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## **PATRONAGE, PERFORMATIVITY, AND IDEAS OF CORPUS CHRISTI**

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The following essay will explore the aesthetic of the cultural moment at which Corpus Christi College was founded: 1517, if one subscribes to absolutes, lies on the cusp between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in England. If one accepts that cusp as fundamentally contested, it remains fruitful to explore how the main actors in affairs of Church and State manifest certain tastes and ideas, combining ‘medieval’ and ‘Renaissance’ themes, that are identifiable as elements of coterie-signalling. Two artefacts directly associated with Richard Fox, the College’s founder, stand as such signals, that is material testimonies to group-definition in the dominant sub-culture, and it is with those I begin. I move on, drawing on the wider ecclesiastical and court milieu, to explore how performative gestures in the patronage of the built environment have counterparts in actual performance, in the pageantry and plays of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. The whole argument endeavours to capture how these gestures illustrate a moment founded on, and mediated through, the discourses and material trappings of education and European learning. I use the case of Richard Fox and his circle to argue that the idea of a marked transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance in England is largely specious, that rather we are observing evidence of a smooth trajectory, a proleptic to be frustrated by the unanticipated disruption of the Reformation, of which our players were the unwitting political, if not ideological, architects.

### I

The Hospital of St Cross in Winchester was founded by Henry of Blois in 1136, originally a church with hospital buildings on the south side. Nothing remains of this building but the south sacristy of the present church.<sup>1</sup> The hospital was completely rebuilt and extended by Henry Beaufort in the mid fifteenth century. Bosses of Beaufort’s arms, those of William of Wykeham, and a shield of the Passion, join the ribs of the nave vaulting in the church. Wedged into the north side of the choir, and reinstated the wrong way around in the 1870s, is the suite of wooden choir furniture. It has been dated to between 1515 and 1520, and was created either for Richard Fox, or for John Claymond, master of the hospital when Fox was bishop of

Winchester, and first President of the Corpus Christi. The choir furniture originally formed a splendid 'U' shaped suite enclosing the chancel on the north, west and south sides, with seating and desks for the masters and brethren of the hospital. Two canopied benches and desks survive with the friezes detached and hung between the chancel pillars.<sup>2</sup> The frieze at the top of the screen features putti, fantastic beasts, and all'antica motifs within candelabra, all set within a rectilinear framework (Figure 2).



(Figure 2)

Built environments are spaces, public and private, through which people move, designed around the requirements and expectations of public and private activity. When he became bishop of Winchester, Fox's public office, previously conducted as much in court and diplomatic contexts as in ecclesiastical settings, occupied the cathedral, its chapter house, and its palace – all in their way ceremonial spaces in which he performed his particular role.<sup>3</sup> The preparation for that role, and the more private spaces in which he ate, slept, fraternised, read, wrote, and planned, had a greater continuity for which the word 'collegial' in all its related senses is apt. He had been a schoolboy at a residential school, it is not clear where. Possibly

Boston or one of the other grammar schools in his native Lincolnshire, or at Newark in Nottinghamshire. His later career has also led to speculation that he attended Winchester College, a known feeder school for both New College and Magdalen College Oxford, the second of which he may have attended, and adjacent to the great church at the centre of his diocese.<sup>4</sup> There being no hard evidence for any of these, it matters not except insofar as Fox later displayed the marks of a Wykehamist, as we shall later see. What matters here is that from an early age Fox lived in collegial settings with their regular hours of study, disputation, prayer and communal meals. This pattern was reinforced by his period as a student, first (perhaps) at Magdalen then Paris. Thus the institutionalised pattern in the man was set, and in later public life, especially as his health and eyesight failed, it is unsurprising to find him seeking refuge in the Hospital of Saint Cross. As Clive Burgess has pointed out, hospitals were organised very much like colleges, with individual accommodation in their almshouses, shared spaces for eating and for worship, and a dedicated liturgy.<sup>5</sup> Fox must have felt very much at home at St Cross. When he came to found his own College, it is therefore unsurprising to find a conservative building scheme, as it would have reflected his understanding of collegial organisation. If tastes in the international avant garde were to be signalled, it was, as at St Cross, in the form of ephemeral furnishings and decorations that did not disrupt the tried and tested mould of a working suite of buildings.

That signalling, in the case of the St Cross screen, whether attributable to Fox, Claymond, or both, is nonetheless audacious. Nicholas Riall, who has made a thorough study of the screen and related objects in local churches, asserts:<sup>6</sup>

Fox's Renaissance choir furniture represents one of the earliest post-Gothic suites of furniture in England. Additionally, with its extraordinary set of Renaissance carvings, it is one of the earliest Renaissance settings to be created in the country and certainly the most substantial to survive in the place for which it was made. Perhaps most important of all is that there is now nothing quite like it anywhere else in England, and maybe there never was. The best and indeed only parallels that can be found to the St Cross work are to be found in France: in the cathedral at Amiens and among the chapel furnishings from the archbishop's palace at Gaillon that are now in Paris.

He goes on to describe it, and the 'short-lived architectural fashion' for Franco-Italian Renaissance style it represents, as having been almost completely overlooked since Anthony Blunt wrote about it in 1969.<sup>7</sup> Blunt described the style as '...le style de Gaillon' and believed Fox to be responsible for its introduction between 1515 and 20. The style is a fusion between late perpendicular and Renaissance. No building accounts survive, and no other

