

Book Reviews

AGINCOURT. The King. The Campaign. The Battle. Juliet Barker. 2005. Little, Brown, London, £20 (hbk), £8.99 (pbk).

ISBN 0-316-72648-6 (hbk), 0-349-11918X (pbk).

AGINCOURT. A New History. Anne Curry. 2005. Tempus Publishing Ltd, Stroud, £25.

ISBN 0-7524-2828-4.

AGINCOURT 1415. Michael K. Jones. 2005 Pen and Sword, Barnsley, Yorkshire, £12.99.

ISBN 1 84415 251 0 £12.99

The 25 October 2005 was marked by the publication of three new books. A Ricardian, noting that by Michael Jones, recently observed that 'it doesn't bear directly on our period of interest' (*Ricardian Bulletin*, Autumn 2006). Assuming the latter to be at the very least from 1450 this is surely not the case. We may be 590 years down the road but Englishmen then were a mere thirty-five years from the battle and who, in that year as Normandy was inexorably lost, did not recall Henry V's victory, wonder what had gone badly wrong and seek to apportion blame? It was surely on the mind of James Gresham when he lamented to John Paston, 'we have not now a foote of londe in Normandie' (*The Paston Letters, 1422-1509*, ed James Gairdner, London 1904, vol. 2, p. 162), and in that of Richard of York seeking to be recognised as heir presumptive and angry at the treasonous surrender of Rouen by the duke of Somerset. Had not his father been executed for treason just before Henry V set out and his uncle died on the battlefield? Plenty of room here for ambivalent feelings. It was certainly in the mind of William of Worcester as he penned the *Boke of Noblesse*. It was surely in the mind of Edward IV as he set out for France sixty years after the battle and, as Jones pointed out in 2002 Richard III probably wore his crown at Bosworth just as Henry V had done seventy years before (M.K. Jones, *Bosworth, 1485. Psychology of a Battle*, Stroud 2002, p. 140). Curry suggests that it was in the minds of pro-Yorkist writers of the 1450s crediting Edward, Duke of York, with the decision at Agincourt to place the archers behind stakes and she must be right to conclude that it deserves to be seen as a decisive battle. (pp. 12, 246).

Despite their common theme the three authors have produced very different books. Barker addresses a popular audience so that the book is in practice a history of Henry V's early life to the time of the battle, a narrative broken by periodic examinations of aspects of fifteenth century society, although it has clearly been well researched. This is Anne Curry's third book on Agincourt but the one that exclusively represents her own narrative of events (*Agincourt, 1415. Henry V, Sir Thomas Erpingham and the Triumph of the English Archers*, Stroud 2000; *The Battle of Agincourt. Sources and Interpretations*, Woodbridge 2000). It is a

meticulous and measured account that particularly offers a great deal from the French perspective. Curry emphasises throughout how the written sources reflect either English exaggeration of the scale of the victory or French indulgence in a culture of blame for the defeat and she uses her expertise on the vast body of administrative records of the campaign to try and reach a balanced assessment. In this she overturns the traditional idea of the few battling against the many. From the English records she argues convincingly that Henry's army on the field numbered some 9,000, after the various losses resulting from Harfleur, pointing out that this was by the standards of the Hundred Years' War a huge force. Far more problematic is the ultimate size of the French army and here Curry radically suggests that the French had only 12,000 men, not the vastly superior numbers commonly believed. It would have been good to have had more detail here of the surviving pay records on the French side for they seem to relate mainly to the size of the army at the time of Henry's arrival rather than at the time of the battle and Curry has to admit that these records are 'more random and incomplete' (p. 99) than the English records. English exaggeration certainly needs to be discounted but a big question mark over the size of the French army remains and Jones and Barker do not accept Curry's revised figures. Two important points are, however, made by Curry regarding numbers. Firstly, that what is much more important is the vastly different composition of the armies – a massive deployment of archers by Henry and of men at arms by the French. This may partly explain the statements about the French army being larger, for chroniclers were always more interested in the higher status warriors. Secondly, Curry ultimately concludes that, 'discussion of its size is immaterial' (p. 214), the point being that in the end whether from cowardice or lack of leadership a large proportion of the French army never engaged. The issue of leadership lies at the heart of Jones's account of the campaign and for readers seeking a flavour of Henry V's generalship and a powerful sense of what the journey to Agincourt meant to the army, this volume, intended as field guide for the site, is a powerful invocation of the psychology of war. Jones's Henry V is a confident king who seeks a battle with the French and who is at pains to orchestrate the campaign and use every means to weld his army into a disciplined and determined company. Curry's king is a man plagued with uncertainty, anxious to avoid battle and prone to panic though the case for this is not well made and is in the end unconvincing (pp. 138, 155).

Debate about the battle will probably never reach consensus. The most difficult outstanding question now seems to be about the extent of the English advance after some two hours with neither side moving. Curry seems to favour the traditional idea of the French and English marching towards each other at roughly the same rate but this, as ever, leaves unresolved the problem of the archers' stakes and the general observation that it was the French who were

exhausted by the time they reached the enemy. Curry suggests two possibilities. Firstly, that the archers on the flanks were left behind with their stakes while the archers deployed between the men at arms (itself a subject of much debate) advanced. It seems most implausible that Henry would have left part of his line behind him and none of the narratives allows for this scenario. She secondly suggests that the archers uprooted their stakes but then can only ask if there would have been time to do this before the French cavalry advanced. The answer to this is surely no. She notes that they could not fire while carrying the stakes and that 'as the distance advanced was not great, the duration of their incapacity would have been limited' (pp. 204-05) but this is irrelevant since they were then not within bowshot range anyway. Later, in explaining the French exhaustion Curry suggests that the ground was worse on the French side either because of their cavalry or because of the greater density of their men at arms. The third possibility is that the English advance was a very limited one and this is surely the right answer, not merely because of the issue of exhaustion but because it allows for the archers remaining behind the stakes that had been set up before the two hour delay (see my review article 'Agincourt. Agincourt! Know ye not Agincourt?', *The Ricardian*, vol. 14, 2004, pp. 112-14). Here Michael Jones has further developed the ideas that the English advance was minimal (pp.104-05) and that the king orchestrated an ambush to provoke the French into action, thus allowing him to maintain the defensive position which he had established at first light. Barker's account of the battle is short. She quotes the contemporary view that those who stand firm on the battlefield and make the enemy walk always win (p. 287), yet she follows without question the idea that the archers repositioned their stakes. The advice to stand firm was surely familiar to Henry V and we should not assume at all that in a moment of extreme difficulty Henry 'tore up the rule-book' (p. 288).

Barker and Curry devote some space to the aftermath of the battle though neither gives a list of the dead, something that would have been a useful additional appendix to Curry's valuable appendices on army numbers; the contradictory numbers of dead; and the list of the English who served. Barker tells the splendid story of the continuing resistance to Henry V which was maintained by one Agincourt widow, Perrette de la Riviere (pp. 326-28). Both relate the story of the boiling of York and Suffolk, though the latter was not buried at Ewelme as Curry asserts (Rowena E. Archer, 'Jane with the blemyssh: A skeleton in the de la Pole closet?', *The Ricardian*, vol. 13, 2003, pp.12-13). Finally, there is a thoughtful review by Curry of the vexed question of Henry V's order to kill the French prisoners.

All three volumes are extensively illustrated though the absence of a comprehensive map showing the march from Harfleur to Agincourt is regrettable. Barker provides none at all and those in Jones and Curry are slight though the march is, quite rightly, given a considerable amount of analysis. For the present

then, the story of and the arguments about Agincourt are easily accessible and Jones and Curry will have to be regarded as the most up to date and scholarly accounts of what happened but we should doubtless expect a fresh round of publications in 2015.

ROWENA E. ARCHER

CAMBRIDGE AND ITS ECONOMIC REGION, 1450-1560. John S. Lee. 2005. University of Hertfordshire Press, Hatfield, £35 (hbk), £18.99 (pbk). ISBN 1-902806-47-6 (hbk); 1-902806-52-2 (pbk).

Prolonged debate about the fortunes of late medieval towns has repeatedly confronted its participants with the need to contextualize urban economies within both rural environments and structures of local, interregional and international trade. In this new study of Cambridge between 1450 and 1560, straddling the conventional watershed between 'medieval' and 'early modern' times, John Lee offers a meticulously well-judged analysis of the town's relationship with both the surrounding countryside and more distant points of contact. The latter were considerable, since both trade and learning extended the town's horizons. His book is structured thematically, providing a helpful introduction to the historiography of his subject, followed by well-researched chapters on population and wealth, urban society, markets and trade, fairs, college consumption, incomes from property and building projects. Much of the necessary documentation is from college records and those of Cambridge Corporation, which together allow an exceptionally full account of trade in the town's markets and fairs, and of relations with primary producers in villages nearby. College sources are particularly rich in details of contractual relationships that by-passed the open market. The book is supported with maps, diagrams and photographs that significantly contribute to its attraction. The text is fully annotated, there is a lengthy bibliography of relevant manuscripts and printed works, and the index is well organized.

In some respects the development of Cambridge fits well with generalized expectations. The number of inhabitants, excluding the university population, fell between 1377 and 1525 from an estimated 3,614 to about 2,600 before beginning gradually to grow again. Urban rents also declined; the levels of the 1420s were not regained for over a hundred years, and not surpassed until after 1560. Lee finds no structural change in the economy of Cambridge that could represent a qualitative change from medieval to modern. Yet Cambridge was in some ways a fortunate town in this period. It lacked a major textile industry, or any other principal manufacture that might allow it to share in the export-led prosperity of some communities. But it hosted one of the most flourishing of fairs of late medieval England as well as one of England's two universities, and both of these institutions significantly affected its status and prosperity.

Stourbridge Fair, by the sixteenth century, was one of the largest in the kingdom. Lee's account of it, drawing on new material in the borough archives and elsewhere, discusses its layout, its administration and regulations, the rents charged for booths there, and the composition of its trade. Besides numerous traders from Cambridge and its region, merchants attended from all parts of East Anglia, and some came from farther afield – from London, Coventry and the midlands, Bristol and the south-west, even from north-western England. The fair was important for domestic rather than international trade, and Lee regards it as an extension of the London market, benefiting from the growing prosperity of London and East Anglia and their increasingly complex commercial reciprocity. Evidence for the fair is better for the earlier sixteenth century than earlier, and it is not possible to trace in detail its fortunes across the period. Probably its contribution to the welfare of the town was appreciably greater in the period of recovery from the 1520s than it had been during the preceding hundred years.

The other distinctive aspect of late-medieval Cambridge, the university, was also a source of opportunities for urban growth. Scholars may individually have been small spenders with quirky consumption schedules, but collectively they had requirements and aspirations that generated high levels of trade. Kings College and St John's, with incomes over £500 a year and over a hundred members each, had establishments comparable to those of noblemen and bishops. The pursuit of learning was significant for the fortunes of Cambridge to the extent that the university increased in numbers. Lee's data suggest an increase of university population from 400-700 in 1377 to 1,300 in 1525, almost enough to offset the decline in non-university population, so that the total population of the town showed little change. Continuing increase after 1525 contributed to sixteenth century growth, even though it was less rapid than that of the non-university population. The university's capacity to augment economic activity was significantly greater because of its corporate characteristics. Numerous expensive building projects have left an abiding testimony to incomes generated in the construction and transport sectors between 1450 and 1560. The material aspects of university expansion supported the urban economy well before the period of perceptible recovery. The university also created a growing demand for a wide range of specialized activities that could hardly have thrived in its absence, not only in various crafts of stationery and book-production but also in a wide range of more menial college services.

The distinctive nature of Cambridge society places a strain on our usual ways of comparing urban fortunes. In terms of taxable wealth the town lost rank between 1377 and 1525; its performance did not compare with eastern centres of cloth manufacture, Colchester, Bury St Edmunds, and Hadleigh, which overtook it during these years. So much of the material wealth of Cambridge was in fine buildings, books, ecclesiastical furnishings and clerical vest-

ments, that the tax assessments, based on other forms of property, are unlikely to give a true representation of its wealth. Yet the distinctive forms of investment in Cambridge were weakly geared to the ongoing creation of wealth. The tax rolls may give an adequate representation of changes in the capacity of different towns to generate income. And though both Stourbridge Fair and the University undoubtedly brought business to Cambridge, in both cases the income derived from them was spread more diffusely than that earned from urban manufactures. Lee's valuable account of the town demonstrates how exceptional were the circumstances that permitted sustained economic development in late medieval towns.

RICHARD BRITNELL

THE COURT AS STAGE. ENGLAND AND THE LOW COUNTRIES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. Edited by Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse. 2006. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, £45

ISBN 1-84383-191-0

Malcolm Vale, whose own recent work on the princely courts of Europe is referred to by several contributors to this collection, sets the ball rolling by trying to find out whether the court did indeed have a civilizing influence on its members, as Norbert Elias claimed. In his 'Ritual, ceremony and the "civilising process": the role of the court, c. 1270-1400', Vale looks at the 1337 court ordinance of James III, King of Majorca, the *Leges palatinae* – which was to find its way to France and Burgundy in the fourteenth century – and compares it to the actual practices of the Majorcan and other courts. His conclusion is summed up in his last sentence: 'the voice of the "civilising process" stood little chance of getting a hearing when it was so often overwhelmed by the infernal din of trumpets and drums' (played during the prince's meals).

Chris Fletcher, in his 'Corruption at court? Crisis and the theme of *luxuria* in England and France, c. 1340-1422', focuses on Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif* (1422) and the poem 'On the Times', written in England c. 1380, to find out what people actually meant when they accused the upper classes of the sin of 'luxury', or lack of temperance. He concludes that it was very practical improvements that were really hoped for, and greater economic and military initiative by the king and his nobles.

Antheun Janse in 'Tourneyers and spectators: the Shrovetide tournament in The Hague, 1391', rehabilitates the tournament: it was more than Huizinga's 'world costumed in the garb of the Round Table'. Stressing its military, social and political function, Janse is able to contradict the idea that the county of Holland had 'a typically Dutch' contempt for knighthood and knightly sports. He explains that the 1391 tournament was partly financed by the sale of small,

embroidered shields, for which people, not all actual spectators or participants, paid according to their wealth.

Hanno Wijsman, 'Patterns in patronage: distinction and imitation in the patronage of painted art by Burgundian courtiers in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries', presents a paper in line with the broad view he followed in his doctoral thesis on Burgundian book ownership, taking an overall look at book illumination, portrait paintings and painted altar pieces. He shows that different social classes tended to patronise different forms of art, for example illuminated library manuscripts were popular with the highest nobility, but books of hours had a much wider patronage, just like portrait paintings; altar-pieces, again, were not commissioned by princes and nobles.

Also of particular interest are the next two contributions, Mario Damen, 'The nerve centre of political networks? The Burgundian court and the integration of Holland and Zeeland into the Burgundian state, 1425-1477', and Hanno Brand, 'Appointment strategies at the court of Duke Philip the Good: new applications of old mechanisms'. Little of this Low Countries material is available to English readers and especially Brand's article is a mine of information with its useful footnotes full of references to publications on the ins and outs of the Burgundian court. Damen shows how the dukes exploited the 'party politics' of Holland and Zeeland, Brand provides fascinating detail about the way court officials obtained their appointments and other benefits in a mixture of 'old-fashioned' favouritism and nepotism, and 'modern' bureaucratic methods.

David Grummitt, 'The court, war and noble power in England, c.1475-1558', analyses the contribution of the court to the king's wars, from Edward IV's French expedition to Henry VIII's Boulogne one, and points out how it changed and declined, no longer supplying the bulk of the army and eventually adapting itself to the rule of a minor and two women. Comparison of one aspect of the court of Charles the Bold and those of the Habsburg princes leads to an unexpected conclusion in Hans Cools, 'The Burgundian-Habsburg court as a military institution from Charles the Bold to Philip II': the excessive use of body guards by Charles the Bold and the apparent insouciance of Charles V and his son concerning their safety when the numbers of their guards are used as a measuring stick. Clearly, in this case the Habsburgs did not slavishly follow the 'Burgundian' court tradition, and the general view that they did needs modification.

Equally absorbing are the two final contributions, both strictly speaking post-medieval. Andrew Boyle describes for us the 'conspicuous expenditure' of one of Elizabeth I's greatest courtiers in 'Cultural life and the exercise of power at the residences of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, 1512-1580', particularly his garden and park at Nonsuch, with its 'Grove of Diana', which was the first time nature was used to display an allegory, in this case an allegory

meant to apologise to the Virgin Queen for Arundel's meddling with her matrimonial policy. Jeroen Duindam, 'Court life in early modern Vienna and Versailles: discourse versus practice', examines two questions: did the courts of Austria and France look back to earlier times by referring to historic examples, especially that of the 'Burgundian' court, in their ordinances, and was the ideal laid down in the ordinances at all reflected in real life. He concludes, first, that references to earlier traditions were always superficial and vague, and secondly he writes realistically: 'Most troubling ... was the discouraging experience that any order ... would slowly crumble in everyday practice', which takes us full circle to Malcolm Vale's conclusion in the first paper. Duindam's final sentences can be taken to heart – in a more general sense as well: 'Students of the early modern court have too long been misled by the anachronistic perspective of nineteenth-century historians, who were interested only in the direct antecedents of the modern state. It is high time to reverse the process and start with the medieval roots of court life, looking for continuities as well as change'.

This is an unusually coherent collection and one that really builds a bridge between English and Dutch scholarship, making available to English readers recent research in Flanders and the Netherlands, not only through the contributions themselves but also through the many useful references in the notes. There is an index and only the price is a little off-putting.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE EARLDOM OF DESMOND, 1463-1583: The Decline and Crisis of a Feudal Lordship. Anthony M. McCormack. 2005. Four Courts Press, Dublin, £40. ISBN 1-85182-882-6

Like a dinosaur (and with as little justification) the defunct Geraldines of Desmond have tended to be seen as doomed to extinction. Anthony McCormack rightly argues against this view. His stated aim is to rescue this fascinating and important family from obscurity. In his estimation 'the Desmonds almost made it'. Certainly he demonstrates convincingly that between 1468 and 1583 there were periods of success as well as obvious failures. The study is chronological, but McCormack's coverage of his chosen period of 120 years is uneven, with less than twenty pages on the seventy-eight years from 1463-1541, followed by more than 100 pages on the forty-two year period 1541-1583.

The survival of source material is, of course, a factor. As McCormack points out, unlike the Butlers of Ormond, and the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, the extinct Desmonds left no extant family archive. Moreover, the events of 1922 ensured that little or no relevant national archive material survives in Ireland. Nevertheless, not all the available source material for the earlier period is used, and Richard III is never mentioned, despite the survival of interesting docu-

ments relating to his interaction with James fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, the eighth (or according to McCormack the ninth) Earl of Desmond. (J. Gairdner, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, 2 vols., London 1861, vol. 1, pp. 67-70, 73-75.)

McCormack retains the system of numbering which counts James' father, Thomas fitz James Fitzgerald (executed in 1468), as the eighth earl of Desmond. Had he supplied a family tree of the Desmond Fitzgeralds it might have become clear whether he favours this old numbering for some specific reason, or whether he is simply unaware of its problems. (For apparently sound reasons, the *Complete Peerage* revised the enumeration of the earls of Desmond many years ago, and in 'The Execution of the Earl of Desmond, (*The Ricardian*, vol. 15, 2005, pp. 70-93) the present writer and Annette Carson recently restated the evidence in favour of this revised enumeration.) Overall, one certainly feels the lack of family trees in McCormack's study. The descent of the earldom of Desmond was, at times, far from straightforward, and for those unfamiliar with the Fitzgerald pedigree, keeping track of the family may seem daunting. Also one regrets the lost opportunity to chart clearly the links of the Munster Geraldines with other great Hiberno-Norman and Gaelic-Irish dynasties.

Terminology could sometimes be improved. In the early part of the book, McCormack's use of 'Desmond' as a dynastic appellation can be confusing, applied as it is on the same page both to the MacCarthy Mór and to the Fitzgerald family. The latter usage seems anachronistic at a time when the earldom had yet to be created. Anachronistic also is McCormack's insistent use of 'Whitehall' to designate the English government, even in the fifteenth century. As for 'Desmond' as a geographic label, its meaning is implied in the book, rather than made explicit. Given that this name does not appear on maps, McCormack's assumption that his readers will be familiar with its location may perhaps be over-optimistic.

