

Book Reviews

THE MEDIEVAL MERCHANT. Proceedings of the 2012 Harlaxton Symposium. Edited by Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton. Harlaxton Medieval Studies XXIV. 2014. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £49.50 (hbk).

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This is a very welcome addition to the distinguished series of published Harlaxton symposia. It contains twenty one papers, a very thorough general index as well as a novel one of ‘manuscripts’, listing all original documents cited by the various authors from no fewer than forty one repositories, as well as providing eighty-six colour illustrations. The intention of the organisers was that the medieval merchant should not just be considered from an economic point of view, but ‘beyond the ways in which merchants made money to consider their origins and dynastic ambitions, their particular pious and charitable concerns, their literary and cultural preoccupations, and their sense of themselves when alive, and after death’. These aspirations have largely been met. Contributions, which predominantly concern English merchants, with men from the Low Countries, Hansards and the Italians providing most other examples, have been arranged into seven groups to illustrate various aspects of these themes. These can only be briefly touched upon here to give a flavour of the rich and diverse fare offered. Several papers would certainly repay much closer analysis because of the importance of their subjects or the wealth of new, especially archival or visual, material they make accessible.

Under ‘The Trade of Merchants’, Wendy Childs opens the volume with a masterly short synthesis of the fluctuating fortunes of English trade with Spain and Portugal from c. 1200, with particular emphasis on its fifteenth-century phase. The activities of two London companies, the ‘forgotten’ Fishmongers and the Goldsmiths (notably the rivalry between London and provincial goldsmiths) are carefully examined by Justin Colson and Jessica Lutkin, the former principally in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the latter from c. 1300 to the early sixteenth century, including a transcript of the will of Robert Marble, goldsmith of Hereford, drawn up in 1505. In ‘The expansion of London’s Overseas Trade from 1475 to 1520’, John Oldland provides a magisterial survey, replete with graphs and statistics, that will be required reading for all those interested in how England’s economy was evolving either side of 1500.

Three essays are offered under the theme ‘Merchant Dynasties’, all centred on the fifteenth century. Among the most notable of provincial merchants of the time is one, William Browne of Stamford (d. 1485), whose charitable foundation, Browne’s Hospital, still survives. In a well-argued and thoughtful essay on ‘Contrasting Careers ... and Social Mobility’, Alan Rogers draws

attention to the differing aspirations of members of his wider family, suggesting Browne himself ‘saw being a “merchant” as a vocation to be fulfilled’ while some of his relatives were more concerned with putting ‘distance between themselves and the status into which they had been born’. How Norwich merchants’ wives and widows networked is explained by Carole Hill, while David Stocker, abridging a forthcoming monograph on his distant ancestors, considers how the Stockers of Wyboston (Beds.) and London conducted their business in exporting wool and cloth during a period of great political uncertainty and drama between 1430 and 1485 in one of the main contributions to this volume which will particularly interest Ricardians.

The theme of ‘Merchants and the Law’ is illustrated by a very clear account of the significance and implications of the burning of Boston fair in 1288 by Henry Summerson, and by Susanne Jenks’ analysis of cases in English law courts involving alien merchants in the light of statutes and privileges issued from Edward I’s reign onwards. Summerson’s paper considerably augments what can be found on this incident in ‘The beste and fairest of al Lincolnshire’, *The Church of St Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire and its Medieval Monuments*, ed. Sally Badham and Paul Cockerham, Oxford: BAR British Series 554, 2012, a volume which touches on many similar themes, particularly with regard to the ‘commemoration’ or ‘memorialisation’ of merchants that are dealt with in several of the later essays in *The Medieval Merchant*.

‘Merchant Piety’ is discussed in four contrasting but very informative contributions beginning with a characteristically wide-ranging and authoritative general survey by Clive Burgess (‘Making Mammon serve God’), followed by a fascinating account of the cults associated with mercantile activity across much of western and northern Europe by Nicholas Rogers. Sally Badham’s closely-observed analysis of similar mercantile involvement in religious guilds in England uses Boston (which she has covered in more detail in *The Church of St Botolph*), Bishop’s Lynn, Yorkshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire as case-studies, while Jennifer Ward focusses on ‘Merchant families and religion in later medieval Colchester’, supplementing what we have learnt particularly from the late Richard Britnell on the economic and social fortunes of the town. ‘Merchant Culture’ is illustrated by two further-case studies, Anne Sutton on ‘William Caxton, King’s Printer c. 1480-85’ (which provides a valuable conspectus on his whole career as well as detailed analysis of his output while he served as printer to Edward IV and Richard III) and Julia Boffey’s re-assessment of Robert Fabyan, as ‘Merchant, Reader and Translator’, with significant evidence on his historical interests, research methods and working practices.

The section on ‘Merchant Drama’ provides a sharp contrast between one of the earliest surviving dramatic works in Czech from the late fourteenth century, the *Mastičkář* (*Unguentarius*, The Ointment Seller), which treats its hero in a satirical, scatological fashion (Christopher Nicholson), and John Lydgate’s much more sophisticated and learned allegorical ‘Mumming for the Mercers of

London' (Meg Twycross and Elisabeth Dutton). This was originally prepared as entertainment on *Twelfth Night* 1430 for a rich mercer. Its theme revolves around that of travelling to exotic parts as many mercers did in the course of their professional lives, allowing those who were acting it out to dress up in strange costumes and use a variety of props to enforce the allegory (there being no speaking parts). This imaginative piece was re-created for the symposium dinner on 25 July 2012, but as the editors of the volume explain, having asked Meg Twycross to produce a new edition of the script 'it rapidly became clear that a simple text-with-notes would leave readers, even those who had seen the show, as mystified as they were before. She has therefore provided a cross between an edition and an explication, while Elisabeth Dutton, the director, writes about our staging and what we learned from it'. The text runs to about four pages in length, the commentary on the 'Text and Performance' to some twenty-five pages and that on 'The performance on 25 July 2012' to nearly eight pages, with some of the visual effects partially recaptured in plates 25-32. It was clearly a highlight of the whole symposium, and the edition, explanation of what a mumming was intended to be and what the particular characteristics of Lydgate's work were, does allow those who were not fortunate to see the 2012 performance to share in the enthusiastic reception it received from its modern audience, no doubt echoing that given to its first players by those lucky enough to be present on 6 January 1430!

The final theme 'Merchants and their self-presentation' begins with 'Occupation and Identity in Medieval London' in which John MacEwan surveys 'the relationship between men's occupations and their seals', using evidence from more than 900 mercantile or craftsmen's seals of which impressions survive before c. 1310, to conclude 'that men who used their seals to identify their occupations were exceptional' but that their seals also 'offer important information about both them and the groups to which they claimed membership'. Three portraits of Italian merchants who lived briefly in London over the period c. 1450-1580, one of whom became doge of Venice, and the other two had courtly connections, are put under the microscope by Charlotte Bolland to see what they tell us about how they perceived their time in England, while Jane Bridgeman uses a wide range of pictorial evidence to show how fashions in merchants' clothes changed north and south of the Alps between c. 1300 and the mid sixteenth century, again suggesting how self-perception is reflected in the way in which they wished to be, or were, remembered visually. Finally two large merchant brasses, that of Adam de Walsoken (d. 1349) and his wife, originally in St Margaret's, King's Lynn, and that of Johann von Zoest (d. 1361) and his wife, also Margaret, in Toruń cathedral, Poland, provide an opportunity for Paul Cockerham to discuss the international trade in monumental brasses from Flanders, the part played in it by Hanseatic merchants, and the impact they had on other centres of production, especially in the Baltic. He argues that in imitating 'the Flanders paradigm of trade, exporting them widely during the fifteenth century ... [the Baltic merchants]

saturated the market and restricted the importation of new designs, which only slowly permeated overland from the south', largely thanks to the arrival of artists and craftsmen from Flanders itself.

A varied but rewarding volume: apart from a few partially missing footnote references (pp. 152, 161) and an extremely small number of typos, your reviewer has few criticisms to make about proof-reading, which given the length and complexity of the volume is of a high standard throughout, though he would like to know whether 'mwadefish' (p. 33) is an error, a technical term or a hitherto unknown species!

MICHAEL JONES

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR. A People's History. David Green. 2014. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, £25. ISBN 978-0-300-13451-3

When the *Guide Bleu* of Normandy was reprinted after World War II it had an extensive inserted gathering in the middle, on pink paper, which listed and described to what extent towns, villages, churches and other monuments had been destroyed after the D-Day invasion. The descriptions were factual and straightforward and gruesome in their scholarly neutrality. Of the Hundred Years War a comparable, much larger collection with a long introduction had been put together in the 1890s by the Dominican Henri Denifle, documenting in several volumes *La désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en France pendant la guerre de Cent ans*. The latter, unlike the Blue Guide, is not only about buildings, but also very much about the misery of the people who (no longer) lived in them and is even more depressing, because of the total ruthlessness and arbitrariness of the war-crimes committed by all parties and the extent of the devastation. It provides an amazing amount of touching detail, such as the church where the parish priest had no house to sleep in and for many years used a leaden chalice because the silver one had been stolen by the English.

The 'people' of the book under review are not *only* the ordinary clergymen, farmers and townspeople that one might perhaps expect from the title, but they are there. The author has chosen to discuss one (social) group per chapter, at the same time proceeding chronologically through the hundred years. Thus the (long and interesting) Introduction focusses on 1337, though also giving an overview of the war as a whole and its effect on both warring countries; the conclusion is called '1453 and Beyond'. Chapter 1 deals with knights and nobles, the 'flowers of chivalry' (1346), and such matters as the importance of chivalry, changing military tactics and the true nature of the *chevauchée*. The peasantry and the 'voice of the people' (1358) follow in chapter 2, which concentrates on what ordinary men gained and lost because of the ever-present hostilities, and what led to the popular rebellions in both France and England.

Chapter 3, on the clergy and the church, is subtitled 'voices from the pulpit', discussing not only the suffering of the individual clergyman, but also the

important role the church played in state propaganda and in justifying the war aims of either side. There is a detailed analysis of the papal schism, which was also exploited by both sides of the conflict. Follows a separate chapter (ch. 4) on the various attempts, particularly in the earlier period, to come to an agreement and cement a treaty, subtitled 'blessed are the peacemakers' (1396). 'Peacemakers', that is those who opposed the war, included John Wycliff in England, and Honoré Bovet, Philippe de Mézières and Christine de Pizan in France, and to some extent Richard II and Charles VI themselves. This leads on to 'kingship and royal power' in chapter 5 (1407), of which the main title is 'The madness of kings', a phrase that refers to the political madness of Richard II, and the genuine insanity of Charles VI and Henry VI. Their weaknesses and the martial prowess of other kings, such as Edward III and Henry V, very much shaped the progress of the conflict and exacerbated internal problems, but royal authority remained crucial.