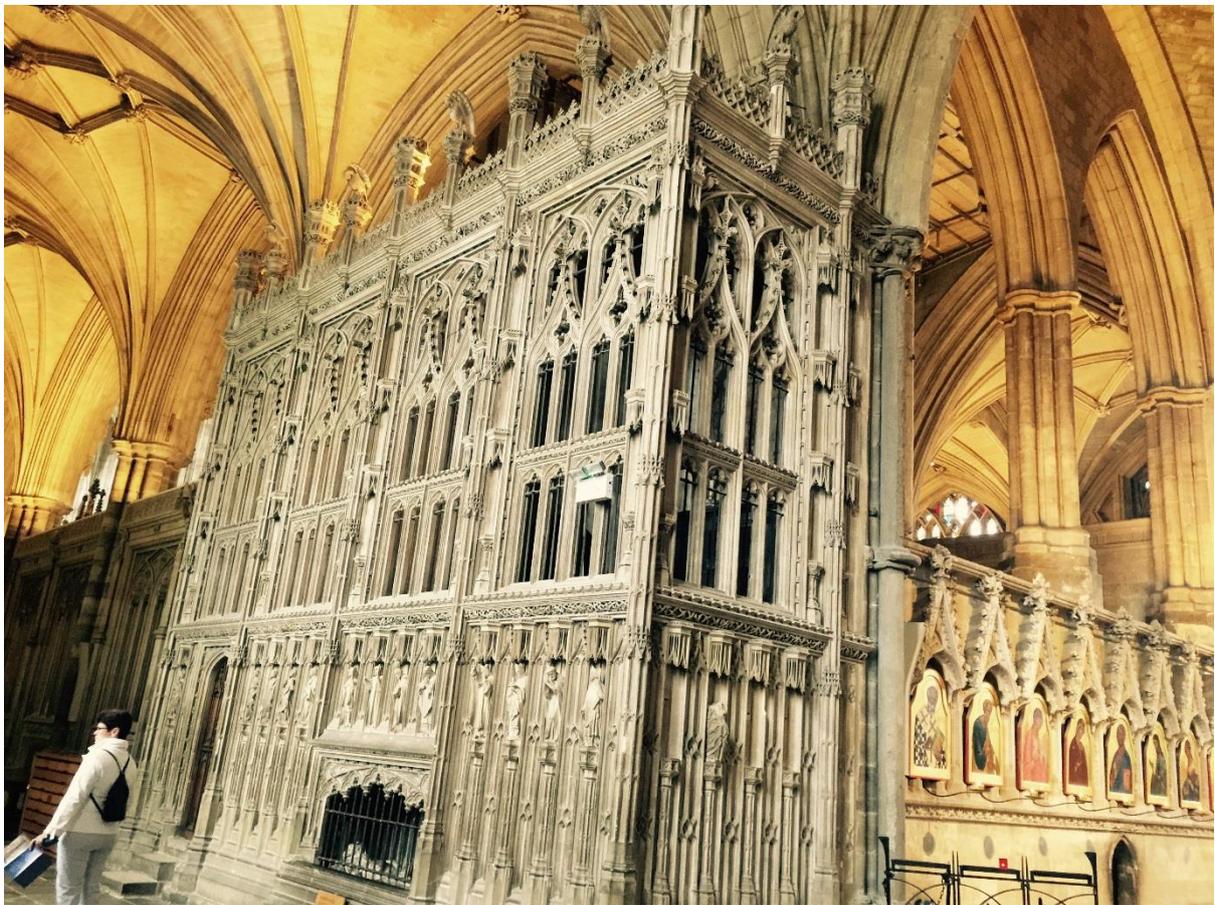
documentation, so only the heraldic device of the pelican *vulnus* points to Fox's patronage. Riall speculates nonetheless that 'the stallwork and frieze may have been installed to provide a grand setting for the inaugural reading of the statutes of Richard Fox's Oxford College - Corpus Christi - on 20 June, 1517.' He acknowledges the alternative date that is the inauguration of John Incent as Master of the Hospital in 1524, when he is recorded as giving furnishings to the chapel of the hospital.<sup>8</sup>

Further instances of an aesthetic characterized by avant garde decoration within a conservatively gothic architectural setting survive in the modernisations to the Romanesque fabric of the Presbytery of Winchester Cathedral.<sup>9</sup> Here the filling-in of arches with stone screens necessitated the construction of new tomb-fronts for a number of thirteenth-century worthies, and these show distinct Renaissance influences. The screens themselves are Gothic, but decorative elements on the doors and in the friezes are Italianate. Malcolm Biddle finds them more committedly so on the North, which references William Frost of Avington, Fox's steward, than on the South, which features Fox's own emblem, the pelican *vulnus*.<sup>10</sup> Biddle in turn cites David Park who describes the cathedral friezes as having a 'tacked-on' appearance. That tacked-on appearance does not only characterise the modernization of pre-existing building work, as at St Cross and in the cathedral presbytery; the application of Renaissance motifs to embellish new structural work that had been made in a gothic idiom suggests the presence of a style with its own contemporary coherence, as Fox's approved designs at Corpus Christi and in his chantry chapel in Winchester illustrate, where the Janus approach to functionality and aesthetics finds a more provocative dimension.

## II

Nicholas Riall muses on the oddity of Fox's chantry chapel at Winchester, which was built at much the same time as the St Cross choir furniture, but which he sees as wholly Gothic (Figure 3). He resolves his problem by noting that Fox was blind by the time the presbytery screens were erected in the cathedral, and speculates that he did not make the choice of the St Cross screen for himself but accepted the choir furniture as a gift from the French crown, following the end of the war with France in 1513.<sup>11</sup> Biddle conversely notes that although the structure of the chapel, built by 1518, is indeed 'wholly Gothic', its interior has vertical ribs in the blind arcades of the dado in the north, west, and south walls that are 'cut off short and supported on classical volutes, ribbed and decorated with leaves below to either side'.<sup>12</sup> Neither pauses long to discuss the centerpiece of the chapel, arguably its main focal point, the

effigy which is a three-dimensional, life-sized, carved cadaver in its shroud (Figure 4). Nor do they discuss the devotional elements in the iconography. Yet these elements are also a matter of choice in the whole composition and can lead to better understandings than the analysis of a type of fusion style, or excuses of blindness. Stylistic study perhaps has its limitations as the starting point for a broader consideration of the culture Fox participated in at the time he founded Corpus Christi College. In it we should not be striving to disentangle ‘Gothic’ from ‘Renaissance’ at all —after all, Henry VII’s ‘Gothic’ chapel in Westminster, over which Richard Fox had oversight, houses the Torrigiano tomb — but looking at how the inheritance and importation of aesthetic choices has a socially and politically performative meaning, particularly at a period of regime-change such as came about after Bosworth.



(Figure 3)

Fox died in 1528, but was known to have come every day for his meditations into the chantry chapel, following its completion.<sup>13</sup> In this practice he had distinguished episcopal forebears. Henry Chichele, whose cadaver tomb in Canterbury is the oldest in England, had it erected in 1427, a year in which he was suffering ill health and an acrimonious dispute with

pope Martin V over the Becket jubilee. Chichele did not die until 1443, but is reported to have prayed in front of his tomb every day. If indeed his was always the first in England, it is beyond the scope of this study to speculate where he found the idea, though the obvious short answer is France.<sup>14</sup> The man Chichele acted as patron to, early humanist and royal secretary,



(Figure 4)

Thomas Bekynton (d.1465), whose tomb is in Wells, reputedly did the same.<sup>15</sup> Of different generations to Fox, they are part of network of Wykehamist trend-setters who led to the spread of this fashion in tombs. Both were also involved in the foundation of collegiate

institutions, Chichele as founder of All Souls in Oxford, and Bekynton being heavily involved in Henry VI's double foundation at Eton College and King's College, Cambridge. Fox also held the see of Bath and Wells, but on his own admission he never went there, so he is unlikely to have seen Bekynton's tomb. It is possible, however, that in his youth in Lincolnshire he saw the tomb of Richard Flemyng (d.1434) in Lincoln Cathedral. Flemyng was founder of Lincoln College Oxford. Because of the want of hard information about Fox's early education, it is not possible to locate him securely within the network of patronage established by Chichele and Bekynton in the middle years of the fifteenth century. The speculation by Ingram that he might have attended Winchester College would certainly be borne out by his career path from comfortable yeoman stock through patronage to high ecclesiastical and diplomatic office.<sup>16</sup> It is undoubtedly a copy-book example of the pattern the Wykehamists set and his own patronage of those, notably Thomas Wolsey, who rose to the highest office, again fits the mould.

