

Book Reviews

COURTS OF CHIVALRY AND ADMIRALTY IN LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE. Edited by Anthony Musson and Nigel Ramsay. 2018. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60.00. ISBN 978-1-78327-227-4

Both war and trade, on an international scale, feature large in the history of late medieval Europe. Each created disputes between participants; perceived rights of ownership, violated by soldiers or by those who roamed the seas, challenged such authorities as then existed. The way chosen by the kings of England to counter piracy was to declare themselves sovereigns of the sea (this in the early fourteenth century). In so doing they drew attention to the growing importance of the maritime conflict developing between England and France, and to their claim to be the *de facto* guardians of international trade, at least in the seas off north-western Europe.

One way forward, which had a long and obscure history going back in time, was to develop ('re-invent' is, perhaps, a better word) two jurisdictions placed under the authority of the Constable and the Admiral. The Constable's court normally sat in London, that of the Admiral in Southwark. Each pursued its own 'speciality'. While the Admiral's court dealt mainly with cases arising from maritime activity (such as matters of piracy or the law of prize), that of the Constable, known as the Court of Chivalry, considered issues regarding honour, the exercise of military authority, and accusations of treason. The factor which made these courts stand out was their application not of English common law but of a modified form of the civil law procedures of the *ius commune*, as practised on the continent. Regrettably, evidence of the court's activities is far from plentiful, although time has preserved the records of a few notable cases, dating from the late fourteenth century, in which the right to bear particular coats of arms was challenged. According to the great Italian jurist, Bartolo da Sassoferrato, that right was open to all, provided that it caused no confusion with pre-existing ones. Whether deliberately or accidentally duplicated, arms 'copied' constituted a slight against the honour of a family or individual, whose sense of self-worth was often assessed by the liberal reproduction of its coat of arms on seals, banners, tombs, even on ecclesiastical vestments. Such was the background to the growing role played by heralds who gradually assumed greater responsibility for the granting and protection of arms. The authority/control thus developed over the 'policing' of the use of heraldic arms was developed as a way of reducing the risk of controversy, with its occasionally fateful consequences.

By the fourteenth century heralds had become more than mere messengers delivering challenges to battle. They were now seen as 'part of the real military world', increasingly involved in disputes over matters such as the payment of

ransoms, the treatment of prisoners, the observance of truces and safe conducts, along with accusations of treason. The role which they played policing the heraldic world of the time, constitutes part of England's social history.

Readers with a particular interest in Richard III will learn here of the part played by the future king as, at one time or the other between 1462 and 1483, he acted as both Admiral and Constable of England, seen as a natural pairing of responsibilities. However, this was a period of change. By the end of the century the Admiral's authority had grown at the expense of that of the Constable, now a 'dead letter'.

The twelve articles printed here are not concerned with England alone. It is to the editors' credit that they chose to widen the scope of their enquiries by including consideration of courts in continental Europe. In France, those of the Constable and Marshal appear to have originated in the early fourteenth century when the Marshal began to adjudicate in disputes mainly regarding booty and other material gains of war. His superior, the Constable, was the main judge of the activities of those serving in the king's armies. While both jurisdictions could be exercised on the field, by 1370 many cases were being heard at the Table de Marbre, in Paris, to which appeals were also directed.

The functions of herald in the development of armorial law in France appears to have been limited. It was only with the creation of the office of Marshal of Arms by Charles VIII, followed by that of a 'national' armorial, that steps were taken to regulate disputes arising out of the contested use of specific arms. Appeals in heraldic disputes were heard before the Parlement, the highest of the king's courts, although (as became the case in England) the royal council also dealt with disputes concerning arms.

What factors enabled a measure of consistency to be expressed in legal judgments reached by a variety of courts in different parts of Europe? To merit respect beyond the immediate jurisdiction of a particular port or country, the law needed to reflect a certain 'international flavour' or consistency, leading to the general recognition and acceptance of its judgments, enabling these to be acted upon wherever they were handed down. Arising from disputes born of either conflict or peaceful trade, a form of law based on the 'learned laws' taught at the universities came to win acceptance across Europe, in a number of codes whose influence spread far beyond their geographical source of origin. This provided opportunities for lawyers trained in Roman law at the universities to put their learning, not least in military and commercial law, into practice.

The strength of this collection lies in the variety of subjects discussed, and the different approaches adopted by the contributors, who write on courts, armorial disputes, witnesses and their backgrounds, as well as law texts used to settle cases. The collection should be welcomed for a further reason, namely the clear evidence it offers of the respect in which the late Maurice Keen is held as

a scholar whose learning and inspiration opened up many rich veins of historical research and interpretation for later generations to exploit.

CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND

THE CHILDREN OF RICHARD III. Peter Hammond. 2018. Fonthill Media Limited, Stroud, £16.99 (pbk). ISBN 978-1-78155-672-6

This book updates and expands Peter Hammond's 1973 booklet *Edward of Middleham, Prince of Wales*, and his 1986 article on Richard's illegitimate children in *Richard III, Crown and People* (ed. J. Petre). It comprises a little under 100 pages of text, including detailed notes and index, plus twenty-eight glossy illustrations, most of them in colour. The book's modest size is to be expected given how little is known about the lives of Richard's children, and considering the wealth of illustrations it is very reasonably priced.

The main text, which comprises about half the book, is divided into two parts, the first devoted to Edward of Middleham and the second to Edward's illegitimate half-siblings. Part 1 takes the reader from a review of the events leading to Richard's marriage to a discussion of the little that is known of Edward's death and burial in the spring of 1484. Part 2 has chapters devoted respectively to John of Gloucester, Katherine Plantagenet and Richard Plantagenet of Eastwell. Of the seven appendices, six relate to Edward of Middleham whilst a seventh discusses a fourth claimed illegitimate child, Anne Hopper. This superficially odd structure highlights the problem faced by any author seeking to write about Richard's illegitimate children: John and Katherine's existence and paternity are solidly documented in contemporary sources, but what level of recognition is to be given to the other bastards attributed to Richard, with varying degrees of plausibility, by later tradition? Richard Plantagenet at least has an entry in the Eastwell burials register, and has a written tradition identifying him as Richard's son going back to the 1760s. Given the much later emergence and particularly problematic nature of the Hopper story, Hammond's superficially lopsided solution is actually a sensible one.

The author has taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by a full-length book to expand on some of the information given in the earlier studies. For instance, much more telling use of is made here of entries in BL Harleian MS 433 relating to Prince Edward's household, and six appendices have been added to support and illuminate the account of Edward's life. The biography of John of Gloucester has also been somewhat expanded to allow for fuller discussion of the few available sources, some of which are inevitably either a little ambiguous or of late provenance. Regarding John, almost nothing further has come to light since 1986, but fresh sources relating to the lives of Edward and Katherine have been published in recent years, and these Hammond has been

careful to include. Particularly welcome is the information from two important articles in the 2014 *Ricardian* relating to Katherine's marriage (Anne Sutton *et al.*) and her place of burial (Christian Steer). Other evidence published in recent years has led the author to make significant revisions to his interpretations of key events. For instance, Richard's marriage to Anne Neville, presented in the earlier works as having taken place after the parliamentary settlement of May 1474, is now shown to have occurred no later than 8 April 1473. As a result of Jane Crease's recent work, Sheriff Hutton is no longer identified as Edward's burial place.

There are sound reasons for these and other interpretative changes, but the updating of the earlier works has not been effected entirely without problems. A little too much weight is perhaps given to modern speculations regarding the identities of John and Katherine's mothers, and there are some ambiguities regarding the children's life histories that appear to be the result of insufficient revision of the earlier text. For instance, whilst page 18 carries the new evidence for Richard and Anne's marriage having taken place by 8 April 1473, at page 15 the year of marriage has already been given as 1474. The revised date of Richard's marriage also has unaddressed implications for the probable birth dates of Richard's illegitimate children if they were, as the author thinks likely, born before that event.

This work brings together what is currently known about the lives of Richard's various children, legitimate and illegitimate, historical and legendary. As such, despite occasional editorial lapses, it has much to recommend it. It is well laid out and handsomely illustrated; the historical evidence is in the main judiciously handled and the temptation to over-speculate avoided. The book also contains more than enough new material to make it a worthwhile acquisition for owners of Hammond's earlier writings on Richard's children.

MARIE BARNFIELD

ANGLO-ITALIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. Edited by Helen Fulton and Michele Campopiano. 2018. York Medieval Press and the Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60.

ISBN 978-1-903153-69-7

The majority of essays in this volume emanate from a conference entitled 'Britain, Ireland and Italy: Cultural Exchanges c. 1270 – c. 1400, held at York in 2013, and itself part of a larger project 'Britain, Ireland and the Italian Renaissance: Reception and Legacy c. 1350 – c. 1914'. In the words of the Introduction by Michele Campopiano it assembles papers on historical and literary interactions between Britain and Italy which are then summarily described. An Afterword by his co-editor Helen Fulton gives a brief overview

of their conclusions. This leaves barely one hundred and seventy pages of text which would appear very costly given the substantial cover price of the book.

The opening paper considers the widely diffused *Polychronicon* by Ranulph Higden and his continuators and explores the cartographic, chorographic and historiographic space of an 'Italy' which includes, but also extends beyond Rome (p. 8). Higden added a map which contributed considerably to the work's popularity. It is a pity that the *mappa mundi* (BL MS Royal 14 C ix f. 2v) is so poorly reproduced that the author's detailed arguments are sometimes difficult to follow. The transmission and translation of the Latin *Polychronicon* into the vernacular also reveals the gradual disappearance of the world map. One of Higden's authorities was Magister Gregorius : it is thus particularly regrettable that Fulton is apparently unaware of considerable recent discussion concerning the identity of this important figure. Taking up a suggestion of Josiah Russell, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani plausibly identified Gregorius with the chancellor of Ottone da Tonengo, the papal legate in England between 1237 and 1241. ('Cardinali di Curia e "Familiae" Cardinalizie dal 1227 - al 1254', *Italia Sacra*, 18, 19, Padua 1972, p. 94) This identification has been accepted and fruitfully developed by both John Osborne and Cristina Nardella, and it has obvious chronological implications for Gregorius' *Narracio*. The treatment of Gregorius' conclusions on the identity of the ancient bronze equestrian statue then outside St John Lateran and later shifted to the Roman Capitol would have benefited equally from a closer knowledge of the relevant (and copious) art-historical literature. In her essay on Richard de Bury and Petrarch Carolyn Colette distinguishes between the English bibliophile's love of books as objects and Petrarch's intense affection for them as texts. She is also interesting on the intersection of learning and collegial learned conversation. Whilst the three paintings *de opere lumbardorum* which Queen Isabella owned may for literary historians be the earliest evidence of English awareness of 'the new Italian style in art' (whatever that may signify), a glance at the Shrine of St Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey would have alerted others to the physical presence of Italians at court some half a century earlier: its substantial Cosmati base is prominently signed by *Petrus civis Romanus*. Ignazio Del Punto provides a very helpful summary of current information on the activities of Italian bankers in England although his use of current financial terminology is of limited analytic value. Confident generalizations about the architectural patronage in Naples of Roberto d'Angiò are thinly referenced. The huge costs of international warfare powerfully concentrated Italian bankers' minds as well as rapidly exhausting their financial resources.

