

John Mower, Vicar of Tenterden in the Late Fifteenth Century: His Will, His Career and His Library

by

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IN 1489, AT THE END OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL CAREER SPENT partly at the university of Oxford and partly in offices and benefices in London and various parts of England, John Mower drew up his will, making a series of bequests both to his church of Saint Mildred in Tenterden, where he was by then perpetual vicar, and to a large number of friends, colleagues and former institutions.¹ Many of these bequests were of books, which Mower would have collected during a career which spanned the interesting transitional period following the invention of printing when both manuscript and printed books were in current use. It is clear that Mower was well educated and well connected. His ownership of Greek books suggests that he had been in some way involved in the Humanist revival in fifteenth-century England.

Mower's will has been noticed before. A partial transcription (in the original Latin) of the sections relating to books was printed by H. R. Plomer in 1903.² An abbreviated translation into English can be found on the website of the Kent Archaeological Society in the invaluable series of *Medieval & Tudor Kent P.C.C. Wills*, transcribed over a hundred years ago by L. L. Duncan.³ The will is also noticed in an article in *Archaeologia Cantiana* on the incumbents of St Mildred's Tenterden,⁴ and by A. B. Emden in the entry

¹ The spelling of Mower's name is uncertain. In the text of the will it appears to be 'Mooer' whereas the marginal annotation appears to read 'Moer'. The spelling in the ownership note, apparently in his own hand, found in the Bodleian incunabula discussed later, clearly reads 'Moer'. The inscription in the surviving Eton books suggest 'Mocer' and 'Moyer'. In spite of this, I have decided here to use the form 'Mower' to conform with the spelling used by Emden (see note 5).

² H. R. Plomer, 'Books mentioned in wills', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VII, 1 (1902-4), 99-121: 108-9 and 118-19, where his name is transcribed 'Moer'. Plomer suggests (p. 109) that Mower might have been a member of the same family as Sir Thomas More but the evidence for this seems very tenuous.

³ <http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/Libr/Wills/WillsIntro.htm>; the name is transcribed 'Moer'.

⁴ A. H. Taylor, 'The Rectors and Vicars of St. Mildred's, Tenterden', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 31 (1915), 207-15.

for John Mower in his *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, where a number of the beneficiaries and the books they received are identified.⁵ An almost complete, but not always accurate transcription of the Latin text was presented in 1968 by Josephine W. Bennett.⁶ Aspects of the will relating to Thomas Linacre are also discussed by Cecil Clough.⁷ Mower's bequests to two non-university collegiate institutions are documented by James Willoughby.⁸ Bennett's article concentrates particularly on evidence offered by the will for the Canterbury connections of the humanist scholar Thomas Linacre and for the activities of William Selling (prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1472–95) as a student (and possible teacher) of Greek.⁹ This present note will attempt to reassess Mower's career from the evidence of his will and to look particularly at the identities of the recipients. The will has been re-transcribed in full (see Appendix I) from a digital copy of the original provided by the National Archives.¹⁰

John Mower's biography

A key element in Josephine Bennett's account of Mower's career is her belief that 'John Mower' (Emden, p. 1326) is the same person as 'John Morer' (Emden, p. 1309). It is certainly the case that there is a degree of similarity in the variant forms of names recorded by Emden for these two people:

Mower: Moer, Morre, Mowar, Moweer, Mowere, Mowre, Moyer
Morer: Morar, Moreor, Morere, Moror, Morre.

Bennett notes that both entries in Emden record their man as senior proctor at Oxford in 1461–62 and assumes that the two entries must therefore relate to the same person.¹¹ By pooling the information from the two biographies,

⁵ A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957–59), pp. 1326–27. Emden enters him under the surname 'Mower' and records a large number of variant forms: Moer, Morre, Mowar, Moer, Mowere, Mowre, Moyer.

⁶ Josephine W. Bennett, 'John Morer's Will: Thomas Linacre and Prior Sellyng's Greek Teaching', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 15 (1968), 70–91.

⁷ Cecil H. Clough, 'Thomas Linacre, Cornelio Vitelli, and Humanistic Studies at Oxford', in *Linacre Studies. Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre c. 1460–1524*, ed. by F. Maddison, M. Pelling & C. Webster (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 1–35 (pp. 7–9).

⁸ James M. W. Willoughby, *The Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 15, 2 vols (London: The British Library in association with the British Academy, 2013), 1, 36–44 (pp. 38–41) (Ashford) and 121–203 (pp. 169–71) (Eton). The entries for Ashford and Eton Colleges record Mower's bequests. I am grateful to James Willoughby for letting me see early drafts of these entries.

⁹ Prior William Selling is described in a document issued by Archbishop Bourghier in 1475 as 'eo magis famosus quo non minus in Graeca et Latina lingua extiterat apprime eruditus et satis gnarus' (*Litterae Cantuarienses: The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. by J. Brigstocke Sheppard, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1887–89), III, 291).

¹⁰ National Archives, PRO, PCC Will Registers, PROB/11/8 (20 Milles). I must express my gratitude to the Society's anonymous reviewer who proposed several small emendations to my transcription and generously made a number of other suggestions which I have incorporated into my text and notes.

¹¹ Bennett, 'John Morer's Will', p. 82. In both cases the reference is to *Epistolae Academicae Oxon (Registrum F): A Collection of Letters and Other Miscellaneous Documents Illustrative of Academic Life and Studies at Oxford in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Henry Anstey, 2 vols (London: Longmans, 1898), II, 368, where Joannes Morre is named as one of the two proctors.

she is able to give a very interesting account of a career as an Oxford don and a client of the Lancastrians, including a time as chancellor of Wells.¹² Unfortunately, it is quite clear that Emden was recording the careers of (at least) two separate clerics. One of them, John Morer, D. M., who was chancellor of Wells (1467) and prebendary of Combe Prima (?1467–72), had died by 12 January 1472 when his successor was appointed and cannot be our John Mower of Tenterden.¹³ There is no record of John Mower's being a doctor of medicine. Additionally, John Morer is recorded as priest and rector of Compton Beauchamp one year before John Mower is recorded as being ordained.¹⁴ Morer appears to have been a Lancastrian,¹⁵ whereas Mower made a bequest to the sometime Yorkist magnate Sir John Guildford [15], though by the time he made his will this may not have been significant.

It is entirely possible that there were (at least) two men in holy orders in Oxford called John More (or similar) at this time.¹⁶ An Oxford stationer of that name is also recorded for the period 1435–72.¹⁷ It may be that Emden's entries have further confusions beside the impossibility of two of these men being senior proctor simultaneously.¹⁸ Fortunately, Mower's will provides a series of bequests which correspond to a number of the elements recorded in one (and only one) of the two biographies from Emden. The table in Appendix II shows the details of the careers of John Mower and John Morer as listed by Emden, together with references to the paragraphs of John Mower's will. The will confirms archival information about a fellowship at Eton [clauses 9, 42] and also the incumbencies of Eccleshall (Staffordshire) [49] and St Benet Sherehog (Bucklersbury, London) [50–52] and of Tenterden itself. Additional elements of Mower's biography which can be deduced from his will include definite connections with Canterbury, in the

¹² Bennett, 'John Morer's Will', p. 83.

¹³ Emden, p. 1309; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541*, VIII: *Bath and Wells Diocese*, ed. by B. Jones (London: University of London, 1964): Chancellors (p. 9): 'M. John Morer D.M. 1467–? By exchange December 1467'. Prebendaries of Combe Prima (p. 23): 'M. John Morer D.M. ?–1472. Died as prebendary before 12 January 1472'.

