

RICARDIAN REGISTER

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Lewis E 201 Chronicle of the History of the World from Creation to Woden

In this issue:

A Labor of Love: The Edward IV Roll Digital Mappa Project, Part One

A Theory Refuted: Niclas von Popplau's Diary Entries Explained

Portrait of Juana of Castile: Part 4: Speculation

Inside Cover

Not printed

In This Issue

A Labor of Love: The Edward IV Roll Digital Mappa Project—Part One	2
Project Background	2
Lewis E 201 Chronicle of the History of the World from Creation to Woden, with a Genealogy of Edward IV	6
Transcription & Translation Practices	7
Introductory Text and Roundels	8
Prologue	12
The Discovery & Settlement of Albion by Albina & Her Sisters	14
Ages of the World	20
Post-diluvian Geography and Noah's Descendants	22
Annotations to Equestrian Portrait of Edward IV	32
Annotations to Shields & Banners	34
Annotations to Badges & Motifs	38
Medieval Manuscripts in the New World	43
A Theory Refuted: Niclas von Popplau's Diary Entries Explained	44
Portrait of Juana of Castile: Part 4: Speculation	47
Reviews	52
2025 Winter/Spring Lectures	58
Article Submission Guidelines	59
Ricardian Register Ad Policy and Submission Guidelines	59
Board, Staff, and Chapter Contacts	60
Membership Application & Renewal Form	61
Medieval Manuscripts in the New World (back cover)	64

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A Labor of Love: The Edward IV Roll Digital Mappa Project—Part One

Project Background

Susan Troxell

As chair of the Richard III Society-American Branch, I am so very proud to introduce this project to our members and colleagues in America and overseas. What follows is the result of a labor of love that spans decades, beginning with an adolescent who found herself in the Rare Book Department at the Free Library of Philadelphia. The girl, already a budding Ricardian researcher, was poring over a first edition of Horace Walpole's *Historic Doubts*, when a kindly curator thought to encourage her by showing her something very special. It was an ancient scroll, over half a millennium old, and had the most fantastical calligraphy and drawings in bright colors. The scroll seemed like something out of J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*.

That adolescent was Laura Blanchard, future interim chair of the American Branch, and the scroll was MS Lewis E201, known by such names as the "Edward IV Coronation Roll" or "Chronicle of the World from Creation to Woden, with a Genealogy of Edward IV". The magnificent manuscript left an indelible influence on Laura's love for history, motivating her to learn more about the Wars of the Roses and to join the Society. Meanwhile, the Edward IV Roll was the subject of intense fascination and scrutiny by medieval historians, so when R.A. Griffiths came to Philadelphia to study the scroll in 1993, Laura jumped at the opportunity to arrange for him to give a talk about it to her local chapter.

Ever since, the American Branch has had a close interest in the Edward IV Roll, including sponsoring its extensive restoration and conservation to prepare it for exhibition in 2001 at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The conservation process took years to complete, as the manuscript was horribly dirty and curled; a full description of the fascinating process can be found on the American Branch's website (<https://r3.org/edwardiv-roll/>) which has an extensive page dedicated to the Edward IV Roll. I especially would like to give credit to Cheryl Greer for the beautiful web design of this page, as well as the entire website. Cheryl has been our webmaster for several years and has contributed so much of her technical expertise and time to this project.

The project presented in this issue came to fruition after I asked Laura to have coffee with me in 2022. It was purely a social call, but we got to talking about the American Branch and all the developments following the discovery of Richard III's skeleton in 2012. Soon, our conversation turned to something we had both recently attended online - a presentation by the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies (SIMS) at the University of Pennsylvania about a new way to digitally map and present long scrolls that are otherwise so difficult to show using standard technology for codices, books, and folios. The technology, called Digital Mappa, is an open-access software application that allows digital images of manuscripts to be mapped out, and for online viewers to interact with them by clicking on areas of interest and pulling up transcriptions/translations of text or annotations giving contextual history. Laura and I saw the potential for making the Edward IV Roll broadly available beyond the walls of the Rare Book Department

at the Free Library. If this new technology were applied to it, then millions of other children, as well as adults, scholars, and researchers, could see and interact with the precious item no matter their location or circumstances - all it would take would be internet connection.

Two years after that fateful coffee in 2022 and thanks to funding from the American Branch, I can report that the Edward IV Roll has now been completely mapped using the Digital Mappa software, and it has been transcribed, translated, and annotated by a team of academic historians, doctoral students, and volunteers from the Branch. I am especially pleased to say that this work has been double checked, and improved, by multiple experts from the fields of manuscript studies and medieval history, heraldry, and literature. The peer review process is a critical component to historical scholarship and I strongly believe it further attests to the quality of the project paid for by the Branch. I am confident that this will be one of the Branch's greatest contributions to the study of Wars of the Roses history, and it reflects on a long tradition of scholarship which your membership helps to support.

This issue contains the transcription and translation of the main text appearing in roughly the top third of the scroll, identified as Sections 1 and 2 on the University of Pennsylvania's open-access repository of high-resolution archival digital images of the manuscript. Readers can find these digital images at https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis_e_201.html. Future issues of the *Ricardian Register* will have transcriptions and translations from the remaining parts. The roll itself is 16-foot long by 18-inches wide, and is loaded with text, Biblical images, heraldic symbols, and illustrations, and later, a very complicated family tree using color-coded lines of descent. The Yorkists used their family tree to show that they were the correct successors to Richard II, who had been overthrown in 1399 and probably murdered by the Lancastrian Henry of Bolingbroke, later Henry IV. Later this year, the Free Library of Philadelphia will have the entire project available to the public online, and we will notify members when that happens.

The Edward IV Roll is believed to have been created in the years immediately following Edward IV's coronation. It is a crown jewel of Yorkist political philosophy, reflecting a nation that had been torn apart by years of civil unrest over the question of "who deserves to be King of England?" Often this question was answered with armed conflict. But more often, the battle for the crown was waged with quills, ink, and vellum, in an effort to influence public opinion and make the case that it was Richard, third duke of York, and his son Edward, who deserved the throne and not the descendants of Henry IV. The sections presented here recount the history of how England had been first discovered by Princess Albina within the greater story of God's creation of the Earth as told in Genesis, and its first human inhabitants - Adam and Eve, Noah and his sons. At the very top of the roll, the Right Hand of God points at Edward IV, with banderoles in Latin saying that God ordained his kingship, and thus this destiny cannot be denied.

Following the transcriptions and translations, a series of Annotations are provided to help explain the major illustrations of this part of the roll, along with the heraldic shields, banners, and badges appearing therein.

I hope it is readily evident that this particular issue of the *Register* took more effort than usual, and I would be remiss not to mention the contributions of our erstwhile and diligent editor, Joan Szechtman, and our new incoming editor, Tara Kolden. If there is one overall strength to the American Branch, it must be that we have a seemingly bottomless well of volunteer resources and talent from which to draw. For this, I am deeply grateful.

Funding acknowledgments: this project was funded by a grant of \$10,000 from the Richard III Society-American Branch's Special Projects Fund, and a generous gift of \$1,000 from Laura Blanchard.

With deepest gratitude to all who contributed their time and effort, including Free Library curators H. Heaney, K. Lightner, C. Goodman, and K. Sunil. For their review of the heraldry and annotations: P.W. Hammond, G. Wheeler, and D. Grummit. For suggestions on further reading: R.A. Griffiths, J. Laynesmith and L. Melin. For quality control peer reviews on the transcription and translation: S. Drimmer and L.F. Davis. For digital mapping: Laura Blanchard, Cheryl Greer. For providing a host drive, building the Digital Mappa file, and serving as de facto project coordinator: Dot Porter at SIMS.

Penn team with top of roll

Penn Team L to R: Professor Emily Steiner, Ariel Bates, Noa Nikolsky, Emma Dyson



Photo taken by Susan Troxell

Full EIV roll, displayed on table



Photo taken by Laura Blanchard

Lewis E 201 Chronicle of the History of the World from Creation to Woden, with a Genealogy of Edward IV



Transcription & Translation Practices

Free Library Philadelphia MS Lewis E201

Transcribed & translated by Emma Dyson, Ariel Bates, Noa Nikolsky

Supervisor: Professor Emily Steiner, University of Pennsylvania

Transcription Practices: The following transcription emphasizes legibility. This entails a few important features of which the reader should be aware. First, abbreviations have been expanded without brackets, so that, for example, where the manuscript has *qd*, the transcription reads *quod*. We have forgone the use of brackets (e.g., *q[uo]d*) so that the text is more easily searchable. For example, a reader interested in Franks can search for the lexeme *Franc-* without having the results artificially lowered by the fact that words derived from this stem sometimes appear as *Fra[n]c*.

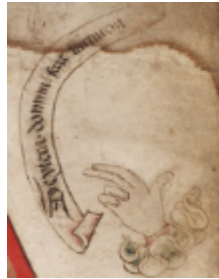
Modern punctuation has been added to the Latin. Capitalization has also been modernized, so that proper names are capitalized and common nouns, often capitalized in the manuscript, are made lowercase. Scribal errors, including errors in spelling, in mood and tense, and in subject-verb agreement, have not been corrected. Only occasionally, when an error obscures the sense, is there a note indicating the correct reading (e.g., *ianuit* as a scribal error for *genuit*). Otherwise, errors have been silently corrected in the translation (e.g., *Elizabeh* has been corrected to *Elizabeth*).

Medieval spelling has been preserved for expanded words, so that the diphthong appearing as *ae* in classical Latin appears here as *e*. Postpositive *que* has been kept as a separate word, as it appears in the manuscript. The abbreviation *xpi* has been transcribed as *as Cri*, the usual spelling of this manuscript when the word appears expanded. Consonantal *u* has been transcribed as *v*. Tironian *et* remains *&* in the transcription. Lineation has been preserved except in the case of small genealogical boxes.--*E.D.*, *A.B.*, *N.N.*

Translator's Note: Every translation is an interpretation. While there is less interpretive work involved in the translation of genealogical texts than there is in more literary ones, there are still, as always, choices to be made. I have made the choice to preserve, to the extent possible, the relative naturalness of the Latin text by adhering to English idiom. To this end, I have occasionally deviated from the grammatical forms of the Latin in the English translation and supplemented the Latin through the addition of personal pronouns (which Latin, unlike English, often leaves implied). Just as a fluent reader of Latin would have read this roll with ease, a reader of the English translation should be able to read it with that same ease—and not with the sense that he or she is reading a crib.

Because the scribes of the Lewis roll were working against the constraints of space on expensive vellum, and because they were following conventions of abbreviation for this kind of writing, the syntax of their Latin tends to be clipped. Often, especially in the genealogical boxes, verbs (especially the verb "to be") are omitted. I generally supply the verb, for two reasons: first, the omission of "to be" in Latin is less awkward than it is in English, with adjectival endings making the subject-predicate connection clear; second, the syntax of the genealogical box for Vortigern indicates that a verb should be supplied in these cases. But as much as I have tried to render the spirit, and not the letter, of the Latin original in the English translation, any reader wishing to make an argument about the text's literary qualities is advised, as with any text, to consult the transcription.--*E.D.*

Introductory Text and Roundels



Transcription

Translation

Dextera Domini fecit virtutem

The right hand of the Lord gives strength.

Si deus nobiscum // Quis contra nos?

If God is with us // who is against us?

a Domino factum est istud

This was done by God

in principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud Deum & Deus erat verbum hoc erat in principio

In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word. This was in the beginning.



ego sum alpha et omega dicit
Dominus Deus omnipotens

I am the alpha and the omega,
says the omnipotent Lord God.



prothoplaustus Adam & Eva
dixit eternus ad veterem Deus ad
serpentem, "inimicicias ponam
inter te et mulierem. ipsa conteret
caput tuum."

First-made man Adam and Eve.
The eternal God said to the ancient
serpent, "I will put enmities
between you and the woman. She
will crush your head."



