APPENDIX

Duke Edward's Purchases of Printed Books and Manuscripts:
Books Mentioned in Some Surviving Accounts.

(a) SCRO D641/1/3/7a (1503-4)

'... quinque libris vocatis French bokes iiij s.'
'pro iii libris vocatis saulter bokes viiiis.'
'iijj primers

Possibly all these were acquired for educative purposes.

(b) SCRO D641/1/3/9 (1506-17)

'xx libri impressis, (corrected to xvii) videlicet

1. "Blasinge de armys" : Possibly Le Blason de toutes armes et ecutz, etc., printed P. le Carron (Paris, 1495) or Le Blason des Armes, printed C. Nourry (Lyon, 1503)? (Graesse, I, 438)


5. "lyve well & dye well" : Probably The Crafte to lyue well and

7. "partonope" : No edition known to me at present, except the Spanish edition of Arnao Guillen de Brocas (1513). (Graesse, V, 143).


13. "Dolyn de mengeaunce" : Possibly Doolin de Maience, printed by Vérard (Paris, 1501)? (Brunet, II, 815)

14. "dicta philosophorum" : Probably Caxton's The dictes or sayengis of the philosophres (London, 1477) (STC 6826)
15. "little town tenures" : Littleton's Tenures, frequently printed in London, e.g. by Lettou and Machlin (1481) and Pynson (1510).
(STC 15719 sqq).


(STC 18385 sqq).

18. "Newe Tales" : Contents unknown.

19. "ve..tre & history par la passioun" : Possibly one of the various French Passions listed by Brunet? (IV, 423). Also, 'ii libri inpressis, 1 vocatus plinyus (?) & alius vocatus d..is de Regulis ... pro domino Stafford' : If the first book is a Pliny, the Naturalis historiae was printed frequently in Italy before 1500, and also in Lyons 1510 (Brunet, IV, 713-4). The nature of the other volume is still a mystery to me.

'iiiij libri inpressis vnde ii. Terenso ii Sulpis pro m. Georgio (Stafford - Duke Edward's nephew) & m. Garett' : English printings of Terence begin with Pynson in 1497 (STC 23885 sqq). Although Sulpitius' grammatical works were printed in England by W. de Worde (STC 23427 sqq), the volumes here may have come from the 1508 Paris printing of Jodocus Badius, which is the edition cited in the 1556 Stafford catalogue.

'iii libri inpressis vocati brigemente de la Statutes pro domino duce' : Probably one of the Abridgements frequently
'vi prymmers' were bought for the henchmen, wards and chapel boys.

PRO E101/631/20 (1516-17).

'j liber de grammatic<i>e Stanbrige vocatus vocabulae pro domino Stafford' : probably Stanbridge's Vocabula, printed W. de Worde (London, 1500 and frequently thereafter) (STC 23177.5 sqq).

'ii libri impressi<i>s j vocatus Iurnal alius vocatus Pupilla. pro domino Stafford ii libri j vocatus Isodore & alius vocatus Architectura' : The 'Iurnal' is possibly the Diurnal printed by Byrkmann (London, 1512) (STC 15861.7); the "Pupilla" I have not yet located. As for 'Isodore', several editions of the Etymologiarum were printed in Italy and France before 1516 (Graesse, III, 431-2). 'Architectura' may have been a copy of Vitruvius' treatise, of which several editions were printed in Italy from 1497 onwards (Graesse, III, 375).

'ii liber impressus vocatus le Institutes cum commentis pro domino Stafford' : Probably a legal text, but I have not yet located it. Justinian's Institutiones is a possibility. (Graesse, III, 504-6).

'ii prymmers impressi<i>s pro domini Stafford & Westmorland (Duke Edward's ward) : Possibly the Horae printed by Caxton (London 1477) and others (frequently thereafter)? (STC, 15867 sqq).

'iiij libri impressii<i>s j de lez Statutes & de lez brigementes. Statutes j de Boisius de consolatone phelosophie pro domino duce : The 'Statutes' may have been the Nova Statuta, printed by Machlin, 1484-7, and other London printers (STC 9264), or Magna Carta cum Statutis, printed by Pynson (London, 1505-8) (STC 9266), or perhaps statutes for individual regnal years, of which a steady stream flowed from the London presses.
(STC 9347 sqq). There was also a steady stream of Abridgements (STC 9513-5). 'Boisfis' may have been the Latin text, copies of which were printed in Italy and France (Hain, 3351-62); if it was Chaucer's translation, Caxton's edition was available (London, 1478) (STC 3199).

'vii libri impressis iij de Gestes & iij alij vocati Godes
j vocatus Angelus super Institutes ac j vocatus alpha ... & j
liber vocatus opera Grasini pro domino Stafford.' None of these has yet been traced.

'vij prymers & iiij libri de gramatice Stanbrige pro hinxmen & wardes': The Stanbridge grammars could have been any of the following, Accidence (W. de Worde, London, 1505), Gradus (W. de Worde, London 1504), Parvula (W. de Worde, 1495), Vulgaria (W. de Worde, London 1509), Vocabula (W. de Worde, London 1500) (STC 23139.5 sqq).

'j liber vocatus legend impressus, vj Imnalles & iij procession-
alles ad usum capellam'.

'iiij prykesonge booke de papiire Ryall ... ad vsum capellam
domini ducis'.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION

7. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, p. 223.
14. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, p. 211.


23. Clanchy, Memory to Written Record, p. 198.


The classic example is the effort expended by Lady Constance Fitz-Gilbert to assist Gaimar with the work she had commissioned from him, Lestoire des Engleis, which involved Constance's husband Ralph Fitz-Gilbert borrowing a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae from Walter Lespèc of Helmsley: Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature, pp. 28-9.


32. C.E. Pickford, 'Fiction and the Reading Public' in the Fifteenth Century', BJRL 45 (1963) 423-38 (pp. 422,430-38); Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 243-4; Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 19-29, 54.


36. Pearsall, 'Alliterative Revival', p. 49; other works commissioned by the Stapletons, including the romance Amoryus and Cleopes, ed. H. Craig, EETS, OS 132 (London, 1916) will be discussed in a later chapter.

38. For the relations between Lovelich and Barton, see R.W. Ackermann 'Henry Lovelich's Merlin', *PMLA* 67.2 (1952), 473-84; for Bryce's involvement with Caxton's *Mirroure*, see N.F. Blake, *Caxton and His World* (London, 1969) pp. 90, 156.


40. Blake, 'Lydgate and Caxton', p. 287.

41. cf. E.P. Hammond, *English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey* (Durham, North Carolina, 1927); Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*; the essays in *English Court Culture and Middle English Alliterative Poetry*; Parkes, 'Literacy'. The quotation is from Parkes, 'Literacy', p. 557.

42. Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, I, Proli. 11. 342-5, 352-3.


NOTES

CHAPTER 1: The Stafford Family 1066-1521

1. Henry Stafford, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, signed himself "souente me souenne - Harre Bokyngam" in British Library MS Cotton Vespasian F. XIII, article 82, no. 183. Roughly translated, the motto means "remember me often".

2. J.J. Mazzinghi, 'The History of the Manor and Parish of Castre, or Castle Church', William Salt Archaeological Society 8, pt. 2 (1887), 1-120. (pp. 5-6, 120).

3. The royal blood came from two sources. Earl Ralph's second wife, Margaret Audley, was the great-granddaughter of Edward I; Anne, wife successively of the third and fifth Earls of Stafford, was the heiress of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III. For details of the Staffords' possessions and finances, see C. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521 (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 12-44 and Chapter 6, passim.

4. Taken from a transcript of a poem lamenting the death of "Edward duke of Bokyngam" (Index 158.9) contained in BL MS Harl. 2252, f.2. The transcript was made for me by Dr. C. Meale, University of York, to whom I am most grateful.