The outstanding contribution in this collection in terms of both concreteness and conviction, is the paper by Helen Bradley on the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Italian merchants in the city of London. This is packed with acute perceptions on the nexus between trade and culture. There are important observations about alien merchants, the siting of their dwellings, and the churches in which they worshipped. The documented presence of Venetian

galley-men, some of Romanian or Greek origin in London for months on end is illuminating. Even here however there is the tacit assumption that culture is textual, cartographic and literary. There is hardly a mention of music, nor any significant confrontation with the visual arts, although the Italian merchants were demonstrably responsible for significant interactions in both fields. Reinhard Strohm's *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford 1985) contains a great deal of information about Italians also active in London. The Bardi and Peruzzi representatives in London included the probable patrons of the family chapels painted by Giotto at Santa Croce in Florence. The merchants imported rich fabrics and exported costly English embroidery.

There are worthwhile contributions on the Lucchese community in England and the surprisingly durable vaticinations of Joachim of Fiore among those English Franciscans who pined for the return of Richard II. Helen Fulton's essay discusses Italian influence in the writing of urban histories in Britain and makes a number of valuable points about its impact on native developments. As British cities grew in size and wealth 'they became the salient markers in verbal and visual mappings of the nation' (p. 177). But again one misses the very important contribution by Kenneth Hyde, 'Medieval descriptions of cities' (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 48 (1968), pp. 308-44), and the sharply observant and historically aware Giraldus Cambrensis is passed over in a few words. Giovanni Villani's *Cronica* was especially well-informed because he held a high managerial post in the Buonacorsi bank for many years and important papers passed across his desk on a daily basis. Discussion about inscriptions on gates could well have taken into account Frederick II's gate at Capua which was clearly very influential in Italy.

In sum this is quite a useful collection, which could have been considerably more valuable had it been more ambitious in the range of cultural activities which it considered, and had the authors peered over the parapet at the surviving visual and aural evidence.

JULIAN GARDNER

LATE MEDIEVAL HERESY: NEW PERSPECTIVES. *Studies in Honor of Robert E. Lerner.* Edited by Michael D. Bailey and Sean L. Field. 2018. Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages 5. York Medieval Press and Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £60. ISBN 978-1-903153-82-6

Late medieval heresy has often been studied either as a postscript to the dramatic explosion of religious dissent in the high middle ages, or as a foreshadowing of the Protestant Reformation. This welcome collection of essays seeks to investigate the period 1300-1500 in its own terms. The contributors are all ex-students or 'international students-by-proxy' of the volume's dedicatee, Robert E. Lerner, and this brings a genuine intellectual coherence to the collection. The influence of Lerner's scholarship comes

through strongly in the book's broad geographical coverage, methodological rigour (including meticulous manuscript studies), and chosen themes. There is a particular focus on the fourteenth century (the subject of seven of the ten essays on the middle ages), and a clear intention to look beyond the well-studied Lollards, Hussites and later Waldensians. Instead, these essays explore 'a contentious but vibrant world of beguines and beghards, of Joachites and Spiritual Franciscans, of mystics and prophets, indeed of alchemists and magicians' (p. 5). The cohesion of the volume is further enhanced by the editors' skilful introduction and the summarising 'afterword' by Barbara Newman, which serve to draw together and contextualise the collection's main themes.

As Newman notes (p. 248), perhaps the most salient theme of the volume is 'the staggering variety of things a person could believe or do' to be labelled a heretic in late medieval Europe. A highly diverse group of 'heretics' pass through these pages. We begin with the French Templars charged with heresy by Philip IV in 1307, in what Sean L. Field describes as 'an audacious effort to create a proto-national heresy inquisition in France' (p. 14). This royal endeavour, however, proved abortive owing to a combination of papal opposition, inadequate infrastructure, and the lukewarm response of inquisitors away from Paris. Two high-profile political figures subjected to heresy charges are discussed in essays by Georg Modestin (on Louis of Bavaria) and Elizabeth Casteen (on the Neapolitan prince, Louis of Durazzo). Both men were accused of offering support to the Spiritual Franciscans, and Modestin and Casteen contend that these charges were not simply political smears. The latter's essay, with its careful examination of the close associations between Durazzo and various groups of *fraticelli*, presents a particularly compelling case. The Spirituals also feature in Sylvain Piron's analysis of the surviving manuscripts of Barthélemy Sicard's early fourteenth-century *Postilla super Daniele*. The Franciscan Sicard was a prominent disciple of Peter John Olivi, and Piron establishes the surprisingly wide dissemination of his Olivian writings on the book of Daniel and its prophecies.

Two of the volume's essays deal with the mystic Marguerite Porete and her *Mirror of Simple Souls* – a work which Robert E. Lerner has done much to elucidate. Michael D. Bailey presents an intriguing comparison between Porete and the Benedictine monk John of Morigny, whose *Flowers of Heavenly Teaching* (recently edited by Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson) was condemned in 1323 for its interest in ritual magic. Despite the obvious differences in their approaches to mysticism, both Marguerite and John were visionaries who defended their writings determinedly against the ecclesiastical authorities. As Justine L. Trombley's perceptive discussion of two newly-discovered manuscripts of the Latin translation of the *Mirror* underscores, Marguerite Porete had considerable posthumous success in this endeavour. The first of these manuscripts was copied in Bohemia, indicating a wider geographical diffusion of the work than previously established; and the second was produced

by John-Jerome of Prague, a Camaldolese monk and ardent church reformer (d. 1440). As Trombley notes, the appeal of this (anonymised) controversial work to a figure like John-Jerome – himself a fierce opponent of heterodoxy in his native Bohemia – highlights the arbitrariness of the *Mirror's* heretical status and the difficulty of policing texts in a manuscript culture.

The essays by Louisa A. Burnham and Frances Kneupper discuss lay individuals whose unconventional beliefs brought them into conflict with the Church. Burnham introduces us to the fascinating figure of Limoux Negre, who was executed for heresy in Carcassonne in 1329. Negre pertinaciously maintained a range of unorthodox claims, including that the world was created out of the sun and moon's urine, and that the resurrection of Jesus was effected through oil from the 'tree of man'. Burnham persuasively argues that these views have affinities with contemporary alchemical practices – although her suggestion that Negre may have worked alongside the author of the alchemy manual, the *Testamentum*, seems overly speculative. Kneupper, meanwhile, discusses the *questio* of the mendicant theologian John of Dorsten, delivered in Erfurt in 1466 and apparently targeted at the Wirsberger brothers – minor noblemen who had been circulating eschatological writings in the vernacular.

Kneupper's essay, like several others in the collection, seeks to explore the mindset and motivations of persecutors as much as persecuted. Two further chapters, however, point to the existence of toleration of the 'other' in certain quarters of the late medieval Church. Deena Copeland Klepper shows how Albert of Diessen's manual for priests (1369-76) discussed everyday relations with Jews in a pragmatic manner, and showed very little interest in heresy – despite the common linkage in pastoral manuals between Jews, Muslims and heretics and their 'crimes against God'. Samantha Kelly's enlightening overview of late medieval Latin attitudes towards the Ethiopian Church, moreover, outlines the increasingly positive views held by the papal curia and clerical writers over this period. She convincingly links this *détente* with Western hopes for a military alliance against the Ottomans and the growing association of Prester John with Ethiopia.

The final essay of the volume – Jörg Feuchter's exposé of the German political activist Renate Riemeck (1920-2003) and the anti-semitism of her Nazi-era researches into late medieval flagellants – fits less snugly in the collection, but well reflects Robert E. Lerner's interests on twentieth-century German historiography. There is also a bibliography of Lerner's publications. The standard of scholarship throughout the volume is uniformly high, and this is a worthy addition to Boydell's 'Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages' series. The 'new perspectives' presented here reinforce recent scholarship on medieval heresy, which has emphasised the value of studying individual dissenters and sceptics as well as (possibly illusory) heretical 'movements', and highlighted shifting and contingent perceptions of unorthodoxy. It is to be hoped that this collection will stimulate further work on the heresies of late

medieval Europe – and perhaps even a successor to Gordon Leff's overview of the topic, yet to be superseded more than half a century since its publication.

MARTIN HEALE

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY XV. Writing, Records and Rhetoric.

Edited by Linda Clark. 2017. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60.

ISBN 978-1-78327-249-5

It is a useless exercise to try too hard to find a common theme in this, the latest but one collection of papers produced for the annual fifteenth-century conference. What is certain is that they are all of a high scholarly level – else they would not have been allowed in – all but one are about Britain and most concern the written word in some form.

Michael Bennett in '*The Libelle of English Policy: the Matter of Ireland*' argues convincingly and at length, using many angles of approach, for the authorship of one Nicolas Lacy (or Lassy) of Chester, an Irish-born Englishman with a mercantile background, of this famous poem on English commercial and foreign policy. Julia Boffey, in her "'Stories of Divers Regions and Provinces': Some Digests of History and Geography for Late-Medieval English Readers", charts the shortened, edited and even 'mixed' versions available to the ordinary reader of such texts as the *Polychronicon*, the *Brut*, and the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* and how they were printed and remained popular. Joanna Laynesmith gives a new overview of the books of Cecily, Duchess of York, in her "'To please ... Dame Cecely that in Latin hath litell intellect': Books and the Duchess of York", helpfully dividing her library by the period of her life in which they played a part or were acquired. To her time in Rouen is added (tentatively) the *Quatre Fils Aymon* (Royal 16 G ii), to her Clare period (equally tentatively) the *Golden Legend* of Osbern Bokenham (Advocates Library, Abbotsford B3). An appendix lists them all.

The late John Milner in his 'A Case Study in Lancastrian Service and Personal Survival: The Career of William, Lord Roos of Helmsley (c.1370-1414)', does just that: study a man who throughout his life kept to a middle course, was loyal and useful to Henry IV and, for a short while, to Henry V. He rose to be a knight of the Garter and treasurer of England in 1403 but was apparently also well regarded by the Commons; late in life he played an active part in the persecution of Lollard rebels. A very different individual is presented in Ben Pope, 'Identity, Discourse and Political Strategy: Margrave Albrecht Achilles (1414-86) and the Rhetoric of Antagonism between Town and Nobility in Upper Germany'. It discusses the 'language of enmity' between towns and nobles in fifteenth-century Germany. Albrecht himself repeatedly argued that the town of Nuremberg intended to 'oppress' him and by thus creating an enemy attempted to bind his own supporters to him.

In a paper that for many readers will serve as a fascinating introduction to unknown territory Tom Johnson – ‘The Redistribution of Forest Law and Administration in Fifteenth-Century England’ – argues that ‘good government’ of the Forests of England was not re-introduced by the Tudors after a century of neglect, but that it is the lack of sources that created this lopsided image. Local officials were on the whole well able to manage and benefitted from proper care and administration of the land and the animals. It may perhaps be noted that the story of Henry VI granting life to a stag in one of the *tableaux vivants* staged for his Paris coronation does not mean that the little king ‘extended his supremacy to nature’: the stag was the device of his opponent, Charles VII of France, and the scene was replete with political symbolism.