Fox's tomb differs from expectations of lavish cadavers commemorating these notable churchmen and canonists, as it contains only the cadaver, rather than a double effigy, though it is accompanied by the symbols of office, the mitre and crosier. Nor does it have the customary requests for prayers of the earlier tombs. But compositions containing corpse effigies are as imaginatively varied as the trend is tenacious.<sup>17</sup> Closer contemporaries of Fox are also commemorated in memorial compositions including a shrouded corpse. William Sylke, his vicar-general in 1487 during his tenure of his other unvisited see, Exeter, is commemorated there by what is now a very badly worn stone cadaver effigy on a mensa tomb.<sup>18</sup> Sylke was precentor of Exeter from 1499 until his death in 1503. More striking is the choice by John Claymond, or his executors, to commemorate him with the shroud brass which can still be seen in Corpus Christi College chapel itself.<sup>19</sup> Claymond, like Fox, came from a small Lincolnshire village, and was a student at Magdalen College. He seems first to have benefitted from Fox's patronage when he was appointed master of Staindrop College in the Durham diocese in 1500 during Fox's period as Prince Bishop. Following Fox to Winchester, he was appointed master of the aforementioned Holy Cross Hospital. During their period in Winchester the two men spent much time in each other's company. Fox then installed Claymond as president of Magdalen College in 1506, and, as is well known, selected him as first president of his own foundation Corpus Christi, in 1517.<sup>20</sup>

Another tomb which might be seen as a variant comparator with Fox's is the now missing tomb of John Colet, Dean of St Paul's.<sup>21</sup> Colet was one of those English intellectuals who, along with Thomas Linacre and William Grocyn, spent time towards the close of the

fifteenth century studying Greek in Florence. On their return, they offered tuition in Greek in Oxford. Their acceptance in Oxford was facilitated by another long-time associate of Fox's, John Fisher, who, as Fox's successor as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge had hosted Erasmus. Yet of the two it was Richard Fox who was first to embrace the inclusion of Greek in the syllabus at his Oxford foundation before such an audacious move was made in Cambridge. Colet's intellectual character was formed by his education at Oxford but also by continental travels in the 1490s when he met Ficino and Pico de Mirandola. He read Plato and Plotinus and the lectures he gave in Oxford on St Paul were redolent with these influences.<sup>22</sup> There is no suggestion that Colet's cadaver tomb, thorough-going in its Renaissance style and compositional detail, was in any way connected with Fox's, which is wholly Gothic in idiom; rather it would appear that the sentiments behind the cadaver tomb as coterie marker are another example of mores that crossed the divide between medieval and Renaissance seamlessly. In a short treatise on the order of a good Christian man's life, Colet reflected, 'think thyself a wretch of all wretches without the mercy of God... And especially have in mind that thou shalt die shortly, and how Christ died for thee; the subtlety and falseness of this temporal world, the joys of heaven, and the pains of hell'.<sup>23</sup> Colet's will contains no bequests for prayers for his soul: he in short presents a clearer case of the ideological overlap between late medieval asceticism and new humanist learning that might accord with Fox's position.<sup>24</sup>

Fox's memorial is also rather more than the effigy and surrounding symbols; it is contained within a chantry chapel that rivals and surpasses all the others in the Cathedral, including those of William Waynflete, Henry Beaufort, and Stephen Gardiner (who is also commemorated by a cadaver effigy). It is comprised of four bays divided by octagonal shafts. On pedestals in the parapet are representations of the pelican *vulnus*, or 'pelican in its piety', carved in the round. Fox's emblem, which decorates all testimonies to his patronage, is a well-known symbol of the eucharist, hence of Corpus Christi. It gives synoptic, metaphorical, expression to the contemplative schedule presented in a painting at the feet of his cadaver effigy, the Instruments of the Passion, the imaginative assemblage of material objects, for example scourges, nails, and shroud, cited in Gospel accounts of the Passion narrative. The Instruments, especially when arranged as the *Arma Christi*, represent a particular emblematic rhetoric, mediating private devotional mnemonics into the social and political realm by means of a semiotic that is, like heraldry, at once public but gnomic.<sup>25</sup> They communicate to their viewers a submerged narrative invoked by prompts. In brief, both the pelican *vulnus* and the Instruments perform intensely personal devotional meditative agenda according to

different, but highly conventionalised, modal criteria. The pelican *vulnus*'s association with Corpus Christi, and particularly the blood of the eucharist, is tenacious: in the present day Procession of the Holy Blood in Bruges, Knights of the Blood still wear helms surmounted by the emblem, which is also a dominant decorative feature in the Basilica of the Holy Blood in the same city.<sup>26</sup>

Fox was part of a particular coterie that promoted *studia humanitatis* against a background of Christian Humanism founded on the *devotio moderna* in which elaborated Passion symbolism remained fashionable. The noted Scottish bishop-poet, Gavin Douglas, who died in exile in London in 1525, one of the Scottish aristocratic 'Red' Douglases, is a contemporary. Douglas's poetry is firmly rooted in Classical models, his major work being his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* into Scots, yet he was also a patron of the Edinburgh Confraternity of the Holy Blood, and probable sponsor of the so-called Fetternear Banner, on which his coat of arms appears above an extended depiction of the Instruments of the Passion and Christ as Man of Sorrows.<sup>27</sup> The banner survives because it was never completed, being abandoned probably when Douglas fled Scotland in 1522 after the acrimonious failure of his nephew's marriage to Margaret Tudor, who had been widowed in 1513 by the death of James IV at Flodden .

The composition of the Fetternear banner, like the fragments of the Holy Cross screen, and Fox's chantry , late medieval in its devotional schema, but 'Renaissance' in elements of design, suggest a particular pre-Reformation aesthetic in which we can glimpse both countries' developing high Roman Catholic Renaissance.<sup>28</sup> The period was also a high point in the development of church music, and a florescence of coterie drama that was moral in its burden, but concerned with humanist values and virtues that crossed over from classical models with ease. It is to that that we now turn.

