'Thomas Hoccleve as Poet and Clerk'

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Abstract

As part of an AHRC-funded interdisciplinary research project, *'Identification of the Scribes Responsible for Copying Major Works of Middle English Literature',* this thesis re-examines the late medieval poet Thomas Hoccleve in the context of his career as a clerk of the Privy Seal and the history of the late medieval English government administration. Through identification of Hoccleve's handwriting, it has been possible to search for all the extant documents produced by him for that office now in the National Archives. The evidence drawn from these documents is used to contribute towards a more complete chronology of the poet's life, and the circumstances under which his poetry was written. Firstly, Hoccleve is used as a case study through which to examine the development of the late medieval English government administration and civil service, and the changing nature of its staff during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Secondly, Hoccleve's major work, the *Regiment of Princes*, is examined in the context of his role as a royal clerk, and the proliferation of Middle English political and didactic texts during this period. Finally, the impact of Hoccleve's use of Anglo-French in official documents and Middle English in his poetry is considered in the context of the mutual culture of influence existing between the two languages. These different approaches to the documentary evidence are used to illustrate the impact of Hoccleve's position at the Privy Seal on the form and content of his literary work.

Contents

Abbreviations

ANTS	Anglo-Norman Text Society
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
Bain	Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1881-88.
Carte	*Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normans et François conservés dans les archives de la Tour de Londres*, compiled by Thomas Carte, London, 1743.
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls*
CChR	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	*English Historical Review*
METS	Middle English Text Society
PROME	*The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504*, eds. C. Given-Wilson, P. Brand, S. Phillips, W. M. Ormrod, G. Martin, A. Curry and R. Horrox, 16 vols., Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005. http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME/home.html
SAC	*Studies in the Age of Chaucer*
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, London
VCH	*Victoria County Histories*

Conventions

In this thesis, when referring to the government offices, capitals are used (the Privy Seal, the Chancery, the Signet), whereas references to the seals themselves are in lower case (the privy seal, the great seal, the signet). The titles of the heads of the offices are capitalized (the Keeper, the Chancellor, the Secretary).

The term Mirrors for Princes has been capitalized to indicate its use as a genre.

In the Appendices, all first names and place names have been modernized where possible.

Unless otherwise stated, all documents cited are in TNA.

Acknowledgements

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Author's declaration

I, Helen Katherine Spencer Killick, confirm that all work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

22 November 2010

Introduction

The work of Thomas Hoccleve is not only some of the most original and influential poetry written in Middle English, but also constitutes an important source for historians of the later medieval period. Previous scholars have made extensive use of the autobiographical element in Hoccleve's poetry in drawing conclusions regarding his life and work as a clerk of the office of the Privy Seal. However, it is only in recent years that the government records relating to his career have begun to be fully utilised. The aim of this thesis is to identify and explore the corpus of documents produced by Hoccleve on behalf of the Privy Seal, in order to contribute towards a more complete chronology of the poet's life, and the context in which he wrote his major works. The introduction will provide a short biography of Hoccleve and description of his poetry, and an account of the previous scholarship, addressing some of the individual themes present in his work. It will then describe in more detail the aims and methods of the thesis, briefly summarising each chapter in turn.

Little is known regarding Hoccleve's origins and childhood. He is thought to have been born at some time in 1366 or 1367, based on his statement in the poem *Dialogue with a Friend* that he is fifty-three years old.[1] Some have claimed that his name suggests he originally came from Hockliffe in Bedfordshire, but his adult life was spent living and working in London.[2] He was employed as a clerk in the office of the Privy Seal, at this time one of the three main government offices, along with the Chancery and Exchequer. John Burrow, in his biography of the poet, suggests he entered the office around 1387, at the age of twenty; however, documents written by Hoccleve discovered by Linne Mooney and myself suggest that he may have been working as an apprentice clerk prior to this date.[3] He remained a clerk at the Privy Seal until 1426, when records show that his death resulted in the transferral of his corrody in Southwick Priory to Alice Penfold.[4]

Hoccleve is known as the author of a substantial corpus of vernacular poetry, ranging from moral and devotional works to lengthy political texts. His earliest datable

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[1] The poem forms part of Hoccleve's *Series*, which has been dated to between late 1419 and early 1421; see J. A. Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve* (Aldershot, 1994), p. 2.
[2] F. J. Furnivall (ed.) *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, EETS e. s. 61 (London, 1892), vii.
[3] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 2; L. R. Mooney, 'Some new light on Thomas Hoccleve', *SAC* 29 (2007) p. 310 n. 42; see my Appendix I, p. 187.
[4] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 29.

