

Marcellus Maures alias Selis, of Utrecht and London, a Goldsmith of the Yorkist Kings

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Artisans, both men and women, created the luxurious surroundings of the Yorkist kings. Many of their names are known through the surviving accounts of the Great Wardrobe, of which the most notable survival is the account which includes the coronation of Richard III and Queen Anne Neville. Representatives of many of the diverse trades who worked on this coronation have been given biographies, but a goldsmith has been lacking.¹ The Goldsmiths of London were famous – their display of wares at the western end of Cheapside impressed visitors from abroad: Dominic Mancini, who stayed in London in 1483, only briefly referred to ‘the third street [Cheapside], which touches the centre of the town and runs on the level, there is traffic in more precious wares such as gold and silver cups ...’² but a fellow Italian held forth at greater length about fifteen years later:

the most remarkable thing in London, is the wonderful quantity of wrought silver In one single street, named the Strand [Cheapside] leading to St Paul’s, there are fifty-two goldsmiths’ shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together, I do not think there would be found so many of the magnificence that are to be seen in London. And these vessels are all either salt cellars, or drinking cups, or basins to hold water for the hands ...³

To this flourishing centre of his craft came the talented Marcellus Maures alias Selis. He had been born in Utrecht, part of the Holy Roman Empire, ruled during most of his life by Bishop David (1455-96; in exile 1481-83), one of the many bastard sons of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. Utrecht supported only a small number of gold and silver smiths and as a consequence there was a steady migration from the city of ambitious masters and apprentices to larger centres such as Cologne, Paris, Bruges and London.⁴ Maures may have trained in his home town, and then worked elsewhere in the Low Countries, before he tried his fortunes in London, drawn by the long-standing traditions of friendly commerce between England and the Low Countries. He was first recorded as a goldsmith in London in 1468-69, but when he came over is not known.

1468 was a year of good and bad news for immigrants from the Low Countries. At the national level, commercial agreements were reinforced between England and the Low Countries and in June Edward’s sister, Margaret, married Charles Duke of Burgundy; but in London an anti-alien riot was narrowly foiled at the beginning of September by the mayor and aldermen. It is worth mentioning this in some detail to illustrate the less attractive side of London for the young goldsmith who had left his own country.⁵ According to the informers’ depositions, artisan goldsmiths, tailors, skinnners and cordwainers had planned to boat over to Southwark and attack aliens in these crafts ‘that toke away the lvyng of Englissh people, purposed to have

¹ The present author’s biographies of Martin Jumbard, embroiderer, William Underwode, blacksmith, and Alice Claver, silkwoman, *The Ricardian*, vol. 5 (1979-81), pp. 50-53, 140-43, and 243-47 (Underwode reprinted *Richard III, Crown and People*, ed J. Petre, London 1985, pp. 393-96; and Claver reprinted and expanded in *Medieval London Widows 1300-1500*, ed C.M. Barron and A.F. Sutton, London 1994, pp. 129-42); John Hertyngton, saddler, *The Ricardian*, vol. 6 (1982-84), pp. 379-84; Richard Gowler, mercer, *ibid.*, vol. 7 (1985-87), pp. 238-45; John Skirwith, leatherseller, *ibid.*, vol. 11 (1997-99), pp. 69-78; George Lovekyn, tailor, *Costume*, vol. 15 (1981), pp. 1-12; Christian Colborne, painter, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 135 (1982), pp. 55-61; and William Caster, skinner, by T. Smith, *The Ricardian*, vol. 8 (1988-90), pp. 130-35. All the artisans who worked for the coronation of Richard III received brief biographies in *The Coronation of Richard III*, ed A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond, Gloucester 1983.

² Dominic Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III*, ed C.A.J. Armstrong, Oxford 2nd ed. 1969, pp. 102-03.