¹⁴ The confusion between the two men might be traced back to the *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. C. W. Boase, Oxford Historical Society, 1, 10–12, 14, 2 vols in 5 (1885–88), 1, 11: 'Moror or Moror, John, adm. BA 24 June 1450, and paid sixpence, inc. as MA 6 Feb. 1454/5, sup. as MA and Southern proctor for DM 27 Mar. 1462—fellow of New College 27 Aug. 1446 to 1465, from New Windsor in Berks, afterwards fellow of Eton'. This suggests that the proctor who supplicated for a DM was not 'our' John Mower.

¹⁵ Emden, p. 1309, records that he received a general pardon in 1471.

¹⁶ Emden, pp. 1303–4, lists a John More, fellow of All Souls in 1439 to 1448, of St Cuthbert's Hall in 1453, who is recorded as a proctor in the period 1447 to 1467; another John More was a fellow of Exeter College in 1464 to 1472 and died in 1479.

¹⁷ M. B. Parkes, 'The Provision of Books', in *History of the University of Oxford*, II: *Late medieval Oxford*, ed. by J. I. Catto and R. Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 419–21.

¹⁸ Bennett's version of the career of Morer/Mower is followed in the otherwise useful article by Cecil Clough (Clough, 'Thomas Linacre', pp. 7–9). It is also drawn on by Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), p. 189, who unfortunately states that the will is that of Dr John Morer MD of New College, Oxford; he gives an otherwise excellent account of Mower's circle of acquaintances in the Weald of Kent (pp. 189–93).

form of Christ Church cathedral priory [7, 44, 59] and St Augustine's abbey [10], and with Oxford, in the form of Canterbury College [8] and Magdalen College [11, 14].

The Christ Church and Canterbury College connections might seem to be confirmed by evidence cited by William Pantin, recording that 'Master John More, B.C.L., in 1468 and Thomas Stevenys, S.T.P., commissary at Oxford, in 1474 were given letters of confraternity by the monks of Christ Church Canterbury, the former evidently as a reward for services rendered in a lawsuit against Oriel in 1466–68 concerning the ownership of a neighbouring tenement'.¹⁹ It is tempting to think that this refers to Little St Edward Hall where Emden records John Mower had been principal in 1460–63. Emden describes this hall as being on the north side of Canterbury College.²⁰ However, this John Mower was described as a BCL and it must be concluded that this record of confraternity must refer to yet another 'John More' at the University of Oxford at this time.²¹

From the bequests to Canterbury College [8] and to Magdalen College [11] it seems clear that Mower would have been educated at Oxford and that he probably taught there at some time.²² But most of the Oxford connections listed by Emden could relate to any of the two or more Johns, as they all date from before 1472 when Dr John Morer, the chancellor of Wells, died. The Oxford institutions which do not have separate archival support and are mentioned only in the will are Magdalen College and Canterbury College. The two Oxford institutions which have archival support and do not figure in the will are New College (in Emden's entry for John Morer) and Little St Edward Hall (from the entry for John Mower). One would suppose that if Mower had once been a fellow he might have made a bequest to New College (though he did give a book to Richard Prutt, rector of Sandhurst, who was educated at Winchester and had recently been a student at New College). Absence of a bequest of a book to Little St Edward Hall is less significant, as it would probably not have been substantial enough to have its own library.

The other institutions in Bennett's merged biography which did not receive named bequests include Winchester College, Wells cathedral, and

¹⁹ W. A. Pantin, *Canterbury College, Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, new series, 6–8, 30, 4 vols (1947–85), II, 189; IV, 100–1.

²⁰ Pantin states that Edward Hall was part of the northern block of tenements which Canterbury College never acquired (*ibid.* IV, 132). H. E. Salter's *Survey of Oxford*, ed. by W. A. Pantin, Oxford Historical Society, new series, 14, 20, 2 vols (1960–69), shows two St Edward Halls, one next to St Edward's church (tenement 124 in the South-East Ward, 1, 222; Salter's Map SE 1), the other on Shidyerd Street (tenement SE 100, 1, 214; Salter's Map SE 11). It is this second tenement which was probably Little Edward Hall. Marre's tenement (belonging to Oriel but at one time rented by Canterbury College) was adjacent to St Edward's Hall and united with it in 1486 (*Canterbury College, Oxford*, IV, 133; Salter's tenement SE 101). This is clearly the tenement which was the subject of the dispute between Canterbury College and Oriel.

²¹ I am grateful to James Willoughby for discussion of this point.

²² The book given to Magdalen College is still there: MS lat. 149.

the collegiate church at Bishop Auckland. Why might Mower have failed to make bequests to these institutions? The prebend at Bishop Auckland does seem to belong to the biography of John Mower: it was exchanged for the rectory of St Benet Sherehog, just seven years before Mower made his will, although it is St Benet's which was remembered in the will. Winchester remains a possible element of Mower's educational itinerary, especially in view of connections with others of William Waynflete's foundations, but at present this lacks positive supporting evidence beyond a link through Richard Prutt. Wells cathedral is to be excluded as it is definitely identified with Dr John Morer who died in 1472.

If Mower was already principal of a minor hall at Oxford by 1460, it might be assumed that he had started his studies in Oxford before 1450 and might have been born in the 1420s or 1430s. His subsequent career in collegiate establishments included Eton College, where he was a fellow from 1470 to 1473, and a canonry in the collegiate church of Bishop Auckland in the period before 1482.²³ His bequests of books to the student monks of Christ Church priory, Canterbury [7], to those of Canterbury College, Oxford [8], and to those of St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury [10], suggest connections with these Benedictine houses as a secular teacher (it is clear that he was not himself a Benedictine). The question arises as to whether these bequests were to the main library of the house or to the attached almonry school. Bruce Barker-Benfield suggests that the bequest to St Augustine's 'does not seem to accord with a bequest to the abbey library' and cites the almonry school there, created in 1431, as a likely recipient, 'though there is no evidence of the books it must have used'.²⁴ The gift to the students of Christ Church Canterbury might also relate to its almonry school rather than to the priory itself.²⁵ Canterbury College, Oxford, had a school for the education of secular schoolboys under a secular master.²⁶ James Clark notes that 'it was commonplace, perhaps increasingly so in the pre-Reformation period, for the boys of the almonry and the novices of the monastery to share the same master'.²⁷ The almonry school at the cathedral priory is said to have been a major source of training and recruitment of

²³ The two books bequeathed to Eton College are still there; see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), pp. 42–43, nos 105 and 106; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1969–2002), II, 717–20.

²⁴ B. C. Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 13, 3 vols (London: The British Library in association with the British Academy, 2008), p. liv and n. 14. Barker-Benfield suggests that the bequest was probably made too late to be recorded in the abbey's late-fifteenth-century catalogue (his BA1).

²⁵ The schools at Christ Church and St Augustine's are discussed by Bennett as examples of Prior Selling's educational patronage ('John Morer's Will', pp. 76–77).

²⁶ J. G. Clark, 'Monasteries and Secular Education in Late Medieval England', in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by J. Burton and K. Stöber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 145–67 (p. 157).