Sarah Thomas, in her ‘Well-Connected and Qualified Clerics? The Bishops of Dunkeld and Sodor in the Fifteenth Century’, though faced with a total lack of episcopal registers for medieval Scotland, investigates the background of two bishops, their family, education and the experience that made them rise to this desirable position, using a variety of sources. Jon-Mark Grussenmeyer, ‘Preaching Politics: Lancastrian Chancellors in Parliament’, analyses as far as the sources allow the political content of these chancellors’ speeches, dividing them into four categories according to their emphasis: the importance of the king’s coronation oath and/or Magna Carta, the value of counsel, the need for a strong ruler, or the call for unity.

The last two papers stray into the Tudor period, both focussing on John Alcock, Henry VII’s chancellor 1485-7. The first, Dan Seward’s ‘Bishop John Alcock and the Roman Invasion of Parliament: Introducing Renaissance Civic Humanism to Tudor Parliamentary Proceedings’, argues that Alcock’s quotations from Roman literature were an innovation; the argument includes a long discussion of the nature of the three drafts that survive for John Russell’s opening of parliament for Edward V or Richard III. The second, Paul Cavill, ‘Preaching Magna Carta at the End of the Fifteenth Century: John Alcock’s Sermon at Paul’s Cross’, focusses on Alcock’s reputation as a preacher, which was helped by the fact that some of his sermons were among the earliest ones to be printed; includes a general description of Paul’s Cross sermons and their nature and audience.

Overall theme or not, this is a satisfying collection; I read each paper with interest and learned much; they were all well-researched as well as readable. There is an index and a list of the previous volumes in the series and their contents. One may wonder whether its high price is inevitable.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

SOCIALISING THE CHILD IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND c. 1400-1600. Merridee Bailey. 2018. York Medieval Press and Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £25. ISBN 978-1-903153-76-5

Merridee Bailey takes as her subject the training of children to take their place in adult society and make a success of their adult lives. She makes use of literary sources, notably courtesy poems, conduct and household books, and grammar school statutes, and discusses the period from the later middle ages to 1600. Most sources are concerned with the education of boys. All discuss socialisation at the top of the social scale; the courtesy poems of the later middle ages consider noble boys, but sons of merchants were considered in the fifteenth century and frequently discussed under the Tudors. By 1600 the availability of printed books in the vernacular meant that the material was accessible to families lower down the social scale.

The courtesy poems of the later middle ages aimed at socialising the sons of the gentry and nobility being brought up in a noble household. Their future lay in service in war and peace to the nobility. This was taken for granted in the poems. What was important was for the boy to imbibe masculine values and behaviour, and to learn the workings of a noble household. The boys were trained through service to the lord, notably at mealtimes, and were educated in courtesy, good behaviour and respect. They were expected to be meek, to accept advice and acquire self-discipline. They learned to accept the social hierarchy, but also to show initiative. Bailey stresses this secular training; religion was rarely mentioned, and virtue did not necessarily equate with morality. The situation in the sixteenth century was very different. Courtesy in noble and bourgeois contexts remained important, but the smaller size and influence of noble households led to a decline in their importance as centres of socialisation for noble boys.

Bailey emphasises that from *circa* 1450 courtesy and conduct literature was mainly aimed at a gentry and merchant audience. In his *Instructions to his Son*, written in the mid-fifteenth century, Peter Idley recommended his son to study law, the road to success for many young men in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Good behaviour was essential for the son to do well. His son was to be restrained in his dress and expenditure; he was to listen to advice and make good friends. He was to carry out his duty to God and the king, a comment possibly arising from the faction of the time. Idley included religious as well as secular instruction; his son's behaviour was to reflect his inner values.

The rise of printing popularised these ideas among gentry and townsmen, and enabled them to own books and read them in the family circle to socialise children and servants. Caxton's choice of books is examined by Bailey in detail, and provides a bridge between old and new ideas. Courtesy material is still found but was adapted for a wider audience and could be related to contemporary politics. The late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a rise in public morality; the conduct books continued to stress the significance of social

hierarchy, but linked it to virtue and inner values. There was a growing emphasis on the role of the father of the family as a patriarchal figure responsible for all the members of his household.

The sixteenth century saw a major increase in the number of printed books. Prices fell, and reading culture probably grew although Bailey points out that more research is needed. Religion was prominent in society, reflecting the amount of religious change under the Tudors and the necessity to accept the religious practice of the ruler. Services took place daily in many households, sermons were printed, and it was widely held that behaviour should reflect religious values. An education in courtesy and religious values was also to be found in the grammar schools which multiplied in the sixteenth century. Bailey discusses the schools' role in fitting boys for responsible positions in the adult world.

Fewer texts were written for the socialisation of girls, and there was considerable continuity of ideas between 1400 and 1600. The Knight of La Tour Landry wrote his advice for his daughters in the later fourteenth century, and his work was edited and printed by Caxton as the *Book of the Knight of the Tower*. The knight set his daughters' day in a religious context; he wanted them to be courteous, modest, chaste and obedient. They were to be restrained in their dress. He wanted them to learn to read, but otherwise their education comprised household tasks. A similar emphasis is found in the English poems in the Good Wife tradition, although the urban context saw the girl outside in the town as well as in the household. Girls received a more thorough moral training than boys, but their role was essentially within the household, and chastity and a good reputation were stressed. In many respects, the work of Vives on the education of girls, translated into English in 1529, came to the same conclusions. However, among urban families many women would be outside the household as they went to market or ran their own business.

Meridee Bailey has produced a thoroughly researched and clearly written book, and has made an important contribution to the history of childhood. She has bridged the divide between the middle ages and the early modern era, and brought out the extent of the changes taking place as a result of social and political developments. The political successes of the fourteenth century gave way to faction in the fifteenth century, to be followed by the rise of the Tudors, the Reformation and the centralisation of the state, all of which had an effect on ideas for the socialisation of the child.

JENNIFER WARD

COMMEMORATION IN MEDIEVAL CAMBRIDGE. Edited by John S. Lee and Christian Steer. 2018. History of the University of Cambridge: Texts and Studies, Volume 9. Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, £60.

ISBN 978-1-78327-334-8

The material fragments of the medieval world left in our modern one are tantalisingly few, and often grab the attention of historians as they afford us the opportunity to visualise, in part, the complexities and nuances of the world that we so desperately wish to understand. Many of those are of a religious nature, taking the form of brasses, effigies and monuments. In this ninth volume of 'The History of the University of Cambridge: Texts and Studies', *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge* considers how individuals – primarily founders, friends and benefactors of Cambridge colleges – chose to be remembered in a variety of forms of commemoration. The scope of this edited volume is focused primarily on medieval Cambridge, and therefore the essays are well-connected with a common theme. There has been obvious thought in the order of the book, as the first essay, written by John S. Lee, works as an additional, heftier introduction than Steer's. It introduces the reader to one of the noteworthy aims of the volume: to move beyond the physicality of commemoration (that is, its material products) to look at the context and wider significance of remembrance, benefaction, charity and prayer. Contrary to the focus of previous scholarship, all of these essays view the town of Cambridge as a community, cooperating in both commemoration and the development of the town, rather than the conflict between town and gown that is so often highlighted.

There were a variety of different institutions that one could utilise for the purposes of commemoration in medieval Cambridge; guilds, friars and friaries, parish churches and colleges were all involved in the process and each is highlighted within this book. The church of the Friars Minor was a cooperative space serving the laity and University, as Michael Robson demonstrates the shared value placed in the friars' involvement in commemorative practice, regardless of location, status or affiliation. In contrast, J.H. Baker's essay on legal and academic dress will be of interest to historians of education, the colleges and the Court of Arches. Analysing memorial brasses, Baker makes the excellent point that we must compare brasses with paintings, monuments and written sources to draw parallels and explain the evolution of legal dress. However, his own analysis falls short of actually putting this into practice, instead favouring a rather technical examination of brasses that remain and fails to provide helpful diagrams to aid the reader – a point that he explicitly raises as an issue of previous scholarship but fails to seize the opportunity presented in his own essay.

Clare Gobbi Daunton and Elizabeth New's research on the Masters of Trinity Hall is notable in usefully situating the research within the wider narrative of church history as well as the commemorative account. Three

Masters provide a platform from which to interrogate the complementary concepts of patronage and benefaction and the two authors adeptly weave the Masters' actions of benefaction and patronage within religious theory in a precise manner. Masters became part of the memory and commemorative custom of their institution, yet their commemorative net permeated beyond the immediate locale of the college. Fellows and Masters alike took the prerogative to be buried where they held livings, echoing the influence of the commemorative culture of outside of Cambridge, as hinted at in Robson's essay. Despite this relationship with the world outside the streets of Cambridge, it appears that the turbulence of late medieval politics did not necessarily have a detrimental effect in terms of commemoration. In fact, Peter Murray Jones, using the example of Henry VI's foundation of a college to argue that important benefactors, alongside college founders and their families, did not experience any disruption in their commemorative modes of practice (for example, masses) during times of unrest.

This compilation of essays is undoubtedly strong in the extensive information it offers relating to medieval Cambridge. It is perhaps unfortunate that many of the essays are explorative rather than argumentative in nature, with the exception of Richard Barber's 'The City of London and the Founding of the Guild of Corpus Christi'. Although one of the shorter articles, it is punchy and engaging, suggesting possible reasons for the involvement of prominent Londoners in the college's foundation. Barber cautions us that these are tentative suggestions and it is precisely for this reason that his essay stands out: he does not tread safe ground as others do. Crucially, he demonstrates the rich history and networks that can be constructed from what, initially, appears as simply a list of names.

The final two essays focus on commemoration within Cambridge in the final few decades before the Reformation, providing a suitably chronological finish to the volume. Susan Powell has written a thorough examination of Cambridge commemorations within Lady Margaret Beaufort's household and her engagement with previous scholarship is to be commended. Lady Margaret Beaufort's piety set the example for others, specifically the members of her household, and resulted in a multitude of memorial brasses. Unfortunately, as Nicholas Rogers illustrates, the systematic removal of brasses by William Dowsing in the seventeenth century was felt more keenly in Cambridge than Oxford. The eighteenth century did little to remedy this loss, neglecting what monuments remained after Dowsing's spree through the county. Rogers' research serves to highlight what we have lost, ending the volume on a sombre note.

The memorialisation of departed parishioners is typical of the late medieval parish, but *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge* reminds us that the colleges are not so far from our understanding of parochial commemoration. This book serves to as a useful reminder – not only to the scholar of commemoration but to historians generally – of the importance of context in order to reach a

nuanced understanding of the mentalities of the medieval world. Overall, the authors of this book have created a piece that attempts to push our understanding of the dynamics within town and countryside and their effects on networks of commemoration.