³ *A Relation or rather a True Account of the Island of England ... about the year 1500*, trans. C.A. Sneyd, Camden Society 1847, pp. 42-43. for the area and size of the Goldsmithery of London, T.F. Reddaway, ‘The London Goldsmiths circa 1500’, *Trans. of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., vol. 2 (1962), pp. 52-53.

⁴ L.E. van den Bergh-Hoogterp, *Goud- en zilvermeden te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen*, 2 vols, The Hague 1989, vol. 1, pp. 163-71. This author did not find anyone by the name of Maures among the Utrecht records, but see the problems of his name below. Information kindly supplied by Livia Visser-Fuchs.

⁵ The main discussions of Londoners’ relations with the alien immigrants are S. Thrupp, ‘Aliens in and around London in the fifteenth century’, in *Studies in London History Presented to P.E. Jones*, ed A.E.W. Hollaender and W. Kellaway, London 1969, pp. 251-71; and the less optimistic view expressed by J. Bolton, ed., *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century. The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483-4*, Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, Stamford 1998, introd. For the trade see N.J.M. Kerling, *Commercial Relations of Holland and Zeeland with England from the Late Thirteenth Century to the Close of the Middle Ages*, Leiden 1954, *passim*.

kytt of their thombes or handes so that they shuld never after that have hulf[ed] theym self by meane of Crafte'.⁶ From other evidence it is likely the native and alien weavers of London were part of this general discontent: they were at loggerheads over who should pay off the arrears of payments due to the king.⁷ The tailors, skinnners and cordwainers were still in theory subject to prosecution under a series of sumptuary laws and ordinances of 1462-64,⁸ and were happy to take it out on someone; and the goldsmiths of London had for years been struggling against the flood of Dutchmen and Germans into their craft. One of the flood was Marcellus Maures.

The Goldsmiths of London were of particular interest to the king for they assayed the gold and silver of his realm, and they made him objects of value and beauty; nor was he unaware of their daily behaviour. 1468 saw the beginning of a long-drawn out quarrel between two neighbouring goldsmiths, Edward of Bowden and Davy Panter, whose bad language brought them up before their company's wardens; they continued 'with outrageous, heinous and malicious language and also in assaults and making affrays', so bad that in 1473-74 it

was spoken of so largely in divers placis that it come to the kyng our souveraine lordes knowlege which caused his highnesse to committe the mater to be examined by my lord of gloucestre constable of Engeland, and after the said Edward and Davy were brought afore my said lord of gloucestre and there herd, declaring their mater' in so moche that it was understond the said mater only proceded of rancour and verry malice be twene them of olde continuance hanging and no mater groundly founden touching the kinges highnesse, for whiche cause all the said mater by the diligent labour of the wardeins and othere of the Feleship unto the kynges good grace and to my said lordes good lordship made was sent down to the wardeins to hire and examine

In gratitude for this ruling, the company's clerk recorded that they had 'yoven to a gentilman of the duke of Gloucestrs for a rewardes in discharging of Edward [and] Davy aforesaid and their suretees a yenst the kyng and for remittung the mater hole to the wardeins and to the Feleship - xls'.⁹ The run of this case 1468-74 covered the period of first two references to Marcellus Maures in the Goldsmiths' Minute Book A - he was also to supply the amenable duke with ornaments when he was king.