5. A useful definition of "good lordship" and "affinity" can be found in K.B. McFarlane, 'Parliament and Bastard Feudalism', TRHS 4th Series, 26 (1944), 53-79 (pp. 70-73).

6. The Aristotelian concept of "magnificence" as including ungrudging expenditure on fit and proper objects (including lasting works of art such as books), generosity of spirit, and fortitude in the face of prosperity and adversity, was absorbed into the several qualities constituting the medieval Virtue of Fortitude, and as such had a profound influence on medieval ideas of noble behaviour. See R. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery (Princeton, 1966) pp. 57-70; G. Kipling, The Triumph of Honour (Leiden, 1977) p. 28; Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 225-8.


8. The Staffords' progress can be plotted in G.E. Cockayne, The Complete Peerage, ed. V. Gibbs and others, 12 vols. (London, 1910-59) under "Stafford" and then under "Buckingham". The otherwise steady increase in prosperity was slowed down in the late twelfth century by the expensive crusading venture of Robert Stafford: Mazzinghi, 'Castle Church', p. 64. However, by 1299, they had recovered sufficiently to rank as parliamentary barons.


14. *Complete Peerage*, "Stafford".

15. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, pp. 8-9


18. McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 203, 85-6. Ralph's daughters were betrothed into the families of Charlton of Powys (1343), Lestrange of Blackmere (1347) and Desmond (1350).


21. Hugh's daughters married into the families of de la Pole (Suffolk), Holland (Kent) and Neville (Westmoreland). The Staffords' advisory council played a major role in arranging the marriage of Thomas Stafford and Anne of Gloucester; see C. Rawcliffe, 'Baronial Councils in the Later Middle Ages', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. C. Ross (Gloucester, 1979) p. 97. For the relations between the Staffords and Thomas of Gloucester, and Gloucester's character, see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 57-60, 74-86, 93-4.


25. Earl Edmund is described as 'full of beauty and blessedness' in a poem on the foundation of Stone Priory, Staffordshire, quoted in


27. McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 204. Anne's brother died of fever in 1399; her mother and her sister Joan died soon after. Her sister Isabel was a nun in the London convent of the Minoresses. In 1401 Archbishop Arundel, foreseeing the dispersal of the inheritance, petitioned the Curia for permission to interview Isabel, to determine whether she wished to leave the religious life, for she had been professed very young. She remained with the Minoresses, however, and became Abbess of her house. Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 79.


29. T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', *BIHR* 26 (1953) 1-28 (pp. 5-6).


31. Humphrey could have followed the bad example of Thomas of Lancaster, one of the greatest landowners of his time and cousin of Edward II, who rebelled against his king. McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 11, 45-70.

32. *Complete Peerage*, "Buckingham".


34. The most comprehensive account of the political faction-fighting of Henry VI's reign is to be found in R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI* (London, 1981).


38. The French wars are fully documented in Griffiths, *Henry VI*. Margaret's dowry consisted of her father's empty claims to Majorca and Minorca, and the concession of English lands in Anjou and Maine was a problem which doomed the marriage and peace negotiations and contributed much to Suffolk's downfall. See also, Jacob. Fifteenth Century, pp. 475-81.

39. The costs of governing Calais are given by Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, pp. 21, 117. Stafford, as ambassador to France in 1439 and 1444,
had ample opportunity to become disillusioned with the conflicting aims of the English representatives. As a landowner in France, he had a vested interest in obtaining a good settlement.


42. Henry's unheeding generosity, and its direction towards the pockets of an exclusive group, is fully documented in Griffiths, Henry VI. See also R. Virgoe, 'The Composition of the King's Council 1437-61', BIHR 43 (1970) 134-60.

43. An English Chronicle, p. 79

44. The words of the third "manifesto" issued by Cade's rebels in 1450.


46. For Stafford's financial difficulties, see Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 176-80; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 21, 26, 109-21.

47. Virgoe, 'The King's Council', p. 144.


50. Storey, End of Lancaster, p. 27.

51. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', pp. 70-72.


54. These feuds are covered by Storey, End of Lancaster.


65. York dismissed his forces on the understanding that Somerset would be put in ward pending discussion of the serious charges York had made against him. Yet when York came to the royal tent, Somerset was apparently still enjoying royal favour, and it was York who was treated as the criminal. See Jacob, Fifteenth Century, p. 504.


68. The council returned to the system adopted during Henry VI's minority, which allowed the government to function in the King's name.


76. Paston Letters (Gairdner) I, 331.

77. Armstrong, 'Battle of St. Albans', p. 46; Storey, End of Lancaster, p. 162. Three major feuds - York and Warwick against Somerset, Neville against Percy, and Neville against Clifford - affected the actions and constituents of the two armies.

78. Armstrong, 'Battle of St. Albans', p. 46.

80. **Paston Letters** (Gairdner) I, 378.


82. **Paston Letters** (Davis) II, 165.

83. **Paston Letters** (Davis) II, 143, 164; Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, pp. 187-9, suggest that Henry VI's lavish distribution of titles dismayed Buckingham (who had already fought one battle over precedence - see Complete Peerage "Buckingham") and may have contributed to the strained quality of his relations with the "court party" during the 1450's.


88. Historical Collections, p. 207.


91. *Henry VI Part Two*, 155.


98. Gifts from Margaret of Anjou to the Duchess of Buckingham are recorded in three consecutive jewel accounts for the 1440's; see
A.R. Myers, 'The Jewels of Queen Margaret of Anjou', BJRL 42 (1959-60), 113-31 (p.124). The English Chronicle, p. 70, records that Prince Edward's godmother was 'the Duchesse of Ruckynghame'. The new King, Edward IV, was the son of Richard of York and Anne's sister Cecily Neville. For a splendid collection of dowagers (including Anne) see McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 65-6.


102. Dominic Mancini, The Usurpation of Richard III ed. and trans. C.A.J. Armstrong, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969) p. 74. Armstrong's translation reads 'for, when he was younger, he had been forced to marry the queen's sister, whom he scorned to wed on account of her humble origin'.

103. J.R. Lander, 'Marriage and Politics in the Fifteenth Century: the Nevilles and the Wydevilles', reprinted in J.R. Lander, Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509 (London, 1976), pp. 94-126. The Queen's family married into most of the great families which had marriageable partners available - Buckingham, Exeter, Norfolk, Arundel, Essex, Grey of Ruthin and Herbert - some of these unions were unexceptionable, others offended Warwick and other magnates (pp.110-14). M.A. Hicks, 'The Changing Role of the Wydevilles in Yorkist Politics to 1483', in Patronage, Pedigree and Power, pp. 69-70, notes the inducements (and coercions) which Edward IV allowed the Wydevilles to use, enabling them to outbid other competitors on the marriage market.

104. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 187-8. Buckingham is recorded, occasionally, acting in his ceremonial context, for example at the great tournament between the Bastard of Burgundy and Lord Scales, and at the festivities associated with Louis de Gruythuyse's visit, when Buckingham was seen dancing with the Princess Elizabeth. Scofield, Edward the Fourth, I, 417, II, 38.


106. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 28-9; Ross, Edward IV, p. 335; Scofield, Edward the Fourth, I, 397 (the King's christening present to his godson).

107. Ross, Edward IV, p. 335; McFarlane, Nobility, p. 207.


109. Hicks, 'Wydevilles', p. 81; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 28-9; Ross, Edward IV, p. 335; C.D. Ross, Richard III (London, 1981), p. 68. Mancini, Usurpation, p. 75 also suggested that Buckingham 'since he was of the highest nobility, was disposed to sympathize with another noble' (Armstrong's translation).


