similarly, the chapters in the section 'Tributes and Gifts' offer graphic descriptions of the artefacts required by the 'constitution' of Archbishop Winchelsey, such as service books, vestments, plate, bells and fonts, that were *to be provided by parishioners* in all parish churches. (p. 159) Some could only afford donations towards them; others, who could afford the whole object, might ensure their remembrance further by having their name inscribed upon it — social status could be proclaimed even in death, and beyond. The identification of the various books and discussion of their production, the descriptions of the various vestments and their embroidery and the numerous items of church plate with their ornate (or simple) decoration, the argument against the incidence of seven-sacrament fonts as proof of the presence of Lollardy within a parish, all demonstrate the author's wide knowledge and firm grasp of her subject.

Since the deanery was relatively prosperous in the pre-Reformation period but subsequently declined in fortune, many of the surviving parish churches retain their late medieval form; in marked contrast, few of the artefacts so specifically bequeathed remain. Changes in doctrine removed the need for many of the books (some were burnt), plate (some melted down or sold) and vestments (some used as secular hangings); iconoclasm in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries destroyed much of the glazing, murals and stone and brass memorials. The author concludes, with heavy heart, that these absences are 'a reminder that material commemoration does not endure'; however, works such as hers, and wills projects such as the Society's, ensure that medieval testators are remembered today through their wills (albeit not in the religious sense).

The bibliography bears witness to the author's extensive reading and provides pointers to further information; the index, whilst missing some entries, helpfully lists testators under their parish as well as their surname. I have few quibbles with the content of the book, although the single appendix, relating to the 1524 Lay Subsidy seems totally irrelevant. The discussion of stones commemorating the Argentine family (p. 263) is misleading: some of the memorials concerned are in Hertfordshire churches but this is not mentioned in the text nor are all of the Hertfordshire place-names listed in the index. The book is beautifully illustrated and the pictures have been placed near the relevant text.

It is potentially of great interest and use both to local historians and to students of late medieval wills — it certainly explains many of the terms in the Logge register of wills. Thus Boydell Press's decision to produce it in such an expensive format is frankly incomprehensible for worthwhile scholarship is rendered virtually inaccessible. Perhaps by insisting on using high quality paper and glossy photographs, this publisher is concentrating too much on outward splendour?

HEATHER FALVEY

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by Tim Thornton. 2000. The Fifteenth Century Series, No. 7. Sutton Publishing Ltd., Stroud. £50. ISBN 0-7509-2348-2.

This seventh — and, regrettably, the last — volume in Sutton Publishing's handsome *Fifteenth Century Series* contains papers given at a conference held in Huddersfield in 1997. Composed entirely of the work of the newest generation of historians of the period, several of whom had only recently completed their doctoral theses, it offers a fresh look at an eclectic range of subjects. This is an opportunity for readers, more usually presented with essays pinned to a narrow theme, to broaden their outlook. Stimulation derives from comparisons and contrasts. Here, the preoccupations of monks attempting to re-invigorate the religious life of the laity (ably discussed by James Clark), may be contrasted with those of the 'middling sort' of people (placed between the gentry and the mass of the rural population) living in a Shropshire community, as expressed in their litigation in manorial courts (painstakingly investigated by Francesca Bumpus). The subject of Elizabeth New's paper is the establishment, benefaction and popularity of fraternities in English cathedrals, a previously little-explored aspect of urban life, while Margaret Yates, by examining the changing fortunes of the watermills at Shaw in Berkshire, presents a case study to further our understanding of how the mid fifteenth-century depression and the later economic recovery affected those living in the country.