RACHAEL HARKES

THE CALAIS LETTERBOOK OF WILLIAM LORD HASTINGS (1477) AND LATE MEDIEVAL CRISIS DIPLOMACY 1477-83. Edited and introduced by Edward L. Meek. 2017. Richard III and Yorkist History Trust. Order from Shaun Tyas, Donington, see advertisement at the end of this journal, £35. ISBN 978-1-907730-65-8

William, Lord Hastings, knighted at Towton in 1461 and raised to the baronage in 1462, was a prominent supporter of Edward IV. As Edward's chamberlain throughout his reign, he was deeply involved in Edward's policies, domestic and foreign. He held high offices, including that of Lieutenant of Calais from 1471, by which he became responsible for England's largest (and sometimes most restless) garrison and even more heavily involved with England's foreign policy towards France and Burgundy. He served on diplomatic missions to France in 1465-66, 1473, 1475, and was regularly in touch with French affairs through correspondence. Hastings became, in essence, Edward's diplomatic 'fixer' (p. 82). A file of his diplomatic letters is therefore an interesting survival and well worth publishing, especially as this letterbook covers the period shortly after the unexpected death in battle of the duke of Burgundy (5 January 1477). The death caused a crisis in the diplomatic relations of England, France and Burgundy. In the months after Burgundy's death and before his heiress married Maximilian of Austria (August 1477) Louis XI took the opportunity to attack disputed towns and, as Calais stood at the frontier of the Franco-Burgundian territories, it was perilously close to possible war zones. It is not therefore surprising that its Lieutenant was drawn into diplomatic activity.

This letterbook is a small volume, somewhat damaged, made up of sixteen pages (folios 1r-8v) of copies of letters sent to King Louis and to Louis de Bourbon, Admiral of France, between 13 April and either 18 or 28 September 1477, a period when Hastings was personally in Calais. The letterbook contains fifteen letters and three allied documents: Hastings's questions to the French envoy Olivier le Roux, Hastings's requests sent to Louis XI via Lord Rochechouart about protecting trade, and the long set of instructions given to the English envoy William Laverok on his mission to France. Dr Meek provides the full French text of the letters and allied documents, together with an English translation. Illustrations of six pages of the letterbook are added in an appendix of plates, which also includes a fine map of Calais and its environs, probably from the sixteenth century, but now known only through a nineteenth century copy. Dr Meek sees the letterbook's most likely purpose as 'Hastings's

own record of his personal correspondence and related diplomatic material', which was probably part of a whole series of books in what must have been a 'significant personal archive' (p. 58). He then provides a useful context for the letterbook in a discussion of Hastings's other known correspondence.

Dr Meek's introduction is considerably longer than the letterbook itself and does the reader a great service. It provides a survey of the diplomatic relations of England, France, and Burgundy as general context for the letterbook and combines this with a full, detailed commentary letter by letter to bring out the significance of each. This is not only helpful but essential as the letters are one-sided, being Hastings's outward letters, and are couched in conventional, often formulaic, diplomatic language. They need Dr Meek's information and interpretation to bring out their value. The letters cover a variety of matters from major political and diplomatic concerns (tightening up on the treaty of Picquigny, possible dynastic marriage, extending truces, preparations for embassies), to local security (attacks on individuals in the Pale or French territories were not to be allowed to escalate and harm the truces), shipping in the approaches to Calais, and the king's health. All have their interest, but letters 9, 11, 13, and 14 may catch the attention of economic historians as they illustrate the problems for shipping approaching Calais. Letter 12 is particularly interesting in revealing the early diplomatic career of William Laverock and providing a rare survival of an envoy's instructions. In the instructions there is further interest as Hastings defends himself very directly against accusations of biased behaviour by Louis. Apart from the interest within individual letters, however, the book as a whole (as the editor points out) shows how much constant low-key diplomatic exchange there was beyond the large formal embassies. Dr Meek also has interesting general points to make on Hastings's relations with Edward's policies and on the policies themselves. He strongly defends Hastings's loyalty to Edward, concluding that Hastings was fully aligned with Edward's policies throughout the reign and that there is little evidence for his being disloyal or duped by Louis. He also argues for the reappraisal of Edward's foreign policy, especially for the later period 1477-83, which is often overlooked and for which he provides a good brief narrative. He concludes that Edward's policy was one of deliberate 'nuanced neutrality' towards France and Burgundy, a search for a balance of power; and, although it was upset in 1482 by the Treaty of Arras, it worked well for most of the reign and should not be seen as inferior to that of Henry VII.

Although this might look like a rather specialised text for a short period of time, Dr Meek presents it in an excellent package. He provides detailed context and explanation for each letter, sets the policies revealed in the letters into the overall context of Edward's foreign policy throughout his reign, and offers some interesting reappraisals of traditional views.

WENDY R. CHILDS

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE AND THE GOVERNANCE OF ENGLAND.

Margaret Kekewich. 2018. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60.

ISBN 978-1-78327-350-8

One does not have to be a fanatical supporter of the house of York, nor a card-carrying feminist to find oneself more than a little irritated by some of the political tracts penned by Sir John Fortescue (c. 1397-1479), lawyer, justice of the king's bench and councillor to Henry VI, in his attempts to legitimate the rule of the house of Lancaster. We all know that political convictions and social attitudes should be read and interpreted in the context of their times and that people in the past should not be blamed for having ideas different from ours, but just as protesters who demand compensation for the slavery of their ancestors and evangelicals who believe that the Bible should be the standard for all human behaviour are not able to take such a rational view, the modern (Ricardian) reader may find it hard to approach some of Fortescue's statements with perfect equanimity. Some of them are, to put it crudely, anti-York, anti-women and blatantly nationalist and xenophobic.

This new and complete study of Fortescue's life and work is accessible and as readable as the material and scholarly thoroughness allow. Inevitably, in view of Fortescue's political and legal importance and the amount of research he has given rise to, many words are spent on the opinions of earlier commentators. The whole is divided into only two parts: the first covers the subject's life from c. 1395 to c. 1479, the second his work, including its later influence. His relatively humble, minor-gentry beginnings in Devon were embroidered on by his eminent descendants. Fortescue's father was steward to the earl of Devon and it was legal expertise that led to the family's rise: John's elder and perhaps rather unstable brother, Henry, was Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland for a few years. His younger brother, Richard, was a mercer, however. John himself studied at Lincoln's Inn and was later to paint a rosy picture of the life and education provided by such inns. His decades spent in training and pleading as a junior barrister made him well versed in the practicalities of the law. The office of king's serjeant (1438) and later chief justice of the king's bench (1442) meant he became closely involved with the protection of the royal prerogative, turning his attention from local to national interests; the patronage of Walter, first baron Hungerford, Henry V's favourite, fed Fortescue's attachment to Lancaster. At the same time the economic and political situation in England made his life difficult and dangerous and contributed to his increasing interest in what good government consisted of, at least in theory.

For nearly twenty years, Fortescue, as 'a partial man' (his own words) prospered socially and financially and presided over 'the creaking system' of the common law. When he later wrote his celebration of the system, *De laudibus legum Anglie*, his main purpose was to make Henry VI's heir, Edward of Lancaster, realise that English common law was certainly superior to continental civil law *and* that an understanding of the law was a vital part of a future king's education. With the accession of Edward IV Fortescue was

attainted and perforce started on a new career as diplomat, polemicist and royal tutor. From September 1463 to early 1471 he was part of a small court-in-exile of Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou, and her son, and wrote a number of political tracts, some general and theoretical, some very specific and anti-York. One of his main arguments against the Yorkist succession was the fact that women could not rule and, more importantly, not pass on the *right* to rule. *En passant* he also claimed that Philippa, the daughter of Lionel of Antwerp, Edward III's third son, from whom the Yorkist claim to the throne was mainly derived, had been illegitimate; when Edward IV later forced him to retract, Fortescue said he had not had access to the correct sources while in exile in France and quoted a document which he had not seen before, in which Philippa was clearly referred to as 'daughter and heir' of Lionel.

Fortescue's literary and diplomatic activities during the Lancastrian exile were all directed towards the restoration of Henry VI and the establishment of 'good governance' once this had been achieved. To this end he wrote, for example, his 'Praise of the Laws of England' as a guidebook for Prince Edward, and also some pieces of advice to Richard, Earl of Warwick, Edward's father-in-law, in the shape of four 'Articles' sent by the prince to the earl and offering solutions for the problems that would arise, especially concerning the role of the royal council and the king's finances.

The dedicatee of one of Fortescue's more general treatises, now called *The Governance of England*, is not certain: both Henry VI and Edward IV are named in the surviving manuscripts. The author assumes that the ideas behind it developed during Henry's reign, but that it was intended for Edward. Its main argument was that England is ruled 'politically' and 'regally', that is by the king *and* by the law, contrary to France where the king's will is law. Another point made by Fortescue was the danger of 'over-mighty' subjects, of which he discretely only gave foreign examples. The *Governance* also contains the famous theory that the courage and sense of freedom of Englishmen is proven by the fact that far more men are executed in England for robbery and manslaughter than in neighbouring countries.

This review can only touch in a cursory way on the book's full contents, but Fortescue's life and career are traced in detail and every work of his is summarised and analysed, including some that can only be ascribed to him tentatively. The text ends with a brief but clear analysis of the influence of his general treatises on later political thought, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and a Conclusion, which considers the influence of the ideological, cultural and political climate of his own times on the man himself. Appendices contain an English translation of the tract *On the Title of Edward, Earl of March*, Fortescue's fascinating retraction of his earlier argument, and three lists: one of the surviving manuscripts of his works, one of works referred to by him (such as Aristotle, Josephus, St Augustine), and finally one of the modern English-language editions of Fortescue's works. Bibliography, index.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE MEDIEVAL CLOTHIER. John S. Lee. 2018. Working in the Middle Ages. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £25.00 (hbk). ISBN 978-1-78327-317-1

As John S. Lee explains, medieval clothiers were ‘involved in both the *making* and *marketing* of woollen cloth’ (p. 2; author’s italics). They formed ‘a distinctive group of entrepreneurs’, who both coordinated the different stages of cloth production and controlled an increasing share of the cloth trade; but, as becomes clear, some were of modest status, others extremely wealthy. Here ‘medieval’ encompasses the period 1350 to 1550: two centuries of economic, social and political change, during which the English cloth trade grew dramatically. Demand was mainly from the export market, recorded (perhaps under-recorded) in customs accounts (p. 10). Domestic demand is harder to quantify due to lack of statistical records, but rising living standards after the Black Death and increased consumer spending resulted in increased consumption of cloth per head of population, and indeed the weight of that cloth also increased (p. 11). Lee argues that ‘the clothier emerged in the particular economic conditions of the fifteenth century’ and that they were ‘a notable feature of cloth-making in small towns and villages, rather than larger towns’ (p. 22), partly due to restrictions imposed by urban guilds.

‘Making cloth’ considers how clothiers organised production, often by providing workers with raw materials in their own homes and collecting what was subsequently produced (‘putting-out system’); a few managed centralised production in a factory, mostly after the Dissolution in disused monastic buildings. The various processes of cloth-making are explained and illustrated by figures, tables and plates, the latter including tools carved in various church fixtures, the fifteenth-century cloth-workers’ window in Notre-Dame, Semur-en-Auxois (France), and the last surviving set of tenters (at Otterburn Mill, Northumberland) on which cloth was dried and stretched.