112. Victoria History of the County of Stafford, I, 245; Ross, Richard III, p. 95.


114. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 207.


119. N. Williams, Henry VIII and his Court (London, 1971) p. 213.

120. Duke Edward's marriage to Eleanor Percy gave him a call on the remains of the Northumberland "affinity" maintained by her brother. Edward's sister Anne married two Marcher lords in succession, Sir Walter Herbert and George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. Of Edward's children, his heir Henry married Ursula Pole, daughter of the Countess of Salisbury and granddaughter of George, Duke of Clarence; Mary married George Neville, Lord Bergavenny (another Marcher lord); Catherine married Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland; Elizabeth married Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and later Duke of Norfolk. An illegitimate daughter, Grace, was to have married Thomas Fitzgerald, heir of the Earl of Kildare. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 39-40, 135-7.


123. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 121.

124. Duke Edward was relied upon to provide a good show on ceremonial occasions. For example, at the ceremonial joust celebrating the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon, Duke Edward rode as Prince Arthur's champion in a rich but simple guise (compared to his opponents!). He entered in a white and green 'chapell' embroidered with roses, and emerged wearing 'a myghty bushe of ostrich federstvpon his helmet', while his horse was 'in Riche wise trapped w' blewe veluet, garnysshed w' iiiij. grete Castelles of gold, of Goldsmymeswerk'. Fortunately, he 'wanne the honour' that day. Chronicles of London, pp. 250-52. His costume for the wedding, 'of Needle work, and set vpon cloth of tissue, furred with sables', was valued at £1,500. Chronicles of London, pp. 250-2, 334.

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135. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 120.


140. Williams, *Henry VIII and his Court*, p. 213.

141. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 44.

142. 'the lamentation of Edward, late duke of Buckyngham'
CHAPTER 2: How the Staffords Could Afford Patronage


2. Heraldry could be used to display family relationships, as in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D.4.4 and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 38-1950, two Bohun manuscripts ornamented with the arms of the Bohuns and some of their relatives by marriage. The choice of craftsman, artist or writer might be made by chance, or as the result of an informed decision, influenced by the tastes or the objets d'art of friends or family. Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen ed. M. Serjeantson, EETS, OS 206 (London, 1938) reveal a network of literary "contacts" in East Anglia, for example.

3. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 96.


13. Wedgwood, 'Parliamentary History I', 82-5; Emden, Biographical Register III, "Stafford, Edmund".


in the Reign of Richard II', EHR 71 (1956), 560-75.

18. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, pp. 77-84.
21. Historical Collections, p. 103.
22. The Countess carried on a long correspondence with the Prior of Llanthony (a Bohun foundation); H. Suggett, 'The Use of French in England in the Later Middle Ages', TRHS, 4th Series, 28 (1946), 61-83 (p. 66). See also Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 306.
23. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 65-6.
27. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 113-4; Pugh 'Magnates', p. 106.
28. e.g. the government debt of £19,395 for Humphrey's expenses as Constable of Calais. See Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 21, 24, 68-9, 73-8.
29. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 76; Paston Letters (Gairdner) I, 265.
30. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 72; Pugh 'Magnates', p. 106.
32. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 95.
34. VCH, Stafford, III, p. 96.
36. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 84-8.
37. Paston Letters (Gairdner), I, 61.

40. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, pp. 295-6; Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 120.


50. Duke Henry may have financed the earliest brick buildings at Magdalen College, Cambridge, and is said to have paid for some work to its chapel. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 97.


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68. Hall's *Chronicle*, quoted by Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 93. For the cost of one of Edward III's warhorses, see McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 239.
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CHAPTER 3: The Price of Patronage


22. Peterhouse MS 203, penultimate flyleaf; James, Peterhouse MSS, MS 203.


27. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 73, has an inscription on f.121v; 'Thys is my Lady More boke and sumtyme it was Quene Margaret boke'.


29. For example, BL MS Addit. 19252 has champs, Cambridge University Library MS Mm.5.5 a vinet and champs; BL MSS Harl. 3862 (a Vere manuscript) and 629 both have miniatures, and a Longleat MS was intended to have miniatures.

30. Paston Letters (Davis), II, 386-7, 391-2, 516-8


33. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-303; Warner and Gilson, Catalogue, II, 378.

34. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 243-4.


40. Glasgow, Hunterian Library MS U.I.1.; see Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 183-8, also p. 352.


43. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 98.

44. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 205.

45. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 64.


NOTES

CHAPTER 4: The Staffords' Ownership of Books:

(a) The Nature of the Evidence

1. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 83, 137, for example.


6. Scrope's books, as listed in his will and an inventory, are in C.L. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt', Archaeologia 70 (1920); Thomas, Duke of Gloucester's books are in Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 298-9, 300-303, and in Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery), (London, for HMSO, 1963), pp. 223-4; Fastolf's are given in Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Eighth Report, Appendix I, iii (London, for HMSO, 1881), no. 268a; the Duchess of Suffolk's are in HMC Eighth Report, Appendix I, iii (1881), no, 629a; Lord John Howard's are in The Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, ed. J. Payne Collier, for the Roxburghe Club (London, 1844), pp. xxvii-xxix, 277.


8. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', p. 6. The Old Register of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, printed in James, Peterhouse MSS, gives information about a book's donor (if relevant) as well as its contents, secundo folio and penultimo folio, for example.


10. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 92 and 'King Richard II's Books Revisited', The Library, 5th Series 31 (1976), 235-9; E. Rickert,

11. Bodleian Library MS Douce 319, f.222": "Ceste liure est a Thomas duc de Glouc. Comte dessex (& de Buk)...del doun le comte de Sarum monstre Wili. de Montague"; Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS francais 12,421, "Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre dy don mon tres chier cousin le conte de Warwic."

12. BL MS Royal 17.D.VI, a copy of Hoccleve's Regement of Princes, seems to have been passed round the circle of William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. BL MS Addit. 17492, the "Devonshire" MS, which circulated in the Wyatt circle, is even more famous. R. Southall, 'The Devonshire Manuscript collection of early Tudor poetry 1532-41', *RES*, n.s. 15 (1964), 142-50.


16. For example, the shields of Bishop Stafford and Margaret of Anjou added to Fitwilliam Museum MS 38-1950.

17. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 363. BL MS Royal 16.F.III, a copy of the Anciennes Chroniques de Flandres, has a blank section in the decoration of the first text page, on which a shield and crest have been sketched roughly in crayon.


23. Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 570 has Fastolf's motto 'me fault faire' incorporated into elaborate calligraphic ascenders and descenders, and forming part of a page of calligraphic decoration on f.93"
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4. Dugdale, Monasticon, V. i, 123.

5. Testamenta Eboracensis, I, 378.


10. I have been unable to see this manuscript, or obtain any more information from Belvoir than that contained in E.g. Millar, The Rutland Psalter, for the Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1937).


13. Harthan, Books of Hours, pp. 14-19; Millar, Rutland Psalter, pp. 1-2, 16-17; Complete Peerage, "Talbot" and "Shrewsbury".


17. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 78.


24. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on a microfilm copy of it, and the information contained in Salter, Love's 'Myrroure', p. 12.

25. For this, and other terms used to describe hands, see Parkes, English Cursive Bookhands, pp. xiii-xxiv.

26. A full 'hole venett' (Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 323) is one extending round four sides of the page.

27. A "demi-vinet" border runs round two or three sides of the page or between two columns of text, with extensions above and below in an 'I' shape.

28. "Champs" usually consist of sprays of decoration attached to the coloured grounds of decorated initials, extending a short distance into the page margins.


30. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem XVI, 7-15 Richard II (London, for HMSO, 1974), no. 83, p. 33, refers to a John Belasis (d. 1370) of Stannington, Northumberland. Later the family had a fondness for Coxwold, North Yorkshire; there are Belacyse monuments in the parish church there.