There is much of interest specifically to recommend this volume to readers of *The Ricardian*. Bill Smith's detailed examination of the financial priorities of Lancastrian government in the fateful years of the early 1450s, provides insight into the frustrations felt by Richard, Duke of York, when competing with rivals for precedence at the exchequer. The notable success of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, in this respect can only have fuelled tensions between the two men. Hannes Kleineke presents a rounded picture of the long-lived widow,

Lady Joan Dinham, who in October 1459 played a crucial part in altering the course of history by supplying the ship on which the earls of Salisbury, Warwick and March made their escape to Calais after the defeat at Ludford — a vital service which won her March's gratitude and accelerated the promotion of her family when he came to the throne. More exalted ladies are also on display. The ceremonial rituals followed at the coronations of the queens Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Wydeville, Anne Neville and Elizabeth of York are closely examined by Joanna Laynesmith, who compares them with the ones followed at the coronations of their husbands, and skilfully discusses their symbolic significance. David Grummitt, in focusing on the career of William, Lord Hastings, as lieutenant of Calais in the years 1471–83, offers convincing explanations as to why in 1483 he proved unable to resist Richard of Gloucester with a force brought over to England from Calais, even though a repeat of Warwick's successful coup of 1460, using the strong position of his captaincy of Calais, might, on the face of things, have been entirely feasible. The regional domination of the north-west by the Stanleys is the subject of the last paper in the volume, chronologically speaking. Sean Cunningham looks at how Henry VII dealt with the threat to the stability of his regime posed by his dependence upon the military might of the Stanley family, a dependence which had, indeed, contributed so much to Richard III's downfall at Bosworth.

Yet the attention of readers of *The Ricardian* should also be drawn to articles in which their hero and his immediate family do not figure: informative pieces about the earlier years of the century and contemporary events in the realms of our nearest neighbours, Scotland and France. Gwilym Dodd takes as his starting point Tony Pollard's examination of the parliament of 1406, in which he rejected the orthodox view that there was a fundamental division of interest between crown and community in parliament. Dodd applies this thesis to a study of the earlier parliaments of Henry IV's reign, concluding that whatever the publicly-aired disagreements between Commons and King, there was an underlying sense of shared purpose, the aim of the shire knights being to secure the Lancastrian dynasty by constructive criticism. Dodd's piece on the English parliament is nicely balanced by Roland Tanner's on its Scottish counterpart, which has been maligned in the past as 'constitutionally defective'. Tanner's article is an attempt to place meetings of the parliament of Scotland within their political context, testing theories of royal domination, and demonstrating how the members of the estates were able to modify, resist and defeat all manner of crown business, most notably its attempts to raise taxation. The only other article to focus on events outside England is that of Nicolas Offenstadt, whose work assesses the significance of the rituals which accompanied diplomatic negotiations and the formal proclamations of peace, concen-

trating in this paper on the civil war in France in the years 1409–16, and adding much to our understanding of such processes.

As might be expected, given their origins in research for doctoral theses, these essays vary in quality and the sophistication of their arguments, but each one contains a good deal to enthuse anyone interested in the later medieval period. Tim Thornton, the convener of the conference, has chosen to introduce them with an analysis of the changing patterns of postgraduate research on this period from 1919 to the end of the twentieth century. While some of the statistics make depressing reading (for instance, in the 1950s less than six per cent of completed history theses were on medieval subjects), he points to the healthy diversity in fifteenth-century studies undertaken in the last twenty years, a diversity for which the contents of this volume bear witness. The presentation of the volume is pleasing on the whole, but more care might have been taken with the index, which is by no means inclusive, even of proper names; not all of the tables successfully illustrate the arguments; and some maps lack titles. A family tree is helpfully provided for the Dinhams, but there is unfortunately none to guide us through the more complicated relationships of the Stanleys.

Since 1979 Alan Sutton (now Sutton) Publishing has provided an invaluable service in publishing the work of historians of the fifteenth century, lending encouragement to talented young researchers in the field with an early opportunity to see their work in print. The baton has now passed to Boydell and Brewer, which, it is hoped, will long continue this exemplary tradition.

LINDA CLARK

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Notices of Books and Articles

The following list consists of recent books and articles, mainly published in the last twelve months, although earlier publications may be included. The appearance of an item does not preclude its subsequent review.