Edward IV Roll, upper third part; Prologue and Princess Albina story in (L) column; and the Ages of Man and Post-Diluvian Geography in the (R) column

In principio
 creavit Deus celum et terram
 et omnia que in eis sunt. sexto
 autem die a creatione mundi factus
 fuit prothoplaustus Adam etc.
 et quia non solum audiendis
 sacre scripture verbis aurem cedulus
 auditor accomodare tenetur verum
 etiam noscendis priorum gestis
 (nostrae sc. gentis virorum) illustris-
 simi curam vigilanter impendere,
 ut de bonis bona referat imitanda
 et de malis que noxia sunt atque
 perversa
 devitando relinquat. idcirco nomina
 et gesta regum istius regni casus
 que notabiles qui eorum temporibus con-
 tigerunt sub brevi loquio et hoc bre-
 viario congregare propono. et quia
 Albion ab Albina primitus erat
 denominata ideo que fuerat hec
 Albina qualiter et quo tempore istam
 terram intraverit manifestare curabo.
 et quoniam secundum cronica
 Brutus hanc terram ante adventum
 Cristi intravit anno millesimo C^o
 xxxvj^o et Albina cum sua prole
 gigantea terram hanc possedit ante
 adventum Bruti per CClx annos li-
 quot, manifeste Albinam hanc terram
 intrasse ante Cristi adventum anno
 m^o CCC lxxxvj et anno ab origi-
 ne mundi m^o m^o m^o D CCC, sub
 tertia
 mundi etate, tempore Delbore et
 Barat, iudicium Israel.

In the beginning,
 God created the sky and the earth
 and everything that is in them. And on
 the sixth day from the creation of the
 world, Adam, the first-made man, was
 created etc.
 And because the attentive listener
 must give ear not only to hearing the
 words of the sacred scripture but also
 to knowing the actions of illustrious
 men of old, especially those of our
 nation, [the history] takes diligent care
 to relate the good deeds of good men
 so that they may be imitated, and
 concerning the harmful and bad
 deeds of evil men, [the reader] may
 avoid them. Therefore I propose to
 compile in this brief discourse the
 names and deeds of the kings of this
 kingdom and the notable events that
 happened during their times. And
 because Albion was first named after
 Albina,
 I will take care to show who this
 Albina was and how and when she
 came to this land. And because,
 according to the chronicles, Brutus
 came to this land in the year 1136
 before the coming of Christ and
 Albina, along with her giant offspring,
 had control over this land before the
 arrival of Brutus for some 260 years,
 clearly Albina came to this land in the
 year 1396 before the coming of
 Christ, and in the year 3800 from the
 beginning of the world, in the third
 age of the world, in the time of
 Deborah and Barak, the judges of
 Israel.

The Discovery & Settlement of Albion by Albina & Her Sisters



Transcription

igitur ut predictum est a mundi constitutione m^al^a m^al^a m^al^a D CCC annos, sub tertia mundi etate. fuit quidam rex Grece qui xxx^as^a ex regina sua habebat filias, omnes que vacca natura etate famosis regibus nupte. cum ergo fuissent single sic in reginas promote, quadam vice convenerunt in unum. et quia tanti regis filie erant qui nullius domini subderetur, concilium invenerunt ut nulla earum maritum suum sibi sui eret dominari. et ad tam ardue rei propositum assequendum iuramentis se similiter astrinxerunt: quod quilibet virum ad certum diem interficeret inter amplexus nisi femine voluntati in omnibus obediret. uni tamen earum, omni scilicet iuniori, hoc consilium displicuit eo quod dominum suum effectuose diligeret, que tamen propter metum mortis ore set non corde concessit. hec ad regem maritum suum veniens amarissime flere cepit et procedens ad pedes eius eo quod in necem eius cum sororibus coniu-raverat manum humilime postulavit. quam rex fletu perfusam levavit amplexatus que osculatus est eam. que consolatione recepta ad regem patrem suum cum marito perrexit et ei sororiam prodicionem detexit. unde rex stupefactus ad reliquas filias et ad earum maritos ut quanto tocius ad se venirent imperavit. omnibus congregatis sic rex prodicionem suis filiabus obiecit ante factum negantibus. rex prudens prudenti eas examinatione. iunior filia a malignitate excusata capte igitur & in custodia sunt detruse donec a patre et maritis earum quid de eis fieret tractaretur. tandem filie nobilissime regis erant et nobilium regum sponte considera-

Translation

There had passed, then, as has been said, 3,800 years from the creation of the world, [and it was] the third age of the world. There was a certain king of Greece who had thirty daughters from his queen. All of them, when they came of age, were married to famous kings. And when they had each been promoted to queen in this way, at a certain time they came together. And because they were the daughters of a king so great as to be subject to no master, they devised a plan that none of them would allow her husband to have sovereignty over her. And they bound themselves with common oaths to accomplish the plan of such a difficult task: that on a certain day, they would all kill their husbands in an embrace if they didn't submit to their wives' will in all things. One of them, however—the youngest of them all—disliked this plan, because she sincerely loved her husband. She nevertheless consented with her words but not in her heart. She went to her husband the king, began to weep most bitterly, and, falling to his feet, asked most humbly for his hand, because she had sworn with her sisters to kill him. The king lifted her up, covered with tears, and hugged her and kissed her. She was consoled and went to her father the king with her husband, and she revealed her sisters' treachery to him. At this the king, shocked, commanded that the rest of his daughters and their husbands come to him as quickly as possible. When they had all convened in this way, the king reproached his daughters with their treachery, though they denied the deed. The prudent king, having performed a prudent examination, [convicted] them. The



tum est ut non vili morte perirent
set in nauem grandem omnes
pariter mitterentur marinis fluctibus
et fortune sine gubernaculo exponendo.
quo facto mare turbabant, flutus na-
vem iactabant, et navis nunc alta nunc
yma petente in magnis periculis miserie
femine versabantur. diebus ac noctibus
sic
metu mortis effecte et cruciatu famis
afflicte. tandem non valens subistere
deciderunt et per tres dies & noctes
tamquam
mortue iacuerunt. interea navis illa fla-
tibus & fluctibus agitata ad terram nullo
tunc nomine nuncupatam quia a nemine in-
habitatam applicuit. nam igitur
quiescente
in sicco evigalaverunt quasi de gravi
somp-
no sorores de navi cum gaudeo
exeuntes in-
cipientes a seniore Albina nomine
nuncupa-
ta, ex cuius nomine Albion nomen cepit.
et quia cibus eis deerat nutritivus,
fecerunt
tendiculas virgeas quibus invicem coma-
datis feras caperent et tenerent. capta
sic venationem excoarunt ex extracto
de celice igne in coriis earundem coc-
terunt aves que ad prunas torrebant.
cumque talibus cibariis refocillate
vires recuperant amissas, ceperunt
colore accendi vinerio et carnis titil-
lacione urgeri. quod demones mor-
bi perpendentes assumptis hominum
formis op-
presserunt easdem. non tamen homines vi-
derunt, set opus virile sencerunt. qui-
libet igitur concepit & peperit partum
scilicet
gigantem. et cum gigantes adoles-
cerent, matres de filiis, sorores de
fratribus genuerunt et repleverunt
hanc terram, eam pacifice possiden-
tes C C lx annis usque adventum
Britonum in eadem. qui ut
antea premititur hanc terram
intraverunt ante adventum Cristi
anno milleno centeno trice-
simosexto etc. nota hic ipsa generatio
non est virtus demonis set virtus
illius cuius semen fuit, unde fit genitus

youngest sister was excused from
wrongdoing. They were seized and
driven into prison while their father
and husbands considered what to do
with them. At last, because they were
daughters of a most noble king and
wives of noble kings, it was decided
that they should not die a lowly death
but that that they should all equally
be sent to the ocean's waves in a
great ship and exposed, without a
rudder, to fortune. When this was
done, [the winds] churned the sea
and the waves tossed the ship. And
as the ship went up one moment and
down the next, the miserable women
were driven through great dangers.
So were they made to fear death, day
and night; so were they afflicted by
torturous hunger. At last, unable to
withstand it, they fell (sc. in a faint)
and for three days and nights lay as if
dead. Meanwhile the ship, tossed by
wind and wave, came ashore at a
land that, because it was uninhabited,
had at that time no name. And when
it (sc. the ship) was resting in dry
land, the sisters woke up, as if from a
great sleep. Joyfully they left the ship,
beginning with the oldest, called
Albina; from her Albion took its name.
And because they lacked nourishing
food, they fashioned snares out of
twigs, weaving them so that they
could capture and hold animals.
When they had captured their game
in this way, they flayed it, drew fire
from flint and cooked the animals in
their hides, and roasted the fowl on
the coals. And once they had been
revived by this meal and had
recovered their strength, they began
to glow with arousal and to be driven
by fleshly desire. When the demons
of vice noticed this, they assumed the

non demonis set alicuius hominis
filius est ut plenius declaratur
per doctores. etc.

form of men and lay with them. [The women] did not, however, see the men, but they felt what a man does. So each of them conceived and gave birth to a giant. And when the giants came of age, the mothers produced children with their sons and the sisters with their brothers, and they populated this land. They occupied it peacefully for 260 years, up to the coming of the British, who, as was stated earlier, entered this land in the 1,136th year before the coming of Christ. Note here that procreation itself is not within the power of the demonic spirit but belongs to the person with the seed. For this reason the child is not a demon but the offspring of a man, as the physicians explain at greater length etc.



Ages of the World



Transcription

Prima etas
a creacione prothoplausti usque
ad Noe diluvium m^l m^l CC
quadraginta duos continens annos.
secunda a diluvio usque ad Abra-
ham continens DCCCC xlii^os^a
annos. tertia ab Abraham usque
ad David habens DCCCC xlii
annos. quarta a David usque
ad transmigracionem Babilonis
continens CCCC lxxxvj annos.
quinta a transmigracione Ba-
bilonis usque ad nativitatem
Cristi continens D lxxxvij
annos. sexta ab adventu Cristi
usque ad finem mundi. sic que
ab origine mundi usque adventum
Cristi fluxerunt anni quinque
millia C lxxxix, secundum
Orosium in libro de discrecionem
mundi. unde versus:
 quingentis decies cum
 bis centum minus uno
 anno de ab adam donec
 orbem caro factum.
iste sex etates sunt viventium.
septima est quiescentium, que
incipit a passione Domini. octava
erit resurgentium, que incipit a
die iudicii usque in sempiternum.
nota enim quod non dicuntur etates
propter numerum annorum scilicet mille-
narium, ut quidam volunt, set propter
quedam mirabilia que facta sunt
in quarumlibet initio.
nam in principio prime facta est
mundi constitucio. in principio secunde
mundi per diluvium purgacio.
in principio tercie contra origenale
peccatum instituta est circumcisio.
in principio quarte regum inunctio.
in principio quinte populi dei transmi-
gracio. in principio sexte Cristi incar-
nacio. in principio septime ianue
celestis apparicio. in principio octave
corporum resurrectio et universarum
remuneracio.

Translation

The first age, from the creation of the
first-made man up to Noah's flood,
containing 2,242 years.
The second, from the flood up to
Abraham, containing 942 years.
The third, from Abraham up to David,
having 942 years.
The fourth, from David up to the
Babylonian exile, containing 486
years.
The fifth, from the Babylonian exile
up to the birth of Christ, containing
587 years.
The sixth, from the coming of Christ
up to the end of the world.
Thus from the beginning of the world
up to the coming of Christ there have
flowed 5,199 years, as Orosius says
in his book on the division of the
world. From which come the lines:
 Five hundred times ten plus
 Twice one hundred minus one
 Year: from Adam until
 The word made flesh.
These six ages are the ages of the
living.
The seventh is the age of the dead,
which begins from the Lord's passion.
The eighth will be the age of the
resurrected, which begins from the
Day of Judgment and lasts forever.
Note, however, that they are not
called "ages" because of their
number of years, that is, millennia (as
some think), but because of certain
miracles that were completed in the
beginning of each one.
For in the beginning of the first age,
the world was created. In the
beginning of the second age, the
world was purged through a flood. In
the beginning of the third age,
circumcision was established against
original sin. In the beginning of the
fourth age, the Kings ruled. In the
beginning of the fifth age, God's
people were exiled. In the beginning
of the sixth age, the incarnation of
Christ. In the beginning of the
seventh age, the appearance of the
heavenly gate. In the beginning of the
eighth age, the resurrection of bodies
and recompense for all souls.

Post-diluvian Geography and Noah's Descendants



Transcription

Post diluvium
tribus filijs Noe orbem
terrarum parcientibus in tres
partes divisa est terra.

