

The Inventory of a Fifteenth-Century Necromancer

CAROLE RAWCLIFFE

Fifth on the list of individuals named in the parliamentary Act of Attainder following the collapse of the 1483 rebellion against Richard III may be found an intriguing reference to Thomas Nandyke, late of Cambridge, 'nigromansier' to Henry, duke of Buckingham.¹ That the turncoat duke, who had been executed without trial for his part in the rising, should engage the services of an exponent of the black arts served further to tarnish an already damaged reputation; Nandyke ought properly to have been described as his chaplain-physician. Such an apparently respectable title was not, however, itself without sinister connotations. Recent history offered many examples of physicians who had engaged in dubious practices at the behest of their patrons. Thomas Southwell, an eminent Oxford scholar, priest and co-founder of the joint college of physicians and surgeons of London, stood accused in 1441 of assisting Eleanor Cobham to forecast the death of Henry VI through necromancy. He would have been burnt at the stake had he not expired the night before.² Nandyke's fellow conspirator, Lewis Caerleon, who had used his position as physician to Lady Margaret Beaufort as a cover for espionage, was lucky to escape a similar fate, being confined instead to the Tower of London until the advent of Henry Tudor.³ Since Caerleon, like every other senior member of the fifteenth-century medical profession, was an accomplished astrologer (an art to which he devoted his months in captivity), he, too, must have been tempted to stray beyond the legitimate uses of prognostication into more dangerous territory.⁴

Nandyke's alleged presence at Brecon Castle in October 1483 along with John Morton, then bishop of Ely, and two other members of Duke Henry's

¹ *RP*, vol. 6, p. 245.

² R.A. Griffiths, 'The trial of Eleanor Cobham: an episode in the fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester', *BJRL*, vol. 51 (1968–69), pp. 381–99. Southwell was said to have consulted a book of necromancers' oaths and experiments, p. 390.

³ C. Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England*, Stroud 1995, pp. 118–20.

⁴ The importance of astrology in medical training and practice: R. French, 'Astrology in medical practice', in L. García-Ballester, R. French, J. Arrizabalaga and A. Cunningham, eds, *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 30–59; Rawcliffe, *Medicine*, pp. 82–93. Without it, treatment seemed futile, as John of Burgundy argued in his celebrated *De pestilentia liber*: 'Wherfore they that have not dronkyn of that swete drynke of Astronomie mowe putte to thise pestilentiall sores no perfite remdie, for bicause that they knowe not the cause and the qualite of the sikenesse they may not hele it . . .': H.P. Cholmeley, ed., *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa Medicinae*, Oxford 1912, p. 73.

inner council who 'falsly and traiterously, as false Traitours and Rebels, intended, conspired, ymaged and compassed' the death of Richard III,⁵ reflects the wide-ranging influence exercised by royal and baronial physicians. Their duties went far beyond the provision of medical advice or even the casting of horoscopes for divinatory purposes; many became trusted friends and confidants. With a few notable exceptions, such as John Somerset, Henry VI's twice-married physician, most graduates from the faculties of medicine at Oxford and Cambridge had taken holy orders.⁶ As ducal chaplain, Nandyke would almost certainly have been responsible for hearing his patron's confession and guiding him in matters of spiritual as well as physical health. Yet scant attention has been paid to this interesting figure, perhaps because he never regained the prestige he had enjoyed in Buckingham's household. His loyalty to the memory of his late patron and his antipathy to King Richard were certainly beyond question, for in October 1484 he joined yet another uprising, this time mounted by Sir William Brandon (like him a survivor of the 1483 rebellion) and his sons at Colchester. This conspiracy was no more successful than the first and it is unclear whether or not Nandyke took refuge with Henry Tudor in France along with some of the other rebels.⁷

Surprisingly, under the circumstances, Henry's triumph at Bosworth in the following year did not herald Nandyke's return to the centre of power. On the contrary, despite the prompt reversal of his attainder, in 1485,⁸ he spent the remaining six years of his life in relative obscurity, dividing his time between London and Cambridge, where he lived in adequate but considerably reduced circumstances. Given his apparent inability to predict the *débâcle* of 1483 and the Brandon's subsequent failure at Colchester, it may have been difficult for him to attract another noble patron, although he continued to study (and probably to practise) astrology and physic. His two narrow escapes may, on other hand, have cured him of any desire to cultivate such potentially dangerous patients. The survival of an inventory, taken after his death, in 1491, provides a remarkable picture of this once successful practitioner, still possessed of some of the trappings of wealth, but now cutting a distinctly shabby figure in his 'olde blak hosyn' and 'olde rede mantell sore worne'.⁹ Testamentary evidence constitutes one of our principal sources for the study of late medieval

⁵ *RP*, vol. 6, p. 245.