The Goldsmiths' Company of London were keen to control all aliens in their trade, and one of their major problems in the fifteenth century was the influx of 'Doche' workers from the Low Countries and Germany, who set up shop illicitly in the city, Southwark and Westminster. Under their charters the company had the right to search, punish and correct all bad workmanship in London, its suburbs, and at all the fairs of England, and under letters patent of Edward IV in 1462 all the towns of the realm, in order to maintain the king's standard of gold and silver. Searches were regular and could be stringent. Setting up his own shop was denied to an alien in the city until he could prove himself, find sureties, take an oath of obedience and pay fees.¹⁰ Previous attempts to control and regulate alien workers had proved less than satisfactory, so in 1468 the Goldsmiths' Company took legal advice on how to deal with the problem in a way that was likely to be acceptable to both sides, and work. In 1469 they passed the resulting resolution: after a condemnation of the illicit shops, it went on to say that those aliens who had been at work for five years might continue; no others might have a shop or chamber until they had served five years as a servant, and they were to be bound in 20s to the wardens to make sure this happened; new arrivals were to find a master, who would present them to the wardens and pay a fee; after the requisite five years they had to prove their skill before the wardens, pay a fee of 6s 8d, take an oath, and then they would be allowed to open a shop. This ruling proved to be the practical solution of the company's regulatory problems and drew the aliens into a satisfactory relationship with the company.¹¹ As a consequence a list was drawn up by the Goldsmiths' searchers of 113 alien master

⁶ Corporation of London Records Office (hereafter CLRO), Journal of the Common Council 7, f. 178r-v; depositions of informers are undated and due to misbindings are inserted between 7 and 5 Sept. and 29 Aug. [*sic*]. A curious version of this attempt is given in 'Gregory's Chronicle' in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J. Gairdner, Camden Society 1876, pp. 237-38.

⁷ F. Consitt, *The London Weavers' Company*, Oxford 1933, pp. 57-58.

⁸ A.F. Sutton, 'Order and fashion in clothes: the king, his household, and the city of London at the end of the fifteenth century', *Textile History*, vol. 22 (1991), pp. 268-70.

⁹ T.F. Reddaway and L.E.M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509* (hereafter R&W), London 1975, pp. 151-54; Bowden had earlier received the queen's favour over another bout of rage. Goldsmiths' Company of London, Minute Book A, p. 170. I am most grateful to the company and Miss Susan Hare, the Librarian in 1976, for allowing me to consult this manuscript.

¹⁰ R&W, pp. 93, 108-09, III, 139. Reddaway, 'London Goldsmiths', pp. 51, 59-60.

¹¹ R&W, pp. 129-31, and pp. 120-31 for a general discussion of the issue.

goldsmiths and apprentices working in London and Southwark, and it included a man called 'Seles'.¹² As an ambitious and talented man, Maures took the respectable route and fell in with the rules of the 'benevolent autocracy' that was the Goldsmiths' Company.¹³

His name, which gave so much trouble to English scribes throughout his life, deserves some explanation. Selis was short for Marcellis and appears to be a name of Friesland, now a province in the north of the Netherlands, and then part of the diocese of Utrecht.¹⁴ The three names he bore seem therefore to be all variations of one name made by mystified English scribes; the variations they achieved were many: he was 'Seles Maurice', 'Zeles Mowes', and 'Selis Moryes' and 'Seluz Mauricius' in the Goldsmiths' Accounts over the years;¹⁵ a royal clerk made a better stab at it in 1480 with Marcellus Maures alias Zelys;¹⁶ the clerk of the great wardrobe, William Misterton, who knew him over a long period, called him 'Selys goldesmythe' in 1480 like the royal clerk of financial memoranda composed in the reign of Edward V,¹⁷ and 'Marcelles Maures' and 'Marcellus Mawres' in 1483 and 1485.¹⁸

Once the officers of the London Goldsmiths' Company had identified Maures as an alien goldsmith, they did not lose sight of him, and he became a recognised brother of the company. Four years later in 1473 he was among 137 brothers of the fellowship who contributed 12d towards the company's 'riding' to meet the king, and was recorded as a 'Duchman' living in the prosperous area of Lombard Street, a centre for goldsmiths shops second only to the east end of Cheapside.¹⁹ In December 1478 the company made a momentous change to the assay process and established a full-time, salaried assayer at their Hall, at £20 the year, to take over the task from the wardens. The mark was to be in a new crowned form of the leopard's head; the maker's mark was to accompany the leopard's head as had been the rule since 1363; and a date-letter was now to be added. Essentially the same practice of the 'hall-mark' still continues today at Goldsmiths' Hall, Foster Lane, the new term 'hall-mark' gradually replacing the ancient term of the 'touch'. To cover the costs of this new administration, the company instituted quarterage to be taken from all brethren at the rate of 8d a quarter year, and the individual fees for assaying were abolished. Such changes were not done without royal approval: parliament reinforced this change by statute and firmly included all alien goldsmiths residing within two miles of the city under the company's control. For the historian, a benefit of quarterage was the necessary preservation of records of a man's address.²⁰

