

# The 'Library' of a Late-Fifteenth-Century Lawyer

By C. E. MORETON

**D**ESPITE THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING, books were still relatively uncommon in late-fifteenth-century England. Even for lawyers — among the most literate members of lay society — half a dozen law books was a 'perfectly respectable total' to own.<sup>1</sup> Larger collections are nevertheless recorded in the possession of some lawyers. A good example is Thomas Kebell, a successful serjeant at law from Leicestershire, who left thirty-six volumes when he died in 1500. His library suggests a man of some learning who did not restrict himself to legal texts or to the more humdrum genres designed for popular consumption.<sup>2</sup> But a library of comparable size which belonged to one of Kebell's legal contemporaries, Sir Roger Townshend, deserves just as much notice since its contents were more conventional and therefore more typical of the literate layman of the time.

Townshend, in common with Kebell and many other lawyers, was a self-made man. Of obscure yeoman stock, he entered Lincoln's Inn in 1454. Whilst at the inn he began his career as a law reporter and, as a senior fellow of the society, he seems to have been in charge of its library.<sup>3</sup> By the 1460s he was practising as a lawyer in his native Norfolk, numbering among his clients the well-known Paston family, to whom he lent considerable sums of money as well as legal advice.<sup>4</sup> He was, however, destined for higher things: he became a serjeant at law in 1478, a king's serjeant in 1481 and a Justice of Common Pleas in 1485.<sup>5</sup> Like other successful lawyers he invested the proceeds of his career in land. By 1493, when he died, he had created a compact estate in north-west Norfolk, and the Townshends were to flourish as one of the foremost gentry families of the county during the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England: Thomas Kebell: A Case Study* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Ives, pp. 445–47.

<sup>3</sup> *Lincoln's Inn Records. Admissions*, 1, edited by W. P. Baildon (London, 1896), 12; A. W. B. Simpson, 'The Source and Function of the Later Year Books', *Law Quarterly Review*, 87 (1971), 94–118 (pp. 114–15). In 1475 the treasurer of Lincoln's Inn ordered the governors to pay Townshend 30s. for the library (*Lincoln's Inn Records. The Black Books*, 1, edited by R. D. Walker (London, 1897), 59). The library at Lincoln's Inn must have been one of the earliest of any inn of court, and its existence questions the assumption that libraries were probably unnecessary in the inns until after the introduction of printing. It is difficult to know what to make of William Dugdale's claim that the library at Lincoln's Inn was not furnished with books until the early seventeenth century (see *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple*, edited by J. Conway Davies, 3 vols (Oxford, 1972), 1, 3–4).

<sup>4</sup> *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, edited by N. Davis, 2 vols (Oxford, 1971–76), 1, 168, 359, 377, 411–12, 416, 423–24, 428, 455, 476, 483, 484, 486, 505, 515, 557, 559–60, 561; II, 373, 389.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1476–85*, no. 177; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1476–85*, p. 270, 1485–94, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII, 1*, no. 1143.

As one might expect from a family of lawyers, the Townshends were meticulous record-keepers. From the fortunate survival of a family inventory taken in 1494/5, we know that Sir Roger owned over forty books, both manuscript and printed, at the end of his life.<sup>7</sup> There also exists a record of twenty-one of his volumes made by his son and heir, another Roger, in an early sixteenth-century memorandum book.<sup>8</sup> This second list does not therefore record all of the senior Townshend's books as Dr Ives has assumed, though it does include five volumes not in the inventory.<sup>9</sup>