### III

Thus far we have explored some of the performative dimensions by which Richard Fox's generation and associates marked themselves out. There is, however, a difference between performativity, describing the whole culture's construction of its public face, and actual performance, as in the contract between players and audience of 'agreed pretence' that marks out theatre in its narrower sense.<sup>29</sup> Actual dramatic performances of the same period reinforce the growing picture I am developing of the cultural moment. Historical accounts relate that there is a large number of courtly interludes of a generally humanist complexion, not to mention scholars'

plays from the Universities, but most are in fact much later than the period in focus here. There is a plethora of neo-Latin comedy and debate written in England and Scotland, but the authors – Nicholas Grimald, George Buchanan, Thomas Legge, and William Gager — are again all too late for our purposes. A new picture of a thriving and earlier tradition of proto-humanist playing has lately dropped into focus, again taking us back to the Wykehamists of the mid-fifteenth century. Thomas Chaundler wrote the *Liber Apologeticus Omni Statu Humanae Naturae*, a presentation copy of a Latin play with grisaille and wash illustration, for presentation to Thomas Bekynton.<sup>30</sup> Recent work on this volume by Thomas Meacham has disputed the view that university drama flourished only once grammar masters required students asked students to recite *non in propria persona* assuming a character other than their own. The author contends that the *ars dictaminis*, the art of rhetorical letter writing, was not only training for the production of verse and prose literature: because most letters were delivered orally, they had a performative dimension across the stylistic range.<sup>31</sup> He quotes the *Libellus de laudibus*, written by Chaundler to the newly elected Bekynton, which has a prologue and two letters designed to be read out *non in propria persona* by the patron saints of Bath and Wells, Peter and Andrew. The speeches are derived from Leonardi Bruni's *Laudatio Florentiae* and Pier Decembrio's *De laudibus Mediolanensium Urbis panegyris*, but are also 'riddled with original invective, local references, and humour'.<sup>32</sup> Meacham notes that St Peter calls St Andrew a worldly windbag, and Andrew retorts by saying what a smelly place Bath is. Quasi-theatrical performances, in Latin, and in the Universities had, it seems, a longer and more vigorous history than is often admitted.

These activities, early by received standards, were not confined to the higher educational establishments. Winchester College itself is home to two dialogues in the vernacular, *Lucius and Dubius*, and *Occupation and Idleness*, securely dated to the mid-fifteenth-century on watermark evidence.<sup>33</sup> They further bear out Meacham's identification of a continuous dramatic tradition in the schools. The dialogues belong more to the world of the revived catechetical agenda that returned with representatives of the Church in England from the Council of Constance than to the full-blown Erasmian agenda, though their procedures might be described as humanist. Heterodoxy remained a recurrent threat throughout the period between Arundel's Constitutions and the Reformation, and Richard Fox was amongst those who were proactive, though relatively restrained, in its suppression.<sup>34</sup> Mishtooni Bose has associated *Lucius and Dubius* with mid-century projects to inculcate the dangers of heterodoxy in the schools. She argues that a master-pupil dialogue, such as this, with a known outcome, does not close the doctrinal interest of the piece down. Rather the classical dialogue

form seems designed to reflect real embodied subjectivity in its processes. Dubius is more dangerous than a heretic as he embodies ‘the principle of enquiry itself, combining scepticism and curiosity, rather than one egregious manifestation of it’.<sup>35</sup>

The agenda of both dialogues may be described as ‘education, education, education’, aimed at conduct in this life, but redolent of the full Pechamist catechetical agenda as armoury against taking the wrong, or ill-informed, spiritual turn. *Occupation and Idleness* incorporates recitation of the Pater Noster, Ave, Crede and the alphabet as well as instruction on the rudiments of Mariology. The character Doctrine, clearly the schoolmaster who mediates the dispute between the diligent Occupation, and the less assiduous Idleness, delivers instruction macaronically, which may also give us a glimpse of a technique for inducting very young scholars into Latin. Here he is instructing his pupils on the Fall of the Angels:

Summe Trinitati y wyl begynne,

    þat with his myȝt wroȝt al thing;

nouem ordines with-out synne

    angelorum to hym obeyng,

ad Dei iudicia for to abide

    misteria complenda ful of lyȝt.

ȝit fille many one þat tide

    fro þe place that mankende shal restore ful ryȝt. (552-59)

The piece may have been written for performance in front of a private audience. The message is, as Doctrine affirms, that those who cannot be persuaded by his macaronic rhetorical flourishes as he describes the deluge of God’s blood at the Crucifixion, or the deluge of tears to be shed by the damned at Doomsday, will be beaten into submission, and be grateful later for the efficacy of physical mortification on both memory and immortal soul. These mid-century plays serve as a reminder that dialogic drama did not have to wait for classical influences to filter in through Italian texts, but came back to England with the delegates sent to the Council of Constance, who re-invigorated the catechetical agenda as a fortification against heterodoxy, and who founded schools and university colleges as part of that enterprise.

Of the Oxford colleges we may note that the only college which has left records of plays before the reign of Henry VIII was Magdalen, Richard Fox's *alma mater*. These date back to the 1480s and include an interlude of *King Solomon*, written by Thomas More and performed around 1495. More's involvement in the dramatic activities of the court circles in which Fox moved is referred to below. The very sparse record of dramatic activity at Corpus Christi may relate to its size, for certainly there is evidence of plays at Lincoln and Merton in 1512-13, New College in 1524-25, and of the performance of 'a comedy' at Cardinal College in 1529-30.<sup>36</sup>

Outside educational contexts, the survival of neo-Latin drama before the mid sixteenth century is scant, but at least one emanated from Pynson's press. In 1510, Remacle de Brabant set out for Scotland in the train of Alois Blunt, a councillor from Brabant. Remacle had gone home after early service to a printer's agent in Paris, and moving from there to study in Cologne. For reasons that are obscure, he then got left behind in London where he met Erasmus, but, almost more importantly for present purposes, wrote a remarkable Latin play called *Palamides palliate comedia*, which was printed in 1512. The short play pays homage to Plautus, and as comedy *palliate*, is based on the Roman model which sought to imitate Greek New Comedy. It tells how young Palimedes acquires a slave, Chrysus, and a virgin Sophia. But all the characters in the play are also allegorised as the relative merits of wealth and wisdom are assessed.<sup>37</sup>

In the English language from the first two decades of the sixteenth century we have, of course, *Everyman*, printed in English, the most famous medieval play of all, but a translation from the Dutch firmly rooted in the civic world of the mercantile rhetoricians chambers and with no record of earlier performance in English. The anonymous interludes *Youth*, and *Hick Scorner*, and John Skelton's *Magnificence*, all use personification allegory to make political points, so are classically seen as demonstrating the adaptation of the religious morality form to secular didactic and propagandist purposes. *Youth*, of Northern provenance, and possible Percy sponsorship, was probably written for Christmas 1513 or Shrovetide 1514, has been claimed as a satirical attack on the young Henry VIII. *Hick Scorner* is a response to *Youth*, probably sponsored by Charles Brandon, and dated to around Whitsun 1514. Skelton's *Magnificence* is in turn, a *speculum principis*, but probably directed as a satire against Wolsey. In all three instances late medieval psychomachia is turned more or less imperfectly

into a tool of political satire. *Magnificence* is a further interesting case in point, as the ‘medieval’ morality form is respected in large, although a number of detailed embellishments, such as Skelton’s recommendation of Measure as a mean between two extremes, and the choice to name the protagonist after a Renaissance virtue, suggest that it too is a play for its times. All are well known, and might be described as coterie pieces, but there are better examples for the matter in hand here.<sup>38</sup>

