

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 iij s.'

'pro iij libris vocatis saulter bokes viii s.'

'iij primers |

Possibly all these were acquired for educative purposes.

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

'xx libri inpressis, (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)
2. "Ffloure de comaundementes" : Probably Floure of the Commaundements of God, printed W. de Worde (London, 1505) (STC 23875.1).
3. "Regule de Troye" : Probably, either Caxton's edition of Le Fevre's Le Recueil des histoires de Troyes (Bruges, 1475-6), or Caxton's translation, The Recuyell of the historyes of Troye (Bruges, 1473-4; also printed by W. de Worde, London, 1505). (STC 15375).
4. "Sege de Troye" : Possibly The hystorye, sege and destrucyon of Troye (Lydgate's Troy Book), printed Pynson, (London, 1513)? (STC 5579).
5. "lyve well & dye well" : Probably The Crafte to lyue well and

- to dye well, printed W. de Worde (London, 1505)
(STC 792-3).
6. "Oryson & Valantyne" : Probably The History of Valentine and Orson, printed W. de Worde (London, 1510?)
(STC 24571.3).
 7. "partonope" : No edition known to me at present, except the Spanish edition of Arnao Guillen de Brocas (1513).
(Graesse, V, 143).
 8. "Kinge Richarde Cor de lyoun" : Probably W. de Worde's Kynge Rycharde cuer de lyon (London, 1509)
(STC 21007).
 9. "Kinge William de pole" : Possibly W. de Worde's Kyng Wylliam of Palerne (London, 1515)?
(STC 25707.5)
 10. "Olyver de Castell": Possibly the 1482 Geneva printing, or an undated edition produced by the Veuve Treperel and Jehan Jehannot in Paris (Brunet, IV 183) : W. de Worde's edition dated 1518
(STC 18808).
 11. "Goodemaners" : Probably Caxton's The Book of Good Manners (London, 1487)
(STC 15394-8).
 12. "Contemplacion peccatorum" : Possibly W. de Worde's Contemplation of synners (London, 1499)?
(STC 5643)
 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. "liti~~ll~~ltoun tenures" : Littleton's Tenures, frequently printed in London, e.g. by Lettoun and Machlin (1481) and Bynson (1510).
(STC 15719 sqq).
16. "Olde tenures" : Probably The Old Tenures, printed Pynson (London, 1494)
(STC 23877.7).
17. "Natura breuim" : Probably Natura breuifum, printed Pynson (London, 1494, and frequently thereafter).
(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, l 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.

'iiij libri inpressis vnde ii. Terenso ii Sulpis pro m. Georgio (Stafford - Duke Edward's nephew) & m. Garrett' : 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

printed in London, e.g. by Lettou and Machlin (1481) (STC 9513-5).

'vi prymmers' were bought for the henchmen, wards and chapel boys.

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

'j liber de grammatice Stanbrige vocatus vocabulare pro domino Stafford' : probably Stanbridge's Vocabula, printed W. de Worde (London, 1500 and frequently thereafter) (STC 23177.5 sqq).

'ii libri inpressis j vocatus Iurnal alius vocatus Pupilla pro domina 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, 376).

'i liber inpressus 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 inpressis pro domini Stafford & Westmorlând (Duke Edward's ward) : Possibly the Horae printed by Caxton (London 1477) and others (frequently thereafter)? (STC, 15867 sqq).

'iiij libri inpressis 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). 'Boisius' 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 inpressis iij de Gestes & ij alii 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.

'vj prymerz & 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 inpressus, vj Imnalles & iiij procession-alles ad usum capellam'.

'iij prykesonge booke de papire Ryall ... ad vsum capellam domini ducis'.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. E. Legouis and L. Cazamian, A History of English Literature, 2 vols. (London, 1965) I, 155-6.
2. N.F. Blake, 'The Fifteenth Century Reconsidered' NM 71 (1970) 146-57, p. 146.
3. D. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry (London, 1977) p. 223.
4. John Lydgate, The Siege of Thebes, ed. A. Erdmann and E. Ekwall, EETS, ES 108, 125 (London, 1911, 1930), l. 47. cf. D. Pearsall, John Lydgate (London, 1970) pp. 49-50, and Old English and Middle English Poetry, pp. 189-97; B. Cottle, The Triumph of English (London, 1969) pp. 19-27.
5. P. Strohm, 'Chaucer's Fifteenth-Century Audience and the Narrowing of the "Chaucer Tradition"', in Studies in the Age of Chaucer 4, ed. R.J. Percy, New Chaucer Society, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1982) pp. 3-32.
6. H.S. Bennett, 'The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Middle Ages', The Library, 5th series, 1 (1946-7), 167-78, (p. 169).
7. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, p. 223.
8. H.S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1947), p. 111.
9. Bennett, 'Production and Dissemination', p. 172.
10. P.J. Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', The Library, 6th series, 4 (1982), 220-48, (pp. 243-4).
11. Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions, ed. M. Manzalaoui, EETS, OS 276 (London, 1977), p. 114.
12. cf.. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 230.
13. M.T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307 (London, 1979), p. 198.
14. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, p. 211.
15. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 225-30; J.T. Rosenthal,

- 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage and Book Bequests, 1350-1500', BJRL 64 (1981-2), 522-48, (pp. 524-5).
16. M.D. Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background (Oxford, 1963), pp. 144 ff; R. Field, 'The Anglo-Norman Background to Alliterative Romance', in Middle English Alliterative Poetry and its Literary Background, ed. D.A. Lawton (Cambridge, 1982) pp. 55-69 (pp. 55-6).
 17. H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers, 1475-1557 (Cambridge, 1952), p. 5; cf. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 230-33.
 18. cf. R.F. Green, Poets and Princepleasers (Toronto, 1980), pp. 68-70, and D. Pearsall, 'The Alliterative Revival: Origins and Social Backgrounds', in Middle English Alliterative Poetry, ed. Lawton, pp. 34-53 (pp. 45-6).
 19. Quoted in K. Holzknecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 85; cf. Lucas, 'Growth and Development' pp. 234-7. Continental records seem to be more forthcoming with payments to writers; cf. Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, pp. 171-87, Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 151.
 20. cf. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 237-40; Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, pp. 58-62.
 21. M. Görlach, The 'South English Legendary', 'Giltē Legende', and 'Golden Legend' (Braunschweig, 1972), p. 21.
 22. John Lydgate, Fall of Princes, ed. H. Bergen, 4 vols. (Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1923-7), Book I, Prol. 354. cf. M.B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in Literature and Western Civilisation, 2: The Medieval World, ed. D. Daiches and A. Thorlby (London, 1973), pp. 555-57 (p. 555); N. Orme, 'The Education of the Courtier', in English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 63-85; K.B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973), pp. 228-48.
 23. Clanchy, Memory to Written Record, p. 198.
 24. John Lydgate, 'The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI', in The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. H.N. MacCracken, EETS, ES 107, 192 (London, 1911, 1934) l. 55.
 25. Wace's Roman de Rou, quoted Parkes, 'Literacy', p. 557; cf. also Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage', pp. 533-4.
 26. Bennett, 'Production and Dissemination', p. 170.
 27. Martin Le Franc, quoted Holzknecht, Literary Patronage, pp. 136-7.
 28. cf. S. Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', Signs 7, no. 4 (Summer, 1982) 742-68 (pp. 743, 757-60).

- Parkes, 'Literacy', pp. 556-7; Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 220; Holzkecht, Literary Patronage, pp. 91-2.
29. 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 Lespác of Helmsley: Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature, pp. 28-9.
 30. H. Plomer, 'Books Mentioned in Wills', The Library, 3rd series, 7 (1902-4), 99-121; S. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, (1300-1500) (Chicago, 1948) pp. 247-9; Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 241; Pearsall, Old English and Middle Poetry, pp. 224-5.
 31. Parkes, 'Literacy', pp 563-6; A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century', in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker, ed. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson (London, 1978) 163-210 (pp. 197-203); Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, pp. 115-23, 'Production and Dissemination', pp. 169-71, 175.
 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.
 33. cf. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, pp. 224-6.
 34. cf. 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, (pp. 112-5). Roos's poetry is discussed in E. Seaton, Sir Richard Roos (London, 1961); Quixley's efforts are printed in H.N. MacCracken, 'Quixley's Ballades: Royal (?1402)', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 20 (1908-9), 33-50, Idley's in Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son, ed. C.D. Evelyn, MLA Monographs 6 (Boston and London, 1935); cf. also R.H. Robbins, 'The Poems of Humfrey Newton, Esquire, 1466-1536', PMLA 65(1950), 249-81. For an example of the gentleman-compiler, see J.J. Thompson, 'The Compiler in Action: Robert Thornton and the "Thornton Romances" in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91', in Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England, ed. D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 1983).
 35. 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-on-Tyne Polytechnic, 1985), p. 155.
 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.

37. cf. S. Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford, 1969) on civic pageants, and the 'occasional poems' in Lydgate's Minor Poems, II; on the Puis see J. Fisher, John Gower (New York, 1964), pp. 78-83, and also J. Coleman, English Literature in History, p. 22.
38. For the relations between Lovelich and Barton, see R.W. Ackermann 'Herry Lovelich's Merlin', PMLA 67.2 (1952), 473-84; for Bryce's involvement with Caxton's Mirrore, see N.F. Blake, Caxton and His World (London, 1969) pp. 90, 156.
39. cf. N.F. Blake 'John Lydgate and William Caxton', LSE n.s. 16 (1985) 272-89 (pp. 284-7); G.S. Ivy 'The Make-Up of Middle English Verse Manuscripts' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1953), pp. 387-92; Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 239-40.
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, Prol. 11. 342-5, 352-3.
43. Parkes, 'Literacy', pp. 565-7.
44. A.J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury, in the Fifteenth Century' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Bristol, 1968); L.S. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier, Earl of Essex, and his Family (1408-83)', (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1974); J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537 (Oxford, 1958); W.H. Dunham, 'Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1481-1483', Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 39 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1955, reprinted 1970); C. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521 (Cambridge, 1978).
45. McGoldrick, 'Literary Manuscripts', p. 23.
46. For the Nevilles and Beauchamps, see McGoldrick, 'Literary Manuscripts'; for the Woodvilles, see Meale, 'Manuscripts, Readers and Patrons', for Tiptoft, see R. Weiss, 'The Library of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester', Bodleian Quarterly Record; 8 (1935-7), 157-64; for the Bedfords, see Meale, 'Manuscripts, Readers and Patrons', and M. Barber, 'The Books and Patronage of Learning of a 15th Century Prince', The Book Collector, 12 (1963) 308-15

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: The Stafford Family 1066-1521

1. Henry Stafford, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, signed himself "souente me souenne - Harre Bukyngham" 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 Bokyngham" (Index 158.9) contained in BL MS Harl. 2252, f.2^v. 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.
7. Mazzinghi, 'Castle Church', pp. 56-7. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 191, gives a list of the Staffords' Conquest estates.
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.
9. K.B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973), p. 201.

10. Sir J.H. Ramsay, The Genesis of Lancaster: I, 1307-68, (Oxford, 1913) p. 207.
11. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 8.
12. M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century (Oxford, 1959) p. 256.
13. Higden's Polychronicon, as quoted by J.E. Doyle, The Official Baronage of England (London, 1886) p. 384.
14. Complete Peerage, "Stafford".
15. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 8-9
16. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 202.
17. For Richard's career, see K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), p. 175, and J.C. Wedgwood, A Parliamentary History of Stafford, 2 vols., for the William Salt Archaeological Society, (Stafford, 1917-18), I, 82-5. Bishop Edmund's is summarized in A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1957-9) III, under "Stafford, Edmund".
18. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 203, 85-6. Ralph's daughters were betrothed into the families of Charlton of Powys (1343), Lestrangle of Blackmere (1347) and Desmond (1350).
19. For Hugh's career, see A. Goodman, The Loyal Conspiracy (London, 1971), pp. 2-3; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 11; McKisack, Fourteenth Century, pp. 389-90.
20. The Westminster Chronicle, ed. and trans. L.C. Hector and B.F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982) pp. 122-3, 158-61; McKisack, Fourteenth Century, p. 439.
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.
22. Doyle, Official Baronage, p. 384, quoting the Otterbourne Chronicle.
23. E.F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1961) p. 7; McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings, pp. 65-6.
24. The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J. Gairdner for the Camden Society, 2nd Series, 17, (London, 1876), p. 103.
25. Earl Edmund is described as 'full of beauty and blessedness' in a poem on the foundation of Stone Priory, Staffordshire, quoted in

- Dugdale's Monasticon, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, 6 vols., (London, 1846), VI, part (i), pp. 230-1. For the marriage of Anne, Dowager Countess of Stafford and Sir William Bourgchier, see L.S. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier, Earl of Essex, and his Family (1408-83)', (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1974), p. 2.
26. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 12.
 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.
 28. For Anne's difficulties with her inheritances, see T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536 (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 150-1, and Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 14-18.
 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).
 30. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 205.
 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".
 33. Henry VI, Part One, I.(i).53.
 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).
 35. Griffiths, Henry VI, p. 37.
 36. Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, ed. J. Gairdner, for the Camden Society, 2nd Series, 28 (London, 1880) pp 61-2; Jacob, Fifteenth Century, pp. 482-4; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 19.
 37. Griffiths, Henry VI, p. 76.
 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.

40. Henry VI, Part Two, II.(i).52; An English Chronicle, ed. J.S. Davies for the Camden Society, 1st Series, 64, (London 1856), p. 58; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 20.
41. An English Chronicle, p. 63; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 21.
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.
45. R.L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (London, 1966) p. 37.
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.
48. Griffiths, Henry VI, p. 280.
49. T. Wright, Political Poems and Songs II, for the Rolls Series, 14.2 (London, 1861), p.222.
50. Storey, End of Lancaster, p. 27.
51. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', pp.70-72.
52. Jacob, Fifteenth Century, p.503. Some of the Pastons' difficulties are mentioned in Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century ed. N. Davis., 2 vols., (Oxford, 1971 and 1976) I, xliii-v, 149-50, 223-5; II, 47-9.
53. Rotuli Parliamentorum, ed. J. Strachey and others, 6 vols. (London, 1767-77), V, 200.
54. These feuds are covered by Storey, End of Lancaster.
55. See B.P. Wolffe, Henry VI (London, 1981), pp. 223-7, and the poems 'On the Arrest of the Duke of Suffolk', 'On Bishop Boothe', 'A Warning to King Henry', 'Verses against the Duke of Suffolk', and 'On the Death of the Duke of Suffolk', in Wright, Political Poems II, pp. 224-34.
56. Griffiths, Henry VI, pp. 625-45.
57. Wolffe, Henry VI, p. 232; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp.77-8.
58. Virgoe, 'The King's Council', pp.142-5.