Asya Sem primogenitus
cessit, in qua quindecim provincie
sunt, scilicet India, Achoya,
Perthia, Siria, Persia,
Mediea, Mesopotania, Ca-
padosia, Palestina, Armea,
Celicia, Caldea, Syna,
Egiptus, Lisia.

Cam vero Affrica, in qua duo-
decim provincie sunt, scilicet Libia,
Sirme, Pentapolis, Ethio-
pia, Terpolitana, Bisan-
cia, Gethulia, Rathmbria
Numdia, Samaria, Sir-
thes maioris & minoris.

Japhet vero Eropia, in qua quatu-
ordicim provincie sunt, silicet
Italia, Roma, Calabria, His-
pania, Alemania, Mercedo-
nia, Trachia, Dalmacia,
Pannonia, Coloma,
Gallia, Aquietania,
Anglia, Hibernia aquil-
lonoria infra occianum.
memorandum quod Janus fuit primus
rex Latinorum in Italia & post
ipsum regnavit Saturnus.
post regnavit Piens et post
Faunus & post Latinus, et
post destructionem Troye
Eneas. Troianus fuit & rex
Latinorum, autor gentis Romanorum.
& post ipsum Ascanius, filius eius,
et post ipsum Silivius Postumus,

Translation

After the flood,
the land was divided into
three parts for the
three sons of Noah who partitioned the
globe.

Shem, the firstborn, went to Asia,
which contains fifteen provinces, that
is,
India, Achoya,
Parthia, Syria, Persia,
Media, Mesopotamia, Cappadocia,
Palestine, Armenia,
Cilicia, Chaldea, Sinai,
Egypt, and Lycia.

Cam went to Africa, in which there are
twelve provinces, that is, Libya, Sirme,
Pentapolis, Ethiopia, Terpolitana,
Byzantia, Gaetulia, Rathmbria,
Numidia, Samaria, and greater and
lesser Sirthes.

Japhet went to Europe, in which there
are fourteen provinces, that is,
Italy, Rome, Calabria, Spain,
Germany, Mercedonia,
Thrace, Dalmatia,
Pannonia, Coloma,
Gaul, Aquitaine,
England, and Ireland in the north,
below the ocean.
It should be remarked that Janus was
the first
king of the Latins in Italy, and after
him Saturn reigned.
Next Picus reigned, and then
Faunus, and then Latinus; and after
the destruction of Troy,



frater dicti Ascanii et pater
 Bruti, & post regnavit dictus
 Brutus, rex Latinorum, filius
 Silvii predicti. qui quidem Brutus
 matrem nascendo vitam priva-
 vit et patrem suum nesciens
 sagitta peremit, qua propter exulatus
 ab Italia etc. et pervenit ad
 Albion & appellavit regnum
 Britaniam quod nunc vocatum
 est Anglia, ut postmodum apparet.
 notandum est quod Charsis, secundus
 filius Joban quidem filiorum, cuius
 linealiter de eodem genere procedant suc-
 cessive in Saxonia scilicet non reges
 sed
 domini vocabantur secundum modum
 illius patrie
 usque ad Woden et Freolaph,
 uxor sua, hic inferius plenius declaratur,
 scilicet **Bedigens, Guala, Hadra,**
Stermodius, Steph, Steldinus,
Boderinus, Suethedus, Godulphus,
Fyminis, Frudilatus, Fridewaldus,
Godelius, Beldegeus, Beymundus,
Fridegurnis, Frigewinus, Gywis,
Eslius, Elesius, Cealinus, Guda,
Gewaldus, Kenardus, Inglis,
Oppa, Caphe, Gethas, alias Getha,
Folwall, Folewaldus, Fym,
Fredulphe, pater Woden inferius.

Aeneas. He was a Trojan and king of
 the Latins, the originator of the
 Roman people.
 And after him, Ascanius, his son. And
 after him, Silvius Postumus, the
 brother of the aforementioned
 Ascanius and father of Brutus. And
 next reigned the aforementioned
 Brutus, king of the Latins, son of the
 aforementioned Silvius. This Brutus
 took his mother's life during his birth,
 and he accidentally killed his father
 with an arrow. For this reason he
 [was] exiled from Italy. And he came
 to Albion and called the kingdom
 Britain, which is now called England,
 as will be clear shortly.
 It should be noted that Charsis, the
 second of the sons of Joban, whose
 lineal succession in the Saxon land
 proceeds from the same line, [they]
 were not called "kings," but "lords,"
 after the manner of his [?], up to
 Woden and Freolaph, his wife, as is
 stated at greater length below.
 Namely: **Bedigens, Guala, Hadra,**
Stermodius, Steph, Steldinus,
Boderinus, Suethedus, Godulphus,
Fyminis, Frudilatus, Fridewaldus,
Godelius, Beldegeus, Beymundus,
Fridegurnis, Frigewinus, Gywis,
Eslius, Elesius, Cealinus, Guda,
Gewaldus, Kenardus, Inglis, Oppa,
Caphe, Gethas, otherwise known as
Getha, Folwall, Folewaldus, Fym,
Fredulphe, the father of Woden,
below.



Noe post diluvium vixit CCC 50 annos.
mortuus et sepultus est in Phaleth.

Archa Noe
Hominum et avium
Micium
Immicium
Apothecaria
Hostium
Stertura
fenestra

After the flood, Noah lived for 350 years. He died and was buried in Phaleth.

Noah's ark
People and birds
Tame animals
Wild animals
Storeroom
Hostile animals
Dung room
Window



The Creation

Roundel, ink on gold leaf, depicting God in majesty at the moment of creation. The sunburst behind him is an uns subtle reminder that the sun-in-splendour was one of Edward IV's badges. The text surrounding the roundel reads: ego sum alpha et o[mega] dicit Dominus Deus omnipotens (I am the alpha and the omega, says the omnipotent Lord God).



The Temptation in the Garden

Roundel depicting Adam, Eve, and the serpent in the Garden of Eden. Four rivers flow from a central fountain. Adam and Eve have clothed their nakedness with leaves. The serpent, apple in hand, is about to plunge into a pit. Text surrounding the roundel reads: dixit eternus ad veterem Deus ad serpentem, "inimicicias ponam inter te et mulierem. ipsa conteret caput tuum" (the eternal god said to the ancient serpent, "I will put enmities between you and the woman. She will crush your head"). The text may have come from a sermon of Fulbert of Chartres: <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/sanctoral/a124> [accessed January 10, 2025]



The sons of Adam & Eve

The three roundels below the Fall of Man portray the three sons of Adam:

- The firstborn, Cain, who murdered his brother Abel because God found Abel's sacrifice more pleasing than Cain's
- The second son, Abel
- The third son, Seth, conceived following the death of Abel; Eve believed him to be a replacement for Abel.

The story of Cain and Abel, and the descent from Seth to Noah, is told in Genesis 4 and 5.

A text block lists the descendents of Seth:

Enos, Caman, Malaleel,
Jared, Enoch, Mathsale [Methuselah]

The next generation is Lameth, father of Noah, including a roundel with a half-portrait of Lameth.

Noah's Ark

The ark carries Noah, his children, and their wives. The raven departs and the dove returns, bearing an olive branch.

Rondel text surrounding the illustration:

Noe post diluvium vixit CCC 50 annos. mortuus et sepultus est in Phaleth. (After the flood, Noah lived for 350 years. He died and was buried in Phaleth.)

The ship's superstructure is divided into rooms for the housing of creatures, supplies, and other materials, which have been labeled:

- Archa Noe (Noah's ark)
- Hominum et avium (people and birds)
- Micum (tame animals)
- Immicium (wild animals)
- Apothecaria (storeroom)
- Hostium (hostile animals)
- Stertura (dung room)
- Fenestra (window)

For the labels apothecaria, hostium, and stercuria, the original red labeling has worn off and another medieval hand has added new annotations in black for clarity.



Descendants of Noah

These seven roundels identify the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of Noah, indicating their respective kingdoms (which are also displayed on the tau map to the right).

The British descent (below, left, green) is linked to Cethim and the Saxon descent (below, right, yellow/brown) to Charsis. There does not appear to be a link to the French line.

- SEM, rex Assie (Sem, king of Asia)
- CHAM, rex Affrice (Ham, king of Africa)
- IAPHET, rex Eropie (Japheth, king of Europe)
- CETHIM, Primus filius dicti Joban qui linialiter de eo succedunt et hic inferius patet etc.
- (Cethim, the first son of the aforementioned Joban. Those who descend lineally from him, as is clear here below etc.)
- IOBAN, alias Ionan, pater istorum duorum filiorum (Joban, otherwise known as Jonan, father of these two sons.)
- CHARSIS secundus filius dicti Joban qui linialiter de eo succedunt ut predictum est et inferius patet, etc. (Charsis, second son of the said Joban. Those who descend lineally from him, as has been said above and is clear below, etc.)



Annotations to Equestrian Portrait of Edward IV

Annotations written by Susan Troxell with support from Laura Blanchard.



Equestrian Portrait of Edward IV

Edward IV, in full armor and carrying a sword, wears a closed crown, signifying his sovereignty over the kingdoms of England, France, and Castile & Leon. His horse's caparison shows the quartered arms of these three countries, with a central shield bearing the arms of Brutus, the great-grandson of Aeneas and legendary founder of Britain. The crowned shield to the left of Edward is the fleur-de-lis of the kingdom of France while that to the right is the castle and lion of the kingdom of Castile & Leon. To the left and right are depictions of the hand of God himself, with banderoles pronouncing that Edward IV has been made king by divine right and intercession. Some of the text in this portrait is repeated in the culminating summary of Edward IV's claim to be rightful king, as depicted in Section 7 at the bottom of the roll.

Text in the Portrait:

Under the shields of France and Castile & Leon: *Si deus pro nobis / Quis contra nos* (if God is with us, who can be against us?) [from Romans 8:31].

Divine hand emanating from nebula, pointing at King Edward, with banderoles saying: *Dextera Domini fecit virtutem* (The right hand of the Lord gives strength) [from Vulgate Psalm 117:16] This Bible verse was used in the Offertory on Easter Vigil, Maundy Thursday, and the third Sunday after Epiphany.

Under the horse: *A domino factum est istud* (This was done by the Lord) [from Vulgate Psalm 117:23: This was done by the Lord, and it is marvellous to our eyes]. J.L. Laynesmith observes that the preceding verse says: "The stone which the builders rejected; the same is become the head of the corner." Laynesmith and others see this as a pointed reminder to readers that the third duke of York's entitlement to the crown had been rejected, but now undergirds the new regime.

The genealogy in this roll reinforces such a viewpoint, because it presents the third duke's family tree rather than Edward IV's, there being a noticeable absence of the king's maternal Neville and Beaufort heritage.

Heraldry:

Royal arms of England, quartered with Castile & Leon, shield of Brutus in escutcheon. As demonstrated in the roll's genealogical lines, Edward IV claims to be descended from Brutus, King Arthur, and Cadwallader through his paternal grandmother Anne Mortimer. He also claims to be the senior heir to Richard II as great-grandson to both Lionel of Antwerp and Edmund of Langley. When returning from Ireland, Gregory's Chronicle notes that the third duke of York began using the undifferenced English royal arms for himself, explicitly claiming the throne by doing so. The royal arms are quartered with France, with this roll reinforcing the argument that the Valois kings of France are all illegitimate usurpers.

Brutus' coat of arms, as seen in the central shield of the horse trapper, was a creation of medieval heralds and derives from his mythical role in conquering the indigenous giants of Albion isle as well as giving it a name - Britain. Two early accounts of Brutus' arrival to England were given in Nennius' ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* (History of the Britons) and Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *Historia Regum Britanniae* (History of the Kings of Britain); the story continued to be very popular into the fifteenth century. According to tradition, Brutus had three sons: Locrinus, Kamber, and Albanactus. Each went on to found their own kingdoms in England, Wales, and Scotland respectively, hence the three crowns on Brutus' heraldic shield. The genealogy laid out in this manuscript makes a great effort to show that Edward IV, unlike previous kings of England, could claim a direct descent from Brutus through his paternal grandmother's Mortimer ancestry. J.L. Laynesmith, "Anne Mortimer's Legacy to the House of York," in *The Mortimers of Wigmore 1066-1485: Dynasty of Destiny*, eds. P. Dryburgh and P. Hume (Eardisley, 2023). Brutus' shield of arms is also presented in this roll as impaled with that of his wife Innogen, daughter of the Greek king, Pandrasus, another pseudo-historical character. Association with Brutus gave Edward IV not only an aura of predestination and legitimacy, but also a convenient tool for asserting dynastic claims over Wales and Scotland.

