

Omar Hashem Abdo Khalaf

Patronage, Print and the Education of the Gentry in Late Medieval England: The Case of Earl Rivers's *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*

Abstract: This essay focuses on the production and circulation of Earl Rivers's *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*. I argue that Rivers's patronage of William Caxton during the printer's early years at Westminster was part of a precise cultural plan, which entailed the dissemination of moral and educational literature outside the court. As revealed by a preliminary investigation of the ownership of incunables and manuscript witnesses, the readership of Rivers's *Dicts* is to be found in the gentry – a social class interested in books as both receptacles of typically courtly literary models and material symbols of a newly-acquired power.

Keywords: Earl Rivers, Caxton, *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, education, gentry

1. Earl Rivers and the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*

This is what king Edward IV disposed for the education of his heir Edward in 1473:

[We wille that] noe man sytt at his boarde but such as shal be thought by the discretyon of the [...] Erle Ryvers, and that then be reade before him such noble storyes as behoveth to a Prynce to understande; and knowe that the comunicatyon at all tymes in his presence be of vertu, honor, cunynge, wisdom, and deedes of worshippe, and of nothing that should move or styrre him to vyces. (Nichols (1790: 28)

This ordinance was delivered to the Council of the Prince of Wales when Edward, at the age of three, was sent to Ludlow and put in charge of the western part of the kingdom with the support of John Alcock, bishop of Rochester, and the “ryght trusty and wel beloved” – as defined in the document – Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers. Brother of queen Elizabeth Woodville, Rivers is renowned among historians for his involvement in the tragic incidents that followed Edward IV's death and brought his brother Richard III to the throne in 1483. Nevertheless, one of Rivers's greatest accomplishments is his patronage of William Caxton during the printer's early years in Westminster. Rivers's most important work, the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* (henceforth *Dicts*) was the first book

ever printed in England to bear its date of publication – 18 November 1477. The print of this text marked the beginning of a fruitful collaboration between Rivers and Caxton, which favoured the issue of two other writings by the earl: the *Moral Proverbs*, a translation of Christine de Pizan's *Proverbes Moraulx* in 1478 and the *Cordyal*, an English rendering of Jean Miélot's *Les quatre choses derrenieres* in 1479.

The source of the *Dicts* is a substantial compilation of proverbs and maxims known as *Kitab Mokhtâr el-Hikam Wa-Mahasin Al-Kalim* (The book of the choicest maxims and best proverbs) written in the eleventh century by the Arab Mubachschr ben Fatik, which widely circulated in medieval Europe by means of numerous translations and re-elaborations. The thirteenth-century Castilian translation of the *Kitab* (the *Bocados de oro*) served as the source of the Latin version, produced by Giovanni da Procida for emperor Frederick II in the second half of the same century and titled *Liber Philosophorum Moralium Antiquorum*. Between the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, the *Liber* was turned into French by Guillaume de Tignonville, provost of Paris. This version, known as *Dits moraulx des philosophes*, caused three different English translations. The first was authored by Stephen Scrope around 1450 and revised by William Worcester in 1472. The second, anonymous, was produced presumably shortly after Scrope's. Rivers's translation is the latest (see Khalaf 2017). In the Prologue Rivers tells that he acquired the French text in July 1473 during his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Appreciating the edifying contents of the book and (possibly) unaware of the previous English versions (see Khalaf 2017), he resolved to translate it for the benefit of his nephew Edward, the Prince of Wales, in 1473. Consequently, Rivers must have completed his translation between 1473 and 1477.

Rivers's text, which follows its French source rather closely,¹ contains the precepts of diverse figures – mostly Greek philosophers, along with other historical or fictitious characters: Sedechias, Hermes, Gac, Zalquinus, Homer, Salon, Sabyon, Ippocras, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, Ptolemy, Assaron, Legmon, Anese, Sacdarge, Thesile, Gregory the Great, Galen. A final section collects a miscellany of sayings attributed to Anaxagoras, Aristophanes, Philip of Macedon, and some other anonymous wisemen. Each chapter is introduced by a short biography of the character followed by a collection of proverbs, sometimes inserted in an anecdotal context.