²⁷ *ibid.* p. 154.

future monks throughout this period.²⁸ In all three cases, however, the books given seem more suited to the specialist needs of student monks than to novices and pupils of the almonry schools; James Willoughby says ‘but these are not grammar books, and must have been intended for the use of the monk-students’.²⁹ The bequests to the two Canterbury houses and to Canterbury College seem to be a clear indicator of a teaching career with Benedictine connections. Willoughby suggests that Mower may have taught in the grammar schools of the two Benedictine houses in Canterbury in the period 1473 to 1479.³⁰ Other educational houses were also given books in Mower’s will (mainly in London and the south-east). These academic bequests and the very size of Mower’s library (to judge from the large number of books he bequeathed) also suggest that he had an academic career.

It can be assumed that Mower had patrons who helped his career development. One was likely to have been William Waynflete (c. 1400–1486), bishop of Winchester, who from 1442 to 1447 was provost of Eton where Mower was a fellow in the 1470s; Waynflete was also founder of Magdalen Hall (1448) and then its successor Magdalen College (1458) in Oxford. Mower made bequests to both Eton [9] and Magdalen [11] and his gift to William Wyresham specifies that it is to go to Magdalen after Wyresham’s death [14]. The entry for Waynflete in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* lays stress on his career as an educator and patron of learning and the owner of a large library (800 books given to Magdalen College before his death).³¹ It is not beyond possibility that the biographical information given by Emden on the early educational career of John Morer at Winchester College, where Waynflete had been headmaster at the start of his career, and then at New College, Oxford, might in fact refer to our John Mower as a client of Waynflete rather than to Dr John Morer (Emden, p. 1309).

Mower’s other patron was clearly Prior William Selling of Christ Church, Canterbury, who is called on in the will to arrange the transfer of ten pounds and five books to Thomas Linacre in Florence [44, 45, 46], and who is also requested in the *Residuum* [59] to oversee the sale of the remainder of Mower’s library, as well as being reminded to look after the gifts to Linacre. Selling was a student at Canterbury College, Oxford, from c. 1450 and was ordained deacon in 1454, making him perhaps ten years older than Mower, who was ordained in 1463.³² They may well have been contemporaries at

²⁸ R. B. Dobson, ‘The Monks of Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages, 1220–1540’, in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. by P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 69–153 (p. 118).

²⁹ *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, p. 40.

³⁰ *ibid.* p. 39.

³¹ Virginia Davis, ‘Waynflete, William (c. 1400–1486)’, in *ODNB*.

³² Cecil H. Clough, ‘Selling, William (c. 1430–1494)’, in *ODNB*.

Oxford at some point in the 1450s. As prior of Christ Church Canterbury (from 1472), Selling is recorded as giving books to Canterbury College and being instrumental in the appointment of a master to the cathedral's almonry school in Canterbury. Selling was also responsible for the refitting of study carrels in the south cloister at Canterbury cathedral in 1473–75 with protective glazing in the arcade mullions,³³ which might provide an additional context for Mower's bequest to the student monks of the priory. In 1486 Selling 'bought in London for 12 pence a copy of Perotti's Latin grammar for John Langdon, Warden of Canterbury College, Oxford'.³⁴ All of this indicates Selling's continuing interest in educational questions and is sufficient to explain Mower's connection with him (without considering whether Mower might have learnt Greek from him or through him, in view of the books left to Thomas Linacre). The latter also benefited from Selling's patronage and accompanied him to Italy in 1487, as is confirmed by the terms of Mower's bequest of Greek books and money [44–46].³⁵

The living of St Mildred's at Tenterden was a benefice dependent on St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury.³⁶ Bennett suggested that William Selling of Christ Church acted as prior of St Augustine's during the time that his namesake William Selling, abbot of St Augustine's, had been deprived (from 1478);³⁷ if that were the case, it could indicate that Selling of Christ Church was responsible for Mower's appointment to St Mildred's. Unfortunately, Bennett gave no references to support her assertion, which it has not been possible to verify.³⁸ It seems safer to suggest that Mower obtained the Tenterden benefice through the educational connections which he seems to have had with the two Canterbury Benedictine houses, the patronage of Selling of Christ Church no doubt being a significant factor in this.

The will

In his will Mower first of all specifies bequests to his church, having requested that he be buried in its chancel [1–6]. He leaves ten shillings for

³³ Margaret Sparks, *Canterbury Cathedral Precincts: A Historical Survey* (Canterbury: Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, 2007), p. 15.

³⁴ Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, edited and prepared for electronic publication by David Rundle & Anthony John Lappin, p. 240, note by Weiss recorded in the online fourth edition, consulted 2012.

³⁵ Clough, 'Selling, William'.

³⁶ Hasted records that 'the Church of Tenterden was part of the antient possessions of the monastery of St. Augustine' (Edward Hasted, 'The Hundred, Town and Parish of Tenterden', in his *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 7 (1798), pp. 200–19). He notes that 'on the front of the steeple are the arms of St. Augustine's monastery, and likewise on a beam over the altar'. St Augustine's was the patron of the living, appointing a perpetual vicar. The advowson was given to the dean and chapter of Canterbury after the Dissolution. See also Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, p. 36.

³⁷ Bennett, 'John Mower's Will', p. 77.

³⁸ Abbot Sellyng's suspension and enforced resignation is documented by Bruce Barker-Benfield (*St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, pp. 75–76) who also notes the unreliability of Bennett's assertion. The abbot was technically still in post when Mower was inducted to St Mildred's in 1479 but he could hardly have been in a position to conduct effective official business by that time.

the repair of the chancel [2] and thirteen shillings and four pence for the repair of the nave [3]. He then leaves a new gradual to be used in the south choir [4] and two books which are to be chained there: a *Pupilla oculi* and a common gloss on the Gospels [5 and 6]. A later item records a bequest to the confraternity of St Mary in the church at Tenterden [47]. Mower also left books to Sir John Gilford (Guildford, Guldeford) [15] who was a Kentish magnate with a strong local connection to the church at Tenterden where he wished to be buried.³⁹

There then follows a detailed list of books to be left to various educational establishments. Of particular interest are the very first bequests, to the students of Christ Church, Canterbury [7] and to the students of its daughter house, Canterbury College, Oxford [8]. As suggested above, Mower must have had close connections with the educational functions of these two Benedictine houses for him to have singled them out for first mention in his will. Assuming that the order of the bequests in the will is significant, we can note that the next bequests are to Eton College [9], where he had been a fellow, and to the students of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury [10]. These are followed by bequests to Magdalen College, Oxford [11], and to the colleges of Wye [12] and Ashford [13] in Kent. All of these strongly suggest connections with the academic and collegiate world of fifteenth-century England. Several of these houses were fairly recent foundations: Eton College (1440), Wye College (1448), Magdalen College (1456, founded by William Waynflete, former Provost of Eton), Ashford College (1467).⁴⁰ Ashford was especially favoured, being left six books.