BOOKS

A.J. Minnis, editor, *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions. Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall*. 2001. 304 pages. Illustrated. York Medieval Press, University of York, in association with The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk. £50
ISBN 1-903153-09-3.

A wide variety of subjects is covered, including several articles on aspects of Chaucer, two on Gower, two on Langland and one on Lydgate; besides mismetring, scribal booklets, *The Turnament of Tottenham* (an anti-type of romance), the duke of York's copy of *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, and fifteenth-century responses to the *Legend of Good Women*.

Rhiannon Purdie, editor, *Ipomadon*, Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press 2001. 366 pages. Frontispiece. Prices from the Secretary of the EETS, Mrs Jane Watkinson, 12, North End, Durham DH1 4NJ.

ISBN 0-19-722319-2.

A late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century verse rendering of the story of *Ipomadon*, a personification of the 'perfect knight'. Richard of Gloucester possessed a prose version. Extensive editorial apparatus, mainly on linguistic issues.

Sarah Thurstfield, *The Medieval Tailor's Assistant. Making Common Garments 1200-1500*. 2001. Illustrated. Ruth Bean Publishers, Victoria Farmhouse, Carlton, Bedford, MK43 7LP. £28 incl. p&p.
ISBN 0-903585-32-4.

Advice on how to construct the garments, with 121 patterns, mostly for dress of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Some historical commentary and a glossary. Originally published in USA.

ARTICLES

Andrew Breeze, 'John Paston's "Metyng of the dwke and of the emperour"', *Notes & Queries*, volume 246, number 3, September 2001, pages 229-30.

John Paston III wrote to Sir John 25 July 1474 asking for this book, which is identified as the anonymous French Charlemagne romance *Hun de Bordeaux* of 1454.

Andrew Breeze, 'Sir John Paston, Lydgate and *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*', *Notes & Queries*, volume 246, number 3, September 2001, pages 230–31.

Identifies two items in Sir John's booklist of c. 1479 as Lydgate's *Fabula duorum mercatorum* (Fable of two Merchants) and the anonymous piece of political verse *The Libelle* (= little book) of *Englyshe Polycye*. Mentions that Sir John's list also includes Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* and that Anne Paston owned Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*.

M.R.V. Heale, 'Rumburgh Priory in the later middle ages: some new evidence', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 40, part 1, 2001, pages 8–23.

The destruction of the records of minor religious houses is a little remedied for Rumburgh, near Bungay, Suffolk, a cell of the Abbey of St Mary, York, by a collection of 58 documents made by the antiquarian Craven Ord (1756–1832), several of the fifteenth century. These include inventories which in turn include books, and offerings to St Biga. List of priors.

Michael K. Jones, '*Gardez mon corps, sauvez ma terre*' — immunity from war and the lands of a captive knight: the siege of Orléans (1428–29) revisited', in *Charles d'Orléans in England*, edited Mary-Jo Arn, Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, 2000, pages 9–26.

An examination of Charles d'Orléans' political role during his English captivity, offering a reinterpretation of the siege of Orléans, a turning point in the Hundred Years War.

Edward L. Meek, 'The career of Sir Thomas Everingham, "knight of the north" in the service of Maximilian, Duke of Austria, 1477–81', *Historical Research*, volume 74, number 184, May 2001, pages 238–48.

Probably from the Everingham family of Birkin near Pontefract. He was in the service of Charles the Bold until Nancy; he won an engagement against the French at Izegen in 1478; and was knighted by Maximilian before the battle of Guinegate 1479, where about 500 English fought. Provides important (hitherto unused) evidence of the archers (under Everingham and others) supplied by Edward IV to serve Duchess Mary and Maximilian against Louis XI's armies, as negotiated by Margaret of York in 1480; and also of a substantial loan from Edward, and the king's personal supervision of the expedition's preparation. Everingham went on to be a knight of the body of Richard III; his career apparently ended in 1485.

Thomas H. Ohlgren, 'Richard Call, the Pastons and the manuscript context of *Robin Hood and the Potter* (Cambridge University Library Ee. 4.35.1)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, volume 45, 2001, pages 210–33.