⁶ C. Rawcliffe, 'More than a bedside manner: the political status of the late medieval court physician', in C. Richmond and E. Scarff, eds, *Windsor, St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, Windsor 2001, pp. 71–91, esp. 76–78, 85–87.

⁷ L. Gill, *Richard III and Buckingham's Rebellion*, Stroud 1999, pp. 119–20; R. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service*, Cambridge 1989, p. 282. Nandyke was not named among the rebels who fled to Calais in 1484: PRO, KB27/908, rex rot. 8.

⁸ *RP*, vol. 6, p. 273.

⁹ Briefly described, C. Richmond, 'Religion and the fifteenth-century English gentleman', in R.B. Dobson, ed., *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, Gloucester 1984, pp. 200, 206, n. 49.

surgeons and physicians, but lists of their effects are rare indeed.¹⁰ The document now preserved among the probate inventories in the Public Record Office is thus of considerable interest to medical as well as political historians for the light it casts on the eventful life of one member of a university-trained elite.

Little is known of Nandyke's career before he was admitted to read for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine at Cambridge in 1476–77, when he owed 20s. to one of the university proctors.¹¹ His name, which sometimes appears in the variant spelling of Van Dyk, suggests that he came of Dutch or Flemish stock, as did a number of practitioners active in late medieval England.¹² Whatever his origins, he would already have familiarised himself with the basic Liberal Arts syllabus at undergraduate level in order to qualify as a medical student,¹³ having preferably become a Master of Arts and acquired some teaching experience as well. It is possible that his studies were financed by Duke Henry, virtually all of whose accounts and other personal papers were destroyed in 1483, and whose household remains largely undocumented as a result.¹⁴ Networks of good lordship embraced physicians and surgeons as well as knights and lawyers; members of the English baronage sought to attract the best medical advisors by offering them a variety of inducements, including support for postgraduate training. The investment promised useful returns: because of the breadth of his education, a physician could easily undertake a variety of tasks, ranging from accountancy and administration to teaching. Such was indeed the case with regard to Thomas Moscroff, who served as 'counsellour in fysyke' to Henry's son, the third duke of Buckingham, and received a handsome payment of £10 in 1519 towards the cost of his exhibition

¹⁰ Inventory of the York barber-surgeon, John Stubbes (d.1451): P.M. Stell and L. Hampson, eds, *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese 1350–1500*, York [n.d.], pp. 170–77. The effects owned by Stubbes, an artisan, were worth just over £49, which contrasts sharply with Nandyke's impoverished estate and reflects the extent of his fall.

¹¹ Emden, *Cambridge*, pp. 418–19. C.H. Talbot and E.A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: A Biographical Register*, London 1965, p. 352, provide a skeletal biography of Nandyke, which does not mention the inventory of 1491.

¹² In common with other 'alien' practitioners, they encountered varying degrees of animosity. The vain, incompetent, drunken and avaricious Master Brundyche from Brabant, in the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, conforms to a 15th-c. stereotype: N. Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, EETS SS 1 (1970), pp. 74–78.

¹³ Although it was possible at Cambridge to extend the period of study for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine by an additional two years if the student had not already progressed thus far, F. Getz, 'Medical education in later medieval England', in V. Nutton and R. Porter, eds, *The History of Medical Education in Britain*, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 85–86.

¹⁴ C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394–1521*, Cambridge 1978, pp. 2, 34. Duke Henry is said to have paid for the early brick buildings and work on the chapel of Buckingham (later Magdalene) College, Cambridge, but there is no contemporary evidence.

at Oxford.¹⁵ Moscroff had already by then risen to occupy the onerous post of receiver general of the ducal estates, and went on soon afterwards to hold office as Buckingham's secretary and cofferer. His rapid early promotion in the employment of one of the richest – and most exacting – landowners in early sixteenth-century England would argue that, like many physicians, he began reading for a medical degree at a relatively late age, after a period spent learning a variety of more practical – but not exclusively specialist – skills.¹⁶ The statutes of Cambridge University encouraged this rather *ad hoc* approach by insisting that all medical students should acquire at least two years' empirical experience of patient care before graduation, since their academic tuition was exclusively text-based.¹⁷

In marked contrast to the faculties of medicine in the great universities of continental Europe, however, those at Oxford and Cambridge found it difficult to persuade able students to complete their studies. Such were the rewards and attractions of life at court or in a great baronial household that few fledgling physicians were prepared to meet the requirement that they themselves should deliver lectures.¹⁸ Nandyke was among those who sought to avoid this unwelcome obligation, being formally excused in 1477–78, perhaps with Duke Henry's active support. He did, however, contribute towards the cost of a chain for the senior proctor's book in the following year;¹⁹ and his return to Cambridge after the fall of Richard III suggests that he had maintained regular contact with members of the academic community, notably at St Catherine's Hall and 'Seint Austyn Ostell'.²⁰ Individual scholars, such as 'Maister Cottes' of St Austin's, appear to have lent him money and to have bought some of his effects.²¹ John Wardall, a foundation fellow of St Catherine's and its master from 1487 until his death in 1505–6, retained two of Nandyke's book presses, perhaps as surety for payment of the modest debt owed to him by the deceased.²² More of his possessions remained in the

¹⁵ PRO, SC6 Henry VIII 5841, m. 5.