Books were also bequeathed to a number of individuals in parish churches in the south-east: master Thomas Copland, rector of Biddenden [16 and 17], dan Richard Prutt, rector of Sandhurst [18], master Robert Sheffield, rector of Chartham [21], master John Williamson, rector of St George's, Canterbury [23]. Next come bequests to minor religious houses: the Franciscans at Winchelsea [31], the Carmelites of Losenham [33], and an unspecified house at 'Modenden' [34] received gifts of money.⁴¹ Other individuals who were to receive books or money are master Richard Willyford [19 and 20], master Richard Stevens [22], master John Richardson of Canterbury [24], master William Page of Maidstone [25], dan John Mathew the chaplain [26], dan John Carlesse, who also received clothing

³⁹ W. G. Davis, *The Ancestry of Mary Isaacs c. 1549–1613, Wife of Thomas Appleton of Little Waldinfield, Co. Suffolk and Mother of Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, Massachusetts* (Portland, ME: Anthoensen Press, 1955), pp. 69–96, esp. pp. 78–83; see also references in Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*. His will of 20 March 1493 is given in précis in Kent Archaeological Society's online resource, *Medieval & Tudor Kent P.C.C. Wills Transcriptions* by L. L. Duncan, Book 59, page 13 (<http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/Libr/Wills/Bk59/P13.htm>).

⁴⁰ Dates from Paul Jeffery, *The Collegiate Churches of England and Wales* (London: Robert Hale, 2004).

⁴¹ 'Modenden' was doubtless the Trinitarian friary, modern name Mottenden (VCH Kent, II (London, 1926), pp. 205–8); Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, p. 81.

[27–28], brother John Standley OFM [30], dan Thomas Doone [35], and dan John Whyte of Benenden [58]. Mower's London parish of St Benet Sherehog received his glossed psalter [50]. In addition to clothing and a sum of money to be recovered from a debt owed by Thomas Dekyn, his 'cousin' George Aderton was to receive books including Mower's black breviary (*portiforium*), suggesting that he too was a priest [36–42].

At least one book not listed in the will survives: the Bodleian Library's *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century* records a Venetian edition of 1483 of Paulus Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*, which has an ownership inscription on sig. a1^r: 'Codex Ioannis Moer In theologia Bacall., Rectoris Sancti Benedicti'.⁴² Mower had acquired the London living of St Benet Sherehog in 1482, the year before the publication of this book. He was clearly continuing to make quite serious purchases only a few years before his death. Other surviving books that are accounted for in the will include the manuscript copy of Alexander Nequam, *Expositio super Cantica Canticorum* left to Magdalen College, Oxford. The ownership inscription reads (fol. 204^r): 'Ex dono Magistri Iohannis Mowere sacre Theologie Baccallarij', followed by an earlier indication of price: 'precium istius libri vj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.'.⁴³ Two survive of the four manuscripts which Mower gave to Eton College: Augustine, *Epistulae*, with two ownership inscriptions ('Liber mag. Thome Mareys Rectoris de Stormouth in comitatu Kantie emptus de executoribus Thome Chicheley archidiaconi Cantuariensis anno dⁿⁱ 1468^o vltimo die mensis Aprilis' and 'Liber mag. Joh. Mocer (*sic*) vicarii de tenterden emptus cantuarie ab executoribus mag. Thome maris et a mag. Simone hogges officiali pro 33 s 4^{di}.'), and Augustine, *Sermones de uerbis Domini et apostoli*, with a simple presentation inscription, 'Donum Mⁱ Ioannis Moyer' (fol. iii^v).⁴⁴ The two provenance notes in the first Augustine record the purchase and resale of the manuscript: it was first of all purchased in 1468 by Thomas Mareys, rector of Stourmouth, Kent, from the executors of archdeacon Thomas Chichele (nephew of Archbishop Henry Chichele and warden of Wingham College near Canterbury), and secondly purchased from the executors of Mareys

⁴² Paulus Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*, ed. by Aeneas Vulpes and Laurentius Brixiensis (Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 1483). Incunable catalogue reference: O-029; Bodleian shelfmark: L 3.13(2) Jur. The second gathering of the book has frequent marginal annotations in the same hand.

⁴³ Magdalen College, MS lat. 149. H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1852), 'Catalogus codicum MSS. Collegii B. Mariae Magdalенаe', pp. 71–72, confirmed from Ralph Hanna's forthcoming catalogue, kindly made available in draft by Dr Christine Ferdinand, then Fellow Librarian of Magdalen College.

⁴⁴ James, Eton, nos 105 and 106; Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, II, 717–20. The two Eton books are also described by Willoughby, *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, pp. 169–71. These sources have slight variations in transcription.

(died in 1472) by John Mower at a date after 1479 when he became vicar of Tenterden.⁴⁵

Mower's library

The books individually recorded in the will are just under fifty in number. Large as this tally of Mower's library is, its actual size must have been larger still, as Prior Selling is asked to oversee the sale of other books remaining after the specific bequests recorded in the will had been made[59]. This can only mean that there was a sufficient quantity beyond those named in the will. The Bodleian copy of Orosius recorded above may have been one of these additional books. The total collection may have amounted to sixty or seventy volumes, composed of both manuscripts and printed books.

Appendix III attempts to identify the works in question—easy in the case of the books which survive at Eton and Oxford—and to suggest whether they might have been printed or manuscript (in the large number of entries where this is not stated). Where a work is listed by the Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC) in a number of editions printed in Mower's lifetime, it has been entered as 'possibly a printed book'. This gives a count of twenty-six manuscripts and twenty-two printed books. This is probably an overestimate of the printed books but nevertheless shows a scholar who lived at the time of the introduction and spread of printing actively acquiring both manuscript and printed books for his working library.

There are a few service books left to his two parish churches; eight books which can be characterized as humanist (including the Greek books destined for Linacre); and a few historical or general devotional works; but the large majority of the books in Mower's library (over thirty) are the professional tools of a university-trained theologian.

Conclusion

Even after the reduction of John Mower's biography by removing the data relating to Dr John Morer, it is clear that our man was no simple rural cleric. Lutton refers to 'his extraordinary last will and testament which reveals his important position within fifteenth-century humanist scholarship'.⁴⁶ Willoughby considers that he 'takes his place as one of the handful of Englishmen known to have been active in humanistic studies early in the reign of Henry VII'.⁴⁷ This is underlined by his ownership of Greek books and his connections with Linacre at the time when the latter was still a student, and with William Selling as patron of both of them. There can be little doubt that he had had a career which involved teaching both in

⁴⁵ For Mareys, see Emden, p. 1221. He had been educated at Winchester and at New College, of which he was a fellow from 1441 to 1453.

⁴⁶ Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, p. 189.

⁴⁷ *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, p. 38.

collegiate establishments, especially at Oxford, and in Benedictine houses, especially in Canterbury. His will has the appearance of that of a retired teacher wishing to remember both institutions with which he had been connected and clerical colleagues in his locality, some of whom may even have been among his former students.

Canterbury

APPENDIX I. MOWER'S WILL.

Transcription of probate of the will of John Mower, vicar of the parish church of Tenterden, Kent, dated Palm Sunday 1489. Proved 16 November. National Archives, PRO, PCC Will Registers, PROB 11/8 (20 Milles). The itemized bequests have been divided into separate paragraphs with reference numbers.

(*In the margin:*) Testamentum Johannis Moerer

In dei nomine Amen in dominica palmarum. Anno domini Millesimo CCCCLxxxix. Ego Johannes Moerer vicarius perpetue vicarie ecclesie parochialis de Tentwarden Cant. dioc. egrotus membris et corpore sed deo gracias sanus animo condo testamentum meum in hunc modum.