For the aesthetic we are exploring, we turn to two other vernacular English plays. The first is Henry Medwall’s, *Fulgens and Lucrez*, written in 1497, and conventionally celebrated as an audaciously sophisticated early humanist drama.<sup>39</sup> The author, Henry Medwall, notary to Cardinal Morton, had evidently accumulated wide experience of a number of dramatic traditions from a London city upbringing as the younger son of a merchant, and his years as a student at Cambridge. Both *Fulgens and Lucrez* and his other play, *Nature*, contain elements of the type of mixed entertainments we surmise were usual at feasts in refined society – topical repartee mock jousts, dancing and singing with a light touch, reaching back to entertainments and ‘mummings’ based on the material of romance. The serious dialogue in Medwall’s plays owes more to classical rhetoric, however, to humanist dialogues, and to the procedures of legal pleading. That element in *Fulgens and Lucrez* is derived from the *Declamation of Noblesse* by John Tiptoft, a translation of the mid-fifteenth century *De Vera Nobilitate* by Buonaccorso da Montemagno. In Tiptoft’s disputation the rival suitors, Gaius Flaminius and Publius Cornelius engage in a classical disputation on the nature of true nobility, based on Quintillian’s five-part method and Aristotelian principles. Cornelius, high born and prodigal, is pitched against the low born Flaminius. The winner, Gaius Flaminius, is self-evident. Virtue, not birth, is true nobility. Medwall condenses the dispute into a law-suit pleading, full of the language of English common law. Cornelius is accused of maintenance and retaining. In fact Cornelius and Flaminius are both members of the ruling class, the former a member of the long-established landed nobility who behaved as if they were above the law, and the latter an officer of state loyal to the crown, at this moment one of the ‘new men’ supporting the authority of the lately established Tudor monarchy.<sup>40</sup> Tiptoft in the mid-fifteenth century had identified the Aristotelian principles of good governance modelled by the fashionable Burgundian court, and these principles of liberality and magnificence were translated into coterie drama by Medwall in his romantic comedy.

The play is marked out as a coterie piece written for connoisseurs of rhetorical technique, and moreover a number of features link the play to Cardinal Morton’s household, to his role as chief officer of the court of Star chamber and of Chancery, where abuses such as

those itemised in the portrait of Cornelius were pleaded. It was also where matters of equity were determined: John Fisher in a sermon compiled at the request of the King's mother, Margaret Beaufort, defined equity as follows:<sup>41</sup>

*Equitas* is callyd the thyng that phylosphers named *epieikeia* which is properly the minde of the lawe. A Iuge ought rather to folowe the mynde of the lawe than the extremyte of the words wryten in it. Elles as Cicero sayd. *Summum ius summa iniuria erit* (Extreme law is extreme injury).

The fact that the judgement is given by the lady Lucrez acting alone, also reflects the confidential nature of hearings in Chancery. But none of this explains further the most striking aspect of Medwall's version which is surely the introduction of a female judge. Tiptoft's version of Lucrez is conventionally passive, whereas Medwall's lady is more reminiscent of one of Shakespeare's witty women. This observation led Olga Horner to propose convincingly that Lucrez is modelled on Lady Margaret Beaufort who possessed in reality much of the legal power conferred on Lucrez. The record is patchy, but she appears to have held a commission acting as the king's deputy, to hear petitions from the king's poorer subjects, and she may have been a JP. Fisher's sermon preached at her month's mind records how studiously she caused justice to be administered. Her council arbitrated on disputes between her dependents at Collyweston, and she was also known to be involved in the civic affairs of Coventry and as patron of Christ's College Cambridge.<sup>42</sup>

*Fulgens and Lucrez* is a very sophisticated piece of theatrical writing. Its sub-plot has two characters labelled A and B who emerge from the audience, one possibly played originally by the young Thomas More. Although their names are never spoken to the audience, a reader would recognise them as the labels given to the disputants in mock trials in Chancery. With these characters, who have the last word, Medwall archly shows that, in addition to the high style of the main plot, he can write verse dialogue that so closely imitates natural speech rhythms that '...a man shall not lightly / Know a player from a nother man.' (lines 55-56). The play is conventionally lauded for a series of firsts – the first secular play in English, first play with a sub-plot, first female protagonist. In truth, of course, Medwall must be drawing on work he was familiar with, and that probably from disputations and mixed-mode interludes in great houses, particularly in London, but also in the schools and universities.

Dramatic performances, being ephemeral, are harder to attribute to particular spheres of influence than architecture and tomb design, but in the case of *Fulgens and Lucrez* there are a number of indications that it was written and first performed within another coterie circle in

which Richard Fox was enmeshed. Fox and Morton met in Paris during the reign of Richard III, and it is likely that it was Morton who introduced the young doctor of laws to the exiled Henry, earl of Richmond, later Henry VII.<sup>43</sup> At any rate, during the couple of years that led up to Bosworth, Fox was accepted into the earl's trusted circle and became his private secretary, sailing at length with the invasion force and witnessing the coronation.<sup>44</sup> As Morton was rewarded with the archbishopric of Canterbury and made Lord Chancellor, keeper of the Great Seal, Fox had the bishopric of Exeter bestowed on him and became Lord Privy Seal. He was inevitably connected with Margaret Beaufort too, both because of early association with Christopher Urswick, responsible for the exiled earl's liaison with his mother, and his later close association with John Fisher, her confessor. Fox and Fisher can be observed exchanging mutual debts of preferment in the early years of the new dynasty. Fisher seems to have nominated Fox for the chancellorship of Cambridge University, then Fox nominated Fisher to succeed him and later recommended him to the vacant see of Rochester. Both Fox and Fisher were later to act together as executors of Henry VII's will along with Margaret Beaufort. Fox drew up the plans for the memorial service, while Fisher preached the funeral sermon. Both bishops then acted very soon after as executors of Margaret Beaufort's will, as she outlived her son by only two months.<sup>45</sup>

The occasion of the first performance of *Fulgens and Lucreces* fell in the middle of Richard Fox's direct involvement with a very different and more public kind of dramatic show: he acted as arranger of the progress of Katherine of Aragon when she arrived to marry Prince Arthur. His involvement may act as a timely reminder that for the period in question, plays *qua* plays were a small part of the wider spectrum of performance activity, all of which served to cement alliances, and to promulgate uncompromising political messages according to the disarming decorum of entertainment. In this instance, plans for the bride's actual arrival turned out to be very difficult to organise, as the various manuscript and print witnesses bear out, occupying the best part of five years, and involving two proxy marriages.<sup>46</sup> Fox was involved throughout. Glimpses of the scale and nature of the show involved can be gleaned from accounts of aborted arrangements. According to the *Great Chronicle of London*, the City raised 'a ffyffthene & an half... for the charge of certyn pagentis to be preparid agayn the cummyng of my lady princes dame katharyn dowgthir of the kyng of Spayn, to be maryed unto my lord prince Arthour' in May 1500, although the date and port of arrival of the princess remained uncertain until she actually docked in Plymouth in October 1501. A number of costly preparations were made in 1500, including the assembling of 230 knights of the Round Table, who all had to be stood down. The delay also meant that Cardinal John

Morton did not conduct the final ceremony as archbishop of Canterbury, as he died in September 1500. The honour fell instead to his successor, Thomas Langton. Langton's consequent relinquishing of the see of Winchester then occasioned Fox's appointment to his final ecclesiastical office.