¹⁶ PRO, SC6 Henry VIII 5807, m. 1; E36/220, f. 11v; SP1/22, f. 58.

¹⁷ Getz, 'Medical education', p. 85.

¹⁸ Rawcliffe, *Medicine*, pp. 108–9.

¹⁹ Emden, *Cambridge*, pp. 418–19.

²⁰ St Catherine's Hall was founded in 1473 by the provost of King's College, its neighbour to the south, to house a few priests studying theology and philosophy. Its early fellows were, however, canon lawyers, D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge: Volume I, The University to 1546*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 229, 232. St Austin's comprised 'a number of detached houses' also associated with King's, which lay immediately to the north, H.P. Stokes, *The Mediaeval Hostels of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1924, p. 61.

²¹ Nicholas Cottes was in his final term as an undergraduate in 1490–91, about the time of Nandyke's death. He was elected a fellow of Clare Hall in 1492, and began the study of canon law in 1503: Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 163.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 617.

hands of a 'Master White of Cambridge', who may have been his executor.²³ Such connections are only to be expected of one who clearly belonged to a learned elite, and who retained an interest in scholarship until his death.

The list of Nandyke's effects includes several unnamed books, 'pamfletes' and loose quires, both printed and in manuscript, as well as works on medicine and astrology, a few service books, 'a grete deske' for storing his collection, sheets of paper and three presses for binding books. Nandyke had once moved in the same circles as John Argentine, another Cambridge scholar (and eventual provost of King's College), who possessed in abundance the qualities of scholarship and urbanity so desirable in a physician. A skilled astrologer and distinguished practitioner of medicine, Argentine cast horoscopes for both Edward IV and his son, Edward V, being now chiefly remembered as the last courtier to see the young king alive. It was at Cambridge, in 1470, that he delivered 'a grand poetic oration on the arts of grammar, rhetoric and logic, and the sciences of geometry, perspective, arithmetic, music, astronomy, the natural sciences and medicine, and moral and metaphysical philosophy', thus paying tribute to the virtues of a liberal education. And he, too, was a notable bibliophile. A few years spent among the humanists of northern Italy may have dampened Argentine's initial enthusiasm for the distinctly old-fashioned English medical syllabus and made him better qualified for a post as physician to Henry VII's son, Prince Arthur.²⁴ Nandyke's apparent lack of continental training possibly counted against him, and could explain his otherwise surprising failure to obtain similar preferment at the Tudor court.

The assumption that a medical man would be at ease in cultivated society was, however, neither new nor confined to the universities. Following a long tradition of advice literature for practitioners, the celebrated fourteenth-century surgeon, John of Arderne, had urged his readers to devote themselves to study, since 'the exercyse of bokes worsippeth a leche'.²⁵ Being well aware of the need to establish professional credibility, Arderne had also warned them to dress soberly, like clergymen, in keeping with the gravity of their calling, rather than adopting the sort of garish apparel worn by minstrels.²⁶ Notwithstanding his priestly status, Nandyke appears to have been contemptuous of such conventions, no doubt considering himself successful enough to ignore them. At

²³ Either of two Cambridge scholars bearing the name John White could have acted in this capacity. The more likely candidate was a fellow of Gonville Hall during this period, while the other had been at King's College during the 1480s: Emden, *Cambridge*, pp. 634, 638.

²⁴ H.M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages*, London 1992, pp. 157–59. C.A.J. Armstrong provides a useful bibliography on Argentine in his edition of Dominic Mancini's *Usurpation of Richard the Third*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1969, p. 127, n. 89.

²⁵ John of Arderne, *Treatises of Fistula in Ano*, ed. D. Power, EETS OS 139 (1910, 1969), p. 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6. The importance of dress and demeanour in establishing the right image and inspiring confidence is discussed by M.R. McVaugh, 'Bedside manners in the middle ages', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, vol. 71 (1997), pp. 201–23.