Nevertheless, this study has much to recommend it. Irrespective of the family's internecine disputes, McCormack's survey reveals an underlying consistency in the Fitzgerald's loyalty which will interest *Ricardian* readers. Despite the execution of Earl Thomas in 1468, the loyalty which he and his father had shown to Edward IV and *his* father, was later transferred to 'Perkin Warbeck', and then to Richard de la Pole (the so-called 'White Rose'). Later, for lack of an effective Yorkist pretender, the Desmonds turned to those powerful continental Lancastrian heirs, the Habsburgs. Absolutely anyone, it seems, was preferable to the Tudors, with whom the Fitzgeralds had a difficult relationship from the beginning – exacerbated later by the religious policies of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth, for despite the fact that Earl James fitz John profited from some dissolved religious houses, the Desmond family as a whole remained stubbornly Catholic.

McCormack's deepest interest is reserved for the relationship of Earl Gerald fitz James with the government of Elizabeth I. This, together with its sequel: the final downfall of the Munster Geraldines, he traces in thorough and loving detail. His book is both scholarly and readable, and the complexities of Irish history, unfamiliar to many in England, are generally presented with clarity. One might note, for example, McCormack's clear and concise handling of the complex issue of coyne and livery. On this and other levels the bi-cultural nature of the Fitzgeralds' rule in Munster is brought out. McCormack also makes plain the importance of the personalities of the men appointed as lord deputy. Together with the persistent opposition of the Butlers of Ormond, this was to prove an important factor in the downfall of the earls of Desmond.

JOHN ASHDOWN-HILL

THE CATESBY FAMILY AND THEIR BRASSES AT ASHBY ST LEDGERS. Edited by Jerome Bertram. 2006. Monumental Brass Society, Occasional Publications 3, London, £20.00 (pbk). This is available from Ms Janet Whitham, 24 Kirkley Gardens, Lowestoft, Suffolk NR33 7LS.

ISBN 0-9543271-3-6.

In an age when many commercial publishing houses are increasingly forced to direct their attentions to the 'popular' market, the importance of scholarly societies in publishing more eclectic, but nonetheless important, collections of new research is all the greater. This richly illustrated volume brings together the papers delivered at a study day hosted by the Monumental Brass Society at Ashby St. Ledgers in Northamptonshire in 2003, and is concerned with the fine collection of brasses found in the single parish church there.

Simon Payling's scholarly account of the Catesby family history in the fifteenth century provides a tantalizing foretaste of his biographies of the individual Catesbys in the History of Parliament's forthcoming volumes for 1422-60 and 1461-1504, of which what is presented here is a summary. Five of the essays within focus directly on the brasses at Ashby. The central essay by Sally Badham and Nigel Saul investigates the Catesbys' sense of family identity as reflected by the family's seven brasses spanning the period from 1404 to 1553. It is supplemented by Robert Hutchinson's more detailed study of the mid sixteenth-century brass of Sir Richard Catesby, and pieces by Saul and Jon Bayliss on the two Ashby brasses not commemorating members of the Catesby family, those of Thomas Stokes and his wife, whose manor the Catesbys acquired in the 1430s, and of the early Tudor clergyman William Smyght (or Smyth).

Over the course of time, several of the Ashby brasses were lost from the church there. Jane Houghton's paper traces their fate up to their acquisition by Northamptonshire Record Office, and offers suggestions as to the identity of

the 'unknown civilian' commemorated. The volume is rounded off by a full list and description of the brasses in the church of Ashby, and of the armorial bearings found in the stained glass and wall paintings there, as well as the late John Goodall's edition of the heraldic church notes for Ashby St. Ledgers compiled by a succession of officers of arms between 1590 and 1721, and supplemented by a useful *index armorum*.

To many readers of *The Ricardian*, Richard III's ally William Catesby (d. 1485), the 'Catt' of the often-quoted contemporary rhyme, will be of particular interest, and they may well be bemused by the editor's own contribution to this collection. In this (as he himself admits, frivolous) piece, Jerome Bertram points to the separation of the head of Catesby's brass from the main body, and speculates that this damage, far from being accidental, was the result of deliberate defacement on official orders. This hypothesis is problematic on several counts. In the first instance, the instruction to heralds to deface the monuments of traitors during their visitations is not documented before the 1530s (I am grateful to Mr. Adrian Ailes for his comments on this point). Even if the practice predates the ordinances of Henry VIII's reign, a chronological problem remains. In their contribution to the volume, Badham and Saul date Catesby's brass to the first decade of the sixteenth century (p. 63), by which date William Catesby's attainder had been reversed for over a decade: there were no longer any official grounds on which to deface his brass, as he was technically no longer a traitor. Setting both of these objections aside, there still remains a third point not addressed by Bertram. In the case of all other examples of defaced brasses he cites, the officially removed element is not known to survive. Is it credible that the official charged with 'beheading' William Catesby's brass left the head behind to be rejoined to the body?

In spite of some minor, if annoying, inaccuracies (there seems to be some confusion as to whether William Catesby was indeed executed a few days after Bosworth (pp. 14, 61), or met his fate a year earlier (p. xii), this is nevertheless a useful collection of papers exploring the origins, culture and fate of a family forever inextricably linked with one of its members' service to Richard III. The volume is well produced and richly illustrated, and at £20 is comparatively inexpensive, and ought to attract a readership beyond the membership of the Monumental Brass Society.

HANNES KLEINEKE

THE FIRST BATTLE OF ST ALBANS, 1455. Andrew Boardman. 2006.
Tempus, Stroud, £17.99. ISBN 0-7524-2983-3

This book is the first to be devoted in its entirety to the first battle at St Albans, the battle beginning the Wars of the Roses. It consists of a long introduction setting the political scene, a brief discussion of the main sources, an account of the battle itself and the aftermath. The long introduction is devoted to explaining the reasons behind the growing animosity between the dukes of York and Somerset which had been growing since the replacement of York by Somerset as the commander of the English forces in France. Boardman also describes the feud between the Percys and the Nevilles which had the effect of driving the latter into the Yorkist camp. The battle thus represents as much a settling of scores between families as a fight between forces representing opposing political viewpoints. Events are described throughout from the Yorkist point of view with Somerset's and the royalist point of view being treated as the unreasonable one. To some extent this is inevitable given the lack of sources written from the Lancastrian viewpoint but it does have the effect of creating sympathy for the Lancastrian view of things, perhaps not the intention of the author. Little is made of the fact that York was committing treason by opposing the king in arms while the king's banner was the white hart. The sources for the battle are more numerous than for most battles of the wars of the Roses and are mostly very informative, again unlike most of these battles. Boardman takes his analysis of the sources from the article by C.A.J. Armstrong on the battle and the more recent one by Michael Hicks (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 33, 1960; *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 44, 2000). However his brief summaries apparently assume his readers will read the articles if they want to understand the full significance of the different sources and he does not appear to have noticed the new version of the 'Stow Relation', one of the sources, published after Armstrong wrote his article, (in 'John Benet's Chronicle', ed G.L. Harriss and M.A. Harriss, *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 24, Camden Society, series 4, vol. 9, 1972).

The events leading up to the actual battle and then the battle itself are dealt with in great detail. The first battle of St Albans is one of those battles when there were long negotiations beforehand to try to avoid having a battle. In one sense negotiations had been going on for weeks, even before both groups had gathered their troops and set off for their confrontation. One particularly interesting point about these negotiations is that they were conducted between the protagonists using heralds and pursuivants as messengers much as had been done in the French wars. York used Mowbray Herald, the herald of the Duke of Norfolk. The duke was not there and had not yet publicly sided with York (and did not do so until 1461) so the fact that his herald was being used by York is perhaps a sign that even as early as 1455 he was supporting York.

This intriguing point is not mentioned by Boardman, at least I did not notice it as I read the book and the very poor index does not allow it to be checked. It is touched on by Armstrong.

The battle itself was unlike most of the others in these wars, except, not surprisingly, the second battle of St Albans. The Yorkists were camped outside the town and the Lancastrians were barricaded inside. Apparently before negotiations were properly over fighting had started and it appears that the earl of Warwick, commanding with his father the earl of Salisbury a large part of York's army, was the leader who was first to push his way into the town. He was speedily followed by Sir Robert Ogle whose men fired volleys of arrows at point blank range into the royalist troops massed in the Market Place. That the royalists were taken by surprise is seen by the reports that they received many injuries on the hands and face and were thus not all fully armed. The king himself was injured slightly. This aspect of a surprise attack while negotiations were underway was covered up by subsequent 'official' Yorkist accounts, a point brought out by Boardman. The whole battle lasted no more than two hours and there were probably less than 100 killed.

The book is illustrated by some excellent maps showing different stages of the battle and by some black and white illustrations, although I do wonder why these include a picture of Richard III, who was not there. Translations of three of the major sources are included in appendices. The author has read the sources and thought carefully about the battle. Unfortunately his style frequently obscures his meaning and the book would have benefited from editorial intervention. As an account of the battle it adds some useful detail to the account by Armstrong but it by no means replaces it.

PETER HAMMOND

**THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLER OF THE ENGLISH LANGUE
1460-1565.** Gregory O'Malley. 2005. Oxford University Press, £65.00.

ISBN 0-19-925379-X

This important book is the first book-length scholarly examination of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in the British Isles. Beginning in the mid fifteenth century, the author examines the role of the order's British and Irish Brethren (collected together in its English *langue*) until the 1565 Ottoman siege of their island headquarters in Malta. Employing a formidable range of archival sources from England, Ireland and Malta, O'Malley examines the recruitment of members of the Hospital; the *cursus honorum* of British brethren; the administration of its estates; its spiritual and charitable work; and the support it gave (both logistical and spiritual) to the order's crusade against the Ottoman Turks in the Mediterranean.

The most important part of the book, however, are two chapters examining the relationship between the order and the English crown between 1460 and 1509 and 1509 to 1540. O'Malley argues convincingly that the English Hospitallers made a major contribution to the order's military operations against the Ottomans. They were able to do this because of the meticulous administration of their estates; their close ties with mercantile and landed wealth and, most importantly, because of their connexions to and support from the royal government. Of particular interest to Ricardians will be the author's treatment of the relationship between Edward IV and the order. Robert Botill, the Hospital's prior in England, who died in 1468, had been one of Henry VI's closest supporters. The relationship between the crown and the order had thus been difficult during the early 1460s and reached a nadir on Botill's death when the king attempted to impose his wife's brother, Richard Wydeville, as prior. The brethren elected instead John Langstrother who, of course, became a key figure in supporting Henry VI's Readeption. The careers of other important fifteenth-century priors (John Weston 1476-89, John Kendal 1489-1501) and their role in English politics are also explored in detail. The order survived the 'heavy-handed interventions' (p. 141) of the Yorkist kings and under the early Tudors both the crown and the order prospered. The English Hospitallers were able to make significant contributions, in terms of money and manpower, to the order's central convent in, first, Rhodes and, after its fall to the Ottomans, Malta. Moreover, the support that successive priors enjoyed from the English crown strengthened their position *vis-à-vis* the central convent and the Pope. Indeed, the crown was encouraged by the English Hospitallers to see the turcopoliership (responsible for guarding the coasts of Rhodes, then Malta) as something anciently vested in the English and the maintenance of this prerogative became an important factor in the crown's relations with the papacy and the other Mediterranean states. During the 1530s, however, Henry VIII's Reformation once again brought the Hospitallers into conflict with the crown, culminating in the execution of one of its conventual knights, Thomas Dingley, for treason in 1539. Eventually, in May 1540, parliament dissolved the Hospital of St John in England, Ireland and Wales, and like all other religious orders, its properties were forfeited to the crown. In Ireland and Scotland, on the other hand, where the order lacked the wealth of its English counterpart, the interests of the Hospitallers were often subjugated to those of local noblemen and ecclesiastics, eager to exploit their estates. Similarly, lacking the important patrons that characterized the English Hospitallers, those in Scotland and Ireland were not able to make a significant contribution to the order's military campaigns in the east or contribute much to the order's finances.

On one level this book is a masterly examination of a little-understood military community in the late-medieval British Isles. It is a significant contri-

bution to our knowledge of the crusades in general, as well as the relationship between the religious orders and the rest of medieval society. More importantly, it provides another study of the way in which the English crown in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was expanding its authority over its subjects. By giving the English Hospitallers royal support in their relationship with the central convent, the crown was able to exert its control over their estates and brethren to a much greater degree. Ultimately, it fell victim to the rapacity of Henry VIII, although its political independence had disappeared long before. It is, therefore, heartily recommended to Ricardians interested in the changing relationship between the crown and its subjects at the end of the middle ages.

DAVID GRUMMITT

THE HISTORY OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD, by Thomas More. A Reading Edition. Edited by George M. Logan. 2005. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, \$45(hbk), \$17.95(pbk).

ISBN 0-253-34657-6(hbk); ISBN 0-253-21799-7 (pbk).

This is a full and scholarly edition of the incomplete 'history' that More wrote in English, as first printed by his nephew William Rastell in 1557 from 'the copie of his own hand'. Professor Logan precedes the text with a comprehensive introduction, in which *The Ricardian* earns a mention along with *Moreana*. (The misguided Markham and his populariser Josephine Tey are ignored). This is followed by six pages listing 'further reading', and a chronology of events from the birth of Elizabeth Woodville in 1437 to Shakespeare's *Richard the Third* (c. 1592-93). After the text, which is copiously footnoted, a very scanty 'selective glossary' supplements the footnotes, there are four pages on editorial practices, six pages of textual notes (many defending Logan's adoption of a superior reading from the otherwise-despised Grafton-Hall versions of the text), and a useful appendix of literary analogues from Sallust's passage on Jugurtha to Shakespeare's scene of Hastings' sudden condemnation at the Tower. An index and a handful of familiar illustrations are included.

The work seems to be designed for use as a 'set book' for students of English Language and Literature. The editor's declared aim was to produce a text that was 'fully and readily comprehensible', and to that end he used modern spelling wherever he thought it appropriate. So, for example, *fro* became *from* and *nathelesse* became *nevertheless*. Pedantically, however, in many cases he chose to retain the original word, with a modern rendering in a footnote. This adds greatly to the difficulty posed by More's complex, Latinate, sentence structures. The text would make for easier reading with a more thorough-going modernisation of such obsolete forms and spellings as *holp* (helped), *drave* (drove), *heart-*

brenning (- burning), '*let flee* (- fly) *af*', *thoroughly* (thoroughly) or *defouled* (defiled). There was no justification for keeping the spelling *common* when Rastell himself (p. 51 of the present text) also used *commune*. *Evil*, as a prefix or in 'so evil a tale so well told', could perfectly well have been rendered as 'ill', especially for students who apparently needed to be told that *assent* meant 'concurrence' or that *to look for* an event meant to expect it. The glossing can be wayward: it is not explained that 'a mess of strawberries' meant 'a dish' and there is no note on page 53 to explain either *prove* ('test') or 'with some words cast out afar off' ('by throwing out some vague hints').

Occasionally notes could be more informative. While gratified to be told that in 'Then look me now' (p. 35) *me* is an ethic dative, a reader interested in More's treatment of his sources might have preferred, at page 50, a note to More's statement, derived from John Rous, that besides granting Buckingham's requests, 'the protector of his own mind promised him a great quantity of the king's treasure and of his household stuff'. We are not told that in two of his carefully reworked Latin versions More mischievously impugned the veracity of both Rous and Richard by adding, 'unless, that is, once they had fallen out Richard invented this as a further example of Buckingham's ingratitude'. More's statement (pp. 65-66) that Mistress Shore 'could both read well and write' should be clarified from the Latin version that says she was 'sufficiently well educated to be able to read, and also write, in her own tongue' (but not in Latin is implied). This was certainly true of other women of the same merchant class, like Elizabeth Stonor and Margery Cely, and Professor Logan was reflecting a long-outdated impression when he commented, 'Uncommon accomplishments for a fifteenth-century woman'.

Logan worried needlessly (p. 123, textual notes) that the - then interchangeable - spellings *patron* and *pattern* occur within a few lines of each other in Rastell's print, nor was it necessary to guess that when a man was compelled to become a bishop 'by his own will' (p. 94), 'There is perhaps a slip here: should the phrase be "*against* his own will"?' *By* already means 'against' here (OED, *By*, 26 d), as it does when (p. 55) Hastings is relieved that Richard's accusation of witchcraft was 'moved by [the queen] than by any other whom he loved better'. Logan glosses this 'said about', but 'brought against' is the sense. One or two other glosses also miss More's drift. *Break* does not mean 'reveal; disclose' but 'broach; raise a subject' in 'after this matter broken to her' (p. 39). Similarly, when Catesby reported that he had tried to win Hastings over to the protector's side but 'found him so fast, and heard him speak so terrible words, that he durst no further break' (p. 53) he meant that he feared to press the matter further. When Elizabeth Woodville's 'kindred also bare [Hastings] sore ... for that ...' (p. 14) the sense is 'held it as a great grudge against him that', not 'could scarcely endure him'.

Some Ricardians will not like the forthright statement (p. 75 note) that 'There is no evidence – that is, other than the claim of Richard's allies – for Edward's much-discussed "pre-contract" with (in the usual view of the story) Lady Eleanor Butler or (in More) Elizabeth Lucy, let alone for an episcopal examination of the matter'. A few editorial pronouncements are debatable, like that on page xxvii that 'the London chronicles frequently incorporated copies of official documents'. When More, like others, celebrated the downfall of the hated Empson and Dudley was he really implying that he 'despised' Henry VII, as Logan (pp. xxi, 82) asserts? In support of the story that Richard 'slew with his own hands King Henry the Sixth' (p. 12) More contrives to suggest Richard's guilt by exonerating Edward IV: if Edward wanted Henry murdered he would not have given 'that butcherly office' to his own brother. On this *non sequitur* Logan solemnly opines, 'It is unlikely, though, that Richard or anyone else would have undertaken to kill Henry except at Edward's behest'.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the Richard III Society owes its existence to Thomas More. It therefore behoves all members to read what he actually wrote in his showpiece of 'rhetorical historiography' with its 'elastic relation to fact' (p. xxxii) and, one should add, frequent dubieties about supposed 'facts'. At the same time, it is regrettable that all the known Latin versions stop well before the English version comes to a sudden end. Had More only taken his Latin account equally far, a fluent modern English translation, like that of the text in the 'Paris' manuscript offered by Daniel Kinney in volume 15 of *The Complete Works of St Thomas More* (Yale University Press 1986), would have provided a much easier read for the non-specialist.

ALISON HANHAM

FROM FLANDERS TO FLORENCE The Impact of Netherlandish Painting, 1400-1500. Paula Nuttall. 2004. Yale University Press, New Haven, £40. ISBN 0-300-10244-5

Vasari, in the section of the introduction to his *Lives* that deals with oil painting, gives, in Italianised and garbled forms – Giovanni da Bruggia, Rugieri da Bruggia, Ausse, Lodovico da Luano, Pietro Crista and Martino and Giusto da Guanto – the names of many of the leading artists of the Northern Renaissance. In each case he lists those places in Italy where their works could be seen. Since the time of Vasari art historians have been aware of the influence of Flemish art in Quattrocento Italy. The earliest writers confined themselves to the obvious cases of stylistic derivation, such as the *oeuvre* of Antonello da Messina. The subject has been addressed at length by Michael Rohlmann, most notably in *Auftragskunst und Sammlerbild: Altniederländische Tafelmalerei im Florenz des Quattrocento* (Alfter 1994). In connection with an exhibition held in Bruges in 2002 Till-Holger Borchert published an overview of the impact of Flemish

art in the Mediterranean world, to which Paula Nuttall contributed a section. However, Nuttall's book is the first monograph in English devoted to an analysis of the impact of Netherlandish painting in the city generally regarded as the centre of the Italian Renaissance.

After an introduction looking at the opportunities for artistic interchange in fifteenth-century Florence, Nuttall examines the way in which Netherlandish art was viewed by contemporary Italian writers. Several commentators singled out fidelity to nature. Fazio describes examples of virtuoso lifelikeness in two paintings by Jan van Eyck, both now lost, and compares them with the tales of verisimilitude in classical art. The expressive qualities of Netherlandish art were also noted. Ciriaco d'Ancona commented on the depiction of grief in Rogier van der Weyden's *pientissimo* Ferrara *Deposition*, also now lost. Another word frequently applied to Flemish painting is *devoto*, a quality which has undertones of simplicity not conveyed by the English word 'devout'.