Chapter 2 outlines the other side of the clothier’s activities, that of marketing cloth to buyers, whether local men (usually wholesale merchants or drapers), from London (grocers, drapers, mercers or tailors), or from overseas (Hanseatic, Italian or other merchants). The surviving account book of the London mercer and merchant adventurer, Thomas Kitson, gives details of cloth purchased during the period 1529-1539: an invaluable record of West Country clothiers and the different types of cloth that they supplied.

Chapter 3 uses various sources to identify and flesh out clothiers, their whereabouts and their activities. Taxation records (1334 lay subsidies; 1377-1381 poll taxes; lay subsidies and other taxes in the 1520s) provide approximate indications of the sizes of towns and villages and their relative wealth. Lee uses these figures to explore relative changes in levels of taxable wealth and to identify principal reasons for growth which occurred in many of the main cloth-making districts. Individual tax assessments provide evidence of employment and household structure. Accounts of the ulnage tax, levied on sales of cloth, are used to quantify shifts in production and in marketing cloth.

Debt litigation can reveal patterns of credit and distances over which trade was conducted. Using all of these sources Lee estimates the extent and distribution of cloth-workers and clothiers in the late Middle Ages. He then discusses cloth-making centres in various regions including the West Country, the Stour valley of Suffolk and Essex, Yorkshire, the Thames valley, Devon, Kent and Lancashire, where, somewhat confusingly, 'cotton' was produced (which, as the excellent glossary explains, was a 'type of woollen cloth similar to frieze', p. 314).

'Clothiers and government' considers regulation of the cloth industry as both central and local authorities sought to 'standardise goods, protect consumers and monitor quality' (p. 157). Clothiers not only helped shape these policies but also had to operate within the subsequent regulatory framework. On the other hand governments were anxious to protect markets and employment within the textile industry, not least because it was a major contributor of revenue both through customs duties and ulnage. There were various attempts to impose size and quality standards and to overcome regional issues due to differences in width, weight and even colour (p. 165). Appendix 3 helpfully lists regional cloth types as defined by statute in 1552. Cloth-workers are known to have participated in various outbreaks of unrest, including Cade's Rebellion and the Wiltshire Risings of 1450, and the rising in Suffolk against the Amicable Grant in 1525. That these, and other disturbances, occurred during slumps in the cloth trade was no coincidence: clothiers offered credit to their buyers and sales were usually secured by agreeing to deliver cloth before payment was received (p. 189). When such relationships collapsed during trade crises, clothiers were unable to pay their cloth-workers.

'Clothiers in society' examines their family backgrounds, houses and workshops, their activities as landowners and their religious beliefs. Rare surviving inventories provide details of tools and stock. For example, Robert Rychard of Durlsey (Gloucestershire) had a wool loft with a beating hurdle, on which wool would have been spread and beating rods used to remove impurities (p. 199). Wills disclose funerals and commemorations requested by clothiers. Some parish churches still contain their funerary images, while others retain embellishments, or even new aisles or chapels, financed by them. Such men were the financial equals of merchants, gentry and even aristocracy.

Chapter 6 celebrates four famous clothiers or clothier families: Thomas Paycocke of Coggeshall (Essex); three Thomas Springs of Lavenham (Suffolk); father and son John Winchcombe of Newbury (Berkshire); and William Stumpe of Malmesbury (Wiltshire). These were untypical of the majority of clothiers, not least because of the large scale on which they operated and their reliance on the London market; nevertheless, Lee argues, they are worth studying because their operations shed light on a key industry in late medieval England (p. 273). The wills of four of them comprise Appendices 4 to 7. There is also a gazetteer of surviving buildings relating to these and other clothiers and their workforces.

This initial volume in a new series ('Working in the Middles Ages') published by the Boydell Press is not only eminently readable but also well-researched, as demonstrated by the extensive footnotes. Hopefully subsequent volumes will be equally informative.

HEATHER FALVEY

PROCTORS FOR PARLIAMENT: Clergy, Community and Politics c. 1248-1539 (The National Archives, Series SC 10) Volume II: 1377-1539.

Edited by Phil Bradford and Alison K. McHardy. 2018. The Boydell Press for the Canterbury and York Society, Woodbridge, £35. ISSN 0262-995X

Proctors for Parliament completes Bradford and McHardy's calendar of National Archives' series SC10, making available 'the last great unexploited source for the history of the medieval English Parliament'. This series contains 2,520 letters appointing proctorial representatives (proxies) to Parliament. Nearly all of these proctors acted for clergymen and fall into two categories. The first category contains those who acted as substitutes for those summoned individually (bishops, parliamentary abbots, cathedral deans and archdeacons) but who, for one reason or another, were unable to attend personally. The second, contains those who were delegates sent by constituency groups (diocesan clergy and cathedral chapters). In sum, the series records 5,828 appointments of 2,078 individuals over the course of two hundred and eighty-eight years. This second volume registers all letters in SC10 for the one hundred and fifty-nine years from 1377 through to 1536 (it should be clarified that the records going up to 1539 are from the Journal of the House of Lords and form part of appendix 2). It should be noted, however, that all letters from 1447 to 1523 are lost. This book, therefore, represents an important resource for historians of the reign on Richard II, the early Lancastrian period and the middle years of Henry VIII. Despite the incompleteness of the series, the editors have placed a formidable prosopographical resource at readers' disposal, offering a window onto the political and personal connections of the clergy and the effects of political developments on those networks.

As averred above, the editors' commitment to using proctorial appointments as a prosopographical tool, goes well beyond calendaring SC10. Just as in the first volume, several substantial appendices fill out the picture of clerical networks reflected by proxy nominations. Most notably, where they are available, biographical details are given for all of the proctors in the book's seventh appendix along with cross references with either Emden's *Biographical Registers* or to the lists of members of the Commons compiled by Roskell *et al* or by Wedgwood and Holt. The material from the National Archives has also been augmented with an eclectic collection of records from elsewhere. The second appendix lists all proctorial selections recorded in the Journal of the House of Lords (1510-1539); the third, all the proxies sent to the eighth session

of the 1529 parliament (1536) recorded in London, British Library MS Harley 158; the fourth collates the notices of appointments in published and unpublished episcopal registers (which contain a few insights into proctorial nominations during the years missing from SC10); appendix five is a transcription of a formulary for obeying writs of summons to Parliament from York, York Cathedral Library MS 22 and, in the sixth appendix, are calendared the proctors of Peterborough Abbey between 1398 and 1438, which information comes from London, British Library MS Additional 25288. While the editors do not claim that their book comprehends all existing records of proctorial appointments to Parliament, their study is remarkable for its thoroughness and for the amount of material gathered into one place.

The editors' introduction helpfully sets out what the prospective reader can expect to find in SC10. The series is overwhelmingly a repository of information on appointments by clerics, so much so that the editors have chosen to record all nominations by secular peers in a separate appendix. This lists only forty-nine letters plus fifteen from Thomas Lord la Warre (d. 1425) who, though Baron of Manchester, had an anomalous status as a clerical peer. Most of the nominees were also clergy. Prior to the resumption of the series in 1523 (by which time the stratification of the two houses had hardened and only lords were permitted to sit with other lords), the majority were king's clerks. As the editors are quick to point out, this suggests that the main qualification for being a proctor was quite simply that one should be likely to attend Parliament.

It is, perhaps, the reliance on king's clerks, more than any other factor, that underlies the diffidence expressed by the editors over the depth of some of the connections denoted by proctorial appointments. As they acknowledge, the collegiality implied by proctorial appointments may often have been more apparent than real. Yet far from diminishing the value of these records, this only adds nuance to the picture they can paint of the clergy's political manoeuvring. A politically vulnerable cleric, such as Robert Lancaster, bishop of St Asaph (d. 1433), whose predecessor had defected to Owen Glyn Dwr, could appoint a large number of well-connected clerks to the 1404 Parliament as a 'conspicuous show of loyalty'. Such caveats as this are meticulously teased out by an introduction, which is simultaneously lucid and stimulating. Yet the true power of this book lies in the accumulation of data and the challenge it potentially poses to established scholarship. Daringly, for example, the editors intervene in the long-running debate over anticlericalism and the Reformation. Siding firmly with the Paul Cavill's revision of Christopher Haigh's conclusions, they suggest that the complete absence of seculars among the proctors appointed by clergy after 1523 is indicative of the widespread hostility of the laity to churchmen following the death of Richard Hunne in the Lollards Tower of St Paul's Cathedral in 1514. The evidence brought to light in this volume will surely provide fuel for further debate and the foundation for exciting new avenues of research.

This is an important book for the history of medieval English politics. It beautifully demonstrates both the interwovenness of the clergy into English society and the fluctuating relationship between Church and state. The book is also user-friendly. The information is clearly arranged in chronological order and this second volume contains extensive indices for the series. *Proctors for Parliament* will doubtless become an essential tool for students of both ecclesiastical and parliamentary history.

DAVID HARRAP

HISTORY AS PASTIME: Jean de Wavrin and His Collection of Chronicles of England. Livia Visser-Fuchs. With a preface by David Morgan. 2018. Shaun Tyas, Donington, £45 for non-members and £35 for members, see advertisement in this volume for address. ISBN 978-1-907730-69-6

For more than thirty years, in this and other journals, conference proceedings, collections of essays and monographs, Livia Visser-Fuchs has been publishing the results of her extensive, well-focussed, research in British and Continental archives. A particular concern has been with manuscripts having Anglo-Burgundian connections. Readers of *The Ricardian* will be familiar especially with the many studies she has written with Anne Sutton on the books possessed by Richard III. But besides the *de luxe* manuscripts Edward IV, his brother and others at the Yorkist court acquired from Flanders, there have been many other political and cultural themes illuminated by her indefatigable search for new evidence throwing light on England's relations with its continental neighbours whether just across the Channel in the Low Countries or as far afield as the Baltic. Her interest in newsletters and the distribution on the continent of English propagandist pamphlets recording important political events (notably, the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* or the various versions of *The Arrival*) in the rivalry between York and Lancaster and how continental readers reacted to them, or the views they formed on leading figures like Richard Neville the King-maker, need little emphasis here. Never far away in much of this work has been an abiding interest in Jean de Wavrin's enormous compilation of a *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istiores de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre* or *Collection of Chronicles by Jean de Waurin* as it is probably best known to British readers, thanks to their publication in eight volumes in the Rolls Series (1864-91) by W. and E.L.C.P. Hardy, and what the *Recueil* might tell us about 'how in the fifteenth century literate people in England on the one hand, and in the lands ruled by the dukes of Burgundy on the other, regarded each other' (p. 1).