31. Salter, Love's 'Myrroure', pp. 24-5. The foundation charter of Mountgrace, in the copy at Ripley Castle, had a historiated initial of the Virgin accompanied by two monks, with Thomas Holland, in a heraldic mantle, kneeling to her, with a bishop in support. HMC, 6th Report (1877), p. 354.


33. Salter, Love's 'Myrroure', p. 15.

34. Quoted in Salter, Love's 'Myrroure', p. 16.


36. For further details of these items, see The French Text of the Ancrene Riwle, ed. J.A. Herbert, EETS, OS 219 (Oxford, 1944), p. x.


40. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 179.

41. Wedgwood, Parliamentary History I, 82-3.


45. Moissant, De Speculo Regis, pp. 10-11, 17.


47. Staffordshire County Record Office, MS D 641/1/3/2.


49. A notorious example of the reverse procedure is the acquisition of the Louvre library by John, Duke of Bedford, who paid 'even less than the modest evaluation of the collection's worth arrived at by the team of assessors' - C. M. Meale, 'Manuscripts, Readers, and Patrons in Fifteenth-Century England: Sir Thomas Malory and Arthurian Romance', in Arthurian Literature IV, ed. R. Barber (Woodbridge and Totowa, 1985), 93-126, p. 93.

50. Jacob, Registrum Chichele, p. 156.


55. Jacob, Registrum Chichele, p. 156.


57. Jacob, Registrum Chichele, pp. 156-7.


63. J. Nichols, A Collection of all the Wills now known to be Extant


66. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 74, 78.


70. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 264.


72. The Legend of the "Swan Knight" may have become attached to the Staffords by virtue of their Tonei descent, although the main impetus to adopt the Swan badge probably came from the Bohuns. A. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', Archaeologia 97, (1959), 127-38; R. Jaffray, The Two Knights of the Swan, Lohengrin and Helias (New York and London, 1910). Swans appear in all sorts of contexts; in embroidery (see under "Thomas, Duke of Gloucester", "Anne, Countess of Stafford", tapestries (see B. Kurth, 'Die Blütezect der Bildwirkerkunst zu Tournai und der Burgundische Hof', Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorisches Sammlungen des Allerhöchster Kaiserhauses, (1917-18), 53-110 (pp. 68-70); on ivory caskets (see Jaffray, The Two Knights, pp. 101-2, for example). One of the loveliest examples is that of the mourning swans which adorn the tomb of Margaret de Bohun, Countess of Devon, in Exeter Cathedral.

73. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 90.


75. Suggett, 'Use of French', p. 73.


77. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 301.
78. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 278.
79. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 279.
81. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 278.
82. Pearsall, OE and ME Poetry, p. 190.
83. "Historiated" initials are those with pictures of 'ystories' in them rather than abstract decoration. Harthan, Books of Hours, p. 20.
84. Harthan, Books of Hours, p. 28.
85. 'Dominus illuminatio mea' is represented by the anointing of a king, rather than the more usual choice of David pointing to his eye; 'Dixit insipiens' shows Saul committing suicide before an idol, rather than the usual Fool.
87. The heraldry forms an integral part of the decoration of the liturgical manuscripts listed under "Affiliations"; in the case of Mary's Lancelot, her arms were added to an earlier manuscript.
88. Jacob, Fifteenth Century, pp. 451, 635.
89. Jones and Millar, Bohun Manuscripts, pp. 1-3; F. Wormald and P.M. Giles, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge 1966); M. Rickert, Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages, 2nd edn. (London, 1965), p. 168. R. Marks and N. Morgan, The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200-1500 (London, 1981), p. 85, point out that on f.141r of the Vienna Psalter are the arms of Thomas as Duke of Gloucester, which suggests that the manuscript, although begun in the 1340's, was still in progress when Thomas married Eleanor de Bohun in 1374.
91. Warner and Gilson, Catalogue II, 378.
92. Rickert, Painting in Britain, p. 168, Carmelite Missal, pp. 73-5.
93. Rickert, Carmelite Missal, p. 92.
94. Rickert, Carmelite Missal, p. 73.
95. James and Millar, Bohun Manuscripts, p. 3; E.G. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (Paris and Brussels, 1928), p. 27.

97. Nicholas, Royal Wills, p. 181.

98. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-03; Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts, pp. 2-7.

99. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 183; Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts, p. 27.

100. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 183.

101. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 224; Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', p. 302.


103. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 132, 135; Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 79.

104. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, pp. 80, 84.

105. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', p. 289.


111. The "Mercy-Seat Trinity" is usually depicted in the form of God the Father holding the Crucified Christ, with the Dove of the Holy Spirit above them.


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115. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-03.
116. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-03.
119. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', p. 300.
120. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 70.
121. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 129.
122. A.I. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', in English Court Culture, pp. 168-9.
123. F.G. Kenyon, Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum (Oxford, 1900), plate XXIV.
124. Kenyon, Facsimiles, plate XXIV.
125. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', p. 300.
129. Lawton, Text and Image', p. 91.
130. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', p. 301.
133. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 298, 300.
134. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 224.
135. C.L. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt', Archaeologia 70 (1920), 71-100 (p. 82.
137. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 224.


140. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 223.

141. Nicolas, Testa/enta Vetusta, p. 141.

142. Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 121.

143. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 291-7; Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 85.

144. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 84.


147. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 77; Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 223.


149. Minor Poems I, 179-93.

150. The other manuscripts, listed by MacCracken, Minor Poems I, xxvi, are BL MSS Harl. 367, 1704, Cambridge University Library MS L1.5.18, Durham, Cosin MS V.II.14, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 686. The last-mentioned, a handsome copy of the Canterbury Tales together with the Legend and other Lydgate poems, is tempting, and so too is the connection suggested by the "Devonshire" MS of the Canterbury Tales with the Legend, which possibly belonged to Anne's niece by marriage, Lady Margaret Beaufort. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales I, 64-9, 117-8. However, none of these seems to be Anne's.

151. Such as the version in the South English Legendary and an independent "life" in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.39, noted in Pearsall, OE and ME Poetry, p. 104.

152. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 279.

153. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 246.

154. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 237.


156. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the description given in R.A.B. Mynors, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford (Oxford, 1972), pp. 254-5.
157. V.H. Galbraith, 'Extracts from the Historia Aurea and a French "Brut" (1317-47)', EHR 43 (1928), 203-7.

158. Mynors, Catalogue, p. 255.

159. Mynors, Catalogue, records the ownership inscriptions in Gray's many books.


161. Mynors, Catalogue, p. xxv.

162. Mynors, Catalogue, p. xxix.


166. Private Communication.


172. Thé Bremichêts' additions - prayers, notes of births and deaths, etc. - extend over the last blank prepared leaves as well as the flyleaves. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, Doyle, Appendix B, p. 125. notes that the addition were made at intervals, c. 1488-1500.


175. K. Scott, 'A Mid-Fifteenth Century English Illuminating Shop and Its Customers', JWCJ 31 (1968), 170-96, (p. 170, no 3) notes manuscripts written by Ricardus; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Laud misc. 570 (Fastolf's Epître) and Ashmole 764 ("The First Foundation of the Office of Arms"), and University College MS 85 (English translations, Chartier's Quadrilogue Invectif, and the Secret of Secrets); San Marino, Huntington Library MS 932 (Statutes of London, which is dated 1447). BL MS Harl. 2915, (Hours) is, as its exhibition note says, another example of Ricardus Franciscus collaborating with the "Fastolf Master"; MS Harl. 4775 (Gilte Legende) appears to be another Ricardus manuscript.
176. Private Communication.