The second part of this book, entitled 'Contacts', begins with a description of the Florentine mercantile colony in Bruges and the locations associated with it. Like other groups of foreign merchants they worshipped in one of the friars' churches, originally the Franciscans but from the 1460s the Observants. The dominant figure was Tommaso Portinari, whose incautious loans to Charles the Bold led to the bankruptcy of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank after the battle of Nancy. He embellished his Bruges home, the Bladelinhof, with Italianate busts in roundels and the Medici arms and *impresa*. The altarpiece commissioned by Portinari from Hugo van der Goes for his family church of S. Egidio was the first large-scale Flemish triptych to reach Florence. In S. Egidio it would have complemented frescoes by Andrea del Castagno and Domenico Veneziano, both artists whose works show an awareness of Flemish art. If it had not been for an act of piracy Portinari would have been pre-empted by Angelo Tani, who commissioned the Memling *Last Judgement*, which ended up in Danzig, for a chapel at the Badia Fiesolana. Nuttall perceptively notes that the head of Angelo's wife Caterina echoes the drawing style of Botticelli or the Pollaiuolo brothers, indicating that Memling had to rely on a drawing, whereas Angelo was clearly painted from life. Nuttall prefers a later *terminus a quo* for the Danzig *Last Judgement* than that favoured by De Vos and others, but her account of Tani's movements, which prompts a later dating, does not allow for the possibility that Angelo may have initiated the commission while based in London. Among the other instances of Florentines in Bruges ordering works of art a particularly interesting case is that of Lodovico Acciaiuoli, captain of the Florentine galleys, who in 1467 purchased two sets of tapestries, one of which he gave to St John's, Southampton, on his way home. A valuable chapter is that dealing with the process of purveying, which is well illustrated by correspondence between patrons and their local agents. In this chapter tapestries are given their due importance alongside paintings, but a

serious failure is the lack of mention of illuminated manuscripts produced in Flanders for Italian patrons. These, like several of the paintings, show stylistic adaptations to suit Italian taste, most frequently in the use of meridional forms of *textura script*.

In the section on ownership, particular attention is paid to the Medici collections. Of 142 paintings listed in a 1492 Medici inventory, at least 42 were Netherlandish. It is suggested that the Petrus Christus *Portrait of a Lady* in Berlin was one of these. However, Nuttall dismisses, perhaps too easily, the possibility that the *tavoletta* of St Jerome at study by Giovanni di Bruggia, valued at thirty florins, is the painting now in Detroit. A remarkably high proportion of the items listed in the Medici inventory were paintings on cloth, often of subjects that would have made them candidates for Savonarola's bonfire of vanities. It is likely that the Medici taste for Netherlandish art was stimulated by a desire to emulate Italian court culture. Flemish paintings could appeal to patrons in late fifteenth-century Florence with radically different aesthetics. Memling's opulent Pagagnotti Triptych, now divided between the Uffizi and the National Gallery, was made for a leading opponent of Savonarola, whereas a restrained Vernicle by the Master of the St Ursula Legend was acquired by Francesco del Pugliese, a follower of Savonarola, who also owned works by Fra Angelico and Botticelli.

The last and most important part of the book, 'Influences', focuses on the response of Florentine artists. Nuttall considers the methods by which Netherlandish ideas and motifs were mediated, paying particular attention to the role of drawings or even painted studies of particular motifs that could be kept in the artist's workshop. By careful comparison, aided by the excellent illustrations, mostly in colour, with which this book is studded, she shows the way in which Florentine artists responded to the technical virtuosity and verisimilitude of Netherlandish art. In addition to the already well-studied field of portraiture, she traces the way in which progressive Florentine artists absorbed the lesson of Flemish landscape composition. Sometimes the quotation is obvious; the northern buildings in a *Virgin and Child* in the Fogg Art Museum, from the workshop of Botticelli, have prompted the idea that there was a Netherlandish painter in his studio. But even within the work of High Renaissance painters such as Perugino, Raphael and Leonardo the influence of Flemish examples can be detected. As Nuttall observes, the Mona Lisa is 'inconceivable without the precedent of Netherlandish models'.

As the book's title indicates, *From Flanders to Florence* is only concerned with one part of the artistic interchange. Nuttall refers in passing to the ways in which Netherlandish artists adapted their work to the taste of their Italian patrons, but there is space for a further monograph on the reception of Italian art in fifteenth-century Flanders. The busts on the Bladelinhof have more to tell.

NICHOLAS ROGERS

MIDDLE ENGLISH SAINTS' LEGENDS. John Scahill, with the assistance of Margaret Rogerson. **Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature**, Volume 8, Cambridge. £45. ISBN 1-84384-059-6.

Middle English Saints' Legends is the most recent volume of the *Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English*, under the general editorship of T.L. Burton. The series is to be commended for balancing scrupulously neutral annotations with critical assessments confined to introductory sections. The goal is to annotate a wide range of material admitted on the principle of 'substantial relevance' (p. 4). The purview is wide ranging from editions to literary studies, from textual history to linguistic and metrical analyses. As in previous volumes the focus is generic, but defining the saint's legend is no simple task. John Scahill distinguishes legend from romance without much difficulty, but the demarcation is less easy to draw when legends appear in sermon-cycles. Hagiographic exempla, for example, are 'not systematically covered' (p. 2). The lines are even harder to delineate with biblical narrative, though the guiding principle seems to have been the integrity of a text, the *Southern Passion* being included as integral to the *South English Legendary*, but not the *Northern Passion*, which originated independently of the *Northern Homily Collection*. The operative word in the title is *Legends*, 'readings', for the focus is on collections.

The opening chapter deals with general works, the final chapter with independent legends, and the penultimate with St Erkenwald, so privileged because of the extensive scholarship devoted to that legend. Three collections have attracted negligible attention. The *Smaller Vernon Legend Collection* has a single article; *Speculum sacerdotale*, only the 1936 Early English Text Society edition; and the sole citation for the sermon collection in Bodleian MS Hatton 96 is the *Summary Catalogue*. In contrast, the entries devoted to the *Scottish Legendary* occupy five pages, and ten each are needed for publications on the *Northern Homily Collection*, John Mirk's *Festial*, Osbern Bokenham's *Legend of Holy Women*, and John Capgrave's *Saints' Legends*. Critical attention doubles with the *Gilte Legend* and Caxton, St Erkenwald, and Independent Legends with about twenty pages each. (The isolated legends probably deserved more space; the interesting literature on the Digby plays, for example, is noticed only incidentally.) Pride of attention belongs to the *South English Legendary* with some forty pages, a bibliography that begins with eighteenth-century work by such worthies as Thomas Wright, Frederick J. Furnivall, and the indefatigable Carl Horstmann, through the EETS editions, to the explosion of critical interest in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Each chapter begins with a useful synopsis of the trends in scholarship as well as the number of manuscripts, major versions, and key editions. Individual entries range from one sentence to three pages, or four when reviews are included. The reviews are particularly valuable because they provide the critical assessment eschewed in the annotations. Cross refer-

ences in bold type enable the user to move easily among entries, and the three indices (Scholars, Middle English Texts, and Manuscripts) make it possible to locate information from a variety of entry points.

Other than the occasional formatting irregularity, the text is remarkably clean of errors. Two manuscript citations for Gonville and Caius lack the college shelfmark both in the entries and in the index, though a third cites both the M.R. James catalogue number and shelfmark. Understandably, editorial correction is kept to a minimum, the note of a change in manuscript number (237) or correction of author attribution (208). Curiously, no such correction was made for a misattribution of *Prick of Conscience* to Rolle (208) though Hope Emily Allen questioned it in 1917 (226) and authoritatively rejected Rolle as the author in *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole and Materials for his Biography*, (New York 1927). Individual users may take issue with some editorial positions. The decision to end at 1500, though understandable, means that legends printed after that date are excluded. Wynkyn de Worde's (1493?) legend of St Ursula printed in facsimile by the Roxburghe Club (544) makes the cut, but none of the small quartos produced in the next two decades do. Here a linguistic boundary dividing Middle from Early Modern English excludes the final chapter in the history of the saint's legend in the decades before the Reformation.

Middle English Saints' Legends is an essential tool for anyone working with the genre, supplementing as it does Wells's *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* and the subsequent sections of the revised *Manual*. Scahill's bibliography, however, should appeal to a wider audience than researchers, for one of its pleasures is primarily historical. Though other bibliographies in the series have been limited to the twentieth-century scholarship, this volume begins in 1801 in order to include seminal early studies. The chronological arrangement of entries epitomizes critical history, from the heavy concentration of German scholarship in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the emergence of Japanese work at the end of the twentieth century. The bibliography of the saint's legend in English, of course, does not end in 2000. The Introduction cites a new translation of *Legenda A*, too late for inclusion, and Anne Sutton's article on Caxton's Life of St Winifred (*The Fifteenth Century V*, ed., Linda Clark, Woodbridge 2005, pp. 109-126) qualifies in important ways entry 405. It is to be hoped that funding needed to place and maintain such bibliographies on-line will be found in the future.

ANN ELJENHOLM NICHOLS

MONKS AND MARKETS: Durham Cathedral Priory, 1460-1520.
Miranda Threlfall-Holmes. 2005. Oxford University Press, £50.

ISBN 0199253811

This study focuses on the expenditure of Durham Cathedral Priory, 1460-1520, as revealed by the obediitary accounts. The household of 140 or more people were fed and clothed at a high level, with the Durham monks consuming approximately the same amount of bread and ale as the monks of Westminster Abbey, but consuming considerably more meat and wine. In the case of staple products, such as grain and wine, when prices rose, the priory tended to satisfy basic needs regardless of cost rather than cut back on consumption, but when prices fell, larger quantities were sometimes acquired. This responsiveness to price fluctuations is most noticeable in the case of sugar: as its price halved, the volume of sugar purchased more than doubled. Purchases of cloth, to be given or used in the form of livery garments, were another significant part of the Priory's expenditure, accounting for around £40 of the £71 spent on textiles. Here factors such as the social status of the recipient were as important consideration as the price of the cloth. The accounts, for example, delineate five different grades of wearer, each with the kind of cloth that was appropriate to his position.

In the second half of the book, the author looks at the purchasing strategies followed by the monks. Most of their grain and some of their livestock and fish was acquired from tenants, either as rent payments in kind or as tithes. The Priory, however, did resort to market transactions to 'top up' supplies of local agricultural produce when necessary. These goods were often bought at a higher price than that set in the accounts for dealing with the acquisition of tenant goods. On the other hand both imported and manufactured goods were bought using market networks. Over the whole period an increasing proportion of the Priory's business went to Newcastle merchants. But there was a significant degree of integration between the social and familial networks of members of the Priory and the supply networks which they drew upon, for example the son of a prominent Newcastle merchant might become a monk. In addition the monks, whether they acquired goods from their tenants, or from merchants, spread their business between several suppliers of any one product. Only a small number of suppliers, mostly those dealing with livery cloths and furs, engaged in four or more transactions, whereas 264 suppliers were engaged in providing fish and 567 in providing livestock.

The book provides a salutary reminder that despite the existence of a money economy, cash did not always change hands in transactions between producer and consumer. But it is not clear whether such behavior, although the norm among monastic houses, was very common on either episcopal or lay estates. Thus the usefulness of the study for an understanding of purchasing strategies among the country at large may be somewhat limited. On the other

hand the emphasis on the importance of Newcastle as a centre for trade and distribution in north-east England in the late medieval period is an important contribution to our understanding of the region's economy.

MAVIS E. MATE

MEDIEVAL NORWICH. Edited by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson. 2004. Hambledon and London, London and New York, £25.00.

ISBN 1-85285-449-9

Although one of the most populous and important cities in medieval England, the only detailed history of Norwich was written in the 1740s. The city boasts an impressive antiquarian tradition but its vast store of muniments and its wealth of standing and excavated buildings and topographical features have proved too rich for any later author to digest into a full-scale academic study. In recent years, however, many scholars have been working on various aspects of Norwich's past and so it was decided that some of them should collaborate to publish the fruits of their research, thereby displaying the 'extraordinary richness of the city's history and archaeology' (p. xi).

Using topographical, place- and street-name evidence and information in Domesday Book, Brian Ayers sets the scene by reconstructing the development of Norwich's urban landscape before the Norman Conquest. After the Conquest, the stature and footprint of Norwich changed dramatically: not only did the new castle dominate the pre-existing town and transform it into a centre of royal administration, but also, in 1094, the seat of the bishopric was translated to Norwich, and the cathedral and attendant Benedictine priory were subsequently constructed. These two institutions, together with the business that they generated and people that they attracted, caused the new city's population to increase rapidly.

James Campbell considers the economy of Norwich before 1300, which was underpinned by trades associated with leather-working and textiles. The city's links with the sea, via Yarmouth, ensured that maritime trade also contributed greatly to its economy. Elizabeth Rutledge concentrates on the economic life of the city during the period from 1275 to 1348, analysing data derived from enrolled deeds and leet rolls (two rich sources that, unfortunately for historians of other localities, are rare survivals). The combined data show that some 130 trades and occupations were practised in the city during that period. To use this same data to prove whether particular trades flourished or declined over the period is, however, somewhat questionable: only property owners were named in deeds but lack of property did not necessarily preclude individuals from occupations. More convincing is the cycle of interdependency (p. 173) which demonstrates the extent to which trade within the city was circular. Although the population was decimated by the Black Death and subse-

quent visitations of plague, Penelope Dunn shows that, in the long-term, Norwich's trade and prosperity did not decline, unlike numerous other towns and cities; indeed, by 1525 it was the largest and wealthiest provincial city in England. Commerce, even more than industry, contributed to Norwich's survival and prosperity during the later middle ages and its chief industry, textile production, was itself extremely buoyant.

The city's rulers, the majority of whom came from the cloth-trade and mercantile elites, comprised a mayor and twenty-four aldermen, together with an outer circle of eighty councillors. Ruth Frost describes how these men governed the city, balancing the demands of the crown against the needs of the inhabitants. Although, when the relationship between crown and city was harmonious, the rulers benefited personally from the protectionist environment that encouraged trade, when troubles occurred and taxes and loans were demanded from the city, they often had to dig into their own coffers. But what of the ordinary man and woman in the streets of Norwich? Given the nature and survival rate of medieval sources, it is very difficult to reconstruct his life (and virtually impossible to reconstruct hers) but some glimpses are usually afforded by legal records. Philippa Maddern discusses order and disorder in Norwich. Although civic leaders frequently expressed concern about lawlessness and violence, Maddern suggests that their fears regarding actual crime were largely unfounded. Following a detailed analysis of the surviving presentments (accusations) and amercements (fines) in the records of the city's leet courts between 1288 and 1391, she concludes that virtually all of the offences tried there were relatively minor and that therefore hardly any serious crimes were committed in Norwich during this period. The fact is, however, that murder and other felonies came under the jurisdiction of other courts.

Medieval life was dominated by religion and Norwich has long been famous as a 'city of churches' (p. 49), of which over fifty were recorded in *Domesday*. Jonathan Finch traces the architectural development of these and later churches, considering three main topics: reasons for the proliferation of churches; lack of evidence for building in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and motives behind building transformations in the fifteenth century. In addition to the cathedral priory, several other religious houses were established in Norwich, mostly during the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century, friars arrived: 'shock troops in the papal campaign for the reformation of sinful souls' (p. 74). Christopher Harper-Bill and Carole Rawcliffe consider the impact of these institutions on the spiritual and social life of Norwich's inhabitants: although there was some friction, they co-existed in relative harmony, as demonstrated by bequests in wills to the various houses.

Norman Tanner discusses religious practice in Norwich by studying the various facets of Christianity manifested within the city and relating them to religious life in medieval Europe; in so doing, he makes the somewhat surpris-

ing deduction that Norwich was the most religious city in that continent. He argues that 'there seems to be some link between outer manifestations and inner reality' (p. 138) and describes numerous ways in which inhabitants demonstrated their piety. Many of these forms of worship were swept away during the Reformation, but Ralph Houlbrooke and Muriel McClendon argue that in Norwich the transition was not as cataclysmic as it might have been. This was largely due to the efforts of the local magistrates, who were anxious to 'minimise internal disharmony and external interference' (p.255). The Norwich authorities decided that, rather than allowing abolished institutions to be sold off to outsiders, as happened elsewhere, the city would appropriate or purchase them; they also invented new civic rituals and processions to replace religious ones that had been outlawed.

Much of the city's famed medieval painted glass has been lost as a result of later iconoclasm; however, David King demonstrates that sufficient remains either *in situ*, or in museums, pictures and antiquarian descriptions, to allow a discussion of the evidence that it provides for many aspects of medieval life. Since the main purpose of bequests to church buildings and fabric was to keep the donor in parishioners' memory, and therefore their prayers, testators wealthy enough to provide a window would secure a highly visible memorial. Painted glass was also to be found in political and domestic spaces. Some of the glass in the city's guildhall, replaced in the 1530s when the building was restored, comprised allegorical scenes designed to admonish and guide those who sat in judgement in there. Their powers and attitudes were challenged during the 'commosyon' of 1549, which became known as Kett's Rebellion. Andy Wood considers the explosion of violence which resulted from the lethal combination of social, economic and doctrinal grievances and examines the ambiguous behaviour of the city's elite towards the rebels. Although very much a reaction to policies initiated by Henry VIII and by Protector Somerset, in the Introduction it is argued that Kett's Rebellion could be considered 'the last medieval uprising in England', reflecting 'the inherent instability generated by decades of uncertainty and change' (p. xxxvi).

In the final chapter, Carole Rawcliffe considers various aspects of sickness and health in medieval Norwich. She examines some of the major hazards of urban life and their impact on the population; for example, in the poor parish of St Margaret in Combusto, many young labouring men suffered from occupational accidents or repetitive strain injuries. She also discusses the problems faced by the authorities when trying to maintain a clean water supply and effectively disposing of large quantities of waste – human, animal and industrial. Medical provision in the city was scant and expensive; however, a number of leper hospitals and hospitals for the sick poor were established, and although some were short-lived, others continued after the Reformation in an altered

guise. The concluding discussion of poor law provision serves as a trailer for the second volume.

The editors do not claim to offer a complete history of the city but suggest that *Medieval Norwich* and its companion volume, *Norwich since 1550*, offer new insights into the city's past and indicate new avenues of research; certainly the essays in this volume cover a wide variety of topics, although perhaps there should have been a chapter on domestic buildings, since over sixty merchants' stone-built houses still survive (p. 24). The book is well-produced and reasonably priced, especially considering the large number of illustrations. The sixteen maps enable the reader to locate churches, buildings and areas under discussion; similarly the fifty-nine pictures greatly enhance the text, although, sadly, cost constraints prohibited colour photographs of the stunning painted glass. As with most collections of essays, the style, and readability, of the chapters varies considerably: some are obviously written by scholars with a keen interest in, and affection for, Norwich and its earlier inhabitants; others by scholars more interested in a particular type of record which Norwich just happens to possess.

HEATHER FALVEY

NORWICH CATHEDRAL CLOSE: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape. Roberta Gilchrist. 2005. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £30; \$55.
ISBN 1-84383-173-2

At its dissolution, since it was a cathedral-priory, the monastery attached to Norwich cathedral was adapted and remodelled to suit the needs and requirements of a cathedral of the new Church of England, its clergy and secular staff. Because, unlike other categories of monastery, cathedral-priorities weathered the Reformation, such institutions provide a unique opportunity to study 'the experience of change and continuity through the eruptions of the Reformation and beyond' (p. 1). From 1993 to 2005, Roberta Gilchrist was the Archaeologist for Norwich Cathedral and, although nowadays such posts are concerned principally with matters of 'heritage management', her appointment did enable her to pursue her research interest in medieval monasticism. In this book, drawing on written records as well as evidence provided by archaeology, she provides an accurate reconstruction of the medieval and early-modern cathedral close at Norwich. But this is far more than an archaeological report: it is a multi-disciplinary analysis of a space that was part sacred and part social. As well as outlining the development of the cathedral landscape, Gilchrist uses the example of Norwich for 'the contextual study of changing sacred space in a single institution' (p. 11). Four spatial themes are considered: 'boundedness';

degrees of sanctity; metaphorical space; and the change and renegotiation of spatial rules.