Chapter 6 looks at the soldiers themselves, 'views from the front (1415)'. Subjects include growing professionalism, recruitment, various weapons, supplies and other logistical problems on campaign and during a siege, the size of armies and the need for a naval presence. The experience of (ordinary) Frenchmen is the focus of chapter 7: 'Occupation: coexistence, collaboration and resistance (1423)'. There was a general breakdown of law and order, and attempts by the occupying forces to create stability through legislation, settlement and 'bread and circuses' were, of course, doomed to failure – as they always are – except locally and for short periods of time.

For the chapter on women, 'power and persecution (1429)', Joan of Arc supplies a mass of material, as do queens, princesses and kings' mistresses, but also discussed are the new possibilities created for women by the need for them on the labour market in a society where war and plague decimated the men. 'Prisoners of war, gilded cages (1435)' is an inevitable topic as the taking of valuable prisoners for ransom was wide-spread and meant financial ruin for some noble families. Most famous of all was the poet Charles, Duke of Orléans, captured at Agincourt and twenty-five years a prisoner in England.

The final chapter, 'St George and *la mère France*', takes a more general look at how the war famously intensified the national identities of both France and England and further confirmed the position of the monarch. The Conclusion draws all this well-presented and well-researched material efficiently together. The material may not be new, but it is offered to the reader in a way that is both detailed and accessible, and further assisted by the inclusion of simple chronology of events, a glossary, a note on money, two royal family trees and five clear maps. The notes are unfortunately endnotes, but the bibliography is long and fascinating, the index extensive; the price very reasonable.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

URBAN BODIES: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities. Carole Rawcliffe. 2013. Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £60.

ISBN 978-1-843838-364

Carole Rawcliffe, Professor of Medieval History at the University of East Anglia, has written a masterful study of medieval communal health. In a nationwide survey, she commemorates the valiant efforts of urban magistrates to emulate ‘the magical walled city, celebrated for the cleanliness of its paved streets and the health of its inhabitants’, and so keep their charges safe from the pestilence that was then all too common.

Her volume demonstrates remarkable scholarship and a familiarity with the records of most of our major towns and cities over a period of nearly three hundred years between 1250 and 1530 – from Aberdeen in the north to Dover in the south, Yarmouth in the east to Truro in the west. From each of them she draws examples of projects that improved general wellbeing, and of offences that undermined it. Having my own interest in Ipswich, I was fascinated by her use of the leet court records of that town. Her index resembles, in the best of ways, that of a road atlas.

Following a general introduction, successive chapters seek to counter the popular image of unmitigated filth and squalor; examine the perceived connection, so fundamental to medieval thinking, between spiritual, moral and physical health; describe multifarious schemes to pave and clean the streets, dispose of waste, control noxious smells and noise, and supply clean water; explain the steps that were taken, and the regulations that were enacted, to ensure a supply of wholesome food and drink at prices that ordinary people could afford; and recount the provision that was made for the aged, infirm and destitute. Her appendix details, in chronological order, all known national and urban epidemics between 1257 and 1530.

We see how the Christian belief, that acts of compassion (‘comfortable works’) might speed a benefactor’s soul through purgatory, played out in the provision of latrines, refuse carts, wells and street paving. We are introduced to ‘gongfermours’ who emptied cesspits and were well paid for their labours. We learn that the legendary Dick Whittington bequeathed money for the construction of a ‘long house’ (public privy) in Vintry ward with two rows of sixty-four seats, decently segregated by gender, for the use of Londoners. We share his contemporaries’ disgust at the antics of a Norwich barber-surgeon who committed the ‘abominable offence’ of depositing putrid blood into the public gutter.

As one of our foremost authorities on medieval medicine, Rawcliffe’s chapter on ‘Sickness and Debility’ merits particular note. Her readers may share my surprise that, in contrast to continental Europe, in the period 1300-1500 just ninety-four bachelor degrees in medicine were awarded at Oxford, only fifty-nine at Cambridge, and that most of those graduates became priests. No salaried practitioners are known to have worked at any English medieval

hospital or Leprosaria. In their hour of need the common people had to look to barber-surgeons, apothecaries and other ‘connyng folk’, who, they would be comforted to know, were expected to be well groomed with ‘clene hands and wele shapen nailes and clensed fro all blaknes and filthe’ and to have ‘stable handes noght quakyng’, manual dexterity and ‘a complexcioun weel proporciound and ... temperat’. With some people living much longer than before, and younger relatives, on whom they might once have depended, being cut down in their prime by plague, the old and infirm looked increasingly to the urban elite for succour. Almost all medieval charitable institutions established after the Black Death were almshouses or providers of residential care. In an age that equated moral and spiritual probity with the physical well being of a community, the idle and unproductive poor were increasingly marginalised and excluded from such charity, which, instead, was bestowed on the shamefaced poor, fallen on hard times, who made up a ‘begging aristocracy’.

Rawcliffe’s text is enlivened by deft use of the striking phrase. In excusing the packs of hounds that roamed the streets in search of food, she reminds us (as only a dog lover could) that ‘belligerent humans are usually to blame for canine delinquency’, while remarking that butchers’ dogs ‘worked for a living, and thus ranked as honest, if truculent, labourers’. In commending the mendicant friars for their remarkable sanitary projects, she reports that ‘While washing clean the souls of the laity through confession, they were, quite literally, assisting their physical ablutions as well’. In emphasising the power of peer pressure to curb abuse, she stresses that ‘the watchful eyes and twitching noses of neighbours served to police the more heinous breaches of these sanity regulations’. In condemning the businesses practices of cooks and the unsavoury nature of their ready meals, she warns that ‘Their tempting cry of “Hote pyes hot! Good goos and gryns” was often best resisted by those who valued their health’.

Despite all her efforts to dispel the myth of urban squalor, ultimately even Rawcliffe has to admit that late medieval towns were ‘dirty, noisome and profoundly unhealthy places’ – at least by modern standards. Many ordinary townsfolk yearned for a cleaner and more salubrious environment, often protested about their conditions and looked to their leaders to address their concerns. Urban magistrates did not lack the will to do so, but, in an era of financial stringency, rarely had the means to provide permanent solutions. Specific epidemics were frequently followed by bouts of intensive regulatory and administrative activity, but thereafter momentum was soon lost. Very often ‘the magical walled city’ must have often seemed like ‘the stuff of fairy tales’.

This volume portrays medieval life in the raw and is history at its very best.

NICHOLAS R. AMOR

MALORY AND HIS EUROPEAN CONTEMPORARIES. Adapting Late Arthurian Romance Collections. Miriam Edlich-Muth. 2014. D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, £60. ISBN 978-1-84384-367-2

This study puts Malory's prose *Morte Darthur* (1470s) next to the Italian prose *Tavola Ritonda* (mid 14th c.), Ulrich Fuetrer's German verse *Buch der Abenteuer* (1470), the French prose Arthurian compilation that belonged to Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours (1470) and the Dutch verse *Lancelotcompilatie* (1320s).

Unfortunately this review has perforce become dominated by criticism of the errors which greatly distracted even this partially informed reader from the actual aims of the author, and moreover created doubts about the wider scholarly foundation on which the whole structure and its literary-critical theories are based. For example, in the introduction it is claimed that Johan Huizinga said that late medieval chroniclers – why mention chroniclers when the Arthurian collections are romances? -- represented chivalric ideals as 'a remnant of a superannuated order' and that these ideals are 'almost negligible ... for the understanding of the epoch'. I was so taken aback by this contradiction of what I thought Huizinga had actually said that I checked the English 'translation' of his major work against the original for the first time. It turns out that the English text – though approved by Huizinga himself -- is really a new version, almost an 'impression' of the original and impossible to compare paragraph by paragraph, or even page by page to its source. Apparently if you have not read *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* you have not read Huizinga's book and should only quote him with caution.

Secondly, there are problems of quotation and translation. For example, in the Middle Dutch *Lancelot* compilation at the beginning of the story of *Perchevael* the Ugly Lady is introduced and described: *Si hadde di tande gelijc den das, / Si hadde granen omden mont / Ende enen snavel gelijc den bont / Ende die ogen bol, der simmen gelike, / Die wintbrauwen lanc ende eyselike* ('She had teeth like the badger, / She had a beard and a moustache around the mouth / And a snout like the dog / And her eyes were hollow, like the ape's, / Her eyebrows were long and horrible'). The present book has (p. 44, n. 18): 'she had hands like a rope, / she had grains around her mouth / and a snout like a dog / and hollow eyes like slits. / Her eyebrows were long and like a donkey's'. Elsewhere the lines: *Beide bleven dat wel verstaet / Maget doet biden grale* ('You must know that they both [Lancelot and his brother] died as virgins near the Grail'), are translated: 'they both stayed for a long time with the Grail' (p. 45, n. 21).

What is a reviewer supposed to do? Dismiss these mistranslations as minor errors and overlook them – even when in both cases they make a mockery of the arguments that follow and are based on these lines? Ironically, one previous reviewer of this book expressed his envy at its 'linguistic mastery', which might encourage others to learn more languages and make comparative studies possible. In fact, the German quotations are marred by omissions, the French

by minor omissions and small errors and the Italian translation is taken from an existing edition. Why the author did not do so for the Dutch text and did not bother to use even a concise Middle Dutch dictionary is a mystery.

But there are other mysteries: one of them is the silent assumption, throughout the book, that the *auctor intellectualis* of the compilation owned by Jacques d'Armagnac (Bibliothèque nationale de France, mss fr. 112 (1), (2), (3), vols 2-4 of the original text; all digitised in full and in colour by the BnF) was the scribe called Micheau or Michel Gonnot (on the back cover, incidentally, he is called *Jean*, a mistake blithely repeated by yet another reviewer!). Gonnot did much work for Armagnac; he was a priest by profession and obliged by copying out collections of romances and religious texts for his patron. There is no evidence that he did more than compile and join together the various texts that he could lay his hands on (or even did more than copying an existing collection that does not survive). Making collections or compendia of related texts was a fashionable literary trend in the fifteenth century, especially at the Burgundian court, which was the inspiration behind Armagnac's considerable library. His Arthurian collection cannot possibly be called Gonnot's own work in the modern sense without stated reservations.

Among the curious arguments presented is the assumption that the collection was not made for 'young knights and squires', as one of the surviving prologues says, because its patron was 'the elderly Duke d'Armagnac' [*sic*, lvf] – in fact he was thirty-seven at the time of the book's production and never became 'elderly' as he was executed in 1477, for having taken part in the 1465 rebellion against Louis XI of France. Next, in an attempt to give a political agenda to the text the duke of Nemours owned, the author argues that 'the hierarchical values' of Arthur's court would have pleased King Louis – or, alternatively, it reflects the ideals of aristocratic brotherhood that inspired Armagnac and his fellow rebels!