59. R.A. Griffiths, 'The Sense of Dynasty in the Reign of Henry VI', in Patronage, Pedigree and Power, pp. 19-24.
60. Griffiths, 'Sense of Dynasty', pp. 23-4; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp.21-4.
61. Virgoe, 'The King's Council', p. 145.
62. Griffiths, Henry VI, p.686.
63. Jacob, Fifteenth Century, pp.467-8.
64. A. Goodman, The Wars of the Roses, (London, 1981), p.22; Storey, End of Lancaster, p.138.
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.
66. Griffiths, Henry VI, p.716.
67. The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gairdner, 4 vols., (London, 1901), I, 263-8.
68. The council returned to the system adopted during Henry VI's minority, which allowed the government to function in the King's name.
69. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 25; Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', pp. 69-79.
70. Six Town Chronicles of England, ed. R. Flenley, (Oxford, 1911), p.141.
71. Griffiths, Henry VI, pp. 740-43.
72. C.A.J. Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St. Albans', BIHR 33 (1960), 1-72, (pp.13-15).
73. Armstrong, 'Battle of St. Albans', p. 24.
74. Armstrong, 'Battle of St. Albans', p. 66..
75. Goodman, Wars of the Roses, p. 24.
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.
79. Paston Letters (Davis) II, pp. 164-5; Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier' p.85.

80. Paston Letters (Gairdner) I, 378.
81. Griffiths, Henry VI, p. 773.
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.
84. Griffiths, Henry VI, p. 798.
85. A.J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury, in the Fifteenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bristol, 1968) pp. 82-3; Griffiths, 'Sense of Dynasty', pp. 21-3. Humphrey's daughter Anne married Aubrey de Vere in 1443, and Humphrey's heir, "young Humphrey", married Margaret Beaufort, daughter of Edmund, 2nd Duke of Somerset, in 1444; both these were "Lancastrian" families. The later phase of "Lancastrian" marriages came in the 1450's; Joan married William, Viscount Beaumont in 1452, Katherine married John Talbot in 1458, and Henry had married Lady Margaret Beaufort (cousin of his brother's wife) by 1460. See Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 21.
86. T.B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry' in Fifteenth Century England: Studies in Politics and Society 1399-1509, ed. S. Chrimes, C. Ross, R. Griffiths (Manchester, 1972), p. 106.
87. Goodman, Wars of the Roses, pp. 25-6.
88. Historical Collections, p. 207.
89. Goodman, Wars of the Roses, p. 37.
90. Bishop William Stubbs, quoted by Pugh, 'Magnates', p. 107.
91. Henry VI Part Two, III(i)155.
92. English Chronicle, p. 96.
93. R.H. Robbins, Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (New York, 1959), no. 89, 'The Battle of Northampton'.
94. Goodman, The Wars of the Roses, p. 38.
95. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 19.
96. Storey, End of Lancaster, p. 184.
97. Jacob, Fifteenth Century, pp. 520-27.
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 Buckynghame'. 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.
99. C.L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth, 2 vols., (London, 1923) I, 145; Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', pp. 102-7.
 100. Calendar of Fine Rolls, 22 vols. (for HMSO London, 1911-63); CFR 1452-61, pp. 284-5; CFR 1461-71, pp. 11, 62.
 101. Scofield, Edward the Fourth, I, 378; A.R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV (Manchester, 1959), p.126-7
 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 Gruythuse's visit, when Buckingham was seen dancing with the Princess Elizabeth. Scofield, Edward the Fourth, I, 417, II, 38.
 105. C.D. Ross, Edward IV (London, 1974), p. 335.
 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.
 108. Ross, Edward IV, p. 335 .
 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).

110. A. Hanham, Richard III and his Early Historians 1483-1535 (Oxford, 1975) pp. 1-13; Ross, Richard III, pp. 69-95.
111. Chronicles of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), p. 190; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 190.
112. Victoria History of the County of Stafford, I, 245; Ross, Richard III, p. 95.
113. Ross, Richard III, p. 37; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 30-1.
114. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 207.
115. Jacob, Fifteenth Century, p. 622; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 31-3, 186-7; Ross, Richard III, pp. 114-5.
116. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 32-5; Pugh, Marcher Lordships, p. 240.
117. D. Mathew, The Courtiers of Henry VIII (London, 1970), p. 58.
118. Kipling, Triumph of Honour, pp. 12-13, 125; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 94-7.
119. N. Williams, Henry VIII and his Court (London, 1971) p. 213.
120. Duke Edward's marriage to Eleanor Percy gave him a claim 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.
121. J.J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, (London, 1968) p. 121.
122. Deposition of the Treasurer of Calais, quoted by Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 37.
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 busshe of ostrich feders vpon his helmet', while his horse was 'in Riche wise trapped w^t blewe veluet, garnysshed w^t iiij. grete Castelles of gold, of Goldsmytheswerk'. 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.

125. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 36-7.
126. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 40.
127. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 40, 99-100.
128. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, ed. J.S. Brewer for HMSO, 4 vols. (London, 1864-1920), I (1864), no. 474, p. 286. Compton seems to have been used by Henry as a stalking-horse: see G.W. Bernard, 'The Rise of Sir William Compton, Early Tudor Courtier', EHR 96 (1981) 754-77 (p. 757); G. Mattingley, Catherine of Aragon (London, 1942) p. 111.
129. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 129-33, 138-43; Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 242-7.
130. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 209.
131. Paston Letters, (Gairdner) III, 404; L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1965), pp. 217, 253-4; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 86-7, 93-4, 133-43; McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 4, 207-9.
132. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 208-10; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 93-4, 139.
133. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 207.
134. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 50-52, 207-12, 223-6.
135. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 120.
136. Duke Edward tactlessly emphasized his descent by claiming the hereditary Constablership of England on Henry VIII's accession (Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 37-9) and by commissioning the translation and printing of an "ancestral romance", The Hystory of Helyas, Knight of the Swanne, in Early English Prose Romances, ed. W.J. Thoms, 3 vols. (London, 1858), III. His dislike of Wolsey was obvious by 1529. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, pp. 120-1.
137. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 42-3; Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 258-61.
138. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 122.
139. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 43. The poem on Duke Edward's death in BL MS Harl. 2252 occurs in variant form in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 176. Another poem, 'the lamantatyon of Edward late duke of Buckyngham' occurs in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson c.813, and has been edited by F.M. Padelford, 'Liedersammlungen des. xvi. Jahrhunderts, Besonders aus der zeit Heinrichs VII: The Songs in MS Rawlinson c.813' Anglia 31 (1908), 309-97.
140. Williams, Henry VIII and his Court, p. 213.
141. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 44.
142. 'the lamantatyon of Edward late duke of Buckyngham'

NOTES

CHAPTER 2: How the Staffords Could Afford Patronage

1. Pugh and Ross, 'The English Baronage', pp. 3-4.
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.
4. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 55-6, and 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', TRHS, 5th Series, 7 (1957) 91-116.
5. These were major, and approved, items of expenditure. See McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 83-101 for some sample prices, and J.T. Rosenthal, Nobles and the Noble Life (London, 1976), also C. Platt, Medieval England, (London, 1978), pp. 174-84.
6. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 10; D. Hay, 'The Divisions of the Spoils of War in Fourteenth Century England!', TRHS, 5th Series, 4 (1954), 91-109,
7. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 8-10; G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England (Cambridge, 1957), p. 39.
8. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 11; McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 85-6.'
9. Victoria History of the County of Stafford III, p. 85; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 66.
10. Mazzighi, 'Castle Church', p. 57.
11. Mazzighi, 'Castle Church', p. 95.
12. W. Dugdale, The Baronage of England, 2 vols. (London, 1675), I, 161.
13. Wedgwood, 'Parliamentary History I', 82-5; Emden, Biographical Register III, "Stafford, Edmund".
14. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 11.
15. N.H. Nicholas, Testamenta Vetusta (London, 1826), pp. 118-9.
16. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 192; C.D. Ross, 'Forfeiture for Treason

- in the Reign of Richard II', EHR 71 (1956), 560-75.
17. Rawcliffe, 'Baronial Councils', p. 97.
 18. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, pp. 77-84.
 19. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 93.
 20. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 203-4.
 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. 300.
 23. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 65-6.
 24. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 12-18; Pugh and Ross, 'The English Baronage', p. 5.
 25. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 14-18; Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', pp. 2-3.
 26. Humphrey married Anne Neville in 1424. See Pugh and Ross, 'The English Baronage', p. 6, Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 18-21, 109-115 for Humphrey's income.
 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.
 31. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 117; Pugh 'Magnates', pp. 105-6.
 32. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 95.
 33. Victoria History of the County of Warwickshire IV, pp. 133-4; H.A. Tipping, English Homes: Period I, Norman and Plantagenet, 1066-1485, 2 vols. (London, 1921) I, p. 230.
 34. VCH, Stafford, III, p. 96.
 35. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 67.
 36. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 84-8.
 37. Paston Letters (Gairdner), I, 61.
 38. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, p. 180.

39. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 121; Pugh, 'Magnates', p. 106.
40. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 295-6; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 120.
41. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 84; J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972) pp. 8, 39.
42. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 295-6.
43. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 121.
44. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 125.
45. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 206.
46. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 125-6.
47. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, p. 240.
48. VCH Stafford I, 245; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 126.
49. Ross, Edward IV, p.335 ; Scofield, Edward the Fourth, I, 397.
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
51. Myers, Household of Edward IV, p.81 .
52. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 30.
53. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 35.
54. Pugh, Marcher Lordships, p. 242; J.R. Lander, 'Bonds, Coercion and Fear: Henry VII and the Peerage', reprinted in Crown and Nobility, p. 283.
55. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 54-65, 129-33.
56. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 44, 50-52, 208.
57. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 88.
58. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 137.
59. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 209; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 87.
60. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 87.
61. G. Webb, Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages (London, 1956) pp. 202-4; H.A. Tipping, English Homes, Period II: Early Tudor, 1485-1558, 2 vols. (London, 1924), I, 79-92; Mathew., Courtiers of Henry VIII, pp. 62-3.
62. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 94.

63. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 96-7.
64. Myers, Household of Edward IV, p. 2; McFarlane, Nobility, p. 101.
65. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 208-9.
66. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 94.
67. Paston Letters (Gairdner) III, 404; English Chronicle, p. 334.
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.
69. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 209; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 135.
70. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 142-3; McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 209-10; Pugh, Marcher Lordships, pp. 260-61.
71. Stone, Crisis, pp. 253-4.
72. Mathew, Courtiers of Henry VIII, p. 58.
73. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 103,46.

NOTES

CHAPTER 3: The Price of Patronage

1. Jacob, Fifteenth Century, p. 383; H.E. Bell, 'The Price of Books in Medieval England', The Library, 4 series, 17 (1936-7), 312-32 (p. 315); J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (Toronto, 1972), 37-8; G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England (Cambridge, 1957), p. 60.
2. Bell, 'Price of Books', p. 331.
3. Bell, 'Price of Books', pp. 314-23; R. Steele, 'The Pecia', The Library, 4th series, 11, (1930-31), 230-4.
4. Bell, 'The Price of Books', p. 319; Paston Letters (Gairdner) II, 336.
5. W.A. Craigie, '"Champ" and "Vynet"', N&Q 148 (1925), p. 171; J.R. Manly & E. Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales, 8 vols. (Chicago, 1940), I, 562-4.
6. Paston Letters (Gairdner) II, 336; Bell 'Price of Books', p. 318.
7. Bell, 'Price of Books', pp. 321-2.
8. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 97.
9. J.W. Clark, 'On the Work done to the Library of Exeter Cathedral 1412 and 1413', Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 10. (1904) 294-306 (pp. 297-303).
10. J.T. Harthan, Books of Hours (London, 1977) p. 36.
11. Bell, 'Price of Books', pp. 314-21, 328; M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Bookhands, 1250-1500 (Oxford, 1969, repr. London, 1979), p. xiii; M.B. Parkes and E. Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde': A Facsimile of Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 61 (Cambridge, 1978) pp. 5-7.
12. McFarlane, 'Nobility', p. 237; Viscount Dillon and W.H. St. John Hope, 'An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester', Archaeological Journal 54 (1897) 275-308 (p. 298).
13. British Library MS Royal 19.D.II, f.1^v 'Cest liure fust pris oue le roy de Fraunce a la bataille de Peyters et le bon counte de Saresbirs William Montagu la achata pur cent mars et la dona a sa compaigne Elizabeth la bone countesse qe dieux assoile. Et est continus dedeins le Bible enter oue tixt et glose le mestre des histoires et incident tout en memes le volym la quele lyure la dite countesse assigna a ces executours de la uendre pur xl. liuers.'; G. Warner and J. Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, 4 vols. (London, 1921), II, 341-2.
14. S.H. Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned in England 1300-1450', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania,

1980), pp. 278-9; L.S. Lawton, 'Text and Image in Late Medieval English Vernacular Literary Manuscripts', (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of York, 1982) p. 90.

15. Such occasional benefactions could be splendid, e.g. the fine breviary once Humphrey de Bohun's, 4th Earl of Hereford, given to Kimbolton church: L.F. Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth Century Breviary at Longleat', JWCI 39 (1976) 1-10, and the "Wollaton Antiphonal" (in the care of Nottingham University Library) once Sir Thomas Chaworth's: T. Turville-Petre, 'Some Medieval English Manuscripts in the North-east Midlands', in Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England, ed. D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 132-3.
16. Bell, 'Price of Books', p. 328.
17. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 298-9.
18. Bell, 'Price of Books', p. 328.
19. British Library, MSS Royal 11.D.VI, 3.B.III, 5.C.V, and 8.G.IV; Warner and Gilson, Catalogue, I, pp. 357, 71, 108, 275.
20. Bell, 'Price of Books', p. 315; M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Peterhouse College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1899), MSS 88, 110, 114, 142, 154, 193, 198.
21. Bell, 'Price of Books', pp. 324-6, 330; P. Roth, 'Pledging a Book in Medieval England', The Library, 5th Series, 19, (1964) 196-200.
22. Peterhouse MS 203, penultimate flyleaf; James, Peterhouse MSS, MS 203.
23. Bell, 'Price of Books', pp. 324-5; British Library MS 5.B.XI, Warner and Gilson, Catalogue, I, 103-4.
24. Steele, 'The Pecia', pp. 232-4.
25. Canterbury Tales, Gen. Prol. 294; WSchramm, 'The Cost of Books in Chaucer's Time', MLN 48 (1933) 139-45 (p.145).
26. J.A. Lauritis, R.A. Klinefelter, V.F. Gallagher, A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's "Life of Our Lady", Duquesne Studies, Philological Series, no. 2. (Pittsburgh, 1961); Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 30, 69.
27. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 73, has an inscription on f.121^V; 'Thys is my Lady More boke and sumtyme it was Quene Margaret boke'.
28. Bodleian Library Ashmole 39.
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

31. D. Pearsall, 'Notes on the Manuscript of Generydes', The Library, 5th Series, 16 (1961), 205-10 (pp. 208, 210); M.R. James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900-04) III (1902) MS O.5.2; Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 357-9.
32. Nicholas Love's 'Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ', ed. E. Salter, for Analecta Cartusiana (Salzburg, 1974), p. 13; A.I. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', in English Court Culture, p. 176.
33. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-303; Warner and Gilson, Catalogue, II, 378.
34. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 243-4.
35. Parkes, 'Literacy', p. 564.
36. The Thornton Manuscript; Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, introduction by D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen, pp. vii-xi; J.J. Thompson, 'The Compiler in Action, Robert Thornton and the "Thornton Romances" in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91', in English Books and Readers, pp. 117-23.
37. C. Luttrell, 'Three North-West Midland Manuscripts', Neophilologus, 42, (1958), 38-50.
38. Bodleian Library MS. lat. c.66; see R.H. Robbins, 'The Poems of Humphrey Newton, Esquire, 1466-1536', PMLA 65, (1950), 249-81.
39. R. Weiss, Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century, (Oxford, 1941), pp. 108, 128.
40. Glasgow, Hunterian Library MS U.1.1.; see Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 183-8, also p. 352.
41. Bell, 'Price of Books', p. 316; Cavanaugh 'Books Privately Owned', p. 5.
42. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 234-8.
43. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 98.
44. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 205.
45. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 64.
46. Bennet, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, pp. 7-8, 108-9.
47. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 235.
48. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 235-7.
49. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 234.
50. Paston Letters (Davis) II, 101-2; Stephen Scrope, 'The Epistle of Othea', ed. C. Bühler, EETS, OS 264 (London, 1970), p. xix.