From 1478-79, therefore, Maures can be glimpsed paying his quarterage of 2s 8d a year, as a stranger or Dutchman – he was recorded as living in Abchurch Lane, part of the prosperous Lombard Street complex of streets, in 1478-79, and from 1486-90 as living in Candlewick Street (Cannon Street).²¹

As an alien worker he was certainly kept an eye on with extra assiduity by the Goldsmiths' Company. Like most businessmen, sometimes he cut corners, and sometimes he was caught: in 1478-79 he was fined 2s for working with sub-sterling silver under his mark ('defaute in working of ij newe chargeours with his merke wors than sterl[ing] by iiij peny weight').²² A fellow goldsmith immigrant from Utrecht, Deryck Knijff, had gone as far as faking the leopard assay mark on sub-standard silver in 1468.²³ One of the constant complaints against aliens was that they persistently employed other aliens – thereby fuelling the complaint that they deprived native English of work. The Goldsmiths had made regulations to control this tendency, but the composition of Maures' own household proves the ineffectiveness of such regulation. The complaints that English workers were put out of work were based on prejudice not statistics, but it was an attitude which led Englishmen to plan the slitting of aliens' thumbs in 1468.²⁴ In 1480 Marcellus was fined 26s 8d by the Goldsmiths for failing to attend on the wardens of the company despite five or six summons, and for setting

¹² Goldsmiths' Company, Minute Book A, p. 121, under 1468-69. the Goldsmiths' accounting year ran from St Dunstan's Day, 19 May. He was not picked up by the 1469 national poll tax of aliens, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), E 179/144/67.

¹³ Reddaway, 'London Goldsmiths', p. 53 (quotation).

¹⁴ I am grateful for advice from Livia Visser-Fuchs.

¹⁵ Goldsmiths' Company Minute Book A, 1474-75, 1478-79 and 1482-83, 1483-84.

¹⁶ PRO, Exchequer Warrants for Issues, E 404/77/1/17 and 176/4/135, cited R&W, p. 301.

¹⁷ N.H. Nicolas, ed., *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York; Wardrobe Account of Edward IV*, London 1830, p. 119. R. Horrox, ed., 'Financial Memoranda of the Reign of Edward V. Longleat Miscellaneous Ms Book II', *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 29 (1987), p. 219 (f. 7).

¹⁸ *Coronation*, refs. as in nn. 43 and 44 below; L.G.W. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, Westminster 1901, p. 209.

¹⁹ Goldsmiths' Minute Book A, p. 166, for 1473. R&W, p. 138, 174. He is not recorded as a contributor to the riding of 1475, A, p. 184.

²⁰ R&W, pp. 164-71.

²¹ R&W, pp. 164-65. Goldsmiths' Minute Book A, 1478-79, p. 202, 1482-83, p. 227; 1483-84, p. 241; 1484-85, p. 241, 1486-90, pp. 267, 275, 285, 301.

²² Goldsmiths' Minute Book A, p. 200, for 1478-79.

²³ R&W, pp. 141, 160 n. 98. Van den Bergh-Hoogterp, p. 170.