the time of his death, he still possessed five 'doublettes of sylke of divers coulours, sore worne', another of Prussian leather, a green medley cap lined with velvet and a matching cloak, and at least three short gowns (coloured blue, tawny and mulberry) of the kind so vociferously condemned by moralists earlier in the century. His ownership of 'a glasse to loke ynne' and two hair-brushes suggests that he may even have sported the flowing locks which, more than any other fashion of the 1460s and 1470s, provoked the wrath of an older, more conservative generation.²⁷ Since by far the largest of his unpaid debts (almost £4) was to the London mercer, Robert Yarum, it looks as if he retained a taste for fine clothes in the face of adversity. Although, at first glance, the appearance of a lute in his inventory confirms that he must, indeed, have proved the embodiment of Arderne's very worst fears, we should bear in mind that 'the joyous songes of musyque' played a vital part in medieval therapeutics, as well as in the traditional Liberal Arts course which provided the society physician with so many useful accomplishments.²⁸

Nothing testifies more eloquently to Nandyke's former position at the pinnacle of his profession than his once impressive, but now distinctly shabby, collection of gowns trimmed with fox, lamb and squirrel and lined with luxurious fabrics, such as velvet. In a society which defined itself in terms of sartorial display, the successful physician had to tread a careful path between dignity and self-aggrandisement.²⁹ Presented by grateful patients or negotiated as part of his basic salary, expensive robes advertised professional skill and powerful connections.³⁰ But they were not universally admired. Along with fat fees and useless remedies, such ostentatious plumage inevitably became a target for satire. Nandyke's 'olde ffurre of calabour wombys' was worth a mere ten pence in 1491, but must once have marked him out as a man of consequence. The personification of physic in *Piers Plowman* wears a gold-buttoned cloak of expensive squirrel skins from the chestnut forests of Calabria, which he had acquired through the ruthless exploitation of a credulous and vulnerable public.³¹ Soberly attired in the traditional colours of sanguine (blood-red) and

²⁷ Sutton, 'A matter full needless', see Bibliography under 1998, pp. 11–16.

²⁸ P. Horden, *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, Ashgate 2000, part 2, *passim*. William Caxton, *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, ed. W.E.A. Axon, London 1883, p. 119.

²⁹ Sutton, 'Order and fashion', see Bibliography under 1991, esp. pp. 268–71.

³⁰ E.g. John of Arderne claimed that the successful cure of 'a worthy man and gret' would bring him 'an hundred marke or fourty pounce, with robes and fees of an hundred shilling terme of lyfe by yere', *Treatises*, p. 6. Fur robes, like plate, could be pawned or sold in times of need, being a useful investment as well as a status symbol: E.M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford 1966, pp. 3–14.

³¹ William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt, London 1978, p. 75 (B *passus* VI, vv. 268–74); Veale, *Fur Trade*, pp. 24, 217–18. It is worth noting that, in attempting 'to ape and fake the trappings of authority', mountebanks frequently decked themselves out in heavy jewellery and furs. This, perhaps more than any other aspect of their presentation, infuriated the successful practitioners they sought to imitate: M.A.

grey favoured by medical men, Chaucer's Physician in *The Canterbury Tales* seems more discreet, although (as befitted one convinced of the therapeutic properties of gold) the inside of his robe shimmers 'with taffata and with sendal'.³² Nandyke himself owned a 'sangwayn gowne' trimmed with grey squirrel and two green robes lined with high-quality oriental silks, which by 1491 constituted the most valuable items in his somewhat depleted wardrobe.

Although he still retained 'jewelles with oder stuffe' worth just over £5, including one especially fine rosary of fifty amber beads with silver-gilt gauds, Nandyke had probably lost or been obliged to sell a far more impressive collection of plate and precious stones. The wills of leading practitioners, such as Nicholas Colnet, 'clerk, serjeant and physician' to Henry V, and Walter Lempster, who served Richard III, reveal how much wealth could be accumulated in this way, not least because of the recipient's close personal connection with, and presumed influence over, his royal patient. In addition to specific bequests of cash worth a bare minimum of £82, Colnet left a striking amount of gold and silver plate, one handsome covered cup and ewer having been presented to him by King Henry's distinguished prisoner, the duke of Orléans. Over the years Colnet had also accumulated a number of profitable livings, but, like Nandyke, he clearly eschewed sombre cleric dress – at least if his multiple legacies of blood-red, ruby, scarlet, green, violet and white cloth are any guide.³³ We can only speculate about the *douceurs* which must have come Nandyke's way during the summer of 1483, when Buckingham's power was at its height. It is, however, worth noting that Walter Lempster's many bequests included a gold ring set with a ruby, which had been given to him by Elizabeth, duchess of Norfolk (his executrix). Sums well in excess of £333, along with uncollected debts worth more than £200, furniture and plate were to be shared between his three closest female relatives alone, while a sizeable collection of books went to King's College, Cambridge, where he had studied in his youth.³⁴

Despite the problems posed by recalcitrant patients who refused to settle their accounts, or even threatened litigation, university trained physicians with less grandiose aspirations still grew rich from the profits of practice. Nandyke's contemporary, William Goldwyn, an Oxford-educated bachelor of medicine who worked quietly in London and among gentry families such as the Stonors, died in 1482 leaving bequests worth over £240 in cash, as well as significant quantities of silver plate and a fine wardrobe of fur-trimmed robes in crimson, violet and russet. All his 'bookes of ffysyk' were to be chained in the 'commynne

Katritzky, 'Marketing medicine: the image of the early modern mountebank', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 15 (2001), pp. 121–53, esp. 140–41.