poem is the *Letter of Cupid*, written in 1402, and he continued to compose until very near the end of his life. The distinguishing feature of Hoccleve's literary work is his strong tendency towards the autobiographical, and this means that we know more about his life than that of any other medieval poet.[5] Poems such as the *Male Regle* contain a wealth of information regarding the author's lifestyle and the type of people with whom he came into contact. Like much of Hoccleve's work, this poem falls into the category of petitionary verse: verses written to noble patrons in order to request financial aid. These included powerful merchants and guild members, senior governmental and civic officials such as the Treasurer, Chancellor and town clerk, and the nobility and royal family, including people such as Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmorland, Humphrey of Gloucester, and the future Henry V. The latter was the addressee of Hoccleve's most successful work, the *Regiment of Princes*, an advice manual for rulers composed in 1411. Apart from the *Regiment*, the poem for which Hoccleve is chiefly remembered today is his *Series*, written in the final years of his life. This work comprises the *Complaint*, which describe the circumstances of Hoccleve's mental breakdown and recovery, the *Dialogue with a Friend*, in which Hoccleve discusses the former work with an unnamed companion, and three translations of moral poems. Rather than concentrating on the symptoms of the illness itself, the *Complaint* details the problems faced by the author as he attempts his rehabilitation into society and the reaction of his friends and colleagues.

Some scholars have raised the question of the extent to which this poem, and Hoccleve's poetry in general, can be viewed as truly autobiographical, or whether he made use of a literary persona. As Burrow points out, a number of aspects of his work can be attributed to the influence of literary convention. Many of Hoccleve's poems were written in order to obtain favour from a patron, and he might therefore exaggerate his own financial difficulties or present himself as humble and unworthy in order to flatter his addressee; thus, when reading such works, 'One has to reckon with the general conventions regarding such self-reference at the time, and also with the particular purposes for which, in each case, Hoccleve chooses to speak about himself.'[6]

Along with his poetry, the other main source of information we have regarding Hoccleve's life comes from the documents in the National Archives which refer to him as

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[5] See below pp. 4-6.
[6] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 1.

the recipient of grants and payments made out of the Exchequer.[7] These record details of his annuity, which was granted to him by Henry IV upon his succession to the throne in 1399. This was his main source of income, and the irregularity of these payments meant that Hoccleve frequently found himself in financial difficulties. During this period, clerks were unwaged; they received board and lodging at a hostel provided for them by the king, but otherwise depended on the possibility of annuities, the income from church livings (such as Hoccleve's corrody referred to above), or small payments for carrying out jobs for individuals. The original terms of Hoccleve's annuity specify that it was to continue until he received a benefice; as he explains in the *Regiment*, when this failed to occur he married.[8] Unlike his colleague Robert Frye, he was never promoted to a senior position at the Privy Seal, but the fact that he was responsible for the compilation of a formulary (British Library MS Additional 24062) containing examples of the type of documents issued by the office suggests that by the end of his life he was one of its longest-serving and most experienced clerks.

Interest in Hoccleve has risen steadily since the 1960s, when his poetry began to be re-assessed and the critical views of earlier scholars were challenged. One of the earliest re-evaluations of Hoccleve's work was carried out by Jerome Mitchell, who argued that, far from being 'a poet of little if any importance', he should be seen as an author who was both widely read amongst his contemporaries and of considerable interest to modern readers.[9] This is in contrast to previous scholarship, which tended to view Hoccleve as an archetypal 'fifteenth-century' poet. Up until relatively recently, the literary output of the fifteenth century was often overlooked or considered inferior to that of other periods; following the death of Chaucer, it was seen as a time of decline in 'intellectual activity' and in 'courtly verse and art'.[10] R. F. Yeager describes the era as the 'last, vast *terra incognita* of English literature … What notice its writings have received is often condemnatory and dismissive: "dull," "plodding," and "undisciplined" are adjectives

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[7] See Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Appendix pp. 33-49.

[8] Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes*, C. R. Blyth (ed.), METS (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1999), ll. 1451-3.

[9] J. Mitchell, 'Hoccleve studies, 1965-1981', in R.F. Yeager (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Studies: Recent Essays* (Hamden, 1984), pp. 49-64.

[10] A. R. Myers, *England in the Late Middle Ages*, (Harmondsworth, 1952), p. 182. See D. Lawton, 'Dullness in the fifteenth century', *English Literary History* 54 (1987): 761-901.

frequently found scattered across critical surveys attempting to characterize the literature of these years.'[11]

Hoccleve has also frequently been viewed as an inferior imitator of Chaucer, who he cites in his poetry as his mentor; F. J. Furnivall, who edited the poet's works for the Early English Text Society in the late nineteenth century, states that 'The chief merit of Hoccleve is that he was the honourer and pupil of Chaucer.'[12] Hoccleve's own admissions of inferiority in comparison to Chaucer have often been interpreted literally, and seen as one of his main virtues. H. S. Bennett says that 'his devotion to Chaucer endears him to all lovers of poetry' and provides the only moment when his poetry 'rises to something near eloquence'; in other respects, 'the Chaucerian music, which he tried to imitate, eluded him completely.'[13]