51. Green; Poets and Princepleasers; pp. 60-62, 150.

NOTES

CHAPTER 4: The Staffords' Ownership of Books:

(a) The Nature of the Evidence

1. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetus, pp. 83, 137, for example.
2. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', p. 14; Bell, 'Price of Books', p. 329.
3. See Testamenta Eboracensia II, Surtees Society 30 (Durham, 1855), pp. 225-7; Turville-Petre, 'Some Medieval English Manuscripts', pp. 132-3; Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 356-7.
4. For Anne Scrope, see Testamenta Eboracensia IV, Surtees Society 53 (1869), pp. 149-53; A.I. Doyle, 'Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, 25, part (ii) (1958), 222-43 (pp. 234-5), and Appendix B in Bühler, Epistle of Othea, pp. 126-7.
5. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', pp. 9, 12.
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.
7. W.H. St. John Hope, 'The Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, 13th Earl of Oxford', Archaeologia 66 (1914-5), 275-348, (pp. 300, 342).
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.
9. C.M. Church, 'Notes on the Buildings, Books and Benefactors of the Library of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Wells', Archaeologia 57 (1901) 201-28, (pp. 209-10) lists Stafford's books. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 38-1950, a Bohun manuscript, has the arms of Bishop Stafford and Margaret of Anjou added to f.1. M.R. James and E.G. Millar, The Bohun Manuscripts: A Group of Five Manuscripts executed in England about 1370 for Members of the Bohun Family, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1936), p. 54.
10. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 92 and 'King Richard II's Books Revisited', The Library, 5th Series 31 (1976), 235-9; E. Rickert,

- 'Richard II's Books', The Library, 4th Series 13 (1933), 144-7; A.C. Plomer, 'Bibliographical Notes from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Seventh', The Library, 3rd Series, 4 (1913), 291-305; N.H. Nicolas, Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth (London, 1830), pp. 117, 125-6. Most of the books belonging to one of the "lesser mortals", Sir John Paston, are recorded in Paston Letters (Davis) I, 516-8.
11. Bodleian Library MS Douce 319, f.222^v: "Ceste liure est a Thomas duc de Glouc. Comte dessex (& de Buk).. del don le comte de Sarum monsire Will. de Montague"; Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS français 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.
 13. Harthan, Books of Hours, p. 73, also pp. 57-69, 100-101; D. Byrne, 'The Hours of Admiral Prigent de Coëtivy (1)', Scriptorium 28 (1974), 248-61 (pp.249-50).
 14. James and Millar, The Bohun Manuscripts, pp. 7, 23, 33-5.
 15. Harthan, Books of Hours, p. 73.
 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.
 18. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, pp. 98-9.
 19. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 228; C.L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1913), pp. 140-9; The Rous Roll, ed. C. Ross (Gloucester, 1980), p. v.
 20. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, p. xviii-xxi.
 21. D. Pearsall, 'The Troilus Frontispiece and Chaucer's Audience', YES 7 (1977), 68-74, (p. 70).
 22. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 154.
 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.

(c) Survey of the Staffords' Book Ownership 1372-1521

1. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, no. 307, p. 172.
2. VCH Stafford III, 85; V. 84, Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII (London, 1867), III, (i), 510.
3. Mazzinghi, 'Castle Church', p. 95.
4. Dugdale, Monasticon, V. i, 123.
5. Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 378.
6. Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 202, 377-8.
7. Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 377.
8. Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 375-6; Calendar of Patent Rolls 54 vols. (London, for HMSO, 1891-1916), 1408-13, p. 40. 1485-94, p. 100.
9. Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 359.
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).
11. Millar, Rutland Psalter, p. 22.
12. Millar, Rutland Psalter, p. 1.
13. Harthan, Books of Hours, pp. 14-19; Millar, Rutland Psalter, pp. 1-2, 16-17; Complete Peerage, "Talbot" and "Shrewsbury".
14. Millar, Rutland Psalter, p. 2, n. 4.
15. North Country Wills I, 1383-1558, ed. J.W. Clay, for the Surtees Society, 116 (Durham, 1908), p. 9.
16. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 119; J. Evans, A History of Jewellery 1100-1870, 2nd edn. (London, 1970), p. 59, n. 6.
17. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 78.
18. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 79-80.
19. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 80.
20. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 118-9.
21. F. Roth, "A History of the English Austin Friars", Augustiniana II (1961), 533-63, p. 547; 14 (1964), 163-215, 670-710, pp. 708-10.
22. Clay, North Country Wills, p. 9.
23. C.A. Stothard, The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain (London 1817), p. 85.

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.
29. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 565-9.
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.
32. Salter, Love's 'Myrroure', pp. 13-14.
33. Salter, Love's 'Myrroure', p. 15.
34. Quoted in Salter, Love's 'Myrroure', p. 16.
35. I owe my knowledge of this MS to E. Salter, Fourteenth Century English Poetry (Oxford, 1984), p. 35.
36. For further details of these items, see The French Text of the Ancrene Riwe, ed. J.A. Herbert, EETS, 05219 (Oxford, 1944), p. x.
37. E. Seaton, Sir Richard Roos (London, 1961) p. 142; H.E. Allen, letter to TLS, 22nd March, 1934, p. 214; French ... Ancrene Riwe, pp. xii-xiii.
38. Allen, TLS, p. 214; The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, ed. E.J. Dobson, EETS, 05 267 (Oxford, 1972), pp. xxv-vi.
39. French ... Ancrene Riwe, p. xiv.
40. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 179.
41. Wedgwood, Parliamentary History I, 82-3.

42. Emden, Biographical Register ... Oxford, III, "Stafford, Edmund".
43. J. Moissant, De Speculo Regis Edwardi III (Paris, 1891); J. Tait, 'On the Date and Authorship of the "Speculum Regis Edwardi"', EHR 16, (1901), 110-15, (p. 114).
44. Emden, Biographical Register ... Oxford, III, "Saunders"
45. Moissant, De Speculo Regis, pp. 10-11, 17.
46. Registrum Henrici Chichele, ed. E.F. Jacob, for Canterbury and York Society, vols. 42, 45, 47, 48 (Oxford, 1943), p. 157.
47. Staffordshire County Record Office, MS D 641/1/3/2.
48. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-303.
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.
51. Registrum Collegii Oxoniensis, ed. T. Boase, for Oxford Historical Society (Oxford, 1894), pp. li, lxxvii.
52. Revd. G. Oliver, Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral (Exeter, 1861), pp. 331-2, 338-9.
53. Boase, Registrum, p. liv.
54. H.D. Coxe Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in collegis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1852).
55. Jacob, Registrum ... Chichele, p. 156.
56. Oliver, Lives, pp. 321, 324.
57. Jacob, Registrum ... Chichele, pp. 156-7.
58. Oliver, Lives, pp. 338-340.
59. Oliver, Lives, pp. 194-6. The shields included Grey of Ruthin, Charlton of Powys, Roos, Courtenay, Neville, de la Pole, Stafford of Hooke, Stafford, Sir Richard Stafford, Bishop Edmund, and the See of Exeter.
60. Oliver, Lives, pp. 196, 458-62.
61. Boase, Registrum, p. liv.
62. Emden, Biographical Register ... Oxford, II, "Graunt, Thomas".
63. J. Nichols, A Collection of all the Wills now known to be Extant

- of all the Kings and Queens of England from William I to Henry VII, (London, 1780), p. 182.
64. P. Butler, Legenda Aurea - Légende Dorée ; Golden Legend (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 23-4; R. Hamer, Three Lives from the 'Gilde Legende', for Middle English Texts, 9 (Heidelberg, 1978) p. 11.
 65. R.A. Wood, 'A Fourteenth-Century London Owner of Piers Plowman', Med. Aev. 53 (1984), 83-90, p. 88.
 66. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 74, 78.
 67. Such as Henry V in the Troy Book, ed. H. Bergen, EETS, ES 97, 103, 106, 126 (London 1906-35), Prologue, II, 69-120, Book V, II 3376-465, or the Earl of Salisbury in the Pilgrimage of Life of Man, ed. F.J. Furnivall and K.B. Locock, EETS, ES 77, 83, 92 (London 1899-1904) II, II6-63.
 68. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 308.
 69. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 264. All three poems are printed in The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. H.N. MacCracken, EETS, ES 107, OS 192 (London 1910, 1934), I, 127-9, 130-33, 140-43.
 70. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 264.
 71. Burlington Fine Arts Club, Catalogue of a Collection of Objects of British Heraldic Art to the end of the Tudor Period, (London, 1916), p. 47.
 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 Helyas (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 Blützezt 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.
 74. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 93; the lovely "Dunstable Swan Jewel" gives an idea of the kind of badge Thomas Stafford would have treasured. J. Cherry, 'The Dunstable swan jewel', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd series, 32 (1969) 38-53.
 75. Suggett, 'Use of French', p. 73.
 76. Suggett, 'Use of French', p. 66, Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p.301.
 77. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 301.

78. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 278.
79. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 279.
80. Woodger, 'Henry Bourghcher', pp. 308.
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.
86. Illustrated Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, Burlington Fine Arts Club (London, 1908), p. 73.
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.141^r 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.
90. Wormald and Giles, Illuminated Manuscripts, p. 25; M. Rickert, The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal (Chicago, 1952), pp. 74-5; M.B. Parkes, The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford (London 1979), MS 47, pp. 215-25.
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.

96. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts, p. 37; J.J.G. Alexander, 'William Abell, "Lynnpur", and Fifteenth Century Illumination', in Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag (Salzburg, 1972), p. 165.
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.
102. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 135.
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.
106. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', p. 292-3.
107. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 83.
108. J. Evans, English Art 1307-1461 (Oxford, 1949), p. 148.
109. Pearsall, OE and ME Poetry, p. 315; Wright, Political Poems I, 123-215; William of Palerne, ed. W. Skeat, EETS, ES, 1, (London, 1867), 161-9. 5527-33; D. Lawton, 'Middle English Alliterative Poetry: An Introduction', in Middle English Alliterative Poetry and its Literary Background, ed. D. Lawton (Cambridge, 1982) p.3.
110. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, pp. 79-83.
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.
112. Chronicon Anglie, ed. E.M. Thomson for the Rolls Series, 64 (London, 1874), p. xvii.
113. Chronicon, pp. xvi-xxvi; V.H. Galbraith, 'Thomas Walsingham and the St. Albans Chronicle', EHR 47 (1932), 12-29, pp. 18-25. c.f. also, M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Bookhands, p. 5, and Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, ed. C. Babington and J.R. Lumby, for Rolls Series, 41 (London, 1865-86).
114. O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1966-73), II (1970) p. 154.

115. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-03.
116. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 300-03.
117. A. Kühn, 'Die Illustration des Rosenromans', Jahrbuch der Kunst-historisches Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 31 (1913-14) pp. 1-67.
118. Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 8-9.
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.
126. Doyle, 'English Books', pp. 168-9.
127. M.R. James, The Romance of Alexander: A Collotype Facsimile of MS Bodley 264 (Oxford, 1933); A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, ed. R.W. Hunt et al., 7 vols. (Oxford, 1953) II, 381-2. Colophons provide the valuable details of scribe, artist and date.
128. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 89; Marks and Morgan, Golden Age, p. 109; G.M. Spriggs, 'Unnoticed Bodleian Library Manuscripts illuminated by Herman Scheere and his school', BLR 7 (1964), 193-203.
129. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 91.
130. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', p. 301.
131. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 90.
132. Summary Catalogue, II, 382.
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).
136. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 77; The Black Book of the Admiralty, ed. T. Twiss for Rolls Series, no. 55, 4 vols. (London, 1871-6) I, pp. 300-29; G. Lester, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke: A Bespoke

- Book or Mass-Produced?' *ES* 66 (1985) 93-104, (pp. 95-7); G. Lester, Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boker' (Cambridge, 1984) pp. 8, 51.
137. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 224.
 138. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, pp. 85-6; Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 224; Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', p. 297.
 139. Dillon and Hope, 'Inventory', pp. 288-9.
 140. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 223.
 141. Nicolas, Testamenta 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.
 145. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 83-4.
 146. Tipping, English Homes, Period I, I, 76-9.
 147. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, p. 77; Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, p. 223.
 148. Goodman, Loyal Conspiracy, pp. 78-9.
 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 Llegendary 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.
 155. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 285.
 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.
160. A.R. Wagner, 'William Grey, Bishop of Ely', TLS (1932), p. 427.
161. Mynors, Catalogue, p. xxv.
162. Mynors, Catalogue, p. xxix.
163. Galbraith, 'Extracts', pp. 203-7; Mynors, Catalogue, p. 255.
164. M.A. Ignatius, 'Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea: An Experiment in Literary Form', Med. et Hum. 9 (1979), 127-42 (p. 133).
165. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, pp. xiv-xv; Doyle, Appendix B, p. 125.
166. Private communication.
167. Ignatius, 'Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea', pp. 135-6; Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 110-113.
168. R. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery (Princeton, 1966), pp. 34.
169. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, appendix A, p. 122, 11, 5-21.
170. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, pp. xv-xvi, xix-xxi; G. Lester, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke', pp. 96-101.;
171. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, Doyle, Appendix B, p. 126.
172. Thé Bremschets' 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.
173. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, Doyle, Appendix B, p. 125.
174. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, pp. xxi-xxvi.
175. K. Scott, 'A Mid-Fifteenth Century English Illuminating Shop and Its Customers', JWCI 31 (1968), 170-96, (p. 170, no 3) notes manuscripts written by Ricardus; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Laud misc. 570 (Fastolf's Epitre) 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.
177. Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 110-11; Ignatius, "Christine de Pizan's Epître Othea", pp. 131-6.
178. C. Bühler, 'Sir John Fastolf's Manuscripts of the Epître d'Othea and Stephen Scrope's Translation of this Text', Scriptorium 3, (1949), 123-8 (pp. 126-8); Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 111-112.
179. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, pp. xiv-xvii; Lester, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke', pp. 97-8.
180. J.J.G. Alexander, 'A Lost Leaf from a Bodleian Book of Hours'; BLR 8 (1967-72), 248-9; J.D. Farquhar, Creation and Imitation (New York, 1976) pp. 70-7. Farquhar warns that several of the manuscripts in Alexander's list are the work of the closely-allied "Talbot Master", another Rouen artist.
181. Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16, introd. J. Norton-Smith (London, 1979), pp. vii, xii.
182. Alexander, 'William Abell', 166-8.
183. Alexander, 'William Abell', p. 169; G. Spriggs 'An unidentified coat-of-arms', The Coat of Arms 10, no. 73 (Jan. 1968), 2-10.
184. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 296.
185. VCH Stafford, III, 96.
186. VCH Warwick, IV, 134; Tipping, English Homes Period I, I, 230.
187. Tipping, English Homes, Period I, I, 172.
188. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 235-7.
189. Rosenthal, Purchase of Paradise, p. 36; Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 84, 120.
190. W. Dugdale, The Baronage of England, 2 vols. (London, 1675), I 166; Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 295-6.
191. Roth, 'English Austin Friars', Augustiniana 14 (1964), 163-215, 670-710, pp. 708-10.
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.