³² F.N. Robinson, ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford 1970, p. 21. Discussion of medical dress: Rawcliffe, *Medicine*, p. 116, pl. 15; the same, 'Bedside manner', pp. 71–72, 76.

³³ E.F. Jacob, ed., *The Register of Henry Chichele*, Canterbury and York Society 42, 1937, pp. 215–16.

³⁴ Talbot and Hammond, *Practitioners*, pp. 369–70; Emden, *Cambridge*, pp. 362–63.

librarie' of his old college, All Souls, which also received a contribution of £20 towards the building of its new cloister. Goldwyn donated a similar sum to the London hospital of St Thomas Acon, where he wished to be buried.³⁵ As was so often the case, much of his potential income appears have been tied up in the long-term credit arrangements demanded by influential patients, one of whom was successfully sued by his executors for a debt of £114, but he could none the less command impressive reserves of disposable capital.³⁶ Valued at just over £10 (after the payment of his debts and funeral expenses), Nandyke's depleted estate compares tellingly with that of his colleague, who had prudently avoided the temptation to dabble in politics.

Had Nandyke abandoned his former life in order to practise alchemy? This seems entirely plausible, given the enthusiasm with which physicians at both universities, and especially Cambridge, pursued alchemical studies.³⁷ They hoped thereby to recover the perfect humoral balance lost at the Fall, and thus to achieve lasting health and longevity.³⁸ A number of entries in the 1491 inventory are, at least, suggestive. The books on astronomy, the two brass astrolabes and the other unspecified 'instrumentes' would, of course, have been essential for a successful medical practice, although no alchemist could proceed without a sound working knowledge of the heavens. None of the more sophisticated distillation equipment generally associated with alchemy (and relentlessly satirised by authors such as Chaucer) appears on the list of Nandyke's effects,³⁹ yet he possessed enough basic equipment and materials to conduct practical experiments. His ownership of fifty-five pounds of lead, a 'meltyng ladyll of yron', two chalkstones, a handsaw, a 'fier rake', hatchets, shovels, charcoal, various basins, pans, glass vessels (also essential for uroscopy) and warming dishes offers the tantalising possibility that he was, indeed, engaged in the search for the elusive quintessence, or elixir of life. Lead and

³⁵ PRO, PCC 5 Logge. Goldwyn's connection with the Stonors: C.L. Kingsford, ed., *Stonor Letters and Papers*, 2 vols, CS, Third Series 29, 30 (1919), vol. 2, no. 271.

³⁶ *CPR*, 1485-1494, p. 362.

³⁷ M. Pereira, 'Mater medicinarum: English physicians and the alchemical elixir in the fifteenth century', in R. French, et al., eds, *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*, Aldershot 1998, pp. 26-52; C. Crisciani and M. Pereria, 'Black death and golden remedies: some remarks on alchemy and the plague', in *The Regulation of Evil: Social and Cultural Attitudes to Epidemics in the Late Middle Ages*, Micrologus' Library 2 (1998), pp. 7-39.

³⁸ G. Roberts, *The Mirror of Alchemy: Alchemical Ideas and Images in Manuscripts and Books*, London 1994, pp. 18, 27, 37, 40-41.

³⁹ E.g. the list of items, including an alembic, glasses, crucibles, part of a furnace, bellows and four pounds of copper, left in Nottingham Castle by John Plumptre, 'alias Fezician', in 1494-95, W.H. Stevenson, ed., *Records of the Borough of Nottingham III, 1485-1547*, London 1875, p. 284. G.E. Trease and J.H. Hodson, 'The inventory of John Hexham, a fifteenth-century apothecary', *Medical History*, vol. 9 (1965), pp. 76-81, esp. 81, argue, without evidence, that the John Dammys who had custody of these goods was John Damian, the infamous physician and alchemist employed by James IV of Scotland in 1501.

iron were the 'diseased' base metals which alchemists most often used in their attempts at transmutation into gold.⁴⁰

Armed with a pair of 'crossebowes with wynches and A littyll Gunne of Bras', Nandyke may have feared interruption, or even arrest, because of his activities, but that, like so much of his career, remains a matter for conjecture. Life as a condemned man in the 1480s must have left him with an understandable sense of insecurity. On balance, however, there is every reason to believe that his last days in Cambridge were far from uncongenial. He could, after all, enjoy the society of like-minded individuals, such as the Carmelite friar, William Blakeney, a formidable necromancer, who was allegedly capable of conjuring *portenta multa et incredibilia*.⁴¹ Such dangerous feats, as Nandyke knew only too well, were best performed in the secluded cloisters of a university college rather than the bustling corridors of power.