185. VCH Stafford, III, 96.

186. VCH Warwick, IV, 134; Tipping, English Homes Period I, I, 230.


189. Rosenthal, Purchase of Paradise, p. 36; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 84, 120.


192. I have been unable to see this MS, and have had to rely on a microfilm copy of it, and on the information contained in M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson (Cambridge, 1898) and H.Y. Thompson, Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson, 7 vols. (London, 1907-18), IV (1914).

193. James, Fifty Manuscripts, pp. 130, 132.

194. James, Fifty Manuscripts, quoting Sir George Warner, p. 130.

196. Wright, Political Poems, II, 222.


198. Nixon, 'French Bookbindings', points out that Sir Richard Wingfield, husband of Catherine Wydeville, is an even more suitable candidate than the 'son or grandson' proposed by Yates Thompson, Illustrations IV, 46.


200. James, Fifty Manuscripts, p. 130; Yates Thompson, Illustrations, IV, 45.


204. van Buren and Edmunds, 'Playing Cards', p. 29.


206. Scott, Mirroure, p. 43.


208. Private communication from Dr. A.I. Doyle.

209. J. Wimsatt, Chaucer and the Poems of "Ch" (Cambridge, 1982) p.66.


211. Private communication.


218. McSparran, Octavian Imperator, p. 8; MacCracken, Minor Poems I, xxxiii.

219. McSparran, Octavian Imperator, p. 47.

220. Guddat-Figge, Catalogue, p. 171.


227. I have not been able to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the information contained in H. Yates Thompson, Thirty-Two Miniatures from the Book of Hours of Joan II, Queen of Navarre, for the Roxburghe Club, 2 vols. (London, 1899), and F. Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France (London 1978).

228; Yates Thompson, Hours of Joan of Navarre, I, 2-3 Avril, Manuscript Painting, p. 22.

229. Yates Thompson, Hours of Joan of Navarre, I, 3.

230. Yates Thompson, Hours of Joan of Navarre, I, 3.

231. Yates Thompson, Hours of Joan of Navarre, I, 2.

232. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I 485.

233. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 486.


238. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the facsimile edition, 'Troilus and Criseyde': a Facsimile of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 61. Introd. M.B. Parkes and E. Salter (Cambridge, 1978).


244. Parkes and Salter, *Troilus and Criseyde*, p. 20.


246. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 94.


255. Parkes and Salter, *Troilus and Criseyde*, p. 13; The "Campsall" MS of Troilus (New York, Pierpont Morgan MS 817) made for Henry V when Prince of Wales, is much more modestly decorated. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 95.

257. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the description given in J. Young and P.H. Aitken in ‘A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum’, (Glasgow, 1908), and Brusendorff, ‘Chaucer Tradition’, p. 296.


274. Letters and Papers...Henry VIII, III, i, 508.


276. The other items are a prose prayer beginning ‘Ihesu my god and my maker’; ‘Prayenge is a gracious gifte’, and Latin prose prayers. V. Nelson, ed. A Myrroure to Lewde Men and Wymmen, for Middle English Texts 14 (Heidelberg, 1981).

278. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 67.

279. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on such information as is available in Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue Général des manuscrits Latins, 10 vols. (Paris, 1939-83), i, 424; Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 22, and the miniature of Ralph reproduced in Griffiths, Henry VI. M. Scott, Late Gothic Europe, 1400-1500, The History of Dress Series (London, 1980) pp. 110-12; L. McGoldrick, 'The Literary Manuscripts and Literary Patronage of the Beauchamp and Neville Families in the Late Middle Ages c. 1390-1500' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Newcastle Polytechnic, 1985) pp. 122-123. Dr. McGoldrick favours a male candidate.

280. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 254.


284. See Emden, Biographical Register...Oxford, III, "Upton, Nicholas".

285. There is some confusion about the name of Anne's second husband. The Complete Peerage, under "Cobham" names him as both Thomas and Reginald; Bühler suggests that Thomas took the family name of Reginald when he unexpectedly inherited the Cobham title and estates: Epistle of Othea, pp. xx-xxi.

286. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 134.

287. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 117-20, 134.


292. Alexander, 'Lost Leaf', pp. 248-9; Farquhar, Creation and Imitation, pp. 80-7; Scott, 'Illuminating Shop', p. 170, n. 3.

293. Alexander, 'Lost Leaf', p. 249.

294. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the comprehensive description in F. Wormald and P.M. Giles, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1982).


297. See the pages from the "Playfair Hours", Victoria and Albert Museum, MS L475-1918, shown in Harthan, Book of Hours, pp. 25, 27, for example.


299. Collegium Divi Iohannis, p. 121.

300. W.E.A. Axon, 'The Lady Margaret as a Lover of Literature', The Library, 2nd series, 8 (1907), 34-41 (p. 41).

301. Warner and Gilson, Catalogue II.

302. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have relied on the description given in Manly and Rickert, The Canterbury Tales, I, 117-21.


304. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the description given in M.R. James and C. Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, (Cambridge, 1930), MS 474.


312. Axon, 'Lady Margaret', pp. 36-8.


316. Collegium Divi Johannis, pp. 119-23.

317. Collegium Divi Johannis, pp. 120, 122.


319. Axon, 'Lady Margaret', p. 35.


326. Mathew, Courtiers, p. 42.

327. There are some borders of a similar kind in the "Simon Marmion Hours", Victoria and Albert Museum, MS Salting 1221, shown in Harthan, Books of Hours, pp. 146-9.


330. Such as the groupings of verses and signatures on the flyleaves of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 39, described below.


333. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the information contained in W.O, Hassell, 'The English Illuminated Manuscripts of Chief Justice Coke', *The Connoisseur*, vol. 168, no. 675 (May, 1968), 24-30, and The Holkham Library: Illuminations and Illustrations in the Manuscript Library of the Earl of Leicester, for the Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1970); C. Warburton James, *Chief Justice Coke, his Family and Descendants at Holkham*, for Country Life, Ltd. (London, 1928), p. 2; a private communication from Mrs. G. Spriggs, and slides of the illuminations provided by the Bodleian Library.


336. References as n. 319; see also Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, I, p. 23.


338. Private communication from Mrs. Spriggs.


342. Staffordshire County Record Office, MSS D.641/1/3/7a, D641/1/3/9; Public Record Office MS E101/631/20. I am grateful to the staff of both record offices for their assistance.


353. Jaffray, *Two Knights of the Swan*, pp. 83-9; this notes the fête given by Adolph of Cleves, nephew of Philip "the Good" of Burgundy, just before Philip's famous Fête du Faisan. Adolph proclaimed his intention to joust in the character of "Le Chevalier de Cygne, serviteur des dames"; the prize was to be a golden swan with a golden chain. The principal table at Adolph's banquet was decorated with a model of the Swan Knight, bearing the arms of Cleves, arriving at a castle in a swan-drawn boat.


355. SCRO MS D 641/1/3/7a, D 641/1/3/9, PRO MS E101/631/20; *Letters and Papers...Henry VIII*, III(1), 501-5.


358. SCRO MS D 641/1/3/10.

359. PRO MS E 101/631/20.


369. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 94; Letters and Papers...Henry VIII, III, (i), 496.

370. PRO MS E 101/631/20.


372. "Gaude virgo" is printed in Horae Eboracensés, ed. C. Wordsworth for Surtees Society, 132 (Durham, 1919). This poem is the subject of an article in preparation by the author.


376. Parkes, English Cursive Bookhands, p. 15.

377. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the description in Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 413-4.

378. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the information given in Fall of Princes, ed. Bergen, IV, 13-4.


4. The "Epistle" is given in Secrees of Old Philosophers, ed. R. Steele, EETS, ES 66 (London, 1894); Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 315.


This MS seems to be slightly unusual in combining part of the Statuta Vetera (Magna Carta - Edward II) with part of the Statuta Nova (Edward II - date of MS in question).