- [1] In primis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti et corpus meum sepulture ecclesiastice in cancello sancte mildrede de Tentwarden predicte
- [2] Et lego ad reparacionem eiusdem cancelli .x s.
- [3] lego etiam ad reparacionem nauis dicte ecclesie xiiij s iiiij d
- [4] Item lego eidem ecclesie vnum Gradale nouum ad deseruiendum deo in choro ecclesie ex parte australi eiusdem.
- [5] Item lego eidem ecclesie librum dictum pupilla oculi sacerdotis cathenandum in choro predicto et ex parte predicta
- [6] Item lego eidem ecclesie communem glosam super euangelia cathenandam in choro predicto ex parte predicta
- [7] Item lego studentibus ecclesie Christi Cant. epistolas Ieronimi Item concordancias biblie Item tabulam super Augustinum Item librum dictum introitus in Dionisium
- [8] Item lego studentibus in collegio Cant. Oxon. fundato librum dictum magister sentenciarum
- [9] Item lego Collegio de Eton Epistolas Augustini Item Omelias originis super Matheum. Item Augustinum de verbis domini et apostoli Item Rabanum de Lodowicum
- [10] Item lego studentibus ecclesie sancti Augustini extra muros Cant. doctorem de Lira cum sua tabula
- [11] Item lego collegio Beate Marie Magdalene Oxon. librum dictum Alexandrum Nekom

- [12] Item lego Collegio de Wy Cant. dioc. librum dictum Thome dockyng super deuteronomio et apocalipsi
- [13] Item lego collegio de Assheford dicte dioc. glosam comunem in genesim Item glosam *communem* in Ieremiam Item glosam in parabolas Salamonis Item glosam super ysaia et daniele Item Augustinum super Canonica Iohannis Item ysodorum de summo bono.
- [14] Item lego domui sancti Thome de Acres *quantum* ad proprietatem librum retractacionum sancti Augustini, ad vsum vero magistri Willielmi Wyresham ad terminum vite ejusdem, cui eciam lego ad terminum vite sue Jeroninum super ysayam et danielem ac fidei sue *committo quod* post mortem suam tradatur collegio Beate Marie magdalene Oxon, ibidem *perpetuo permansurum*
- [15] Item lego domino Johanni Gilford militi librum de diuersis cronicis et historijs.
- [16] Item lego magistro Thome Copland Rectori de Bedynden librum dictum vitas patrum
- [17] Item eidem lego librum gregorii in dialogis et pastoralibus
- [18] Item lego domino Ricardo Prutt Rectori de Sandherst Omelias Bede et Evsebii.
- [19] Item lego magistro Ricardo Willyford Willielmum Lynwoode super constitucionibus prouincialibus.
- [20] Item eidem Jsophum Antiquitatum
- [21] Item lego magistro Roberto Shefeld Rectori de Chartham Ambrosium super *Commendacionibus*.
- [22] Item lego magistro Ricardo Stevyns Tullium de Officiis
- [23] Item lego magistro Johanni Willyamson Rectori ecclesie sancti Georgii Cant. Laurencium de Valla, cum quodam tractatu de ordine iudiciario
- [24] Item lego magistro Johanni Richardson Cant. librum dictum Belyall cum ceteris contentis.
- [25] Item lego domino Willielmo Page de Maydeston Sanct. Thomas de veritatibus cum Cronica Martiniana et aliis contentis in eodem volumine.
- [26] Item lego domino Johanni Mathew capellano Franciscum de Marone et Hugonem de Vienna super ecclesiasten et cantica canticorum
- [27] Item lego domino Johanni Carlesse librum Virgilio in Eneidos cum aliis contentis
- [28] Item lego eidem meam togam viridem secundam cum capicio eiusdem
- [29] Item lego eidem meum Mantellum meliorem
- [30] Item lego fratri Johanni Standley ordinis minorum librum dictum Damascenus
- [31] Item lego domui fratrum minorum de Wynchelsea tabulam Reymundi
- [32] Item lego domui eidem vjs viij d.

- [33] Item lego domui fratrum Carmelitarum de Losenham vjs viij d.
- [34] Ite lego domui de Modenden iijs. iiij d
- [35] Item lego domino Thome Doone Innocentium de contemptu mundi
- [36] Item lego Georgio Aderton cognato meo meum portiforium nigrum.
- [37] Item *superpellitium*
- [38] Item meas togas blodiam. et viridem optimam cum *capitio* earundem
- [39] Item lego eidem veteres *legendas* tam de temporali quam de sanctis in papiro scriptas
- [40] Item lego eidem meum quartum plumale cum duobus lodicibus secundis *duabus* linthiaminibus et vno coopertorio ad lectum. secundo
- [41] Item lego eidem quadraginta solidos *per* manus Thome Dekyn fratris sui sibi soluendos quos quidem quadraginta solidos etiam cum decem solidis *vltra* prefatus Thomas dekyne mihi debet et a me mutuos recepit
- [42] Volo *insuper* quod executores mei soluant seu solui faciant eidem Georgio quadraginta solidos de bonis meis leuandos et hos *per* eorum discrecione eidem soluendos ad exhibendum eundem apud Eton in scolis ut discat grammaticam sic quod posset ad sacerdotium promoueri
- [43] Item lego Moisi Pett meum optimum plumale.
- [44] Item lego domino Thome Lynaker studenti Florencie x £ legalis monete tradendas intra medium annum post mortem meam honorabili patri domino Priori Ecclesie Cantuariensis ac *per* eundem seu assignatos suos eidem domino Thome mittendas.
- [45] Item lego eidem domino Thome libros subscriptos viz. *magistrum* sentenciarium impressum, Thucididem Historiarum Peloponencium impressum Tullium in noua Rethorica in pargameno scriptum
- [46] Item eidem duos libros grecos vnum impressum alterum pargameno scriptum
- [47] Item lego fraternitati Beate Marie in Ecclesia parochiale de Tentwarden predicta quinque marcas soluendas eidem fraternitati *per* manus Moysi Pitt vel assignatorum suorum viz singulis annis x annorum mortem meam immediate sequentium vjs viij d. prouenturis de terris perquesitis de Laurentio Hevynden hac condicione quod fraternitas predicta exhibeant in ecclesia predicta *per* totum tempus predictum Idoneum sacerdotem pro bono statu animarum viuorum et defunctorum predicte fraternitatis benefactorum continue celebrantem Quod si fraternitas predicta aliquo decem annorum predictorum *per* quartam anni sacerdote sic ut *preferetur* celebrante caruerit eorum culpa median[sic?] tunc volo quod predicti sex solidi viij denarii ad sustentationem capelle de Smalhith pro illo anno deuoluantur et hoc tociens quociens
- [48] Item lego Thome Vngyll vnum coopertorium ad lectum vnam lodicem et vnum par Lithianium
- [49] Item lego fabrice ecclesie parochialis de Ekylsall quadraginta solidos intra biennium post mortem meam eidem soluendos

- [50] Item lego Ecclesie sancti Benedicti iuxta Bukelerisbury Londonensi phalterium meum glosatum, ibidem cathenandum et perpetuo permansurum.
- [51] Item lego Elisabeth filie Thome Hoore in eadem parochia iij s iiij d
- [52] Item lego Thome seruianti eiusdem Thome Hore viginti denarios
- [53] Item lego Rogero Asser Londonensi et Johanne uxori eius et Rogero filio eorum sex cocliaria argentea que per eundem Rogerum michi impignorata fuerint sic quod vnaqueque persona ex personis predictis relinquat eadem longius viuenti
- [54] Item lego domini Johanni de Smalhith v.s
- [55] Item lego Thome vxori seruiantis mei iij s iiij d.
- [56] Item lego Hugoni filio Johannis Dave filiolo meo vj s viij d.
- [57] Item lego singulis alijs filiolis meis xij d.
- [58] Item lego domino Johanni Whyte de Benenden faciculum temporum et ecclesiasticum in ceteris contentis.
- [59] Residuum vero bonorum meorum do et lego magistro Ricardo Willeford et Moysy Pett executoribus meis ut ipsi disponant pro salute anime mee amicorum & beneficiorum meorum ut consciencie eorum eis ditant et precipiunt vna quod petant suum consilium dissertissimi viri domini prioris ecclesie christi Cantuar et eidem obsequantur et pareant presertim in vendicione librorum meorum et tradicione decem libras domino Thome Lynaker ac prelibatum dominum priorem huius testamenti ordino superuisorem.