The text

Public Record Office, PROB 2/48⁴²

[m. 1] This is the inventory of all the goodes, Ca[ttles . . .]
of Syr Thomas Nandyk, preest of Cambrigg[e],
praisyd by William Maryner and Symon Hogan, cite[zens of]
London & prayzers to the full Reverent ffade[r the]
Archebissshop of Caunterbury, the xxv da[y of . . .]
the yere of our lorde m'ccclxxxxj An[d sixth or seventh]
yere of the Reigne of Kyng Harry the S[eventh]

London: Gownes with oder weryng [apparel]
In Primis, A short gowne of blewe, sore worne – iijs vjd
Item, a Short gowne of tawney,⁴³ ffebill – ijs viiij
Item, a cloke of grene medley,⁴⁴ price iijs iiijd
Item, a russet⁴⁵ gowne, furred with blak lambe – vjs viiij
Item, a doublet of sprewse ledder,⁴⁶ price xijd
Item, a payer of Olde Blak hrossyn, price vjd
Item, a payer of Bootys and a payer olde sporys – vjd
Item, a Olde Tawney hatte, price iiijd
Summa: xviijs ijd

⁴⁰ E.g. A.E. White, ed., *The Hermetic Museum Restored and Enlarged*, 2 vols, London 1893, vol. 2, pp. 228–29.

⁴¹ Leader, *University of Cambridge*, p. 150; Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 65.

⁴² Nandyke's will has not survived, although an entry at the very end of this document records the cost of probate. Since he held property in more than one diocese, this involved recourse to the court of Archbishop Morton, with whom he had previously conspired to overthrow King Richard.

⁴³ A brownish-orange colour.

⁴⁴ Multicoloured, often striped cloth.

⁴⁵ Cloth of a dull red, or subdued colour, used for working clothes.

⁴⁶ Prussian leather.

THE INVENTORY OF A NECROMANCER

Cambrigge: gownes with oder Stuffe

Item, a Short Gowne of murrey,⁴⁷ price vjs viijd

Item, a Russet gowne, furryd with blak lambe with the hoode Syngill, price viijs iiijd

Item, a Olde Russet Gowne, furrid with ffoxe, price vs iiijd

Item, a Blak Gowne, ffurryd with ffoxe – xs

Item, a sangwayn gowne, furrid with gra[y⁴⁸ . . .] the hoode – xjs [. . . .d]

Item, a murrey gowne, ffurryd with brode menyver,⁴⁹ xijs [. . . .d]

Item, a grene Gowne, lyned with Tartrim,⁵⁰ price viijs iiijd

Item, a grene Gowne, lyned with Chamlet,⁵¹ price xvs

Item, a Olde capp of grene medley, lyned with veluet – xxd

Item, a Ridyng hode of Tawney, price viijd

Item, a Olde jakket of tawney clothe, price vjd

Item, a Olde jakket of chamlet, brokyn, price ijd

Item, v doublettes of Sylke of diuers cullours, sore worne – viijs

Item, a Olde ffurre of calabour wombys,⁵² price xd

Item, ij payer of Olde hossyn, price ijs iiijd

Item, a Olde Rede mantell, sore worne, price x[. . .]

Summa: iiij li xijs ijd

Stuffe of Beddyng

Item, a Olde Banker⁵³ of Wollyn Clothe, cont[aining] vij yerdes – xvjd

Item, a Olde Counterpoynt of tapistry, verder,⁵⁴ price vjs viijd

Item, iij Olde Brokyn Couerdlyttes of Northefolke makyng⁵⁵ – ijs [iiijd]

Item, v littyll Costrynges of Rede Say bastarde [r]jayned⁵⁶ – viijs iiijd

Item, vj littyll shelff clothes, price viijd

Item, a Payer of Blankettes, price ijs ijd

Item, iij Pillowes with the Berys,⁵⁷ price xxd

Item, a littyll ffedirbed with ij Bolsters – ixv

Summa: xxxijs ijd

Shetes with oder stuffe

Item, iiij payer of Shetes, sore worne, price vjs viijd

Item, iij brokyn Shertes, price xd

Item, iiij lityll towelles, playne, price xvjd

Item, iij Brest kercheffes and iij hand kercheffes – xxd

Summa: xs vjd

⁴⁷ Dark red or mulberry.

⁴⁸ Gray or gris was the back fur of the grey squirrel: Veale, *Fur Trade*, pp. 18–20.

⁴⁹ The white or winter fur from the belly of the squirrel.

⁵⁰ Tartarin was a rich silk fabric originally imported from the east (Tartary), whence it took its name.

⁵¹ Camlet, another type of expensive silk, or silk and fine wool, of eastern provenance.