The cathedral, priory, bishop's palace and associated buildings had to be located within a precinct large enough to support the needs of the Benedictine monastic community because St Benedict desired that 'all necessary things ... may be within the enclosure' so that monks had no need to leave its confines (p. 18). Norwich cathedral was established in a meander of the River Wensum, a prime location, adjacent to one of only two fordable places on the river, with productive meadows and a ready water-supply. The site eventually covered some forty-two acres.

The inner sanctum of the cathedral church and monastic cloister was both sustained and protected by a series of overlapping zones that extended outwards from the cathedral to the boundaries of the close. These zones signified degrees of sanctity and authority within the priory, depending on their proximity to the church; they also acted as buffers regulating access. Gilchrist analyses in great detail the buildings and spaces within each zone, and their functions, and compares them with those of other monasteries, both rural and urban. The innermost zone comprised the cathedral, cloisters, bishop's palace, prior's complex and the lay and monks' cemeteries; next was the inner court, which had two distinct halves, one containing monastic service buildings, the other guest accommodation; the eastern part of the precinct comprised the outer court, the industrial and agricultural zone. The boundaries of the close were defined by walls, access being controlled by five gates. Although the three formal gates lacked the defensive features of castle gatehouses, their arms, heraldry and iconography were signposts to pilgrims and visitors advertising the spiritual and political status of the monastery within. Two of these gates led into the upper inner court, a space where 'charitable and commercial concerns jostled cheek by jowl' (p. 165). The cathedral-priory of Norwich was, therefore, both set apart from the city and integrated with it.

As the priory was an institution devoted to the service and worship of God, its cathedral church and cloister can be interpreted as a 'frame to contain and enhance the performance of the liturgy' (p. 66). The vaulting within the cloister at Norwich is held in place by keystones decorated with a unique series of 394 'historiated' bosses, dating from c. 1330 to 1430. Gilchrist demonstrates that these bosses were part of a narrative scheme and were arranged in a particular order, their placement being 'significant in relation to both conceptual and physical planes' (p. 87). Not only do they represent Christian time in a sequential manner, but also their order connects narrative sequences with physical movement though the cloister during processions. The accompanying plan (figure 29) sets out the scheme very clearly.

Monastic processions and forms of devotion were swept away in 1538 when Norwich cathedral was converted into a secular establishment under a

dean and chapter. There was continuity in personnel as the prior, most of the monks, and the monastic servants found posts in the new community but there was little continuity in building-usage as some monastic buildings were destroyed and others were remodelled for new purposes. The most pressing need was the provision of suitable housing for the cathedral personnel, who, unlike monks, were to live in private spaces. Their dwellings were not developed from the core monastic ranges but from structures in the inner court: those still standing today retain remnants of former monastic buildings. Over time, the close became a public space used by inhabitants of the city.

The text of this comprehensive and well-produced book is enhanced by a short glossary of monastic, archaeological and architectural terms; an extensive bibliography; and some 110 illustrations and detailed plans. Somewhat frustrating is the lack of a plan locating the numbered standing buildings: although referred to frequently in the text, few are indicated on the plan of the post-medieval close (opposite p. 181). This is a fascinating book, written in a style far-removed from that of 'traditional' archaeological reports that merely identify remains of the past. Using a more holistic approach, many archaeologists now draw on historical theory and on primary and secondary historical sources referring directly to the site in question or to comparable sites; consequently they are able to produce detailed, contextualised studies such as this. Indeed, such work provides a salutary lesson for historians, who are frequently unaware of extant archaeological evidence that might enhance their own research.

HEATHER FALVEY

THE PARLIAMENTARY ROLLS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND 1275-1504. General Editor Chris Given-Wilson. Volume 12, **Edward IV 1461-70.** Volume 13, **Edward IV 1470-83.** Volume 14, **Richard III 1484, Henry VII 1485-1495.** Edited R.E. Horrox. 2005. Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester NY. 16 vol. set £1,750. ISBN 1-84383-161-9
(Also produced in CD-Rom format, published by Scholarly Digital Editions).

In volume one an introduction to the entire set of volumes sets out the scope of the edition, the procedures for editing the texts and translating them, with more general comments on the rolls of 1275-1340, 1350-1504, their format and authority – as some of this relates to the Yorkist period reference to volume one should not be forgotten by interested researchers. The original edition of six folio volumes in 1767, edited by John Strachey, forms the base text and has been collated with the original rolls; punctuation and capitals have been modernised and all abbreviations extended. The proportion of introduction in the volumes under discussion is small: for 1467 five pages of introduction to 134 pages text.

There is no index to the hard-copy; those interested must refer to the index made for the original edition or find a CD-Rom copy to search.

This A4 edition is far easier to read and handle than its folio predecessor, though the length of the lines across the page in the introductions can sometimes be trying. The text itself is in two columns, the translation on the right. Each parliament is introduced in a standard format: a description of the surviving roll, its size, numbering, condition and other archival niceties; then follows the electoral procedure and results as known, when the writs went out, cancellations, etc; details are culled from the National Archives as well as local sources including some anecdotal sources such as the Paston Letters (1461-70, p. 83); chronicle references to parliament are regularly cited; the chancellor's speech is noted when known; and the Commons' choice of speaker. The pages are headed with the year and month of the parliament, the volume of the series and the king's name. Items are numbered, but they are not easy to find, especially when an item runs for several pages. For example 1463, item 40, runs from page 130 to where item 42 (*sic*) starts on page 203; item 8 of the June 1467 parliament runs from page 257 to page 343 so it takes patience to find item 9. It would have been helpful to have had the item numbers in bold, and ideally repeated on subsequent pages. It would also have been helpful to have given additional titles in square brackets to those items with a misleading contemporary title: for example, an act described as against foreign craftsmen is in fact an act forbidding the import of small manufactured goods (vol. 15, p. 75).

A valuable contribution of the introductions is that they trace the work of the session day by day. This is particularly important with a complex parliament such 1463-65 which had two postponements and five prorogations. These details are by no means recoverable from the eighteenth-century edition, although they were summarised in J. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament 1439-1509* (volume 1, *Register* (London 1936). Cross-references to the statutes are not provided consistently, but only when the editor happens to refer to one in an introduction. Subsidiary documents which have been discovered relating to these rolls are included in appendices to each parliament: for the 1472 session, for example, these supply details about the creation of the earl of Winchester, the Canterbury record of some of the speeches of this parliament, and the supposed draft of proposed legal reforms found in Westminster Abbey Muniments.

There is no doubt that this edition will be useful, but it is less certain that it is as useful as it could have been. The instructions to authors, it is understood, included an order not to write a history of England via its parliamentary rolls. What a pity, and why not? We accept the multiple-volume editions of the correspondence of often remarkably minor literary authors, so why not a extensively annotated edition of some of the most important records surviving for the history of this country? The result of this ruling is that the useful footnote references to books and articles on the background of an item (when they exist)

or the thumbnail sketch by the editor (if they do not) depend entirely on the editor's own specialism and, it must be assumed, preferences. Extreme brevity might have been the safest solution. It needs to be emphasised that this review is solely concerned with volumes 13-15. In this case Dr Horrox has made use of her wide knowledge of politics, Yorkist personnel and feuds and quarrels between members of the gentry and nobility, but she reveals no knowledge of trade or industries, or of London, the main cog of trade by this period. Trade in all its forms is not the least important subject of the Rolls; indeed, it could be argued that trade was far more important than the squabbles of the nobility, which are so well served in the introductions to volumes 13-15. To have had a panel of authors to cover particular subjects, rather than a period, would have opened up wider areas of information and reminded the researcher that there were other subjects than politics and affinities, that there were workers as well as rentiers, makers as well as spenders, seekers of peace as well as of war.

The undoubted ability of Edward IV and Richard III to understand trade and their willingness to listen to mercantile advice is, therefore, not to be gleaned from these introductions. There is no awareness of the tensions in the mercantile, business world, neither at craft level nor the highest mercantile level in London – and yet those tensions produced so many of the petitions, bills to parliament and the resulting statutes. The tensions between on the one hand the export of wool – which in itself suffered from internal tensions between those who wanted to export to Italy, those who wanted to send all wool via Calais and those who send wool out of Berwick and Newcastle to Holland – and on the other hand, the fast expanding cloth industry in the shires which wanted English wool to make into cloth for export via the Adventurers. Then there were the tensions generated by the fact that Edward IV had to repay the debts of Henry VI, as well as his own debts to the Staplers of Calais who had supported his accession. (The coverage of the Calais Staple is helped by references to T.H. Lloyd's magisterial work on the wool trade.) Within the cloth industry and trade, there was the need for the king to strike a balance between the cloth-makers, the cloth-finishers and the Adventurers. The clothworkers and the clothiers (their masters, and only too inclined to underpay and lay off) wanted to have plenty of wool and plenty of work; the English cloth-finishers demanded that English cloth be finished by them; and the Adventurers of England, who exported the unfinished cloth to the great cloth-finishing centres across the channel, such as Antwerp, wanted entire freedom for their activities. The cloth trade was highly lucrative at this date and all important to good relations between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, who ruled the Low Countries. If there was a slowing down of cloth export, to the Low Countries in particular, there was the danger of no work and then riot in the English counties – the fact that that trade lay behind the Yorkist penchant for a 'Burgundian' alliance is too often forgotten. Yorkist kings had to be, and were, aware of the effects of failing trade, whether caused by economic or

climatic reasons (which they could not control) or by politics, which they could and did control very effectively – often far more effectively than Henry VII, who was driven by fear of Low Countries' support for his rebels. The kings had their reward for supporting trade in the receipts of their customs income. And always there was the crucial role of London, which generated so many of the petitions to parliament.

The editor appears to endorse the Crowland Chronicler's disapproval of Edward IV's 'harsh line on enforcing customs duties' (vol. 14, 1483 Parliament, p. 404). A large portion of the king's income depended on merchants paying what they owed, and duties were, in fact, low, except on wool. Edward IV certainly made sure he received his dues – and mercantile peccadilloes were equally persistent. It is difficult to sympathise with the point of view of the self-righteous Chronicler, which if followed through amounts to toleration of smuggling. A footnote reference to H.S. Cobb's *The Overseas Trade of London. Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480-1* (London Record Society, vol. 27, 1990) and his excellent introduction on Edward IV's customs reforms would have balanced the record. Before leaving trade, a benefit of this edition is its inclusion of newly discovered documents. For example, the interesting trade petition (not glossed by the editor), which demanded that linen from Brittany be only sold if it conformed to the recognised, standard dimensions, and that Breton merchants selling linen in England be forced to buy goods with their profits and not take bullion out of the country (vol. 14, pp. 342-43). Who put this bill in? The merchants of Exeter and the south-west who traded with the Bretons, or the mercers of London, the main native importers and distributors of linen (who were particularly active against stray alien importers)? Its second clause discriminated against the alien and his profits in the time-honoured way. On balance it was probably the south-west merchants who put in the bill, but they may have enjoyed the support of the London mercers in the matter. Edward IV showed his nice appreciation of the petition and the lobbyists when he declared *roi s'aviserà*.

Edward IV was a master of discretion. He performed a successful balancing act in his early years, with his sensible adoption of Burgundy as his ally and his remarkable feat of reforming the coinage (vol. 13 1461-70, pp. 90-91), and a repetition of the carping of the ignorant chronicler Warkworth does not do the king justice. Of course people complained about the monetary changes – they always do – but this reform was long overdue and essential for trade; the reform was the result of Edward listening to, and above all understanding, the arguments of the London merchants who had finally given up on the government of Henry VI and supported him to the throne. Warkworth should have been relegated to a footnote and the work of John Munro, *Wool, Cloth and Gold. The Struggle for Bullion in the Anglo-Burgundian Trade 1340-1478* (Brussels and Toronto 1972) acknowledged. Munro greatly assists any student of the trade embargoes, bills and acts which affected England and the Low Countries in Edward's early years. The

evidence of government sensibly and responsibly carried out is what surfaces from the text of the rolls of parliament; but it is the pettiness of petitioners, the greed of king and nobles, which are emphasised in these introductions.

To continue on the theme of the Low Countries and 'Burgundy'. In 1483 'Edward was drawn steadily towards supporting Burgundy' (vol. 14, p. 404) – when had he not supported a pro-Low Countries policy? The politics of this period were more than 'a double game'; Dr Horrox' interpretation of the situation at the end of Edward's reign is heavily dependent on the Crowland Chronicler (four citations for the 1483 parliament). The French alliance forged at Picquigny had brought Edward a financial tribute which helped him to govern comfortably without demanding taxes, but it did not negate his deeper loyalty to the Low Countries and their rulers, nor his awareness of the economic interdependence of his country and theirs. It is necessary to keep carefully in perspective Edward's protest over Louis's betrayal of the 1475 treaty and the marriage proposed between the dauphin and Edward's daughter, and the resultant, probable withdrawal of the tribute – never in fact certain before Edward's death as it was always in arrears. Edward knew exactly where he was with France and the extremely dangerous predicament of the southern Low Countries first after the death of Charles of Burgundy and then that of Duchess Mary; he knew its intricacies better than any modern historian can hope to. A pro-French policy had been Warwick's great mistake; it was never Edward's, nor was it Richard III's.

As regards matters of interest to Ricardians, the dispute between Clarence and Gloucester over the Warwick inheritance is footnoted to Michael Hicks' biography of Clarence. The legitimisation of the inheritance is described as 'a shabby transaction' and presented as the first of Edward IV's manipulations of parliament 'to validate his interference in property descent', a practice later developed by Henry VII (1473, p. 7). It can be wondered, however, if all property was vested in the king, and the king was the source of all gifts, and acts of resumption were viewed as necessary evils to pay for the king's government; why these acts are presented as manipulation, rather than as another necessary resumption inflicted on the wealthiest nobles of the realm? It was rather a process that could, occasionally, be taken too far against those who could not afford to be mulcted. On a more positive note, it is pointed out that one of the results of the division of the Warwick inheritance was that Warwick's supporters were not attainted as most of them had transferred to service with Clarence or Gloucester (vol. 14, p. 6).

To turn to Richard III's only parliament. It is useful to know that this is the first edition of the roll for the 1484 parliament as the eighteenth-century edition merely cross-referred to the resulting statutes and did not print the bills. No reason is suggested for this: was it contemporary prejudice against the king? Dr Horrox again takes her lead from the Crowland Chronicler who, she suggests identified the author of the petition that Richard be made king as Richard himself,

'the author, who was in London all the time' (vol. 15, pp. 3, 4, 7). She does not think it necessary to refer to Professor Helmholtz's article on the points of canon law supporting Richard's claim and the bastardy of Edward IV's sons. This is a Richard who is always in need of support: 'the need for support took primacy over the need for money' (vol. 15, p. 4); 'intent on winning support for his regime ... there is no suggestion that ... Richard was browbeating parliament from a position of strength' (vol. 15, p. 7). There is one bonus: on the basis of the chancellor's speech it is suggested that the controversial subject of emparking may have been on the agenda of this parliament, but disappeared for some reason. This would have pleased John Rous, Richard's temporary admirer (vol. 15, pp. 3-4).

The treatment of Richard's fine record of legal reforms gets short shrift with a reference to Charles Ross's 1981 dismissal of Hanbury's rather ancient article; Hanbury was undoubtedly not historically well informed, but then Ross himself was weak on this aspect of Richard's parliament, as he was ready to admit in conversation. Most of the acts are not mentioned in the introduction apart from that on the use; C.A.F. Meekings, *Final Concords* (Suffolk Record Society 1946) might have been cited on the bill relating to the fine; but it is recognised that an 'informed legal intelligence' was at work. The famous clause exempting men in the booktrade from the penalties imposed on alien workers – which certainly originated in Richard's council – is only mentioned as existing – reference to Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, chapter ten, would have helped.

The xenophobia of the bills presented against aliens in the first parliaments of Edward IV and Richard III (which became acts), requires assiduous placing in context. The bills originated with the artisans and merchants of London, and London supported these kings to the throne. Londoners were not slow to demand a quid pro quo of the most basic kind, especially in the hard economic times of these particular years. The early years of Edward had followed years of misrule that had upset trade. Richard's first parliament followed a series of sheep murrains from 1480 that were having a cumulative effect on the wool and cloth trades, there was civil war in the Low Countries, piracy in the channel, and a threat to Calais from the French invasion of the southern territories of the old dukes of Burgundy. The anti-alien acts were a peaceful, and always temporary, form of bile-letting of which both kings made use, in the knowledge that the alleviation of exemptions, licences and administrative laxity would follow.

One could pick out much more from these fascinating records – and find more faults. These faults derive in the last analysis from the injudicious decision to divide the rolls only by chronology and not also by subject. This edition will remain an essential tool for research for Ricardians: for the text of the parliamentary roll of Richard III is here printed in full for the first time. The edition as a whole, judged on volumes 12-14, is, however, an opportunity missed.

ANNE F. SUTTON and LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

PEOPLE, PLACES AND PERSPECTIVES. Essays on Later Medieval and Tudor England in Honour of Ralph A. Griffiths. Edited by Keith Dockray and Peter Fleming. 2005. Nonsuch Publishing, Stroud, £35.00 (hbk). ISBN 1-84588-094-3.

This collection of essays, offered to Ralph Griffiths by a selection of friends and colleagues on the occasion of his retirement, was appropriately enough presented to its dedicatee at the Fifteenth-Century Conference of 2005, held at the University of Wales, Swansea. Like Professor Griffiths' own interests, the papers within range widely, from the latter years of Richard II far into the sixteenth century, from the far north of England to the south-west, and (of course) into Griffiths' own beloved Wales. Fittingly, the collection is framed by two pen portraits of eminent historians. The editors' opening vignette of Ralph Griffiths is drawn up with great affection, incorporates both their own memories and those of the other contributors, and gives life to the man behind the impressive list of publications provided in the customary form in an appendix. It is mirrored at the end of the volume by Keith Dockray's essay on one of the early twentieth-century 'giants' of medieval historiography. His entertaining piece on the tireless Charles Kingsford draws attention to the sheer range of Kingsford's sources, encompassing songs, ballads and literary texts, as well as the records of central government, and his consequent broadening of the foundations of all subsequent historical enquiry into the Lancastrian and Yorkist periods.

A very different kind of historiography is the theme of Michael Bennett's paper. It discusses a ribald tale of Queen Katharine of Valois' seduction by Owen Tudor, told at the table of a Colchester tailor in 1541. Bennett points to the absence of an official version of the events of 1485 in the first few decades of the sixteenth century, and the reliance on an oral tradition of the origins of the Tudor dynasty. In the 1530s and 40s the numbers of individuals who could still remember the events of the 1480s were gradually diminishing: history was superseding memory. This process, so Bennett, helps to explain Henry VIII's renewed interest around the same time in rooting out the remaining members of the house of York, culminating in the execution of the elderly countess of Salisbury just a few months after the Colchester tailor had told his anecdote.

Several contributions are concerned with aspects of late medieval government. At the centre of power, Michael Hicks's important paper seeks a fresh perspective on mid-fifteenth-century Parliament through an examination of a hitherto underused source, the original bills of proviso attached to successive acts of resumption. Hicks contrasts the view of Parliament provided by these documents with that of the well-known diary of the MPs for Colchester in the Parliament of 1485. Among the imaginative new readings that he has to offer is his take on the purported abolition of the court of requests: according to

Hicks, it was the bill, possibly intended to create such a court, that was dropped, rather than the court itself. Professor Hicks' interpretation seeks to accommodate the views of those scholars who in the past have pointed to the absence of any evidence of such a court until much later, but in view of the general disarray and loss of many of the records of central government in the 1480s, it seems fair to wonder whether it is entirely inconceivable that Richard III (whose appointment of a 'clerk of requests' to his council is documented) might also have created a body that contemporaries regarded as a court 'of requests'?