Probatum sint antescritum testamentum Coram domino apud Lamabeth xvj^o die mensis Nouembris anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo octogesimo Nono Iuramento magistri Richardi Willysford clerici personaliter[?] constituti & cetera approbatum et cetera Et commissa sint administratio omnium bonorum et cetera dicto magistro Ricardo personaliter[?] constituto et Moisy Pitt in persona dicti magistri Ricardi executoribus et cetera de bene et cetera & cetera de pleno Inuentario et cetera citra festum Purificationis beate Marie virginis proximo et cetera

APPENDIX II. MOWER'S CAREER

The table below shows biographical information from the two entries in Emden's *Biographical Register* concerning John Mower and John Morer which were conflated in Bennett's article.⁴⁸ The right-hand column gives paragraph numbers from the will where there is a correlation with Emden's information. References are to events in Oxford unless otherwise stated. Entries in boldface definitely concern John Mower, vicar of Tenterden; entries in italics probably do not; entries in ordinary roman type are inconclusive.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>John Mower</i> (<i>Emden, p. 1326</i>)	<i>John Morer</i> (<i>Emden, p. 1309</i>)	<i>John Mower's will</i>
	Coventry and Lichfield diocese	New Windsor (Berks)	
1441		Scholar, Winchester Coll., aged 12	
27 August 1446		Scholar, New College	
1448		Fellow, New College (1448–65)	
24 June 1450		Admitted BA	
6 February 1455		MA	
9 December 1455		Keeper of the Exeter Chest	
1460–63	Principal of Little St Edward Hall		
9 September 1461		Tendered caution for Walter Pavy for Trillock's Inn	
1461–62	Senior Proctor	Senior Proctor	
27 March 1462		<i>Supplicated for Doctor of Medicine</i>	
17 November 1462		<i>Priest; rector of Compton Beauchamp (Berks); vacated by April 1464</i>	
1463	Keeper of the Warwick Chest		

⁴⁸ Bennett, 'John Morer's Will', pp. 70–91.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>John Mower</i> (<i>Emden</i> , p. 1326)	<i>John Morer</i> (<i>Emden</i> , p. 1309)	<i>John Mower's will</i>
5 March 1463	Ordained subdeacon; priest 9 April 1463 (Coventry and Lichfield diocese).		
1465		Vacated fellowship at New College	
21 October 1465		Rector of All Hallows the Great, London; exchanged 1467	
18 December 1467		<i>Chancellor of Wells</i> ; vacated 1471	
1468	Rector of Biddestone (Wilts); vacated same year		
25 October 1468		<i>Rector of Ashbury (Berks)</i> ; until death	
1470	'John Mower' elected fellow of Eton College; ⁴⁹ precentor 1470–72; vacated by 1473		9
1470–71		<i>Canon of Wells and prebendary of Combe 1</i> ; until death (before 12 January 1472) ⁵⁰	
9 October 1471		<i>Granted a general pardon</i> ⁵¹	
By January 1472		<i>Died</i>	
by 1472	MA, SchTh		
1472	Vicar of Eccleshall (Staffs); vacated by May 1477		49

⁴⁹ Sir Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register, 1441–1698* (Eton: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., 1943), list of Fellows, p. xxix.

⁵⁰ See also Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541*, VII: *Bath and Wells Diocese*, cited above at n. 13.

⁵¹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1467–77*, p. 280: '9 October 1471, Westminster. General pardon to John Morer late of London, clerk, alias Master John Morer, parson of the parish church of Aysshbury, co. Berks'.

Dates	John Mower (Emden, p. 1326)	John Morer (Emden, p. 1309)	John Mower's will
4 October 1479	Induction as vicar of St Mildred's, Tenterden (Kent) ⁵²		1-6, 47
26 March 1482	Granted papal dispensation to hold an additional incompatible benefice ⁵³		
1 May 1482	canon of the collegiate church of Auckland (Co. Durham) and prebendary of Eldon; ⁵⁴ exchanged May 1482 for St Benet Sherehog, London		
9 May 1482	Rector of St Benet Sherehog, London	50	
12 April 1489	Will		
By October 1489	Died		

APPENDIX III. MOWER'S LIBRARY⁵⁵

- [4] *vnum Gradale nouum*
a Gradual; probably a printed book; for use in the choir at St Mildred's, Tenterden.
- [5] *pupilla oculi sacerdotis*
Johannes de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi*; manuscript: no printed editions are recorded in ISTC; to be chained in the choir at St Mildred's, Tenterden.
- [6] *communem glosam super euangelia*
probably a manuscript glossed gospels; or possibly a printed edition of Thomas Aquinas's *Catena aurea super quattuor euangelistas*, for which ISTC lists several incunable editions; to be chained in the choir at St Mildred's, Tenterden.
- [7] *epistolas Ieronimi*

⁵² The induction took place at Mayfield Palace according to Archbishop Bourghcier's register; see A. H. Taylor, 'The Rectors and Vicars of St Mildred's Tenterden. With an Appendix', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 31 (1915), 207-70 (p. 215).

⁵³ *Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1198-1484* (London: HMSO, 1893-1955), XII, 800: 7 kal. April 1482 (i.e. 26 March): 'To John Moeer(?), perpetual vicar of St Mildred's Tenturden, in the diocese of Canterbury, S.T.B. Dispensation to him, who is a completed bachelor (*bacallarius formatus*) of theology, to receive and retain for life with the said vicarage, value 24*l.* of the money of that country, any other benefice etc.'

⁵⁴ The second prebend of Eldon was the most valuable of the eleven prebends of the 1428 refoundation of the college; see William Hutchinson, *The history and antiquities of the county palatine of Durham* (Newcastle: S. Hodgson, 1794), III, 336; see also Jeffery, *Collegiate Churches*, pp. 156-58.

⁵⁵ The anonymous referee is thanked for several identifications suggested for this list.

St Jerome, *Epistolae*; probably a printed book; numerous incunable editions listed in ISTC; left to the student monks at Christ Church, Canterbury.

[7] concordancias bible;

possibly a printed edition of Conradus de Alemania, *Concordantiae bibliorum*; six editions listed by ISTC; left to the student monks at Christ Church, Canterbury.

[7] tabulam super Augustinum

a manuscript: a title found in medieval library catalogues but no recorded incunable editions; left to the student monks at Christ Church, Canterbury.

[7] introitus in Dionisium:

probably a manuscript: no relevant editions listed by ISTC; left to the student monks at Christ Church, Canterbury.

[8] magister sentenciarum

possibly a printed edition of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*: a number of editions are listed by ISTC; left to the student monks at Canterbury College, Oxford.

[9] Epistolas Augustini

St Augustine, *Epistolae*; a manuscript (now Eton MS 105); left to Eton College.