Thanks to the Hardys and the other main nineteenth-century editor of Wavrin, Mme L.E.E. Dupont, who produced a three-volume edition of the *Recueil's* coverage of the period 1325-1471 as the *Anchiennes Croniques d'Engleterre par Jean de Waurin* (Société de l'histoire de France, 1858), it has long

been recognized that Wavrin was only able to produce such a vast work (the only serious competition to Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* as far as Anglo-French affairs are concerned in the later Middle Ages) by systematic though acknowledged plagiarism. Wavrin had been struck by the absence of a major work on the whole course of English history easily accessible to Francophones. He wanted to remedy this defect and directed his efforts to its execution after 1444. In doing so he particularly drew on Geoffrey of Monmouth for the earlier centuries of British history and then, from 1325, on Froissart himself, until the *Chroniques* ended around 1400 (pp. 236-343). After this point, the story becomes more complicated as Visser-Fuchs forensically demonstrates. It is also the period about which Wavrin himself, born as the illegitimate son of Robert VII de Wavrin, lord of Wavrin in 1399 or 1400, had his own personal experiences and contacts to draw upon as a professional soldier - between Agincourt, where as a teenager he had been present with his father, presence too at Cravant (1423), Verneuil (1424) and Patay (1429), and lastly at the siege of Calais (1436) - and then later in diplomatic and administrative roles in the service of Philip the Good (d. 1467), and Charles the Bold (d. 1477), dukes of Burgundy, until finally retiring around 1471, by which time his *Recueil* had achieved its final form. He lived on for some time, certainly to 1476 and possibly another two or three years (pp. 12-97).

For the usurpation and early years of the reign of Henry IV (1399-1403), he certainly used the anonymous *La Traison et mort de Richart Deux* and Jean Creton's *Metrical History*. He also appears to have started to use Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique*, an assumption most previous scholars have accepted without serious reservation, to be followed by use of the works of Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy and others. What Visser-Fuchs shows, however, is that Wavrin's account of Henry IV includes details that are not to be found in his 'continental' sources but may be derived from a now lost English one. 'Wavrin's account of the battle of Shrewsbury is a mixture of few facts and much fiction and it is hard to decide its value, even harder to understand how it came into being. The impression is that a short and not-very-well-informed account did exist, with names, numbers and the bare bones of the story' (p. 350), which Wavrin had discovered or heard about, possibly from English contacts. In other words, from the early fifteenth century onwards (i.e. contemporaneously with his own lifetime), he does not simply plagiarise others but he adapts and shapes his account, sometimes using material unknown to other writers or sources, many now lost, common to several. Hence, with regard to Monstrelet, whom he is usually thought to have followed fairly slavishly, Visser-Fuchs convincingly argues, based on a close-reading of many manuscript as well as edited sources, 'Close comparison of [Wavrin's] text to that of Monstrelet shows up many minor and major differences as well as many striking similarities, and it is therefore more likely that he used the same sources as Monstrelet rather than copied his text.' (p. 353). There is no room here to discuss in detail Wavrin's relationship to other contemporary chroniclers as

explained by Visser-Fuchs (pp. 344-80) except to say that this reader found her explanation of Wavrin's working methods plausible and well-documented.

There is an equally informative and sophisticated analysis of what Wavrin owed to the newsletters and propagandist pieces that he came across (pp. 381-442). When allied to her detailed analysis of the equally complicated evolving manuscript history of the *Recueil* (first produced in a four-volume version, and then finally in one uniquely-surviving six-volume edition famously owned by the great bibliophile Louis de Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse, the man who hosted Edward IV during his exile in the Low Countries), Wavrin emerges from this comprehensive account as a much more intelligent and interesting writer than has usually been recognized. At the same time broader issues about the nature of the other intellectual interests of the dukes of Burgundy and their courtiers (of whom Wavrin is by no means the least) also emerges. Discussion of the book-collecting habits not only of the dukes but many others, for instance, is wide-ranging. So too is the survey of workshops of the scribes and master illuminators who produced not only the different versions of Wavrin's *Recueil* but also the other impressive manuscripts that can be attributed to the patronage of the dukes and their courtiers. Lille, where Wavrin lived for many years, is shown to be an important centre of book production. There is the possibility that Wavrin not only contributed himself to the composition of chivalric romances, so popular at the Burgundian court, but may even (like René of Anjou) have also tried his hand at illuminating some manuscripts with which he is connected. He is probably not the Wavrin master, who painted several books in Wavrin's collection (p. 212). But this very distinctive artist (cf. Illustrations 5a-f, 11a-b) clearly had close connections with Wavrin, while he himself is revealed as a very much more complex figure than just an old buffer passing his latter years agreeably dabbling with history as he is often depicted.

Overall the book is extremely well-produced with very few minor typos or other blemishes given its length and wealth of material. Several appendices provide an additional abundance of technical information on, for example, the 53 extant manuscript-books owned by Wavrin or those which can be associated closely with him (pp. 518-42), the surviving manuscripts of the different versions of the *Recueil* (pp. 552-73) and extracts from texts which show Wavrin at work as a writer or from romances in which he may have had a hand (pp. 548-54, 573-90, 596-60). If Wavrin ultimately lacks the imagination and consummate story-telling skills of Froissart, as Visser-Fuchs has explained so clearly and authoritatively in this long but extremely readable book, he is one who has many interesting things to tell us about how continental views of their neighbours across the Channel were shaped as England experienced, with the Hundred Years War ending and internal strife erupting, an involuntary Brexit.

MICHAEL JONES

MEMORIALIZING THE MIDDLE CLASSES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE EUROPE. Edited by Anne Leader. 2018. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, £88, \$109. ISBN 978-1-58044-345-6

Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe contains a wide range of essays exploring many interpretations of the concepts of ‘memorialisation’, the ‘middle classes’ and the contiguous and overlapping boundaries between ‘medieval’ and ‘Renaissance’. The editorial decision to avoid offering precise definitions of these concepts is intended to generate comparative analysis. By juxtaposing diverse essays on topics such as the re-use of Roman sarcophagi in fourteenth-century elite burials in Camposanto, Pisa and the offering of *pitancia*, or gifts of food, in exchange for commemorative prayer to the Franciscan nuns of Strasbourg (alleviating the strictures of enclosed female life), readers are encouraged to see memorialisation as something which may be culturally, geographically and temporally specific, but which is also part of the universal human condition.

Although much of the volume explores the Continent and spans *c.* 1200–*c.* 1700, readers of *The Ricardian* are encouraged to seek out Christian Steer’s article, “‘Under the tombe that I have there prepared’: Monuments for the Tailors and Merchant Tailors of Medieval London’ (pages 107–27). Originally united with the linen-armourers (by the 1330s) under the Fraternity of St John the Baptist, by the end of the fifteenth century London’s tailors were enjoying new-found success and prosperity: Sir John Percyvale was the first tailor to be elected mayor (in 1498) and, in 1503, a new royal charter was granted for the newly named Merchant Tailors’ Company. It was during this period of prosperity that London’s tailors appear to have expanded their commemorative horizons, investing in ambitious tomb-building projects in London and beyond the city. Steer examines a number of case-studies, including Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500) and his wife, Katherine (d. 1508), who were originally buried in St Martin Outwich, but whose tomb is extant in St Helen’s Bishopsgate, Sir Stephen Jenyns’s (d. 1523) monument in London Greyfriars and the canopied tomb of Sir William Fitzwilliam (d. 1534) in the church of St Mary the Virgin, Marholm (formerly Northamptonshire). Fitzwilliam’s tomb, described by Steer aptly as ‘of great magnificence’, was fulfilled by his executors and engraved between 1548 and 1564 (perhaps during the Marian Restoration). Fitzwilliam was not knighted for his service to London, but to Cardinal Wolsey, and his monument is situated in a chancel he had rebuilt in a county in which he held several estates and had twice been sheriff. Such behaviour reflects growing aristocratic aspiration among London’s governors during the early sixteenth century. As Steer observes, all three examples suggest patrons, or executors, who were aware of monumental fashion and keen to ensure that in death, the reputation of the Merchant Tailors’ Company was further enhanced. Appropriately illustrated with five plates (black and white only), this article

offers further nuance to our growing understanding of pre-Reformation burial practice among the London elite.

A brief note on the edition. It must be extremely disappointing for the editor and contributors - as well as those organisations that provided a subvention towards publication cost (including the Richard III and Yorkist History Trust) that, in spite of the time dedicated to and quality scholarship offered within this volume, the case-wrapped edition contains an egregious typographical error. I hope that the publisher intends to recall and rebind the first print run before releasing them for general sale.

DAVID HARRY

SIR JOHN TIPTOFT. ‘Butcher of England’, Earl of Worcester, Edward IV’s Enforcer and Humanist Scholar. Peter Spring. 2018. Pen and Sword Military, 47 Church Street, Barnsley, South Yorkshire, S70 2AS; price, £25.

ISBN 978-1-78346-382-4

As a man of diverse talents and a varied career John Tiptoft, first Earl of Worcester (1427-1470), is the perfect subject for a full-length biography, but this is only the second one ever written: the first was by Rosamond J. Mitchell, simply entitled *John Tiptoft 1427-1470*, published by Longmans Green in 1938 and now very rare (but available in full on archive.org). If we want to define any difference between the two, the first may be called a little old-fashioned, but very literary and readable, the present one thoroughly modern, less easy to read and a little over-burdened with both factual information and psychological speculation. The present book also seems to be seeking the attention of the ‘common reader’ by giving Tiptoft’s unpleasant nickname of ‘butcher of England’ pride of place on the cover – though not on the title-page, which is a more conventional and reads *Sir John Tiptoft. The Earl of Worcester 1427-1470. ‘The Butcher of England’*. Why there are two titles is not clear.

Tiptoft’s life and career are too varied and too much connected with the complicated political situation of his time to be rehearsed here. The present book gives ample information about every aspect and each stage: his family and youth, his years at Oxford University, the period he was a royal ward, his remarkable marriage in 1449 to Cecily Neville, widow of Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, and niece to Cecily Neville, who was the sister of Richard, Earl of Warwick, and the wife of Richard, Duke of York, which assured him of the support of the most powerful men in the land and which, though no doubt together with his personal talents, helped him to rise fast. He was a member of the king’s council and treasurer of England by 1452 when aged only twenty-five, keeper of the sea in 1454. Important and formative must have been his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1458 and his prolonged stay in Italy (Padua) where he studied with humanist scholars. The darker side of his later reputation was partly fed by his erudition and foreign learning. In 1461 he moved smoothly

into the Yorkist administration, became constable of the Tower, constable of England and steward of the king's household and, according to the author, very close to Edward IV. As constable Tiptoft played his part at the famous Smithfield tournament of 1467, for which he also wrote the ordinances.

The story of his tenure of the deputy-lieutenancy of Ireland is darkened by later rumours of his cruelty and the author correctly goes to great lengths to contradict these; he also rehearses Tiptoft's military operations and his legislation, which are easily overlooked. The chaos of 1469-70 and the re-adaptation of Henry VI were to be Tiptoft's nemesis. He stayed loyal and close to Edward IV during 1469 and it was his treatment of the king's rebels that further confirmed his reputation for cruelty, mainly because he was said to have used 'foreign' methods. Still loyal when the king fled the country, Tiptoft went into hiding, was discovered and brought to London; it is not certain what he was accused of at his trial, but again his 'foreignness' appears to have played a part. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on 18 October 1470.