Away from the centre of royal government, the administration of the further-flung corners of the realm forms the theme of three other essays. Malcolm Mercer discusses the administration of the Cinque Ports under Henry IV and Henry V. Contrasting the experience of the first two decades of the fifteenth century with Henry VI's poor management of relations with the ports, which allowed them to become a bastion of support for Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, and consequently a backdoor for a Yorkist invasion of the realm, Mercer is nevertheless forced to conclude that Henry IV benefited somewhat from the unpopularity of Richard II's administration, and that it was only the firm hand of the later Henry V (from 1409, while prince of Wales, warden of the Cinque Ports) that made the ports a valuable asset in the renewed French wars once he became king. If royal authority in the coastal towns of Kent and Sussex had been reasserted by 1422, elsewhere regional autonomy was alive and well far longer. A.J. Pollard examines a challenge to Bishop Thomas Langley's palatine authority in his prince bishopric of Durham in 1433, and notes that the palatinate's administrative independence survived unchecked for much of the fifteenth century, until the process of bringing Durham back under the crown's supervision was initiated by Richard III. The survey of the English regions is completed by Peter Fleming's scholarly piece on the fortunes of the port of Bristol during the Wars of the Roses, which draws attention to the neglect from which the experience of England's provincial towns during the upheavals of the mid-fifteenth century has hitherto suffered. Fleming demonstrates that much can be discovered of the fate of urban England, even where the available local records are less full than, for instance, in London, Exeter or Norwich. His essay illustrates the difficulties faced by any English town in a period of political instability, when urban authorities were forced to weigh up the requirements of local political and commercial interests against the dictates of the presence of a royal or aristocratic army on their doorstep in deciding which warring faction to support. Bristol for its part made a misjudgement in 1471, when it sent a contingent to fight for Queen Margaret at Tewkesbury, an error which not only cost the mayor of the day his life, but became the root of much later discord among the town's ruling élite.

Three further papers take the affairs of private individuals for their theme. Colin Richmond, who has himself recently been presented with a collection of edited documents in celebration of his retirement, takes his revenge by editing in his turn one of the multiple and confusing wills of Sir John Fastolf, preserved in the Fastolf archive at Magdalen College, Oxford. In its detail, this will gives the reader the impression of a testator who was sure of his wishes, but, as Richmond points out, it is just one of a series of drafts and redrafts, and no more certain to reflect Fastolf's final wishes than any of its precursors or successors. Deborah Youngs' entertaining piece brings to life the fortunes (and misfortunes) of Henry, Lord Stafford, in the second half of Henry VIII's reign. The execution of his father, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521 left Stafford struggling to rebuild his family's fortunes from scratch, and at one stage reduced his family to the indignity of having to seek board at an abbey, before he was able to recover some of his paternal inheritance. The fate of the Staffords and their property is mirrored by that of the Lords Appellant in Richard II's reign whose jewels are the subject of Jenny Stratford's latest offering from her ongoing study of Richard II's inventories. Painstaking research has allowed Stratford to identify among Richard's vast treasure some of the objects that came into the King's possession from the appellants. Her detailed description of individual pieces makes compelling reading, from the 'large jewelled brooch with an eagle surrounded by lilies in white enamel' to the countess of Kent's great gold cup with the motto 'God grant hym gude yend / Yat [sic] drynketh of me to ys breth end'.

This is an interesting and varied collection, and several essays, notably those of Fleming, Hicks and Pollard, are of considerable importance for our understanding of fifteenth-century England. The quality of the contributions is a mark of the respect and affection of the contributors for Ralph Griffiths, and it may seem somewhat churlish to draw attention to the single major flaw to mar this otherwise fine volume. There may, however, be a salutary lesson for future authors and editors of similar collections in the grave problems that arise from the publisher's apparent use of computer technology to generate the index to the volume. The reader astonished by the numerous references to the city of York, *vis-à-vis* just two entries for Richard, Duke of York, will find that the majority of the page references given under the heading 'York' do in fact refer to the duke (albeit in some instances merely the mention of his name in the title of an article), while the rest are distributed among Isabella (p. 32), and Cecily (p. 145), Duchesses of York, Richard, Earl of Cambridge (p. 42), Edmund, Duke of York (p. 48), Queen Elizabeth of York (pp. 146, 159, 161), the house of York (pp. 89, 160, 162, 199, 200, 203), and finally the city itself (pp. 75, 80, 81, 101, 104, 109, 181) – the last reference accounting for the place of publication of a book. Similarly, the entries for 'Exeter' and 'Holland' not only duplicate the entry for Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey (pp. 33, 36, 37) but

also conceal references to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent (p. 45), Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter (pp. 25, 80, 110, 206), Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter (p. 40), Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter (p. 164), and even P.W. Holland (p. 113). The county of Holland is mentioned only once (p. 61), while the city of Exeter fares marginally better (pp. 81, 89, 98, 104, 109, 183). Irritating though such technicalities are, they should not be allowed to distract the reader entirely from the undoubted merits of this collection of papers, with which the editors and Professor Griffiths can otherwise afford to be pleased in equal measure.

HANNES KLEINEKE

THE LIFE CYCLE IN WESTERN EUROPE, c. 1300-c. 1500. Deborah Youngs. 2006. Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, £50 (hbk), £15.99 (pbk). ISBN 0-7190-5916-X (hbk); ISBN 0-7190-5915-1 (pbk)

Dr Youngs has produced in this volume a broad and wide-ranging study of the life cycle in Western and Christian Europe between 1300 and 1500. She has surveyed and drawn together current research arising from various regions of Europe, and based on diverse classes of documents, and added her own extensive knowledge of contemporary writing on the subject, thus balancing practice with ideas. Artistic representations of the life cycle are not forgotten either, although the book lacks illustrations. A clear and logical structure has been adopted for the study, chapters on aims and methodology, and on life-expectancy and medieval theories of aging, are followed by chapters on 'Infancy', 'Boys and Girls', 'Adolescence and Youth', 'Adulthood', 'Old Age' and 'Endings'. Logical although it may be, and suggestive of the 'wheel of life', such a structure could iron out regional differences, obscure the gradual nature of growing up and growing old, and obscure the complexity of interpersonal relationships within the household and other social structures. Dr Youngs, however, mitigates this by emphasising the fluidity and interdependence of different phases of the life cycle and highlighting departures from the norms attached to particular age groups.

Central to the argument of the volume is that while exact chronological age may have been largely irrelevant to most people in late medieval Europe, yet distinctive phases of life were recognised and age formed an essential part of a person's identity, and did so in specifically 'late medieval ways' (p. 3). Thus, the perceived behavioural and physical qualities of each sex at each phase of the life cycle are analysed in the successive chapters. Few formal rituals marked the entrance or exit from each phase, but events marked them and these too are discussed: for example baptism, schooling, service and apprenticeship for infancy, childhood and youth; or work, marriage and parenthood, and widow-

hood for adults. Particularly striking is the inclusion not only of the decline into old age, but of its ending in death and its surrounding rituals- the completion of the circle of life.

In addition to this core analysis, themes that have aroused the interest of historians or sociologists working on particular stages of the life-cycle are given due attention in this study. Dr Youngs explores the issue of wet-nursing, and how and where children played. She assesses the validity of the association of medieval youth with disorder, and discusses ageism and the question of 'retirement' in medieval European society. Careful attention is also paid at each stage to the other significant variables of wealth, social status and particularly gender. Thus, the upbringing of noble children is compared and contrasted with that of urban and peasant children, and the schooling and work of boys and young men with that of girls and young women. In another example, longevity brought respect and new opportunities to those of the elite in town and country, and to wealthy widows, but beggary to an indeterminate number of Europe's aged poor. Where these boundaries are blurred is also pointed out, however, such as in the sharing of parental responsibilities for upbringing and education, or the sharing of work in the household, or when death, the great leveller, struck.

These are only examples. There are many more, building into a richly referenced, but always lucid survey of the life-cycle in later medieval Europe, accessible to the general reader and of interest to the professional historian. The bibliography too is enticing and a worthy tool for those who wish to proceed to further, more detailed research. Dr Youngs has supported her assertion that age and identity were linked, and proved the potential of using age as a tool of analysis of the lives of medieval people.

STEPHANIE HOVLAND

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY V. Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England. Edited by Linda Clark. 2005. The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd, Woodbridge, £ 45.

ISBN 1-84383-168-6

This volume, a nice mix of nine papers by both well-established scholars and relative newcomers to the fifteenth-century scene, is sub-titled 'Of Mice and Men', so its editor Linda Clark tells us, in an echo of Colin Richmond's keynote presentation ('Mickey Mouse in Disneyland: How did the Fifteenth Century get that way?') at a fifteenth-century conference held in September 2003 at the University of Keele. Three more essays, by Jon Denton ('Image, identity and gentility: the Woodford experience'), Jenni Nuttall ('*Vostre humble Matatyas*: culture, politics and the Percys') and Anne Sutton ('Caxton, the cult of St Wini-

fred and Shrewsbury'), also originated as papers at the Keele conference, while two others, by Stephen Miles (‘The importance of parks in fifteenth-century society’) and Paul Cavill (‘The problem of labour and the parliament of 1495’) were first aired at the fifteenth-century conference held at Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, London, September 2004. The collection is further enriched by Clive Burgess (‘A repertory for reinforcement: configuring civic Catholicism in fifteenth-century Bristol’), Thomas Freeman (‘*Ut versus Christi sequeretur*: John Blacman and the cult of Henry VI’) and Alasdair Hawkyard (‘Sir John Fastolf’s “Gret Mansion by me late edified”: Caister Castle, Norfolk”).

Colin Richmond’s exhortation to fifteenth-century historians to think more seriously about the purpose of their work is at one and the same time discursive, idiosyncratic and compelling, raising the hackles of his readers in one sentence, reinforcing their fears about the future of academic history in the next. His basic thesis is simple enough. We must, at all costs, resist media pressure to become mere entertainers of a public looking to the past mainly for ripping yarns, sensational stories or sordid scandals; instead, our goal must always be to educate and enlighten. Yet, surely, fifteenth-century history at any rate can be both scholarly and stimulating, intellectually challenging yet also enjoyable to read, even humorous and entertaining now and again. Ironically enough, Richmond himself is all that and more here and what a cast of walk-on actors he calls to his assistance, ranging from ‘the incomparable’ Benny Green and the ‘song-writing ex-cricketer’ P.G. Wodehouse to that ‘terrible infant’ W.H. Auden and his own particular favourite Marcel Proust; he is probably right to reject as ‘downright silly’ the recent tendency to treat even mundane historical documents as literary texts; and it is certainly a relief to discover that ‘Mickey Mouse is not culture, even the real Mickey Mouse’, or for that matter the ‘wacky professor’ in Disneyland.

How well do the rest of the papers in this volume match up to Richmond’s criteria of quality? Certainly, all are well researched, most are enlightening, and none of their authors is overtly in the entertainment business. Alasdair Hawkyard, moreover, is very much in Richmond territory when examining Sir John Fastolf’s rebuilding and refurbishment of his family home in the early fifteenth century: the result was ‘one of the most desirable houses’ of the age, ‘a luxurious structure embodying the latest principles of military attack and defence’ and, all in all, not only an ‘ostentatious and magnificent property’ but also ‘a public statement of Fastolf’s personal estimate of his own worth’. Jon Denton, drawing heavily on a secular cartulary compiled by the Leicestershire Woodfords in the mid-fifteenth century (where Latin deeds and charters are interspersed with narrative charting the history and genealogy of this gentry family), demonstrates just how conceptions and displays of gentility might help determine a landed family’s impact on, and establish its place within, a locality, as well as transmit perceptions of quality between generations. Parks, so central

to aristocratic social life in medieval times, provide the subject of Stephen Miles's paper: hunting and eating venison, he suggests, remained key leisure pursuits in the fifteenth century, as well as markers of fine living; new parks played an important role in helping up-and-coming noblemen establish their credentials; and, although they clearly had a negative impact by restricting access to and preventing the exploitation of valuable resources, their real significance can only be understood 'in terms of social relations, cultural norms and expectations as well as economics'. Paul Cavill examines two statutes passed by the 1495 parliament concerning the problems, as England's ruling elite saw it, posed by vagrancy and gaming in society, and reveals determined efforts by the crown and its officers to enforce new social regulations, widespread awareness of such laws, and willingness by local communities to evoke them. And, more quirkily, Jenni Nuttall focuses on the political and cultural significance of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland's decision, in a letter to Henry IV despatched shortly before the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, to sign himself 'your Mattathias' (thereby identifying his cause with that of an Old Testament priest exiled from Judea for refusing to abandon the Jewish faith).

On the spiritual front, and demonstrating once more his unrivalled knowledge of Bristol's religious life in the fifteenth century, Clive Burgess presents convincing evidence that the town's orthodox Christian community 'responded effusively' to the threat of heresy by 'reinforcing and exploiting "civic Catholicism" with a flair and creativity' that contrasted sharply with 'the destructive criticism implicit in dissent'. As for William Caxton and St Winifred (whose bones were buried in Shrewsbury Abbey in the early twelfth century), hers was the only *Life* of an individual saint he ever printed and, Anne Sutton shows, this was probably at the urging of Shrewsbury men and women who moved in Caxton's own London circle. John Blacman's memoir of another putative saint Henry VI, however, was probably written in 1483/4 as a direct *riposte* to the popular image of the murdered king being promulgated at the time by his growing cult. When Blacman 'carefully massaged and moulded the details of the real Henry to create an ideal Henry', so Thomas Freeman suggests, it was not as a saint but as an exemplar to his clerical readers of how a layman, even a monarch immersed in worldly affairs, could nevertheless 'lead a life of spiritual perfection' and provide a model of 'an intellectually and spiritually elite piety'.

Colin Richmond tells us that 'we, the *intelligensia*, have to lead not follow' and, certainly, his fellow contributors to this collection seek to do just that.

KEITH DOCKRAY

THE MEDIEVAL COURT OF ARCHES. Edited by F. Donald Logan. 2005. Canterbury and York Society, Volume 95. Available from Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £25. ISBN 0-907239-5-X

The Court of Arches was the court of appeal for lawsuits in the ecclesiastical courts of the province of Canterbury. Formally, it was the Court of Canterbury: the archbishop of Canterbury's court, and it heard appeals from the courts of his seventeen suffragan dioceses in England and Wales. The court sat in the church of St Mary le Bow, London; it no doubt took its name from the church's distinctive stone-arched crypt (although it did not sit in the crypt, but in the church above). The court's own records were kept in the church, and perished with it in the Great Fire of 1666. There are scattered records of Court of Arches proceedings in a variety of archives, but the only substantial body of extant documentation is that of cases that were heard during archiepiscopal vacancies. These records were kept by Canterbury cathedral priory and mostly have been edited by N. Adams and C. Donahue as *Select Cases from the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Province of Canterbury, c. 1200-1301* (Selden Society, vol. 95, 1981).

What Professor Logan presents in his wholly admirable volume is texts relating to the court itself, together with detailed lists of the court's personnel: its Officials (from 1251, the year in which the court is first mentioned), Deans, Examiners General and Registrars, as well as its advocates and proctors; these lists are all brought down to about 1533, in so far as the evidence allows. The essence of the book is its series of Latin texts, presented untranslated but with a helpful amount of editorial apparatus. These are: the twelve sets of statutes governing the court's practice, ranging in date from 1273 to 1403, as transcribed in the medieval Black Book of the Arches (now in Lambeth Palace Library); two complementary customals, one of the 1280s or 1290s and the other of about 1370, that set out the court's usual practice; and then a group of five treatises that expound the court's procedure in a very much more detailed if unofficial way. These last are particularly interesting: the longest (which fills pp. 118-96) is a learned exposition, replete with references to the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and *Corpus Iuris Canonici* and seemingly written for the lecture-room; the editor dates it to the 1290s. Another, more primitive, which is dated to around 1300, is more like a formulary, with copies of a few standard forms that a practitioner could adapt for his own purposes (pp. 86-97). Yet another (pp. 114-17), probably of between 1316 and 1327, lists seventeen unsatisfactory practices of the court, and in several instances compares it unfavourably with the papal *curia*: by-and-large, these are very fair points, whether relatively minor (such as the problems that arise from the registrar, Philip de Pateneye, not being a notary [public], and therefore not subscribing documents authoritatively with the precise date) or of wider application (such as the fact that interrogato-

ries are not handed over to the judges, for them to assess their merits). One wonders if this critique had any effect.

The court's history in the later fifteenth century seems to be particularly ill-documented. Professor Logan's lists of personnel are strikingly thin for this period. Further research will surely shed more light here (just as for the thirteenth century, where reference might be made to B.W. Kissan's still-valuable article, 'The London Deanery of the Arches', (*Trans., London and Middx. Archaeological Society*, n.s. vol. 8 (1938-40), pp. 195-233, at p. 200). For instance, John Peese or Peek appears to have still been acting as Dean in 1477 (*Calendar of Papal Registers*, vol. 13, pt. 2, pp. 560, 561). It is from this period that dates what will for some readers be the most remarkable of the expository treatises: that written (or at least copied) in the 1480s, as part of MS 54 at Queen's College (printed at pp. 90-97). This is exceptional in taking a lawyer through what he should actually do in court, step by step: the order in which he should present witnesses, the fees and gratuities (such as wine and seasonal delicacies) that he should give to the advocate at his *hospitium*, and even how he should react to the judge's pronouncement of sentence.

Save that its indexing of subjects is meagre, this is an impeccable editorial collection. It will no doubt lead to more (and better-informed) use of such scattered records of proceedings in the Court of Arches as survive, but it will stand by itself as the definitive presentation of a much more interesting group of texts than might have been imagined.

NIGEL RAMSAY

SAINT MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL IN MEDIEVAL ENGLISH LEGEND. Richard F. Johnson. 2005. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £45.
ISBN 1-84383-128-7

The first half of *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend* traces the origin and history of the legends concerning the Archangel. It is generally known that Michael appears rarely in Scripture, in two apocalyptic contexts, Daniel and Revelation, and fleetingly in the Epistle of Jude. Less familiar to the non-specialist is the extent to which Michael figured in extra-canonical work of the intertestamental period. Richard Johnson's summary of this rich material is particularly valuable. Already by the middle of the first century Common Era, three of Michael's roles had been firmly established: guardian, intercessor, and purveyor of souls to heaven (psychopomp). The earliest cultic centres were in Asia Minor, but spread first to Italy at Mount Gargano in Apulia (an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim left his name in runes), then by the eighth century to Mont Saint Michel. Johnson contrasts the foundation myths from both sanctuaries, the former influential in Old English, for he argues that independent translations

of appropriate passages can be found in Old English homilies by Aelfric and the author of Blickling 16. Such detail is typical for the Old English segment of the book, for it is based on Johnson's doctoral dissertation, 'The Cult of St. Michael the Archangel in Anglo-Saxon England', a title that also explains a strange imbalance in the book. The summary claims that Part II will provide 'a close examination of the legendary accounts in Old English, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English of the archangel in his roles as guardian, intercessor, psychopomp, and warrior-angel', but only Old English is given 'a close examination'. The treatment of Anglo-Saxon texts is thorough and detailed with extensive footnotes summarising issues of scholarly dispute, but the level of scholarship falls when Johnson moves to Anglo-Norman and Middle English. For example, in Chapter 4, 'The Archangel as Guardian and Psychopomp', Johnson devotes five pages to the Old English treatment of the Assumption, but three scant paragraphs to Middle English with only two works cited, both by John Mirk, and for these the bibliography is inadequate. There is no citation for Susan Powell's work on Mirk's *Festial*, nor Alan Fletcher's on *Manuale Sacerdotis*.

Johnson has largely ignored medieval drama as a textual source, yet it is an important witness for the popular transmission of the varying roles of the Archangel. He might have included the N Town Assumption play where Michael as psychopomp conveys both Mary's soul and her body to heaven, or the similar instance in Chester where Michael leads the patriarchs out of Limbo, intoning the incipit for the *Te Deum*. Johnson does cite the York Harrowing of Hell in a footnote (p. 83, n. 65) and Chester for Michael's victory over Antichrist, again in a footnote with a misleading citation. Note 86 (p. 103) implies that W.W. Greg edited *The Chester Plays*, but the Early English Text Society volume cited was edited by Matthews in 1916, not 1959. The citations for Greg's edition of *The Play of Antichrist* are less than perfect. (Note 88 reads *they* for *thy*, and n. 90 has two further misspellings and lacks an original preposition.) Indeed, Johnson's choice of drama editions is odd, for Chester a 1935 edition of one play rather than the 1974 complete cycle by R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills. Similarly, for York he chose a collection of ten plays rather than Richard Beadle's 1982 publication, the first critical edition of the entire cycle since Miss Toulmin Smith's 1885 *editio princeps*. The line numbers cited for the York Harrowing of Hell (XXXVII) do not correspond to those in Beadle. Satan is bound by Michael in lines 339-44 (not 130-44), and Jesus entrusts souls to Michael in lines 389-92 (not 385-92).