[9] Omelias originis super Matheum

Origen, *Homeliae super Matthaum*; probably a manuscript, as no matching entries are found in ISTC; left to Eton College.

[9] Augustinum de verbis domini et apostoli

a manuscript (now Eton MS 106); left to Eton College.

[9] Rabanum de Lodowicum

Rabanus Maurus, *De Lodovico*; probably a manuscript, as no matching entries are found in ISTC; left to Eton College.

[10] doctorem de Lira cum sua tabula

possibly a printed book; ISTC lists several dozen titles by Nicolaus de Lyra; left to the student monks at St Augustine's, Canterbury.

[11] Alexandrum Nekam

Alexander Nequam, *Expositio super Cantica*; a manuscript (now Magdalen College, MS lat. 149); left to Magdalen College, Oxford.

[12] Thome dockyng super deutronomio et apocalipsi;

a manuscript: no printed editions of works by Thomas Docking are listed by ISTC; Docking on the Apocalypse does not survive in any securely attributed manuscript;⁵⁶ left to the college of St Gregory and St Martin, Wye.

[13] glosam comunem in genesim

Glossa ordinaria in Bibliam; probably a manuscript;⁵⁷ left to the college of St Mary the Virgin, Ashford.

[13] glosam communem in Ieremiam

probably a manuscript; left to the college of St Mary the Virgin, Ashford.

[13] glosam in parabolis Salamonis

⁵⁶ Richard Sharpe, *Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhour: Brepols, 1997), p. 652.

⁵⁷ Willoughby, *Libraries of the Collegiate Churches*, p. 41.

probably a manuscript; left to the college of St Mary the Virgin, Ashford.

[13] *glosam super ysaia et daniele*

probably a manuscript; left to the college of St Mary the Virgin, Ashford.

[13] *Augustinum super Canonica Iohannis*

St Augustine, *In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus X*; manuscript: no printed editions listed by ISTC in Mower's lifetime; left to the college of St Mary the Virgin, Ashford.

[13] *ysodorum de summo bono*

Isidore of Seville, *De summo bono*; possibly a printed edition (e.g. ISTC ii00192000 [1470]); left to the college of St Mary the Virgin, Ashford.

[14] *librum retractacionum sancti Augustini*

St Augustine, *Retractationes*; probably a manuscript: ISTC lists only a single edition (Milan, 1486); left to the house of St Thomas of Acre, for the use of William Wyresham.

[14] *Jeroninum super ysayam et danielem*

probably a manuscript: no relevant entries are given by ISTC for Hieronymus; left to William Wyresham of St Thomas of Acre, to be given at his death to Magdalen College, Oxford.

[15] *librum de diuersis cronicis et historiis*

left to Sir John Gilford.

[16] *uitas patrum*

St Jerome, *Vitas patrum*; possibly a printed book: ISTC lists a number of editions; left to Thomas Copland, rector of Biddenden.

[17] *librum gregorii in dialogis et pastoralibus*

possibly a printed book (or two books?): ISTC lists a number of editions of Gregory's *Dialogi* and his *Pastorale*; left to Thomas Copland, rector of Biddenden.

[18] *Omeliis Bede et Evsebii*

Bede, *Homelias*; Eusebius, *Homelias*; probably a manuscript (or two manuscripts?): ISTC lists no relevant title by Bede or by Eusebius; left to Richard Prutt, rector of Sandhurst.

[19] *Willielmum Lynwoode super constitucionibus prouincialibus*

William Lyndwood, *Provinciale*; probably a manuscript: ISTC records no editions printed in Mower's lifetime; left to Richard Wyllesford, one of Mower's executors.

[20] *Jsophum Antiquitatum*

Flavius Josephus, *De antiquitate Judaica*; possibly a printed book: several editions listed by ISTC; left to Richard Wyllesford.

[21] *Ambrosium super Commendacionibus*

apparently a work by St Ambrose; probably a manuscript; left to Robert Sheffield, rector of Chartham.

[22] *Tullium de Officiis*

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*; probably a printed book: many editions listed by ISTC; left to Richard Stevens.

[23] *Laurencium de Valla*

probably Laurentius Valla, *De elegantis linguae latinae*; probably a printed book: many editions listed by ISTC; left to John Williamson, rector of St George's, Canterbury.

[23] *de ordine iudiciario*

probably a manuscript: no printed book traced; most likely the text by Tancred of Bologna, of which many copies are recorded at Canterbury and Dover;⁵⁸ left to John Williamson, rector of St George's, Canterbury.

[24] *Belyall cum ceteris contentis*

Jacobus de Theramo, *Consolatio peccatorum, seu Processus Belial*; printed book: many editions listed by ISTC; left to John Richardson of Canterbury.

[25] *Sanct. Thomas de veritatibus*

Thomas Aquinas, *De veritate*; possibly a printed book: two editions listed by ISTC (1475, 1476); left to William Page of Maidstone.

[25] *Cronica Martiniana et aliis contentis in eodem volumine*

Martinus Polonus, *Chronica Martiniana*; manuscript: no editions recorded by ISTC; left to William Page of Maidstone.

[26] *Franciscum de Marone et Hugonem de Vienna super ecclesiasten et cantica canticorum*

probably a manuscript: not found in ISTC; left to John Mathew the chaplain.

[27] *librum Virgilii in Eneidos cum aliis contentis*

Publius Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*; possibly a printed book: several editions listed by ISTC; left to John Carlesse.

[30] *librum dictum Damascenus*

possibly a manuscript work by John of Damascus, or possibly Petrus Damascenus, *Liber in laudem Mariae Virginis* which was printed in two editions listed by ISTC; left to John Standley OFM.

[31] *tabulam Reymundi*

probably a table to Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de casibus poenitentiae*; or possibly a work by Raymundus Lullus; left to the Franciscan house at Winchelsea.

[35] *Innocentium de contemptu mundi*

Innocent III, *De contemptu mundi*; probably a printed book: many editions listed by ISTC; left to Thomas Doone.

[36] *meum portiforium nigrum*

probably a manuscript copy of the Sarum breviary; left to George Aderton.

[39] *veteres legendas tam de temporali quam de sanctis in papiro scriptas*

possibly a manuscript copy of Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda sanctorum*; left to George Aderton.

[45] *magistrum sentenciarum impressum*

Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae*; a printed book: many editions listed by ISTC; left to Thomas Linacre in Florence.

[45] *Thucididem Historiarum Peloponencium impressum*

⁵⁸ This identification was offered by the Society's referee.

Thucydides, *Historia belli Peloponnesiaci*, a Latin translation; a printed book: ISTC itoo359000 [Treviso: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, 1483?]; left to Thomas Linacre.

[45] *Tullium in noua Rethorica in pargameno scriptum*

Marcus Tullius Cicero (pseudo), *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; manuscript; left to Thomas Linacre.

[46] *duos libros grecos vnum impressum alterum pargameno scriptum*

a printed book and a vellum manuscript, both in Greek; left to Thomas Linacre.

[50] *phalterium meum glosatum*

a glossed Psalter; possibly a printed book: numerous editions listed by ISTC; or possibly a glossed Psalter in manuscript from the same set as [6] and [13]; left to be chained in St Benet Sherehog, London

[58] *faciculum temporum et ecclesiasticum*

Werner Rolewinck, *Fasciculus temporum*; probably a printed book: many editions listed by ISTC; left to John Whyte of Benenden.