Any biographer of Tiptoft is fortunate in that long narrative accounts survive of important episodes in his life, most markedly the lively accounts of people going on very similar pilgrimages to the Holy Land and the detailed Burgundian description of the Anglo-Burgundian feats of arms at Smithfield in May/June 1467. They are used to great effect in this book and make interesting reading for scholar and non-specialist alike. Tiptoft's book collecting and humanist learning are not given great emphasis. Generally speaking the text contains a wealth of information, perhaps a little too much: the attempts to write in a lively manner *and* include everything seem to produce bitty and sometimes chaotic sentences.

Apart from political events, the story is given content by listing at length the various commissions on which Tiptoft served and setting out the generalities of the offices he held. Curious speculative remarks about his inner life attempt to enliven the story: 'He had been everywhere [at Smithfield] without being overbearing'; 'Elizabeth [his third wife] may have elicited a more common touch from the erudite earl'. In an attempt to explain why Tiptoft had the earl of Desmond executed: 'He [Desmond] was also so much that Worcester was not and must have wanted to be'. In a few instances the text would have benefited from the work of an editor: there are some slips in Latin phrases, and the words of the Burgundian author who mentions Tiptoft's execution do not contain any moral judgment, they merely say that he was beheaded *incontinent*, which means 'immediately', not 'shamefully'. More unfortunate is the author's not being aware of the likelihood that Tiptoft in fact never translated any Latin texts, especially not Cicero's *De amicitia* and de Montemagna's *Controversia de nobilitate*. Caxton, who printed them, does indeed claim that they are Tiptoft's work, but he did not know the actual translator, that is (William) Worcester, John Fastolf's secretary – for whom the evidence is strong. The printer assumed, wittingly or unwittingly, that the *earl* of Worcester was the author, probably because he (Caxton) 'loved a lord' and knew his customers did too

(see *The Ricardian*, vol. 9 (1991-93), pp. 154-65, esp. 160-61). If Tiptoft did indeed *not* make these translations all speculative connections between their content and the earl's opinions and attitude made in the present book are void.

The black and white figures in the text are all (competent) re-drawings of images and objects, the plates are black and white photographs; there are many clear maps and chronologies; the bibliography is subdivided to the point of being a nightmare in which one gropes in the dark trying to find any of the titles mentioned in the notes; the notes themselves unfortunately are endnotes and helpfully headed as such. Appendix 1 briefly discusses Tiptoft's letters, orations and possible written works (for his fascinating collection of manuscripts one can turn to David Rundle's *bonae litterae* website); Appendix 2 lists his lands and houses; Appendix 3 the various spellings of his name. The index is good; the price for this substantial and nicely presented book is very reasonable.

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE RIGHT ORDERING OF SOULS: The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation. Clive Burgess. 2018. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £60.
ISBN 978-1-78327-309-6

When one considers the distance that pre-Reformation parishes had travelled towards fulfilling the imperative of liturgical sophistication, and the generosity of parishioners who had done so much to realise this aspiration, then the impact of mid sixteenth-century change must undoubtedly be reckoned as drastic.

At this point, a few pages from the end, the reader has become very familiar with the landscape – spiritual, managerial, personal – painted by Clive Burgess of All Saints' Bristol in the late medieval period. Such is the detail of a vibrant parish life provided in Burgess's narrative that the phrase 'undoubtedly ... drastic' in relation to the impact of the Reformation does not seem exaggerated. To emphasise this point, and to sum up his approach, Burgess closes the work with a comparison between the wills of two men, one made in 1553 and the other in 1560-61, who had been active as churchwardens serving devotedly alongside each other in the 1520s. Both come to see the parish 'profoundly changed' with 'endowments confiscated, fewer clergy and the superstructure of intercession and commemoration demolished'. The testamentary evidence appears to indicate that whilst one of the two men might have found this liberating, for another it was likely to have been 'a matter of deep regret'.

One suspects that for Burgess himself it is a matter of deep regret since the work offers a positive picture of parish life in All Saints from the late fourteenth century through to the impact of the Reformation. There is perhaps also a finality in the book in that it is a summation of Burgess's work on Bristol,

undertaken over many years and seen in print in highly regarded articles. It also brings together themes explored in his work on the late medieval parish more generally. This book-length (424 pages) study provides the author the opportunity to develop a number of themes, with a significant amount of detailed information.

All Saints Bristol is unique amongst late medieval English parishes in the range and quality of surviving documentary material, and Burgess takes full advantage of this. He explores the parish as corporate body, as property developer and landlord, as efficient machinery, as community enabler, and as economic entity. One of the most interesting aspects of the book is the way in which the parish is revealed as an economic community. The good management of property and of sums of money – both often the result of testamentary gifts – was crucial both for the maintenance of the fabric of the church but also for the community. The financial ‘buy-in’ from the community was important not just for the maintenance of the physical property but also as an expression of their loyalty to the spiritual enterprise. Burgess brings together the material and spiritual aspects of the parish, aiming to show that it was all one enterprise.

As well as presenting the corporate body, Burgess explores the importance of several individuals, laity and clergy, across the generations who make their mark on the parish. Amongst the laity Thomas and Joan Halleyway were particularly generous and Burgess goes into some depth considering the importance to the parish of the chantry they founded. The documentary evidence allows for an examination of how their legacies provided for the parish over several generations through the good management of property and income. There is an interesting contrast between the success of the Halleyway gift and the failure of that provided by Richard Haddon. One is left to wonder whether or not All Saints was typical in the way it managed significant testamentary gifts; but it is difficult to answer this question without comparative material.

The particular generosity of the Halleyways was important in encouraging others to do likewise. Burgess gives some nice detail on the acquisition of splendid vestments ‘new suits’ both by individual donation and by communal activity. The best example of this was the collective activity over some years which culminated in the purchase of the parish’s ‘best suit’, a lavish suit of vestments of cloth of gold tissue, in 1455.

Alongside the lay personalities of the parish, rich donors, church wardens and others, Burgess is generous in the amount of information he provides on the clergy both as significant individuals and as figures in the community. These were indeed individuals with different talents and inclinations, some more political than others, some with significant gifts as pastors. There seems to be little indication from the surviving material of difficulties between clergy and laity, and Burgess notes this. Again, one wonders how typical or exceptional

was All Saints, or indeed how much the kind of evidence available tends to confirm this opinion.

The title of the book 'The Right Ordering of Souls' takes us to the heart of the argument. All Saints parish was a lively community in a thriving city. There was a well-ordered church, well provided for in terms of its fabric and fittings, imagery and music, vestments and sacred vessels. But all of this was set in the context of the overall purpose of the parish: that was to prepare its community for death and life hereafter, for the passage from this world to the next; to ensure that the members of this small section of the 'Church Militant' on earth might be able to join the 'Church Triumphant' in heaven. Although this thread of the narrative is there throughout the book, it is perhaps most evident towards the end. We are left wondering how easily and quickly such a well-ordered community, in both senses, adapted – or not – to the changes of the Reformation. How many of those 'souls' of All Saints were left with 'deep regret'.

CLAIRE DAUNTON

ENGLISH ARISTOCRATIC WOMEN AND THE FABRIC OF PIETY, 1450-1550. Barbara J. Harris. 2018. *Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World*, 4. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 85 euros (hb).

ISBN 978-94-6298-598-8

This volume draws upon Harris's earlier book, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford University Press 2002), as the author makes clear (p. 18 n.5), and in particular on the chapter on women as widows. There is no doubt that a knowledge of the previous book adds richness to the reading of the present subject, not least in explaining how long-lived women of this period accumulated riches through successive marriages. But knowledge of the 2002 volume is far from necessary to gain insight into these women's pious practices and artistic and architectural interventions into what had once been the communal space of the parish church. Where this volume differs most from its predecessor is in what may be described as its statistical approach, most obviously on display in the series of appendices, to which I shall return. The aim of the study is to investigate what are usually considered as the purely art-historical topics of tombs, chantry chapels, bequests towards maintaining or improving the fabric of the chosen parish church, legacies of luxurious fabrics for the adornment of priest or altar, plate for the ritual of the liturgy and lastly the foundation of almshouses and schools for the benefit of the community. The final two chapters deal with how these women chose to define themselves in artistic fashion after their deaths and where they chose to be buried; and, as an epilogue, the destruction and survival of their efforts, as the religious climate in England swung between Catholic and Protestant (see firstly, pp. 87-88).

The text is illustrated with eleven black-and-white figures. Given the nature of the discussion, more would have been welcome, but medievalists in general are only too aware of the difficulties of persuading publishers of the desirability of providing illustrations. Counter-intuitively, perhaps, the pictures of tombs and brasses breathe life into the text, for there is little detail given of the lives of these women and the contents of their wills which do not directly bear on the subject of the book. What is possibly the most interesting discussion – which crops up in more than one chapter – is that concerning the women's choice of burial companion or companions. Jane, née Hornby Norton Fitzlewis, for instance, commissioned a brass with her husband centre stage, flanked on each side by two of his total of four wives (Fig. 2), each bearing their arms on their attire. Fitzlewis was the first of Jane Hornby's husbands, but it was she who made sure that his other three wives were depicted with them. By way of contrast, other women chose to be buried with their natal family, or in chantries which celebrated their birthright. The most well-known amongst these women is probably Alice née Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk, who commissioned a chantry chapel in her family home of Ewelme, Oxfordshire, which is an extravagant yet apposite display of her Chaucer and Burghersh roots. Alice's tomb has been moved from its original position but, commissioned by her, it presents an image of a powerful, sometimes ruthless, yet ultimately pious woman. It was she who fulfilled her last husband's request to be buried in Hull, the city from which the de la Pole family, to which he belonged, had emerged to make their fortune on the national stage. Equally, Margaret née Mautby Paston, although not an aristocrat, commissioned her (now destroyed) tomb in Mautby Church to portray in one corner her and her husband's arms, while the other three corners and the centre were devoted to 'different branches of her natal family', the centre of the tomb being occupied by the Mautby arms and motto (p. 126).

In spite of the fascinating detail in the book there are, however, errors in the text, ranging from the factual to what can best be described as incompleteness in the proof-reading. On page 99 Anne Lady Scrope is described as having two husbands rather than three; Alice, Duchess of Suffolk did not, as stated on pages 105, 110 and 239, found the almshouses and school at Ewelme by herself: her husband William de la Pole was equally involved (see John A.A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, Aldershot, Ashgate 2001), chapter 3). On pages 108-09 the statement that two grammar schools established by aristocratic women in Gloucestershire survive is inaccurate. Admittedly earlier than the book's timeframe, Lady Katherine Berkeley's school at Wootton-under-Edge (1394), is said to have been the earliest school in England to be founded by a woman. It, too, is still in existence. Elizabeth née Beauchamp Neville may have expressed a wish to be buried in her father's outstanding chantry chapel at St Mary's Warwick, but she was not (p. 123). And Katherine née de la Pole Stapleton Harcourt, although represented on the brass of her first husband in Ingham, Norfolk, together with his first wife, was not buried there (pp. 182, 217, 224): in

her will (TNA, PROB 11/8, fols 141v-142r) she requested burial in front of the image of Our Lady in the Cistercian abbey of Rewley in Oxford. Where the proof-reading is concerned, page 99 note 57 reads 'See above p.???'; on page 100, North Allerton should be spelt as one word and in note 59 on the same page there is an imperfect link to Sir John Barre on the girders website. Page 108 note 23 reads 'Lady John Bradbury'; page 131 note 44 ends with a question mark in brackets as does the name 'Chelcite' on page 181. There are other errors which could be pointed out, but these few examples will suffice.