What the present book does do, of course, is bring these 'foreign' Arthurian compilations to the interested English reader's attention. It studies their 'Adaptation Process' (prologues, divisions, transitions), 'Style and Narrative Strategy' (a passage from each text is analysed accordingly), 'Chronological and Genealogical Structures' (e.g. the relations between various characters) and 'Narrative Plot Development' (e.g. which hero plays a major role, Arthur, Gawain, Lancelot, Perceval or Tristan); the term 'chronologies' is coined for them to emphasise their chronological / genealogical structure. The focus is on Malory, Fuetrer and the *Tavola Ritonda*, the other texts are used for corroboration or diversification. Not surprisingly the main conclusion reached is that these five collections are very different. Bibliography and index are limited, the price is considerable.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE WARDENS: Managing a Late Medieval Hospital. Browne's Hospital, Stamford 1495-1518. Edited by Alan Rogers and members of the Stamford Survey Group. 2013. Abramis Academic Publishing, Bury St Edmunds, £25. ISBN 978-1-84549-599-2

GUILD, HOSPITAL AND ALDERMAN: New Light on the Founding of Browne's Hospital, Stamford, 1475-1509. Nick Hill and Alan Rogers. 2013. Abramis Academic Publishing, Bury St Edmunds, £10. ISBN 978-1-84549-582-4

The most recent publication of Alan Rogers and the Stamford Survey Group (earlier collaborations on *William Browne's Town* and *The Act Book of St Katherine's Gild* have also been reviewed in *The Ricardian*) makes available the accounts of Browne's Hospital. In theory, as the introduction makes clear, the hospital had been well-endowed by Browne and his wife before their deaths in 1489, but by the time of the surviving accounts the hospital was sliding into financial difficulties. Rogers sees the underlying problem as the inexperience of the wardens upon whom responsibility rested, none of whom had the local standing of William Browne himself. The endowment was scattered and collecting the rents in full evidently proved a problem, although it is hard to know how much of this was official incompetence or the consequence of a wider economic malaise. The hospital's difficulties were compounded by a dispute with the Stamford gild of All Saints, which flared up in 1506. This apparently had its roots in a change to the legal status of the hospital pushed through by Browne shortly before his death, something explored in more detail by Hill and Rogers, who also offer a well-illustrated architectural account of the hospital buildings. The 1506 dispute necessitated two journeys to London by the then-warden William Sharpe, with forays to Westminster, Richmond and Greenwich for meetings. His contacts do not seem to have been particularly high powered, the best-connected was apparently the dean of the chapel royal, and the hospital lost its case, not perhaps surprisingly when their opponent was Christopher Browne, William's nephew and, as a councillor of the king's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, a force to be reckoned with in Stamford.

Apart from the expenses of the dispute, which constitute a useful addition to the medieval (and later) genre of favour-seeking, the accounts mainly consist of payments to the bedesmen (and the two bedeswomen, who seem to have been envisaged as domestic help) and endless minor repairs to property. It is hard to resist the sense that the hospital was meeting costs that its tenants might usually have been expected to meet themselves. Readers of *The Ricardian* will also take note of the later, relatively modest, donation to the hospital by Thomas de la Launde of North Witham (Lincs) to secure the commemoration, *inter alia*, of several of the casualties of Loosecoat field (1470), which brings in a Beaufort connection through the Welles family (Hill & Rogers, p.19). *The Wardens*, we are told, will be the last collaboration of Alan Rogers and members of the Stamford Survey Group to appear in hard copy. More work is planned, but it will only be

made available electronically. Financial considerations apart, this has the potential to reach far more users, but for those of us who find it easier to engage with complex texts on the printed page this has to be sad news.

ROSEMARY HORROX

PERSONALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. Edited by A. Compton Reeves. 2012. *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 414. Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Tempe, AZ. £41/\$55 NBN International, Plymouth. ISBN 978-0-86698-462-1

The evolution of the fifteenth century from the historiographical ‘Cinderella of Centuries’ into one of the most vibrant periods for historical enquiry owes much to the series of conferences in the field that has been held in the British Isles since 1970, most recently on an annual basis. Since 1995, a parallel series of conferences has been held triennially in North America with the generous support of the Richard III Society’s American branch, as a prelude to the International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo. The present volume contains some of the fruits of such a gathering held at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 2004, and brings together scholars from three continents.

The core themes of the volume are political in nature, but that does not make what is gathered here any less rich in its approaches and topics. Traditional political history has, as Jean-Philippe Genet’s keynote paper argues eloquently, long since evolved to encompass most other strands of the discipline, including even as unlikely a bed-fellow as cultural history. Evolution does not end there: where time-honoured tradition at one time required these collections of papers in fifteenth-century history to bear three-legged titles alliterating in the letter ‘P’, the editor has here succeeded in finding just two terms that adequately bracket what is contained within. Throughout the volume the real individuals who held such fascination for Bruce McFarlane almost three quarters of a century ago loom large, and it is their attitudes to the events and circumstances of their own day that the contributors seek to explore.

Thus, Michael Bennett who has long been interested in what one might call ‘history in the pluperfect’ surveys the attitudes of late medieval Englishmen and women to their history and heritage. Among his interesting findings is the relatively late discovery of the value of a ‘heritage’ by the medieval monarchy. By the mid-fifteenth century early antiquarians like William Worcestre were visiting sites of perceived historical interest, and even in the wake of the English Reformation of the 1530s it was left to the traditionalist rebels to claim the dissolved religious houses as part of a wider ‘national’ heritage of the English, in the face of their wanton destruction by the king and his ministers. This does not mean that the rulers of late medieval England were not concerned with leaving their mark for posterity: the pre-Reformation

requirement for intercession alone saw to that. In a monarch's lifetime, an artwork otherwise designed to attract posthumous intercessory prayer could function as a vehicle for a range of statements about kingship and dynasty, as is demonstrated by Virginia Henderson's paper which dates and discusses a scheme for a window in the Observant Franciscan friary at Greenwich commemorating King Henry VII and his family.

A more traditionally 'Yorkist' theme is on offer from Rhoda Friedrichs, who returns to a subject long familiar to students of the period: the use of accusations of illegitimate birth against a political opponent. Her interesting discussion touches upon the well-known charges brought against Edward IV and his sons by the earl of Warwick and Richard III, but sets them into a wider late medieval European context. A different form of propaganda lies at the heart of Roger Nicholson's paper, which surveys some of the political ballads and poetry of the crisis years of the mid-fifteenth century. A central problem in the interpretation of their significance, he finds, is their reception as variously supportive or seditious, depending on the reader's or hearer's own political leanings.

If the extent and identity of the likely audience of Nicholson's ballads remains hard to pinpoint, the editor's own contribution places the biography of a particular individual at the heart of its discussion of political theory. Compton Reeves, who has for some years studied the life and works of Thomas Hoccleve, thus examines the poet's political writings in the context of his official career in the Privy Seal Office. If he finds Hoccleve's philosophy unexceptional, his discussion nevertheless raises the interesting question of how widely similar attitudes might have been found among the ranks of the middling civil servants.

The volume is rounded off by Peter Fleming's discussion of the interplay of ritual and space in a late medieval town. Fleming eloquently explores the variety of different processions encountered in late fifteenth-century Bristol, from the condemned man's journey to the gallows at one end of the spectrum, to the demonstrations of urban and royal power inherent in the processions of the town's mayor and the ceremonial entry of King Henry VII at the other.

This is a useful collection of carefully thought-out essays, which it is good to see in the public domain at last. From this, though, arises a final gripe which will resonate with many readers working in the discipline of history: does it really have to take eight years for the proceedings of a conference to find their way into print? The editor's preface was written four years after the conference where these papers were first delivered, and it took a further four years from that point for the volume to appear. The urgency of publishing a collection of papers on the fifteenth century may be less than that of disseminating new findings in the battle against a fatal disease, but undue delays in making historical discoveries and arguments publicly available nevertheless do the wider field of medieval studies a disservice. In this instance, it is gratifying to be able to close by saying that it was worth the wait: the editor has assembled a

remarkably cohesive set of essays that are stimulating and informative in equal measure.

HANNES KLEINEKE

DIGGING FOR RICHARD III. How Archaeology Found the King.

Mike Pitts. 2014. Thames and Hudson, London, £18.95. ISBN 978-0-5000-25200-0

FINDING RICHARD III: The Official Account of Research by the Retrieval and Reburial Project. A.J. Carson (editor), J. Ashdown-Hill, D. Johnson, W. Johnson, and P.J. Langley. 2014. Imprimis Imprimatur, 21

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Available in most digital formats. Orders can also be placed at email@annettecarson.plus.com

As a chronicler of The Greyfriars Dig or, as some would have it The Looking for Richard project, Mike Pitts is ideal. Not only is he a *bona fide* archaeologist, having directed his own excavations, but he was not actively involved in this project. He is, thus, ably placed to give a more objective account than some others. Pitts is particularly good at explaining the minutiae of any archaeological project, and the skills necessary for success.

Pitts points out the importance of the 1990 national legislation for archaeologists, the drastic effect the 2008 financial crash had on their livelihood, as well as the sterling work Richard Buckley, co-director of the University of Leicester's Archaeological Services, and others had done in excavating Leicester's past. He details the 'unique partnership ... between two people (Buckley and Langley) driven by an interest in the past, brought together by different goals that could be achieved only in one way' (p. 61). He has divided the book dramatically into five Acts. Act III 'Excavation in 2012' and Act IV 'An Autopsy' reflect his professional background and understanding of such projects. He catalogues previous researchers and writers – Charles Billson, David Baldwin – as well as those professionals who were to become involved. Leon Hunt's map regression analysis; the Head of Arts and Museums at Leicester City Council, Sarah Levitt's constant support; the encouragement and financial backing from Richard Taylor, Leicester University's Director of Corporate Affairs; the archaeological skills of Mathew Morris, Leon Hunt, Tony Gnanaratnam and John Coward; the input of geneticist Turi King and osteologist Jo Appleby; and the video recording of Carl Vivian. These, with others, 'brought an extraordinary amount of sense and skill to discuss a small archaeological evaluation ... No amount of the often publicity-seeking arguments that would rage around them would distract them from their purpose' (p. 144). Pitts guides us through all this with consummate ease.

His journalistic style mainly carries him through the telling, but occasionally seems like artifice rather than art. He is, perhaps, too wedded to the short sentence for impact. Perhaps not. His account is leavened with humour (he notes King Richard's Road has a sign 'humps for ½ mile'), which can, however, jar and appear trite. His Act I – a survey of England 1452-85, becomes a struggle to read and is the least successful in his drama. It is a mixture of staccato, note-taking inspired chronology and colloquial interjections. To be fair, he himself hints at this in his note 2 (p. 194). Morris and Buckley's own historical *resumé* is far better (Mathew Morris and Richard Buckley, *Richard III: The King under the Car Park*, University of Leicester 2013). There are one or two factual errors – to write that 'the round of killing would not end until Bosworth was done' (p. 21) might be challenged by those who died at Stoke Field or among the Pole family, for instance; Richard did not 'track (Buckingham) down to Salisbury' (p. 29) – he was taken in Shropshire and escorted to that city on behalf of the king; Bosworth is not south-east of Leicester (p. 30).