By displaying the arms of Castile & Leon, Edward IV was asserting that he was king there too. The claim was part of a long-running dispute between the Houses of York and Lancaster, which came about because Duke John of Lancaster (d. 1399) and Duke Edmund of York (d. 1402) had married the daughters of Pedro I by his mistress Maria de Padilla. Duke John initially claimed title to the kingdom through his wife Constance as she was the older daughter of Pedro, but later assigned the claim to Juan I in the Treaty of Bayonne. The dukes of York protested on the basis that the treaty was made without regard to the rights of Pedro's other daughter Isabella, wife of Duke Edmund. Richard, third duke of York, also inclined to dynastic ambition abroad, apparently speculated about how he might exploit his claim in 1444. The genealogy laid out in this manuscript states: *In regno Hispanie, cum rex Petrus ad senectutem pervenit, quidam Henricus, frater eius bastardus, de regno illo ipsum Petrum deforciavit, a quo tempore omnes qui regnarunt ibidem coronam illam usurpant iniuste* (In the kingdom of Spain, when King Peter [Pedro] reached old age, a certain Henry [Enrique], his bastard brother, forced Peter from the kingdom. From this time forward, all who have reigned there have held the throne unjustly, as usurpers). Edward IV's title to Castile & Leon was recalled in verses and genealogies early in his reign, but in 1466-67 he made a final settlement conferring the title on Enrique IV. Doing so, King Edward created close relations between England and Castile & Leon, and alienated France from its long-standing alliance with that kingdom. A. Goodman & D. Morgan, "The Yorkist claim

to the throne of Castile”, *Journal of Medieval History* 11:1 (1985), pp. 61-69, [DOI: 10.1016/S0304-4181\(85\)80004-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181(85)80004-X) [accessed June 1, 2024]. For more on the claim to Castile see L. Visser-Fuchs, “Honour is the Reward of Virtue’: The Claudian Translation made for Richard, Duke of York, in 1445”, *The Ricardian* 18 (2008), pp. 66-82, and 74.

Armor Worn by Edward IV:

This striking portrait of Edward IV in full military dress or “harness” has provided useful information about the type of armor worn by elite men at the time. Dr Tobias Capwell, former curator at the Wallace Collection in London, describes the style of armor depicted here as “West European Fluted” style. It was probably Franco-Burgundian in origin, and could have been sold to Edward IV by any number of foreign armorers and armor dealers resident in and around London, especially Southwark. The West European Fluted style emerged in England in the mid-1450s and had a distinctive visual identity, the result of a fusion of diverse influences combining an Italianate cuirass, asymmetrical pauldrons, and a noticeable use of extensive fluting, cusping, and deep, raised ridges. Such decoration caught on quickly in England, and may have influenced the evolution of what Dr Capwell calls the “English domestic style”. From c.1455 onwards, fluting and cusping became essential characteristics of English armour until late in the century. T. Capwell, *Armour Of the English Knight: Continental Armour in England, 1435-1500* (London, 2022) pp. 6, 7, 222. Wearing such trendy armor put Edward IV in the vanguard of fashion and may have even helped popularize and influence the development of a unique English style.

Annotations to Shields & Banners

S[ancti] Georgii / Attributed arms of Saint George

Saint George was commonly represented in medieval art and became England’s patron saint in the fourteenth century. Edward IV and his parents, the duke and duchess of York, seem to have had a strong devotion to St George. Duke Richard (d. 1460) inserted a prayer to St George in his Book of Hours. A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III’s Books* (Stroud 1997), pp. 21-23. Edward IV’s brother George was probably named for this saint, and Duchess Cecily had a brother and nephew with the same name in her family. Perhaps more important was St George’s association with the Order of the Garter and Edward IV’s desire to emulate Edward III who founded St George’s Chapel at Windsor. Michael Jones notes the connection with the Order of the Garter and the banner of St George in this roll in his foreword to J. Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud 2002), pp. lx.



R[ex] Sebbe / Attributed arms of King Sæbbi

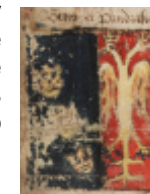
Sæbbi (also known as Saint Sebba or Sebba; before 626-695) was the joint King of Essex with his cousin from 664 to about 683 and sole ruler until 694. King Sæbbi’s deathbed vision of “three kings in bright garments”, as reported by Bede, may be interpreted as a foreshadowing of Edward IV’s vision of three suns at the battle of Mortimer’s Cross, or as a reference to the Three Kings, a popular cult of the fifteenth century. Edward’s father, Richard duke of York, included a prayer to the Three Kings in his book of hours. A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III’s Books* (Stroud 1997), p. 22. York’s possible personal devotion to the Three Kings may help to explain the prominence of Sæbbi’s banner in the manuscript.



King Sæbbi and Edward IV shared the trait of unusual height. When Sæbbi died, Bede reports, his sarcophagus was found to be too short. Edward IV was reputed to be 6’ 4”. C. Ross, *Edward IV* (Los Angeles 1974), p. 10. Michael Jones also notes the possible connection of the three suns of Mortimer’s Cross with Sæbbi’s vision (which he assigns to the Trinity) and comments that the issue of height is a “pleasing additional touch.” Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud 2002), p. lx.

Brutus et Pandrasus/ Attributed arms of Brutus impaled with Pandrasus

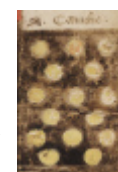
The twelfth-century pseudohistory of Geoffrey of Monmouth, widely used as a source for pedigrees and for popular histories such as *The Brut*, recounts the history of Aeneas after the fall of Troy, and the birth and exile of his descendant Brutus. It further recounts Brutus’s campaign against the Greek king Pandrasus, and his marriage to Pandrasus’ daughter Innogen after Brutus’ defeat of the Greeks. Brutus’ shield of arms is presented as impaled with those of his wife. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: an Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, tr. Neil Wright, ed. M. Reeve (Rochester, 2007). Online edition here: <https://d.lib.rochester.edu/crusades/text/historia-regum-britanniae.html>



D[ucatus] Cornubie/ Duchy of Cornwall

The duchy of Cornwall was created in 1337 by Edward III for his eldest son and heir, Edward the Black Prince. A charter ruled that each future duke of Cornwall would be the eldest surviving son of the monarch and the heir to the throne. Read more at the [Duchy of Cornwall website](https://www.duchyofcornwall.org/)

There existed the belief that the title of duke of Cornwall had more ancient origins. The genealogy in this manuscript identifies Garlois ducem Cornubie (Garlois duke of Cornwall) in the box for Uther Pendragon, who is said to have killed the duke of Cornwall, married the duke’s daughter Igernam (Igerna), and fathered King Arthur. A collection of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts (University of Chicago MS 224) similarly contains a genealogy that identifies King Arthur’s grandfather as the duke of Cornwall. The duke sired Ygraine who, being deceived by Uther Pendragon, conceived Arthur. The genealogy in MS 224 goes on to show that the Mortimers of Wigmore descended from Arthur and thus imagined themselves as blood relatives to the great British hero. This manuscript, too, draws on Edward IV’s pretense of being directly descended from King Arthur through his paternal grandmother Anne Mortimer, who could ostensibly trace her lineage to Arthur through Gwladys Ddu, wife of Ralph de Mortimer (d. 1246).



Cornwall itself was said to be founded by Corineus, a soldier who accompanied Brutus on his journey to Albion and who helped conquer it. He settled in Cornwall and made himself its first king. Geoffrey of Monmouth recounts a lively tale of Corineus battling and destroying the last surviving giant of Albion, Gogmagog. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: an Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, tr. Neil Wright, ed. M. Reeve (Rochester, 2007). Online edition here: <https://d.lib.rochester.edu/crusades/text/historia-regum-britanniae.html>

D[omini] Verdon / Lord Verdon

Theobald de Verdon, first Lord Verdon, was closely connected with the Mortimers, de Genevilles and Badlesmeres. His son Theobald married Matilda Mortimer (daughter of Edmund, second Baron Mortimer). The Verdon and the de Genevilles were early lords of Ludlow Castle, later a Mortimer stronghold.



D[omini] Lacy / Lord Lacy

Geoffrey de Geneville married Maud de Lacy, granddaughter of Walter de Lacy in 1252. Their heir was their grand-daughter Joan who married Roger Mortimer, the first earl of March. Trim, Denbigh, and Ludlow Castles were among the estates Edward IV inherited from his Lacy ancestors.



D[ucatus] Clare / Duchy of Clarence

The Clare estates came to the House of York through their Mortimer inheritance. Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress to the Honor of Clare, married Edward III's second son Lionel who was the first duke of Clarence. They bore one child, Philippa, who went on to marry Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March. Edmund and Philippa were the grandparents of Anne Mortimer, sole surviving heir to the Mortimer patrimony, who married Edward IV's grandfather Richard earl of Cambridge.



It is said that the ducal title was a punning reference to the character of Clarence in Arthurian literature. L. Carruthers, "The Duke of Clarence and the Earls of March: Garter Knights and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight", *Medium Ævum* 70 (2001), pp. 66-79.

Leycester / Leicester

While these arms are actually those of the Quincys (the first Quincy Earl of Winchester married an heiress of an early Earl of Leicester) they are also the attributed arms of one of the Beaumont Earls of Leicester. Hawise, daughter of Robert de Beaumont, the second earl of Leicester, married William, the second earl of Gloucester. Their daughter Isabella, countess of Gloucester, was briefly married to King John (later annulled), but had no heirs by any of her subsequent marriages. The earldom of Gloucester then passed to her nephew (son of her sister Amice) Gilbert de Clare (his father was Richard de Clare earl of Hertford). This is a connection through Richard duke of York's mother to Lionel duke of Clarence's wife.



D[omini] Bauslamer / Lord Badlesmer

The first baron Badlesmere married a de Clare (Margaret de Umfraville, a cousin of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester). Their daughter Elizabeth married Edmund Mortimer, eldest son of the notorious Roger, first earl of March. Following Edmund's death, she married William de Bohun, first earl of Northampton.



Hollandi co[m]es Cantae / Holland Earls of Kent

These appear to be the arms of Thomas Holland, second earl of Kent and son of Joan "the Fair Maid" of Kent. His daughter, also named Joan, married duke Edmund of York and became duchess of York. After the death of the Fair Maid's first husband, she married the Black Prince, Edward III's heir, and bore him one son, the future Richard II. The Hollands were thus step-siblings to the English king and the royal family.



Fetterlock – recurring motif



The fetterlock, a padlock-type of object used to secure a horse's leg, was a favorite heraldic badge of the dukes of York. The antiquarian Sir Henry Ellis (1777-1869) reportedly found a list of Richard, third duke of York's badges which he believed was made some time during the duke's life as it appeared to be written in a contemporary fifteenth-century hand:

"These ben the names of the lordships with the badges that pertaineth to the Duke of York:

1. The dukeship of York with the badges, ben the fawcon [falcon] and the fetterlock.
2. The badges that he beareth by Conysbrow [Conisbrough], ys the fawcon, with a maiden's head, and her hair hanging about her shoulders, with a crown about her neck.
3. The badges that he beareth by the Castle of Clifford is a white rose.
4. The badges that he beareth by the earldom of March is a white lion.
5. The badges that he beareth by the earldom of Ulster is a black dragon.
6. The badges that he beareth by King Edwrd III is a blue boar, with his tusks and his cleis and his members of gold.
7. The badges that he beareth by King Richard II is a white hart and the sun shining.
8. The badges that he beareth by the honour of Clare is a black bull, rough, his horns and cleys and his members of gold.
9. The badges that he beareth by the 'fair maid of Kent' is a white hind."

C. Halsted, *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England* (London: 1844), vol. 1, Appendix, 404-405, citing *Archaeologica*, vol. xvii p. 226, Oxford Bodleian Library Digby MS 28. Some historians accept this list with reservation as it is by an unknown person on an unknown date.