⁵² Skins of high-quality Calabrian squirrel fur, above, n. 31.

⁵³ A tapestry cover for a bench or chair, or type of ornamental hanging.

⁵⁴ Verdure, or grassy green.

⁵⁵ Probably worsted, a fine-quality woollen cloth produced in Norfolk.

⁵⁶ Hanging curtains of counterfeit striped red silk or fine cloth.

⁵⁷ Pillowcases.

Latton and Bras

- Item, ij Estrolabers of latton,⁵⁸ price vjs iiijd
 Item, a Belle candilstyk of latton, price vjd
 Item, ij littyll Water chaffers of Bras, price xiiijd
 Item, ij littyll brokyn Salttes of Pewter, price iiijd
 Summa: viijs iiijd

Bokys

- Item, a littyll masse Boke and a portews⁵⁹ of Rome Vse in Prynt, price viijs
 Item, ij littyll Bokes of Phesyk, price xvjd
 Item, a Boke of phesyk in secundo folio intelectu' – iijs iiijd
 Item, a Boke of Astronomy in secundo folio iurisdictione – iijs iiijd
 Item, vij smalle Bokes, bordyd, price xjs viijd
 Item, a lytyll Sawter,⁶⁰ brokyn, price xijd
 Item, xv pamfletes of diuers matters, wyth many other Dyvers Quayrys, somme prynted, some vnpryntyd, price of all vs
 Summa: xxxijs viijd

Jewelless with oder stuffe

- [m. 2] Item, a spone of syluer, a George,⁶¹ a Tache,⁶² ij Aglettes⁶³ of Syluer and gilte, ponderante j oz iij qua'
 Item, a Bagge of blak veluet, the Rynges Syluer and enamelled, price
 Item, a premour,⁶⁴ the claspe Syluer and gilte, set with perle
 Item, a payer of Aumbour Bedys of l,⁶⁵ the gawdes siluer and gilte
 Item, a payer of grete Aumbour bedys of x,⁶⁶ with ij gret tasselles
 Item, viij unces of brokyn Siluer, at iijs ijd
 [All the above valued at] iij li xiijs iiijd
 Item, a Better clec⁶⁷ garnysshed with Syluer and gilte – xijd

Item, in diuers Sylkes, Crystall stonys, small perle Boxys, Gyrdylls, poyntes, with oder necessaries – xxxs

Summa: v li iijs iiijd

Item, in diuers Instrumentes, hustilmentes,⁶⁸ workyng Toolys, with oder necessaries, price of all xxjs

Summa: xxjs

⁵⁸ Astrolabes made of an alloy of copper and tin.

⁵⁹ A portable breviary.

⁶⁰ Psalter.

⁶¹ Probably a 'Florin George' or French gold coin: W.A. Shaw, *The History of Currency 1252 to 1894*, London 1895, p. 400.

⁶² A clasp or buckle.

⁶³ Metal points attached to the end of cords or ribbons.

⁶⁴ A primer.

⁶⁵ A rosary of fifty amber beads, the gauds (or larger ornamental beads inserted between each decade, or group of ten 'Aves') being of silver-gilt.

⁶⁶ A rosary of ten beads.

⁶⁷ Possibly a claw-shaped clasp.

⁶⁸ Utensils.

THE INVENTORY OF A NECROMANCER

Stuffe solde at Cambrigge

Item, solde to maister Buknam⁶⁹ ij crossebowes with wynches, A lityll Gunne of Bras, A hande sawe, ij persours,⁷⁰ iij cuschyns of Rede Worstede stuffid with flokkes, a lityll Panne of Bras, a bassyn of Pewter, A kalkyngstone,⁷¹ ij hatchettes, ij shovilles with oute yrons, A lityll pynt pot of Pewter, a fier rake, a meltyng ladyll of yron, price of all xjs viijd

Summa xjs viijd

Stuffe sold to Maister Stokes⁷²

Item, a trevet of yron, a Bassyn of laton with oder olde stuffe – ijs

Item, a presse for byndyng of bokes, price viijd

Item, ij olde booxys, price jd

Item, iij shetys of Paper Royall, price jd

Summa: ijs xd

Stuffe solde to Sir Nicholas Cottes⁷³

Item, a Sadyll and Bridyll with olde harnes, a Bassyn of Pewter, ij heyre Brussshys, a Candilstyk of latton, a payer of Tonges, a gredeyron, a lityll calkyngstone,⁷⁴ price iijjs iijjd

Item, a lityll Boke of ffesyk, price ijs

Summa: vjs iijjd

Stuffe solde to mayster cabold⁷⁵

Item, xxij lb of Pewter & di' atte iijd the lb, summa vs vjd

Item, ij candil stykkes, a chaffer⁷⁶ of latton & a payle for ijs

Summa: vijs vjd

Stuffe solde to Maister Abbot⁷⁷

Item, xxxvij lb of lede wrought, at ob' qua' le lb – ijs iijd qua'

Item, xvij lb of lede vnwrought at ob' le lb – ixd

Item, ij Bokys of Exstranymy, price iijjs iijjd

Item, in Glassys and Boxys, price ijs jd

Summa: viijs vd qua'

⁶⁹ Probably William Buckenham, then a fellow of Gonville Hall, of which he was eventually to become Master. The royal physician, John Argentine (above, n. 26), chose him as an executor in 1508: Ernden, *Cambridge*, pp. 103–04.