²⁴ R&W, pp. 127-29. Bolton, *Alien Communities*, pp. 24-25 and introd. passim.

several men to work without presenting them to the wardens.²⁵ There is no doubt that he employed a large workforce of fellow aliens and there is no doubt that there was a flood of goldsmiths into London from the Low Countries and Germany in the 1470s and 1480s.²⁶ The poll tax on aliens granted to Edward IV was collected after his death in 1483 and its returns listed in detail Marcellus' household in the western half of Candlewick Street in Walbrook ward. As a Dutchman (*theoconicus*), goldsmith and a householder, Maures paid 6s 8d. His seventeen servants each paid 2s: Thomas Bocke, Gerard Welkenare, John van Ewyk, Henry van Bougard, John Bolnard, Loy Tak, John Oldenzell, John Pynnyk, Sampson Halle and his wife, Margareta, Katerina Senen, Cradin Gryffyn, Melchior Wolferik, Hawe Corterys, John Hubert, John van Aron, and Louis Court. Of these men, as many as five probably came from near Maures' home, to judge by their names. There were only the two women servants, one the wife of another of the servants, and one a single woman.²⁷ If the small goods he produced for the great wardrobe were typical of his production he needed a large workforce. A few of his apprentices are known: in 1474 he was bound in 20s for the child of John Blakall, presumably his apprentice, under the new ordinance for alien strangers;²⁸ in 1486 Henry Fusterman, originally Dutch to judge by his name, was sworn before the Goldsmiths' wardens as a stranger and paid his 2s;²⁹ in 1489 a servant of Maures, called Paul, was fined for defective work.³⁰

In May 1482 he received letters of denization as 'Marcellus Mawres' born in the bishopric of Utrecht – this could have cost him in excess of £5 and shows either that he had decided to make England his home or that it was now in his financial interests to buy this recognition.³¹ He had some trouble with his rights as a denizen, however – he was certainly forced to pay the poll tax on aliens in 1483 – and in Richard III's reign a warrant had to be sent to the exchequer to stop demands for his homage.³² Perhaps his name had confused the officials.

He was clearly a goldsmith of considerable talent and came to be regularly used by Edward IV. He was working on goods required for the 1475 expedition against France in 1475.³³ In 1480, he was associated with William Palmer, a liveryman of the Goldsmiths since 1473, who had served as a warden in 1478 with such men as Hugh Brice, deputy to Lord Hastings at the Tower Mint and a future mayor (1485-86).³⁴ With such associates, despite the aura of alien which hangs about city references to him, Maures was certainly neither unsuccessful in business nor unrespected by his English fellow craftsmen. It can only be guessed who supplied the artistic flair and who the financial backing in the joint work with Palmer. Before May 1480 Maures and William Palmer repaired some of Edward IV's jewels and supplied the gold and silver required. On 8 May 1480 a warrant to the exchequer admitted that the king owed Palmer's widow £12 for her husband's work and £51 to Maures.³⁵ That Maures came to deal in large sums of bullion by himself is confirmed by the record that during the last days of Edward IV in 1483, as 'Selis goldsmyth', he paid into the king's treasury £1,800 'upon the image of golde'.³⁶ There are no details or explanation of this transaction, but Edward was converting what was presumably an old and unwanted image into bullion or cash. Maures was useful to Edward in another more unexpected way, for in September 1481 he acted as the king's 'factor' and shipped lambskins worth £14 10s. This suggests that he had kept in touch with the Low Countries and probably his home town; the constant trade between the two countries meant that a man of means could readily keep in touch. His fellow alien worker at the great wardrobe, Christian Colborne, painter, can similarly be found trading in Brabant while working in England. The two men also lived close to each other in the

²⁵ Goldsmiths' Minute Book A, p. 213.

²⁶ R&W, pp. 171-73. The minimum figure for the alien population of London and its suburbs in 1483 is 2,700; there were 55 in Walbrook ward, 144 in metal-working crafts generally, Bolton, *Alien Communities*, pp. 8-9, 13, 20.