1 The only critical edition of the *Dits moraulx* available is found in Eder (1915).

Although the long series of precepts contained in this text makes it quite uninteresting to a modern readership,² the widespread success of gnomic and sentential literature not only in England, but in all Europe, is the key to understand the fortune of works like the *Dicts*. This genre, which flourished in England since the twelfth century, can be identified in two categories: the collections of parent-to-child teachings, which regard the intimate sphere of family life and are meant for the salvation of the soul – *Myne Awen Dere Sone* and *How þe Gode Wyfe Tauht hyr Dou3ter* are two remarkable examples – and the *florilegia* of sayings attributed to authorities of the past. In England, the most successful of these is the alliterative poem titled *Proverbs of Alfred*, written in the thirteenth century. Besides individual and filial education, moral literature was widely employed for the education of future sovereigns along with chivalric romances and *specula principum* (see Orme 1984; 2005). The most renowned were John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159), Gerald of Wales's *Liber de principis instructione* (1193) and *De instructione principis* (date uncertain), and Thomas Hoccleve's *De regimine principum* (beginning of the fifteenth century). It was Rivers who included the *Dicts* in this genre, as he deemed the contents of the book suitable for the education of the prince, in accordance with what had been disposed by his kingly brother-in-law. In Rivers's Prologue we read:

After suche season as it lysted the kynges grace comaunde me to gyue myn attendance vpon my lord the Prince and that I was in hys seruyse, whan I had leyser I loked vpon the sayd booke and at the last concluded in my self to translate it in thenglyssh tonge [...] thynkyng also ful necessary to my said lord the undestandynge therof ([a]3^r) (Blades 1877: 3).

When Rivers decided to undertake his pilgrimage in Spain, prince Edward was three years of age. In the fall of that same year the king issued the ordinances, which were conceived as a guide to his son's everyday life. All the planned activities had to follow a precise schedule: worship, breakfast, learning, lunch, learning again, sports, evening worship, leisure. Bedtime at eight in the evening (see Nichols 1790: 28). Although education occupied a significant part of Edward's day, scholars are quite dubious on the actual level of instruction the prince reached, especially if compared with his Tudor successors. For instance, he was given a teacher in grammar (i.e., Latin) since the age of four, but it is impossible to determine whether the prince was actually proficient in this language if in the

2 “*Dicts and Sayings* is by no means a work of high art – though, to be fair, it was never intended as such. Instead it is a disorderly, repetitive, almost overwhelming heap of recorded wisdom” (Sutton 2006: 10).

updated version of the ordinances issued just before his death in 1483 the king decided to remove it from the activities planned for his son (Orme 1984: 77). Aysha Pollnitz questions the records of the chroniclers of that time – depicted as “extremely unctuous” by the scholar herself (2015: 26) – among whom the Italian Domenico Mancini. In his *De occupatione regni Anglie per Riccardum Tercium*, Mancini describes the prince as well educated in literary subjects. He could read and understand works in prose and verse (1969, 92–3), but no mention is found to the languages he mastered. Rivers’s educational plan, on the other hand, seems to be focused on literary matters and the study of works in English. Also the other translations by Rivers – the *Moral Proverbs* and the *Cordyal* – were most likely addressed to Edward, who was perhaps too young at the time to understand texts in French. In 1477, the same year of the publication of the *Dicts*, Caxton dedicated his *History of Jason* (a translation of Raoul Lefever’s *Histoire de Jason*), hoping that it might help Edward to “begynne to lerne to rede Englyssh”.³ Consequently, it is possible that Rivers’s programme was based on the reading, and at least in the early years of Edward’s life, on the listening of works written in his mother tongue. Only at a certain age could the prince read and understand works in French. According to Pollnitz, Edward’s literary tastes can be considered rather conventional: “He owned epic tales in French, Burgundian stories of chivalry and anti-French literature” (2015: 27). This situation of multilingualism in Edward’s reading practice is well exemplified by Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, a compilation of French texts on the life and deeds of Alexander the Great (including the *Roman d’Alexandre*), in which an anonymous compiler interpolated the only copy of the English alliterative poem *Alexander and Dindimus*. Generally considered one of the most lavish witnesses of Flemish book decoration, this book was part of the Woodvilles’ library since 1466. As it combines chivalric entertainment with the moral teachings contained in the English interpolation, this codex was possibly one of the tools employed by Rivers for the education of his nephew (Khalaf 2011).