There is a line of thought that Edmund of Langley, first duke of York, adopted the fetterlock as a play on his birthplace of Langley. "Langelyn" was the Middle English equivalent to "bind together" and "langele" was reportedly still used in England's north country with the meaning to hobble, or fetter a horse. Thus the fetterlock might have been assumed to be a pun on the duke's birthplace. The same duke built Fotheringhay Castle on a ground plan mimicking the shape of this badge. Woodward's *Treatise on Heraldry* (Tuttle, 1969), citing *Promptorium Parvulorum Sive Clericorum Dictionarius Anglo-Latinus Princeps* (Westminster: Camden Society, 1865), p. 286, note 4.

Edward IV's father, the third duke of York, was especially fond of this badge and it can be seen in the fabric of collegiate churches for which he was patron. It appears in the choir-stalls of St. Laurence church in Ludlow and remnants from St Mary's & All Saints church in Fotheringhay, the two principal residences of the dukes of York. Some historians note that the image of the fetterlock changed when it was adopted by the third duke: whereas it was in the closed or locked position when used by the first duke, it was sometimes shown as opened or unlocked when used by the third duke. Some interpret this as an attempt to send a signal that the family's dynastic claims were now being activated and asserted by the third duke. J. Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 118-119. Edward IV assumed his father's fetterlock device upon the latter's death at the battle of Wakefield in 1460.

Many of the fetterlocks in this manuscript contain either one of two French words: *coumfort* and *lyesse*, referring to Edward IV's first known motto, *coumfort et lyesse* (comfort and joy), which is explained elsewhere in annotations to this roll.

White Rose / Rose-en-soleil– recurring motif, with and without barbs or motto



The white (or silver) five-petaled rose was a heraldic badge favored by Edward IV and came to symbolize the House of York. As we see in its repeated use in this manuscript, the rose was commonly shown en soleil or with golden sun rays emanating from the flower, the result of combining the rose badge with another of Edward IV's badges - the sun-in-splendor. There are many theories about the origins and associations of these popular images.

Edward IV was often referred to as a "fayre whyte ros" [fair white rose] or as the "rose of Rone" [rose of Rouen, Edward's birthplace], a theme that was maximized in celebratory verses such as *The Battle of Towton*:

"Now is the rose of Rone [Rouen] growen to a gret honoure
Therefore syng we everychone, I-blessid be that flowre!
I warne you everychone, for you shuld understonde,
There sprange a rose in Rone and spread into englonde
. . xvii thousand the rose kyld in the feld."

The chronicle previously thought to have been written by London mayor William Gregory (d. 1467) described Edward's coronation in June 1461, giving him the designation of "Rose King":

"The Rose came to London, full royally riding
Two archbishops of England they crowned the Rose King
Almighty Lord ! Save the Rose, and give him his blessing
And all the realm of England joy for his crowning
That we may bless the time that ever God spread the flower."

The preeminence of the rose badge can be seen in the wardrobe accounts of Edward IV where roses were embroidered on various household articles and items of clothing. *The Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York; Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth*, ed. N.H. Nicolas (London: 1972), pp. 117-19, 136-7, 143-44, 152. The royal window at Canterbury Cathedral shows Edward IV kneeling against a background powdered with white roses-en-soleil. Tomb effigies of Yorkist supporters show them livery wearing collars of roses and suns. M. Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales* (Boydell, 2016), 37-42. Fragments of glass from the York family's collegiate church at Fotheringhay also show the white rose and sunburst emblem, and roses are in evidence on the coinage and seals of the Yorkist kings. Laments for Edward IV written after his death in 1483 continued to use his heraldic badges of the rose and sun to characterize him. A. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, "[Laments for The Death of Edward IV](#)," *The Ricardian* 11:145 (June 1999), pp. 506-524.

There is evidence that other members of the House of York had used a rose emblem, some even before the throne was won. Edward, the second duke of York, used a diapered trellis with a rose filling each space. The 1437 seal of Richard, third duke of York, featured an ostrich plume with a double five-petalled rose on its stem; the funerary hearse made for his 1463 obit was powdered with silver roses and had a single, great gilded sun. P.W. Hammond, A. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, "The Reburial of Richard Duke of York," *The Ricardian* 10:127 (December 1994), pp. 122-165. Caroline Halsted in her book *Richard III* quotes a contemporary

source in Oxford Bodleian Library Digby MS 28 in which the writer reports Edward IV's father using a white rose by right of the lordship of Clifford castle and a "sun shining" by right of Richard II. C. Halsted, *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England* (London 1844), vol. 1, Appendix, 404-405. Enamelled white roses also figured amongst the jewels in the bridal crown of Edward IV's sister, Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy, which she gave as a votive offering to the Minster at Aachen, where it is still preserved.

While roses were common emblems in the late medieval age, many historians believe that the origins of the Yorkist white rose badge can be traced to the Mortimer family, a powerful marcher family in eastern Wales who used roses as symbolic devices. Looking at the Mortimer line of succession of red-outlined boxes in MS Lewis E201 (Sections 5-7, left margin), the first reference to a rose is with regard to Maude de Braose who married Roger Lord Mortimer in 1247. De Braose is called the *prima rosa* (first rose) in this genealogy. This might be creatively stretching the usage too far back. According to historians such as J.L. Laynesmith, it is probably more likely that the white rose was a badge associated with Clifford castle, which came to the Mortimer family's possession in 1330. The House of York acquired possession of Clifford castle in 1425, after the male Mortimer line died out and its ownership passed to Anne Mortimer. J. L. Laynesmith, "Anne Mortimer's Legacy to the House of York," in *The Mortimers of Wigmore 1066-1485: Dynasty of Destiny*, eds. P. Dryburgh and P. Hume (Eardisley, 2023).

Other historians suggest that the Mortimers adopted the rose badge as a way of showing their marriage into the royal family, as roses were also used by earlier Plantagenet monarchs such as Henry III's queen, Edward I, and Edward III. As MS Lewis E201 demonstrates, the Mortimer line married into the royal family on two significant occasions: the first time when Edmund Mortimer married Edward III's granddaughter Philippa in 1369, and the second time when Edmund's granddaughter Anne married Edward IV's grandfather Richard, earl of Cambridge, in 1408. This has led J. Ashdown-Hill, and others, to conclude that Edward IV's motivation for adopting the rose-en-soleil badge was to symbolically show himself the superior legitimate heir to the English and French crowns, by combining Richard II's sun badge with the Plantagenet-Mortimer rose. J. Ashdown-Hill, "The Red Rose of Lancaster?", *The Ricardian* 10 (June 1996): 406–420.

The Yorkist use of the rose was so pervasive that it evidently impressed Henry VII, the first Tudor king, as he soon adopted a red rose as a symbol for the House of Lancaster and a "Tudor Rose" combining the Yorkist white rose with the Lancastrian one, symbolizing his marriage to Edward IV's daughter and representing a final resolution to what Sir Walter Scott and later generations of historians would call the Wars of the Roses. S. Brooke, "Imagery, Iconography and Heraldry. The Marriage Bed of Henry VII & Elizabeth of York: Dynasty, Design & Descent," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 8, no. 3 (2022), pp. 79-122.

Note: the roses which appear to be dark gray or black in MS Lewis E201 were originally silver-gilt roses that have tarnished to a darker color over time.

Sun / Sun in Splendor



The shining sun, or sun-in-splendor, was a favorite heraldic badge of Edward IV, and appears repeatedly in this manuscript. It was frequently combined with a white rose to produce the rose-en-soleil - another of the king's favorite emblems. Like the Yorkist white rose, there are different theories about the origins and associations of the sun image.

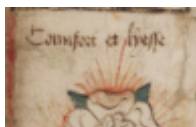
The sixteenth-century writer Edward Hall reported that Edward IV saw a [parhelion](#) of three suns on the eve before the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461 and adopted the sun as his badge at that moment. This is probably incorrect as Edward IV's father, Richard, the third duke of York, was already using the sun-in-splendor as one of his emblems in 1460, months before Mortimer's Cross. C. Halsted, *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England* (London: 1844), vol. 1, Appendix, pp. 404-405 (quoting notes made by Sir Henry Ellis in *Archaeologia*, vol. xvii, p. 226).

The shining sun was a badge used by earlier Plantagenet kings, Edward III and Richard II, and it is thought that Edward IV and his father adopted it as a way of promoting their claims to be the legitimate successors to the crowns of England and France. Their argument was that after Richard II's death in 1399, the crowns should have gone to their ancestor Roger Mortimer, the fourth earl of March and grandson of Edward III's second son Lionel of Antwerp. The box for Roger Mortimer on this genealogy states that he was next in line to the kingdoms of England and France, and had been declared heir throughout all of England. One of the symbols ascribed to him is the sun, which, along with the rooster and lion, adorned him with the symbols of popular political prophecies foretelling the return of the British (i.e. Welsh) kings to England's throne. The box for Richard, third duke of York, also ascribes him with the sun emblem, whereas the Lancastrian usurpers are designated with the symbols of bull, dog, mole, star, and fox. The funerary hearse made for the third duke's 1463 obit had a single, great gilded sun as well as a powdering of silver roses. P.W. Hammond, A. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, "The Reburial of Richard Duke of York," *The Ricardian* 10, no. 127 (December, 1994), pp. 122-165; J. Ashdown-Hill, "The Red Rose of Lancaster?", *The Ricardian* 10 (June, 1996), pp. 406–420; J. Ashdown-Hill, *The Wars of the Roses* (Amberley Publishing, 2015).

Jonathan Hughes sees in the sun-in-splendor badge several connections to the mysticism propounded by alchemists during Edward IV's lifetime, especially George Ripley. "In both the *Secreta secretorum* and the Ripley Scrolls there was plenty of material to bolster a usurpation, a change of dynasty, by a young man who identified himself with the sun and the white rose. The Ripley Scrolls would therefore soon be reapplied and adapted to Edward IV's arrival and their imagery was assimilated into genealogical histories to provide an alchemical rationale for the new reign." Hughes sees in this manuscript an attempt to integrate biblical prophecies with the events surrounding Edward IV's accession, and with Ripley's alchemical allegories of the birth of the sun king, who like the biblical prophets delivered his people from the "dark alembic" of civil war. J. Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 91-102. Hughes sees many similarities between MS Lewis E201 and the Ripley Scrolls.

Matthew Ward observes that, since ancient times, the sun had been associated with kingship, as seen in the practice of referring to the Roman emperor as "Sol invictus" or "unconquered sun". He is skeptical of the parhelion at Mortimer's Cross being the reason Edward IV adopted the sun as a badge, seeing it as a Tudor-period invention. M. Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales* (Boydell, 2016), pp. 37-42.

Counfort et lyesse



Edward IV's earliest known motto *Counfort et lyesse* (Comfort and joy) appears, in full or part, over forty times in this manuscript, often alongside the white rose-en-soleil emblem or inside the fetterlocks.

The position in England with regard to personal armorial bearings is that mottoes were not hereditary, and were simply a matter of personal preference or family tradition, with the exception that no one could adopt a motto that had already been appropriated by the sovereign or any order of knighthood (such as the famous motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense* adopted by the Order of the Garter). Origins of the motto as a personal device or insignia can be traced back to the heraldic badge, something used for personal and household purposes, and were often incorporated into architectural details or embroidered onto standards and banners. They are not to be confused with the "war cry" which has different origins and purposes. Many mottoes had religious connotations or were associated with a particular saint's veneration. A.C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York, 1978), pp. 448-452.

In his biography of Edward IV, Charles Ross examines the use of political propaganda by the House of York and its partisans. While the mythical descent of Edward IV from Brutus and Cadwallader is a component of many Yorkist propaganda pedigrees, including MS Lewis E201, Ross sees in these rolls a more conservative and legitimist tone, stressing the notion of the restoration of the right line of kings, the true heirs of Richard II. He mentions in particular a political poem from 1462 known as *A Political Retrospect* in which Edward is seen not only as the correct heir, but also a knight who has been favored by God in battle ("A great sign it is that God loveth that knight / For all those that would have destroyed him utterly / All they are mischievous and put to flight"). The verse develops the theme of the illegitimacy of the Lancastrian rule, with Henry VI's queen - Margaret of Anjou - attacked as a malicious woman ("And to destroy the Right line was her intent"). England had become a garden full of weeds: Edward of Rouen was "our comforter" who would "keep Justice and make weeds clear". C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp. 299-301, citing R.H. Robbins, *Historical Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (New York, 1959), pp. 221-226.