21. Woodger, 'Henry Bourchier', p. 314. The tradition that Archbishop Bourchier introduced printing to Oxford is recorded in an inscription by Ralph Bathurst in a 1472 Pliny once owned by John Gunthorpe given by Bathurst to the cathedral library of Wells in 1682. A 17th century forgery was responsible for Bathurst's belief in the story. Tudor-Craig, Richard III, pp. 42-3; DNB 'Thomas Bourchier'.


27. I have been unable to see this manuscript and have had to rely on the information kindly supplied by the staff of Princeton University Library.


31. I have been unable to see this manuscript and have had to rely on the description given by Young and Aitken, Catalogue.


33. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 422.


40. Blake, 'Lord Berners', pp. 127-8; Ferguson, Indian Summer, p. 71.

NOTES

CHAPTER 5: Considerations Arising from the Study of Stafford and Bourchier Books


4. As an example of the time it could take to produce a manuscript, the Countess of Clare maintained a copyist in her household for the four months he needed to transcribe the Vitae Patrum; Bell, 'Price of Books', pp. 313-7. Composition itself could take several years: Lydgate's Troy Book and Fall of Princes had gestation periods of eight years. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 725, 223.

5. Anderson, 'Books and Interests', passim; SCRO MSS D641/1/3/7a, D641/1/3/9; PRO MS E101/631/20. Most of the books mentioned in the PRO account are described as being bought for young Lord Stafford or his fellow-pupils amongst his siblings, cousins and 'henchmen'.


9. SCRO MS D641/1/312 clarifies the nature of the purchases of Thomas of Gloucester's books mentioned in Bishop Edmund's will; SCRO MSS D641/1/3/7a, D641/1/3/9, and PRO MS E101/631/2 reveal Duke Edward's purchases.


12. Although the exact proportion of surviving manuscripts presumed to have been made speculatively rather than to order is debatable, it does seem that in the fifteenth century increasing literacy widened the booksellers' market sufficiently to make speculative production worthwhile. Cf. Parkes, 'Literacy', pp. 563-6; Bennett, 'Production and Dissemination', pp. 168-71, 174; C.E. Pickford, 'Fiction and the Reading Public in the Fifteenth Century', BJRL 45 (1963) 423-38, pp. 424-5.

14. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 28; A.I. Doyle, 'Reflections on some Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's Myrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ', LSE, n.s. 14 (1983), 82-9, p. 88. The number of surviving manuscripts of Gower's Confessio, Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Love's Myrour, the Brut, Lydgate's Troy Book and Fall of Princes, and Hoccleve's Regement, for example, implies sufficient demand to support speculative production of at least some copies of these texts.

15. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 493, 506-9; a comparable sub-group of Chaucer manuscripts linked by style and ownership is provided by Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 198 and BL MS Lansdowne 851, ibid, I, 98-9.


CHAPTER VI: A Brief Discussion of Book-Ownership and Patronage Patterns amongst some of the Staffords' and Bourgchiers' Contemporaries.

1. S. Groag-Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture'.


5. Marks and Morgan, Golden Age, pp. 25-6, 94.


11. On the educational trends which fostered secularism in the clergy, see N. Orme, 'The Education of the Courtier', in English Court Culture, pp. 63-85 (pp. 78-9).


16. The wills are printed in the four volumes of Testamenta Eboracensia (Surtees Society 4, 30, 45, 53); Henry, Lord Scrope's will and inventory are printed in Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures'.


19. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures', p. 82.


31. Testamenta Eboracensia, IV, 152.

32. Paston Letters (Davis) I, 516.

33. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures', p. 83, points out the imbalance of the Scrope inventory, and queries the lack of the secular books one might expect to find listed there if not in the will.


37. Pearsall notes the possibility that this skilled translator may have translated Palladius' _Husbondrie_ for Duke Humphrey; _Old English and Middle English Poetry_, pp. 240-1; cf. also H.N. MacCracken, 'Vegetius in English', in: _Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge_ (Boston and London, 1913), pp. 389-403 (pp. 394-400).

38. HMC, 8th Report, III (i), 268; cf. also Kittredge, 'Vegetius in English', passim.


46. Lauritis et al., _Lydgate's 'Life of Our Lady':_ MSS described briefly in Introduction.

47. Manly and Rickert, _Canterbury Tales_, I, 152-8; Seaton, _Sir Richard Roos_, pp. 421-8; Doyle, 'Barking', p. 236.


56. Partenay, pp. 231-2; the English quotation is from the late fifteenth century English prose _Melusine_ of BLMS Royal 18,B.II, quoted Partenay, p. ix.

58. Christine so quoted in M.J. Pinet, Christine de Pisan (Paris, 1927), p. 43; cf. also N. Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court', in English Court Culture, pp. 183-204 (pp. 188-9).

59. Quoted by Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 216.

60. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, p. 194; Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 216.


64. Another hint that the Montagu's tastes were for French books of entertainment all along is offered by Mathilda, Countess of Cambridge. In 1446 she bequeathed Alice, (John Montagu's heiress by his first wife) meum magnum Primarium optimum, et duos libros Gallios vocatos Byron le Curtasse', Testamenta Eboracensia, II 121-2. I am grateful to Dr. McGoldrick for this reference.


68. Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court', English Court Culture, pp. 198-9.


70. Lydgate, Minor Poems, I, 87.


72. HMC, Eighth Report, I (iii) 629a.

73. Alice's husband may have owned a finer copy: there is a lovely pen-drawn miniature, said to be of Lydgate presenting the Pilgrimage to Montagu, bound in to British Library MS Harl. 4826, a copy of Hoccleve's Regiment. cf. K.L. Scott, The Caxton Master and His Patrons, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs 8 (Cambridge 1976), pp. 68, 88.
74. HMC, Eighth Report, I (iii) 629 b.

75. Their MSS are ably described in McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage'.


78. Perry, Trevisa's Dialogues, p. xxxiv; Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, p. 178.


81. Perry, Trevisa's Dialogues, pp. xcvi-c.


84. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts, III, nos. 701 and 815, pp. 63, 72.

85. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', in English Court Culture, pp. 163-81 (p. 173).


90. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 51.

91. The books are described in M.,Blaess , 'L'abby de Bordesley et les Livres de Guy de Beauchamp', Romania 78 (1957) 511-18.

appropriation of the Swan Knight legend is discussed in Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight'.


94. Thomas of Gloucester's library included the gestes of Godfrey de Bouillon, Tancred, Bevis of Hampton, and Fulk Fitzwarin: Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-303.

95. e.g. the service books of Earl Thomas, recorded in Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous VI, nos. 316-7, pp. 170-72, which included a missal of the Earl of Stafford's.


97. The exact nature of his father's involvement in the genesis of the Life of St. Christina, written by his squire William Paris, is difficult to determine, and more a case of "patronage by association" than a direct commission. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 155-66.


99. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', English Court Culture p. 175.

100. Lydgate, Minor Poems, II, 613-22.


102. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 165-7, dates Guy as c. 1425, the Title and Pedigree 1427.


107. Gray, 'A Middle English Illustrated Poem', in Medieval Studies for J.A.W. Bennett, pp. 186-96. The two Fitzwilliam MSS are described in F. Wormald and P.M. Giles, 'A Handlist of the Additional Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum', TCBS 1, (1949-53), 197-207, 297-309, 365-75; McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 73-6, 93-5. Other MSS illustrated by the "Talbot Master" and his associates such as the "Hoo Master" and "Fastolf Master" are discussed in L.L. Williams, 'A Rouen Book of Hours of the Sarum Use, c. 1444, belonging to Thomas, Lord Hoo, Chancellor of Normandy and France', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 75, Section C, no. 9 (1975), 189-212, and J.J.G.
Alexander, 'A Lost Leaf from a Bodleian Book of Hours'.