The original articles for the aborted progress of 1500 were printed by Pynson, prompted by the need for multiple identical copies. When the second plan for Katherine's reception was drawn up, however, the organisers returned to an older method of producing 'part-sheets' which was entrusted to Richard Fox. Kate Harris quotes College of Arms MS M 13 *bis* f.11r:<sup>47</sup>

Item the Bisshop of Duresme hath taken vpon hym to make an | abstracte of this  
present Booke of euery mannys charge | as it is comprised in the same and the same  
abstracte diuided into seuerall Articles as the mater toucheth euery | man aparte to  
delyuer in writing to master Secretary which | shal enclose the said Articles seuerally  
in as many lettres | ther shalbe Articles And the same directe and cause to | be sent to  
suche persones as be named in the hedes of the | said Articles desiring theym by the  
same lettres to doo | perfourme for their partes as is expressed in the said | Articles.

Fox's role as organiser of the nuptials from the first agreement in 1496 to eventual accomplishment in 1501, meant that he had a number of dealings with Spanish ambassadors, notably Roderigo de Puebla, who was to stand in for the princess at the proxy marriage in 1499, and Pedro d'Ayala. The dating of *Fulgens and Lucre* to 1497, and possibly as a Christmas celebration, also coincides with international relations leading to a different royal betrothal. Richard Fox, as Prince Bishop of Durham was engaged throughout the autumn of that year in protracted peace negotiations with a Scottish delegation led by William of Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen. The mediator for the negotiations, held at Ayton Castle, was Pedro d'Ayala, who described Richard Fox as one of the persons of greatest influence in England at the time.<sup>48</sup> A truce with Scotland was finally agreed in September, and the following year Fox was to be the sole negotiator with the Scots in person which led to James's betrothal to Margaret Tudor. That marriage, another lengthy progress as well as an occasion of jousting in Arthurian guise and the presentation of allegorical tableaux, took place in 1503.<sup>49</sup> But if we return to the conjectured circumstances of Medwall's play, we find suggestions that it was offered as an entertainment on an occasion at which Spanish ambassadors were present. The suggestion rests on the rather flimsy evidence that 'a bace daunce after the gyse/ Of Spayne' (lines 380-81) is performed by mummers between the long first section of the play, and the comparatively short subsequent section in which the two

suitors put case and submit to the judgement delivered by Luces. It is possible to envisage Fox and d'Ayala being present on their triumphant return from concluding the Scottish truce, but that may be a speculation too far. What we can establish is that this remarkable play belongs in circumstance and substance to the circle in which Margaret Beaufort, John Fisher, John Morton, Richard Fox, and Pedro d'Ayala mixed. It is coterie drama, in which all its details are relevant to a highly self-consciously performative milieu clustered around a new king, founding a new dynasty and conferring preferment on new men whose personal initiatives signalled and reinforced their membership of that particular coterie.

Finally we turn to the later play, *Gentleness and Nobility*, printed in 1525 by John Rastell, and possibly his son William.<sup>50</sup> It may have been written by John Heywood, best known for the disingenuous but politically explosive *Play of the Weather* (1532), with Rastell responsible for the rhyme royale epilogue, spoken by 'A Philosopher'. Daniel Wakelin has suggested, however, that as Rastell's is the only name securely attached to the interlude, we might contemplate the possibility that he was its author: 'He was on occasion a merchant trading overseas— like the play's Merchant; he was a learned humanist—like the Philosopher; he was also best known as a lawyer and a printer, and it is worth considering the play as the product of his publishing.'<sup>51</sup> Wakelin makes the further point, that, John Rastell being Heywood's father-in-law serves to demonstrate how 'the court was not sealed off from the rest of society'.<sup>52</sup> The broader case he develops is that the interlude moves beyond the debate in Medwall's play, though it is simpler in form, to consider the whole commonweal, and the grounds on which political authority should be earned.

The text begins as a two-handed debate, *non in propria persona*, between a Knight and a Merchant, about what constitutes gentility. The arguments around the uses and abuses of social station, the protection by the aristocracy of the commonweal, the advantage of inherited authority, as against the value of the artificer on whose skill the landed classes depend, are updated versions of those familiar from *Wynnere and Wastoure* a century and a half earlier.<sup>53</sup> Fundamental gentility lies with the man who benignly gives away his wealth. The third character, the Ploughman, bursts in on the scene and introduces physical action, first by beating the other two. Now we have a play. His argument is that he is the noblest of all as he, like God, has no need of anything from anyone else, and provides for all. According to his argument, beasts are nobler than men if material necessity is the criterion, but humans have a 'soul intellectuall' (line 379) that confers the greatest nobility. He then refuses to engage further in debate as he is too busy, thus applauding action over talk so that debate itself is reduced to 'bablyng pomp and folysshnes' (line 408). His own talk is liberally larded

with profanities. The first part of the play concludes with the ploughman's contention that the only way to contentment is to be found in overcoming acquisitiveness, and, in the manner of all great house interludes, with the Knight's proposal that everyone take some recreation.

The second part has the Ploughman reiterate 'When Adam dolf and Eve span,/ Who was then a gentyman' (lines 485-6). The argument, predictable enough, proceeds to assert that the beggar and the aristocrat are no different in their fundamental materiality. What is different from the precursors, all the way back to *Piers Plowman*, is not additions but absences, as there is no metaphysical dimension to the discussion, and indeed the Knight retorts to the Ploughman's threat that the devil will repay those who commit good deeds for bad motives, that 'Whyder God or the devyll quyt them therefore,/ Is now to our purpose never the more, / For theyr myndys and intentis no man can tell.' (lines 641-3). There are good and bad in all stations of life.

As the play moves to its close, however, the secular philosophy it promulgates becomes clearer. It is the Ploughman who reasons that those who have the commonwealth in hand, like bishops, rulers, preachers, teachers, judges and other officers, as well as valiant men of the chivalry, need to have land to maintain their livings, but those who do none of these things should not have wealth by inheritance, nor should anyone live off another's labour. He also expresses suspicion of 'fonde clerkes that go to schole' and allege the authority of law, philosophy and theology, for everyone knows that the grounds of divinity and philosophy are contrary. The seven deadly sins and contrary virtues are enumerated, but, in the Philosopher's epilogue, it is virtue that is lauded as that from which gentility and nobility ensue.

The play thus illustrates the scope and vigour of public debate in the early sixteenth century, and its foundation on an educational programme rooted in classical authors such as Cicero and Lucian, and supported by the procedures of debate, which, as we have seen, predates its florescence under Erasmian principles in the schools.<sup>54</sup> The Ploughman's dismissal of talking and recourse to violence, serves as an objective correlative for the need for education in a healthy commonweal. The playwrights of the early Tudor period, including Medwall, Heywood, and Rastell, far from merely writing sycophantic dramas in support of the status quo, offer in light guise reflections on new political thinking. It is easy to be cynical about this in view of the reign of terror that Henry VIII was to preside over, but the currents of thought available when his father and grandmother presided over a gathering of new men, prodigious administrative intellects, whose inclusive principles for steering a healthy commonweal are well represented in the symbols associated with the foundation of Corpus Christi College: the pelican *vulnus* as a reminder of the opportunities for virtuous emulation

of Christ's self-sacrifice, and the beehive of men educated to go out and industriously govern for the common good.