In addition to its use in this roll, Carolyn Donohue notes the early incorporation of Edward IV's "Comfort and joy" motto in town charters and letters patent as early as August 1461 with a charter to Canterbury in which the words were inscribed around the rim of a crown above the initial letter "E"; in a letter patent to Hull in July 1462; and in a charter to Doncaster in October 1467. C. Donohue, [Public Display and the Construction of Monarchy in Yorkist England 1461-85](#), Ph.D. thesis, University of York: September 2013, pp. 248-250. Donohue sees the motto as supporting Edward IV's campaign to pacify the kingdom and portray himself as peacekeeper, whereas the Lancastrians were said to have broken peace accords and to have prompted civil unrest and violence. As Donohue points out, Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, gave the official reason for Edward taking the crown in a letter of April 7, 1461 to the papal legate, stating that it was a reaction to the Lancastrians breaking the "treaty, peace and composition of the last Parliament."

While Ross and Donohue contextualize the motto in terms of Edward IV's desire to portray himself as both military defender of the realm and its peacekeeper, others see it in more general terms. Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs observe that it has messianic connotations with Edward IV being a savior to the kingdom, as the motto echoes the joy expressed by the angels at the birth of Christ. A. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'The Reburial of Richard Duke of York 21-30 July 1476', *The Ricardian* 10:127 (December, 1994), pp. 122-165; A. Sutton, L. Visser-

Fuchs with P.W. Hammond, *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York 21-30 July 1476* (London, 1996) plate IV. Jonathan Hughes sees it in a more secular light, noting an "optimistic anticipation of a time of unity, peace and stability" as further symbolized in the image "of a young king, golden and resplendent on horseback at the head of this roll above the image of God". J. Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 101.

Medieval Manuscripts in the New World

Zoom Talk by Lisa Fagin Davis, Executive Director, Medieval Academy of America

Presented on June 22, 2025 at 12 PM eastern time

Have you ever wondered how so many European medieval objects and manuscripts found their way into American collections? Who were the people collecting these objects and what motivated them? Lisa Fagin Davis, Executive Director of the Medieval Academy of America, is a specialist on European manuscripts and will share with us the fascinating history of how American collectors, some of whom were wealthy eccentrics or used dubious means, amassed libraries of medieval texts that continue to attract scholars around the globe to their study. She will also touch on the ethical implications of collecting objects from another country.

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A Theory Refuted: Niclas von Popplau's Diary Entries Explained

Sally Keil

A number of years ago I read "The Extended Translation of the Travel Diary of Niclas von Popplau (March 1484 to April 1485) by Doris Schneider-Coutandin." It appears on the Revealing Richard website. As I read his diary I was struck by a number of entries that seemed very odd to me. There were three in particular that caught my attention: 1) Why did King Richard give von Popplau permission to rent out an inn just prior to von Popplau's departure from York in order to provide entertainment for the king's chamberlains? Why did the king send his lute players and minstrels to the inn to play for the assembled group? Why did von Popplau specifically mention that the king's herald was in attendance? (Remember: a herald is the authoritative voice of his master. When important information needed to be relayed it was often done verbally.) 2) Von Popplau wrote that his next intention after leaving England would be to go on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain. Therefore, why did he board a ship that sailed out of Southampton to go to the Isle of Wight? Why did he get off the boat in Newport harbor and walk all the way across the island, only to re-board the boat in Yarmouth? 3) Why did that same boat, theoretically bound for Spain, wind up in Ireland?

After digesting those strange events I circled back to the entry that describes his introduction to King Richard. Von Popplau gave the king a number of letters from the Holy Roman Emperor as well as others, including one from his sister, Margaret of Burgundy. After stepping aside and reading the letters Richard became noticeably more friendly, warm, and welcoming to von Popplau. Finally, von Popplau writes of his embarrassment of riches he says Richard gave him upon his departure. The king also gave von Popplau a safe passage letter signed by the king personally so that von Popplau and his entourage could not be stopped and searched by anyone.

A theory began to form in my mind: what if Margaret of York told Richard that von Popplau, a senior emissary of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, could be trusted, and described to her brother a possible plan to smuggle the nephew(s) out of England and to safety in Ireland? This could be accomplished by inserting the boys into von Popplau's entourage, as either musicians or servants, and delivering them to friendly loyalists in Ireland. I wondered if Richard subsequently implemented that plan by moving the boy(s) from their hidden locations (possibly nearby), setting up a party where his nephew(s) could be quietly inserted into von Popplau's train, and finally providing von Popplau with money and a safe passage letter to enable the plan to work. My theory was published in the September 2022 issue of *The Ricardian Register*. I ended my article with a challenge: while theories are always fun to contemplate, it's important to not stop at the theory but to push on and, through extensive research, see if they hold any truth. Once I completed the "Missing Princes in America Project" I had some time available to do just that. Joining me were my two top researchers on that Project, Linda McLatchie and Bobbie Franks.

I set up a Zoom conference call and the three of us defined our research goals and parceled out the tasks ahead. I contacted Philippa Langley in late May 2024 and advised her that we had begun a new Line of Inquiry (LOI) based on my theory: we were looking for any primary source documents that might reference a teenager(s) traveling with von Popplau in May of 1484.

Linda McLatchie turned up the Port Records for Southampton for the period in time when von Popplau would have taken ship there. Might they list the name of the ship von Popplau and his party boarded? The book, however, was neither transcribed nor digitized. We contacted Philippa again to see if there were any of her research team members in the vicinity that might have the ability to help us out. Luckily Philippa had an archivist contact at the Southampton City Archives; she reached out and it was confirmed that they held the original Port Books of interest to our LOI, specifically Port Book 1484-1485 (City Archive reference number SC 5/4/22). Unfortunately this book was not transcribed and the original handwriting would be largely illegible to us. However we were advised that if we would like to view the Port Book we could do so by prearranged appointments.

Unlike Linda, Bobbie and I were getting nowhere in our researches. Frustrating. Then I recognized that the goal we set was to prove my theory about von Popplau smuggling Richard's nephew(s) out of northern England to safety in Ireland. What if another way to think about it was to *disprove* my theory? If we shot holes in the theory, then there would be no need to go hunting for clues regarding von Popplau as a "smuggler" of the boy(s). With this alternate way forward, I went back and focused on the key diary entries that were mystifying:

Q: Why did von Popplau sail to the Isle of Wight before sailing on to Spain in order to get to Santiago de Compostela?

A: I learned that there was a lot of trade between Spain and England in the late 1400's that involved the Isle of Wight. I quote from the Isle of Wight Catholic History Society:

There is little to suggest an Island association with any major English pilgrimage site. There are, however, a number of links with the major Spanish shrine of Santiago de Compostella and given the place of the Isle of Wight in relation to trade routes to Gascony and Northern Spain, this seems to have been a destination favoured by Island pilgrims. Throughout most of the Middle Ages an English export trade consisting mainly of wool was more than balanced by imports of wine from Gascony and Northern Spain. **In the early years of the sixteenth century fleets of well over a hundred vessels would gather off the Isle of Wight before sailing south to collect the produce of the wine harvest. It was not uncommon for the masters of these vessels to make an additional profit by conveying pilgrims on the seaward leg of their journey to the shrine of St. James at Compostella.**

As we know, there were no “cruise ships” at that time; travelers would board boats engaged in trade. Thus it is entirely reasonable for von Popplau's journey to start at the Isle of Wight. Not crazy or odd at all.

Q: Why did he get off the boat and walk across the island, only to get back on the boat in Yarmouth?

A: Newport harbor, his arrival point, is not all that far from Yarmouth, his departure point—about 10 miles. Yes, he would have passed by Carisbrooke Castle, but there is no reason to believe that he intended to go there specifically. It was simply an easy afternoon's walk for this tourist. No longer does it sound unreasonable for someone to want to get off the ship and stretch their legs before resuming a sea journey.

Q: Why did a (presumably) experienced captain, whose destination was Spain, wind up in *Ireland*?

A: I determined that the shrine of Santiago de Compostella is about 50 miles from Cape Finisterre. Assuming that the boat's intended destination was in that area, I researched the wind patterns in the Bay of Biscay at that time of year (May). I quote from <https://eoceanic.com>:

All these elements combine to make this the safest and most comfortable route from Ireland across the notoriously challenging Bay of Biscay, if not for all northern Europe countries. **The logic of the route works for southbound and northbound passages, although it is the former that is the more challenging due to the prevailing winds.**

Take a look at the location of the southeast coast of Ireland and the northwestern coast of Spain:



I quote from the *Journal of Geophysical Research* noting the following (which I highlighted): "ship surveys must be planned so as to span at least one wind event cycle (about 10 days), and the region north of Cape Finisterre should be included in the survey. "It is entirely reasonable to

conclude that the captain sailed west before turning south to avoid the Bay of Biscay and the high winds coming off the Cape. Not so odd at all to wind up in Ireland if the winds were unfavorable, as they were periodically known to be.

Q: Why did king Richard give von Popplau such lavish gifts? Perhaps to finance the costs to be incurred in smuggling the prince(s) out of England?

A: As we know, gift giving was a major part of the culture of medieval England. Also, kings generally wanted to show off their wealth as signs of their power and magnificence. I can only assume King Richard, relatively new to his throne, wanted such a display to be reported back to von Popplau's master, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III.

Summing this all up, my theory completely falls apart! Von Popplau's diary entries now make sense. I decided to write this follow up to my September 2022 *Ricardian Register* article because it's important not only to report on the findings of successful Lines of Inquiry (LOI) but also on unsuccessful ones. The whole idea behind creating a Line of Inquiry is just that: to define questions that need to be answered on a specific topic/ person/place and then add that knowledge to our ever increasing understanding of King Richard III and his reign. We have done just that in this von Popplau LOI; it may now be confidently closed.

Portrait of Juana of Castile: Part 4: Speculation

Maria Elena Torres

Before continuing with this ongoing overview of Juana's life, comparing legend to available documentation, I'd like to take a little pause: the incident at La Mota, discussed in our last issue, is a kind of a crossroad for Juana, whether she and others knew it or not: it's the first situation that could be actively used to attack her standing. From this time onward, people close to her would be able to pile accusations on her, and she would find herself less and less able to seize the narrative of her own story. Philip's motivations are fairly clear. Once Isabel was dead, Fernando's objectives would be, too—with Isabel's death, he lost power in Castile, and he would spend 1504 through 1509 grappling for that vital power base. But Isabel's letter to Fuensalida describing La Mota already leans into the need to control her daughter and her behavior. Was there, after all, a reason for concern? Or could there have been other motives at play?

In 1502-3, the primary objectives for Isabel and Fernando were to have Juana and Philip sworn in, and to accustom them to governing Castile and Aragon. Philip very quickly disappointed them: he resented his position as consort; the policies of Burgundy and Austria ran completely counter to his wife's kingdoms; he was far more reliant on the advisors he'd grown up with than he was with the counsel of his in-laws. He left Spain in December 1502. His route through France resulted in a serious illness, and also in a diplomatic episode which worked against Fernando. The departure amounted to a desertion of Juana, who was about five months pregnant

and unable to travel.

All during 1502, Juana was very much included in all the activities, ceremonies, and duties. In November, she was left on her own to deal, skillfully, with the difficult Aragonese Corts, while Isabel, Fernando and Philip went to Castile to wrangle with each other. She remained in Spain until March 1504.

From the time of Philip's departure, until her own more than a year later, there is no indication of Juana's involvement in any official capacity. Aside from some duties concerning religious matters¹, there's no indication that she was consulted on anything, not even anything that could be happening in Burgundy while Philip was traveling from France to Savoy to Switzerland and finally home. She does not seem to be at her parents' elbow, continuing to learn how to govern the kingdoms she would inherit. She seems to have been relegated to the role of mother to young Fernando, born in March 1503. Her household consisted of servants paid by Philip to keep watch on her, and bribed by her parents.

A young woman, described as more than capable by Fuensalida—one who stated her acceptance of her role, who proved herself able to deal with equivalent powers, and to adapt to circumstances during travel—seems to have been put aside. If, by the summer of 1503, she was openly rebellious and demanding to leave Spain, it certainly seems understandable.

The question I'm confronting at the moment is: why?