195. The binding is probably French, a fine product of a Parisian bindery; H.M. Nixon, 'French Bookbindings for Sir Richard Wingfield and Jean Grolier', in Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy E. Miner, ed. U.E. MacCracken, L.M. Randall, R.H. Randall (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 301-5.
196. Wright, Political Poems, II, 222.
197. J.R. Planché, 'On the Badges of the House of Lancaster', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 6 (1850-1), 374-93, (pp. 383-6).
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.
199. L.M.J. Delaisse, 'The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book', in Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy E. Miner, p. 212; Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts, p. 38.
200. James, Fifty Manuscripts, p. 130; Yates Thompson, Illustrations IV, 45.
201. K.L. Scott, The Mirroure of the World, for the Roxburghé Club, (Oxford, 1980), pp. 41, 43; A.H. van Buren and S. Edmunds, 'Playing Cards and Manuscripts: some widely disseminated fifteenth century model sheets', The Art Bulletin 56 (1974), 12-30.
202. Scott, Mirroure, p. 42.
203. Scott, Mirroure, p. 43; J. Plummer, Manuscripts from the William S. Glazier Collection, (New York, 1959), pp. 23-4.
204. van Buren and Edmunds, 'Playing Cards', p. 29.
205. Scott, 'Illuminating Shop', pp. 172-93.
206. Scott, Mirroure, p. 43.
207. Index, 3083. The ascription to Lydgate is in BL Addit. 29729. The poem also occurs in BL MS Royal 2.D.XXXVII, and National Library of Scotland, Advocate MS 19.3.1. (One stanza). C. Brown, 'See Myche, Say Lytell, and Lerne to Soffer in Tyme', MLN 54 (1939) 131-3. The Nightingale is edited by O. Glauning in Lydgate's Two Nightingale Poems, EETS 80 (London 1900).
208. Private communication from Dr. A.I. Doyle.
209. J. Wimsatt, Chaucer and the Poems of "Ch" (Cambridge, 1982) p.66.
210. G. Guddat-Figge, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances (Munich, 1976), p. 19, on blank initial spaces; Bühler, Epistle of Othea, p. xvii, on extra texts.
211. Private communication.

212. C. Brown, 'See Myche', 131-3.
213. For 'See Myche', see n. 192; for Trouthe, see F.N. Robinson
The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd edn. (London, 1957) pp. 917-8.
214. Glauning, Nightingale Poems, p. xxxix.
215. Glauning, Nightingale Poems, p. xxxix.
216. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 356-7.
217. Guddat-Figge, Catalogue, pp. 171-2; Octovian Emperor, ed. F.
McSparran, for Middle English Texts, (Heidelberg, 1979) p. 10.
218. McSparran, Octovian Emperor, p. 8; MacCracken, Minor Poems I,
xxxiii.
219. McSparran, Octovian Emperor, p. 47.
220. Guddat-Figge, Catalogue, p. 171.
221. Guddat-Figge, Catalogue, p. 169; C. Brown, Religious Lyrics of
the XVth Century (Oxford, 1939).
222. R.H. Robbins, 'The Poems of Humfrey Newton, Esquire, 1466-1536',
PMLA 65 (1950), 249-81.
223. Robbins, 'Humfrey Newton', p. 252.
224. Robbins, 'Humfrey Newton', p. 259; C. Luttrell, 'Three North-west
Midlands Manuscripts', Neophilologus 42 (1958), 38-50.
225. Robbins, 'Humfrey Newton', pp. 251-2.
226. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 267.
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, Manu-
script 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.
234. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 490-2.

235. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 491-2.
236. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 492.
237. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 493, 506-7.
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).
239. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', pp. 5-7, 13.
240. Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 9, 50, 78, 94; Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 13.
241. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', pp. 17-19; D. Pearsall, 'The Troilus Frontispiece and Chaucer's Audience', YES 7 (1977), 68-74 (p.71).
242. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 18; M. Galway, 'The "Troilus" Frontispiece', MLR 44 (1949) 161-77.
243. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 21.
244. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 20.
245. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 11.
246. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 94.
247. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', pp. 11-12.
248. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', pp. 11.
249. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', pp. 11-12.
250. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 12; A. Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition (Oxford, 1925), p. 21.
251. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 12.
252. Brusendorff, Chaucer Tradition, pp. 21-2.
253. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 94.
254. Parkes and Salter, 'Troilus and Criseyde', p. 23.
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.
256. E.G. Millar, French edition of English Illustrated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (Paris/Brussels, 1928), p. 37.

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.
258. Robinson, Chaucer, pp. 564-5, 872-3; R. Sutherland, The 'Romaunt of the Rose' and 'Le Roman de la Rose' (Oxford, 1967), pp. xxv-xxviii.
259. Brusendorff, Chaucer Tradition, p. 296.
260. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, Doyle, Appendix B, pp. 126-7.
261. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 95-6.
262. Harthan, Books of Hours, pp. 130-7.
263. The English Works of John Fisher, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, EETS, ES 27 (1876), p. 292.
264. Butler, Legenda Aurea, p. 23.
265. Hamer, Three Lives, p. 16.
266. Hamer, Three Lives, pp. 26-7.
267. J. Crosland, 'Lucan in the Middle Ages, with special reference to the Old French Epic', MLR 25 (1930) 32-51 (pp. 32-7).
268. M. Bendena, 'The Translations of Lucan and their Influence on French Medieval Literature', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, Detroit, 1976), p. 122.
269. Crosland, 'Lucan', p. 34; Bendena, 'Translations of Lucan', p. 79; P. Meyer, 'Les Premieres Compilations Francaises d'Histoire Ancienne', Romania 14 (1885) 1-81, (p. 36).
270. Bendena, 'Translations of Lucan', pp. 102-3.
271. Collegium Divi Johannis Evangelistae 1511-1911 (Cambridge, 1911) p. 121.
272. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 356-7.
273. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 356
274. Letters and Papers...Henry VIII, III, i, 508.
275. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 356.
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).
277. 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) p. 145.

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 manuscrites 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.
281. Testamenta Eboracensia II, 14. I owe the reference to Dr. McGoldrick.
282. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', p. 415.
283. Hoccleve's Works, ed. F.J. Furnivall and I. Gollancz, EETS, ES 61, 73 (London, 1892, 1925) rev. J. Mitchell and A.I. Doyle, reprinted in one volume 1970; D. Pearsall, OE and ME Poetry, pp. 237-8.
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.
288. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, Doyle, Appendix B, p. 126.
289. Bühler, Epistle of Othea, Doyle, Appendix B, p. 126; Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 325.
290. Harthan, Books of Hours, pp. 24-9.
291. K. Harris, 'The origins and make-up of Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.6', TCBS 8 (1983) 299-333, p. 306.
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).

295. Planché, 'Badges...of Lancaster', pp. 382-3.
296. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and rely on the description given in N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1969-83), I, London, pp. 411-15.
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.
298. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, I, 414; Burlington Fine Arts Club, Catalogue of a Collection of Objects of British Heraldic Art, (London, 1916), p. 43.
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.
303. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 117-8, 621-2; Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 163-4; H. Kelliher, 'The Historiated Initial in the "Devonshire" Chaucer', N&Q 222 (1977) 197.
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.
305. Ross, Richard III, p. 129. P. Tudor-Craig, Richard III (London, 1973), pp. 50-51
306. Armstrong, 'Piety', p. 153.
307. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 588.
308. Harthan, Books of Hours, p. 14; D. Gray, 'A Middle English Illustrated Poem', in Medieval Studies for J.A.W. Bennett, ed. P.L. Heyworth (Oxford, 1981), pp. 185-6; Collegium Divi Iohannis, pp. 120-1.
309. Collegium Divi Iohannis, pp. 121-2.
310. Caxton's 'Blanchardyn and Eglantine', ed. L. Kellner, EETS, ES 58 (London, 1890). Lady Margaret's French book does not seem to have survived.
311. N.F. Blake, Caxton and His World (London, 1969) p. 99; M.J.C. Lowry, 'Caxton, St. Winifred, and the Lady Margaret Beaufort', The Library, 6th series, 5 (1983) 101-17.
312. Axon, 'Lady Margaret', pp. 36-8.

313. N.F. Blake, 'Wynkyn de Worde; The Early Years', Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1971, 62-9; and 'Wynkyn de Worde; The Later Years', Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1972, 128-38; H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475-1537 (Cambridge, 1952), p. 43.
314. Axon, 'Lady Margaret', p. 39.
315. English Works, p. 292.
316. Collegium Divi Iohannis, pp. 119-23.
317. Collegium Divi Iohannis, pp. 120, 122.
318. Tipping, English Homes, Period I, I, 232-7.
319. Axon, 'Lady Margaret', p. 35.
320. Collegium Divi Iohannis, pp. 106, 110, 121.
321. Collegium Divi Iohannis, pp. 109-110.
322. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 324.
323. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 97.
324. Roth, 'English Austin Friars', Augustiniana 14 (1964) 163-215, 670-710, pp. 708-10.
325. Warner and Gilson, Catalogue II, 319.
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.
328. The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, ed. T. Hearne, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1769), VI, 48.
329. M.A. Hicks, False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence (Gloucester, 1980) pp. 216, 219; Lander, Crown and Nobility, p. 319; Calendar of Fine Rolls 1471-85, (London, for HMSO, 1961), no. 524, p. 179; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1467-77 (London, for HMSO, 1900), p. 396; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII, I (London, for HMSO, 1898), nos. 959, pp. 409-10; 997, p. 428.
330. Such as the groupings of verses and signatures on the flyleaves of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 39, described below.
331. Spriggs, 'Unnoticed Bodleian Library Manuscripts', passim; Rickert, Reconstructed Carmelite Missal, pp. 80-98; C.L. Kuhn, 'Herman Scheere and English Illumination of the Early Fifteenth Century', Art Bulletin 22 (1940) 136-56; E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953), pp. 51-60, 115-19; Marks and Morgan, Golden Age, pp. 24-9; D.H. Turner, 'The Wyndham Payne Crucifixion', British Library Journal 2 (1976), 8-26; G. Spriggs, 'The Neville Hours', JWCI 37 (1974) 104-30.

332. Yates Thompson, Illustrations IV, 37-9.
333. I have been unable to see this manuscript, and have had to rely on the information contained in W.O. Hassall, '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.
334. Hassall, 'English Illuminated Manuscripts', p. 30.
335. Hassall, Holkham Library, p. 23; Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, pp. 113-8; Spriggs, 'Unnoticed Bodleian Library Manuscripts', pp. 195, 202-3; M. Rickert, 'The So-Called Beaufort Hours and York Psalter', Burlington Magazine 104 (1962) 238-46; private communication from Mrs. Spriggs; R. Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1968).
336. References as n. 319; see also Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts, I, p. 23.
337. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, pp. 113-22.
338. Private communication from Mrs. Spriggs.
339. G. Baker, The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire, 2 vols. (London, 1822, 1841), I, 95, 109, 167, 379; Tipping, English Homes Period II, I, 326.
340. Baker, History ... of Northamptonshire, I, 379.
341. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 216.
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.
343. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 137-8, 160-3.
344. Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 76-85.
345. H. Anderson, 'The Books and Interests of Henry, Lord Stafford (1501-1563)', The Library, 5th series, 2 (1966) 87-114.
346. Anderson, 'Books and Interests', pp. 88, 94; P. Kibre, 'The Intellectual Interests Reflected in Libraries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', Journal of the History of Ideas, 7 (1946), 257-97, pp. 261-84; Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 149-50.
347. Anderson, 'Books and Interests', p. 99; Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 267.

348. See A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640, 2nd edn., revised W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer, 2 vols. (London, 1986); J.C. Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, 6 vols. and Supplément (Paris, 1860-78), under "Olyver de Castell" and "Doolfn de Maience".
349. Letters and Papers...Henry VIII, III (f), p. 496. 'Haly' was possibly the John Hayley or Haley of Magdalen College, MA 1513. J. Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, 1500-1714, 4 vols. (Oxford 1891), II, 680.
350. Thoms, Early English Prose Romances, III, 15-16.
351. Thoms, Early English Prose Romances, III, 12.
352. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 37-9, 96.
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 Fete 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.
354. E.G. Williams, 'A Critical Edition of the Chevalere Assigne, in the Fifteenth Century MS Cotton Caligula A.II, with an introduction, Notes, Glossary and Bibliography', (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of London, 1963), pp. 101-7; C. Lecouteux, Melusine et le Chevalier au Cygne (Paris, 1982).
355. SCRO MS D 641/1/3/7a, D 641/1/3/9, PRO MS E101/631/20; Letters and Papers...Henry VIII, III(i), 501-5.
356. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 94.
357. N.Y. Biryukova, The Hermitage, Leningrad: Gothic and Renaissance Tapestries (London, 1965) p. 27.
358. SCRO MS D 641/1/3/10.
359. PRO MS E 101/631/20.
360. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 92-3; Kipling, Triumph of Honour, pp. 118-20; Kingsford, Chronicles of London, pp. 250, 334.
361. Paston Letters (Gairdner) III, 404.
362. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 86-7; McFarlane, Nobility, p. 209.
363. Tipping, English Homes, Period II, I, 87-8; Rawcliffe, The Staffords pp. 86-7; Itinerary of John Leland, VII, (ii), 101-2.
364. Tipping, English Homes, Period II, I, 88.

365. Tipping, English Homes, Period II, I, 88; G. Webb, Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages (London, 1956), pp. 203-4.
366. Tipping, English Homes, Period II, I, 88-92; Letters and Papers... Henry VIII, III (f), 499.
367. D. Verey, Gloucestershire 2: The Vale and the Forest of Dean, ed. N. Pevsner (London, 1970), 379-81.
368. Itinerary of John Leland, VII, (if), 102.
369. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p. 94; Letters and Papers... Henry VIII, III, (f), 496.
370. PRO MS E 101/631/20.
371. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, pp. 94-8.
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.
373. Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 360-9.
374. Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 362-3.
375. Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 360, 369-94.
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.