The book concludes with four Appendices: the Latin text of the Garganic foundation-myth (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latine, 5948) with its translation; an inventory of texts dealing with Michael, extensive for the first millennium with summary of the roles played by Michael therein; a motif index; and an iconographic guide. One is grateful for an accessible printing of the founda-

tion-myth as well as its translation. The second appendix is particularly thorough, but the fourth is so trivial one wonders at its inclusion. Admittedly, it is characterized as a 'brief guide', but the imbalance is seriously misleading: eighteen paragraphs on Michael in Old English art, one for Anglo-Norman, two for Middle English with a mere five works of art cited. Yet sources for Michael's varied roles in English art are easily available. For manuscripts Johnson failed to consult *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, edited by J. J. G. Alexander (6 vols, London, Harvey Miller). In one of the earliest fully illustrated Book of Hours (c. 1240), Michael and the Devil dispute over a man dying in bed (Nigel Morgan, *Gothic Manuscripts* 1250-85, 1988). Michael also figures in the War in Heaven in the many Apocalypse manuscripts of the thirteenth century. Had he consulted Lucy Sandler's *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385* (1986), he would have found ten entries, or Kathleen Scott's *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490* (1990), fifteen entries. In Sandler's volume by far the most common occurrence is for the feast of St Michael, where he is depicted holding his sword in his right hand, an iconography deriving from his role as warrior-angel. Johnson also ignored the rich body of parochial art published in the EDAM Reference Series (*English Drama, Art, and Music*). In Norfolk, for example, the Weighing of Souls is attested in a range of media, glass, wall painting, wood-carving and sculpture, and there are forty entries for Michael in battle with the dragon. What is particularly frustrating about the lacunae is that Michael's appearance in art and drama could have been so easily included to expand the reader's appreciation of Michael's roles in Middle English legend. Despite this disappointment, the book remains exceptionally useful for the early hagiographic dossier of Michael the Archangel.

ANN ELJENHOLM NICHOLS

THE MIRROR OF THE BLESSED LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST: A Full Critical Edition. Edited by Michael Sargent. 2005. University of Exeter Press, Exeter, £55. ISBN 0 85989 740 0.

This is Michael Sargent's third edition of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ* since 1992. If one compares his first edition, for Garland Medieval Texts (now out of print), with the present one (there is an intervening 'Reading Text' from Exeter University Press in 2004), it is clear they have quite a lot in common. They both employ the same base text, Cambridge University Library MS Add. 6578, both have substantially the same explanatory notes and glossary (though the one in this edition is regrettably without page and line references), a number of sections of the Introduction seem substantially the same (particularly Sections I, II, III, IV), although account is taken of post-1992 scholarship. The descriptions of manuscripts have been modified: although they are now

generally longer, there are no descriptions of the scribal hands; references have been added to the *Linguistic Atlas of Later Middle English* for those manuscripts it includes, but manuscripts not classified there have had statements about dialect removed; crucial information is sometimes not given (for example, the text is BL Arundel 364 is significantly disordered); and, most tiresomely, the manuscripts are now enumerated not alphabetically by place, but by textual groupings. In all these respects there are small advances and some retreats.

What is substantially different about this edition lies primarily in its textual material. The Garland edition included about fourteen pages of Textual Notes (pp. 243-56). This edition includes over a hundred (pp. 241-350). The recorded variants must be seen in relation to a section of the Introduction titled 'The Textual Argument' (pp. 142-53). This argues that there are three groups of manuscript, α , β , γ , with various sub-groups, differing in some respects from those set out in the Garland edition (compare p. lxxxix there, with p. xvi here). This discussion has a rather provisional air at some points, where reference is made to projected studies that seem to bear on the arguments advanced here (e.g., p. 143, fn. 1, p. 153, fn. 21). This suggests that textual arguments may still be in the process of evolution.

It is presumably because of this increased body of collations that this edition is described on its title page as 'A Full Critical Edition.' The question is, how full? Sargent explains the nature of what he terms his 'Critical Apparatus' (more accurately, 'Textual Variants'): it

registers all variations of the base manuscript, A1, from the edited text and all variants of the affiliational groups and sub-groups of the manuscripts and early prints ... as well as some variants, not representative of the affiliational groups, that show early members of the groups or sub-groups in coincident variation with other manuscripts ... or that are otherwise illustrative of the original text and its major affiliational groups. (p. 241)

In his Preface he puts matters rather more succinctly and rather differently:

The Critical Apparatus of this edition records all readings of the hype-archetypal exemplars, so far as they can be read (and I believe firmly that they can) through the surviving manuscripts. I have not recorded all readings ... (p. viii)

It is hard to be sure quite what is going on, except that it is clear that a full critical edition does not here mean a full collational record. How significant this may be is hard to say, but a hurried collation of a couple of the (excellent) coloured plates of a single page revealed an unrecorded variant in two manuscripts: 9. 11 also] A², Tr² as. Since both manuscripts are of some importance, particularly the former, Cambridge University Library Add. 6686, which is used instead of the base manuscript at those points where it is defective, such an

omission is rather startling. One cannot help wondering whether it is symptomatic.

There are some other oddities, not least, the decision to include both the *punctus elevatus* as well as modern punctuation. Since elsewhere Middle English punctuation is represented by its modern equivalent this decision is at best distracting and seems of no material benefit. At times, the edited text seems needlessly fussy; for example: 'fort fulfille þe figure of þe olde lawe, & begynne þe treupe of þe newe [lawe] & performe þe mysteryes þat were to come of his precieuse passion' (144/21-23). The inserted reading ('[lawe]') does not occur in the base manuscript, nor in a number of other MSS, is clearly unnecessary for sense, and obscures what seems to have been Love's style and rhythm here. Interestingly, Sargent's earlier edition does not have this reading (see there p. 146/21). And there are other occasions where reflection has, I think, produced a worse text (compare, for example, the emendation introduced here at 86/10 with the 1992 reading at 88/21).

This is a curious edition. It does include a new body of data in its extensive record of textual variants. But the value of that data, and its completeness, remain unclear. If the value lies in clarifying the sub-groups, then the results are not invariably convincing. For example, Sargent remarks of one subgroup (α^3) that 'the small number of manuscript in this group, and their relatively late date in comparison to other groups, argues that the hype-archetype was a monastic, possibly Carthusian, exemplar of the mid-fifteenth century' (p. 115). It is hard to see how the evidence presented leads necessarily to the conclusion. As with the record of textual variants enough remains unclear to make one uneasy. This is a pity, since Sargent is a scholar uniquely equipped to pronounce on the textual transmission of Love's work.

To the lost manuscript noted (pp. 140-41) may be added the one in George Offor's sale, Sotheby's, 27 June 1865, lot 1383, destroyed by fire in the auction rooms. The Lewes, East Sussex Record Office fragment (p. 140), a fragment of six leaves, was in situ in November, 1978, when I received a xerox of part of it; it was then in the Gage Collection of the Sussex Archaeological Society. It is currently missing.

A.S.G. EDWARDS

WILLIAM BROWN'S TOWN. The Stamford Hall Book. Volume I: 1465-1492. Edited by Alan Rogers. 2005. Stamford Survey Group, Stamford. Available from Stamford Survey Group, 2 Kings Rd, Stamford, Lincolnshire, PE9 1HD, £10 incl. p&p. ISBN 0-9502832-1-5.

This edition of the first part of the Stamford Hall Book is intended for the general reader: Latin is translated, middle English transcribed as it stands but

supplied with explanatory notes. One suspects that it is primarily intended also for the local reader – the introduction appeals to local interests rather than seeking to set Stamford in the context of current debates about late-medieval towns – but the text merits a wider audience.

That audience is most likely to be found among those interested in the scope of urban jurisdiction. The ordinances and guild material printed here offer interesting parallels and contrasts with those promulgated elsewhere and the Hall Book gives a nice, if partial, snapshot of Stamford's court in action. By the terms of the 1462 charter Stamford's alderman (the equivalent of the mayor elsewhere) and the 'first twelve' acted as justices of the peace. The charter makes no reference to the inclusion of professional lawyers within the quorum – which, at a county level, was always required – and something that deserves further investigation is the incidence of occasions on which a lawyer was (and was not) associated with the Stamford justices in their deliberations.

Readers interested in the political history of the period, by contrast, will probably feel a bit cheated. Although the blurb on the back cover emphasises the Hall Book's coverage of the Wars of the Roses, most of the references to national events come in the brief editorial notes supplied at the beginning of each civic year. The text refers to military help sent to Edward IV – who as duke of York was lord as well as king of Stamford – in 1470 and mentions 'ordinances' prepared against an anticipated royal visit in 1473, although these are not then detailed. Similarly money was collected to renew the town's charters under Richard III but we hear nothing of how it was spent. Such frustrations are commonplace in urban accounts; more unsettling is the political contextualisation offered here. The editor apparently subscribes to the traditional model of rampaging over-mighty subjects brought to heel with the advent of the Tudors. Given this, it is striking that Professor Rogers obviously has reservations about the impact of the Tudors on the town. Margaret Beaufort at Collyweston, it is hinted, was a rather uncomfortable neighbour for a town desirous of its autonomy.

There are signs of haste in the preparation of the volume. Cecily Neville, mother of the Yorkist kings, is identified in the introduction as duchess of Richmond, although her title is correct in the notes to the text. The Lord Cromwell who made a gift in 1467 (p. 19) must indeed be Humphrey Bourchier, but in that case the text's mention of Lord R Cromwell needs a word of explanation. Some of the Latin translations look distinctly odd, like the 'well-seasoned' (*seisiatur*) hay on page 99. *Inultus* has the modern sense of assaulted rather than insulted; *electus* is better translated as chosen than 'elected', which now carries inappropriate connotations of voting. The John Loring *literatus* elected to the freedom in 1488 is unlikely to be a lawyer (*legisperitus*); might he have been a scrivener or even the town clerk? As the editor notes, we are apparently given no clues about the clerk's identity.

Such niggles over detail do not seriously detract from the value of this text as a source for late-medieval urban history. If scholars are sent back to the Hall Book itself that can only be a good thing – not least because we are given no indication in this edition whether it is intended to publish the remainder and how many years that covers. The introduction lists questions that the Hall Book cannot answer and the reader will, as suggested above, probably be able to add to the list. But there are lots of good things in here, including a case of domestic violence that shows a battered wife managing to invoke the law against her husband (pp. 21-22) and more detail than usual on the town waits, who needed to find pledges for their safe-keeping of the 'shields' that constituted their livery. As it becomes harder to publish (and even harder to market) sources for local history the various local groups who sponsored and published the book deserve congratulations.

ROSEMARY HORROX

WOMEN'S BOOKS OF HOURS IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: Selected Texts Translated from Latin, Anglo-Norman French and Middle English with Introduction and Interpretive Essay. Edited by Charity Scott-Stokes. 2006. The Library of Medieval Women. D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, £40, \$75. ISBN: 1-84384-070-7

The attentive search of sources that lies behind this project has produced a number of intriguing surprises. Indeed the substantial yield that such a devoted, detailed, investigation can bring forth is perhaps the central revelation of this book. Careful examination of (mostly) printed manuscript catalogues has produced a group of fifty books of hours identified as owned by a woman or made for her. Twenty-seven of these manuscripts have provided texts for this anthology – mostly prayers, though the broad cultural use of books of hours is indicated by the inclusion of some medicinal recipes found in *horae* and – rather oddly – by the presentation of the captions for the Taymouth Hours' *bas-de-page* illustrations, which tell a little romance story of two knights and a maiden, to accompany the pictures.

The book's interest, however, is centrally in the prayers, which the preface calls 'of great importance ... since they are fundamental to an understanding of medieval piety, and women book owners recited them regularly'. It would be truer to say, however, that women *and men* recited them regularly, for two reasons. First, as the editor points out, the manuscripts in question often moved back and forth between male and female ownership, and second, a number of these prayers have no particular gender specification, but are found in more than one source, sometimes with male, sometimes with female endings when

they are in Latin (for instance no. 9:2 'Domine Jhesu Christe te adoro in cruce pendentem'.) The Latin prayer given as 22.2 which uses both male and female forms typifies the situation of many of these common prayers: that is, they were spoken by women and men both, their owner-references altered as they passed from hand to hand. Thus not all of the prayers given here will expand our understanding of a particularly female spirituality. Their interest might lie elsewhere; for instance it is useful to see an assortment of private devotions that may have been designed to be read during Mass.

Besides these gender-neutral prayers, however, the book contains many pieces certainly written in a female voice. Perhaps the gem of the collection comes from the De Reydon Hours (1320s). Written in Anglo-Norman, it ties particular distressing events in the Virgin's life to the supplicant's own anxiety, fear, pain, sorrow, and distress (each state specifically named). In these paragraphs we do have an unusually intimate view of an interior life definitively marked as female. Similarly revealing is the woman's childbirth prayer for her own and the child's safety, attributed in one manuscript to St Thomas Becket's mother! A female voice is less securely identifiable in Isabel Ruddok's fifteenth-century prayer. It is written in Latin and includes elements clearly formulaic, yet, the editor notes, 'this does not mean that she did not *compose* her prayer; a helpful spiritual guide ... may well have written the Latin words along lines set out by her'. Indeed we might see Isabel's wish, not only for triumph over her enemies, but that these enemies' 'strength and counsel [might] turn towards good' and the request to 'give pleasant-sounding speech to my lips' as original and personal.

Because the volume's impetus, as seen in its title, is so strongly to recuperate women's history, fuller biographical information would have been welcome. This recuperative effort can be seen also in the editor's re-titling of the manuscripts when, for instance, CUL MS Dd.15.19 is called 'Agnes Hykeley's Hours', CUL MS Dd.6.1 is named 'Elizabeth Scrope's Hours', and BL MS Harley 1251 is titled 'Eleanor Worcester's Hours'. Reading the texts as they appear below these headings, one expects a sentence or two identifying these women owners, readers, and supplicants, but this is not forthcoming until the end of the volume. Here an 'Interpretive Essay' presents some scattered pieces of historical information, culled from catalogues, on owners and manuscripts, but organized by theme, rather than presented individually for each manuscript. (Format decisions are notoriously difficult, but it would have been preferable to provide the date above each text, instead of forcing the reader to flip to another section of the book to find out if the text being read was thirteenth- or fifteenth-century.)

Nonetheless the book is full of the unexpected finds mentioned in this review's first paragraph. It is very useful, for instance, to have the complete office for the profession of a Franciscan nun (no. 5), which comes from an

obscure, parish-owned manuscript. Then too, although it has recently been suggested that devotion to St Anne was centrally a German phenomenon, the editor has found a complete office of the saint, with readings taken from the *Golden Legend*, since St Anne does not appear in scripture (BL MS Harley 1260, no.16.1), and, in a nun's book from Amesbury, has located added Latin and Anglo-Norman commemorations of St Anne appended to lauds in the Little Office. Somewhat surprising, in a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman prayer (no. 12.2), is the petitioner's powerful alliance with the legendary pregnant abbess. Here the supplicant asks for the same Marian pity as the abbess received. Though well-known as one of the miracles of the Virgin, this story (and its illustrations) seems more often playful rather than, as here, penitential. (Playfulness might be illustrated by the prayer Christ teaches in the Bolton Hours, whose rubric says 'you greet my mother every day; if you will greet me you will be my friend'.)

Making these barely-known texts visible through translation in this accessible series will open their implications, as the editor hopes, to the general reader, and to undergraduates and postgraduates. The interest of the book's three illustrations, too, is great since none have been previously published (though sadly the print quality of plate one, showing the Word of God flying toward Mary's receptive ear, is not sharp.)

MARY C. ERLER

WORKING WOMEN IN ENGLISH SOCIETY, 1300-1620. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh. 2005. Cambridge University Press, New York and Cambridge, £40 (hbk) and £18.99 (pbk).

ISBN 0-521-84616-1 (hbk); 0-521-60858-9 (pbk)

Marjorie McIntosh has written widely on English social history in medieval and Tudor times. In her new book, she looks at the changing experiences of working women from the fourteenth to the early seventeenth century. After an introductory section on 'Women and their Work', the subject is divided into two parts, 'Providing Services', and 'Making and Selling Goods'. Services cover women's domestic and personal paid work, as servants, nurses, prostitutes and taking in boarders, and financial services including problems of accessing credit, lending money, pawning goods and renting out property. 'Production and Sale' include brewing baking, inn and tavern-keeping, and the manufacture of cloth and clothing. A short chapter on women as consumers concludes the book, with stress placed on the need for more research in this area.

Throughout their working lives, women faced serious handicaps. Much of their work was linked to the duties that they had in the home as wives and mothers. Because of their commitments to husbands and children, they could

not embark on a full-time career and could rarely accumulate the capital to embark on large businesses. Moreover, they were expected to conform to contemporary norms of behaviour. These considerations apply to the whole period, but changes did occur. McIntosh argues that women had greater work opportunities after the Black Death of 1348-49 (although she does not regard this time as a 'golden age'), but these opportunities had largely disappeared by Elizabethan times when there was apparently greater prejudice against women's activities outside the home.

These changes were due to more than gender considerations, and McIntosh stresses that demographic, social, economic and cultural factors all have to be taken into account. The significance of the fall in population has long been discussed among later medieval historians. Also of major significance in the Tudor period were the changes taking place concerning credit, and the growth of international trade, making it difficult for women to work as merchants and entrepreneurs. A few widows participated in overseas trade in the fifteenth century but this ceased to be the case later. The book's comparative approach is especially valuable for assessing the extent of change, both nationally and regionally. As well as London and the larger towns, the comparison extends to five market towns which have been researched in depth: Tamworth in Staffordshire; Ramsey in Huntingdonshire; Northallerton, Yorkshire; Romford, Essex; and Minehead, Somerset.

In addition to the long runs of court records available for these towns, McIntosh has made extensive use of equity court petitions, found in the records of the Courts of Chancery, Requests and Exchequer, and of the Duchy and Palatinate of Lancaster and the Palatinate of Durham. The petitions are found after c. 1470, and so are of limited use to the medieval historian. These records contain graphic accounts of the problems faced by women of most social levels in their working lives. This material, however, has to be handled with care. It is rare for the decision of a case to be known, and, in the absence of a response to the petition and the depositions of witnesses, there is no means of checking the petition's accuracy, especially if it was submitted many years after the events described. Yet enough petitions survive to provide an insight into conditions of work and the difficulties which a woman might face.

Looking at the period overall, women found themselves increasingly on the margins by 1600. Conditions of service for young servants worsened; there was less tolerance for prostitutes; and women worked in low status jobs in cloth manufacture and the food and clothing trades. The chronology of the changes varied from town to town but they were certainly in place by the time of Elizabeth I. This situation can be contrasted with the late middle ages when there were more opportunities for women who could take advantage of circumstances after the Black Death, although many were engaged in low status work. McIntosh pays particular attention to brewing and selling ale, a major

area of women's work in the fourteenth century. Problems were appearing by the fifteenth century because of the introduction of beer and commercialisation. By the 1530s, men were dominating the industry, and although women might work in the industry as wives and servants they had lost the important role which they had enjoyed earlier. The introduction of new jobs such as hosiery knitting about 1600, paid as piecework, did not make up for what had been lost.

McIntosh has provided a comprehensive account, with fascinating details, of women's work in the later middle ages and the early modern period, bringing out and explaining the extent of change over three hundred years. Because of better record survival, more detail is possible for the Tudor than the medieval period, but it is useful for medieval historians to see how the problems women were already facing in the late fifteenth century worsened in the following hundred years.

JENNIFER WARD

WAR, POLITICS AND FINANCE IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLISH TOWNS: Bristol, York and the Crown, 1350-1400. Christian D. Liddy. 2005. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, for the Royal Historical Society (Studies in History, New Series), £50. ISBN 0-86193-274-9.

'The theme of this book', says Dr Liddy in introducing his important study, 'is the increasing participation of urban elites in government between 1350 and 1400' (p. 15). It might therefore seem to the casual reader of little value for the following century, but that would be wrong; the origins of the relationship between the crown and the leading towns under the Lancastrians and Yorkists lie in the period analysed here: and he concludes the book, as will be seen, with some provocative and stimulating thoughts on towns during the Wars of the Roses. Charles Ross described Edward IV as 'the first "merchant king" in English history', but Liddy argues that many of his economic policies were anticipated by Edward III and Richard II (p. 57).