The inventory must be described as such because, unlike a true catalogue, it does not identify volumes by the works they contained. Indeed, two of its entries do not relate to books at all but to manorial documents. Book inventories of this period usually account for volumes (rather than works) owned. When they do include titles, they often mention only the first work in each volume.<sup>10</sup> In this particular instance the physical appearance, as opposed to the contents, of many of Townshend's books was enough for the purposes of the inventory. Lists of books owned by deceased churchmen or scholars, on the other hand, tend to identify by author and title and are far more informative.<sup>11</sup> Presumably this was partly because the compilers would have been as interested as the former owners in the contents of the books. The immediate family or associates of an educated gentleman would often not share his level of literacy, let alone literary tastes, in the way that a cleric's would be shared by his fellow scholars. His books would have been most familiar to them as physical objects. Some laymen's inventories did concern themselves with titles rather than appearance or number: there survives an example for a near contemporary of Townshend, an unknown lawyer of the early sixteenth century, but this was drawn up by the owner of the books himself, and one would expect him to take an interest in their contents.<sup>12</sup> In another list from the same period the books that an indebted Thomas Anselme of Canterbury College, Oxford, was obliged to use as pledges are identified by appearance as well as title. Here, however, their appearance was relevant since presumably it was their ornamentation which

<sup>7</sup> Norfolk Record Office (hereafter NRO), MS 1503, 1 D2 (a catalogue of Townshend books and evidences, 1494/5), fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. This leaf is one of nine paper leaves sewn as a gathering on to a parchment guard; measuring c. 310 × 225 mm, the gathering is unfoliated and has a watermark hand and star. The other leaves list the storage places of numerous account rolls and deeds relating to land and property that the Townshends had acquired by this date. Most of these documents were kept in various boxes (of which there were over sixty), bags, and baskets which, in turn, were kept in large chests in the vault at Raynham.

<sup>8</sup> British Library, Add. MS 41,139, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>. For Roger Townshend II, see *The History of Parliament, 1509–1558*, edited by S. T. Bindoff, 3 vols (London, 1982), III, 470–71.

<sup>9</sup> Ives, p. 354.

<sup>10</sup> Sears Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance*, rev. edn (Godalming, 1983), p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, the wills of sixteenth-century York clergy (see *York City Wills 1520–1600*, edited by Claire Cross, 2 vols, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 10, 15 (York, 1984–89), *passim*; *Canterbury College Oxford*, I, edited by W. A. Pantin, Oxford Historical Society, VI (1947), 80–92.

<sup>12</sup> Bodl. MS Douce 312, fols 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>.

made them acceptable pledges.<sup>13</sup> The circumstances in which a book inventory was made and the purpose it served clearly influenced the form it took.

Much may therefore lie hidden within Townshend's volumes. This is frustrating but the physical descriptions of the books are interesting in themselves. Unlike many booklists of this period, the inventory occasionally distinguishes between manuscripts and printed books, although one cannot be completely confident about its consistency in this respect.<sup>14</sup> Like similar inventories it sometimes mentions the colour of the covers, although unfortunately it says nothing of the material used. This was commonly leather and sometimes cloth. Book covers of embroidered cloth were something of an English speciality, and we know from the inventory taken after Thomas Kebell's death that some of his books were covered in 'blacke saten' and 'blak velvet'. Velvet was a popular covering for many of the books of the late medieval nobility and gentry and came in several different colours.<sup>15</sup> The 'bredes' in the Townshend list were wooden book boards;<sup>16</sup> presumably where they are not mentioned the books concerned lacked them. Before paper became widespread in the later fifteenth century heavy boards were often used to keep flat the pages of parchment, which had a strong tendency to curl. Any accompanying clasps would supplement the weight of the boards and helped to keep the book shut.<sup>17</sup> The descriptions of the law books in the list indicate that these functional works were less decorative and therefore less valuable than Townshend's other volumes; only two possessed 'bredes'. 'Closers' were protective wrappings, and Townshend probably treasured the three volumes which possessed them; particularly since one of them, perhaps a devotional work, had a silver and gilt clasp on its cover.

Over one half of Townshend's library consisted of legal volumes and, given his background as a law reporter, he may well have compiled, or had compiled, some of his law manuscripts for himself. As one might expect of an age in which statute law rapidly increased in volume, most of his law books were collections of statutes, which, with the Year Books, were in England two of the earliest types of legal work to be printed. He would appear to have owned a copy of the *Nova statuta*, the first printed edition of the statutes at large, though not any printed Year Books.