- (d) Survey of the Bourghiers' Book Ownership, c. 1420-1533.
1. Woodger, 'Henry Bourghier', p. 309.
 2. The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton, ed. W.J.B. Crotch, EETS, OS 176 (London, 1829), p. 76.
 3. Woodger, 'Henry Bourghier', p. 315.
 4. The "Epistle" is given in Secretes of Old Philosophres, ed. R. Steele, EETS, ES 66 (London, 1894); Woodger, 'Henry Bourghier', p. 315.
 5. Woodger, 'Henry Bourghier', pp. 237, 247.
 6. Woodger, 'Henry Bourghier', p. 243; Collier, Household Books, p. 149.
 7. Woodger, 'Henry Bourghier', pp. 317, 249, 301-2, 314.
 8. ed. M. Serjeantson, EETS, OS 206 (London, 1938); see S. Moore, 'Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk, c. 1450', I, PMLA 27 (1912), 188-207, II, PMLA 28 (1913), 79-105, (II pp. 79-90).
 9. Woodger, 'Henry Bourghier', p. 243. See Boutell's Heraldry, revised S.T. Aveling (London, 1873) pp. 313-4.
 10. Roth, 'English Austin Friars' Augustiniana 14 (1964) 163-215, 67-710, pp. 207-10. An inmate of Clare - possibly Bokenham - was responsible for the translation of Claudian's De Consolatu Stilichonis for Isabel's brother, Richard, Duke of York, and The Dialogue Between a Secular and a Friar, another piece connected with Richard of York's family, also emanated from Clare. Roth, 'English Austin Friars', Augustiniana 15 (1965), 175-236, 567/628, p. 622; E. Flügel, 'Eine Mittelenglische Claudian-übersetzung', Anglia 28 (1905) pp. 255-99. 421-38.
 11. Weiss, Humanism in England, p. 165. Tudor-Craig, Richard III, p. 43.
 12. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 108, f.1^r. See also The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy, ed. C. Babington for the Rolls Series, 19 (London, 1860) I, xxi-xlix, and Bennett, 'Production and Dissemination', p. 172, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, pp. 192-3.
 13. Roth, 'English Austin Friars', Augustiniana 12 (1962) 93-122, 391-442, pp. 104-114.
 14. G. Warner, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of C.W. Dyson Perrins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1920) I, 62-3.
 15. Scott, Mirrore, pp. 2-4, 45-50; D. Anderson, ed. Sixty Bokes Olde and Newe: Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from Libraries in and near Philadelphia Illustrating Chaucer's Sources, His Works and Their Influence (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1986) pp. 90-92.

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).

16. Scott, Mirrore, pp. 45-8; Anderson, 'Sixty Bokes' pp. 90-91.
17. L.L. Duncan, 'The Will of Cardinal Bourgchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1486'. Archaeologia Cantiana 24 (1900), 244-52, (pp. 249-50).
18. Duncan, 'Will of Cardinal Bourgchier', pp. 249-51.
19. Duncan, 'Will of Cardinal Bourgchier', pp. 249-50.
20. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 237.
21. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 314. The tradition that Archbishop Bourgchier 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 Bourgchier'.
22. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 317.
23. In Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt, ed. K. Muir and P. Thompson, (Liverpool, 1969).
24. Minor Poems, II, 438-42.
25. E. Seaton, Sir Richard Roos, (London, 1961), p. 487.
26. J. Boffey, 'The Manuscript Context of English Courtly Love Lyrics, c. 1450-1530', (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of York, 1983), p. 377.
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.
28. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', pp. 314, 318.
29. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 405.
30. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 405.
31. I have been unable to see this manuscript and have had to rely on the description given by Young and Aitken, Catalogue.
32. Woodger, 'Henry Bourgchier', p. 318.
33. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 422.
34. Huon of Burdeux, ed. S.L. Lee, EETS, ES 43, 50 (London, 1884, 1887), p. xlvi.

35. N.F. Blake, 'Lord Berners; A Survey', Med. et. Hum. 2. (1971) 119-32, (pp. 120-22); Ferguson, Indian Summer, p. 72.
36. Blake, 'Lord Berners', p. 121; Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, pp. 23, 20; Ferguson, Indian Summer, pp. 23-6.
37. Blake, 'Lord Berners', pp. 123-5.
38. Blake, 'Lord Berners', p. 125.
39. Ferguson, Indian Summer, p. 72.
40. Blake, 'Lord Berners', pp. 127-8; Ferguson, Indian Summer, p. 71.
41. Blake, 'Lord Berners', pp. 128-31.

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

1. Testamenta Eboracensia I, 378.
2. Pearsall, Old and Middle English Poetry, p. 226.
3. Kingsford, 'Two Foreitures', pp. 82-100; McFarlane, Nobility, p. 237; compare the averages arrived at in J.T. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage and Book Bequests, 1350-1500', BJRL 64 (1981-2), 522-48.
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. 125, 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'.
6. Blake, "Lord Berners", pp. 120-24.
7. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 65-7.
8. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage', p. 536.
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.
10. Duke Edward's small payments to "haly" and the Abbot of Gloucester's poet survive in an account roll calendared in Letters and Papers... Henry VIII, III (i), 491. cf. also Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 235.
11. Weiss, Humanism in England, pp. 164-7.
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.
13. M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke, (London, 1967) pp. 9-10. L.M.J. Delaissé, 'The Importance of Books of Hours' pp. 203-25.

- Harthan, Books of Hours, p. 223.
14. Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 28; A.I. Doyle, 'Reflections on some Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's Myrrour 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 Myrrour, 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.
 16. Lauritis et al., Lydgate's "Life of Our Lady", p. 1.
 17. Anderson, 'Books and Interests', pp. 88-9.
 18. G. Doutrepont, Inventaire de la "librairie" de Philippe le Bon (1420), (Brussels, 1906) p. xxvi; N.F. Blake, 'William Caxton: His Choice of Texts', Anglia 83 (1965), 289-307, pp. 297-9.
 19. Anderson, 'Books and Interests', p. 88; S. Jayne, Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance, pp. 30-36; P. Kibre, 'Intellectual Interests', pp. 274-92.
 20. Harthan, Books of Hours, pp. 11, 31-2.
 21. Anderson, 'Books and Interests', pp. 89-92.
 22. For the staying-power of French as a vernacular in England well into the fifteenth century, see R. Berndt, 'The Final Decline of French in Medieval England', Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik 20 (1972), 341-69; H. Sugge tt, 'Use of French', pp. 61-83.
 23. Parkes, 'Literacy', pp. 564-5; Pickford, 'Fiction and the Reading Public', pp. 430-8. talks of a comparable widening of the reading public in France.
 24. cf. Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 7, 93-5, 147.
 25. Lawton, 'Text and Image', pp. 51-2, 100-109, 147.
 26. S. Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', Signs 7, no. 4 (Summer, 1982) 742-68, p. 746.

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

1. S. Groag-Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture'.
2. M. Deansley, 'Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', MLR, 15 (1920), 349-58, (p. 349).
3. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 59.
4. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 233.
5. Marks and Morgan, Golden Age, pp. 25-6, 94.
6. McFarlane, Nobility, p. 149; Lander, 'Henry VI and the Duke of York's Second Protectorate, 1455-6', in Crown and Nobility, pp. 84-9; M. Cherry, 'The Struggle for Power in Mid-Fifteenth Century Devonshire' in Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 123-44.
7. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage', p. 541.
8. H.R. Plomer, 'Books Mentioned in Wills', The Library, 3rd series, 7 (1902-4), 99-121 (p. 104).
9. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', p. 213.
- 10. J.H. Wylie and W.T. Waugh, The Reign of Henry V, 3 vols., (Cambridge, 1914-29) I, 425; Pickford, 'Fiction and the Reading Public', p. 425.
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).
12. Pierpont Morgan Library, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held New York Public Library, 1933-4, p. 48.
13. Warner and Gilson, Catalogue, II, 251-2; Meale, 'Manuscripts, Readers and Patrons', p. 106.
14. A.I. Doyle, 'Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, 25 (ii) (1958), 222-43 (p.235).

15. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures', p. 183; Doyle, 'Barking', passim. and Bühler, Epistle of Othea, Appendix B, p. 126.
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'.
17. Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 329.
18. Testamenta Eboracensia, II, 190.
19. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures', p. 82.
20. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 588.
21. Testamenta Eboracensia, IV, 152.
22. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures', pp. 82-3.
23. Testamenta Eboracensia, III, 37; Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 338-9.
24. Doyle, 'Barking', pp. 234-5.
25. Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures', p. 82; H.E. Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, MLA Monographs 3 (New York and London, 1927) p.29.
26. Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, pp. 505-8.
27. Testamenta Eboracensia, IV, 96-7.
28. Testamenta Eboracensia, IV, 152; on a late fifteenth century surge of interest in Christine de Pisan's works, cf. C.C. Willard, 'The Manuscript Tradition of the Livre des Trois Vertus and Christine de Pizan's Audience', Journal of the History of Ideas 27 (1966), 433-44, (pp. 435-6, 439).
29. Testamenta Eboracensia, I, 339.
- 30. Testamenta Eboracensia, III, 299.
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.
34. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', p. 415.
35. Knyghthode and Bataile, ed. R. Dyboski and Z.M. Arend, EETS, OS 201 (London, 1936).
36. Knyghthode and Bataile, p. xxiv.

37. Pearsall notes the possibility that this skilled translator may have translated Palladius on Husbandrie 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.
39. Doyle, 'Barking', pp. 237-8.
40. Doyle, 'Barking', pp. 224-37.
41. Doyle, 'Barking', pp. 234-5.
42. H.W. Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth, Widow of John de Veer, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, 20 (1930-1), 7-12, (p.12).
43. Doyle, 'Barking', p. 241.
44. ed. M. Serjeantson, EETS, OS 206 (London, 1938); see S. Moore, 'Patrons of Letters', II, 79-90.
45. Hope, 'Last Testament', p. 300.
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.
48. Crotch, Prologues and Epilogues, pp. 106-7.
49. Crotch, Prologues and Epilogues, p. 103; Blake, Caxton and His World, pp. 97-8.
- 50. Crotch, Prologues and Epilogues, pp. 106, 90.
51. Doyle, 'Barking', p. 243.
52. Lydgate, Minor Poems, II, 657-9; Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 161-2.
53. Blake, 'Lydgate and Caxton', p. 284.
54. Warner and Gilson, Catalogue, II, 341-2.
55. J.H. Wylie and W.T. Waugh, The Reign of Henry V, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1914-29), II, 439-42; The Romance of Partenay, ed. W.W. Skeat, EETS, OS 22 (London, 1866), introd.
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.

57. Pickford, 'Fiction and the Reading Public', p. 427.
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.
61. Lydgate, The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, ed. F.J. Furnivall and K.B. Locock, EETS, ES 77, 83, 92 (London, 1899-1904).
62. M.J. Barber, 'The Books and Patronage of Learning of a Fifteenth Century Prince', The Book Collector 12 (1963), 308-15 (p.310).
63. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 162; Blake, 'Lydgate and Caxton', pp. 285-6.
64. Another hint that the Montagus' 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 Gallicos vocatos Gyron le Curtasse', Testamenta Eboracensia, II 121-2. I am grateful to Dr. McGoldrick for this reference.
65. Clay, North Country Wills, I, 9.'
66. The poems are in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.20; cf. Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court', in English Court Culture, p. 198, and McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 170-71.
67. H.N. MacCracken, 'An English Friend of Charles of Orléans', PMLA 26 (1911), 142-80; R. Steele and M. Day, eds., The English Poems of Charles of Orléans, EETS, OS, 215, 220 (London, 1941, 1946), reprinted with supplement (London, 1970), pp. xix-xxvii.
- 68. Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court', English Court Culture, pp. 198-9.
69. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 162-3. Erdmann chose Arundel 119 as his base-text for his edition of the Siege of Thebes!
70. Lydgate, Minor Poems, I, 87.
71. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 258-9.
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 Regement. 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 (fif) 629 b.
75. Their MSS are ably described in McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage'.
76. D.C. Fowler, 'John Trevisa and the English Bible', MP 58 (1960), 81-98; 'New Light on John Trevisa', Traditio 18 (1962) 289-317.
77. Trevisa's Dialogues, ed. A.J. Perry, EETS, OS 167 (London, 1925), p. xxxiv.
78. Perry, Trevisa's Dialogues, p. xxxiv; Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, p. 178.
79. Perry, Trevisa's Dialogues, p. lxxxvii; the work has been edited by M.C. Seymour et al, as On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus, De Proprietatibus Rerum, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1975).
80. Shirley's "blurb", printed in E.P. Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey (Durham, N. Carolina, 1927), pp. 194-7, also in Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition, pp. 453-60.
81. Perry, Trevisa's Dialogues, pp. xcvi-c.
82. Perry, Trevisa's Dialogues, p. xcvi. Magdalen College, Oxford, MS Lat. 30, a fine copy of Walton's Vegetius, has Berkeley arms on f.2, & may have been Lord Thomas's own. J.J.G. Alexander and E. Temple, Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries (Oxford, 1985) no. 425, p. 42.
83. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', p. 90.
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).
86. Boethius; De Consolatione Philosophiae, ed. M. Science, EETS, OS 170 (London, 1927), pp. xliii-iv; Hammond, English Verse, p. 39.
87. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, pp. 238-9.
88. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 91-2.
89. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage', p. 531; Tudor-Craig, Richard III, p. 8.
90. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 51.
91. The books are described in M. Blaess, 'L'abbaye de Bordesley et les Livres de Guy de Beauchamp', Romania 78 (1957) 511-18.
92. Blaess, 'L'Abbaye de Bordesley', p. 518. The Beauchamps'

- appropriation of the Swan Knight legend is discussed in Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight'.
93. Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature, p. 6.
 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.
 96. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 39-40; Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 78.
 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.
 98. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 89-90.
 99. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', English Court Culture p. 175.
 100. Lydgate, Minor Poems, II, 613-22.
 101. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 166, 189; McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 219-21.
 102. Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 166-7, dates Guy as c. 1425, the Title and Pedigree 1427.
 103. Blake, 'Lydgate and Caxton', p. 284.
 104. Lydgate, Minor Poems, I, 260-67.
 105. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', p. 222.
 106. H.N. MacCracken, 'The Earl of Warwick's Virelai', PMLA 22 (1907), 596-607; McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 169-73.
 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 I, (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.
 109. Warner and Gilson, Catalogue, II, 177-9.
 110. Lydgate, Minor Poems, II, 516-38.
 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 'cronicler ... Gerard Cornubye' (569-82).
 113. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', p. 97.
 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.
 115. Lander, 'Attainder and Forfeiture', in Crown and Nobility, pp. 138-41; K.L. Scott, The Caxton Master and His Patrons, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs 8 (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 62-3.
 116. Scott, Caxton Master, p. 63.
 117. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 176-86; Ross, Rous Roll, p. 56.
 118. A. Allen, 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the "British History" in the Reign of Edward IV', in Patronage, Pedigree and Power, pp. 172-7.
 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".
 122. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', p. 55.
 123. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', p. 128.
 124. A.I. Doyle, 'Reflections on some Manuscripts of Nicolas Love's Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ', LSE, n.s. 14 (1983), 82-9, talks of the Myrrour'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".
 127. Katherine, Lady Hastings' bequests are in Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, pp. 450-6; cf. also McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 55-62.
 128. G.M. Spriggs, 'The Neville Hours', JWCI 37 (1974), 104-30; M.C. Seymour, 'The Manuscripts of Hoccleve's Regement of Princes', Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 4 (vii) (1968-71), 255-97; McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 112-14.
 129. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales, I, 504-9; McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', p. 59.
 130. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 114-16, 123-4.
 131. Hoccleve's Works, pp. 25-39.
 132. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 233-8.
 133. Mcfarlane, Nobility, pp. 237-8.
 134. H.R. Plomer, 'Books Mentioned in Wills', The Library, 3rd series, 7 (1902-4), 99-121, (pp. 117-8).
 135. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', English Court Culture p. 176.
 136. D'Evelyn, Peter Idley's Instructions, pp. 20-21, 36-7.
 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 boke' 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.
 140. Moore, 'Patrons of Letters', I, pp. 197-201.
 141. Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions, ed. M. Manzalaoui, EETS, OS 276 (London, 1977), pp. xxix-xxxii, 114.
 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 illumination was locally done also. The Summary Catalogue, I, 143, gives the colophon; P. Lasko and N.J. Morgan, Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1500. An Exhibition at Norwich, 1973, p. 33, refer to the MS's illumination.