⁷⁰ Awls, or other pointed tools.

⁷¹ Chalkstone.

⁷² Either Richard Stokes, a bachelor of canon law, who began his studies in 1480–81, or the Austin friar, John Stokes, who lived in Cambridge between 1479 and 1502 before becoming principal of his order in England, Ernden, *Cambridge*, pp. 558–59.

⁷³ Above, n. 21.

⁷⁴ Above, n. 71.

⁷⁵ The distinguished canonist Thomas Cabold, then a fellow of Gonville Hall: Ernden, *Cambridge*, p. 116.

⁷⁶ A vessel for heating water.

⁷⁷ Probably the same 'Abbot' who was master of the Glomery (head of the Faculty of Grammarians), a teachers' college in Cambridge, in about 1490: Ernden, *Cambridge*, p. 1; Stokes, *Mediaeval Hostels*, p. 55.

CAROLE RAWCLIFFE

Stuffe solde to Maister Pryncipall

Item, xxvj yerdes of paynted clothe, at iiijd le yerd – viijs viijd

Item, iiij yerdes of paynted clothes, price xd

Item, a tabyll and a ffourme – iiijd

Item, a Planke, price ijd

Item, iiij Bordys, price iiijd

Item, a Quarter of chark cole – xd

Item, a paynted Shelf with ij ffenestralles⁷⁸ – iiijd

Item, a grete deske to write vpon & to lay bokes ynne – xd

Item, the clothes aboute the Awter made newe – ijs

Summa xiijs iiijd

In the keypyng of maister Wardall in Seynt Kateryns haule⁷⁹

Item, ij pressys for bokys, price ijs

Summa ijs

In the keypyng of maister White of Cambrigge⁸⁰

Item, a spruse tabill, callid a counter – iijs iiijd

Item, a lewte in a case, price iijs iiijd

Item, a Glasse to loke ynne, price iiijd

Item, a Turnyd chayer, price vjd

Item, a Saynt John vnpaynted,⁸¹ and a chaffer of bras – iiijd

Summa: vijs xd

Sperat dettes⁸²

Item, a man of Gransetir⁸³ for the rest of hors – xxd

Summa: xxd

Summa totalis of the praysted goodes, jewelles and sperat dettes: xix li iijs xjd

[m. 3] Dettes that the seid testatour owed at the tyme of his dissez:

Item, to Robert Yarum, mercer⁸⁴ – iiij li xviijs jd

Item, to John Assewell – ijs viijd ob'

Item, to the maister of Seint Kateryns Haule – ijs vjd

Item, Richard Smythe – vjs xd

Item, to the same Richard Smythes wyf – xxxs

Item, to John There, hossyer – iijs viijd

Item, to Mylys Taylloure – viijs iiijd

⁷⁸ Panes or pieces of glass.

⁷⁹ Above, n. 22.

⁸⁰ Above, n. 23.

⁸¹ Probably a picture, statue or head of John the Baptist, a saint closely associated with surgery, Rawcliffe, *Medicine*, pp. 134–35.

⁸² Debts it is hoped to recover.

⁸³ Grantchester, near Cambridge.

⁸⁴ A leading member of the Mercers' Company of London: L. Lyell and F.D. Watney, eds, *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company 1453–1527*, Cambridge 1936, pp. 57, 59, 79, 98–111, 170, 185, 193, 241.

THE INVENTORY OF A NECROMANCER

Item, to maister Cottes of Seint Austyn Ostyl⁸⁵ – xiijs iiijd

Item, to William Dawson – iijs ixd

Item, to a scoler of Cambrigge – iijs ijd

Item, to Thomas Tailleur, his servaunt – ijs

Summa: vij li vs iiijd

ffenerall expences

Item, paid to preestes, clerkes, ryngyng of bellys, his leistowe,⁸⁶ lynnyn clothe, brede, ale, wax, with oder necessaries & yoven in almes to pore peopill – xxvijs vjd

Summa: xxvijs vjd

The probat of the testament

Item, paid fo[r] the probat of the testament & of all oder ordinary charges that longeth therto – [blank]

[added in a different hand] J Rise xs

⁸⁵ Above, n. 21.

⁸⁶ Burial.