<sup>13</sup> *Canterbury College*, pp. 91–92.

<sup>14</sup> In the list of books which John Neele set aside in the late 1480s for Magdalen College, Oxford, for example, Neele distinguished the books on vellum from those on paper but not those in print from those in manuscript (Elizabeth Armstrong, 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465–1526', *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979), 268–90 (p. 284).

<sup>15</sup> See the wills in *Testamenta Vetusta*, edited by N. H. Nicolas, 2 vols (London, 1826), *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1956– ): 'a small board; a wooden book cover'.

<sup>17</sup> R. J. Lyall, 'Materials: the Paper Revolution', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, edited by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), 11–29 (p. 12); E. Diehl, *Bookbinding, Its Background and Technique*, 2 vols (New York, 1946), I, 17.

The emphasis of the non-legal works is heavily on compendia and religious and didactic treatises intended for instruction and edification as well as enjoyment. Despite the problems in identifying many of his books, it is clear that Townshend's reading tastes were conventional for a literate layman of the late fifteenth century. He himself laid no claim to scholastic prowess, and on one occasion asserted in the Common Pleas that he was 'not a good sophister'.<sup>18</sup> Yet it is fair to conclude that he was by no means an unlearned man, and he must have had some affinity for books.

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## APPENDIX

### The Books of Sir Roger Townshend<sup>19</sup>

#### Abbreviations

- BHLA: *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, Socii Bollandiani (Brussels, 1878–1901).  
GW: *Gesamtkatalog Der Wiegendruke*.  
Goff: F. R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries*, rev. edn (New York, 1973).  
Hain: L. Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*.  
STC: A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475–1640*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London, 1976–91).

x<sup>th</sup> yere after mychaelmas Inuentory of bokes in  
a schete and put in a [Cofy] |chest| of Spruse next y<sup>e</sup> chymney upon the  
vowte<sup>20</sup>

#### [I] First a boke w<sup>t</sup> brede bough of Aslak

Walter Aslake of Creake, a minor Norfolk gentleman for whom Townshend once acted in a land conveyance, or one of his relatives. Aslake may have obtained this book, and other manuscripts, including an historically important fragment of a fourteenth-century English *mappa-mundi*, through his close association with Creake Abbey.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *The Reports of Sir John Spelman*, edited by J. H. Baker, Selden Society, 2 vols (London, 1977–78), II, 125. Erasmus once claimed that the 'study of English law is as far removed as can be from true learning' (R. W. Chamber, *Thomas More* (London, 1938), p. 85). But this is unfair; see E. W. Ives, 'The Common Lawyers', in *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Late Medieval England*, edited by C. H. Clough (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 181–217.

<sup>19</sup> The reference for and description of the original in the Norfolk Record Office are given above in footnote 7. The following transcript is given verbatim with the exception of contractions, here expanded, and the addition of numbering and commentary between entries.

<sup>20</sup> i.e., 'vault'.

<sup>21</sup> NRO, NCC 438–40 Popy; Public Record Office, CP25/1/170/192, no. 45; *The Visitation of Norfolk in the Year 1563*, edited by G. H. Dashwood and others, Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 2 vols (Norwich 1878–95), I, 336, 338; Peter Barber, 'Old Encounters New: The Aslake World Map', in *Géographie du monde du moyen âge et à la renaissance*, edited by M. Pelletier (Paris, 1989), pp. 69–88. I am most grateful to Dr Andrew Prescott at the British Library for bringing Barber's article to my attention.