Pitts points out the fact that the University of Leicester acknowledges over 100 named people in its search for Richard, and pays his own tribute: 'Working on the book allowed me to confirm that this really was a well-managed, co-operative project in which extraordinary talents wished no more than to establish what truths they could'. He also readily thanks Philippa Langley 'without whom none of this would have begun' (p. 204).

Mike Pitts correctly identifies Philippa as one of a long line of Ricardians inspired by the image of an unjustly wronged monarch – George Buck, Horace Walpole, Caroline Halsted, Sir Clements Markham and Paul Murray Kendall. 'It might have been the archaeologists who excavated and proved its identity, but they would never have looked unless pushed' (p. 73). Philippa co-authored a book with Michael Jones in 2013, is a regular on the lecture circuit, and to all reasonably minded people is the *tour de force* who not only inspired herself but others to search for Richard. She may have been 'in a parallel world to the one inhabited by the archaeologists' (p. 122), but it was her vision and drive that ensured the essence of the project transcended the more narrow academic world and reached out not only to fellow Ricardians but a worldwide audience.

The *raison d'être* for 'Finding Richard III: The Official Account' can be found on its back cover. "In the face of repeated claims that 'the university found the king' and 'the archaeology found the king', those original historians and researchers ... set the record straight". This line is substantiated throughout the book, particularly on page 32, perhaps the key to their record: '... it was only a small group of Ricardians – historians, researchers and writers – who considered the evidence sufficiently compelling to pinpoint this specific site as the king's burial place and worthy of investigation, a project which Langley would now devote years of time and effort to bring about'. No reader doubts the latter point, but the occasional peevish tone the writers adopt is a pity, even if understandable. The strength of feeling can be guessed from their Postscript (pp. 61-62), where only Langley was officially involved in the 4 February 2013

Media Announcement and, even then, only allowed to give ‘a short speech at the end after the media news feed was cut’.

Their chapters read well (in fact, their style is studied and effective, and it incorporates material not found elsewhere), building up a coherent story. A greater magnanimity to others – David Baldwin, and Leicester’s university, historians and archaeologists – would have made the reader more sympathetic to the authors’ own perceived slights. The appendices are valuable, setting out in full the agreed Written Scheme of Investigation with the University; the Exhumation Application and Licence; the vital financial support from Ricardians; whilst reiterating Langley’s laudable desire from the outset to honour Richard III. ‘The ethos of the Looking For Richard project was to search for, recover, and rebury his mortal remains with the honour, dignity and respect so conspicuously denied following his death at the battle of Bosworth’ (p. 36). That Philippa Langley has achieved much of what she set out to do deserves fulsome praise.

These two books, with Mathew Morris and Richard Buckley’s *Richard III: The King under the Car Park*, enable readers to realise a fundamental point: the enthusiasm (single-mindedness?) of ‘amateurs’ harnessed to the proven skills of ‘professionals’, led not only to the discovery of a medieval friary, and its layout, but King Richard III.

KENNETH HILLIER

ROBERT THORNTON AND HIS BOOKS: Essays on the Lincoln and London Thornton Manuscripts. Edited by Susanna Fein and Michael Johnston. 2014. York Medieval Press in association with The Boydell Press, Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £60. ISBN 978-1-903153-51-2

It has become fashionable among students of Middle English literature to focus on a particular manuscript from different scholarly perspectives; thus there have been recent volumes devoted to the Vernon Manuscript, to British Library, MS Harley 2253, and the Ellesmere Manuscript of *The Canterbury Tales*. The present volume is focused on two manuscripts, Lincoln Cathedral MS 91 and British Library, Additional MS 31042, both produced by Robert Thornton (c.1397-c.1465). Unusually, for a copyist of Middle English texts, we know (thanks to the work of George Keiser) a great deal about this country gentleman who lived at East Newton Hall, Stonegrave, in the wapentake of Ryedale, North Yorkshire. For his significant contribution in preserving a substantial body of literature from late medieval England Thornton not only merits an entry in the *ODNB*, but plans are afoot to install a memorial plaque to him in his parish church of Stonegrave Minster, in recognition of his achievement.

Together the two Thornton volumes of nearly 500 surviving folios contain 135 items ranging from romances, including the unique alliterative *Morte Arthure*,

through saints' lives, works by the Yorkshire writers Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and William Nassington, a copy of the *Cursus Mundi*, collects and prayers, to charms for toothache and a collection of medical recipes, *Liber de diversis medicinis*. Thornton's choice of reading matter was evidently dictated by his wish to produce a library of pious and profitable texts for his family's edification and entertainment. His compilations, when contrasted with the poetic miscellanies produced by John Shirley (c.1366-1456), writing for the social circle of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, are old-fashioned (no Chaucer, Gower, or Hoccleve), and reflect the difference in taste and status of their intended audiences.

The present volume's eight essays are book-ended by a general Introduction by Michael Johnston and an Afterword by Rosalind Field with Dav Smith on the Ryedale area, accompanied by a map which shows the proximity of Ryedale to York, the abbeys of Byland and Rievaulx, and to Sheriff Hutton, home of the Neville family. Such local networks could usefully have provided Thornton with the exemplars he needed.

The essays themselves can be divided into those which focus on the manuscripts and those which discuss specific texts. For the manuscript there is Susanna Fein's useful and comprehensive up-dated listing of 'The contents of Robert Thornton's manuscripts', while George Keiser's substantive overview, 'Robert Thornton: gentleman, reader and scribe', contains a detailed analysis of the changes that occur in Thornton's handwriting over a decade or more showing how these may help in dating the order in which Thornton copied the booklets (and texts) of which his compilations consist. Linguistic evidence is drawn upon in Johnston's 'Constantinian Christianity in the London Thornton manuscript: the codicological and linguistic evidence of Thornton's intentions' to show Thornton used exemplars from different dialect areas. The 'salvational scheme' seen by critics behind the selection of texts in Additional 31042 was thus the result of Thornton's deliberate organisation of his material. Less convincing, perhaps, is Joel Fredell, 'The Thornton manuscripts and book production in York', on the decoration of the books. He detects three different artists at work in the Lincoln manuscript, the chief of whom uses a 'bubble' motif in his pen flourishing, which Fredell contends is found only in manuscripts produced in or near York. His argument is not helped by the poor quality of the plates he uses to bolster it. On page 120 note 24 he cites an article 'Booklets in medieval manuscripts: further considerations' wrongly attributed to me rather than its true author, Ralph Hanna.

Among the other essays is Ralph Hanna and Thorlac Turville-Petre's 'The text of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*: a prolegomenon for a future edition' which critiques existing editions in light of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (which maps the regional distribution of the orthography of England to help determine the dialect in which a text was written) and new research on the metre of alliterative verse: they conclude that the text transmitted by Thornton is often inaccurate and propose some emendations. Mary Michele Pollinger and

Julie Nelson Couch offer interpretations of particular items in relation to the religious texts Thornton copied. Pollinger's "'The rosselde spere to his herte rynnes": religious violence in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* and the Lincoln Thornton manuscript', explores the shared language of violence of the *Morte*, the *Northern Passion* and other items focusing on Christ's suffering, while Couch in 'Apocryphal romance in the London Thornton manuscript' reads the narrative poem, *Childhood of Christ*, as prefiguring the passion. Finally, Julie Orlemanski, 'Thornton's remedies and the practices of medical reading', discusses the *Liber de diversis medicinis*, and finds it unusual to have a medical text, albeit the *Liber* is in a self-contained booklet, in the same compilation as the romances Pamelaces of the Lincoln manuscript. In a household book, however, the *Liber* would have been useful, even though this copy is corrupt. Puzzlingly, she states the *Liber* is extant in seventeen other copies (p. 236) whereas Fein who records other textual witnesses when listing the contents of the manuscripts says of this item 'No other manuscript' (p. 48).

The book concludes with an extensive bibliography, a List of Manuscripts cited, and a General Index. Thornton's rebus (a thorn sprouting from a tun, seen in Lincoln 91, fol. 23v) is illustrated on the front cover.

PAMELA ROBINSON

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY XIII. Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy. Edited by Linda Clark. 2014. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60. ISBN 978-1-84383-944-6

Explicitly aiming 'to provide a forum for the most recent research into the political, social, religious and cultural history of the fifteenth century in Britain and Europe', the *Fifteenth Century XIII* fulfils its brief well. Eight of the pieces were delivered at Fifteenth Century conferences at Winchester and Christ Church, Oxford, and if there is little overall coherence in subject matter to the volume, certain themes can be teased out, as the semi-alliterative title suggests, and the essays follow these themes in turn. All but the last two pieces are rooted in detailed documentary research, while the latter, by Martin Allen and Christopher Dyer, survey larger economic topics and problems.

Although Simon Payling, in conclusion to his piece on 'The will of Ralph, Lord Cromwell', bemoans the fact that the surviving accounts of the executors do not allow a final accounting of revenue or expenditure, he has done a fine job in meticulously reconstructing not just the financial details, but the intricacies of the legal shenanigans that accompanied them. Briefly rehearsing the troubled final stages of Cromwell's political career, Payling demonstrates both Cromwell's wealth and the fragility of his accumulated landed estate. While he was able to secure (generally) his tenure of particular manors purchased or otherwise acquired during his lifetime, his executors were plunged

into difficulty through legal challenges and by the demands placed upon them by Cromwell's ambitious plans, but were, somewhat surprisingly, successful in the establishment of the great collegiate church at Tattershall.

Matthew Ward's nicely illustrated piece focuses on the uses of livery collars in the fifteenth century. Distribution was restricted by legislation to the royal family after legislation early in Henry IV's reign, and this is reflected in the 'virtual monopoly of royal livery collars of SS and suns and roses on church monuments', of which more than 400 examples survive. While frequently reflecting a gift by the king to a favoured individual in the expectation of service and support, Ward challenges the assumption that ownership of a Lancastrian or Yorkist collar as depicted on a tomb necessarily reflected the political conviction of the deceased, particularly using a case study from Derbyshire, noting the wearers' general abstention from military conflict and national politics.