Apart from being the first dated book published by Caxton in England, the *Dicts* also holds the primacy for the number of editions issued during the printer’s early years at Westminster. The first, which was followed by another in ca. 1480

3 See Crotch (1928: 34). Weinberg (2005: 53), argues: “It seems highly likely that this text [the *History of Jason*] was part of the educational program set out for the prince, and Woodville could have been the intermediary in prompting Caxton’s translation”.

and yet another in 1489,⁴ raises some important questions over the circulation of the text through this new technology and the readership it was meant to address. According to the Prologue, Rivers's translation had been conceived to serve a private purpose, related to the education of the prince. Why did then Rivers decide to favour a large-scale print production of this text? Although largely neglected by scholars, this matter paves the way for interesting reflections over the cultural policy implemented by Rivers and, not secondarily, the impact of the printing press in the dissemination of literacy outside the sphere of the court.

2. The *Dicts*, Rivers's Patronage, and the Education of the Gentry

Recently, the issue related to the education of the gentry and the new role it was called to play in the management of the kingdom since the beginning of the fifteenth century has become the object of considerable scholarly attention. Particular stress has been put on the increasing importance this social class was acquiring through the appointment of many of its members to positions that had been previously reserved to the highest ranks of nobility. Edward IV himself promoted this change, as he was seeking larger support against the nobles who had opposed him siding with Henry VI during the War of the Roses.⁵ Moreover, the progressive abandonment of the typically feudal economic model which was fully realised in the mid-fifteenth century pushed numerous lesser nobles to undertake urban trade activities (Truelove 2005: 85–86 and Orme 2005: 63). The access to local and central administration and the management of economic investments were the major causes for the gentry's growing need of literacy.⁶ This

4 One more edition was published by Wynkyn De Worde in 1528. While Rivers's prologue and Caxton's epilogue were retained, De Worde added woodcuts at the beginning of each chapter.

5 The Woodvilles benefited greatly from this situation. After Elizabeth's marriage with Edward IV in 1464, her father Richard was created Earl Rivers and appointed Constable of England. Anthony, her elder brother, succeeded as earl and became Governor to the Prince of Wales. This charge had also political relevance, as the family acquired control of the heir and could have influence all his future choices as king. At Edward IV's death his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester seized the power taking custody of the prince and had Rivers executed. The same year he rose to the throne as Richard III. His possible involvement in the death of prince Edward and his brother – the famous "Princes in the Tower" – is still matter of debate.

6 See Clanchy (1993: 13). The question regarding the level of literacy in England between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century is still matter of debate. Cressy (1980: 176–177) assumes that about 10 % of men and 1 % of women in England were at least able to

situation determined an increase in the demand – and consequently in the production – of books, which, apart from providing material supports for reading and instruction, started being conceived as status symbols, tangible objects of the owner’s wealth and social standing.⁷ I do not share Alison Truelove’s pessimistic view when she states:

although we have some idea of the kind of education some members of the gentry may have received, and evidence of their ownership and use of literary manuscripts and books, this is unreliable evidence of their particular literary skills. Books, for example, were regarded as valuable prestige items, the ownership of such not necessarily denoting an ability to read them (Truelove 2005: 88).

Evidence against this position is provided, for instance, by the rich epistolary exchanges occurred between various members of the Paston, Stonor and Haute families, which, apart from providing precious information to historians, also witness the level of literacy the gentry – or at least part of it – had reached. This “group of consumers and shapers of literary culture” (Johnston 2014: 27) started acquiring even greater relevance than the higher ranks of nobility in the material production of literature. The gentry’s new social and cultural achievement justifies their need to aim at a level of education that had been previously reserved to the court circle and explains the wide circulation of romances and edifying works⁸ like the above-mentioned proverbial literature and of several *specula principum*. In this regard,⁹ Orme argues:

The medieval gentry [...] read about education in didactic literature, whose purpose was to instruct. A large category of writings, nowadays known as ‘mirrors for princes’ described how kings and nobles should be educated and what they should learn about. One of the most popular was the *Secretum Secretorum* [...]. Not only royalty read it; its many versions and manuscripts show that it was popular among the nobility and gentry (Orme 2005: 66).

sign. More optimistically, Lester maintains that since the beginning of the fifteenth century people who could read, write, and profit from literary works could be found at all social levels. Cf. Bennett (1970), Parkes (1991), and Trapp (1999).

- 7 See Youngs (2005: 119): “The book was an important accessory to the gentry lifestyle. Despite the commercialisation of the manuscript/book trade in the fifteenth century, the book remained a luxury good and a symbol of affluence”.
- 8 The circulation of romances within this social class has been thoroughly investigated. See *inter alios* Riddy (1987), Hudson (1984), Putter (2000), and Johnston (2014). On the other hand, the (re)production and use of didactic works still requires further consideration. For general remarks see Keiser (1999) and Salter (2012: 137–176).
- 9 See also Radulescu (2005: 101 and 109).