²⁷ The inquest by ward juries as to the aliens in their wards was held at Guildhall on 16 June 1483. TNA, PRO, E 179/242/25, m. 9v, the last household given in this ward, printed, Bolton, *Alien Communities*, p. 63; who translates *theoconicus* always as 'German'; for an analysis of what that term meant, pp. 29-31. For the history and characteristics of this tax, *ibid.*, pp. 3-4. Ewyk (Ewijk) and Oldenzell (Oldenzaal) are Northern Dutch place names, in the east. Welkenaar is an unusual name from the Dutch/German border area, and so perhaps are Wolferi(n)k and Pinnink; information from Livia Visser-Fuchs.

²⁸ Goldsmiths' Minute Book A, p. 179, for 1474-75.

²⁹ Goldsmiths' Minute Book A, p. 262.

³⁰ Goldsmiths' Minute Book A, p. 296.

³¹ *CPR 1476-85*, p. 297. Compare R&W, p. 172.

³² *Harleian MS 433*, ed R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond, 4 vols, Upminster and London 1979-83, vol. 1, p. 214.

³³ PRO, E 404/76/2, no. 1. Also employed was the embroiderer Martin Jumbard, another alien 'dochman' and regular employee of the great wardrobe, *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 362; for a longer biography see n. 1 above.

³⁴ Palmer had been an apprentice of the wealthy Robert Harding, an alderman, R&W, pp. 212, 301 (biog.). Brice, R&W, pp. 139-40, 285-88 (biog.).

³⁵ PRO, E 404/77/1/17; and 76/4/135, cited by R&W, p. 301.

³⁶ Horrox, 'Financial Memoranda' p. 219 (f. 7), and p. 209; unfortunately he is misidentified by Horrox as William Sayles in n. 13.

ward of Walbrook. Christian's parish is known to have been St Mary Abchurch, and it is possible this was also Maures' parish while he lived first in Abchurch Lane and then in Candlewick Street.³⁷

Maures was regularly employed by the great wardrobe, the main office which provided the king and his household with clothing, shoes, bedding, hangings, decorative horse harness and all the comforts of life apart from victuals. He was one of several artisans of 'doche', Low Countries or German origin who worked there: Martin Jumbard, embroiderer, Colborne the painter and Piers Herton, cordwainer or shoemaker – all may have known each other outside the wardrobe.³⁸ In 1480 Maures supplied 1,052 aglets weighing 281³/₄ ounces and 155 ounces of great and small 'spanges', all of silver gilt, and received old 'water floures' and old 'spanges' in part payment for the metal he had supplied; the total cost came to £128 0s 6d.³⁹ This shows the kind of goods he may have been noted for: small decorative objects. An annulet was the little ring of metal set into a textile to reinforce the sides of holes through which were threaded the cords or laces. These cords or laces were often called points, and were made of ribbon or leather, and tipped with a pointed metal tag or aglet to facilitate the process of threading. Laces or points would close the front of a gown, tie a sleeve to the body of a doublet, or fasten hose to the doublet. 'Spanges' were spangles, small disks of metal sewn to a garment or a horse trapper, for example, for decorative effect.⁴⁰ These items were inexpensive individually and could be a specialisation for a minor goldsmith – they also accounted for the large workforce Maures employed. His royal commissions, however, suggest Maures could also produce exceptional goods, probably in the category we would call jewellery.⁴¹

1483 was a good year for Maures in the sense that he appears in several records including the accounts of the great wardrobe that covered the coronation of Richard III: his household was listed in the returns to the alien poll tax, as described above, and he occurred in the Goldsmiths' Minutes. Like all good goldsmiths he contributed 13s 4d for the company's riding to meet Edward V, and 5s towards the riding to meet King Richard 'at his comyng' in 1483-84. The mayor of this time was the goldsmith Edmund Shaa, knighted by Richard III on the vigil of his coronation in reward for his careful preservation of order in the city during the potentially difficult period of the protectorship. Maures did not provide any of the 156 men defensibly arrayed by Mayor Shaa's own livery company of the Goldsmiths as its contribution to a watch in the city on 3 July 1483. They lined the streets 'at the comyng of the Northeron menne in to this Citee after they had mustred in Fynesbery Feldes a fore the kyng and his lordes then beyng there present', in other words the Northern contingent of men summoned by Richard during the protectorship, which marched through the city to St Paul's after their muster. Nor was Maures recorded as a contributor to the defence of the city 'when the kentishe men roos a yenste the kyng and the Citee after the coronacion of the Kyng and the Quene', in other words the anticipated attack on the city from Kent during the so-called Buckingham's Rebellion in October 1483 when Sir Edmund Shaa and the duke of Norfolk were in charge.⁴²