[59] *Residuum*

Paulus Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*, Venice, 1483; printed book; a surviving book not listed in the will.

*Index nominum ac locorum*⁵⁹

Aderton, George, *cognatus meus*: [36–42]; not in Emden or Venn.

Ashford College, Kent: [13]: college of St Mary the Virgin.

Asser, Roger, of London; his wife Joan; his son Roger: [53].

Biddenden, Kent: see Thomas Copland.

Canterbury, archdeaconry court: see Richard Wyllesford.

Canterbury, Christ Church cathedral priory: [7]; see also William Selling; Robert Sheffield.

Canterbury, St Augustine's abbey: [10]; see also William Selling.

Canterbury, St George's church: see John Williamson.

Canterbury: see also John Richardson.

Carlesse, John, *dominus*: [27–29]; not in Emden or Venn.

Chartham, Kent: see Robert Sheffield.

Copland, Thomas, *magister*, rector of Biddenden (Kent); rector of Halden (Kent) 1492 and canon and prebendary of Wingham (Kent); died by October 1498, will, Biddenden: [16, 17]; Emden, p. 482; Lutton, pp. 191–92.

Dawe [Dave], Hugh, Mower's godson, son of John Dawe: [56].

Dekyn, Thomas, brother of George Aderton: [41]. Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 180, records a Thomas Deken as a semi-commoner at King's Hall, Cambridge, in the period 1448–52, but this is probably a coincidence.

Doone, Thomas, *dominus*: [35]; not in Emden or Venn.

Dymchurch, Kent: see Richard Wyllesford.

Eccleshall, Staffordshire, parish church: [49].

⁵⁹ References to 'not in Emden' are to both the Oxford and Cambridge volumes unless otherwise stated.

Eton College: [9, 42].

Gilford [Guildford, Guldeford], Sir John, *dominus, miles*; 1419–1493; of Rolvenden and Tenterden, Kent; sheriff of Kent (1457–58); Comptroller of Household of Edward IV in the 1460s; and a privy councillor under Henry VII: [15]; ‘patron of St Mildred’s, Tenterden’ according to Bennett, but this is not confirmed in the information given by Davis and is unlikely if the living was the gift of St Augustine’s Canterbury.⁶⁰

Hevynden, Lawrence, of Tenterden?: [47]; not in Emden.

Hoore, Thomas, of Bucklersbury, London; his wife; his daughter Elisabeth: [51, 55].

Linacre, Thomas, *dominus*, student in Florence: [44–46, 59]; Emden, *Oxford*, pp. 1147–49.

London, St Benet Sherehog, Bucklersbury: [50–52].

London, St Thomas of Acre: [14]; became the headquarters of the military order of St Thomas; by the fifteenth century it was following the Augustinian rule.⁶¹

Lossenham, Kent, *domus fratrum Carmelitarum*: [33].

Maidstone, Kent: see William Page.

Mathew, John, *dominus, capellanus*: [26]; not in Emden or Venn.

Mottenden, Kent, *domus*, Trinitarian friars [34]. The existence of a library at this friary is recorded in a manuscript purchased in 1467 by friar Richard de Lancing who was the minister of the house during the time that Mower was at Tenterden.⁶²

Oxford, Canterbury College: [8].

Oxford, Great White Hall: see Richard Wyllesford.

Oxford, Magdalen College: [11, 14].

Oxford, New College: see Richard Prutt.

Oxford, Oriel College: see Robert Sheffield.

Page, William, *dominus*, of Maidstone, Kent: [25]; not identifiable in Emden or Venn.

Piddington: see Robert Sheffield. Several Piddingtons are recorded: in Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire.

Pett / Pitt, Moses, one of Mower’s executors, of Tenterden: [43, 47, 59]; Lutton (pp. 45 and 192) suggests that he might have been an attorney; not in Emden or Venn.

Prutt, Richard, *dominus*; Richard Prowt, (Prowtte, Prutte): Winchester College, scholar, 1478; New College, 1485; vac. 1486; Rector of Sandhurst, Kent: [18]; Emden, p. 1524.

⁶⁰ Davis, pp. 78–83; Bennett, ‘John Morer’s Will’, p. 88; David Grummitt, ‘Kent and National Politics, 1399–1461’, in *Later medieval Kent, 1220–1540*, ed. by Sheila Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 235–71 (pp. 256–67).

⁶¹ ‘St. Mary Colechurch 105/18’, *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire: Cheapside; Parishes of All Hallows Honey Lane, St Martin Pomary, St Mary le Bow, St Mary Colechurch and St Pancras Soper Lane* (London: Chadwyck-Healey, 1987), pp. 490–517, available online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.

⁶² VCH Kent, II, 205–8.

Richardson, John, *magister*, of Canterbury: [24]; not in Emden, *Oxford*; Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 479, has a John Richardson who was at Cambridge in the 1480s and was a beneficiary in 1504 of the will of Hugh Peyntwyn, archdeacon of Canterbury. Sandhurst, Kent: see Richard Prutt.

Selling, William, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury: [44, 59]; Emden, *Oxford*, p. 1666.

Selling, William, prior and then abbot of St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury: [10]; *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. by B. C. Barker-Benfield, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 13 (2008), pp. 75–76.

Sevington, Kent: see Richard Wyllesford.

Sheffield, Robert, *magister*, rector of Chartham, Kent; MA 1456; fellow of Oriol College, 1461 (still in 1474); librarian 1464–65; chaplain of Arundel's chantry in Canterbury cathedral, vac. 1476; chaplain of Brenchley chantry at St John the Baptist altar, 1476, vac. 1481; rector of Chartham, 1481 till death; canon of Wingham and prebendary of Piddington, 1492 till death; died 1509: [21]; Emden, *Oxford*, p. 1682.

Smallhythe, Kent, chapel: [47].

Smallhythe, John of: [54].

Standley, John, *frater, ordinis minorum*: [30]; not in Emden.

Stevens [Stevyns], Richard, *magister*: [22]; possibly Emden, *Oxford*, p. 1776 (dates in 1460s) or *Cambridge*, p. 553, who was admitted to Eton as a scholar in 1473 and then had a career at King's College, Cambridge. Lutton (p. 191) notes that his will (dated 1500) connects him with the Roper chantry at St Dunstan's, Canterbury.

Tenterden, Kent, St Mildred's Church: [1–6]; confraternity of St Mary [47]; see also John Gilford, Lawrence Hevynden, Moses Pett.

Thomas, the servant of Thomas Hoore of Bucklersbury: [52].

Ungyll, Thomas: [48].

Whyte, John, *dominus*, of Benenden: [58]; not identifiable in Emden.

Williamson, John, *magister*, rector of St George's, Canterbury: [23]; not in Emden. Lutton (p. 191) notes that his will (1521) has John Hales, the steward of the Guldefords, as one of his executors.

Winchelsea, *domus fratrum minorum*: [31, 32].

Winchester College: see Richard Prutt.

Wingham College, Kent: see Robert Sheffield.

Wye College, Kent: [12]

Wyllesford [Williford], Richard, *magister*, one of Mower's executors; principal of Great White Hall, 1466; BCL by 1466; rector of Dymchurch, Kent, 1473; rector of Sevington, Kent, 1477; practised in the archdeaconry court of Canterbury before 1477: [19, 20, 59]; Emden, *Oxford*, p. 2116; Lutton, p. 191.

Wyresham, William, *magister*, of St Thomas of Acre, Augustinian?: [14]