Up until relatively recently, positive assessments of Hoccleve's poetry were often confined to his value as a historical witness. Ethan Knapp describes the way that scholars such as T. F. Tout adopted dual roles, simultaneously criticising Hoccleve by assuming 'an aesthetic scorn for mere personality' and praising him as a source of 'picturesque details that might add colour to the sometimes dry annals of administrative history.'[14] Later authors such as Bennett also adopted this view, claiming that 'the larger part of the interest that Hoccleve has for us comes from the social rather than poetical reason that his many autobiographical passages recreate in vivid fashion the London of his day.'[15] Bennett acknowledges the author's unusually personal tone, but does not go so far as to praise it; while Hoccleve's poems are not 'mechanic exercises, but the reflection of the poet's own ideas and personality', this 'does not give his verses value'; he is merely 'an egoist, and the naïve outpourings of his own hopes and fears are presented to us in all their crude immediacy'.[16] For this reason, Bennett argues that his work fails to attain the literary sophistication of contemporaries such as Lydgate. Even more recent scholarship has tended to view the autobiographical tone of Hoccleve's poetry as something separate, divorced from any literary merit it may possess; Malcolm Richardson, whilst

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[11] R. F. Yeager, *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, preface, vii.
[12] Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, xxx.
[13] H. S. Bennett, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1947), p. 150.
[14] E. Knapp, *The Bureaucratic Muse: Thomas Hoccleve and the Literature of Late Medieval England* (Pennsylvania, 2001), p. 18.
[15] Bennett, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, p. 147.
[16] Bennett, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, p. 149.

acknowledging that 'Hoccleve's poetry is certainly not as feeble as F. J. Furnivall led several generations to believe', argues that 'we assuredly read Hoccleve chiefly for the autobiographical details he so carefully includes.'[17]

Ironically, it is this autobiographical element, dismissed by Bennett as the poet's 'constant gossiping about himself', which is now viewed as Hoccleve's most unique feature and makes him of interest to a modern audience. Mitchell was among the first to emphasise Hoccleve's uniqueness in exhibiting 'a degree of individuality unparalleled in Middle English poetry', and Bernard O'Donoghue suggests that it is this aspect that may account for the resurgence in interest in him in recent years, as 'Hoccleve's tendency towards autobiographical reminiscence … is to the modern taste'.[18] However, some have argued that this taste for autobiography has led to a greater interest in Hoccleve than is warranted. Derek Pearsall claims that it has led modern readers to overlook his poetic inferiority: 'The demand for the concrete and the personal is the mark of a strictly local preference, to be associated with the growth of naturalism, and one strange result of it is the present status of Hoccleve. Literary history assigns to him a place more or less as an equal of Lydgate, yet on all accounts he is a much less important writer … However, he has something which endears him to the modern taste, a vividly disreputable personality which he puts over with racy colloquial vigour.'[19]

Due to the personal nature of his poetry, critical views of Hoccleve have tended to equate his literary shortcomings with his lack of success in other areas; he has often been viewed as a failure in both art and life. The criticisms of Furnivall, in particular, assume the character of moral judgements; Hoccleve is a 'weak, sensitive, look-on-the-worst side kind of man … too vain – proud, he calls it … – to wear spectacles', 'too much of a coward … to play football or any other rough game', and 'surely meant by nature to be under his wife's thumb'.[20] In this way he is condemned not only as an inferior poet but also as a weak, henpecked, cowardly individual, whose only merit lies in the recognition of his limits, and in what he tells us about our own failings: 'We wish he had been a better poet and a manlier fellow, but all of those who've made fools of themselves, more or less,

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[17] M. Richardson, 'Hoccleve in his social context', *Chaucer Review* 20 (1986), p. 313.
[18] J. Mitchell, *Thomas Hoccleve: A Study in Early Fifteenth-Century English Poetic* (Chicago; London, 1968), p. 2; B. O'Donoghue (ed.), *Thomas Hoccleve – Selected Poems* (Manchester, 1982), p. 9.
[19] D. Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London, 1970), pp. 16-17.
[20] Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, xxxv-vii.

in their youth, will feel for the poor old versifier … There's a good deal of human nature in man. So we'll not throw stones at old Hoccleve.'[21] Later scholars such as the administrative historian T. F. Tout followed this line, describing Hoccleve as 'the most garrulous, self-centred, and autobiographical of poets, ever ready, when his arid muse refused him impersonal inspiration, to write about himself, his office, his work, his pleasures, and, above all, his misfortunes.'[22]

These views demonstrate how difficult it is to separate Hoccleve the man from Hoccleve the poet. Prior to the 1960s, scholars tended to accept his claims of inferiority as nothing more than the truth, rather than part of a literary persona. Subsequent movements in literary criticism argued against this idea, claiming that it failed to take into account the influence of medieval literary convention on Hoccleve's writing. However, more recently, there has been a backlash against this view, as Burrow describes; 'the reaction against autobiographical readings has begun to overreach itself, so that it now seems necessary to argue that not *all* autobiographical passages in medieval writings are simply "conventional", and also that there are some cases, Hoccleve's included, where interest in the poetry is actually inseparable from interest in the man.'[23] Burrow argues that the poet's frequent use of his own name, coupled with the fact that many of the details of his working life referred to are verifiable in other sources, leads to the conclusion that his poetry contains a strong autobiographical element; however, this should not be seen to be incompatible with convention.[24] This stance has been adopted by other scholars; Richardson claims that, regardless of any conventions he may have employed, the character of Hoccleve's poetic voice is very close to his own, and that the poet's 'persona' of 'the little man who tries unsuccessfully to manoeuvre in a bureaucracy designed to crush him' is in fact as good a description of the man as we are likely to find: 'Seen in his social context, Hoccleve was exactly what he claimed to be, a conspicuous under-achiever, a man who did not or could not avail himself of the opportunities open to him.'[25]

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[21] Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, xxxviii-ix.