If he watched the coronation procession on 6 July 1483 it is likely Maures could have spotted some of the glittering ornaments which he and his servants had made. He supplied many small silver-gilt objects at the cost of 6s the ounce: 288 silver-gilt annulets weighing over four ounces, for 25s 9¹/₂d; eight aglets of silver gilt weighing seven pennyweight⁴³ for 2s 8d; eight bells weighing 20¹/₄ ounces, for £6 1s 6d – the bells hung at each corner of the two canopies of red and green cloth of gold carried over the king and queen during the procession from the Tower of London to Westminster Abbey by members of the Cinque Ports. The canopies were made of the most expensive silk cloth of gold made in Lucca, known as baldekin, and were bordered with fringe made of silk and gold thread from Venice in Alice Claver's workshop; the staves of the canopies were covered with gold-leaf by Christian Colborne, painter.⁴⁴ Maures also supplied forty-four

³⁷ PRO, Customs accounts, Divers Ports, /194/25, cited by C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, 2 vols, London 1923, vol. 2, p. 411. Sutton, 'Christian Colborne, painter of Germany and London, d. 1486' (see n. 1), pp. 58, 59, 61; it is possible that Colborne too was from Utrecht, *ibid.*, p. 55.

³⁸ *Coronation*, p. 62, and see n. 1, above; Herton, also p. 356. None of these men were in the poll tax of 1483 as was Maures, but Colborne's 'Doche' servant, Adrian, was, Sutton, 'Colborne', p. 59, and Bolton, *Alien Communities*, p. 62.

³⁹ Nicolas, *Wardrobe Account of Edward IV*, p. 119. It seems likely that 'water floures' were something like spangles with petals and used in the same way, and see next note.

⁴⁰ R.A. Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1992, ch. 34, esp. p. 366, and pl. 116, showing a portion of clothing entirely covered with small silver-gilt and copper-gilt ornaments; he cites this 1480 entry from Nicolas and repeats his suggestion that the waterflowers were a royal device, specifically Elizabeth Woodville's, which is Nicolas' misidentification of the flowers behind Elizabeth in the glass of Canterbury Cathedral. Her device shown in the glass is a crimson pink or gillyflower.

⁴¹ R&W, p. 50.

⁴² Goldsmiths' Minute Book A, pp. 237, 238, 245-47, for 1483-84. *Coronation*, pp. 26-27, under 2-3 July.

⁴³ Pennyweight = one twentieth of an ounce troy. For the troy weights, R&W, pp. 112-13.

⁴⁴ *Coronation*, pp. 120-21, 193; the Cinque Ports received the canopies as their fee. There is an extensive glossary in *The Coronation*.

bullions or ornamental balls, weighing nearly eleven ounces, and four chapes for the four coronation swords, weighing nearly two ounces, at a total cost of £3 15s. A chape was the metal covering of the tip of a sword-sheath. That Maures actually applied the metalwork decoration to at least one of the swords is proved by another entry in which he was recorded as paid 15s 6d 'for garnysshing of a swerde', using a further two and a half ounces and one and a half pennyweight of silver-gilt in the work. Four swords were supplied by the great wardrobe for the coronation ceremonies, one being the pointless sword known as Curtana and another the sword of state or the king's sword.⁴⁵