[2] Item a whyth boke w<sup>t</sup> bredeſ w<sup>t</sup> dyuerſe quayres

The 'divers quires' suggest a volume containing several different works. A range of reading material satisfying most of the practical and intellectual requirements of a family could be found between two covers.<sup>22</sup>

[3] Item a other qwyth boke w<sup>t</sup> bredeſ called liber *pastoralis sancti gregorij Gregorius, Pastorale, sive Regula pastoralis* (c. 591). A 'textbook' of the medieval episcopate, Pope Gregory's work sets out his view of the bishop as a shepherd of souls.<sup>23</sup>

[4] Item a rede boke of cronycles of kyng Edward le fyste w<sup>t</sup> bredeſ

Possibly a copy of Nicholas Trevet's *Annales*, an account in Latin of the reigns of the six kings from Stephen to Edward I composed c. 1320–23, of which there are fourteen extant manuscripts.<sup>24</sup>

[5] Item a boke w<sup>t</sup> out bredeſ called *Speculum humane saluacionis*

*Speculum humanae salvationis*: a very popular typological work of the early fourteenth century devoted to interpreting the New Testament through prefigurations in the Old. A work of instruction for both clergy and laity, nearly four hundred fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts survive. These are mainly in Latin but also include versions in English and other vernaculars.<sup>25</sup>

[6] Item a boke w<sup>t</sup> a cloſer of parchemyn wretyn upon Jurdmale Registre

Unfortunately this work has not been identified.

[7] Item a legend of papir rag hand w<sup>t</sup> other seruyſe in it et cetera

Presumably a saint's life, perhaps the life of St Blaise recorded in the list, noted in the commentary above, made by Townshend's son. 'Rag hand' suggests an unevenly written manuscript.<sup>26</sup>

[8] Item long boke of french w<sup>t</sup> bredeſ of ſeynt thomas lyf qwech ye prior of Cokesford gaf to M. Roger

Probably a life of Becket, this could have been any one of a large number of *vitae* of this saint. 'Master Roger' is Townshend's son, and the prior Henry Mileham (elected prior of Coxford 1478; dead by 1514). Coxford Priory was situated near the Townshends' chief manor at Raynham.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> M. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in *Literature and Western Civilization. The Medieval World*, edited by D. Daiches and A. Thorlby (London, 1973), 555–77 (p. 569).

<sup>23</sup> J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), p. 67.

<sup>24</sup> R. J. Dean, 'Nicholas Trevet, Historian', in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, edited by J. J. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, Oxford, 1976), 328–52 (pp. 331–35, 349–50). Alternatively it may have been a portion of the *Brut*.

<sup>25</sup> See introductions in *A Medieval Mirror, Speculum Humane Salvationis, 1324–1500*, edited by A. and J. L. Wilson (Berkeley, Ca., 1984), and *The Mirour of Mans Saluacionun*, edited by A. Henry (Aldershot, 1986).

<sup>26</sup> *Middle English Dictionary*: '? some style of irregular or uneven handwriting; ~ honde'.

<sup>27</sup> BHLA, 8170–8238; Victoria County Histories, Norfolk, II, 380.

- [9] Item a boke w<sup>t</sup> out bredes w<sup>t</sup> a closer of parchemyn joyted<sup>28</sup> w<sup>t</sup> horn
- [10] Item a [lityl] boke w<sup>t</sup> bredes of the deuisions and Customs of ye Est parte of ynglond  
Intriguing but frustratingly unidentifiable.
- [11] Item an other lityl boke w<sup>t</sup> bredes and a long Closer w<sup>t</sup> a clospe of syluer and gylt
- [12] Item a [blak] prynted boke wreten upon *Compendium aureum* [b b] bible  
Petrus Aueroli, *Compendium litteralis sensus totius Bibliae*. Printed in Strasburg in the 1470s (Goff A393).
- [13] Item a other blak prynted boke wretyn upon Sermones Ruperti de liceo de adventu  
Robertus Caracciolus (=De Licio), *Sermones de adventu*, of which several separate editions were printed before Townshend's death in 1493 (GW, 6045–6050).
- [14] Item a other rede pryntede boke w<sup>t</sup> sermons tredecim et cetera  
Michael de Hungaria, *Sermones 13 praedicabiles*. During Townshend's lifetime at least twelve editions were printed on the Continent: eight by John de Westfalia (Louvain, c. 1477/83–1484/85); two by Georg Husner (Strasburg, 1487, 1490); one in The Netherlands (1487); one by Richard Pafraet (Deventer, c. 1491).<sup>29</sup>
- [15] Item a box w<sup>t</sup> evydens of T Conyers for hylcomb
- [16] Item a box and a bagge of grygges for stewkey<sup>30</sup>  
Inuentory in a schete of buske bokes of lawe put in the [Cofyr] |chest| of spruse [Cofyr of spruse] next y<sup>e</sup> chymny
- [17] First a |Rede| boke enprented of the statutez of kyng herry ye sext w<sup>t</sup> bredes  
A puzzle, since there is no evidence of a printed collection of Henry VI's statutes. If 'Henry VI' is a mistake for Henry VII, then it may have been a collection of statutes, 1, 3, and 4 Henry VII, printed by Caxton c. 1491; or, possibly, Pynson's c. 1492 printing of the statutes of the 1491 parliament (STC 9348, 9332).
- [18, 19] Item a boke w<sup>t</sup> bredes of the old statutes an old [sic] of k Edward ye ij<sup>de</sup> Richard herri 7 herry