Christian Steer's short piece focusses on the unusually numerous collection of aristocratic tombs in the parish church of St. James Garlickhithe, London. While, as he eloquently puts it, London was a city of the dead as well as the living, the nobility buried in the capital (rather than family mausolea in the shires) were usually interred in monastic houses rather than parish churches. Yet among the deceased residents of St. James Garlickhithe were a number of the Stanley family and an unnamed countess of Huntingdon, whom Steer has already identified as Katherine, illegitimate daughter of Richard III (*The Ricardian*, 2014)

David Harry's article sits in the crowded field of the culture of the late medieval commemoration of the dead in general and the works of William Caxton in particular, but finds a new interpretative angle. Focussing not on Caxton's mercantile origins or commercial activities but on his work printing books of religious edification (approximately one-third of his output), Harry uses Caxton's own words to argue that these works were acts of charity and for the common profit. While this is a welcome focus on a less-studied aspect of Caxton's activities, one wonders if there is not too great a distinction drawn between his commercial activities and his attempts at spiritual edification 'not only of his readership but the entire nation' (p. 75)

Euan Roger explores the way that hospitals might flourish in the fifteenth century, even within the crowded spiritual marketplace of London. Under the lengthy mastership of John Wakeryng (1423-66), the hospital of St Bartholomew was able to expand its property portfolio, a result, perhaps, of longer term strategies and continuities possible with one individual as master, though Roger questions the level of his personal involvement in all this business. Exploring also the hospital's educational provision, and the residents and tenants of the hospital, which was particularly appealing to widows and lawyers, Roger depicts a flourishing institution, and one that produced a number of extant cartularies, including one with brief annals of the post conquest kings of England, printed as an appendix.

Sheila Sweetinburgh focusses on another medieval hospital, this time St Lawrence's in Canterbury. Ranging widely, and rather riskily, in space and time, to find comparative material and historiographical approaches Sweetinburgh argues that the compilation of three registers was 'concurrent' with an outbreak of civic tension between St Augustine's abbey and the civic authorities of Canterbury in 1436, and that this allows us to investigate the construction of a corporate identity. While an authoritative discussion of the contents of the documents, the connection with 1436 is undermined by the fact that Sweetinburgh notes (p. 118) that two of the registers were created early in the fifteenth century, and the third cannot be precisely dated, and this in turn might change the emphasis in the process of the construction of an institutional identity.

Focussing on the records of the royal administration rather than those of religious institutions themselves, Maureen Jurkowski looks at the clerical taxation records from 1406 and 1449 to show that some of the critics of the friars in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries may have had a case in one area of criticism. While only a minority of friars (specified in an appendix) appear in the surviving records, their very appearance there indicate the receipt of salaries, probably mainly through acting as mass priests, and indicates some deviation from their founding purpose of living from begging and gifts.

Susanne Jenks's article on general pardons takes a detailed look at a source neglected for the fifteenth century at least. Focussing on the exceptions to the pardons, she traces how late fourteenth century pardons exempted certain serious crimes (usually murder and rape) and certain groups (often named political offenders). By the mid-fifteenth century, all exceptions were gone and remained absent until the pardon issued by Henry VII in 1485. However Jenks argues that paradoxically the lack of exceptions allowed more discretion to presenting juries – a subject about which we still know so little – and also acted as an encouragement to private prosecutions, which could still be brought. There is an appendix containing a list of general pardons covering treason between 1399 and 1502.

Martin Allen's article on 'The English crown and the coinage, 1399-1485' provides a sound survey of the king's coinage and royal policy towards it. Briefly summarising the senior officials of the King's mints, who were usually political appointments and subject to replacement at times of political upheaval, the generally small contribution of the mints and exchanges to the royal coffers, the frequently insular and reactionary attitudes of successive parliaments to foreign merchants, foreign coins and to recoinage, and royal efforts to clamp down on clipping and counterfeiting, Allen traces the crown's involvement with the coinage, and emphasises the limits to royal control.

Arguing that 'a fresh overview of the fifteenth-century English economy needs no justification' (p. 201) as the debate about its character has not been resolved, Christopher Dyer produces a fine survey of England's economy while constructing a nuanced critique of the 'gloomy' view of the fifteenth century

situation. Dyer argues that while there is no doubt the economy shrank, we should ‘recognize the positive and long term dimensions of structural change’ (p. 225), and succinctly discusses the quantitative and qualitative evidence from recent historical research across almost every area of economic history, while allowing for comparison across time and with England’s northern European neighbours.

Dyer’s excellent piece rounds off the collection in a very pleasing fashion. The volume is nicely produced, with a comprehensive index and a helpful list of the contents of the previous twelve volumes in the series.

JAMES ROSS

THE COURTLY AND COMMERCIAL ART OF THE WYCLIFFITE BIBLE. Kathleen E. Kennedy. 2014. *Medieval Church Studies* 35. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, €75.00. ISBN 978-2-503-54752-7

It is now more than thirty years since Ian Doyle noted that many surviving copies of the Wycliffite translation of the Bible were highly-decorated professional products of fifteenth-century London workshops – a surprising revelation in view of the volume’s status as a forbidden text under ecclesiastical legislation promulgated in 1409. If scholars have been slow to follow up on Doyle’s observation, it is undoubtedly due to the sheer number of surviving manuscripts of this most popular of all English medieval texts. With 259 extant copies of whole and partial Bibles spread far and wide throughout the world (listed here in an appendix), an examination of even a significant portion had proved difficult logistically until the recent digital revolution, and even now some copies remain unavailable electronically. The author of the present monograph – the first to appear on the subject – has viewed the originals or digital surrogates of ninety percent of those illuminated (i.e., those decorated with pigment rather than ink alone) and seventy percent of all copies. She does not aspire to comprehensive coverage, therefore, but explores a few broad themes and dispels some common assumptions.

For the benefit of non-specialists Kennedy spends the first chapter describing the ‘elegant apparatus’ of Wycliffite Bible decoration, which seeks to frame the textual divisions of this highly-structured text and distinguish key sections with more elevated decoration, thereby allowing readers to navigate their way through it with ease. This decoration takes the form of illuminated and flourished ink initials and bar borders of foliate and other motifs, of varying elaboration, using gold leaf and a variety of coloured pigments. It is through close comparison of these decorated initials and borders that the individual styles of the workshops of particular artists can be detected, following the methodology established by Kathleen Scott. Full page miniatures of figural art are extremely rare in Wycliffite Bibles, as one might expect, given the Lollard objection to the worship of devotional images, but Kennedy makes

the point that they were also out of fashion in the similarly-decorated contemporary Vulgate Bibles. Only about forty percent of the 259 extant manuscripts containing all or part(s) of the Wycliffite Bible were illuminated, and these were of varying professional standards.

A number of the high-end examples she attributes to a workshop of continentally influenced artists known as the 'Followers of the Corpus Master' – that is, of the artist who executed the famous frontispiece to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* in which Chaucer reads to a noble audience (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61, f. 1v) – and others to a later group of imitators of the 'Followers'. She detects the style of the 'Followers' also in more modest 'down market' copies, featuring less luxurious, but stylistically similar, design motifs. A whole chapter is devoted to the related theme of professional production of 'booklets' of individual and groups of biblical books often found together, such as the gospels and epistles, the Apocalypse and the Old Testament books of Job and Tobit. Contradicting the common supposition that these were generally amateur productions, she argues that some were written by scribes and offered by stationers 'on spec', rather than commissioned by patrons, and were later bound together with other biblical or religious texts. She also maintains that professional production of Wycliffite Bibles was not restricted to London; provincial copies continued to be made throughout the century and she identifies, on stylistic grounds, examples produced in Oxford and Norwich.

The book's long final and, arguably, most interesting chapter explores the renewal, reuse and recycling of Wycliffite biblical manuscripts and texts throughout the fifteenth century, throwing up some surprises and incongruities. A prime example of adaptation was the appropriation of the Wycliffite translation of the Psalms in sixteen of the seventeen surviving Books of Hours in English, a phenomenon examined by Kennedy more closely in a *Speculum* (2013) article. A religious miscellany owned in the 1470s by John Vale, servant of the London mayor Sir Thomas Cook, also used the psalter text. Owners of Wycliffite Bibles occasionally added their own illustrations, the most curious one described here being an iconographically complex sketch of the eucharistic Man of Sorrows – a decidedly Catholic image – appended to the end of a New Testament owned by Sir Thomas Peverel (Bodleian MS Douce 240).

While readers of *The Ricardian* will perhaps be disappointed to find no discussion of Richard III's (unilluminated) Wycliffite New Testament, they may be amused to discover that Henry VII, who had a penchant for acquiring second-hand books, purchased an early manuscript of the Wycliffite Bible and, somewhat bafflingly, had the polemical first chapter of the General Prologue copied into it, just as Henry VI had done with his Wycliffite Bible, marking it out as a controversial volume. These monarchs naturally had nothing to fear from censorship laws, but neither, apparently, did the majority of owners and producers of these popular texts, which clearly had a broad appeal to heretical and orthodox Christians alike. To explain this popularity Kennedy coins the

term, perhaps unnecessarily, of the ‘hospitable text’ which ‘allows for readers to come to the text from any position, even from many positions’ (p. 14).

With other Wycliffite Bible investigations in progress, this book will not be the last word on the subject, but it is a brave foray into the field, supporting its arguments with fifty-eight photographs and providing references throughout to digital images available online (URLs listed in an appendix). Since many of the author’s assertions rely on stylistic evidence, the validity of which readers may want to test, these references are important. Generally well written, the book is a provocative exploration of a long-neglected topic that should interest both art historians and historians of fifteenth-century religion.

MAUREEN JURKOWSKI

MEDIEVAL YORK 600-1540. D.M. Palliser. 2014. Oxford University Press, Oxford, £45.00. ISBN 978-0-19-925584-9

Students of urban history will be delighted with this new book on medieval York which neatly summaries over 900 years of history into 301 pages of text. Much has been written on the city’s archaeology, history, art and drama, religion and identity, and on its development but, as the author notes, ‘satisfactory overviews are few’ (p. vi). This book sets out to bring together new research on medieval York and to place it in context with other medieval cities by reflecting on what made this northern city so different from other urban centres in the Middle Ages. Palliser succinctly and neatly achieves this.

The introduction is commendable and explains the location, place, regional influences and the importance of the site and geography of the area. The book is organised chronologically beginning with the Roman city of Eboracum and ending in the years of Henry VIII’s Reformation of the English Church. The centuries under Roman, Viking and Norman rule provide a window into the development of the city and the challenges it faced with themes explored within each of these ‘time-bands’. Readers of the *The Ricardian* will be particularly interested in chapters 6 and 7. The former, ‘A golden age? 1349-*c.* 1450’, contains a useful discussion on the relationship between York and the crown in the period leading up to the Wars of the Roses: Richard II’s heavy taxation during the 1390s, the city’s support of Henry of Bolingbroke’s claim to the throne and York’s later change of heart with the new Lancastrian regime in the 1403 revolt, remind us that civic loyalties could change. But in spite of their archbishop’s execution, this was a momentary blip with the new Lancastrian regime. Peaceful relations between crown and city endured for almost half a century and are perhaps best demonstrated by the magnificent choir screen in the Minster showing the line of kings from William the Conqueror to the Lancastrian kings thus displaying dynastic legitimacy and their right of succession. Politics was but one strand of York’s history in the fifteenth century

and an economic turning point in about 1430-50 saw an increasing dominance in trade by London merchants with harvest failures in 1438-40 and epidemic leading to a mid-century economic recession.