Undoubtedly the proliferation of the *Dicts* in printed form played a primary role in this context. Twenty incunables of the first two editions are extant – the more relevant here, as they were issued during Rivers's lifetime – which is a remarkable number if compared with other publications by Caxton in his first years of activity. The *Dicts*, in fact, are second only to the first edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, published in 1476–77, which counts a total of seventy-seven extant copies; yet, while this work is generally considered Caxton's first great investment in book production, the publication of the *Dicts* was the outcome of the active patronage of Rivers, who personally commissioned its revision and print. Caxton made it clear in the Epilogue, in which his patron is urged

to take the labour of thenpryntyng in gre & thanke, whiche gladly haue don my dyligence in thaccompysshing of his desire and commandement, in whiche I am bounden so to do for the good reward that I haue resseyuyd of his sayd lordshyp ([k]6^v) (Crotch 1928: 30).

Rivers's activity as translator and his sponsorship of Caxton fulfilled the demand of literacy manifested by the gentry. Providing access to a book expressly produced for the education of the Prince of Wales, Rivers and Caxton gave a crucial contribution in providing the future managing class of the kingdom with useful teachings and moral guidance. Moreover, the exchange of books determined the creation of cultural and political connections between families and individuals. Scholars have focused on the circles that gravitated around John Fastolf, the Pastons and the Hautes, and on the role they played in the creation of connections among the gentry.¹⁰ The development of such networks favoured the birth and consolidation of spheres of influence which involved the authors, the producers, and the readers in a dynamic relationship. Rivers played a paramount role in this context, as he exploited the potentialities offered by Caxton's printing press and marketing skills to impose his literary authority favouring – and probably managing himself – the production and dissemination of his works.

3. The Circulation of the *Dicts*: Some Examples

Although a full investigation of the *Dicts* has not yet been attempted, it is possible to speculate on the circulation of its witnesses starting from the studies on book production and ownership in the fifteenth century. In her outline of private owners of printed books in medieval Britain, Margaret Lane Ford focuses on the incunable as a medium of social and political connections between the

10 See Youngs (2005). For Fastolf, the Pastons, and the Hautes see, respectively, Hughes (1992), Richmond (2000), and Fleming (1987).

gentry and the nobility. According to her, these relationships become particularly visible considering the ownership of the first incunables printed by Caxton, as many of these owners “were related or acquainted” (1999: 213). Probably, Rivers’s social standing and his role of Governor of the Prince of Wales contributed to the success of the *Dicts* and prompted its circulation, not only because of the edifying contents of the book, but – and perhaps mostly – for the prestige that the ownership of one its copies might entail.

Prestigious patronage certainly influenced the ownership of the early English books, both directly through distribution of sponsored books, and indirectly through prestige placed on such ownership. [...] Books owned by the gentry-merchant classes were not directly necessary to conducting their affairs, but, as devotional aids and works for edification as well as entertainment, Caxton’s books were necessary to their life-styles (Ford 1999: 218).

A preliminary investigation of some copies of the *Dicts* confirms the social value of book ownership in the establishment or consolidation of personal or family connections. Ford herself reports an example related to a copy of the second edition: London, British Library, C. 10b. 2 belonged to the St. John family, whose member was Eleanor, the wife of Thomas Grey, one of the children that queen Elizabeth Woodville had had with her first husband (1999: 314). A copy of the *Dicts* also appears in the library of James Morice, clerk to Lady Margaret Beaufort, who mentions it in a list he wrote himself in his copy of the 1481 edition of William Worcester’s translation of *De senectute*, now held at Cambridge University Library.¹¹ This small inventory, which includes a Life of Christ, the *Stans puer ad mensam* (probably in translation), Lydgate’s *Temple of Glass* and the *Canterbury Tales*, is one of the best examples of what a gentleman of the rank of Morice should read. Margaret Beaufort was one of the protagonists of the events that followed Rivers’s death and the rise to power of Richard III. Mother of Henry Tudor, she was one of the most zealous supporters of her son in his claim for the English throne. A connection between her and the Woodvilles can be seen in her negotiation with Elizabeth Woodville for the marriage of Henry to Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV.