Fuensalida wouldn't have given his opinion lightly—after Juana's return to Flanders in 1504, he would be more than critical of her behavior, Philip's behavior, and the general state of affairs at his post. If he had harbored any doubts about Juana in 1500-1501, he would have said so. It's highly doubtful that sidelining Juana had anything to do with her competence.

If Juana had been actively participating and learning alongside Isabel, her impatience to get home would have been tempered by her perception of the importance of the work that would be hers in the near future. Very likely, the incident at La Mota would never have happened because Juana and Isabel would have been working in harness.

It might be possible that Juana and Isabel disagreed on policy—it's possible that Juana's political sympathies aligned with Philip. This is possible, but it seems unlikely to me: from the start of her marriage, she understood that her position was to be anti-French; against her husband's advisors. During the journey to Spain, she understood that she had to represent Spanish interests, and at Blois, she did this. The swearing-in process emphasized her placement as queen regnant over Philip as consort. Philip's insistence on guarding and controlling Juana as much as possible while she was away from him hints at suspicion more than mutual trust in objectives. It feels unlikely that Juana was disregarded by her parents because of her political sympathies. And yet, from the time that Philip left Spain, in December 1502, until the time that Juana boarded ship for Flanders in March 1504, there is no record of Juana doing anything except birthing young Fernando and arguing, with Isabel principally, to get back to Flanders.

¹ Fleming, pages 90-91.

Philip was clearly unhappy about his position as consort. Relations between him and Fernando had deteriorated from the paternal friendliness that had characterized the earlier portion of the visit to Spain. Isabel and Fernando were able to witness the dependence on his counselors that Fuensalida had described. They would also have been forced to concede that Philip's political position was impossible: the policies governing Burgundy depended on alliance with France, while the relationship between France, and Aragon in particular, were hostile. Philip himself must have felt terrible stress at these irreparable conflicts. He had a difficult choice to make. His decision would destroy his marriage and a great deal of his own conscience and humanity.

When Philip finally arrived home, Erasmus, among others, added strong pleas against allowing ambitions in Spain to overpower Philip's obligations to his native kingdoms. From the time of Juana's return until Philip's death, he would prove himself capable of unforgivable attitudes and actions, but the root of it all might trace to this vicious strain of contrary obligations, incompatible ambitions, and the resulting stripping away of affections.

Philip was a direct threat to the legacy that Isabel and Fernando had worked for since their own marriage. Which leaves the question of Juana.

After Juana emerged as her parents' heir, Fuensalida noted her intelligence and aptitude. Before this, she had already shown herself able to take a stand against France, and in championing Margaret of York. She understood Philip's inherent weakness of reliance on advisors who often shifted policies, and spoke about this with Fuensalida. During the journey to Spain, Juana was clear on her Spanish identity and duties in France; adaptable, communicative, and fun after leaving the French court; and fully capable of working with the difficult Aragonese Corts on her own. However, thanks to the foundational weakness of her marriage agreement, she had no way to break out from under Philip's financial control, or to form her own coalition, or wield influence at her husband's court. When Philip left her in Spain in December 1502, it must have become clear to Isabel and Fernando at least, that Juana had limited influence over Philip. Juana may have been deemed unfit to rule, not because she was unstable, but because her political viability had been fatally hobbled on account of her being shackled to Philip; and by December 1502, Philip was not a viable option for Spain.

It's possible, therefore, that Isabel and Fernando were considering options and possibilities for bypassing Philip. There was probably no legal way to transfer the Spanish inheritance to Isabel's younger daughter Maria, now married to Manuel of Portugal. Already the mother of two children, Joao and Isabel, Maria could have been a tantalizing but unobtainable option. She and Manuel were in the same position as her deceased eldest sister and son. In other circumstances, Joao could have claimed the entire Iberian peninsula. However, this wouldn't have been permitted by Philip or Maximilian; and so, the most realistic alternative to Philip was Charles. The urgent invitations for Charles to come to Spain began early and would increase after Juana's return to Flanders. Separating Charles from Habsburg influence would have been vital for Isabel and Fernando.

More risky, but closer to hand, was the baby born in Spain, young Fernando, and who would remain in Spain after Juana's departure.

Neither Castile nor Aragon was timid about overthrowing rulers who were unsatisfactory: barely a generation before this, Isabel's half brother, Enrique IV, had been subjected to a theatrical dethroning. The resulting civil war had ultimately led to Isabel's accession; when this was challenged by her niece, Isabel retaliated in a campaign of propaganda, broadcasting the (possible) illegitimacy of her niece. Fernando, son of his father's second marriage, came to succeed his father by way of a bitter, fatal rivalry between Juan II of Aragon and the children of his first marriage; almost as soon as Fernando was born, Juan was favoring him over his eldest son and daughters. While contending with this vicious family conflict, most of Juan II of Aragon's career as ruler was also spent in quelling rebellions aimed at dethroning him. Everyone involved in Iberian power struggles in the early half of the fifteenth century learned that royalty wasn't sacred here. In 1521, Charles V would learn a similar lesson.

If the governing powers in Castile and Aragon could be convinced that the incoming couple of Juana and Philip were unviable, it wouldn't be an impossible proposition to replace them with someone more suitable.

And so, in order to make the case, there had to be one; and since Juana was the heir, the case had to be against Juana. Therefore, after Philip's departure, Juana was disempowered. She must have felt this happening, and it would only have fed her own frustrations and suspicions. Considering this, together with the sensation of being spied upon in her own household, not only by her husband, but by her parents, and deprived of any effective way of finding her own voice and agency, her eventual rebellion at La Mota becomes more and more understandable. It became an instrument that Isabel and Fernando seemed to have utilized: to begin to build the case against Juana, the need to control her, to guard her, to contain her. And this might explain why Isabel was so open, in her letter to Fuensalida, about telling Philip about the need to keep servants with Juana who could watch and protect her. These servants included Mme. de Hallewin and Hughe de Melun—servants set by Philip and now allied to Isabel.

Ultimately, this strategy would work against the aims of Isabel and Fernando: Philip would take this line of reasoning and run with it, going so far as to isolate and effectively imprison Juana. Had Isabel been physically and emotionally stronger, the strategy might have worked; but she had been visibly declining as early as the deaths of her son, eldest daughter, and her grandson Miguel. By the time Juana returned to Flanders, in the early spring of 1504, Isabel's state was undeniable, and new obstacles were forming.

Like Philip, Fernando was a consort in Castile. He had no power there except for what was agreed upon long ago between himself and Isabel. In Castile, Fernando wasn't universally loved; as Isabel declined, especially during the months of 1504, powers hostile to the Aragonese consort, suspicious about Fernando's own ambitions to keep power in Castile, were crossing over to join Philip and support him and Juana. Fuensalida would spend most of this year in mounting frustration as he was increasingly cut

off and cut out of events and discussion between Philip, Philip's advisors, and new Castilian representatives, notably Juan Manuel, whose loyalty to Castile was rivaled only by his hostility to Fernando.

Having looked at possible aims of her parents and of her husband, what were Juana's aims during this time, alone in Spain?

Clearly, inarguably, one aim was to get back to Philip and her family there. By June 1503, doctors were observing that the arguments between Isabel and Juana were wearing dangerously on both them, causing fevers for Isabel, and lack of appetite, weight, and spirits for Juana.² Clearly, Juana wanted desperately to get back. Bear in mind that Philip wasn't in Flanders during this time; he was on his way to Savoy, to visit his sister Margaret and her husband Philibert. He would stay there until September. It was in September that Juana assured him that she was on her way home; and it was in September that Isabel wrote, acknowledging that Juana had "many necessary reasons" for returning, but that doing so then would cause problems.³

In June, did Juana want to return to Flanders, or did she want to join Philip on his tour and his visit to her sister-in-law, with whom she had bonded previous to 1500? It might be a pertinent point that Margaret would, in a few years, prove her acumen by becoming Governess of the Netherlands, an active, intelligent political force, and that she, like Juana and her sisters, had come under Isabel's influence during her own time in Spain. Or did Juana want to get to Flanders before Philip and confer with Margaret of York and with Maximilian? Perhaps to try to earn some influence with the new advisors in Flanders, before Philip's return. Erasmus, who would get to know and appreciate Catherine of Aragon, might have become a supporter of Juana too, had she been able to utilize time with him. He might have become a voice in her favor that could have resonated against the vicious times to come. These a couple of "necessary reasons" that amount to significantly more than a purely emotional and sexual desire for a husband. They might have worked against the ultimate objectives that her parents may have had in mind.

In her letter to Juana in September 1503, Isabel had admitted that Juana had "many necessary reasons" for going back to Flanders. If these speculations are correct, then Isabel and Fernando had inadvertently dug the hole into which their last joint gamble fell, and their daughter along with it.

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² Aram, Kindle version (Spanish), position 1783.

³ Fleming, page 91.

Reviews

Myrna Smith, Pauline Calkin

The King's Intelligencer—Elizabeth St. John, Kindle Edition, 2024

Franny Apsley and her family enjoyed royal favor in the court of Charles II in 1674. Franny was the favorite of Lady Mary, daughter of the Duke of York and, thus the heir to the heir of Charles. Her father was the duke's treasurer, and her mother was lady-in-waiting to Charles's queen. At one time or another, members of her family, including her father, had served as the king's intelligencers, i.e. spies. Even her brother Peter was at that time in Paris gathering information about potential plots by the French and Catholics to destabilize the English crown.

The Apsleys were descended from the St. Johns, and because Elizabeth and Oliver St. John were Margaret Beaufort's half-sister and brother, they could claim kinship with the king. Her family used this relationship to cement their position as loyal relatives. It came as a surprise to Franny when her father and cousins became so upset when children's bones—proclaimed to be those of the princes murdered by their evil uncle Richard III—were unearthed at the Tower in the very location specified by Thomas More. Franny learns that it was a secret in the family that Margaret Beaufort had saved the princes. The discovery not only cast doubt that the princes were saved, but most importantly, a piece of evidence found with the bones points directly at Margaret Beaufort as the murderess. The family's position at court would be severely undermined if Margaret Beaufort's guilt were publicly disclosed. While the king would also be negatively affected by such a disclosure—he was a direct descendant after all—it was clear he would distract by blaming the St. John and Apsley families. Franny is, therefore, recruited to discover the truth about the fate of the princes—and get rid of the incriminating evidence.

What follows is a 17th century Missing Princes project. In the author's *The Godmother's Secret*, Elizabeth Scrope (née St. John), Edward V's godmother, was involved in trying to save them. So as I read this book I wondered whether she succeeded or whether her plans failed and her half-sister, Margaret, did get her clutches on them, or someone else did. If she did succeed in saving them, whose bones were found? Combined with the mystery, there is a vivid picture of court life during this time, with the jockeying for position and backstabbing. A life dependent on royal favor was a precarious one, both financially and politically; it is a never-ending cycle of punishment and patronage, as Franny's father tells her. Franny is constantly vying with the nasty Betty Villiers ("Squinting" Betty—who eventually became the mistress of Mary's husband, William) to be first in Mary's favor. There is also a compelling image of Franny's cousin, the Earl of Rochester—a libertine who was in and out of royal favor but ultimately is a tragic figure who squandered his talents.

Added to this is the sectarian strife between Catholic and Protestant which gave rise to court intrigues. Franny falls in love with a mysterious, handsome stranger (aren't they all)—Nicolas Jameson, who is a Catesby, and who says he wants justice for Richard and his ancestor. He joins Franny in the search, but she can never quite trust him with all her secrets.

He is a "red letter man," a Catholic, who has other motives to ingratiate himself with Franny and gain the confidence of Lady Mary. Franny, in turn, truly becomes a king's intelligencer who seeks access to his world. Despite the mutual distrust and betrayals, Franny is drawn to the life he leads, one independent of royal patronage. The history in *The Godmother's Secret* was a little bit wonky (no mention of Warwick in the events of 1470-1471), but I thoroughly enjoyed it. I am not at all familiar with the history of this period, so I can't tell you if there are any inaccuracies, big or small. But I don't care. The three plot elements—the mystery, patronage, and the Catholic underworld—are nicely interwoven and there are some fascinating characters. It is an excellent read.—P.C.