Chapter 7 on “‘Great ruin and extreme decay’: c. 1450-c. 1540’ pursues this theme of economic slump and how it played a part in creating civil war. The conflict between the Nevilles and Percys is well known. But we are reminded that the declining revenue from estates with a weak monarch fuelled such rivalries and land-grabbing actions even further and, as Palliser remarks, it was no ‘coincidence that civil war began in Yorkshire’ (p. 241). It was this mini-war, involving the citizens of York and their mayor, which triggered a collapse of law and order throughout Yorkshire. It is the seven pages within this chapter, sub-headed ‘Turbulence and civil wars: 1453-89’ which tell Ricardians more on the city and their Yorkist kings. We are reminded of Duke Richard of York’s severed head set on Micklegate Bar which was unfortunately left there for his conquering son to witness when Edward IV entered the city in 1461. The mixed view of the young king by York and his indifference to the city is perhaps, therefore, not surprising. But, as we know, it was his brother, as duke of Gloucester, using his Neville estates in the north who earned the loyalty of York by lobbying his brother on their behalf. Richard’s own brief reign and plans for a magnificent chantry college served by a hundred priests are summarised perhaps all too briefly for his devoted fans, but for the purpose of this book the last Plantagenet’s devotion from the people of York is eloquently expressed. York’s loyalty to Richard III meant that the suspicions and insecurities of Henry Tudor towards the city remained well into his reign.

The book is highly readable with excellent maps and accompanied by a selection of eighteen black and white plates. It is well written and nicely organised and exemplifies how to take new research and new ideas and present them in an important contribution to urban studies, which is most welcome.

CHRISTIAN STEER

LINCOLNSHIRE PARISH CLERGY, c. 1214-1968: A Biographical Register. Part I: The Deaneries of Aslaoe and Aveland. Nicholas Bennett. Lincoln Record Society, volume 103, 2013. Available from Boydell & Brewer Ltd, Woodbridge, £30. ISBN 978-0-901503-96-1

Lincolnshire’s agricultural wealth has never served to yield a major history of the county, and researchers venture into the county’s past at their peril. The Victoria County History has published no topographical volumes for Lincolnshire. The Lincolnshire Record Society stands almost alone in its provision of signposts for the local historian. The county’s parishes are remarkably numerous (‘some 700 churches and parochial chapels’ in the whole diocese in 1914), and it is a particularly courageous venture that Nicholas

Bennett has embarked on in this, the first of what will surely be a ten-volume (or longer) series.

Bennett is intending to publish accounts of all the incumbents of the county's parish churches, from earliest times down to the 1960s. Lincolnshire's eight archdeaconries comprised twenty-six rural deaneries, and in the volume under review he has tackled two deaneries, made up of forty-three parishes. For each parish he has worked through a vast range of sources, manuscript as well as printed; the diocese has what is surely the fullest set of episcopal registers and cognate records in England, and he has used these to the full. His task has been made harder by the fact that nearly three-quarters of the county's parish churches were in the hands of religious houses – and mostly relatively minor and ill-documented ones at that. From the Tudor period onwards, however, he has been able to produce what become fuller and fuller entries for the careers of the parish clergy: he presents a vast amount of information in a compressed but entirely comprehensible format, and with clear references.

The churches in these two deaneries were not rich plums for careerist clergy, and the fact that so many of the churches had been appropriated to religious houses (with the result that the cure of souls passed to a vicar who had to make do with perhaps a third of the tithes) must have meant that the calibre of the clergy suffered. It is striking that while a considerable number of the clergy were *magistri* (university graduates) in the thirteenth century, such men were then rare until the later sixteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Durham Cathedral Priory and Balliol College Oxford were exceptional in presenting scholars and men of distinction to their two parishes, of Blyborough and Fillingham respectively. Nor did the clergy's circumstances necessarily improve in modern times. Bennett quotes the comment made by a bishop of Lincoln in 1919 about the then rector of Pickworth: 'Mr St John Wright looks old, haggard & unhappy: lower teeth broken, & face without hope or brightness. I am afraid that all his life he has been repelling Poverty'. Wealthy incumbents were rare in these parts of the county, and the few exceptions stand out – one such being the Hon. Henry Cust, rector of his family's living of Scott Willoughby from 1805 to 1861. He was technically non-resident, preferring to live in a mansion of his own in the parish, but he restored the church and gave it historic furnishings obtained from the Continent, including a pulpit (1559) from Antwerp.

For anyone preparing a book that lists the post-medieval parish clergy (including the years from 1540 to 1835) there is today an elephant in the room in the shape of the 'Clergy of the Church of England' database. Comparison of sample parishes in Bennett's book with the database shows a reassuringly close correlation of details. The database only rarely adds to Bennett's information (one exception being the precise date of institution of Frederick Gildart as rector of Spridlington St Hilary, to which he had presented himself: this is given merely as 1822 by Bennett, but as 12 July 1822 in the database). The database does however have one advantage over Bennett's survey: it aims to include

information about curates. Quite understandably, Bennett generally ignores these workhorses, although he does sometimes provide skeletal notes on them (see the rather minimal entries for Coates-by-Stow and Sempringham, but fuller ones for Harpswell and Hemswell).

Overall, and within his self-imposed limits, Bennett's work is outstanding. I detected not a single error of the proof-reading sort, and mistakes are rare indeed. (An exception would be the way in which he presents the names of successive members of the Lumley Saunderson, later Lumley Savile family, patrons of Glentworth.) One puts down this book wishing occasionally for a little more (better maps, and perhaps some indication of the relative financial value of each living, for instance); but one is also left with a feeling of admiration for such a fine start to what promises to be a notable series of volumes.

NIGEL RAMSAY

JOHN SKELTON: The Career of an Early Tudor Poet. John Scattergood. 2014. Four Courts Press, Dublin, £45.00. ISBN 978-1-84682-337-4

As John Scattergood writes, 'Reliable biographical details about Skelton are scanty ...' (p. 275) and later, 'There are frequent gaps in Skelton's biography ...' (p. 393). For this reason the choice of subtitle, emphasising 'career' rather than 'life', was a wise one for, apart from a few documentary references, it is through his poetry that we can learn most about the man. As a consequence this book, while recording the scarce known facts about Skelton, is organised sequentially around his *oeuvre*. Created laureate by three universities – Oxford, c. 1490, Louvain, c. 1492 and Cambridge, 1493 – by 1512 he was referring to himself as 'orator regius'; this was after his return to London or Westminster, following his time spent as rector of Diss in Norfolk, which had begun in 1503 when Henry VIII acceded to the throne. Having been tutor to the young Henry, he seems to have found himself underused at Diss and, although he remained rector there until his death on 21 June 1529, there is no evidence that he returned to Norfolk. He is recorded as living within the sanctuary at Westminster 'in an apartment "south of the great Belfrey"' on 8 August 1518 (Scattergood: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*) and it is probable that he lived out his days there. He was buried with full ceremony at the church of St Margaret's, Westminster (also the burial place of William Caxton, who had been first to praise his poetic skills in the preface to his *Eneydos*).

Within the chronological framework, beginning with Skelton's earliest known poem, 'Upon the Dolorous Dethe and Muche Lamentable Chaunce of the Mooste Honourable Erle of Northumberlande' – commemorating the murder of Henry Percy, the fourth Earl in 1489, to his last, 'A Replycacion Agaynst Certayne Yong Scolers Abjured of Late' (printed probably in 1528), Scattergood accomplishes a literary-critical *tour de force*. His analysis of the

poems is subtle, wide-ranging and rigorous, supplemented by an impressive amount of bibliographical detail. Works which are notoriously difficult to decode, such as the anti-Wolsey satire, ‘Speke, Parott’, are explicated with lucidity and elegance, while the seemingly esoteric so-called ‘Grammarians’ War’ of 1519-21, in the course of which Skelton aligned himself with the traditionalist teachers of Latin, led by Robert Whittinton, is rendered both comprehensible and interesting. Reading through the book becomes a breathless exploration of the diverse worlds of court, city and country, with poems such as the early but uncertainly dated ‘Bowge of Court’ documenting the insecurities and paranoia of life close to royalty, contrasting with the raucous account ‘rooted in the actualities of sixteenth-century English provincial life’ (p. 219) of the ale-wife ‘Elynour Rummynge’. Throughout there is a detailed and informative concentration on the different verse forms (and languages) employed by Skelton, and the account of the ‘Skeltonic’ (*passim*) is especially helpful.

There is much useful information on those manuscripts surviving which contain copies of Skelton’s poems, from Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 813 with its extracts from ‘Why Come Ye Not to Courte’, compiled either by or for Humphrey Welles of Staffordshire, who had connections with the court, to British Library MS Harley 2252, the compilation of John Colyns, mercer and bookseller of London, who copied out versions of ‘Speke, Parott’ and its anti-Wolsey companion piece, ‘Collyn Cloute’. There is also some intriguing evidence presented as to the patronage which may have been enjoyed by Skelton. The poem lamenting the death of Henry Percy gives one example and another is *The Garlande of Laurell*, seemingly conceived in 1495 but added to over a number of years until its publication in 1523. The ostensible origins of the poem lie in a celebration of Skelton’s laureation organised at Sheriff Hutton castle in Yorkshire by Elizabeth Tylney Howard, Countess of Surrey, with a number of her female friends and verses celebrate each of these women in turn as they embroider a laurel crown for the poet, although at least some of these would seem to pre-date 1495 (p. 356). By the time of publication, however, it had become ‘rather a retrospective review of a lengthy career spent on poetry, and an attempt at justifying that career’ (p. 357). The Howard circle was, though, evidently important to Skelton. But some questions as to patronage remain. ‘Phyllyp Sparowe’, for instance, first printed by Richard Kele in c. 1545 and which does not survive in manuscript, is a mock-elegy ostensibly voicing Jane Scrope’s sorrow at the death of her pet sparrow, while she was resident with her mother and sisters at Carrow Abbey in Norwich. Scattergood does not, however, attempt to explain how this poem could have come about, although it may be of relevance that it was composed (again over a period of time) while Skelton was at Diss.

The production of the volume is handsome, but it seems apposite to mention a couple of shortcomings, as they occur to this reviewer. It would, for instance, have added to the volume’s attractiveness (and probably cost) if the illustrations – of woodcuts from printed editions of the poems, Skelton’s

holograph of his 'Lawde and Prayse Made for Our Sovereigne Lord the Kyng' (1509) and his signature – had been printed on photographic paper. And from a more pragmatic point of view, a complete bibliography at the end of the volume would have simplified the process of tracking down references. I have also noted some errors in the Index of Manuscripts. But these are minor points and do not detract from the importance of this volume which, accompanied by a revised edition of Scattergood's edition of the complete English poems, will undoubtedly become an essential tool for the understanding of this most enigmatic and skilful of England's poets.