London, of course, had long been the largest and wealthiest English town, and with a unique relationship with the crown. In the twelfth century it effectively became what would later be called a county corporate, answering directly to the king rather than through a county sheriff. Although no other town came close to it in importance or in self-government, late medieval kings began to grant county corporate status to other towns, starting with the two analysed here, Bristol in 1373 and York in 1396, and increasingly in the fifteenth century taking in middling towns also (Richard III, for example, granted the privilege to Gloucester and Scarborough, though the latter's status was annulled by Henry VII). The grants to Bristol and York are here set in the broad context of

their relationships with the crown over fifty years, in which both the king and the urban rulers came to benefit from a new partnership in government.

The pressures of the Hundred Years War led the king to rely increasingly on taxes, on loans from English merchants and on requisitioning their ships: both Bristol and York were important contributors, though during the period Bristol's merchants overtook York's in the sums lent, and Bristol was always well ahead in the numbers of ships supplied. As a result, both towns experienced real financial stresses, which at York contributed to a local rebellion in 1380, and in both towns to unrest during the nationwide uprising of the following year. However, urban merchants were not passive recipients of royal demands: under the pressures of war finance, they worked out a new relationship with the king in which they gained more influence on the state's commercial policy, especially through parliaments, and more local authority through new royal charters. By 1400, Liddy argues, the towns' civic elites had become an integral part of the political nation, with a powerful voice in national affairs.

Liddy's analysis is based on much detailed research in the central and local archives, including exchequer accounts, and on a detailed study of the civic rulers, including a helpful appendix tabulating their royal service and civic office. He is not afraid to take issue with other historians, such as R.H. Hilton and Heather Swanson on urban class conflict, or R.B. Dobson and Jennifer Kermode on the York rebellion. And his argument leads to a conclusion worth pondering for those more interested in the Yorkist period: crown-town interdependence had become too close by the 1450s for urban elites seriously to consider neutrality in the Wars of the Roses. 'Their ties with the crown were too strong and they were too important in national finance, trade and politics to detach themselves from the wider affairs of the kingdom in this way' (p. 215).

D.M. PALLISER

TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS, 1450-1550. The Experience of Kent, Surrey and Sussex. Mavis E. Mate. 2006. Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge and Rochester, N.Y., £50.00. ISBN 1843831899.

Professor Mate may have spent most of her academic career at the University of Oregon but she has made the south-eastern corner of England in the later medieval period her historical home. In the latest of her studies of Kent, Surrey and Sussex she examines in great detail the trade and economic development of the region in that most difficult of periods, the century between the Black Death and the mid-Tudor 'crisis'. Why most difficult? Because the middle decades of the fifteenth century experienced what John Hatcher has called

a 'great slump'. Population levels fell to their lowest point since the twelfth century, wool and cloth exports collapsed and there was an acute shortage of coin due to a European-wide crisis in the bullion supply. The market for both goods and services contracted and much land simply went out of use. The last three decades of the fifteenth century and the first two of the sixteenth saw a remarkable recovery in the economy but by 1550 there were ominous signs of increasing poverty and, interestingly, of a growing division in the countryside between those who held land and those who worked for daily wages, with the urban poor being joined by a new rural poor.

It was against this background that the Wars of the Roses were fought and the Tudor dynasty established its hold on the crown, albeit in the face of open rebellion. Politics play little part in this study, however, which is surprising, given that command of Calais and the Channel was vital to the Yorkist cause and that most invasions came through Kent. Mate's brief is strongly and rather fiercely economic. Her argument is that 'the three counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex formed a geographical *pays* that crosses county boundaries and experienced similar problems and solutions'. There was sheep/corn husbandry on both the North and South Downs and grazing of sheep and cattle on the Pevensey levels and the Romney marshes. The forest of the Weald stretched over all three counties. Firewood and charcoal were produced everywhere within it; were sent to London for both domestic and industrial purposes; were later essential for the new Wealden iron industry; and were exported in vast quantities to Calais and to the Low Countries. Another new industry, cloth making, grew up in the Weald, whilst the expansion of beer brewing and the demand it created for hops and firewood stimulated the economy of the whole region. As Mate rightly points out, far too much time has been spent looking at the fortunes of wool and cloth exports and not nearly enough on the production of barley for malt and at the export of billets of firewood from small south-eastern ports and the corresponding import trade in hops and herrings.

One of the most interesting sections of the book is the discussion of towns and of the effects upon them of London, the only major city in the British Isles by European standards. What made a settlement a town, what distinguished it from a large village, what gave it 'urban characteristics', are all thoroughly discussed here. The results are of considerable general interest. Maps 1 and 2, which show towns marked on the Gough Map of *circa* 1360 and then South-East towns in the 1520s, according to the author's definitions, that is major urban centres, small market towns and 'straddlers', towns with small markets that survived into the sixteenth century but with little occupational diversity. It is almost as if there was a different urban world in the 1520s, although the rule seems to be that the farther west you go, the nearer you come to the Sussex-Hampshire border, the fewer the towns. Nor did London exert a uniform 'pull' over the region. Its influence was greatest, as might be expected,

in north Surrey and least in western Sussex, but the region did have an internal economy or perhaps a series of internal economies of its own, separate from the needs of supplying the capital.

This is a notable study of a curiously neglected corner of late-medieval England. It is, however, demanding and densely packed with a formidable amount of evidence. Nor does Professor Mate always seem quite sure of her arguments. Was the period pivotal as far as long-term economic growth was concerned, one when the foundations for change in the early-modern period were laid? Her answer is no and yet, at the same time, she shows that there had been important developments in the pattern of landholding and that growing gap between those who held land and those who lived by wages, with the latter, in both town and countryside far worse off in 1550 than they had been in 1450 as population levels began to rise and price inflation hit hard. This was a major socio-economic change in the countryside and although the author shows this was the case, somehow, in her conclusions, she seems to hedge her bets. Other themes, especially the pull of London and the important economic contribution made by aliens are well discussed. The volume of cross-Channel trade and so by implication of the coasting trade about which we know so little is astonishing, the decline of Sandwich shown to be much exaggerated, and one could go on and on. Anyone interested in south-eastern England at a point of economic and social change, indeed anyone interested in the history of the region, its agriculture, towns and trade, will find this study invaluable. One last moan, however, and one that has been made before. Professor Mate's publishers are based in Britain but have an eye on North America, which is also the author's academic home. This means that yet again we have to endure what MicroSoft calls American English spellings. Please, the centre will hold if sufficient labour is applied to the endeavour.

These omissions do not detract from a work which is a delight to read. Not only is the 'information' presented clearly, but the book is an attractive piece of typography, well designed and with carefully chosen illustrations.

J.L. BOLTON

THE TEXT IN THE COMMUNITY: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors, and Readers. Edited by Jill Mann and Maura Nolan. 2006. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, IN., £27.95; US\$ 37 (pbk). ISBN 0-268-03496-6 (pbk).

The Text in the Community contains papers delivered at a conference held at Notre Dame University in 2001 to celebrate the inaugurations there of Michael Lapidge and Jill Mann as professors of English and the University Library's recent purchase of a fifteenth-century manuscript, formerly in the Foyle collec-

tion and now Notre Dame MS 67, containing *A Mirror to Devout People* and *The Craft of Dying*. The first item, composed for a 'gostely sustre' by a Carthusian, is extant in only one other copy, the second was more widely disseminated. The volume uniquely among the University's manuscripts contains Middle English texts, albeit they are religious prose, since the bulk of its collection contains liturgical, scholastic and ecclesiastical works. Indeed, few of its manuscripts appear to come from England: three *Horae* of Sarum Use (one of them produced in Flanders), a copy of the *Statuta Angliae*, and a historical compilation including Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bede.

The Introduction by Maura Nolan offers in rather pompous English which aims at profundity synopses of the different contributions. Thus we are informed 'Each written work is embedded in a variety of contexts ... and derives its meaning in part from the intersection of those contexts in the reader's experience of the text. This volume understands that intersection as a "community": a social, sometimes affective grouping that both intentionally and unintentionally makes meaning', while Mann's paper 'dissolves the seeming antinomy between experience and learning by showing how, for medieval writers, each epitomized and validated the other'. Fortunately, the following essays are better value.

Lapidge, 'Versifying the Bible in the middle ages', considers the four Christian-Latin poets (Juvencus, Sedulius, Avitus and Arator) whose poetry constituted the 'school curriculum' of the early Middle Ages and the impact their study had on Anglo-Latin poetic diction, and in particular upon the poet of the Old English *Exodus*. He persuasively argues that, although it is not an approach scholars of Old English literature have pursued, such writers are an obvious source of inspiration for the *Exodus* poet. Lapidge's theme, that medieval education was grounded in a close study of Latin texts and should be fundamental to our understanding of vernacular literature, is reiterated in a companion piece by Mann, "'He knew nat Catoun": medieval school-texts and Middle English literature'. She discusses those texts which formed the later medieval curriculum, and shows how they have left their mark on *The Canterbury Tales* and *Piers Plowman*. She cites a supplement to Cato's *Distichs*, the *Facetus* 'Cum nihil utilius', found in Notre Dame MS 6, a booklet of ten leaves copied by several hands, some inexpert, suggesting that as a set text it was begun by the master and completed by his pupils who were learning to read and write at the same time.

Andy Orchard, 'Computing Cynewulf: the *Judith*-connection', is also concerned with questions of influence. He demonstrates technology's impact on the study of Old English literature by examining the relationship between the anonymous *Judith* and Cynewulf's *Elene*. Computer analysis reveals direct verbal parallels uniquely shared between these two within the extant corpus of Old English verse. It seems therefore that the *Judith*-poet was not selecting

from a common stock of traditional oral formulae but directly and deliberately echoing *Exodus*, since Orchard does not believe 'vast screeds' of Old English poetry have been lost.

The following three papers by A.S.G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Jessica Brantley will perhaps be of most interest to *Ricardian* readers, since they focus on MS 67, its Carthusian background, and its readers. Edwards's and Brantley's discussions arise from a study of the volume itself. While Edwards, 'The contexts of Notre Dame 67', usefully describes the manuscript, its contents, and the book collecting activities of the family who owned it, Brantley considers its decoration. Although copied by two different scribes, the volume was decorated by a single artist who probably worked in the London area. Arms impaled in the opening initial (fol. 1) show that the original owners were John, fourth Baron Scrope of Masham, Yorkshire (d. 1455) and his wife, Elizabeth Chaworth (d. 1466/7). Edwards' account of books owned by both families reveals the emergence of forms of lay, literary piety particularly associated with a female readership in the fifteenth century. Because of the *Mirror's* Carthusian origin Brantley, 'The visual environment of Carthusian texts: decoration and illustration in Notre Dame 67', attempts to relate the manuscript's decoration to the visual culture of the order, although the examples she quotes of such culture are mainly and necessarily continental. Of the two English Carthusian-produced manuscripts cited, one (British Library, Add MS 37049) has rough drawings quite unlike the artistic style of MS 67. The other (Glasgow University, Hunterian Library T.3.15) may be comparably decorated to MS 67, although it was copied years later by Stephen Dodesham in 1475, but the fact that its decoration is stylistically old-fashioned need not make it 'likely' that it was illustrated by a Carthusian artist. It could have been handed over to a lay artist whose work reflected the training of his distant youth.

The most stimulating contribution is Gillespie's 'The haunted text: reflections in *A Mirror to Devout People*'. In a masterful treatment he re-assesses the role of the Carthusians in the production and circulation of vernacular religious writings. Whereas previous scholarship has stressed Sheen's importance in such circulation, his re-examination of the relationship between Carthusian Sheen and the Bridgettine house of Syon nearby leads Gillespie to suspect that it was the latter which was the leading player. He raises the intriguing possibility that not only was a work like the *Mirror* commissioned by Syon but that Syon lent books to Sheen for the purpose. From Syon it then reached the world of the Scropes rather than directly from Sheen.

Finally, Maureen Boulton and Dianne Phillips discuss other manuscripts at Notre Dame, fleshing out the manuscripts catalogue's descriptions. Boulton, 'The knight and the rose: French manuscripts in the Notre Dame Library', describes late copies of Cuvelier's *Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin* (MS 51), and the *Roman de la Rose* (MS 34). Differing medieval reactions to text are revealed;

whereas a serious and well-educated reader heavily annotated the *Rose*, the *Chanson* contains substantial interpolations not found in other copies of the text. They effectively re-write history so that Cuvelier's commemoration of a heroic French warrior becomes an account of the protagonist standing up to his king. Phillips, 'The *Meditations on the Life of Christ*: an illuminated fourteenth-century Italian manuscript at the University of Notre Dame', writes on a Bolognese volume in the Snite Museum containing a version of a work that was one of the *Mirror's* sources. The extensive programme of illustrations designed to appeal to the layman who probably commissioned the manuscript has been provided by an artist identifiable elsewhere.

This interesting collection of essays is accompanied by five colour plates, three of MS 67 unfortunately of poor quality. The reader would do better to refer to the illustrations in Christie's sale catalogue, 11 July 2000. No scale is given in the captions to plates or figures, and some are drastically reduced in size. Two indexes, including one of manuscripts cited (excluding those in private ownership) are provided.

PAMELA ROBINSON

THE REIGN OF CHIVALRY. Richard Barber. 2005. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £20. ISBN 1843831821

The Reign of Chivalry is a new edition of a book published in 1980. Richard Barber has written numerous books on medieval literature, especially the Arthurian legend and this new edition is testimony to his ability to write about a complex and intricate matter in a comprehensive yet simplistic and entertaining manner.

Not quite a coffee table book, *The Reign of Chivalry* is very attractive. Its four sections focus on the development of the knight, the inclusion of chivalry in literature, the influence of religion on the development of chivalry and the evolution of the knight into the gentleman. Interspersed are three sections in colour which include manuscripts, paintings and objects devoted to tournaments, the knight and warfare and the knight and society. The only criticism is that very few of the illustrations are dated, which I found frustrating. Footnotes too would have been welcome but I appreciate that this book is aimed at the popular market. There is an index at the back and a few suggestions for further reading. Disappointingly we are advised to look at Barber's book *The Knight and Chivalry* for a full bibliography. Perhaps this is a marketing ploy but I felt this book warranted a more comprehensive reading list.

In the first section, 'The Knight and Warfare', Barber traces the origin of the knight from the declining years of Charlemagne's empire. To avoid the expense of equipping many men with armour and horse, military service was

commuted out to deputies. By 1000, fiefdom and vassalage were established with knights owing loyalty to their lord. Long term vassalage in turn brought settlement and some stability to society. Barber argues that the cult of chivalry grew up among the younger sons of the nobility who could not inherit estates and so needed to make their fortune as fighting men. With less responsibility they had more leisure time to devote to literature and music and to honing their military craft through tournaments. Indeed Barber points out that in most romantic literature, prowess in tournaments and in battle are paramount. He cites William Marshal (b. 1144) as a famous example of the chivalric hero of the time. Barber describes in detail the development of the tournament and negative influence on warfare in the later middle ages with the individual dominating over the group cause.

In 'Chivalry and Literature', Barber gives an account of the development of the knight as the epic hero in romances. He cites the four main elements in medieval romanticism as heroism/prowess; love (the lyric); marvels (the folk tale); romance (hero/heroine): 'Loyalty, comradeship and prowess are the knight's great virtues: their counter-parts are treachery, faithlessness and cowardice ...'. Examples illustrating the changing style and content of chivalric romance are discussed at length. *Chanson de Roland*, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, *Nibelungenlied* and *Perlesvaus* (*Percival*) are used to demonstrate the subtle differences from country to country culminating in the Arthurian/Grail mythology.

'Chivalry and Religion' covers the history of the various orders of knights from their inception to their demise. Barber comments that, although knight-hood was largely secular by the fourteenth century, the church had still played a large part and the crusades inspired the formation of the major orders, such as the Knights Templar, the Order of St John and the Knights Hospitallers. However, although they started out on similar lines to monastic orders, vowing chastity and poverty, they became wealthy and thus their focus and objectivity became more clouded. They were also vulnerable as the object of envy for kings and powerful nobles. Barber gives an excellent account of the Knights Templars, explaining succinctly how their wealth, privilege and secularisation combined to make them aggressive and self-seeking and as a result to lose focus and kudos. The other orders are treated similarly with Barber outlining how, with the responsibilities of wealth, they became more proficient at administration and less proficient at military matters. The failure of the last crusades are testimony to this. They mirrored the monastic orders in 'repeated crises of a spiritual nature during the Middle Ages'. Power and wealth corrupted the Grand Masters but they were aware of their shortcomings. Periods of laxity were followed by periods of reform and a return to the strict rule. However, Barber reminds us that the military orders were the nearest that the ideals of chivalry ever came to realisation and they offered good opportunities for the younger sons of the nobility to pursue a lucrative career.

Barber's final section, 'From Knight to Gentleman' follows the subtle but decisive change in politics and the social structure of Western Europe between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries when he argues that the religious based ideal of chivalry slowly became a secular reality. He discusses the various orders set up by kings and nobles and the reasons behind their institution. The Order of the Sash, the Order of St Catherine, the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Fleece are all mentioned and Barber assesses the political and logistical basis for them, and argues that these overrode any real religious conviction. He argues that by the fifteenth century chivalry was the servant of the state and revolved around rank and prestige. The original 'band of brothers' concept had largely gone. He concludes this section by charting the further development of chivalric romance through to the misguided Victorian perception. Finally Barber points out the irony that the ideals of the gentleman did not go back to the age of the knight but to classical ideals. Dignity and discretion superseded valour and military enthusiasm.

Richard Barber draws on his extensive knowledge of both the reality of chivalry and on literature and the ideal of what chivalry should have been to produce a book that is both informative and entertaining. He packs in the examples and quotes and goes into great detail yet manages to keep the tone light. He makes a fascinating yet complex subject accessible to all.

JANE TRUMP

URBAN GROWTH AND THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH: Gloucester and Worcester. Nigel Baker and Richard Holt. 2004. Ashgate, Aldershot, £75.

ISBN 0-7546-0266-4

In this erudite study of the impact of the institutions of the church on the environmental development of Gloucester and Worcester Nigel Baker and Richard Holt have made the most substantial contribution to early medieval English urban history since the publication of the first volume of the *Cambridge History of Britain* in 2000. With its minute attention to detail and its carefully considered analysis – in no fewer than 400 pages – of a host of difficult evidential problems this is admittedly not a book for the faint-hearted, nor indeed for the impoverished. Although lucidly written, its origins as the outcome of a strictly defined Leverhulme Trust sponsored research project ('English medieval towns and the church') conducted at the University of Birmingham in the years between 1988 and 1994 are still apparent enough. That said, it would be highly unfortunate if the readership of this book came to be confined to residents and scholars of Gloucester and Worcester alone. Here is a volume which addresses many of the most fundamental and mysterious issues which condi-

tioned the early evolution of the urban landscape in England's other oldest provincial towns.

This study also proves a highly successful exercise in comparative as well as inter-disciplinary history. The early history of the two towns in question was by no means identical; but in many ways it is the similarities between their respective economic and social functions which seem – as they still do – more notable than their differences. Both located on the river Severn, within twenty-five miles of one another, they were alike in fulfilling an important if usually fairly uneventful political role in supporting the post-Conquest English monarchy's aggressive designs on its Welsh neighbours. Although King John lies buried at Worcester Cathedral and Edward II at Gloucester, it can hardly be said that either ruler contributed much except a certain amount of pilgrimage traffic to the 'growth' of the two towns. But then the funeral effigies of those kings rest where they do not because of the political and economic power of these towns as such but because of the long established ascendancy there of the two most spectacular institutions of the English church in the Severn Valley. For that reason it is the late seventh century which emerges as the most formative period in the *longue durée* traversed by this ambitious book. At Worcester the first cathedral church was built shortly before the 690s, a date more or less contemporary with the foundation of what became the great Benedictine monastery of St Peter at Gloucester. After the latter had been rebuilt by its Norman Abbot Serlo (1072-1104) to house a community of sixty monks, it not only dominated the religious life of the town but also became one the ten wealthiest ecclesiastical corporations in the country.