[22] T. F. Tout, 'Literature and learning in the English civil service in the fourteenth century', *Speculum* 4 (1929), p. 388.

[23] J. Burrow, 'Autobiographical poetry in the middle ages: the case of Thomas Hoccleve', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 68 (1982), p. 390.

[24] Burrow, 'Autobiographical poetry in the middle ages: the case of Thomas Hoccleve', pp. 391-4.

[25] Richardson, 'Hoccleve in his social context', p. 313.

Since the resurgence of interest in Hoccleve's poetry, scholars have concentrated on several themes present within his work. A number of writers have discussed Hoccleve's attitude towards women, based on poems such as his *Letter of Cupid*, a translation of Christine de Pisan's *Epistre au dieu d'amours*. The latter work is a defence of women against the misogynistic attacks of writers such as Jean de Meun, and critics have disagreed as to whether the poem sets out to support or subvert Christine's earlier poem. Whereas Jerome Mitchell and Derek Pearsall have argued that the poem is in keeping with Christine's defence of women, John V. Fleming argues that it satirises her, claiming that she has misread Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose* as an antifeminist work.[26] Hoccleve's own position appears to be somewhat ambiguous; in the *Dialogue*, the Friend admonishes him for insulting women in the *Letter of Cupid*; the poet's response is first to deny responsibility for translating an offensive text, and then changing tack by denying that the text is in fact offensive.[27] More recently, Diane Bornstein has argued that Hoccleve's representation of Cupid actually serves to undermine Christine's position and parody feminism itself.[28] This is a view supported by Karen A. Winstead, who claims that the antifeminist themes of the *Letter of Cupid* are continued in two poems forming part of the *Series*, the *Tale of Jonathas and Fellicula* and the *Tale of Jereslaus' Wife*.[29]

Hoccleve's poetry has also been used by scholars to examine the issue of heresy. He addresses this topic both in his account of the burning of the heretic John Badby in the *Regiment of Princes* and in several balades written for the new king Henry V in the first years of his reign, in which he praises the king for his role as the defender of the true Christian faith against Lollardy; Henry is urged to assume the role of the 'holy chirches champioun'.[30] In 1415 he wrote the *Address to Sir John Oldcastle*, a Lollard knight who had recently gone into hiding after having conspired against the king. In this poem, Hoccleve urges Oldcastle to renounce his heresy and take advantage of the mercy of the

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[26] J. Mitchell, *Thomas Hoccleve: A Study in Early Fifteenth-century Poetic* (Urbana, 1968), p. 53; D. Pearsall, 'The English Chaucerians', in *Chaucer and Chaucerians: Critical Studies in Middle English Literature*, ed. D. S. Brewer (London, 1966), p. 225; John V. Fleming, 'Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid* and the "quarrel" over the *Roman de la Rose*', *Medium Aevum* 40 (1971), p.23.

[27] J.A. Burrow (ed.), *Thomas Hoccleve's Complaint and Dialogue*, EETS o. s. 313 (Oxford, 1999), ll. 754-80.

[28] D. Bornstein, 'Anti-feminism in Thomas Hoccleve's translation of Christine de Pizan's *Epistre au dieu d'amours*', *English Language Notes* 19 (1981), pp. 7-14.

[29] K. A. Winstead, 'I am al othir to yow than yee weene: Hoccleve, women and the Series', *Philological Quarterly* 72:2 (1993), pp. 143-55.

[30] *Regiment*, ll. 282-329; Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, nos. IV-VI.

king, who had offered him pardon if he came forward to repent. These works reveal Hoccleve's attitude towards the followers of Wycliff to be condemnatory; although Oldcastle, as a former comrade of the king, is addressed in respectful terms, he is depicted as having been led astray by his Lollard associates, who are corrupters of the true faith. Hoccleve's orthodoxy is further indicated by his religious poems, which include a number of standard works dedicated to the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary.

In recent years, however, the question of Hoccleve's orthodoxy has been viewed as less clear-cut than it first appears. Charity Scott Stokes has re-examined Hoccleve's *Address to Sir John Oldcastle* in the context of the connections between the Oldcastle family and the keeper of the Privy Seal John Prophete.[31] She argues that Prophete may have had Lollard sympathies, and that there is a strong satirical element present in Hoccleve's poem which indicates that he may have shared these views. Another alternative reading of the poem has been offered by Katherine Little, who also suggests that Hoccleve's relationship to the Lollard movement may be more complex than previously thought. She has re-examined the heresy in the context of the development of the medieval concept of the self, and in particular the Lollard rejection of the efficacy of confession.[32] She considers the impact of this on contemporary authors such as Chaucer, Gower and Hoccleve, and arguing that the latter's *Regiment of Princes*, as a post-Wycliffite text, exhibits the influence of Lollardy on the poet's understanding of the relationship between confession and self-definition.[33] According to her argument, the Prologue of the *Regiment* outlines two possible forms of resistance to confession: heresy, of which the heretic Badby is guilty, and despair, to which Hoccleve himself is susceptible. Despite his condemnation of the former, Little argues that Hoccleve views these forms of resistance as similar, and can thus be seen to be 'exploring (and even appropriating) the Wycliffite view of confession'.[34]