In the period covered by the same great wardrobe account (9 April 1483-2 February 1484), he also supplied 125 ounces of silver gilt ornaments to garnish two horse harness, at the same price per ounce, for £36 10s; and several roses wrought out of four and a half ounces of gold, at 26s the ounce, for the same two sets of harness. He was paid £7 13s. These harness may have been among those for the eight coursers ridden by the king's seven henchmen and their master⁴⁶ who took part in the coronation procession described as 'duewed with gold', or perhaps one particular harness and saddle covered in green velvet 'garnysht with gylt werk', or perhaps the six bridels covered with cloth of gold and another six covered with crimson velvet, all 'garnysst with crownes and flouredelice chaaste and gilte'. All the harness were made by John Hertyngton, saddler.⁴⁷ Some of Maures' gilt ornaments may have been among the 100 'botonettes', three dozen buckles, and eight and a half dozen long and short pendants delivered by the great wardrobe to decorate a saddle and harness for Richard III some time after the coronation.⁴⁸

Maures also supplied the great wardrobe at the time of the coronation of Henry VII with 185 ounces of 'setting spangels of silver and gilte', at the usual 6s the ounce, besides seventy-one ounces of hanging spangels of silver and double gilt at 8s the ounce, and ninety-eight anulets of silver-gilt. But far more was bought from another alien goldsmith, John van Delf, who was paid over £55 for silver-gilt spangels and 'hangers' and bullions, while 'Hanche doucheman' gilded pommels, and Matthew Hobard, an English goldsmith, was paid over £71 for large and small portcullises of silver-gilt.⁴⁹ Perhaps Maures had become less popular because of his work for the Yorkist court.

Nothing is known of Maures' personal or social life – the 1483 poll tax revealed no wife: perhaps she was dead or an Englishwoman and therefore not eligible for record. Surely he belonged to the religious fraternity of the alien goldsmiths dedicated St Eloi in the church of St Nicholas Acon? St Eloi had been a goldsmith in life.⁵⁰ Maures held no office in the Goldsmith's Company although the wardenship was not barred to aliens; as an alien he was always able to share in the preliminary processes which elected the wardens each year on 19 May, the feast of St Dunstan, the English saint who had been a goldsmith.⁵¹

Maures seems to have been dead by 1491 – his neighbour, Christian Colborne, had died in 1486. The Goldsmiths recorded no payment of quarterage by him in the year 1490-91, and that a Bartholomew Naylond, an alien goldsmith from Saxony equipped with denization papers, had moved into Maures' house in Candlewick Street.⁵² No will survives for Maures in England. It is just possible he had gone home to Utrecht.

Marcellus Maures is interesting on several counts. First, as a court supplier who made works of high quality, as that employment implies, although no object made by him is known to survive. Secondly, he was a man from Utrecht who made good in a foreign country, and thirdly his business life as a goldsmith coincided with some major changes in the regulation of his trade and the assay of gold and silver in England. These changes are still in use today.

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⁴⁵ *Coronation*, pp. 120-21, 159, 237-38.

⁴⁶ Boys of good birth educated in the king's household; their master in Richard's household was Sir James Tyrell, *Coronation*, *passim*.

⁴⁷ *Coronation*, p. 136, and pp. 99 and n. 10, 101, 123, 125, 128, 129, 134, 155; saddlery generally, pp. 123-30, 185-88.

⁴⁸ *Coronation*, p. 176.

⁴⁹ Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 209. Van Delf, R&W, esp. p. 172, and Bolton, *Alien Communities*, pp. 71 n. 108; Hobard, R&W, p. 247 n. 1.

⁵⁰ R&W, pp. 129, 158 nn. 46-48. Bolton, *Alien Communities*, p. 36.

⁵¹ Reddaway, 'London Goldsmiths', p. 59.

⁵² *Goldsmiths' Minute Book*, A, p. 320. Naylond, R&W, pp. 171-72.