*Gentleness and Nobility* offers a particular vision of society that sits on the cusp that is no cusp between the medieval and Renaissance. It is thus another testimony to the frustrated proleptic ruptured by the Reformation, the smooth integration of humanist learning and Italianate style, with an evolved *devotio moderna*. It gives the lie to binary understandings of medieval and Renaissance, of secular and devotional, that have led Gavin Douglas to be disparaged as an overly-worldly cleric, and Fox's screen in the hospital of the Holy Cross to be attributed to his blindness. It makes Margaret Beaufort's desire to send the medieval romance *Blanchardyne and Eglantyne* to Caxton for printing as a model of the social values found in *Fulgens and Lucrez* as diverting as the teaching of Greek in a college dedicated to Corpus Christi.

The eponymous protagonist of Henry Medwall's other play, *Nature*, promotes another humanist argument about the need to find a temperate mean between the extremes of reason and sensuality in the long voyage through this world asking,

Who taught the cok hys watche howres to observe  
And syng of corage with shrill throte on hye?  
Who taught the pellycan her tender hart to carve  
For she nolde suffer her byrdys to dye?  
Who taught the nyghtyngall to recorde besyly  
Her strange entunys in silence of the nyght?  
Certes I, Nature, and none other wyght. (lines, 43-49)

And here is that pelican again, a sign for the times more complex in its reception than in its disingenuous delivery.

The rich and powerful always have at their disposal the means to exercise their patronage to purchase material signifiers of their influence. For the early sixteenth-century cleric, risen, like Richard Fox from relatively obscure origins, patronage received and then given was fundamental to performance in the social and political world. The signifiers I have observed in the foregoing may have achieved a certain currency which of itself signalled membership of a group, but were also indicative of shared values. Those values derive from understandings of the spiritual realm which were still deeply embedded in late medieval Roman Catholicism and reflect the revival of affective triggers to devotion in the *devotio moderna*. In this context, the cadaver effigy as a very late medieval phenomenon,

transformed, for those who could afford it, the enduring lesson of *memento mori* into a new and arresting form of plastic expression. The same coteries, powerful through their own intellectual gifts and endeavours, aspired to lead what Walter Hilton had defined in the late fourteenth century as the “mixed life”, and their embellishment of the ecclesiastical spaces they inhabited acted as a decorous, even charitable, duty.<sup>55</sup> Similarly the foundation of colleges promulgating both spiritual understandings and the skills required to serve the commonweal pre-dates and absorbs the humanist interest in education. In all these activities these men were modernisers performing within established late ‘medieval’ traditions. The same intellectual energies which brought them to their positions of power were bound to be excited by the new ‘Renaissance’ aesthetic and philosophies, developing as part of a pan-European conversation in which they participated and performed in both the broad and narrow sense of that word. The Tudor dynasty was propitious for reinforcing the evolutionary influence of this ecclesiastical and political elite; it was also to prove propitious for the revolutionary events that were to follow.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Hospitals: St Cross, near Winchester’, in *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 2*, ed. H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page (London, 1903), pp.193-97. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol2/pp193-197> [accessed 30 April 2018]

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Riall, ‘Restoring the Choir Furniture in St Cross Church’, *Friends of St Cross: Newsletter* Issue 4 (Winchester, 2013), pp.6-8, p.6.  
<http://friendsofstcross.com/sites/default/files/Newsletter%20Issue%204%20v2-1.pdf>  
[accessed 30 April 2018]

<sup>3</sup> As bishop of Exeter, then of Bath and Wells, Fox is known to have relied entirely on vicars general, and never visited either diocese. As Prince Bishop of Durham, he resided in the northern province, but spent much of his time negotiating with the Scots in diplomatic contexts. See Clayton J. Drees, *Bishop Richard Fox of Winchester* (Jefferson, NC, 2014) pp.40-41, 49, 54-74.

<sup>4</sup> Drees, *Fox*, p.24. The speculation derives from James Ingram, *Memorials of Oxford* (Oxford, 1837), Vol. 2, p.2. See also Charles-Edwards and Reid, *Corpus Christi College*, 3-4.

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<sup>5</sup> Clive Burgess, 'An Institution for All Seasons: the Late Medieval English College', in Clive Burgess and Martin Heale, eds, *The Late Medieval English College and its Contexts* (York, 2008), pp. 3-27. See also his paper above, p. 00.

<sup>6</sup> Riall *Newsletter*, 7-8. Riall has written numerous articles on and around the subject, many derived from 'Bringing the Renaissance to Tudor England: The role of Richard Fox and his frieze at Cross, Winchester', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, Swansea, 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Riall, 'The Early Tudor Renaissance in Hampshire: Anthony Blunt and "L'influence française sur l'architecture et la sculpture décorative en Angleterre pendant la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle" revisited', *Renaissance Studies*, 21:2 (2007), 218-253, 218.

<sup>8</sup> Riall, 'Early Tudor Renaissance', 226, and 226n.31. For further discussion of the screen and its context, see William Whyte's essay, above, p. 00.

<sup>9</sup> I am indebted to Martin Biddle's work, 'Early Renaissance at Winchester' in J. Cook, ed, *Winchester Cathedral: 900 Years* (Chichester, 1993), pp.257-304, for making sense of my own observations here.

<sup>10</sup> The South is 'florid and overcrowded', as opposed to the North which is 'cool and sparse': Biddle, 'Early Renaissance', 271.

<sup>11</sup> Riall, *Newsletter*, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Biddle, 'Early Renaissance', 259-60.

<sup>13</sup> Biddle, 'Early Renaissance', 259.

<sup>14</sup> Further details of Chichele's choice, and of the others mentioned below can be found in Pamela M. King, 'The Cadaver Tomb in England: Novel Manifestations of an Old Idea', *Church Monuments*, 5 (1990), 26-38, and for the possible coterie signalling function of the design, 'The English Cadaver Tomb in the Late Fifteenth Century: some Indications of a Lancastrian Connection' in *Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jane H.M. Taylor (Liverpool, 1984), pp.45-57. Both are drawn from fuller accounts in, 'Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb in England to 1500', unpublished DPhil thesis, York, 1987. <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/4274/> [accessed 12 May, 2018].

<sup>15</sup> For more on Bekynton and the Wykehamist tradition, see Jeremy Catto's paper, above, p. 00.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 00 above.

<sup>17</sup> King, 'Contexts', pp.57-152.

<sup>18</sup> King, 'Contexts', p. 128.

<sup>19</sup> King, 'Contexts', p. 140.

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<sup>20</sup> Jonathan Woolfson, 'John Claymond', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001> [accessed 13 May, 2018].