Little's work demonstrates how Hoccleve's propensity towards self-reflection is central to his work, whether he is discussing his religious views, his life as a clerk or his financial worries. Unsurprisingly, it is most prominent in his description of his mental

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[31] C. S. Stokes, 'Sir John Oldcastle, the office of the Privy Seal, and Thomas Hoccleve's *Remonstrance against Oldcastle* of 1415', *Anglia: Zeitschrift fur Englische Philologie* 118:4 (2000).
[32] K.C. Little, *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2006).
[33] Little, *Confession and Resistance*, pp. 112-28.
[34] Little, *Confession and Resistance*, p. 14.

breakdown and recovery. Many scholars have used Hoccleve's *Series* to examine attitudes towards mental illness in the later medieval period. Hoccleve's breakdown appears to be intrinsically linked to his sense of identity: a recurrent theme of the *Complaint* is the description of the author's illness in terms of a period of banishment or exile from the self; it is described as 'the wilde infirmite … wiche me oute of my silfe caste and threwe'; the author compares himself to a 'lost vessel', and his sanity is referred to as a 'pilgrim', which is now 'hoom come agein'.[35]

Part of the poet's illness also stems from his loss of social identity; in the *Complaint,* as Helen Hickey has argued, 'A knowledge of the self converges around concepts of identification with and alienation from significant others.'[36] This can be seen in the poem's preoccupation with the author's rehabilitation into society and the difficulties of convincing his friends and acquaintances that he has really recovered; his mental illness and his status as an outcast are described as being almost one and the same thing. Many have consequently interpreted the poem as a means of reasserting Hoccleve's sanity in the eyes of the character of the Friend, and the world at large; as Knapp describes, the *Series* is often viewed as 'the triumph of poetry over alienation'.[37] James Simpson has argued that, as the poem is the basis of Hoccleve's claim to sanity, it displays an unusual awareness with the problems in claiming authenticity in writing. In order to combat this Hoccleve attempts to promote a sense of 'real life' in the *Series* by making it 'a poem whose composition is part of its own subject'.[38] Simpson describes how the *Dialogue with a Friend*, which frames the poems that make up the *Series*, attempts to undermine its own status as a text using a number of techniques: the use of direct speech rather than the narrating voice; the use of colloquialisms, in particular oaths; and the use of adverbs of place to create the sense of a 'here and now'. Hickey supports the view that the *Series* is concerned as much with its own composition as with Hoccleve's illness, as his reassertion of identity 'depends immensely on his role as an author.'[39]

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[35] *Complaint*, ll. 40-2; 82; 232; 64.
[36] H. Hickey, 'Doubting Thomas': Hoccleve's 'wilde infirmite' and the social construction of identity', in M. Cassidy, H. Hickey and M. Street (eds.), *Deviance and Textual Control: New Perspectives in Medieval Studies* (Melbourne, 1997), p. 61.
[37] E. Knapp, *The Bureaucratic Muse*, p. 163.
[38] J. Simpson, 'Madness and texts: Hoccleve's *Series*', in J. Boffey and J. Cowen (eds.), *Chaucer and Fifteenth-Century Poetry* (London, 1991), p. 16.
[39] Hickey, 'Doubting Thomas', p. 61.

The *Series*, more than any other of Hoccleve's poems, demonstrates his preoccupation with the self. This self-revelation has often been viewed as a means to an end, whether this might be the assumption of a literary pose, or as described above, an attempt to assert the authenticity of a literary text. However, Lee Patterson has argued that this stance overlooks 'the urgent specificity, the dogged relentlessness, and the sheer ubiquity of Hoccleve's self-descriptions'; taking this into account, he claims that 'Hoccleve's obsessive concern with representing his own inner life is not a strategy directed to some larger literary goal but is the goal itself.'[40] Self-expression, whilst now generally considered to be the primary aim of artistic endeavour, was not characteristic of medieval literature. Hoccleve's unusualness in this respect has led some, as David Lawton describes, to view him as 'the first modern English poet, beached on the existential foreshore between death and overdraft.'[41] The truth or otherwise of this statement is not the subject of this study; however, the purpose of outlining these debates here is to illustrate the centrality of Hoccleve's background and personality to his poetry.