143. McFarlane, Nobility, pp. 83-4; 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', TRHS, 5th series, 7 (1957) 91-116; 'William Worcester, a Preliminary Survey', in Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, ed. J. Conway Davies (London, 1957).
144. Paston Letters, (Gairdner), I, 489; HMC, Eighth Report, III (i) 268.
145. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', p. 321.
146. Cavanaugh, 'Books Privately Owned', p. 322; Moore, 'Patrons of Letters', I, 195-6. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, pp. 68-9, discusses the duties - literary and otherwise - expected of great men's secretaries.
147. The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, ed. C. Bühler, EETS, OS 211 (London, 1941), p. 2; The Epistle of Othea, p. 121.
148. Bühler, Dicts, pp. xxxix-xl.
149. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 27.
150. Alexander, 'A Lost Leaf', pp. 248-9; Farquhar, Creation and Imitation, pp. 80-87.
151. Thrupp, Merchant Class, pp. 155-63, 247-9; Lawton, 'Text and Image', p. 90; Parkes, 'Literacy', pp. 564, 568.
152. Lydgate, Minor Poems, I, 145-54, II, 695-701; Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 181, 184-5. John Barton's private commission to Henry Lovelich (before 1435) is the earliest example of a merchant-patron acting alone that I have come across. cf. Ackermann, 'Henry Lovelich's Merlin', pp. 474-6.
153. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 73.
154. Scott, Mirrore, p. 9; Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp. 73, 183; Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court', English Court Culture, p.179.
155. G. Bone, 'Extant Manuscripts Printed from by W. de Worde, with Notes on the Owner, Roger Thorney', The Library, 4th series, 12 (1931-2), 284-306, passim; N.F. Blake, 'Wynkyn de Worde: The Early Years', Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1971, 62-9 (p. 67).
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.

157. Scott, Caxton Master, pp. 45-6; Mirrore, 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.
160. Blake, 'Lydgate and Caxton', p. 273.
161. Crotch, Prologues and Epilogues, p. 106.
162. Blake, Caxton and His World, pp. 151-2; Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 47-52.
163. Blake, 'Lydgate and Caxton', pp. 279-81; Pickford, 'Fiction and the Reading Public', p. 436; McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 251, 255-6.
164. Quoted in Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 40.
165. Blake, Caxton and His World, pp. 64-5.
166. Crotch, Prologues and Epilogues, p. 94 ; Blake, 'Lydgate and Caxton', p. 280; M. Kekewich, 'Edward IV, William Caxton, and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England', MLR 66 (1971), 481-7 (p. 487).
167. Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp. 51-5; Lucas, 'Growth and Development', pp. 240-44.

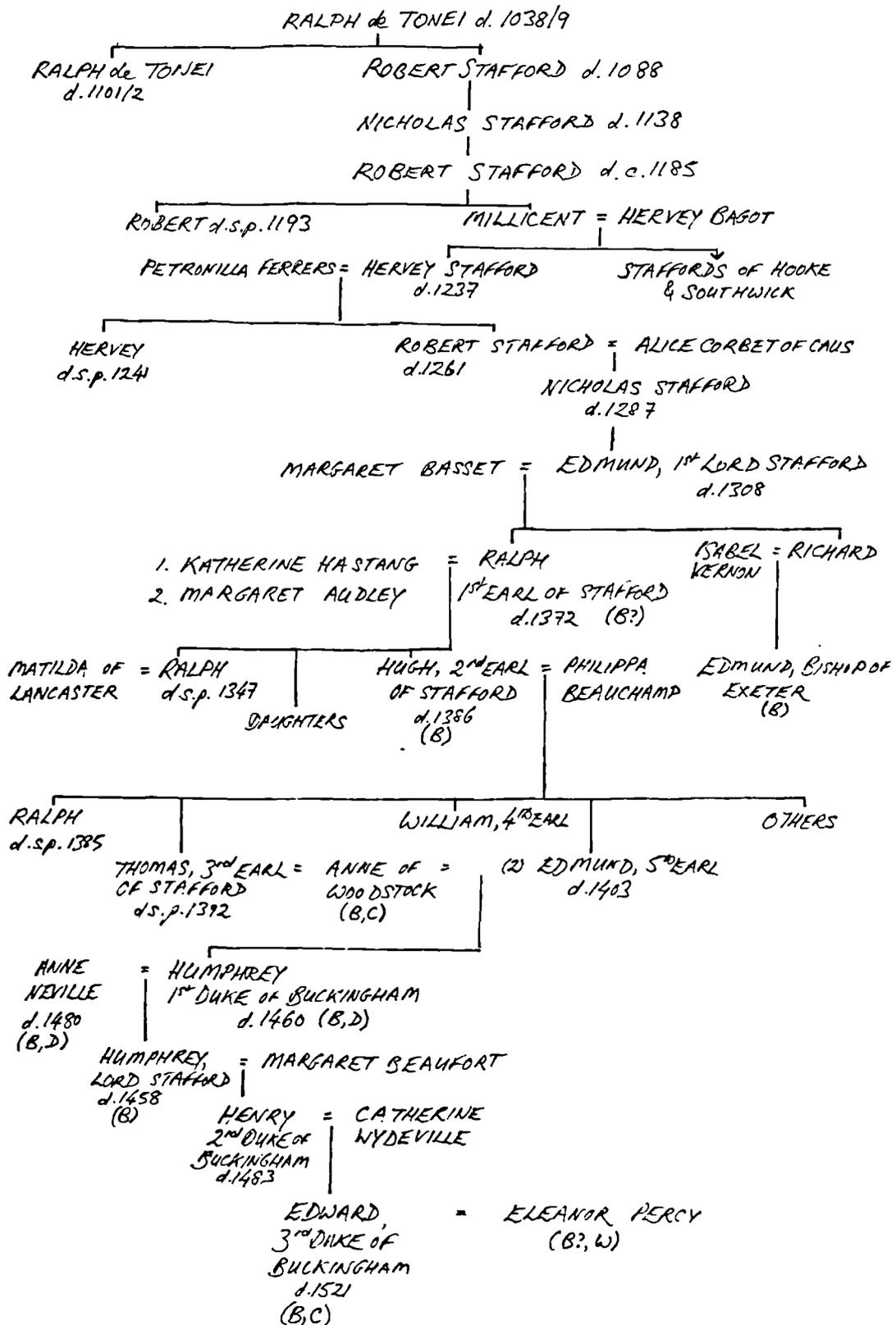
NOTES

Conclusions

1. Parkes, 'Literacy', p. 556.
2. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 241.
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!
4. Strohm, 'Chaucer's Fifteenth Century Audience', pp. 17-22 (p.22); cf. also Thrupp, Merchant Class, pp. 141, 147-9; Green, Poets and Princepleasers, pp. 9-10; P. Coss, 'Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England: The Early Romances, Local Society and Robin Hood', Past and Present 108 (1985), 35-79. passim.
5. Quoted in Holzknacht, Literary Patronage, p. 77.
6. cf. M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, pp. 1-2.
7. Hammond, English Verse, p. 15.
8. Strohm, 'Chaucer's Fifteenth Century Audience', pp. 21, 29-31.
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'.
10. Crotch, Prologues and Epilogues, p. 106.
11. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 230.
12. Bell, 'Medieval Women Book-Owners', passim; Doyle, 'Reflections on some manuscripts of Nicholas Love's Myrrour', p. 82.
13. cf. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, pp. 206-11.
14. McGoldrick, 'Manuscripts and Patronage', pp. 225-33. Even Hoccleve's longer poems, the courtly Letter of Cupid and the "Mirror for Princes", the Regement, can be seen as attempts to gain an entrée to the world of moneyed litterati. cf. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, pp. 215-6, 236-7.
15. Palladius on Husbandrie, quoted by Holzknacht, Literary Patronage, p. 94.

16. A phrase used by Strohm, 'Chaucer's Fifteenth Century Audience', p. 6.
17. John Capgrave's Abbreviation of Cronicles, ed. P.J. Lucas, EETS, OS 285 (Oxford, 1983) pp xxv-xxix.
18. Blake, 'Lydgate and Caxton', passim; cf. also A.S.G. Edwards, 'Lydgate Manuscripts: Some Directions for Future Research', in Manuscripts and Readers, pp. 15-26 (pp. 21-2) on the percolation of Lydgate's works into lower reaches of society.
19. Pearsall's Introduction to Manuscripts and Readers in the Fifteenth Century, p. 2.
20. V.J. Scattergood, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Richard II' in English Court Culture, pp. 29-43 (p. 29).
21. Along the lines of Moore, 'Patrons of Letters'; T. Turville-Petre, 'Some Medieval English Manuscripts in the North-East Midlands', in Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England, pp. 125-41; or K. Scott, 'Lydgate's Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund: a Newly-Located Manuscript in Arundel Castle', Viator 13 (1982)335-66, for example.
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).
23. Lucas, 'Growth and Development', p. 242.