Also the extant manuscripts provide valuable clues on the circulation of the *Dicts* in late fifteenth century; moreover, they account for the capillarity of the dissemination of Rivers’s work not only thanks to Caxton’s prints, but also through manuscript copies of his editions.¹² The reproduction of the text in handwritten

11 Cambridge University Library, Inc 3.,i.i, [a]1^v. see Oates (1960) and Jayne (1956: 93).

12 London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 265, Chicago, Vault folio Case MS 36 (*olim* Newberry Library MS f.36 Ry 20) fols. 208^r-241^r and New York, Columbia University

copies suggests that the fortune of the work exceeded Rivers's and Caxton's most optimistic expectations. Moreover, the codicological context in which each witness is found helps to understand the function attributed to the text as well as its owner(s). In fact, the manuscripts can be distinguished in two types: those containing full-text copies of the *Dicts* and those presenting epitomised versions or fragments. Most full-text copies are full-text copies *de facto*, as they reproduce faithfully all the elements of their source, including the references to its print and publication found in Caxton's Epilogue. The most telling example is London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 265. Produced in 1477 as a Christmas gift from Rivers to the royal family, it contains an illustration representing the earl kneeling before the royal family and handing the book to the king. As this copy was produced only few weeks after the issue of Caxton's first edition, we can assume that Rivers himself still valued a manuscript copy of his text a more convenient object to be bestowed at court than a printed book. The copy held in London, British Library MS Additional 22718 is equally meaningful. As I wrote elsewhere (Khalaf forthcoming), the manuscript contains some notes written by its former owner Lord Walter C. Trevelyan, who bequeathed it to the British Library in 1859. The flyleaves record numerous birth dates of members of the Hill (or Hyll) family of Spaxton, Somerset. The most interesting entry is Maud Hill, born in 1505. Her mother Alice was a member of the Stourtons, another Somerset gentry family that was related to the court thanks to the close relation between Alice's uncle William and John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk and husband of Edward IV's sister Elizabeth, Elizabeth Woodville's sister-in-law.

The abridgements and the fragments of the *Dicts* demonstrate that the work was also valued for its contents. New York, University of Columbia Library MS Plimpton 259 contains a version of the *Dicts* interpolated in a typically secular context of use. This manuscript, which is a classical example of commonplace book, has not been the object of detailed studies except for the mathematical treatise it contains (Acker 1993). Besides them and various sapiential and gnomonic texts (an unidentified compilation of proverbs in Latin titled *Dictum philosophorum*, maxims from various authors, the poem *The Words of a Good*

Library, MS Plimpton 259 are derived from Caxton's first edition; Dublin, Trinity College MS 213 fols. 70^v-72^r, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS B.11 are considered copies of the second edition. See Blake (1991: 295–296). I have recently demonstrated that the witnesses contained in London, British Library MS Add. 22718 and in Add. 60577, fols. 38^r-44^v do not derive directly from one of Caxton's prints, but from a now lost text containing most of the innovations found in the second edition. See Khalaf (2018).

Horse to his Master, adages in Latin and English and Saint Bernard's *De contemptu mundi*),¹³ on fols. 54^r–61^v¹⁴ is found a very condensed epitome of the *Dicts* which includes a choice of some of the philosophers found in Rivers's text (we find, in the spelling of the copyist, Hermes, Sabyon, Ypocras, Pythagoras, Dyogenes, Socrates, Platon, Alyzaundyr, Ptholome, Legmon, Assaron, Anes, Pthesylim, Galeon, and Protege). The first owner of the book was a certain Robert Gottes (or Gottys) of Little Ryburgh, Norfolk, who left some records on fols. 11v–15v and 44r. Some more details found by Acker (1993: 78–79 n.7) help identify Gottes as a contemporary of Rivers, active in the acquisition of lands in the Norfolk area in 1475–1477.