In light of this, in order to fully appreciate his motives for writing, we must examine his role as a clerk; as Malcolm Richardson has argued, 'understanding Hoccleve the Privy Seal clerk is essential to understanding Hoccleve the poet'.[42] Despite the wealth of Hoccleve scholarship, the impact of the Privy Seal on his poetry has often been overlooked. In recent years, there has been some attempt to redress this; Ethan Knapp, pointing out that Hoccleve has tended to be examined either in a literary or historical context, has aimed to marry these two approaches by using Hoccleve as a case study through which to examine the effect of bureaucratic culture on the production of late medieval vernacular literature.[43] However, both Richardson's and Knapp's work is limited by their failure to examine the documentary evidence relating to Hoccleve's career at the Privy Seal. This thesis attempts to examine both the literary and historical evidence by drawing on the two bodies of work that Hoccleve personally produced: his poetry, and the documents written by him during the course of his working life as a government clerk.

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[40] L. Patterson, 'What is me? – self and society in the poetry of Thomas Hoccleve', *SAC* 23 (2001), p. 439-40.
[41] D. Lawton, 'Dullness in the fifteenth century', p.763.
[42] Richardson, 'Hoccleve in his social context', p. 313.
[43] E. Knapp, 'Bureaucratic identity and the construction of the self in Hoccleve's formulary and *La Male Regle*', *Speculum* 74 (1999), p. 358.

In order to identify the extant documents written by Hoccleve for the Privy Seal office, it is first necessary to have a comprehensive description of his documentary hand. The possibility of the identification of the hands of individual government clerks was previously thought to be too difficult, due to the uniformity produced by their similar training and the fact that they could alter their style according to context; Brown describes his attempts to match Privy Seal draft letters with their formal counterparts as 'an unrewarding and difficult task, as the handwriting of the clerks is often similar, as each could write in varying degrees of cursiveness, and as it is not always possible to identify with certainty specimens of a clerk's handwriting'.[44] However, due to the existence of his formulary and the holograph literary manuscripts, Hoccleve presents a unique case; although the formulary is largely written in a cursive, informal hand, and the literary manuscripts are written in his book hand rather than that used for official documents, it is possible to isolate characteristic features across these styles. This has occurred to previous scholars; in 1978, Doyle and Parkes identified two Privy Seal documents written by Hoccleve.[45] However, it was not until recently that Linne Mooney began the systematic search for Hoccleve in the National Archives.[46]

The difficulties lie in the fractured nature of the Privy Seal archive, which means that the documents issued by the office are spread across a number of different National Archives series. My first chapter outlines these problems, explaining the relationship of the Privy Seal to the other administrative departments and the current location of records produced by the office. Through this it is demonstrated that the documents identified by Mooney constitute only a part of the work carried out by Hoccleve during his career as a clerk. I then go on to describe the other series which contain documents produced by the Privy Seal, and my search within these series for documents in Hoccleve's hand. This search has produced over 900 new documents written by Hoccleve for the Privy Seal, mainly comprised of warrants and bills for the Chancery.[47] These are then used to draw

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[44] A. L. Brown, 'The Privy Seal in the Early Fifteenth Century', (DPhil thesis, Oxford, 1955), p. 299 n. 44.
[45] A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'The production of copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the early fifteenth century', in M. B. Parkes, and A. G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker* (London, 1978), p. 182; reprinted in M. B. Parkes (ed.), *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991).
[46] Mooney, 'Some new light'.
[47] See Appendix I, pp. 187-230.

some new conclusions regarding Hoccleve's hand, and how it varied according to context, register and language, and over time.

The second part of the study examines in more detail the role of the royal clerk in the late medieval period. Using Hoccleve as a case study, it considers how the clerks of the Privy Seal were affected by the growth of that office from the personal instrument of the king to one of the three main departments of state, along with the Chancery and Exchequer. Focussing on the careers of two of Hoccleve's more successful contemporaries, John Prophete and Robert Frye, this section examines the typical background, training and prospects of a Privy Seal clerk, and compares their situation to those of the clerks of the other government offices. It emerges that, compared to their colleagues in the Chancery, Privy Seal clerks had comparatively low prospects for advancement within the government administration, leading them to seek opportunities elsewhere, such as through ecclesiastical preferment or through using their connections within government to further their commercial activities. The implications of this are examined in relation to Hoccleve's career and his possible motivations in pursuing his literary endeavours.

In this context, the study considers the evidence presented by the newly-discovered documents themselves. This is accomplished in two ways. Firstly, the dates of the new documents are used to try to establish patterns within Hoccleve's productivity over the course of his career, in order to further our understanding of the chronology of his life and the dates of the composition of his poetry. In particular, this section attempts to establish if any period of inactivity may correspond to Hoccleve's mental breakdown, the subject of his autobiographical poems the *Complaint* and the *Dialogue with a Friend*. Secondly, the content of the documents is examined in an attempt to throw more light on Hoccleve's background, his daily life at Westminster, the connections that he made both within and outside government through the course of his work, and the interaction between his administrative and literary activities. This study presents new evidence indicating that royal clerks were able to use their position to further their own interests and those of others. For example, Hoccleve, in addition to writing the warrant securing his own grant of the corrody of Southwick in 1424, is found on several occasions to have written warrants relating to the payment of Chaucer's annuity, suggesting that Chaucer may have used his acquaintance with Hoccleve in order to obtain preferential treatment at the hands of the

royal administration. Further evidence of the potential for royal officials to influence the administrative system comes from a number of petitions written by Hoccleve on behalf of other individuals, including his own under-clerk John Welde.[48] The fact that Hoccleve is found to have written petitions is significant. The petition is described by A. L. Brown as 'the key to governmental action',[49] demonstrating that clerks were in a sense mediators between the king and his subjects; they drafted not only the royal response to petitioners' requests, but also in some cases the original request itself.