The book concludes with a series of nine Appendices, which cover topics from patrons of tombs, choice of burial companion, commissioned chantries and the bequest of vestments. These are useful, acting as an economical re-statement of the subjects of individual chapters and the presence of the Glossary, which follows them, is extremely helpful. Taken as a whole, with the proviso I have alluded to, this volume is a stimulating read, as the author writes (p. 18), filling the 'gap in the historical record'.

CAROL M. MEALE

THE WHITE BOOK (Liber Albus) OF SOUTHWELL. 2 volume set. Edited by Michael Jones, Julia Barrow, David Crook and Trevor Foulds. 2018. The Pipe Roll Society, New Series Volume 61. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, £100. ISBN 978-0-901134-67-7

The collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Southwell, better known as Southwell Minster, was the major ecclesiastical foundation in medieval Nottinghamshire. Belonging to the archbishops of York, with their occasional residence lying in its shadow, its status reflected the considerable authority of the northern metropolitan as delegated to this most southerly area of his jurisdiction. Equivalent in status to the minsters of Beverley in the East Riding and Ripon in north-west of the diocese, Southwell enjoyed a privileged position within its county as a centre for the collection of Whitsuntide oblations and the possessor of peculiar jurisdiction over twenty-three parishes in central and north Nottinghamshire. The Minster attracts visitors today by reason of its architecture, above all the glorious foliage carvings decorating the late thirteenth-century chapter house, celebrated by Nikolaus Pevsner as the *Leaves of Southwell* in a landmark King Penguin volume of 1945. The collegiate foundation, however, is less well-known. Despite its longevity (the church was founded as a result of the grant in 956 by King Eadwig of the Southwell estate to Oskytel, Archbishop of York), the chapter of Southwell has hitherto lacked a detailed and authoritative account of its development as an institution.

The medieval cartulary of Southwell, known as the White Book from its white vellum cover, has been known to historians since the mid seventeenth century when it was used by Sir William Dugdale in the third volume of his *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1673) and by his friend Dr Robert Thoroton in his

Antiquities of Nottinghamshire (1677). The lack of a modern edition of the manuscript, however, has meant that the medieval archives of the Southwell chapter have remained in comparative obscurity.

The publication of this handsome edition of the White Book is therefore warmly to be welcomed. The text, lavishly spread over two volumes, is almost entirely printed *in extenso*, with English summaries and detailed annotations provided to smooth the path of the researcher. Here may be found the papal confirmations, royal charters and episcopal acta familiar to cartulary users, together with successive versions of the capitular statutes and the title deeds of the estates which formed the endowment of the common, the prebends (eventually growing to sixteen in number), the vicars choral and the chantries, mainly founded by prebendaries or archiepiscopal officials.

A full and scholarly introduction includes a detailed study by Dr Teresa Webber of the structure and palaeography of the manuscript, a discussion of the historiography of the White Book, a summary of its contents and a historical survey of the chapter and its administration. Three appendices contain, first, additional documents relating to the chapter, not found in the White Book; secondly, a chronological list of further relevant documents not found in the manuscript, and thirdly, a summary *fasti* of canons and prebendaries to 1540, all the more valuable in that the only existing list in print is contained in the scarce Hardy edition (1854) of Le Neve's *Fasti*.

The publication of this volume was undertaken by the Pipe Roll Society as a commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Sir Frank Stenton, who himself came from Southwell. It must be admitted that few of the volumes issued by that august Society, specialising as it does in the financial records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, can have featured hitherto among the book reviews published in *The Ricardian*. So, what is in the White Book of Southwell for historians of Yorkist England?

There are two reasons why the history of collegiate churches such as Southwell have a resonance for later medieval England. Although, as we have seen, the history of Southwell goes back to the pre-Conquest period, the importance of such collegiate foundations was enduring. The fourteenth century saw the creation of significant new secular colleges, including the Newarke in Leicester and Ithlingborough in Northamptonshire. In the fifteenth century, attention shifted to the foundation of chantry colleges, notably Eton and, of especial Yorkist relevance, Fotheringhay. The study of the workings of these institutions is greatly helped by editions of their records.

The second reason lies in the opportunity to study the background of the individual prebendaries who made up the chapter. Although the value of Southwell's prebends was inferior to those of a major secular cathedral such as Lincoln, there was evidently no shortage of candidates who desired to hold them. Among the prebendaries of Southwell during the second half of the fifteenth century may be found such well-known figures as Robert Stillington (Oxton Secunda Pars, 1457-59), Richard Andrew (Oxton Prima Pars, 1461-76),

William Worsley (Norwell Overhall, 1453-99) and Edmund Chadderton, Richard III's chaplain and later his chamber treasurer, who held a succession of five Southwell prebends between 1472 and 1499. Of these, both Worsley and Chadderton spent time at Southwell as residentiaries.

This is an exemplary edition and both the editorial team and the Pipe Roll Society are to be congratulated on its publication. It is very satisfactory that at last there is an authoritative source for historians wishing to check a point of detail concerning the history or constitution of the Southwell chapter. The two volumes are not cheap but for those enlightened souls who maintain a membership of the Pipe Roll Society, they were issued for just one year's subscription, a fitting reward for those who support our record publishing societies.

NICHOLAS BENNETT

A HERALDIC MISCELLANY. Fifteenth-Century Treatises on Blazon and the Office of Arms in English and Scots. Edited by Richard J. Moll. 2018. Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies. Liverpool University Press, £100.

ISBN 978-1-78138-248-6

In recent years a great many of the primary sources for heraldic studies have been brought into print in scholarly editions and works of reference: a series of publications, of the early rolls of arms, of the *Dictionary of British Arms* and of Michael Siddons's studies of *Heraldic Badges* as well as of *Mottoes*, have together transformed the subject. The one great gap that has now become apparent is the need for scholarly editions of the many heraldic texts that circulated in late medieval England. Here, there had until recently been little to match the now-scarce wartime edition by Evan Jones entitled *Medieval Heraldry: Some Fourteenth Century Heraldic Works* (Cardiff 1943). An exceptional book-length edition was that of *The Deidis of Armorie: A Heraldic Treatise and Bestiary*, by Luuk Houwen (1994), but that has the drawback for many readers that it is in Scots of the 1490s, which is in many places far from easy to follow.

Hopes were therefore raised by the publication of Richard Moll's *Heraldic Miscellany*, an edition of six fifteenth-century texts, and if this review is less than totally enthusiastic about it, this is not for want of appreciation of the scholarly attention that has gone into its making. It is indeed a valuable contribution, but just falls a little short of what this reviewer was expecting.

It can readily be divided into two sections: three Middle English texts, and then three in Scots that are each taken from the same source as Houwen's *Deidis of Armory*. The first of the Middle English texts is a translation of the *Tractatus de armis* of John 'de Bado Aureo', extant in just one manuscript, Laud Misc. 733 in the Bodleian Library. The late-fourteenth-century Latin text was printed by Evan Jones in 1943, but it is of course helpful to have this in English, too. Then follows a translation of the much-copied Latin letter of Eneas Silvio

Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II), *De heraldis* (also known as *The first foundation of the Office of Arms*). At least five medieval translations into English are extant, Moll's text being based on that in College of Arms, MS Arundel 26, which was written, it seems, in the hand of John Writhe (d. 1504), Garter King of Arms under Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII. No reference is made to the important recent paper by Nils Bock, "Omnia degenerant, nec est hominum genus, quod stet suis legibus". Zur Schrift, Vom Ursprung der Herolde des Enea Silvio Piccolomini', in *König und Kanzlist, Kaiser und Papst. Friedrich III. und Enea Silvio Piccolomini in Wiener Neustadt*, edited by Franz Fuchs, Paul-Joachim Heinig and Martin Wagendorfer (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2013), pages 31-58.

Moll's third Middle English text is one which he entitles (from its opening words) '*Dionisius, Furst Institoutoure* [of herauldes]'; this appears to survive only in MS Douce 271, in the Bodleian Library, which Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, volume 3 (1973), number 1096, dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century. It is a remarkably interesting collection, possibly the earliest English herald's collection of texts to have survived, even if it cannot be said to have been added to by each of its 'successive owners from the middle of the fifteenth century' onwards (p. 18). Incidentally, Christopher Barker, who owned it in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, was Richmond Herald of Arms, not King of Arms. Its text is a variant, with expansion, of Moll's second text.

Three pieces in Middle Scots follow, each drawn from the same source as Houwen's *Deidis of Armorie*, MS Harley 6149 in the British Library. These are a treatise on trial by combat ("The Lawe of Armes within Listis") – not really a heraldic text, it has to be said, although a herald was required at such events) – a treatise on the Office of Arms which Moll entitles '*The Persewant*', and finally a treatise on gentility and arms, *The Origynall Determyning of Blasonyng of Armes*, aimed, it seems, at the gentry rather than at aspiring heralds (as *The Persewant* is).

What is strange about the book is this: it is presented – for instance on its back cover – as being a heraldic collection ('Edited here for the first time are some of the texts that detail the relationship between heraldic design and working heralds ...') and yet the heraldic side of the texts receives relatively little comment from the editor. On one of the very few occasions when he ventures into armory, informing us that Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, 'did not bear a boar in his arms', he overlooks the fact that, in Michael Siddons's words, "The blue boar is well-known as the badge of the Vere family, earls of Oxford, the boar being a play on the name, the Latin for boar being *verres*" (*Heraldic Badges*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 52). This reviewer was left with the feeling that Moll has discovered what an abundance of little-known heraldic texts there is, but has preferred to treat them simply as specimens of Middle English. That said, he does provide extensive comments on all the texts, including many that are drawn from modern heraldic publications.

The book is handsomely presented, albeit with notes that are mostly at the back of the book and not at the foot of the page. It is however shockingly expensive, and its binding is not sewn but merely held together with glue; my copy has already split in two places. There is also a distressingly large number of typographic slips.

NIGEL RAMSAY

**RICHARD III AND THE KNAVE OF CARDS:
An Illuminator's Model in Manuscript and Print,
1440s to 1490s**

ANNE F. SUTTON and LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

The Antiquaries Journal, volume 79 (1999), pages 257–99.

For over 200 years it has been asserted (originally by Joseph Strutt) that an unflattering portrait of Richard Duke of Gloucester exists in the presentation miniature of the copy of the Chronicle of England by Jean de Wavrin owned by Edward IV. The authors recite the history of this assertion and prove that no such portrait exists. In fact the figure of the courtier concerned turns out to be a figure commonly used by illuminators and painters of all sorts, ranging from Dürer to the first designers of playing cards. The figure was in fact the original knave of cards. When Strutt and his imitators searched for a figure that answered their imaginary idea of what a villainous Richard looked like they chose, by chance, the knave of cards! They did not find a portrait of the historical Richard III. This article is extensively illustrated.

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