Understandably enough, this is not a volume which attempts to study the – still much neglected – internal life of either Worcester Cathedral or of St Peter's, Gloucester. However, and although the authors do not say so explicitly, Abbot Serlo and his monastery are revealed in their study as the single most sustained clerical influence on the 'urban growth' of the town. Medieval Gloucester may never have achieved (until 1541) the cathedral city status of its southern neighbour; but Baker and Holt make it clear that throughout the early and indeed later middle ages, it always tended to be larger and more commercially active than Worcester. According to their own interpretation of the problematic Domesday Book evidence, by the 1080s Gloucester may have housed a population of at least 10,000 whereas there were then only 2,000 or so residents of Worcester. Ironically enough, so marked a demographic contrast, which admittedly had become much less pronounced by the time of 1377-81 Poll Taxes, was itself partly the outcome of conditions prevalent centuries before the two towns achieved the status of burghs in the late ninth century. On all the available archaeological evidence exploited here, Worcester's 'Roman predecessor' – to the extent that it had one – was insignificant compared with that at Gloucester, where it is argued rather daringly that the Romano-British

capital may even have survived as a British political centre into the sixth century. To that extent Gloucester, much more than Worcester, is a town which still owes its prominence to British political circumstances of almost two millennia ago.

Of the more prosaic reasons why this study of urban growth is more informative on medieval Gloucester than medieval Worcester the most important is a sharp disparity in the extent of the surviving documentary and archaeological evidence. In particular, the almost complete disappearance of all Worcester's civic muniments makes it impossible to record its tenemental structure in detail. By contrast, the historian of medieval Gloucester, as well as having access to many more recent excavation reports than exist for Worcester, has comparatively abundant written sources at his disposal. Pride of place must undoubtedly go to the remarkable rental, arranged street by street, of Gloucester's properties made in 1455 by Robert Cole, canon and rent collector of Llanthony Priory. Although published by W.H. Stevenson as long ago as 1890, Baker and Holt are the first scholars to explore the implications of this unique rental with the sophistication it deserves. Not that they exhaust the interest of this extraordinary document. It still deserves more attention by historians interested (as these authors are largely not) in such topics as the levels of rent and the heritability of property in late medieval Gloucester. The death of the late Rodney Hilton, whose influential shadow still lies heavily on the study of the West Midland town, has left several critical issues on the agenda, notably perhaps that of capital formation in the late medieval city. However the questions Baker and Holt do address in this volume are certainly important and elicit some highly interesting answers. It emerges, for instance that despite the differences in size between the two towns, their major ecclesiastical institutions had come by the thirteenth century 'to occupy a third of each walled city'. By contrast, readers of *The Ricardian* may feel that the role of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century church tends to be discounted, partly no doubt because it no longer contributed to 'urban growth', partly because the authors believe – perhaps a little too confidently – that churchmen ceased to be 'entrepreneurial'. Nevertheless the pages devoted to the parish churches, the boundaries and the cemeteries in Gloucester and Worcester are among the most perceptive in a perceptive book. More surprisingly perhaps and in many ways the main theme of this book, it now seems overwhelmingly most probable that both town plans were determined by patterns of lordship established before the foundation of the two *burghs*. Never has the continuity of the English county town been demonstrated in more persuasive detail than in this learned and admirable study.

BARRIE DOBSON

THE ROYAL FUNERALS OF THE HOUSE OF YORK AT WINDSOR.

Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with Ralph A. Griffiths. 2005. Richard III Society, London, £10 plus p&p from Sales Officer.

ISBN 0-904893-15-4

This volume, which complements the authors' earlier study of the reburial of Richard, Duke of York, is a substantial addition to the literature on death in the late middle ages. Although the main focus is on the burial of Edward IV, there are also sections devoted to the funerals of Prince George in 1479 (by Ralph Griffiths), Princess Mary in 1482 and Queen Elizabeth Woodville in 1492. The chronology and the almost choreographic liturgical and ceremonial ordering of the funerals are set out with admirable clarity by the authors. Editions are provided of the contemporary narratives of each funeral. These are supplemented by details gleaned from Great Wardrobe accounts and where even this source fails, by practice at later royal funerals. Since Henry VIII's coffin followed the same route as Edward's it is likely that Yorkist precedent was followed closely. Even literary sources are used tellingly. Malory's account of the mourning for Sir Gawain is used to illustrate the way in which the mourners made offerings according to rank during the requiem mass. The studied simplicity of Queen Elizabeth's funeral was clearly shocking in its deviation from precedent to the herald-narrator. The death of princes might also be commemorated liturgically abroad. A requiem mass was said for Edward IV in the Sistine Chapel on 23 September 1483. It should be noted that this was said by the bishop of Modrus in Dalmatia in the presence of Pope Sixtus IV, who was in choir *cappa*, and not concelebrated as suggested by the authors, following C.S.L. Davies.

One section of the volume is devoted to the laments, three in English and one in Latin, which were written on the death of Edward IV. It is suggested that the Latin poem, of which a translation is given, may be by the court poet Pietro Carmeliano, and may have been intended for display near the unfinished tomb. The first of the English poems, in which at one point the conventional refrain 'ecce nunc in pulvere dormio' (used in the Office of the Dead) is changed to 'nunc in Wynsore yn pulvere dormio', dwells on the transitory nature of life and the vanity of Edward's achievements. This sense of mutability informs Edward's provisions for his tomb in his will. The conventional interpretation, followed by the authors, is that he intended a *transi* tomb, with a cadaver image immediately over his grave, and a depiction of the king as in life in the upper chantry chapel, now represented by Henry VIII's oriel. However, there would not have been the close visual link between the living and the dead found in other *transi* tombs, where the two states of mankind can be contemplated at once. It is possible that Edward's request for 'the figure of Dethe' should be taken literally as referring to a personification of Death. Death, armed



**Brass of Anne, Duchess of Exeter and Sir Thomas
St Leger, St George's Chapel, Windsor.**

with a spear, appears as an interlocutor on the brass of John Rudyng (d. 1481) at Biggleswade, Bedfordshire. An interesting parallel is provided by the now lost tomb of René of Anjou in Angers Cathedral, where on the wall behind the tomb the crowned enthroned figure of Death was depicted, orb and sceptre at his feet. A similar image of *le roi mort*, a crowned cadaver above the Angevin arms, prefaces the Office of the Dead in BL Egerton MS 1070, made for René in the 1430s. Death the King is one of the many manifestations of Death in the Danse Macabre. Alternatively, 'the figure of Dethe' could simply signify a skeleton as opposed to a cadaver, which Isabel Despenser at Tewkesbury called an 'Image ... made all naked'. Edward may have known Hubert van Eyck's brass at Ghent, which depicted the artist as a skeleton. There was a vogue for skeletons, often personalised by heraldry or insignia of office, in fifteenth-century France, and from the middle of the century they can be found, though not so frequently, on English brasses and incised slabs.

Whatever Edward's intentions were, they were never brought to completion. There is no evidence that the effigy in the upper chapel, evidently intended to emulate Henry V's, was ever completed. The tomb suffered despoliation in 1642, when the funeral achievements that hung above the grave were plundered, and further elements of the original tomb were tidied away in 1789. The most substantial surviving feature are the ironwork gates by John Tresilian, the turreted form of which evokes Henry V's chantry chapel at Westminster. A macabre postscript to the opening of Edward IV's tomb during the 1789 works is the dissemination of fragments of hair and other 'relics', the fate of which is scrupulously recorded by the authors.

Curiously, there is no reference in this book to the monument at Windsor of Edward IV's sister Anne, who, after the convenient drowning of her inconveniently Lancastrian first husband, formalised her relationship with Sir Thomas St. Leger. In March 1481 Sir Thomas, who was to be executed in the aftermath of the 1483 rebellion against Richard III, established a chantry for her soul in the north transept chapel, where she had been buried in January 1476. In this chapel there is a finely engraved gilt latten plate depicting Anne and her second husband, with their arms, kneeling before the Trinity (see figure). It is something of an oddity, which does not fit into the stylistic sequence of London brasses, and it has been suggested convincingly by Malcolm Norris and others that it is goldsmith's work. A date of *circa* 1495 has been proposed on costume grounds, which leads to the as yet unanswered question of the identity of the patron.

This omission does not detract from a work that is a delight to read. Not only is the information presented clearly, but the book is an attractive piece of typography, well designed and with carefully chosen illustrations.

NICHOLAS ROGERS

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

Richard Beadle and Colin Richmond, editors, *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*. Part 3. Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series 22, 2005. Oxford University Press, £65. ISBN 0-19-722423-7.

This volume concludes the new edition begun by Norman Davis. Although mostly papers to do with Sir John Fastolf and his estate, the dates covered are 1422 to 1495. Glossary, Index, Introduction, and 'A Working Chronology of the Letters and Papers' including the other volumes and the reattributed items.

ARTICLES

John Ashdown-Hill, 'The death of Edward V – new evidence from Colchester', *Essex Archaeology and History*, volume 35, 2004, pages 226-30.

Covers the evidence of Mancini, the ambiguous note of questionable date in the Cely Letters, the petition of the dowager duchess of Norfolk over the Mowbray estates in 1489, and an entry in the Oath Book of Colchester. The last is considered in its original format, the erased words are reconstructed and the implications for the contemporary understanding of the fate of Edward V are discussed.

Howard B. Clarke, 'Angliores ipsis Anglis: the place of medieval Dubliners in English history', chapter 3 of *Surveying Ireland's Past: Multidisciplinary Essays in Honour of Anngret Simms*, edited by Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty and Mark Hennessy, Geography Publications, Dublin, 2004, pages 41-72.

ISBN 0-906602-42-4.

How far were Dubliners 'English' in their own eyes and the eyes of the English? Examines the development of Dublin's capital status (buildings, parliaments, mint, cathedrals and trade) and the tradition of the city's loyalty to the English crown from 1170 to 1495, including the career of Richard, Duke of York and the Yorkist improvement of the city's defences.

Peter D. Clarke, 'English royal marriage and the papal penitentiary in the fifteenth century', *English Historical Review*, volume 120, number 488, September 2005, pages 1014-29.

Licences to violate canon law with absolution were granted on petition in cases such as marriage and illegitimacy. Registers have been accessible since 1983 and an edition of those for England is under construction by the author and Patrick Zutshi. This study covers the efforts (often more than one) to obtain a correct dispensation for the marriages of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold, Anne Neville and Edward of Lancaster, Anne Neville and Richard of Gloucester (settling the date of this marriage) and Elizabeth of York and Henry VII. The availability of the texts reveals the use of anonymity in cases where opposition was expected and the politics which lay behind several versions. Appendix prints the dispensation for Margaret and Charles 17 May 1468.

Ben Dodds, 'Managing tithes in the late middle ages', *The Agricultural History Review*, volume 53, part 2, 2005, pages 125-40.

A study of how tithe management reflected social and bureaucratic change using the records of Durham Cathedral Priory.

Alison Hanham, 'Who made William Caxton's phrase-book? *The Review of English Studies*, volume 56, number 277, 2005, pages 712-29.

Caxton's phrase-book in English and French was published in 1480, adapted from one written in Flemish in Bruges. Considers whether Caxton could have been the first translator, and presents evidence which suggests that the alterations for an English market were made 1465-70, while the translation as a whole was probably made earlier.

Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The benefits and drawbacks of *femme sole* status in England, 1300-1630', *Journal of British Studies*, volume 44, July 2005, pages 410-38.

Traces the development of the independent, financial and legal status enjoyed by certain married women traders, especially in London. Describes and attempts to assess its value using every available court case, both provincial and London. Argues that the advantages of this status, and the time span of its effective operation, were more limited than often acknowledged, with a positive and negative interpretation. Appendix presents the use of London courts by women, despite poor survival of court records.

Elizabeth A. New, 'The Jesus Chapel in St Paul's Cathedral, London: a reconstruction of its appearance before the Reformation', *The Antiquaries' Journal*, volume 85, 2005, pages 103-24.

It was beneath the east end of the Cathedral and used by the Fraternity of the Holy Name; destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666. Archaeology, documents of the

fraternity, and pre-Fire illustrations are used to reconstruct the Chapel, especially its fittings and decoration.

Sophie Oosterwijk, "Long lullynge haue I lorn!": the massacre of the Innocents in word and image', *Medieval Theatre*, volume 25, 2003, pages 3-53.

Compares early liturgical drama with later vernacular plays (in French and English); blows and strong language characterised the latter. Considers the limitations imposed by having only male actors, the elements of farce and the use of dolls, blood, distaffs and other props. Compares the effective display of the massacre in the N Town and York cycles with the comic crudity of Chester. Traces the development of visual images of the grieving mothers, and suggests how they influenced dramatic portrayals. Extensive use of glass, manuscript and sculptural sources, many of which are illustrated.

Sue Powell, 'Margaret Pole and Syon Abbey', *Historical Research*, volume 78, number 202, November 2005, pages 563-67.

Presents the evidence that Margaret Pole lived at Syon Abbey as a young widow and received financial support from Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond; the countess also contributed to the support of one of her daughters. She was in the care of Margaret (along with her brother, the earl of Warwick, and other young Yorkists) in the aftermath of Bosworth, until she was married off to Sir Richard Pole. Details are provided of the career (and books) of the countess's god-daughter, Margaret Windsor, at Syon at this time (and later prioress of Syon from 1518 until pensioned off at the dissolution of the Abbey), and of Margaret Pole's fate.

R.N. Swanson, 'Caxton's indulgence for Rhodes, 1480-81', *The Library*, seventh series, volume 5, 2004, pages 195-201.

Sixtus IV offered indulgence to encourage donations to support the Knights Hospitaller defence of Rhodes in 1479; the English campaign was conducted in the name of John Kendale, Turcopolier of Rhodes, and the printers employed were Caxton and Lettou. A complete vellum copy of a Caxton indulgence in his Type 4 has been found at the Preston, Lancashire, Record Office. It was bought by an unidentified, John Hawardyne, and its time limit was not observed. Some discussion of distribution methods, the lack of an absolution clause on the reverse, the other known copies, and the size of print-runs and use of two printers (?3000 copies per day). Illustrated.

R.N. Swanson, 'A Rounceval pardon of 1482', *Archiver*, volume 30, number 113, October 2005, pages 51-54.

A new manuscript copy of a pardon distributed by the Hospital of St Mary of Rounceval at Charing Cross (Master Edward Poynings) from which the

previously undated fragment of the pardon printed by William Caxton can be dated to 2 December 1482. The purchase was made by Lady Elen Warburton probably in the diocese of Lichfield from a pardoner.

Meg Twycross, 'Forget the 4.30 am start: recovering a palimpsest in the York *Ordo paginarum*', *Medieval Theatre*, volume 25, 2005, pages 98-152.

Detailed analysis of the wording of the proclamation for the plays' production, as well as the clerks who produced the text and their handwriting. Extensive illustration.

Philip Whittemore, 'The brass of Edward, Duke of York, died 1415, at Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, volume 17, part 2, 2004, pages 128-31.

This article discusses the Yorkist burials and commemoration in the College, with an analysis of the second duke's tomb. Only a fragment survives but reference is made to Leyland's description of the 1530s, and the memorial is put into the context of contemporary tombs such as that of Bartholomew, Lord Bourchier (d. 1409) at Halstead, Essex. Discussion of the tomb styles that appealed to cadets of the royal family, including Anne, Duchess of Exeter (d. 1475/6).

Notes on Contributors

Rowena E. Archer did a thesis on the Mowbray dukes of Norfolk. She is researching the life of Alice Chaucer and is currently a lecturer at Brasenose College and Christ Church College, Oxford.

John Ashdown-Hill is preparing a thesis on the client network of John Howard; also a study of Lady Eleanor Talbot. His interests include the use of DNA in historical contexts.

Marie Barnfield has been a member of the Society since 1971, and is currently researching the Yorkist rebellions of 1486 and 1487.

J.L. Bolton is a professorial research fellow in the History Department at Queen Mary, University of London.

Richard Britnell was until recently a professor of History in Durham University. He writes mostly about the economic history of the middle ages, particularly concerning towns and local trade.

B.M. Cron, MA (Hons) in History, Massey University, is writing a biography of Margaret of Anjou.

Barrie Dobson retired from the Chair of Modern History at the University of Cambridge in 1999 and then returned to York where he had taught medieval history from 1964 to 1988.

Keith Dockeray taught history for over thirty years at various universities. His most recent books are *William Shakespeare, the Wars of the Roses and the Historians* (2002) and *Henry V* (2004).

A.S.G. Edwards is Professor of Textual Studies at De Montfort University, Leicester. He currently holds a Leverhulme Research Fellowship and is examining the texts and canon of John Skelton's English verse.

Mary C. Erler is Professor of English at Fordham University and the author of *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge 2002).

Heather Falvey is a member of the Society's Research Committee and tutors the Paleography-by-Post course. She is currently studying part-time for a PhD at the University of Warwick.

David Grummitt is a research fellow at the History of Parliament. He is the co-author of *War, State and Society in England and the Hapsburg Netherlands c. 1477-1559*, to be published by the end of 2007.

Peter Hammond, President of the Society, Research Officer until 2001. He is the author/editor of books on late fifteenth-century history, including the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.

Alison Hanham, Associate Professor of History at Massey University (retired). Her most recent book is *The Sinners of Cramond: The Struggle to Impose Godly Behaviour on a Scottish Community, 1651-1851* (2005).

Rosemary Horrox, Fellow of Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge. Author of *Richard III: A Study of Service*, Cambridge 1989.

Stephanie Hovland has completed a thesis and written on aspects of apprenticeship in medieval London. The Trust published Hannes Kleineke's and her volume on Dean William Worsley's household accounts in 2004.

Hannes Kleineke is a Senior Research Fellow at the History of Parliament. He is currently preparing a volume of fifteenth-century legal proceedings relating to Parliament.

Mavis E. Mate is an Emerita Professor at the University of Oregon. She has written extensively on the economy and society of late medieval England and published two books dealing with women.

Ann Eljenholm Nichols, author of *Seeable Signs* and *The Early Art of Norfolk*, an index of parochial art, is currently preparing a pictorial index of Cambridge College manuscripts.

D.M. Palliser, Emeritus Professor of Medieval History of the University of Leeds, and Honorary Visiting Professor at the University of York. Editor of *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, I; now writing on medieval York.

Nigel Ramsay is an Honorary Research Fellow in the History Department of University College London. He is compiling a reconstructional catalogue of the archives of English religious houses.

Pamela Robinson, Reader Emerita in Palaeography and Senior Research Fellow, Institute of English Studies, London University, compiled a *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 888-1600 in London Libraries* (British Library, 2003).

Nicholas Rogers is the Archivist of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. He writes on various aspects of late medieval culture, and is Editor of the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*.

Jane Trump graduated in history at York University in 1981, studying under Professor Barrie Dobson. She is currently working on some original research on Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset.

Livia Visser-Fuchs is writing a book on Jean de Wavrin's historical work.

Jennifer Ward taught medieval history at University of London Goldsmiths College. Since retirement she has continued to research women's and local history, and *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500* (Pearson) was published 2002.

Instructions to Contributors to the Ricardian

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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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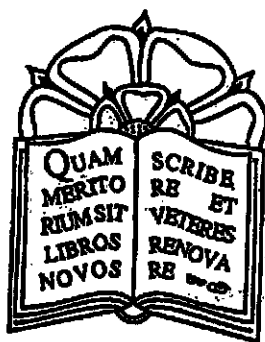
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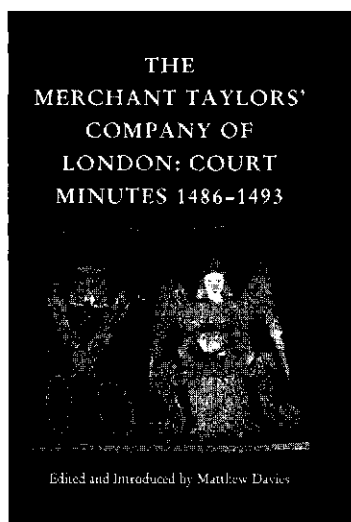
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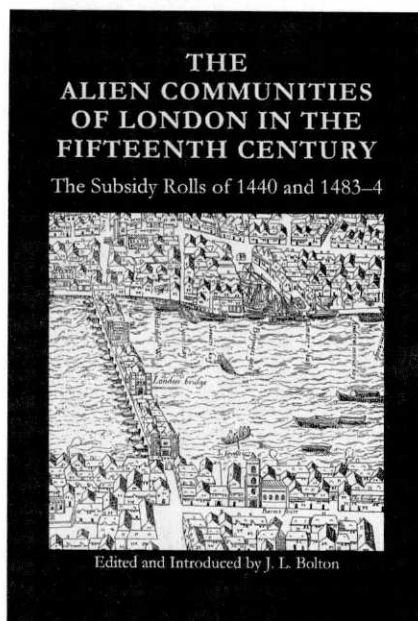
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