This chapter also examines the evidence for Hoccleve's involvement in the production of literary manuscripts in London during this period, as indicated by his hand in Trinity College Cambridge MS R. 3. 2, a copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* written by several scribes, including Adam Pinkhurst, the scribe of the Hengwrt and Ellesmere manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

The third chapter of my thesis constitutes a study of Hoccleve's poem, the *Regiment of Princes*. Composed in 1411 for the Prince of Wales, who would succeed to the throne as Henry V in March 1413, this was Hoccleve's most widely-disseminated work, surviving in over 40 manuscripts. The chapter examines the Mirror for Princes as a literary tradition, in particular those works that Hoccleve mentions specifically as having influenced the *Regiment*, and those written by his contemporaries in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As these vary widely in terms of format and content, I address the problem of definition, drawing on the works of previous scholars such as Jean-Philippe Genet and Kate Langdon Forhan. The key question that emerges from this study is whether these works were practical advice manuals, with relevance to the political issues of the time, or essentially conventional works of didactic literature which recycled classical *exempla* for a new audience. In line with recent scholarship, I argue that the conventional nature of the genre has been over-emphasised, and that, particularly in the late medieval period, authors utilised the tradition of the Mirror in order to frame their political critiques within an acceptable format.

The *Regiment* is then considered within this context, in particular addressing the apparent contradiction inherent in Hoccleve's dual role as both royal servant and political

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[48] See Appendix II, p. 231.
[49] A. L. Brown, 'The authorisation of letters under the great seal', *BIHR* 37 (1964), p.148.

commentator. Although Hoccleve was not unique in this respect, the poem itself is unusual in the degree to which it combines the personal and the political. This has led to a number of differing interpretations of the work. On the one hand, the Prologue of the poem, in which Hoccleve encounters an old man to whom he recounts his financial worries, has led to its interpretation as a petition to the Prince for the payment of his overdue annuity. Some authors, such as Judith Ferster, have argued that the petitionary element of the poem is in fact a device through which to present a veiled political criticism of Henry IV's reign. However, others, in particular Derek Pearsall, have seen the poem as an attempt to legitimise the Lancastrian dynasty, and have even gone so far as to claim that it was commissioned by Prince Henry as a work of propaganda. In assessing the extent of the Prince's involvement in the *Regiment*'s composition, I attempt to use the documentary evidence to establish the relationship between Hoccleve and his patron. The key to this issue is the connection between the Privy Seal and the King's Council, which was headed by Prince Henry at the time Hoccleve was writing the poem. The Privy Seal acted as a secretariat for the Council, and there are a number of documents in Hoccleve's hand in the Council archives dating from the early fourteenth century to near the end of his career.[50] This suggests that Hoccleve may have come into personal contact with the Prince, and thus strengthens the argument that Henry may have influenced both Hoccleve's decision to write the poem, and its content.

The final part of this chapter considers the *Regiment*'s reception. In the context of the rising popularity of didactic political texts during the late medieval period, I consider Hoccleve's perceptions of his audience, and the extent to which we can determine who this audience was in reality. This is based on an examination of the extant manuscripts of the work, which reveal it to have had a wide readership amongst both the urban professional elite and the provincial landowning classes.

The fourth and final part of the thesis examines Hoccleve's multilingualism, and in particular the relationship between his use of the vernaculars Anglo-French and Middle English. The relative status of English, French and Latin during the period in question has been a subject of debate amongst scholars, and Hoccleve represents a useful case study

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[50] Appendix II, p. 231.

through which to tackle this question due to the existence of a large number of sources written by him in all three of these languages.

Firstly, I examine Hoccleve's use of Anglo-French in the Privy Seal documents in the context of the debate over the 'decline' of French in England during the fourteenth century. Following on from the work of Richard Ingham, I have conducted a grammatical study of one aspect of Hoccleve's French writing in order to assess his proficiency in the language and put forward some conclusions as to how he acquired it. Acknowledging the limitations of such a study, the findings suggest that Hoccleve had a high level of proficiency in French, in contradiction to the argument that bilingualism in England had died out by the late fourteenth century.

Secondly, I examine the influence of Hoccleve's use of French on his literary writing in English. In order to do this, I have conducted a study on his English poetry in order to see whether it contains a high proportion of words and phrases particular to the language of French administrative writing. In order to accurately assess the extent to which these items were confined to the French language during this period, I have examined their usage in the Parliament Rolls, and also in the Middle English works of Hoccleve's contemporaries. The study considers the extent of French influence not only in terms of individual lexical items, but also on the syntax and meaning of certain phrases; in this way I argue that, even regarding words and phrases that had by this point passed into common usage in Middle English, Hoccleve often utilized language in such a manner as to invoke meanings specific to official governmental writing.