TABLE 1: THE MAIN LINE OF DESCENT OF THE STAFFORDS



KEY: B = BOOK OWNER; C = COMMISSIONER OF LITERARY WORK;
 D = DEDICATEE OF LITERARY WORK; W = WRITER

TABLE 2: RALPH TO EDWARD STAFFORD

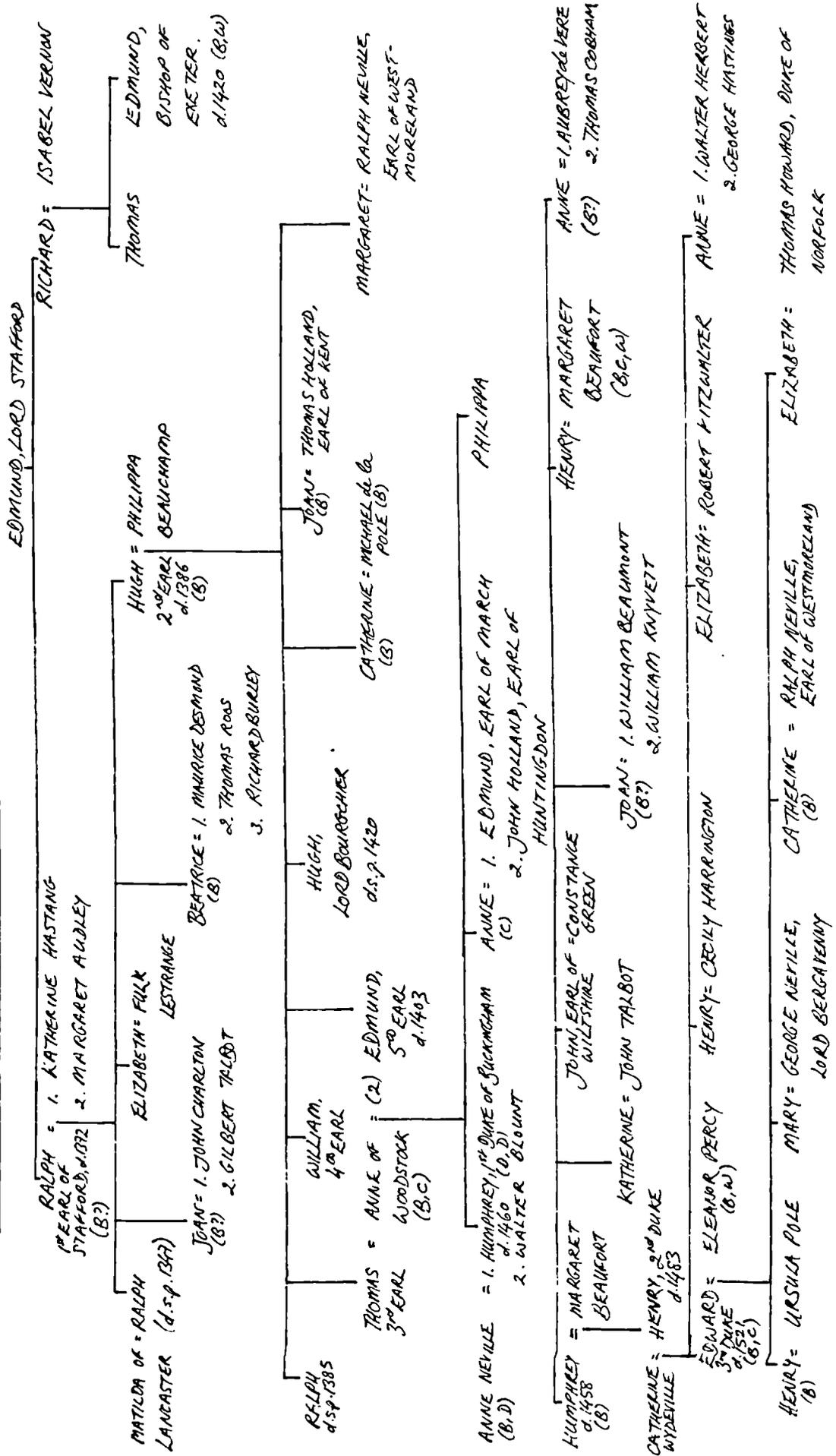


TABLE 3: THE BOURGCHIER FAMILY

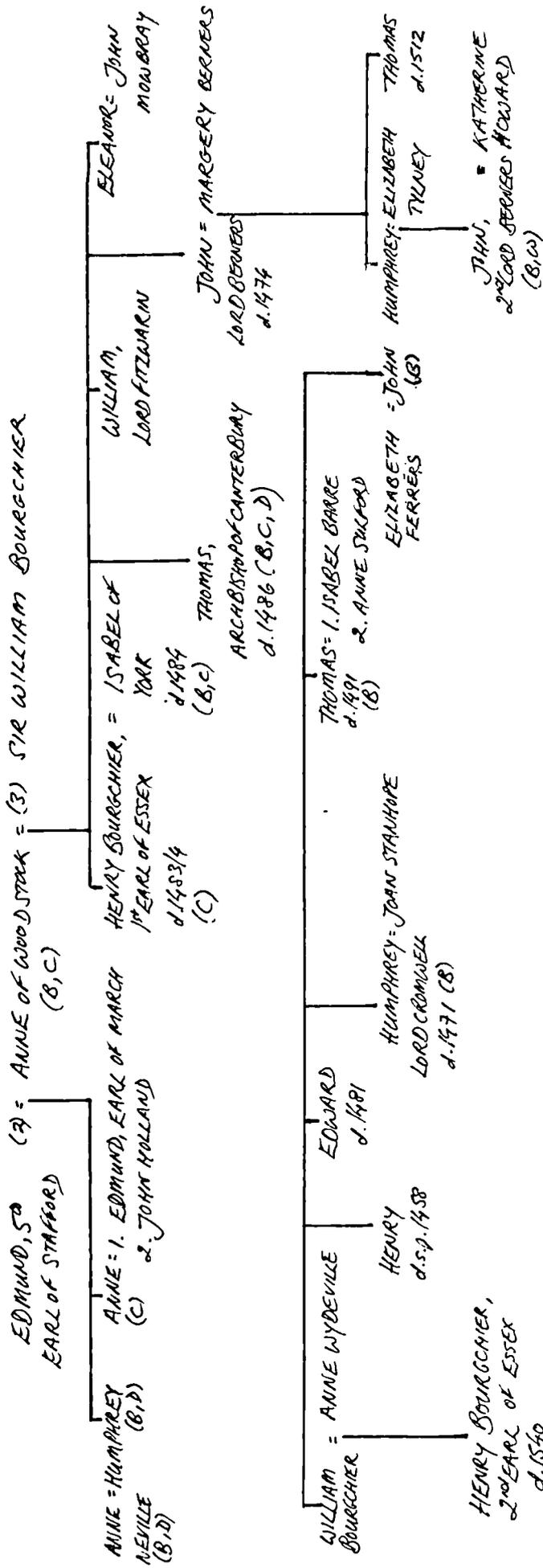


TABLE 4: THE BOHUN FAMILY

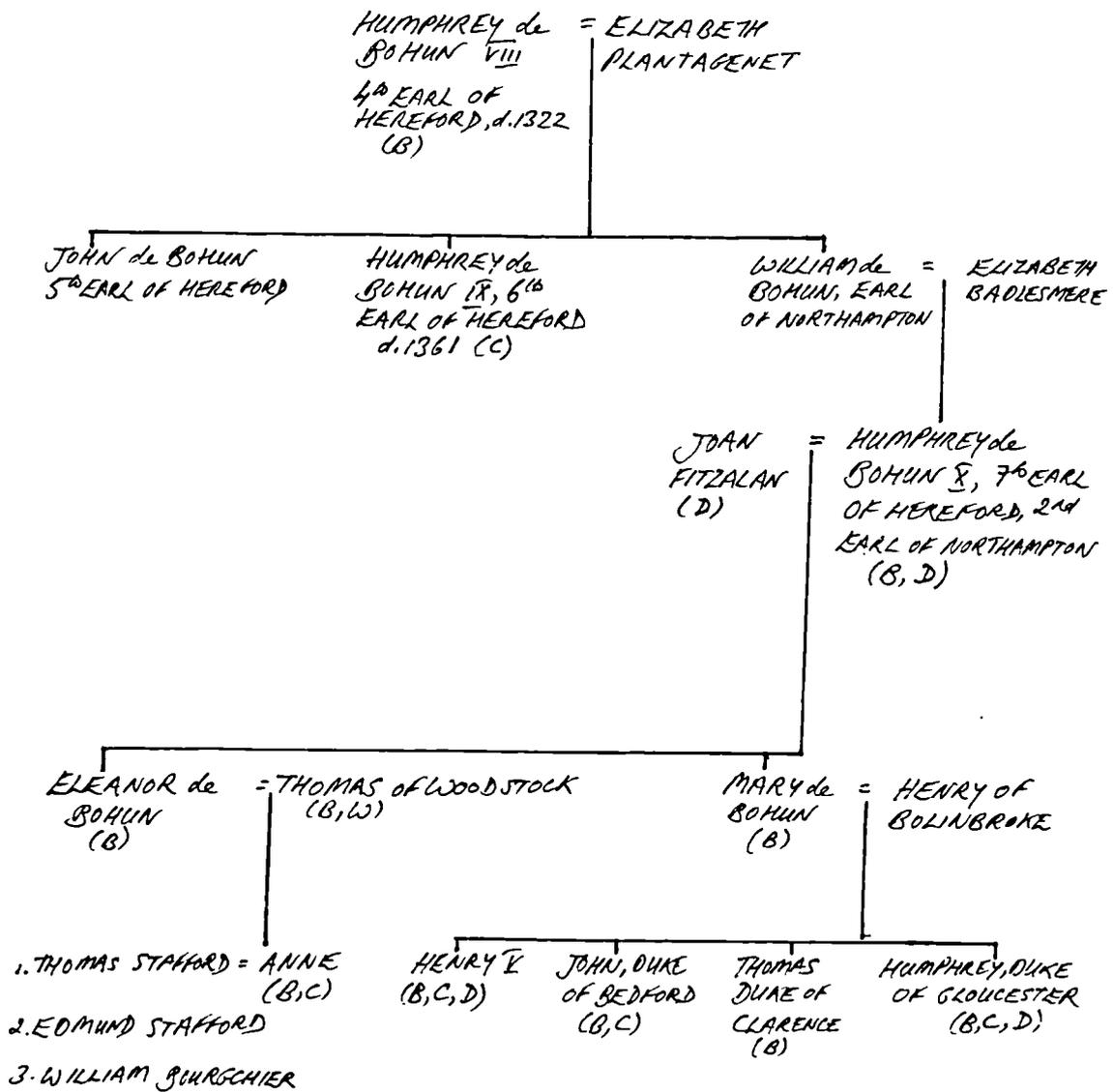


TABLE 5: THE VERE FAMILY, EARLS OF OXFORD

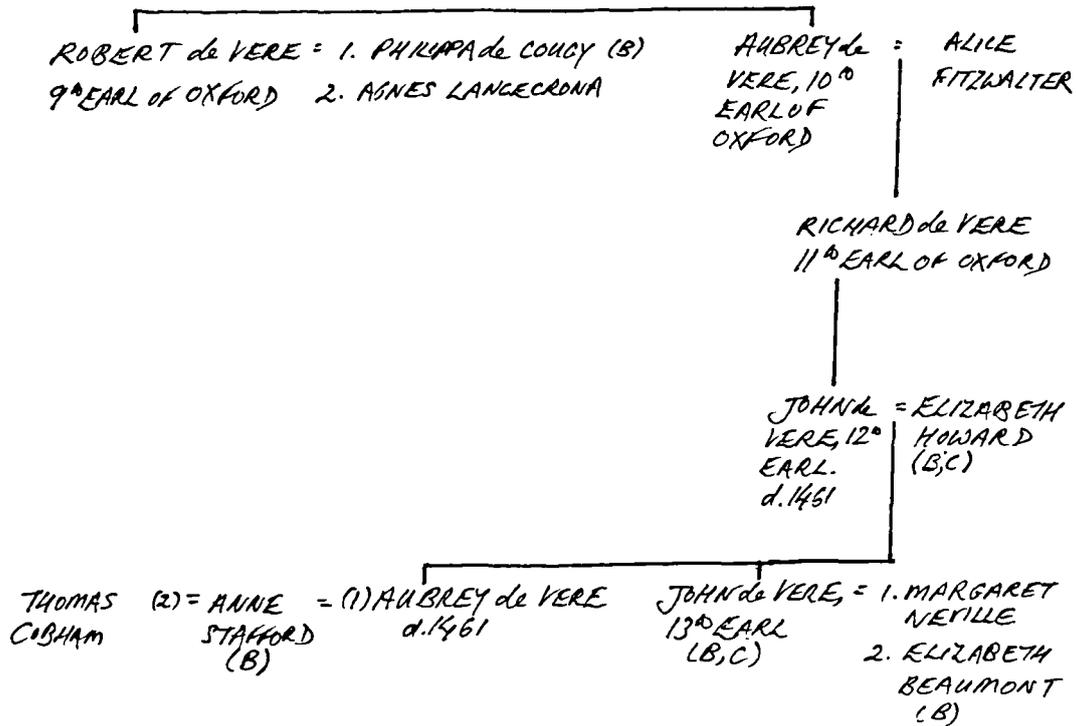


TABLE 6: THE de la POLE AND MONTAGU FAMILIES

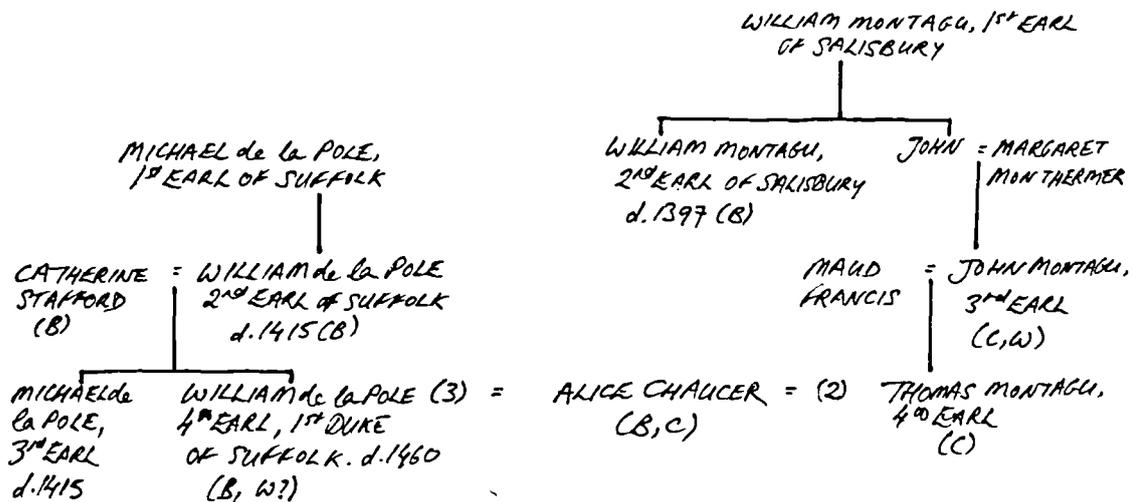


TABLE 7: THE TALBOT FAMILY

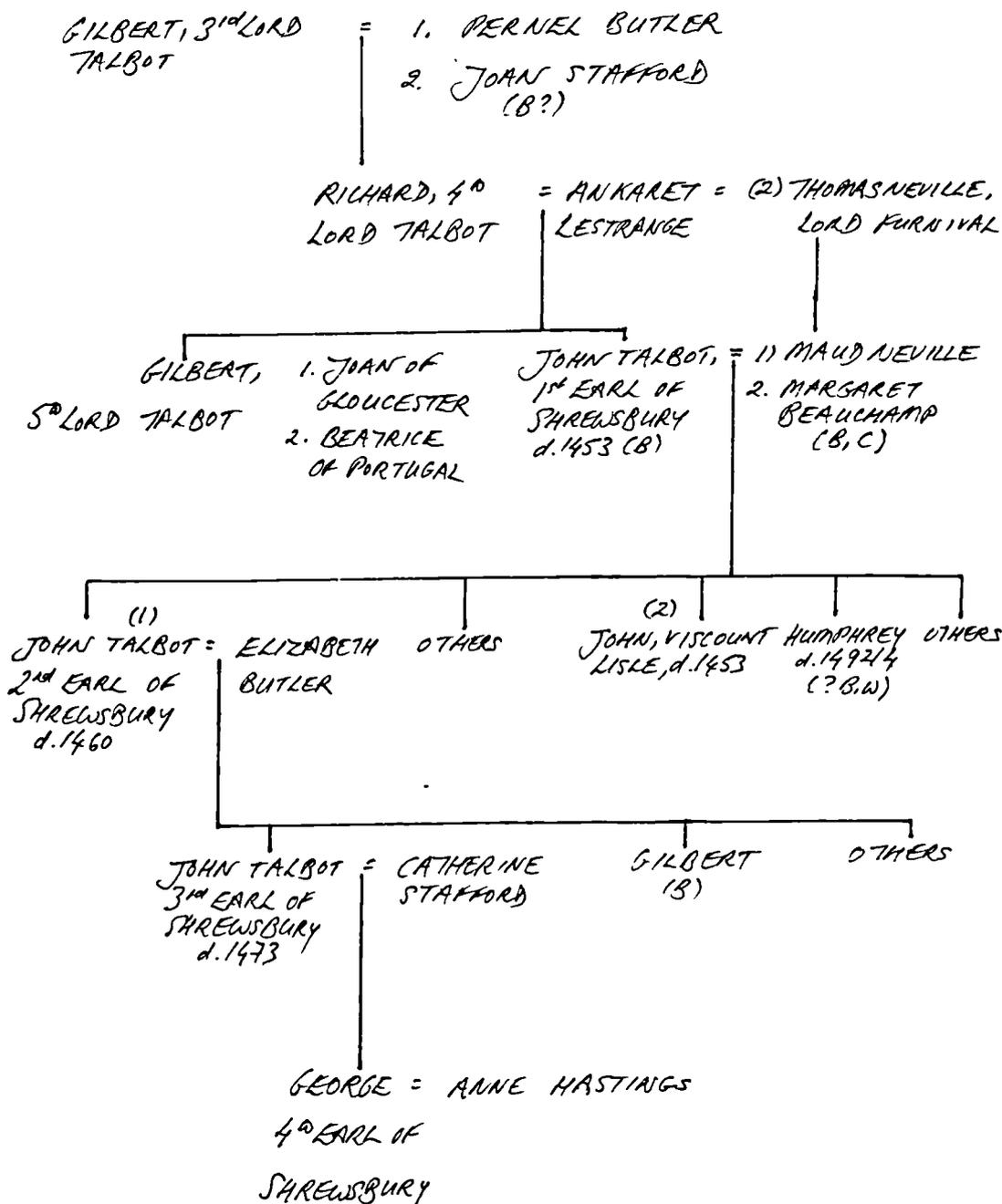


TABLE 8: THE BEAUCHAMP FAMILY

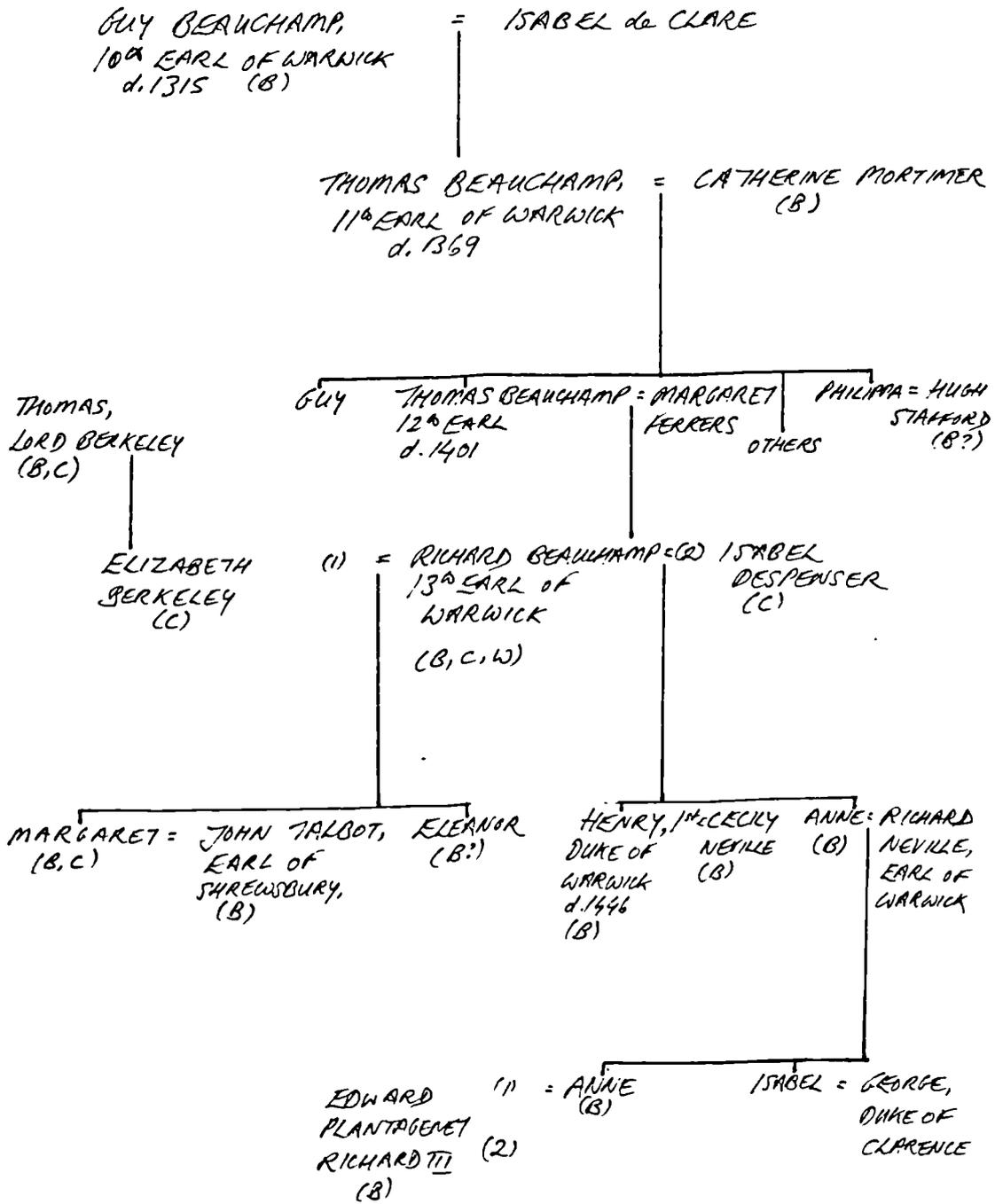


TABLE 9: STAFFORD BOOK- OWNERSHIP



• Known ownership

• Putative ownership

- Ralph d. 1372
- Hugh d. 1386
- Joan d. 1397
- Beatrice d. 1414
- Katherine d. 1419
- Bishop Edmund d. 1419
- Anne of Gloucester d. 1438
- Anne d. 1439
- Joan d. 1442
- Humphrey d. 1457/8
- Humphrey d. 1460
- Anne d. c. 1472
- Anne d. 1480
- Henry d. 1483
- Margaret Beaufort d. 1509
- Edward d. 1521
- Eleanor Percy d. 1530
- Katherine d. 1555

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	x
Ralph d. 1372	Putative															
Hugh d. 1386	Known	Putative														
Joan d. 1397	Putative															
Beatrice d. 1414																Known
Katherine d. 1419	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
Bishop Edmund d. 1419	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
Anne of Gloucester d. 1438			Putative													
Anne d. 1439	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
Joan d. 1442	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
Humphrey d. 1457/8	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
Humphrey d. 1460				Putative												
Anne d. c. 1472	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Putative	Putative	Putative	Putative	Putative	Putative	Putative
Anne d. 1480	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
Henry d. 1483	Putative															
Margaret Beaufort d. 1509	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
Edward d. 1521			Putative													
Eleanor Percy d. 1530	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
Katherine d. 1555	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known	Known
																7
																+ 86 printed books

TABLE.10: STAFFORD KIN

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

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

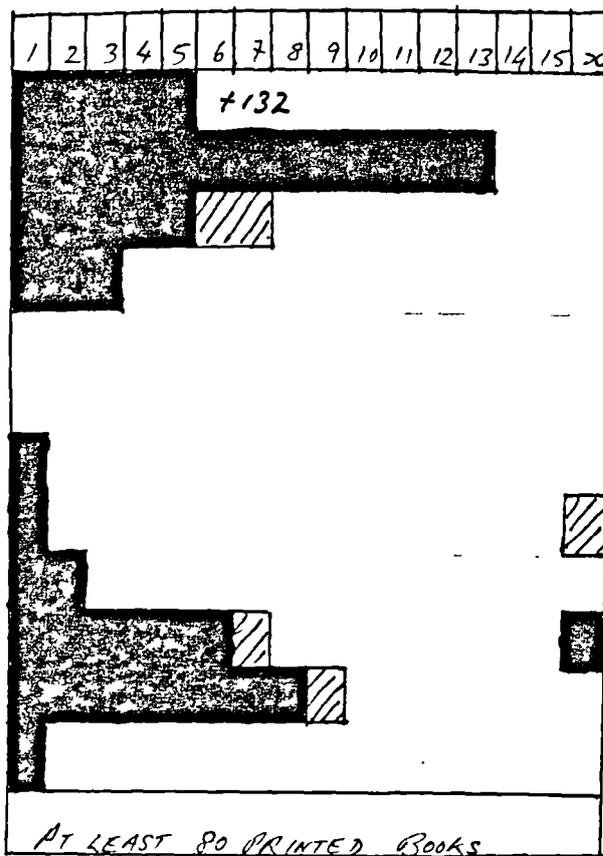


TABLE 27. SOURCES AND LANGUAGES:
BOOKS OF THE STAFFORD LADIES


 Bequest
 Gift
 Purchase

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	x	
Joan d. 1397	Latin	Gift																Bequest
Beatrice d. 1414	Latin	Bequest																
Katherine d. 1419	Latin	Bequest																
Anne d. 1438	Latin	Bequest																
	French	Bequest																
	English	Gift																
Anne d. 1439	English	Bequest																
Joan d. 1442	Latin	Bequest																
	French	Bequest																
	English	Gift																
Anne d. 1482	English	Bequest																
	Latin	Bequest																
Anne d. 1480	French	Bequest																
	English	Bequest																
	Latin	Bequest																
Margaret Beaufort d. 1509	Latin	Bequest																