<sup>21</sup> King, 'Contexts', pp. 132, 197. The design of Colet's tomb in Old St Paul's, London, is recorded in an engraving by Wenceslaus Holler, reproduced in William Dugdale, *The History of St Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, 1658). See <http://idlespeculations-terryprest.blogspot.co.uk/2014/05/old-saint-pauls.html> [accessed 18 May, 2018].

<sup>22</sup> King, 'Contexts', pp.453-57.

<sup>23</sup> *A ryght fruitful monition concernynge the Order of a good christen mannes lyfe, very profitable for all maner of estates, and othre, to beholde and loke vppon: Made by the famousse doctour Colet, somtyme Deane of paules*, J. H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet D.D.; Dean of St Paul's and founder of St Paul's School* (London, 1909), 305-07,

<sup>24</sup> Lupton, *Life of Colet*, 236.

<sup>25</sup> The Instruments of the Passion also appear in the roof bosses of Corpus Christi College Chapel: 'Corpus Christi College', in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Oxford* (London, 1939), pp. 48-54. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/oxon/pp48-54> [accessed 27 August 2018].

<sup>26</sup> Observations of the author, May, 2014, Bruges.

<sup>27</sup> The standard work on Gavin Douglas is Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas* (Edinburgh, 1976); the standard edition of his translation of the *Aeneid* is *Virgil's Aeneid, Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*, 4 vols, ed. David C. Caldwell (Edinburgh, 1957–64). See also Pamela M. King, 'Gavin Douglas, aesthetic organisation and distraction', forthcoming.

<sup>28</sup> After the completion of this essay, the volume's reader drew my attention to the so-called 'founder's textile', which supplies another material testimony to the cultural moment. The textile is a piece of red silk velvet embroidered with gold thread in a pattern of trailing vines surrounding repeated images of the pelican *vulning*. In its present form it takes the shape of a post-Reformation pulpit-cloth, but it has been argued that it is a piece of a larger original of liturgical use, possibly a cope, and roughly contemporary with the College's foundation. Fox is known to have bought cloth of gold from the probable manufacturers, Cavalcanti and Bardi of Florence, suppliers of the eponymous cloth for the Field of Cloth of Gold. See Julian Reid, 'The Founder's Textile', *Corpus Christi College: The Pelican Record*, 48 (2012), pp. 18-25. <https://www.ccc.ox.ac.uk/data/uploads/pelicanrecord%20and%20sundial/Pelican%20Record%202012.pdf> [accessed 29.10.2018]

<sup>29</sup> See Philip Butterworth, *Staging Conventions in Medieval English Theatre* (Cambridge, 2014), p.2 *et passim*.

<sup>30</sup> See Jeremy Catto's essay, above, p. 00 (and p. 00, fig. 1, for the illustration).

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Meacham, 'Exchanging Performative Words: Epistolary Performance and University Drama in Late Medieval England', *Medieval English Theatre*, 22 (2010), 12-25.

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<sup>32</sup> Meacham, 'Performative Words', 20.

<sup>33</sup> Norman Davies, *Non-Cycle Plays and the Winchester Dialogues: Facsimiles of Plays and Fragments in Various Manuscripts and the Dialogues in Winchester College MS33, with Introduction and a Transcript of the Dialogues* (Leeds, 1979), 135-208.

<sup>34</sup> Drees, *Fox*, pp.79-80, 115-16.

<sup>35</sup> Mishtooni Bose, 'The Theatre of the Mind in Late Medieval England', in *The Best Part of Our Play: essays presented to John J. McGavin*, Part Two, ed. Sarah Carpenter, Pamela M. King, Meg Twycross and Greg Walker, *Medieval English Theatre*, 38 (2015), 115-28, 120.

<sup>36</sup> See *Records of Early English Drama: Oxford* edited by John R. Elliott Jr and Alan Nelson (University), Alexandra Johnston and Diana Wyatt (City) (Toronto 2004), 2 vols, Vol. 2, p.602 for a synopsis of activity.

<sup>37</sup> Remacle d'Ardenne, *Palimedes palliata commedia (1512)*, (Ann Arbor MI, 2010).

<sup>38</sup> For those unfamiliar with the plays in this paragraph, good starting points from which to chart the map of surviving drama from the period are *The Revels History of Drama in English, Vol. 2: 1500–1576*, edited by T. W. Craik (London, 1980), and *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, edited by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford, 2014).

<sup>39</sup> The standard edition of *Fulgens and Lucrez* and *Nature* is *The Plays of Henry Medwall* ed. Alan H. Nelson (Cambridge, 1980). All references to both plays use this edition.

<sup>40</sup> Ruth Lexton, 'Henry Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucrez* and the Question of Nobility Under Henry VII', in *The Fifteenth Century VIII: Rule, Redemption and Representations in Late Medieval England and France*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge, 2008). For 'new men', see now Steven Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England* (Oxford, 2016).

<sup>41</sup> Olga Horner, 'Fulgens and Lucrez: an Historical Perspective', *Medieval English Theatre*, 15, 1993, 49-86, fn26.

<sup>42</sup> Horner, 'Historical Perspective', *passim*. For more on Lady Margaret, see Michael K. Jones and Malcolm Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992).

<sup>43</sup> Anthony Wood, *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, p.383.

<sup>44</sup> Drees, *Fox*, pp.34-35

<sup>45</sup> Drees, *Fox*, pp.35-36, 68-69, 82-83.

<sup>46</sup> Kate Harris, 'Richard Pynson's *Remembraunce of the Traduction of the Princesse Kateryne*: the Printer's Contribution to the Reception of Catharine of Aragon', *The Library*, sixth series 12:2 (1990), 89-109, 90-91. Further details are drawn from this account and from Gordon Kipling, *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne L*, EETS os 296 (1990).

<sup>47</sup> Harris, 'Pynson's *Remembraunce*', 102-03.

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<sup>48</sup> Drees, *Fox*, 71.

<sup>49</sup> See Sarah Carpenter, ‘”To the xaltacyon of noblesse”: A Herald’s Account of the Marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV’, *Medieval English Theatre*, 29 (2007), 104-120.

<sup>50</sup> The standard edition of *Gentleness and Nobility* is *Three Rastell Plays: Four Elements, Calisto and Melibea, Gentleness and Nobility*, ed. Richard Axton (Cambridge, 1979). All references to the play are taken from this edition.

<sup>51</sup> Daniel Wakelin, ‘*Gentleness and Nobility*, John Rastell, c.1525-27’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama* eds Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford 2012). [www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566471-e-12](http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566471-e-12) [accessed 12 May 2018], p.3.

<sup>52</sup> Wakelin, ‘*Gentleness*’, p.3.

<sup>53</sup> *Wynnere and Wastoure*, ed. Warren Ginsberg, TEAMS Middle English Texts <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/Ginsberg-wynnere-and-wastoure> [accessed 12 May, 2018].

<sup>54</sup> See Meacham, ‘Performative Words’, *passim*.

<sup>55</sup> *Walter Hilton's Mixed Life: edited from Lambeth Palace MS 472*, edited by S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson (Salzburg, 1986).