Princess in the Police Station: A Tale of Little Anne Mowbray—J.P. Reedman, Kindle Edition, 2024

This is one in the series of the author's medieval "babes" stories (which the author admits is something of a joke title), which differs from the others in that it is not told in the first person and has three distinct sections, one of which takes place in the recent past. It is the story of Anne Mowbray, who was married at age 6 to Edward IV's younger son, Richard of Shrewsbury, when he was even younger. Edward and his Woodville in-laws wanted to get their hands on the Mowbray estates (the Duke of Norfolk was her father) by disregarding normal inheritance laws. The "modern" section tells the story of the discovery of Anne's remains in 1965. I didn't know much about the discovery other than that they were discovered, so I found the details very interesting—such as that the Museum of London's scientific examination of the remains was cut short because certain lords threw a hissy fit. The medieval story is told from the POV of Anne's mother, Elizabeth, the sister of Eleanor Talbot, who was the woman whom Edward had allegedly married before he wed Elizabeth Woodville. By actions rather than words, Edward had threatened Elizabeth to keep her quiet about this prior marriage. Thus, Elizabeth felt she had no choice but to agree to the marriage of her daughter. When her daughter died at age 9, Elizabeth was suspicious, but the even more interesting part of the story shows us how Anne's remains ended up being buried in a convent crypt. Yes, folks, you're right if you guessed it was Dear Old Henry Tudor who chucked her out of Westminster Abbey to make room for his elaborate Tudor tomb and chapel. Also, an interesting fact that the author says she hadn't known is that Elizabeth Woodville intended to be buried in Westminster Abbey but Dear Old HT sent her off to Windsor. The author provides an interesting perspective on Anne Mowbray's tale which I think most Ricardians will enjoy.—P.C.

The Melancholy of Winter: The Brief Life of Edmund of Rutland—Janet Reedman, Kindle edition, 2024

My partner in crime in writing this column has remarked that J.P. Reedman has a cottage industry producing Ricardian fiction. And I, for one, am delighted she keeps on writing about various facets of the Ricardian story. The book reviewed here explores the life of Richard's least known

brother, Edmund. What is known as well as the timeline of his family, particularly that of his father the Duke of York, serves as the foundation of the tale, which opens with the family's arrival in Ireland. At the time, his older brother, Edward, Big Ned, is eight and Edmund, Little Ned, is seven. The two are as close as brothers can be and we see them facing a life in a strange land. One of their tutors is a good one, the Irish Terrance, or "Tadgh," who introduces them to local folklore. Most importantly, they bear witness as their father is excluded from the king's inner circle despite his competent and fair administration in Ireland and, later, as Protector during the king's periods of incapacity. When conflict between York and the King's favorites eventually flames into war, Edward and Edmund are separated, with Edmund escaping with their father to Ireland, while Edward goes to Calais with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick. N.B. The duke does not make this arrangement because he doesn't think Edward is his son (although Edmund is his favorite), but because Edward is his heir and, as the Duke says, "it would not do well for the three senior men of the House of York to travel together." Seems obvious. Later, this thinking also prompts the Duke to have Edmund accompany him to Sandal Castle where they both meet their deaths at the battle of Wakefield.

The author's trademark humor is evident throughout: e.g., Edward pushes his brother-in-law, the loathsome Duke of Exeter, into a pond; Alice, Countess of Salisbury, sweeps into Dublin after escaping from Middleham, causing a logistical nightmare for York and arranging a marriage for Edmund within minutes. The glimpses of Edmund's younger brothers are tantalizing. "George was a chubby baby with an angry red face . . . who bawled furiously at the slightest provocation." Richard, in contrast, was quiet, serious, and thoughtful. The characters of Edward and Edmund come across clearly. Big Ned is brash and shows his affinity for the ladies early on. Edmund is far more cautious, like his father and younger brother Richard. But both Edward and Edmund grow into thoughtful men who give their father sound advice. The most effectively realized scene takes place after York returns from Ireland a second time, and makes his claim to the crown. Edmund notices his father sweating as they walk into the Painted Chamber and then nervously command his son to walk before him holding a sword upright. His main supporters were nonplussed even though one of them, Warwick, had lately persuaded York to abandon any thought of establishing himself permanently in Ireland. I have always found the actions and reactions of York et. al. during this episode somewhat perplexing. What were they thinking? Well, the author gives us her idea as she tells us what they may have said as well as describing their physical reactions. Her explanation makes sense, although it's perhaps not the only plausible one. For me, this is what good historical fiction is all about—giving the reader a reliable factual foundation, but also a new way to understand the motives of these long-ago figures.—PC

The Knight's Redemption—Ethan Bale, Canelo Adventure, 2024

With this third and final entry in The Sword of the White Rose series, Sir John Hawker and his small band have come full circle back to England, where they each play a part in the Battle of Stoke.

Their journey begins with a daring rescue of Hawker's lady love from Venice. Hawker is jaded and weary of war, burdened by guilt for the deeds he committed to uphold the White Rose; now he wants nothing more than to retire and lead a peaceful life as a merchant in Bruges. That life is denied him, however, when powerful people behind the rebellion coerce him to undertake a forlorn mission. Despite Hawker's counsel that war is hell, his young squire Jack lusts for further adventure and joins Martin Schwartz's mercenary forces. The other members of the band also have suffered disappointment on the path to Stoke. For Gaston Dieudonné, it's his unrequited love for Sir Giles Ellingham, Richard III's illegitimate son, which may cause him to revert to his mercenary ways and support the side that makes him the best offer. Finally, Ellingham himself is disappointed in his quest to connect with his father's other children.

The lead-up to the battle, from the suicidal mission that Hawker is assigned to the mustering of the polyglot force led by Schwartz, as well as the battle itself, are compelling told with complexity and realism. The character of each member of Hawker's rag-tag band and their relationships are the main attraction of this novel. The poignant culmination is at Stoke where Hawker redeems his honor with a selfless last stand, and Ellingham—despite the fact that the author adopts the traditional, Tudor view of Lambert Simnel—finds reason to fight in support of the White Rose.—P.C.

A Spirited and Most Courageous Prince: An Anthology of Short Fiction Inspired by King Richard III—Alex Merchant, Ed. Foreword by Robert Lindsey

Anthologies, especially of short stories, are in some ways tributes to recycling. This is true, at least, of the first story in this volume, "Matthew Wansford, 1533." It was written by Alex Merchant as the introduction to the first *Order of the White Boar* novel. When the format was changed and this chapter deleted, it was, thriftily, not discarded but redone as a short story. Matthew is looking back from Tudor England and not much liking what he sees. After this, the stories will be told in pretty much chronological order. "The Heads of Such Great Men", by Kit Mareska, only tangentially involves Richard of Gloucester, a child at the time. It is more about his brother, King Edward, and his mother, both very strong characters, and does justice to both.

"An Indomitable Spirit," by Wendy Johnson, gives us a look at Richard as a young squire-in-training with the Earl of Warwick. As before, it does justice to both protagonists. This is a re-working of several incidents from Ms. Johnson's novel, *The Traitor's Son*.

Judith Arnopp's "Looking for Anne," is, as the title telegraphs, the story of Richard and Anne's "love story," if you can call it that. Anne, as child and young woman, is a person of definite character, as evidenced by what she says when Richard finally finds her: "Well, it took you long enough to find me. And your damned brother George has a lot to answer for."

Norelle Harris says the title of her contribution, "Borrowed Robes," refers to Henry Tudor, but it could equally well refer to the acting group who

are featured in it. After all, don't actors customarily appear in borrowed or rented costumes? Anyway, the thespians in question are acting in *That Play*.

In "The Banbury Road" set in 1471, the three brothers of York are preparing for battle, but in what combinations they do not yet know. The author, Nancy Noethcott, takes advantage of the afterword to remind us that "Shakespeare made things up for a living." As do the authors here, except they are acting more pro bono, or rather for the benefit of Scoliosis Support and Research.

Most of the previous stories are originals, but Brian Wainwright's "There Will be a Wedding" does recycle one of his pet characters, Alinore Audley, a.k.a. Lady Beauchamp. The wedding is not that of Richard and Anne, however. This is one of the more light-hearted stories in this volume.

"Lovell's Imaginary Boys and the Mysterious Goat" is an excerpt from *Dickon's Diaries*, as written down by Susan Lamb (Lady Kokomo). You can Notte getter's more first-hand than this. Beyond lite-hearted, Ms. Lamb's essaying is downright raucous. Gette the idea? Joanne Lerner, turns to modern English to give us "The Middleham Jewel," in which the eponymous gem is entrusted to Richard, is lost, found, lost again, found again, etc. We see a more human side of Our Hero, losing his temper with his mother-in-law over the household expenses. Don't worry, all will be worked out.

"Fortheringay, 1475," by Matthew Lewis, is reminiscent to the second story in this book, but is not a rerun. This time it is Lady Cecily and her youngest son, and the relationship between them, and other family members, that is featured.

"Confinement," by Alex Merchant, a short-short story, plays on one of the major meanings of the title, and is one of the previously published stories featured here. "The Investure," by J.P. Reedeman, deals with young son of Richard III.

"The Watchers," by Alex Merchant, is entirely unlike the other stories by this author. It is downright eerie and other-worldly, featuring the corbies/carrion crows/ravens of British folklore. "We are battle-watchers, my sisters, brothers, and me. We soar upon the breeze. We wait, we watch." And it will not be easily forgotten.

"One Night in Cambridge," by Alice Mitchell, allows us to witness the death of a prince, and the birth of one John Evans, and "A Winter's Tale" has a modern priest receive a mysterious visitor who leaves no footprints, but gives her much to think about. This one is by Darren Harris. Bridget Beauchamp's "A Middleham Fantasy" is just that, an "if-only" kind of story, and Jennifer C. Wilson's "A Spirited and Most Courageous Prince" reprises not only the title of the anthology but the last few hours of Richard's life.

In short, something for everybody and a little more besides.— M.S

Richard III and the Murder in the Tower—Peter A. Hancock, History Press, 2009

No, the author is not talking about the supposed murder of the princes, but that of Hastings on Friday, July 13. In the author's view, Hastings's execution was not prompted by any conspiracy he was involved in but his concealment from Richard that Edward IV's children were bastards by virtue of the latter's prior marriage to Eleanor Talbot. In effect, Richard went ballistic because of Hastings's betrayal. Furthermore, the source of the revelation of the pre-contract was not Stillington, but Catesby. Stillington merely confirmed Catesby's disclosure. And Catesby told Richard on June 13. The author argues that Stillington was not the original source of the pre-contract, pointing out he had no reason to wait until June to make such a revelation when he could have made it in early May. Well, the same reasoning applies to Catesby—why did he wait until June 13? In addition, the author discounts the evidence that there seems to have been some plotting going on—so much so that Richard wrote to York for help because he thought there was a plot to kill him and Bucky. The author makes good points, but I am not persuaded as to his overall thesis.—P.C

2025 Winter/Spring Lectures

Have you ever heard that Richard III invented the concept of universal bail? That he was a protector of the emerging field of moveable-type printing? That his laws regarding property conveyancing are still considered legal landmarks? Have you ever wondered how so many European medieval objects and manuscripts found their way into American collections? Have you ever wanted to opportunity to meet and chat with an acclaimed author of Ricardian fiction?

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Upcoming lectures:

March 23, 2025: Meet Author Annie Garthwaite

Annie Garthwaite is the author of *Cecily* and *The King's Mother*. Focusing on the life of Cecily Neville, Richard III's mother, her novels weave together the stories of four ferocious women who were not afraid to play the political long-game in order to see their sons crowned as England's king.

June 22, 2025: Medieval Manuscripts in the New World with Lisa Fagin-Davis

Lisa Fagin Davis, Executive Director of the Medieval Academy of America, is a specialist on European manuscripts and will share with us the fascinating history of how American collectors, some of whom were wealthy eccentrics or used dubious means, amassed libraries of medieval texts that continue to attract scholars around the globe to their study. She will also touch on the ethical implications of collecting objects from another country.

Past lecture:

Richard III's Parliament with Matt Lewis

Matt Lewis, former chair of the UK Richard III Society, discusses what happened at the king's first and only parliament. To watch a recording of this talk, visit r3.org and go to For Members → Videos (password required).

All of these talks will take place on Zoom and are open to Richard III Society members only. For more information, visit the [Events](#) page on the website.

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Medieval Manuscripts in the New World

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Presented on June 22, 2025 at 12 PM eastern time

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