108. The Portraits are reproduced in Seaton, 'Sir Richard Roos'.
111. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 167, speaks of the tradition that regards it as Lydgate's worst poem.
112. Lydgate's version emphasises the "historical" side of the romance; cf. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 167-8, McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 223-5. Lydgate does not mention the Anglo-Norman romance as a source; his 'auctoritee' was the 'cronicleer ...Gerard Cornubyence' (569-82).

114. The Rous Roll, ed. C.D. Ross (Gloucester, 1980) p. 54; Marks and Morgan, The Golden Age, pp. 114-17; Warner, Dyson Perrins MSS, no. 18. Henry's widow kept the book, which passed to her second husband John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who may have been responsible for the Italian additions to the decorative scheme.
117. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 176-86; Ross, Rous Roll, p. 56.
119. Scott, Caxton Master, pp. 64-5.
120. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 193-6, 201.
121. See above, the description of Corpus MS 61 under "Anne, Duchess of Buckingham".

124. A.I. Doyle, 'Reflections on some Manuscripts of Nicolas Love's Myrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ', LSE, n.s. 14 (1983), 82-9, talks of the Myrour's readership, especially amongst women such as Joan.
125. C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The Piety of Cicely, Duchess of York: a Study
In Late Medieval Culture, reprinted in England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century, (London, 1983); her reading matter and book bequests are discussed in that article.

126. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage', p. 531. The Lambeth Palace MS is described under 'Lady Margaret Beaufort'.


129. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 504-9; McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', p. 59.


135. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', English Court Culture p. 176.


137. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', English Court Culture, pp. 175-6.

138. Metham's Works, ed. H. Craig, EETS, OS 132 (London, 1916), pp. x-xii. The fulsome terms in which he praises the family before he offers his 'lytyl bake' to 'my lorde and mastyr eke / and to his ryght reuerend lady' (2177-9) suggest some kind of dependence.

139. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 60; cf. also Metham's Works, p. xlii.


142. Another Stapleton MS, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 758, was made in 1405 for the current Sir Miles Stapleton. It contains Michael de Massa's treatise on the Passion, and was copied locally at Ingham, a house of Trinitarian friars founded by the
Stapletons; possibly its rather idiosyncratic illustration was locally done also. The Summary Catalogue, I, 143, gives the colophon; P, Lasko and N.J. Morgan, Mediaeval Art in East Anglia 1300-1500. An Exhibition at Norwich, 1973, p. 33, refer to the MS's illumination.


144. Paston Letters, (Gairdner), I, 489; HMC, Eighth Report, III (1) 268.


147. The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, ed. C. Bühler, EETS, OS 211 (London, 1941), p. 2; The Epistle of Othea, p. 121.


149. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 27.

150. Alexander, 'A Lost Leaf', pp. 248-9; Farquhar, Creation and Imitation, pp. 80-87.


153. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 73.

154. Scott, Mirroure, p. 9; Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 73, 183; Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', English Court Culture, p.179.


156. C.M. Meale, 'Wynkyn de Worde's Setting-Copy for Ipomydon', Studies in Bibliography 35 (1982), 156-71 (pp. 169-71); Dr. Meale points out that Colyns' patronage gives a welcome insight into mercantile light reading.

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157. Scott, Caxton Master, pp. 45-6; Mirroure, pp. 2-4.

158. Blake, Caxton and His World, pp. 90, 156, 159; McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 242-5.

159. Blake, Caxton and His World, pp. 87, 96-7. It is interesting that most of Caxton's and Worde's mercantile sponsors were mercers and goldsmiths - members of the same companies which had requested Lydgate's Mummings.


162. Blake, Caxton and His World, pp. 151-2; Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 47-52.


164. Quoted in Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 40.

165. Blake, Caxton and His World, pp. 64-5.


Conclusions

3. cf. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 71-2. It is a pleasant conceit to imagine Fastolf as the medieval equivalent of a Victorian wool-baron or Jack Woolley of "The Archers", grasping after culture on the cheap.
5. Quoted in Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, p. 77.
9. Lydgate's Troy Book, ed. H. Bergen, EETS, ES 97, 103, 106, 126 (1906-35). L. Lawton, 'The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts', in Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England, ed. D. Pearsall, pp. 52-4, points out the prestige associated with this work, which endeared it to a wide social range, though not exactly 'lowe'.
15. Palladius on Husbondrie, quoted by Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, p. 94.


20. V.J. Scattergood, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Richard II' in English Court Culture, pp. 29-43 (p. 29).


22. An expression used by A.I. Doyle in his 'Retrospect and Prospect', concluding Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England, pp. 142-6 (p. 146).

Table 1: The Main Line of Descent of the Staffords

- RALPH de TONE I d. 1038/9
  - RALPH de TONE I d. 1101/2
  - ROBERT STAFFORD d. 1088
    - NICHOLAS STAFFORD d. 1138
    - ROBERT STAFFORD d. c. 1185
      - ROBERT son of 1173
      - MILICENT = HERVEY BARTHO
        - PETRANILIA FERRERS = HERVEY STAFFORD d. 1237
          - STAFFORDS of HOOK & SOUTHwick
            - HERVEY son of c. 1241
            - ROBERT STAFFORD = ALICE CORWEB of ONUS d. c. 1251
              - NICHOLAS STAFFORD d. 1287
                - MARGARET BASSET = EDMUND, 1st LORD STAFFORD d. 1308
                  - 1. KATHERINE HASTANG
                  - 2. MARGARET AUDLEY
                    - MATILDA of LANCASTER = RALPH d. s.p. 1361
                      - SONS & DAUGHTERS
                        - HUGH, 2nd EARL of STAFFORD d. 1386 (B)
                          - PHILIPPE BEAUCHAMP
                            - EDWARD, Bishop of EXETER (B)
                              - RALPH d. 1395
                                - THOMAS, 3rd EARL of STAFFORD d. s.p. 1392
                                  - ANNE of LODSTOCK d. 1421 (B, C)
                                    - (2) EDMUND, 5th EARL of STAFFORD d. 1443
                                      - ANNE NEVILLE = HUMPHREY 1st Duke of BUCKINGHAM d. 1460 (B, D)
                                        - HUMPHREY = MARGARET BEAUFORT 2nd Duke of BUCKINGHAM d. 1458 (B)
                                          - HENRY = CATHERINE 3rd Duke of BUCKINGHAM d. 1453 (B, C)
                                            - EDWARD = ELEANOR HERCY (B, C)
                                              - OTHERS

Key: B = Book owner; C = Commissioner of literary work; D = Dedicatee of literary work; W = Writer
TABLE 2: RALPH TO EDWARD STAFFORD

EDMUND, LORD STAFFORD

RALPH = 1. KATHERINE HASTAG
PEAR OF STAFFORD, D, 1512
2. MARGARET RUSSEY

RICHARD = ISABEL VERNON

MATILDA OF RALPH
Lancaster (d. 1547)

ELIZABETH = FULK
LESTRANGE

JOAN = 1. JOHN CHARLTON
2. GILBERT TALBOT

BEATRICE = 1. MAURICE EDMUND
2. THOMAS ROSS
3. RICHARD BURLEY

HUGH = PHILIPPA
BEAUCHAMP

THOMAS = EDMUND,
BISHOP OF EXETER,
d. 1420 (86)

RALPH, d. 1335

WILLIAM, 4th EARL

EDMUND, 5th EARL

CATHERINE = MICHAIL d. G.
POLE (8)

MARGARET = RALPH NEVILLE,
EARL OF WESTMORELAND

THOMAS = ANNE OF
WOODSTOCK

(8)

(2)

(8)

(8)