A study of the earliest manuscript of the earliest Robin Hood poem. It belonged to Richard Call, identifiable as John Paston I's bailiff, son of a Framlingham grocer and husband of Margery Paston. The manuscript also bears a merchant's mark, identified as that of Henry Bacon, born c. 1480 at Framlingham, and grocer and alderman of Norwich and husband of Alice Call. Another item in the manuscript, previously asserted to be a list of food at the marriage of Margaret Tudor 1503, is now redated to the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold 1468, attended by both John Paston II and III and possibly Richard Call. With an appendix analysing the dialect as East Anglian, by L.M. Matheson.

Anne F. Sutton, 'The shop-floor of the London mercery trade, c. 1200–1500: the marginalisation of the artisan, the itinerant mercer and the shopholder', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, volume 45, 2001, pages 12–50.

The records of London and Paris are used to reconstruct the working environment of the medieval mercer and his household and their artisans, often women in the trades of silkwoman and shepster. How the Mercers' Company, as it became increasingly mercantile in the fifteenth century, discriminated against all non-merchants.

R.N. Swanson, 'Fund-raising for a medieval monastery: indulgences and Great Bricett Priory', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, volume 40, part 1, 2001, pages 1–7.

A study based on the survival of 163 unused indulgences, economically and mechanically written by the scribe on small pieces of parchment. They date from the reign of Edward I, but illustrate any fund-raising drive in a later century. Text given.

Tim Thornton, 'Fifteenth-Century Durham and the problems of provincial liberties in England and the wider territories of the English crown', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, volume 11, 2001, pages 83–100.

A reappraisal of G.L. Lapsley's evaluation of the county palatine of Durham, the power of which, he asserted, finally collapsed under the Tudors. It was used as a model for the proposed palatinate of Richard of Gloucester as well as the new provinces of seventeenth-century America. Looks at Durham's courts through the cases that reached chancery, its successful resistance to inclusion in the national taxes of parliament, and the continued importance of local families in providing the palatinate's officials from the bishop down. Specific discussion of relations with Richard III who maintained the structure of the palatinate while the bishop was in Rome.

Notes on Contributors

Andrew Brown is author of *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, Oxford 1995, and of articles on civic ceremony in late medieval Bruges.

Linda Clark is editor of the 1422–1504 section of the History of Parliament. She was co-editor with J.S. Roskell and Carole Rawcliffe of *The Commons, 1386–1421* (4 volumes, Alan Sutton 1992).

Heather Falvey is a member of the South Herts Group and of the Society's Research Sub-Committee. She is currently studying local custom and seveneenth-century social unrest for a PhD at the University of Warwick.

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Pamela M. King is Professor of English and Associate Dean of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at St Martin's College, Lancaster. She wrote her doctoral thesis on cadaver tombs and has published widely on aspects of medieval culture.

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Wendy Moorhen joined the Society in 1987 and is Chairperson of the Thames Valley Branch. Elected Research Officer of the Society in 2001. Currently researching the life of John de la Pole.

Margaret Murphy worked for many years as a researcher at the Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, London. She now lives in Ireland and works as a freelance writer and researcher.

Instructions to Contributors to *The Ricardian*

Contributions are welcomed on any subject relevant to the aims of the Society. These may be illustrated by photographs (glossy prints showing good contrast) or by line drawings. All contributions, including letters, must be typewritten, with double spacing and adequate margins, on one side of the paper only. Permission must be obtained for the use of copyright material, but this is not usually necessary for short quotes. References and footnotes must be given in one sequence at the end of the article. Details need not be given in full for second and subsequent references to the same source. They must take the form of the following examples: R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond, eds., *British Library Manuscript 433*, 4 vols, Upminster and London 1979–83, vol. 1, pp. 45–46.

Daniel Williams, 'The hastily drawn up will of William Catesby Esquire, 25 August 1485', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions*, vol. 51 (1975–6), p. 48.

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