<sup>28</sup> ? 'jointed'.

<sup>29</sup> I am most grateful to the editor and compilers of the Incunable Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC) at the British Library for providing me with this information from their data base.

<sup>30</sup> This and the preceding entry have nothing to do with books, and refer to deeds and evidences kept in the same chest. See n. 7, above.

Those statutes enacted before 1327 were known as the *vetera statuta* or 'old statutes'. The second of the two volumes mentioned here is obviously a manuscript collection of the 'new' (or post-1327) statutes.

[20, 21] Item a boke Called the Regestyr. Item an other w<sup>t</sup> bredes called ye Registre

Registers of writs, useful tools of a late medieval lawyer.

[22] Item a boke of the old Statutes

[23] Item a boke in parchemyn of Syses

Perhaps a lawyer's Year Book, and possibly one of the manuscript sources for or otherwise related to later printed abridgements (STC 9603, 9599, 23238). A Gloucestershire gentleman of the mid-fifteenth century is known to have died the owner of two 'books of assizes', one of paper and the other of parchment.<sup>31</sup>

[24] Item a boke in paper of yeres and termys

[25] Item an other boke in papyr of dyuerse yeres

This and the preceding volume must have been Year Books. Contemporaries used the terms 'books of years' and 'books of terms' to describe the Year Books, probably because they were compiled from small gatherings containing the reports of one or more terms. The unit of circulation among lawyers was perhaps a single year's reports.<sup>32</sup>

[26] Item a Rede boke of parchemyne and papyr

[27, 28, 29] Item iij bokes of Statutes of the lytyl taly w<sup>t</sup> bredes

A mystery. Perhaps copies of regulations or ordinances relating to the Exchequer of Receipt?

[30, 31] Item ij bokes of parchemyn old of the gret charter any<sup>e</sup> other of Statutes

[32] Item j [lit] whyt boke of papyr

[33, 34] Item j [litil] boke rede of the Statutes Item an other lityl boke blak of the Statutes

[35] Item a boke of kyng edward ye iij<sup>d</sup> in parchemyn and kyng herry ye iij<sup>th</sup> in papyr

If this refers to a single volume, it is an example of parchment and paper folios bound together, a common practice throughout the sixteenth century. At least two Year

<sup>31</sup> W. S. Holdsworth, *Sources and Literature of English Law* (Oxford, 1925), p. 105; *Year Books of Edward II. 4 Edward II*, edited by G. J. Turner, Selden Society, 26 (1911), p. lxiv.

<sup>32</sup> *Year Books of Edward II*, pp. lxii–iii; A. W. B. Simpson, 'The Circulation of Year Books in the Fifteenth Century', *Law Quarterly Review*, 73 (1957), 492–505 (p. 493).

Books are indicated here. There are several manuscript Year Books for the reigns of Edward III and Henry IV still extant.<sup>33</sup>

[36] . . . statutes enprinted of k Edward k Richard k herry 7 herry 7 Edward  
Probably *Nova statuta*, De Machlinea, c. 1485 (STC 9264), since the list made by Townshend's son, noted in the introduction above, includes a printed edition of the new statutes.