Anne Neville = 1. HUMPHREY, 3rd DUKE OF SUCHEM
(8)
2. WALTER BLUNT

Anne = 1. EDMUND, EARL OF MARCH
2. JOHN HOLLAND, EARL OF
HUNTINGDON

HENRY = MARGARET
BEAUFORT

ANN = LAURENCE HERNE

HUMPHREY d. 1458
(8)

JOHN, EARL OF

KATHERINE = JOHN TALBOT

WILTSIOR GREEN

JAN = 1. WILLIAM BEAUMONT
2. WILLIAM KNIVET

CATHERINE = HENRY, 2nd DUKE

d. 1483

HENRY = ELEABE PERCY

EDWARD = 3rd DUKE

(8)

(8)

(8)

(8)

ANN = 1. WALTER HERBERT
2. GEORGE HASTINGS

MARY = GEORGE NEVILLE,
LORD BERCHEY

CATHERINE = RALPH NEVILLE,
EARL OF WESTMORELAND

ELIZABETH = THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF
NORFOLK

HENRY = URSULA POLE

ELIZABETH = ROBERT KITZWALTER

THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF
Table 3: The Bourchier Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edmund, 5th Earl of Stafford</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne of Woodstock</td>
<td>(2) =</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir William Bourchier</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey Neville</td>
<td>(b, d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne = 1. Edmund, Earl of March</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>2. John Holland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Bourchier, 1st Earl of Essex</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabel of York</td>
<td>(b, c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William, Lord Fitzwarin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor = John Monbray</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bourchier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Wydeville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry d.1431</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward d.1491</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Humphrey, Joan Stanhope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Cromwell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas = 1. Isabel Garre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne, Lord Ferrers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth = John</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey, Elizabeth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Tyney d.1572</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John = Katherine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Ferrers Howard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: The Bohun Family

Humphrey de Bohun VIII = Elizabeth Plantagenet
4th Earl of Hereford, d.1322 (b)

John de Bohun 5th Earl of Hereford

Humphrey de Bohun 8th, 6th Earl of Hereford, d.1361 (c)

William = Bohun, Earl of Northampton

Elizabeth Barleisere

Joan Fitzalan (d)

Humphrey de Bohun 8th, 7th Earl of Hereford, 2nd Earl of Northampton (b, d)

Eleanor de Bohun (b) = Thomas of Woodstock (b, c)

Mary de Bohun (b)

Henry of Bolingbroke

1. Thomas Stafford = Anne (b, c)

2. Edmund Stafford (b, c, d)

3. William Stafford

Henry V

John, Duke of Bedford (b, c)

Thomas Duke of Clarence (b)

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (b, c, d)
TABLE 7: THE TALBOT FAMILY

GILBERT, 3rd Lord Talbot = 1. PERNELL BUTLER
2. JOAN STAFFORD (b.?)

RICHARD, 4th Lord Talbot = ANKARET = (2) THOMAS NEVILLE, LORD FURGNVA

GILBERT, 5th Lord Talbot = 1. JOHN OF GLOUCESTER
2. BEATRIX OF PORTUGAL

JOHN TALBOT, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury d.1453 (b)

(1) JOHN TALBOT = ELIZABETH BUTLER
2nd Earl of Shrewsbury d.1460

JOHN, VISCOUNT HUMPHREY D.1492/4 (?&W)

(2) JOHN TALBOT = CATHARINE STAFFORD
3rd Earl of Shrewsbury d.1473

GEORGE = ANNE HASTINGS
4th Earl of Shrewsbury

GILBERT (b) OTHERS

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Table 8: The Beauchamp Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guy Beauchamp</th>
<th>Isabel de Clare</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18th Earl of Warwick</td>
<td>0.1315</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thomas Beauchamp</th>
<th>Catherine Mortimer</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11th Earl of Warwick</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
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<tr>
<th>Thomas, Lord Berkeley</th>
<th>Margaret Kerrers</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>(B,C)</td>
<td>Others</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guy</th>
<th>Richard Beauchamp</th>
<th>Isabel</th>
<th>Isabelle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(C)</td>
<td>12th Earl of Warwick</td>
<td>(C)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elizabeth Berkeley</th>
<th>Richard Beauchamp</th>
<th>Isabelle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(C)</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>(C)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mary</th>
<th>John Talbot</th>
<th>Eleanor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(B,C)</td>
<td>Earl of Shrewsbury</td>
<td>(B)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Henry, 1st Duke of Neville</th>
<th>Anne</th>
<th>Richard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duke of Cornwall</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>(C)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edward</th>
<th>Anne</th>
<th>Isabel</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plantagenet</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>George, Duke of Clarence</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Richard</th>
<th>(B)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
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<p>| (8) | (8) | (8) |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1272</td>
<td>Ralph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1286</td>
<td>Hugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1297</td>
<td>Joan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1414</td>
<td>Beatrice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1419</td>
<td>Katherine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1419</td>
<td>Bishop Edmund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1438</td>
<td>Anne of Gloucester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1439</td>
<td>Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1442</td>
<td>Joan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1458</td>
<td>Humphrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1460</td>
<td>Humphrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1472</td>
<td>Anne</td>
</tr>
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<td>1509</td>
<td>Margaret Beaufort</td>
</tr>
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<td>1521</td>
<td>Edward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1539</td>
<td>Eleanor Percy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>Katherine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Stafford Book - Ownership**

- Known ownership
- Putative ownership

---

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TABLE 20: STAFFORD KIN

Thomas of Gloucester d. 1397
Eleanor de Bohun d. 1399
Joan Beaumont d. 1440
Henry Percy d. 1489

Humphrey Boughey d. 1471
Henry Boughey d. 1483
Isabel Boughey d. 1484
Cardinal Thomas d. 1486
Thomas Boughey d. 1491
John Boughey d. 1499
John Boughey d. 1533

At least 80 printed books
TABLE II: SOURCES AND LANGUAGES:
Books of the Stafford Ladies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joan</td>
<td>d. 1397</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beatrice</td>
<td>d. 1414</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>d. 1415</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>d. 1438</td>
<td>French, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>d. 1439</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan</td>
<td>d. 1442</td>
<td>Latin, French, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>d. 1472</td>
<td>English, Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>d. 1485</td>
<td>French, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Beauchet</td>
<td>d. 1509</td>
<td>Latin, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor</td>
<td>d. 1530</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>d. 1555</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 12: SOURCES AND LANGUAGES: BOOKS OF STAFFORD MEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ralph</td>
<td>d. 1372</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh</td>
<td>d. 1386</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Edmund</td>
<td>d. 1419</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>d. 1451</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
<td>d. 1460</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>d. 1483</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward</td>
<td>d. 1521</td>
<td>Latin</td>
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</table>

Language of printed books uncertain.

### TABLE 13: KIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas of Gloucester</td>
<td>d. 1397</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward de Bohun</td>
<td>d. 1399</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan Beaufort</td>
<td>d. 1440</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Percy</td>
<td>d. 1487</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
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</table>
**TABLE 14: Sources and Languages of Bourchier Books**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isabel d.1484</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>Humphrey d.1471</td>
<td>French</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary d.1483</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Thomas d.1491</td>
<td>Latin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas d.1491</td>
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<td>John d.1533</td>
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<td></td>
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**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**Abbreviations used:**

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>BJRL</td>
<td>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLR</td>
<td>Bodleian Library Record</td>
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<tr>
<td>DNB</td>
<td>Dictionary of National Biography</td>
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<tr>
<td>EETS, ES, OS.</td>
<td>Early English Text Society, Extra Series, Original Series</td>
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<td>English Studies</td>
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<td>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</td>
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<td>Victoria County History</td>
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**Note:** All quotations from Chaucer are from *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F.N. Robinson (2nd edn. London 1957).

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