Other fragments show that the text also circulated in religious environments. One of them is London, British Library, MS Add. 60577, which contains the section of the *Dicts* concerning Hermes¹⁵ along with some other moralizing works copied for the monks of St. Swithun's Abbey. Closely connected with the priory of Winchester, St. Swithun was under the direct supervision of the bishop and celebrated humanist William Waynflete. A point of connection between Rivers and Waynflete can be established in Eton College. Rivers was one of the patrons of the institution, as he secured Eton a grant of a tenement in London around 1475; for this reason, a mass was sung everyday for him and his family, which had to be preceded by sixty strokes (Lyte 1911: 70). Waynflete had been provost of the college between 1442 and 1447 and he remained involved in its development until his death in 1486 (Lyte 1911). Following his educational policy, Rivers may have sent a printed copy of his *Dicts* to the bishop, who made it available to the monks for study and reproduction. The codicological context in which this fragment is found is worth of notice:¹⁶ extant on fols. 38r–44v, it was placed by the copyist next to Lydgate's translation of the *Secretum Secretorum*. Possibly conceived as an integration to Lydgate's work by the compiler of the codex, here the *Dicts* acquire the same dignity as the most renowned mirror for princes that circulated in the Middle Ages.

13 See Ives (1942: 45) for a revision of De Ricci's census (1935–1940).

14 The actual foliation does not reconcile with that provided in Bühler (1948).

15 For a study of the witness see Khalaf (2018).

16 The manuscript has been thoroughly studied by Wilson and Fenlon (1981) in the introduction to their facsimile edition.

4. Conclusions

A full account of the circulation of the *Dicts* in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century England requires a more detailed study of all the witnesses. However, this yet incomplete survey allows some preliminary speculation. Notwithstanding the intentions manifested by Rivers in the Prologue, he decided to invest considerably in Caxton's press to favour the dissemination of his work outside of the sphere of the court. This policy favoured the acknowledgement of Rivers as a literary and moral authority, which extended also after his death in 1483: Caxton issued a third edition in 1489, followed by Wynkyn De Worde in 1528. This latter edition witnesses the persistence of a literary genre that is traditionally considered "medieval" and that proves to be successful even in one of the most thriving periods of English humanism – king Henry VIII's reign. Moreover, the production of multiple manuscript copies after the printed editions indicates that the text was widely read and was considered as valuable as to flank (or integrate) authoritative educational texts such as the *Secretum secretorum*. Rivers's prestige deriving from his appointment as tutor of the Prince of Wales elevated his work at the same level of the more celebrated mirrors for princes of those times and made him win great renown, notwithstanding the modern scholars' neglect.

The patronage of Caxton and his technology and the strategy of distribution of the *Dicts* favoured the success of this work especially among the gentry, who saw this book as a medium to consolidate social relations and gather useful competences for the moral growth of the individual. Owning a copy of the *Dicts* might mean getting a glimpse of courtly life and education, but also – and perhaps more importantly – being able to acquire useful notions for personal edification and the management of one's own wealth.

Thanks to Rivers's patronage and his policy of dissemination of the *Dicts* through Caxton's printing press, also lesser nobility might become as wise as a king.

References

- Acker, Paul. 1993. "The *Craft of Nombrynge* in Columbia University, Plimpton MS 259". *Manuscripta* 37.1: 71–83.
- Bennett, Henry S. 1970. *The Pastons and Their England. Studies in an Age of Transition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blades, William (ed.). 1877. *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers: A Facsimile Reproduction of the first Book Printed in England*. London: Stock.