[The lower inner corner of the leaf on which the inventory is written has been torn away, but the list continues with at least five more volumes, one of which was obviously not a law book:]

[37] . . . taly of papyr

[36] . . . er taly of papyr

[37] . . . of kyng Alexander

The Alexander romances were a popular medieval genre. Townshend's version is impossible to identify, but may have been the vernacular *Kyng Alisaunder*, composed in the fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

[38] . . . br nobissimis

[39] . . . in papyr the curyng<sup>35</sup> parchemyn

[The five books not in the inventory but noted later by Townshend's heir were:]

[40] a life of Christ

Perhaps (i) *Speculum vitae Christi*, attributed to St Bonaventura and translated into English by Nicholas Love. Love's work was licensed by Archbishop Arundel for reading by the devout laity and to the confutation of heretics and Lollards.<sup>36</sup> If printed, this copy would have had to have been one of two editions brought out by Caxton in 1484 and 1490 (STC 3259–60). However, there were also various Latin editions printed on the Continent before Townshend's death (Goff, B893–96); or (ii) *Vita Christi*, Ludolphus de Saxonia (Goff, L337–45).

[41] a life of St Blaise

Unidentifiable, but St Blaise, a highly venerated martyr of the Church, was one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a group of saints which enjoyed a collective cult in the late medieval Rhineland. Canterbury claimed relics of him and at least four miracles

<sup>33</sup> Jayne, p. 30; J. Nicholson, *A Register of Manuscripts and Printed Year Books Extant* (London, 1956).

<sup>34</sup> *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, 1, edited by J. Burke Severs (New Haven, Conn., 1967), 104–11.

<sup>35</sup> i.e., protection or covering.

<sup>36</sup> H. S. Bennett, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1947), p. 180n.

were recorded at his shrine, one in 1451. He was the patron saint of woolcombers, which is appropriate since the Townshends were substantial sheep farmers.<sup>37</sup>

[42] *Fasciculus temporum*

A printed work, being an edition of the very popular summary of world history compiled by Werner Rolewinck, the Cologne Carthusian. It spanned the period from the Creation to 1474 when the first edition was printed and later editions brought it further up to date.<sup>38</sup> Townshend's copy could have been any one of the numerous editions printed on the Continent between 1474 and his death (Hain, 6918–37; Goff, R253–82).

[43] a volume containing *De Regimine Principum* (Aegidius Columna, of Rome).

Townshend's copy of Giles of Rome's didactic work on conduct was probably a manuscript version of Thomas Hoccleve's English translation, c. 1411–12. If printed, it might have been one of two Latin editions printed on the Continent in 1473 and 1482 (GW, 7217–18).

[44] a book of religious treatises, of which the incipit was 'Racio veneni potissime convenit peccato'

*De venenis*: a treatise on poison which enjoyed some popularity in later medieval England. This was commonly ascribed to Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, but the real author was probably Malachy, an Irish Franciscan of the early fourteenth century.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, second edition (Oxford, 1987), pp. 48–49; K. J. Allison, 'Flock Management in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Economic History Review*, second series, 9 (1958–59), 98–112.

<sup>38</sup> M. B. Stillwell, 'The Fasciculus Temporum. A Genealogical Survey of Editions Before 1480', in *Bibliographical Essays. A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*, edited by G. P. Winship (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 409–40.

<sup>39</sup> *Index Britanniae Scriptorum, John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers*, edited by R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1902), p. 372; *Initia latinorum quae saeculis XIII. XIV. XV. attribuuntur*, edited by A. G. Little (Manchester, 1904), p. 212; *Initia operum scriptorum latinorum medii postissimum aevi*, edited by B. Hauréau, 8 vols (Turnhout, 1974), v; S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 268; M. Esposito, 'Friar Malachy of Ireland', *English Historical Review*, 33 (1918), 359–66.