CAROL M. MEALE

THE COURT ROLL OF THE MANOR OF WAKEFIELD FROM 19 OCTOBER 1436 TO 6 SEPTEMBER 1437. Calendared by Constance M. Fraser, and edited by Brian J. Barber. Wakefield Court Rolls Volume 15 (2014). Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds, £20 plus p&cp. ISBN 978-1903564-27-1

The Yorkshire Archaeological Society has been publishing the surviving rolls of the manor of Wakefield, of which remarkably there is an almost complete run from 1322 to 1925, since 1901. By 1944 twenty rolls covering the years between 1274 and 1331 had been published. After a hiatus of three decades publication was resumed in 1974, since when a further seventeen volumes have been published as the Wakefield Court Rolls series, covering twenty-eight years between 1331 and 1813. Constance Fraser was involved in editing seven of these volumes, concentrating recently on the mid 1430s. The volume, published posthumously, is a fitting memorial to Dr Fraser, general editor of the series for almost thirty years, who died in 2013. It includes a brief biography and select bibliography of a historian who contributed greatly to the publication of record sources for the history of Yorkshire and north-eastern England.

The structure of the administration, the functions of the court and roles of its officers are explained in an introduction written by Brian Barber. Wakefield was a lesser liberty, in two parts, in the mid and upper sections of the Calder valley. As a result of subinfeudation, half was held by tenants in fee who owed twice yearly suit at the great court, or court leet, and the other part, still held in hand was subject to three weekly manorial courts. We find tenants coming into the court to take up their customary tenancies by copyhold, for which they paid entry fines. In November 1436 John Dugthy entered the property lately belonging to his namesake, the late vicar of Sandal. The following May he was sued by Robert Boile, the late vicar's nephew, who claimed to be the right heir. The case was referred to a jury of twelve good and lawful tenants to determine the truth. In the next court they found for Boile.

Tenants are amerced for non-attendance, for debt, for blocking public rights of way and failing to scour watercourses, and for breaking the assizes of bread and ale. In Wakefield a particular offence was holding a 'helpale', which one

would like to think was the fifteenth-century equivalent of a rave, but unfortunately the otherwise useful glossary refers the reader to volume 15 for the meaning. Men are presented for affray – a bloody brawl took place at Emley on feast of Trinity, 3 June 1436, involving seven men (spilling out of an ale house after a helpale?); women for scolding. Alice Thornhill and the unnamed wife of John Whitlaw of Ossett, when beyond abusing each other verbally went on to a fight in which each drew the other's blood.

Taking timber and poaching, the offences of vert and venison, were a constant problem in the many woods and parks. Wood, especially holly, was taken for cattle feed and underwood for fuel. So frequent was the occurrence and regular were the amercements that one suspects that amercing acted as a licensing system. Not so with poaching of deer, especially if a greyhound was used (contrary to the statute of 1390). One dog lent to poachers was confiscated in May 1436. Kippers, or salmon out of season, were taken illegally from the rivers. This was nothing compared with the rustling of nineteen head of cattle by a gang of relatively well off-men, who had the misfortune to be caught, in December 1436.

Not only is justice seen to be administered communally, and apparently effectively and quickly, within the liberty, but also aspects of rural life are laid bare. One year provides but a snapshot. Court rolls are most valuable for economic and social history where they survive in sequences allowing changes and developments to be explored. Thus a good use of this volume would be in association with volume 15, published in 2011, giving a run of the Wakefield rolls for four years. But for full value a longer run is needed. Thus we find that the lease of the new Mill at Sandal was renewed for ten years at a rent of £8. Earlier court rolls and those for 1446-7 and later would hopefully reveal whether the rent was increasing or in decline.

Wakefield was, of course a lordship of the house of York. Richard of York entered the estate in 1434. He personally had little to do with its administration. In October 1436 the possession of a tenancy lately held by John of Norton which had been referred by the court to the duke's council, was confirmed to his son and heir Simon. The duke's council (for Wakefield) is named: Mr Robert Beaumont the supervisor, Thomas Willoughby the auditor, John Harrington the steward (who presided over the Great Courts) and Richard Wentworth. It is in respect of the house of York that one understandable slip occurs in the introduction, where the Christian name of the second duke of York who died at Agincourt is given as Richard, rather than Edward.

This is a clearly presented translation, supported by three indexes (personal names, place names, and subjects). The volume and others in the series are invaluable for local history. Court rolls in general do not illuminate political history. However, the rolls for 1470-71, when Edward IV as the returning duke of York failed to gather much support in the lordship and for 1476-78 when the lordship was wracked by the Pilkington/Saville feud, might reveal evidence

of particular interest to Ricardians. Let us hope that these are on the list of future publications.

A.J. POLLARD

HERALDS AND HERALDRY IN SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND.

Edited by Nigel Ramsay. 2014. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £40.00 (hbk).

ISBN 978-1-907730-35-1

The period from the mid sixteenth century to the beginning of the Civil Wars in Charles I's reign was a golden age for heralds and heraldry. Heraldic arms and devices were displayed publicly with an exuberance which may have been occasionally approached in earlier generations (at the Field of the Cloth of Gold or various tournaments in Henry VIII's reign, for instance, or at the marriage of the future Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Margaret of York in Bruges in 1468 and at the famous *Pas d'armes* organized in the lands of the Valois dukes) but surely never so insistently, ubiquitously and frequently as many essays in this handsomely produced and profusely illustrated volume reveal. Nor was it simply a matter of physical appearance, the occurrence of armorial bearings to decorate the residences of the rich and powerful, their tombs and mausolea, and virtually every item of their household furnishings or personal belongings, customary behaviour that lesser families and most who aspired to gentility also tried to imitate according to their means (Richard Cust, 'Heraldry and the Gentry Community in Shakespeare's England'; Tara Hamling, "'Wanting Arms": Heraldic Decoration in Lesser Houses'), even if they sometimes had to invent (or get heralds to authenticate) spurious genealogies.

Statistics on the ambitions of the socially-climbing non-armigerous are well set out in Clive Cheesman, Richmond herald's essay ('Grants and Confirmations of Arms'), confirming the first three decades of Elizabeth I's reign and the second decade of James I's reign as the peak periods for the granting of arms with between 465 and 525 granted per decade (cf. 20 in 1480s, 50 in the 1520s, and 125 under the Commonwealth). The contemporary concern with genealogy and pedigree (which had always been important to the nobility and gentry because of the legal implications of the differing successorial rights of males and females), is brilliantly illuminated by Sir John Baker's magisterial account ('Tudor Pedigree Rolls and Their Uses'). This draws not only on the rich archival resources of the College of Arms and some county record offices, but also on a remarkable collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pedigrees which he himself has been able to amass. How 'a viewer was able to identify the descent, rank, connections and power of individuals and families' is also well-demonstrated by the examples chosen by Karen Hearn ('Heraldry in Tudor and Jacobean Portraits'). These pictures can display either a complete blazon or simply devices such as Sir Thomas Gresham's merchant's mark or Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's armorial finger-

ring as indicators of status. As Beatrice Groves ('Heraldic Language and Identity in Shakespeare's Plays') and Kathryn Wills ('Literary and Dramatic Heraldry') explain, an understanding of the technical language of armory was shared and cleverly exploited by contemporary writers and dramatists of genius most notably Shakespeare himself (recipient of a renewal of the grant of arms originally made to his father), but also his rivals Marlowe and Jonson. Much of it thus entered into common parlance and discourse, whilst, perhaps partly as a reaction to this popularization, the desire for more recondite symbolism led some individuals to imitate the Italian vogue for *impresa*, with bafflingly obscure imagery, allusions and mottoes for the ignorant and ill-informed (Alan R. Young, 'Heraldry and Alternate Emblematic Forms in the Age of Shakespeare').

At the same time, in 1555, the heralds, which as all Ricardians know, were given their first charter by Richard III, but were then deprived of Coldharbour, the house which he had given them by his successor, were incorporated as a College and given a permanent residence, Derby House (now in Queen Victoria Street), that still serves as the home of the College of Arms. This allowed them to preserve their own records as the practice of visitation began to develop (Adrian Ailes, "'A herald, Kate? O put me in thy books": Shakespeare, the Herald's Visitations, and a new Visitation Address'). They also accumulated a library containing an unrivalled collection of other records illustrating the granting, usage and supervision of arms to the present day not only in Britain and the Commonwealth but (as the Afterword by Peter O'Donoghue, York herald, briefly but authoritatively shows) in former colonies, of which the United States is the most pre-eminent. A sense of collegiality hesitantly emerged, though it was a long and fraught process since professional rivalries between individual heralds often bitterly divided their small, exclusive company (a 'discordant and unco-operative group of men', p. 85); that between Garter and the other Kings of Arms, Clarenceux and Norroy, being frequently the most divisive to the despair of successive Earls Marshal and their deputies (Simon Adams, 'The Herald's and the Elizabethan Court: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester as Deputy Earl Marshal'; Nigel Ramsay, 'William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant'). This latter fascinating chapter on a man who for twenty years combined his English heraldic, cartographic and chorographical interests with a mercantile career in Nuremberg, concludes with a critical edition by Anne Payne of Smith's autograph MS, now like so much other Elizabethan heraldic material in the Folger Library, Washington DC, a 'Treatise on the causes of discord among the officers of arms, and the abuses committed by arms-painters, addressed to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, commissioner for the office of the Earl Marshal' of 1606. Examples of the heraldic solecisms perpetrated by those whose job it was to meet the general demand for representations of arms in all their many forms ('Abuses committed by Painters of Coaches, Marblers, Glasiers, Embrotherers, and Gravers of Sealls') are witheringly and pedantically set out. The ceremonial for the burial in 1597 at Macclesfield of Sir John Savage, lieutenant of the county

and city of Chester, arranged by a pseudo-herald, attracts Rouge Dragon's particular ire; the gentlemen of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire duped into paying out considerable sums of money by the same man or other heraldic charlatans are also listed in the tract. As for ceremonies arranged by *bona fide* heralds, funerals, now one of their principal and most lucrative functions, like that of Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby, from the preliminaries at Lathom Hall, his vast manor house where he died, to his interment in Ormskirk church in 1572, unusually attended by all three kings of arms and Lancaster herald, provides the *leitmotiv* for Roger Kuin's detailed account ('Colours of Continuity: The Heraldic Funeral').

In sum, a short review can do scant justice to this rich and rewarding set of essays, beautifully presented with illustrations at appropriate points of the text, footnotes in their proper place and a good array of additional references in a concluding bibliography of 'Further Reading'. Skilfully edited and ordered to provide a good overall social and political context for understanding the demand for heraldic services, the varied (and often very substantial) contributions help chart the fortunes of the College of Arms at a formative stage and the scholarly and professional achievements of its members during our first heroic Antiquarian age from Holinshed and Camden to Dugdale and Dodsworth. It was indeed a Golden Age, the passing of which Dugdale anxiously anticipated as he made his way around as much of the country as he could in the summers of 1640 and 1641 with William Sedgwick, genealogist and arms painter, recording as many heraldic monuments as they were able to do, rightly fearing the imminent destruction of many of them in the impending civil wars.