	French	Bequest																
	English	Bequest																
Eleanor d. 1530	Latin	Gift																
Katherine d. 1555	English	Gift																

TABLE 12: SOURCES AND LANGUAGES: BOOKS OF STAFFORD MEN

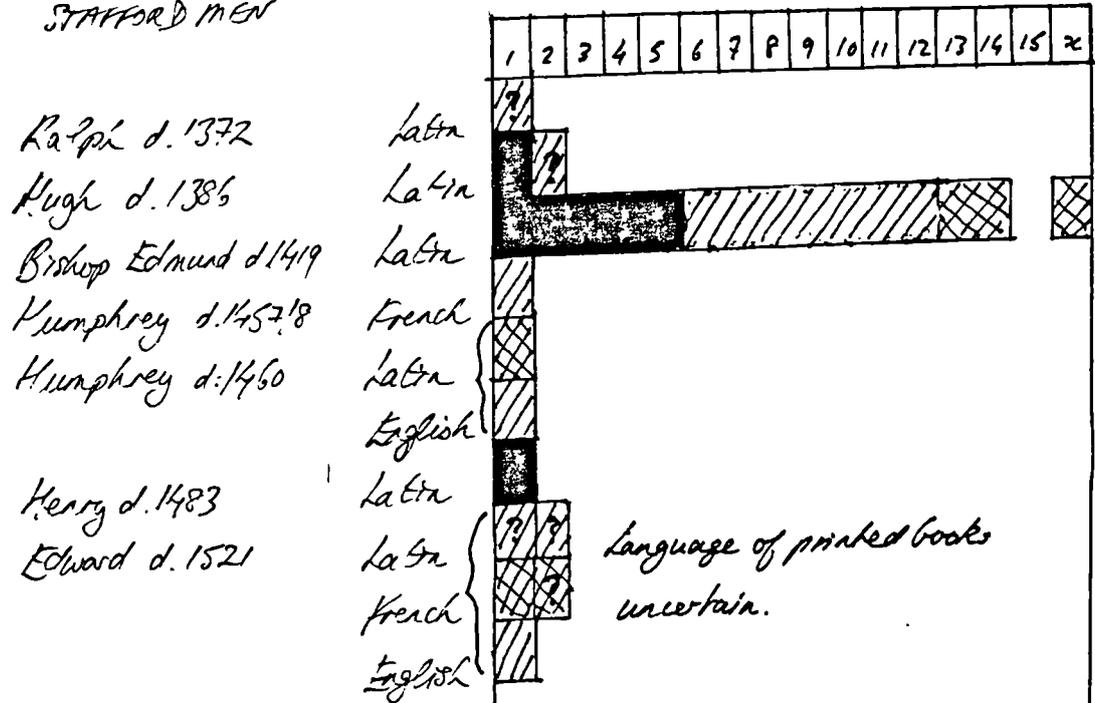


TABLE 13: KIN

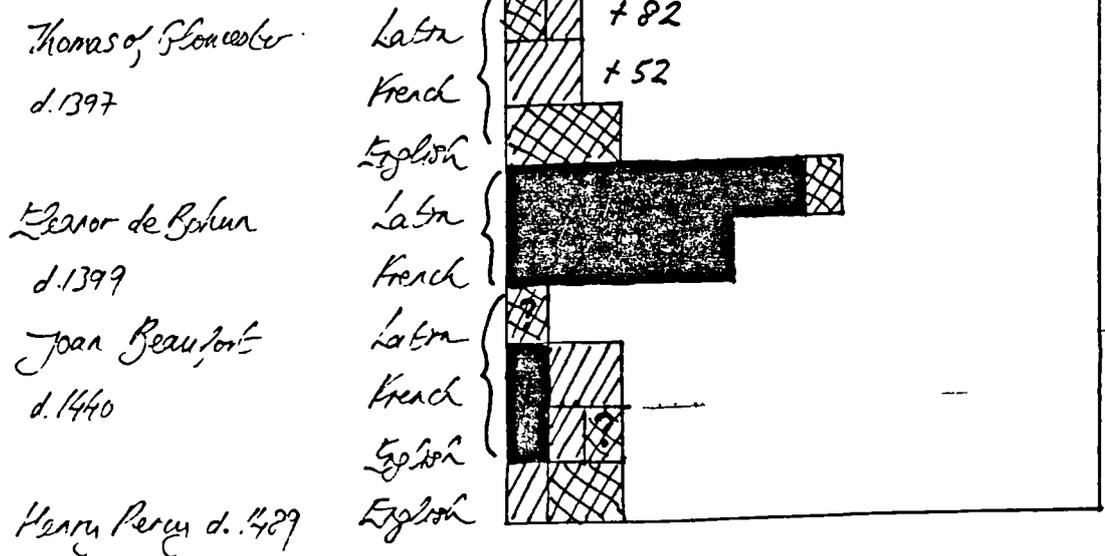


TABLE 14: SOURCES AND LANGUAGES OF BOURGHIER BOOKS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	x	
Isabel d. 1484	Latin	English	French	English	Latin	Latin	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
Humphrey d. 1471																	
Henry d. 1483	Latin	English	French	English	Latin	Latin	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
Cardinal Thomas d. 1485																	
Thomas d. 1491	Latin	English	French	English	Latin	Latin	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
John d. 1499																	
John d. 1533	Language of books unknown																

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Abbreviations used:

BIHR	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BLR	Bodleian Library Record
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
EETS, ES, OS.	Early English Text Society, Extra Series, Original Series.
EHR	English Historical Review
ELN	English Language Notes
ES	English Studies
HMC	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
IMEV	Index of Middle English Verse
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute
LSE	Leeds Studies in English
Med et Hum	Medievalia et Humanistica
MAe	Medium Aevum
MED	Middle English Dictionary
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
N&Q	Notes and Queries
NM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PRO	Public Record Office
RES	Review of English Studies
SC	Summary Catalogue (Bodleian Library)
SCRO	Staffordshire County Record Office
STC	Short-Title Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640
TCBS	Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society.
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
VCH	Victoria County History
YES	Yearbook of English Studies

Note: All quotations from Chaucer are from The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson (2nd edn. London 1957).

All quotations from Shakespeare are from the Alexander Text (London and Glasgow, 1951).

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MS Additional 16165
MS Additional 50001
MS Additional 62925
MS Arundel 318
MS Cotton Nero E.III
MS Cotton Vespasian F.XIII
MS Cotton Vitellius F.VII
MSS Egerton 617-8
MS Egerton 2726
MS Harley 3634
MS Royal 2.B.XIV
MS Royal 18.C.II
MS Royal 18.D.II
MS Royal 18.D.V
MS Royal 19.A.VI
MS Royal 19.B.XII
MS Royal 19.B.XIII
MS Royal 19.B.XVII
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 MS Additional 22572
 MS Additional 27929
 MS Additional 27948
 MS Arundel 99
 MS Cotton Caligula A.II
 MS Egerton 3277
 MS Harley 1251
 MS Harley 1275
 MS Harley 2887
 MS Harley 2915
 MS Harley 3862
 MS Harley 4775
 MS Royal 1.E.IX.

	MS Royal 2.A.VIII
	MS Royal 2.A.XVIII
	MS Royal 2.B.I
	MS Royal 8.G.III
	MS Royal 15.E.VI
	MS Royal 16.F.III
	MS Royal 16.G.V.
	MS Royal 17.D.VI
	MS Sloane 1685
<u>London, Lambeth Palace</u>	MS 1 86
<u>Longleat, Marquis of Bath's Collection</u>	MS 253
<u>Manchester, John Rylands Library</u>	Rylands MS English I
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