- Blake, Norman F. 1991. *William Caxton and English Literary Culture*. London: The Hambledon Press.
- Bühler, Curt. 1948. "New Manuscripts of the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*". *Modern Language Notes* 63.1: 26–30.
- Clanchy, Michael. 1993. *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066–1307*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cressy, David. 1980. *Literacy and the Social Order. Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crotch, Walter J. B. 1928. *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*. EETS O.S. 176. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Ricci, Seymour. 1935–1940. *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada. With the assistance of W.J. Wilson. Three volumes*. New York: Wilson Company.
- Eckart, Siân – Robert Rouse (eds.). 2017. *The Encyclopaedia of Medieval Literature in Britain*. Ames, Iowa: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Eder, Robert. 1915. "Tignonvillana inedita". *Romanische Forschungen* 33: 851–1022.
- Fleming, Peter. 1987. "The Hautes and their 'circle'. Culture and the English gentry". In: Williams, Daniel (ed.): 85–102.
- Ford, Margaret L. 1999. "Private Ownership of Printed Books". In: Hellinga, Lotte – Joseph Trapp (eds.): 205–228.
- Hellinga, Lotte – Joseph Trapp (eds.). 1999. *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III 1400–1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hudson, Harriett. 1984. "Middle English Popular Romances: The Manuscript Evidence". *Manuscripta* 28.2: 67–78.
- Harper-Bill, Christopher – Ruth Harvey (eds.). 1992. *Medieval Knighthood IV*. Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Hughes, Jonathan. 1992. "Stephen Scrope and the circle of Sir John Fastolf: Moral and Intellectual Outlooks". In: Harper-Bill, Christopher – Ruth Harvey (eds.): 109–146.
- Ives, Samuel A. 1942. "Corrigenda and Addenda to the Descriptions of the Plimpton Manuscripts as Recorded in the De Ricci Census". *Speculum* 17.1: 33–49.
- Jayne, Sears R. 1956. *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Johnston, Michael. 2014. *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Keiser, George R. 1999. "Practical Books for the Gentleman". In: Hellinga, Lotte – Joseph Trapp (eds.): 470–494.
- Khalaf, Omar. 2011. "Lord Rivers and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264: a Speculum for the Prince of Wales?". *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 14: 239–250.
- Khalaf, Omar. 2017. "*Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*". In: Eckart, Siân – Robert Rouse (eds.): 667–668.
- Khalaf, Omar. 2018. "The Fragment of Earl Rivers' *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* in London, British Library, Add. 60577". *Neophilologus* 102.4: 561–571.
- Khalaf, Omar. Forthcoming. "The Social Function of a Translation: Earl Rivers, William Caxton, and *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*". In: Rychterová, Pavlina – Jan Odstřcilík (eds.).
- Lyte, Henry H. C. M. 1911. *A History of Eton College (1404–1910)*. London: Macmillan.
- Mancini, Domenico. 1969. *The Usurpation of Richard III*. Ed. and trans. C.A.J. Armstrong. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nichols, John. 1790. *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns. From King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary. Also Receipts in Ancient Cookery*. London: Society of Antiquaries.
- Oates, J.C.T. 1960. "English Bokes Concernyng to James Morice". *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3.2: 124–132.
- Orme, Nicholas. 1984. *From Childhood to Chivalry. The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066–1530*. London – New York: Methuen.
- Orme, Nicholas. 2005. "Education and Recreation". In: Radulescu, Raluca – Alison Truelove (eds.): 63–83.
- Parkes, Malcolm B. 1991. "The Literacy of the Laity". In: Parkes, Malcolm B. (ed.): 291–297.
- Parkes, Malcolm B. (ed.). 1991. *Scribes, Scripts and Readers. Studies in Communication, Dissemination and Presentation of Medieval Texts*. London. Hambledon.
- Pollnitz, Aysha. 2015. *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Putter, Ad. 2000. "Introduction". In: Putter, Ad – Jane Gilbert (eds.): 1–38.
- Putter, Ad – Jane Gilbert (eds.). 2000. *The Spirit of Medieval English Popular Romance*. Harlow: Longman.

- Radulescu, Raluca. 2005. "Literature". In: Radulescu, Raluca – Alison Truelove (eds.): 100–118.
- Radulescu, Raluca – Alison Truelove (eds.). 2005. *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Rees Jones, Sarah – Richard Marks – Alistair J. Minnis (eds.). 2000. *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*. Woodbridge. Boydell.
- Richmond, Colin. 2000. "The Pastons and London". In: Rees Jones, Sarah – Richard Marks – Alistair J. Minnis (eds.): 221–226.
- Riddy, Felicity. 1987. *Sir Thomas Malory*. Leiden: Brill.
- Rychterová, Pavlina – Jan Odstrčilík (eds.). Forthcoming. *Medieval Translator. Medieval Translations and their Readerships. Proceedings from the Cardiff Conference on the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Salter, Elisabeth. 2012. *Popular Reading in English. C. 1400–1600*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Sutton, John W. 2006. *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*. Teams Middle English Series. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications.
- Trapp, Joseph. B. 1999. "Literacy, Books and Readers". In: Hellenga, Lotte – Joseph Trapp (eds.): 31–43.
- Truelove, Alison. 2005. "Literacy". In: Radulescu, Raluca – Alison Truelove (eds.): 84–99.
- Weinberg, S. Carole. 2005. "Caxton, Anthony Woodville, and the Prologue to the *Morte Darthur*". *Studies in Philology* 102.1: 45–65.
- Williams, Daniel (ed.). 1987. *England in the Fifteenth Century*. Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium. Woodbridge. Boydell.
- Wilson, Edward – Iain Fenlon (eds.). 1981. *The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Youngs, Deborah. 2005. "Cultural Networks". In: Radulescu, Raluca – Alison Truelove (eds.): 119–133.