MICHAEL JONES

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

Antoine de La Sale, *Jean de Saintré. A Late Medieval Education in Love and Chivalry*, translated by Roberta L. Krueger and Jane H.M. Taylor. Pages xxv and 235. 2014. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, £39 (cloth and e-book).

ISBN 978-0-8122-4586-8

Very readable translation of the most famous and most frequently edited prose romance of fifteenth-century France. Full of contemporary social and spiritual advice, court ceremony, tournaments, heraldry and other details of aristocratic daily life. Unusually for 'novels' of the period the love affair that is the *Leitmotiv* of the story turns sour at the end, when the lady becomes involved with a handsome abbot; the eponymous protagonist, however, remains the perfect knight. Introduction, notes, glossary and bibliography.

John Maddicott, *Founders and Fellowship. Early History of Exeter College, 1314-1592*. 2014. xix and 353 pages. Oxford University Press, £75 (hardback).

ISBN 978-019968-951-4

Founded by a bishop of Exeter, the college was bound to the diocese constitutionally, but its strong West Country connections had loosened by the Yorkist period. The author covers the government, way of life, and finances of the college under a rector (notable successes included William Palmer from Exeter, 1425-32, who built a tower which still stands) with one official called the manciple. The college was not rich but managed to enlarge its endowment in the 1470s with the Cornish church of Menheniot and Peyntour's Hall in Oxford. It also taught undergraduates by this date.

Louise M. Sylvester, Mark C. Chambers and Gale R. Owen Croker, editors, *Medieval Dress and Textiles in Britain. A Multilingual Sourcebook*. 2014. 432 pages. Illustrated. Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60.

ISBN 978-1-84383-932-3

Edited texts including wills, accounts, inventories, romances and legislation, from the Anglo-Saxon period to c. 1470. Introduction.

Jennifer Ward, editor and translator, *Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (1295-1360). Household and Other Records*. Suffolk Records Society, volume 57, 2014. Printed by the Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £25 to non-members of the Suffolk Record Society. ISBN 978-1-84383-3

One of the most famous of the ancestresses of the house of York, this book contains a selection of the vast archive of Elizabeth de Burgh. These include a wardrobe and household account for 1339-40; accounts concerning the building and repair of Clare Castle; accounts of food, hospitality and travel; records concerning her lands including the an account of the receiver of the manor of Clare 1336-37; details of her almsgiving, interest in education (she founded Clare College Cambridge) and some of her letters including one on the defence of the realm in 1360. Her long will is given in full. Introduction, glossary and indexes. Illustrated

Graeme J. White, *The Medieval English Landscape, 1000-1540*. 2012. 297 pages. Illustrated. Bloomsbury Academic, London and New York, £19.99 (pbk).

ISBN 978-144113-525-4

Wide coverage including the effects of hunting, towns and villages, religious buildings, defence systems, road building as well as the natural landscape of marsh, woods and agricultural uses. Also deals with the effects of population changes, new technology, and the different preoccupations of lords and local workers of the land.

ARTICLES

Amy Appleford, 'The good death of Richard Whittington: corpse and corporation', in *The Ends of the Body. Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*, edited Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Jill Ross, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo and London 2013, pages 86-109.

Re-examination of the death of Whittington as depicted in the scene of his deathbed which illustrates the translated ordinances for his Almshouse. Examines motivation, author and audience of this translation and in particular the role of John Carpenter and his incorporation of the Whittington estate.

Sally Badham and Geoff Blacker, 'The Pudsay family of Bolton-by-Bowland and their monuments', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, volume 86, 2014, pages 138-68.

Sir Ralph Pudsay (d. 1468) rebuilt much of the church; his son John (d. 1492) gave bells, and the Pudsay chapel was added by his grandson Henry (d. 1520; married a Conyers). Sir Ralph's parents were Sir John (d. 1422-23) and Margaret Eure. Ralph was knighted 1449 and sheltered Henry VI at Bolton Hall after the

battle of Hexham. His first wife was a Tempest by whom he had six children, and his second a Tunstall of Thurland (d. 1485) by whom he had seventeen children. The monuments date from 1468 to 1659 and are of varied forms, all described and illustrated.

Ann Bowtell, 'Priors and canons of Elsyngspital, 1350-1536', *Medieval Prosopography*, volume 28 (2013), pages 61-104.

A house of Augustinian canons, St Mary within Cripplegate or Elsyngspital, as it became known, was founded as a hospital to care for the sick. It began with four canons and a prior, and grew to have about ten canons in the later fifteenth century, to afford separate quarters for the prior, enjoy a large library, and operate more as an almshouse than a hospital, with lay sisters carrying out any nursing duties. This is a detailed study of the twelve priors and approximately 180 canons whose names survive, with an analysis of their backgrounds and recruitment of novices, lack of university education, ages, proportion of priests, and the duty of daily services and of cure of souls, e.g. for the appropriated church of St Mary Aldermanbury, and the inclusion of canons in the wills of Londoners and receipt of bequests. The priors are largely known through their necessary engagement in property and financial transactions and legal disputes, such as the on-going dispute with the adjacent parish of St Alphege. A period of indebtedness had more or less ended by 1462 and produced an improved lifestyle. For the Yorkist period the litigious Prior Gilbert Sharpe 1462-c. 1492 can be noted; an usher of Edward IV's chamber, Roger Ree lived in the house around 1470; and two canons absconded successfully 1467-68 to become secular priests. Extensive appendices of biographical notes for the priors and canons, with references.

David Griffith, 'A living language of the dead? French commemorative inscriptions from late medieval England', *The Medieval Journal*, volume 3, number 2, 2013, pages 69-136.

The period covered is 1390 to 1480, but only three examples survive after 1450. A useful list of all inscriptions from all manner of sources, including existing tombs and written records of lost epitaphs. They are discussed in the context of the surviving use of French in social, administrative and professional circumstances.

Hannes Kleineke, 'Robert Bale's chronicle and the second battle of St Albans', *Historical Research*, volume 87, number 238, November 2014, pages 744-50.

Discusses and prints text of an unpublished last page of the chronicle attributed to Robert Bale, scrivener of London. This was probably written within days of the battle and from prison. The author was especially interested in the badges displayed by the combatants and refers uniquely to the overthrow of the king's

banner and the presence of John de Vere in the queen's army. The author correlates this text to 'Gregory's Chronicle'.

Hannes Kleineke and Euan C. Roger, 'Baldwin Hyde, clerk of the parliaments in the Readeption Parliament of 1470-1', *Parliamentary History*, volume 33, part 3, 2014, pages 501-10.

Once thought to be a party-man Hyde has been found to be probably the choice of his predecessor in the clerkship. He was a chancery clerk and a canon of Windsor. He was dismissed on Edward's return and died August 1472 to be buried in the house of Carmelites, London.

Caroline Metcalfe, 'William Porland Clerk to the Craft and Fraternity of Brewers of London, 1418-1440', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, volume 64, 2013, pages 267-84.

Porland's account and memoranda book for 1418-40 provides the information for a considerable study of his career and the state of the Brewers' Company at this time. He wrote in English and was a devoted servant of his company. Includes a brief history of the craft and its fraternity and the move of the latter from the parish of All Hallows London Wall to that of St Mary Aldermanbury. There is a description of the manuscript; details of the development of company clerks at this time and their use of English; information about the company's hall (in part of which he lived) and almshouse; its expenses and livery; the making of a list of members for the hall; his contacts with priests, friars, Elsing'spital and St Thomas of Acre; the depositions of his will; and his ownership of arms presupposing duties with his company in the defence of the city.

Nicholas Orme, 'William Newton, rector of the Bonhommes of Edington, c.1465-c.1480', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, volume 106, 2013, pages 210-17.

A product of Cambridge, Cologne and Oxford, Newton gained a high reputation in Wiltshire, acting for example as an overseer of the will of Robert Lord Hungerford. The author discusses in detail the surviving tomb (which lacks its effigy), identifying the rebus of a barrel or ton with a sprig of new leaves and the letter W as Newton's; other decorations included the Yorkist rose within a sunburst. He also discusses other rectors of the period giving new details of Newton's appointment from the register of Bishop Richard Beauchamp of Salisbury. William Wey, the travel-writer and pilgrim (twice to Jerusalem) lived in the house during Newton's rectorship until he died in 1476, and this is attributed to Newton's influence. Wey wished to recreate the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Edington, and he left the manuscript of his Itineraries to Edington.

Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History, Proceedings, volume 43 part 2, 2014.

This volume includes: S.A. Cotton, H.E. Lunnon and L.J. Wrapston, 'Medieval rood screens in Suffolk: their construction and painting dates', pages 219-34, presents the will evidence of bequests concerning screens in gazetteer form; M. Champion, 'The graffiti inscriptions of St Mary's church, Troston', pages 235-58, compares and comments on the many graffiti in this church including figures, woman in headdress, religious words, heraldry, merchants' marks, personal names (e.g. the Abthorpe family 1315-1499), ships, hands and feet and the Troston demon; D. Sherlock, 'Inscribed pews in Barrow church', pages 259-62, two surviving pews made by John Pryck, the name of several generations of carpenters in Barrow 1470 to 1551. All articles well illustrated.

Anne. F. Sutton, 'William Caxton, king's printer c. 1480-85: a plea for history and chronology in a merchant's career', in *The Medieval Merchant*, edited by Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton, Harlaxton Medieval Studies Volume XXIV, 2014, Shaun Tyas, Donington, pages 259-83.

Argues that Caxton was the king's printer to Edward IV and Richard III (his productivity was at its highest during Richard's reign) and then suffered an eclipse under Henry VII, recovering the post probably in 1489. Appendix of a transcript of a letter from Caxton's friend, William Prat, to Prior Selling, Prior of Christ Church Canterbury, concerning a commission to have a purse made in London in 1474.

Livia Visser-Fuchs, '*Une tres belle besogne*: Jean de Wavrin's description of battles', in *Publication du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIV^e-XVI^e s.)*, number 54, 2014, Rencontres de Leyde - La Haye (19 au 22 septembre 2013), '*Culture historique: la cour, les pays, les villes dans les anciens Pays-Bas (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles)*', pages 57-76.

Wavrin's descriptions of battles of the Hundred Years War and the Wars of the Roses need to be treated with caution. Even for confrontations that he witnessed himself he also used existing sources written by others and sometimes he inserted phrases taken straight from the prose romances of his time. Sometimes he did add information based on his own experience, however, and some of the newsletters he used are unique in their frequently garbled, local information. Every account needs to be studied and appraised individually and compared to other reports of the same event.