The final part of this chapter constitutes an orthographical study of Hoccleve's English, based on his usage in the holograph manuscripts of his poetry. This is viewed in the context of the growth of English as an official written language during this period, and the development of so-called 'Standard' or 'Chancery English'. I examine the scholarship relating to this subject, and the evidence for the standardization of English having emerged from the government administration. In light of the fact that Hoccleve was working within this environment at the time this development was taking place, I have compared his English to John Fisher's model of 'Chancery Standard' to see to what extent he was influenced by the beginning of the use of English as an official language. The results of this study appear to indicate that Hoccleve's English orthography did not completely

conform to this model, containing a mixture of 'Chancery' and regional spellings. Furthermore, those characteristics exhibited by Hoccleve which are compatible with 'Chancery Standard' are not exclusive to it, also being a feature of other Southern dialects. I therefore conclude that English was not widely-enough used as an official language during Hoccleve's lifetime to have been a significant influence on his poetry, instead following the argument put forward by Simon Horobin that his primary model was the work of Chaucer.[51]

As already stated, Hoccleve is unique amongst Middle English authors in that we have access both to a number of holograph manuscripts of his literary work, and a substantial corpus of documents produced by him in the course of his career as a government clerk. Previous scholarship has tended in general to separate Hoccleve's poetry from the evidence relating to his work at the Privy Seal; as Derek Pearsall describes, in the work of scholars such as Bennett there is 'an implicit but systematic distinction between the interests of "the student of literary history" and those of the "lover of poetry".[52] This study would support Pearsall's claim that 'it is difficult to see how the two could be divorced, how the lover of poetry can know what he is supposed to love until he understands what it is'. The palaeographical, historical and linguistic studies contained within this thesis will hopefully contribute not only towards a greater understanding of Hoccleve's poetry, but also of the process of the late medieval bureaucracy in which he worked.

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[51] S. Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 124.
[52] Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, p. 16.

Chapter 1 – The Documents

Thomas Hoccleve is unusual amongst Middle English poets in that there is more than one holograph manuscript of his works, allowing us to make a positive identification of his hand. What makes him unique, however, is that, in addition to these literary manuscripts, he produced a large number of written documents as part of his day-job, in an environment which had an established system for the preservation of these documents. This chapter will focus on the new evidence presented by these. The first part of the chapter will give a brief overview of the scholarship relating to the study of Hoccleve's hand, and the manuscripts in which it is contained. The second part will examine how previous descriptions of his hand have enabled the identification of the documents written by Hoccleve for the office of the Privy Seal now extant in the National Archives. This will include a description of the different types of document produced by the government administration, the various TNA series in which they now reside, and the history and provenance of these series. The documents will then be used to draw some new conclusions regarding the characteristics of Hoccleve's hand. The chapter will conclude with some speculations regarding the possibility of more documents written by Hoccleve as yet undiscovered.

1.1 Hoccleve's hand in the literary manuscripts

Previous scholarship regarding Thomas Hoccleve has been largely based on three manuscripts; California, San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MSS HM 111 and HM 744, and Durham University Library MS Cosin V. iii. 9. The Huntington manuscripts contain the majority of the known shorter works of the poet, some of which are only found here. Little is known regarding these manuscripts' original purpose or whether they were intended for a patron. The Durham manuscript contains the various poems which go to make up Hoccleve's *Series*, and is dedicated to Joan Beaufort (later Neville), countess of Westmorland (d.1440). Between them, these manuscripts contain all of the poet's known works, with the exception of the *Regiment of Princes*. F. J. Furnivall, who edited Hoccleve's works for the Early English Text Society in the late nineteenth century, initially stated that the two Huntington manuscripts (then Ashburnham Additional MS 133 and Phillipps MS 8151) were holographs, but then retracted this, based on the many 'carelessnesses' that appear within the text, instead arguing that the only section written by Hoccleve himself was the dedication to Joan Beaufort in the Durham manuscript, the

remainder being the work of someone like Hoccleve's under-clerk John Welde. He did, however, follow the British Library's attribution of a further manuscript in their collections to Hoccleve; this was Additional 24062, a formulary of Privy Seal documents.[1]

Subsequent scholars followed Furnivall's argument, until it was challenged by H. C. Schulz in 1937.[2] Schulz argued that the rejection of the Huntington manuscripts as holographs was largely based on levels of textual error, which was open to misinterpretation; he pointed out that although Hoccleve was the author of these poems, he was also acting as copyist, and therefore would be as prone to error (or alteration) as any other scribe, as 'the two acts of composing and copying were separated by a period of five to as much as twenty years.'[3] He also disagreed with Furnivall's conclusion on palaeographical grounds, arguing that we should not have a fixed idea of the characteristics of Hoccleve's hand, as it could change according to context. He drew attention to the stark differences between the two confirmed examples of the poet's writing; on the one hand, the formal, angular style of the dedication in the Durham manuscript, and on the other, the cursive script used in his formulary. He argued that these two examples represented the two extremes of Hoccleve's hand, and that the other manuscripts fell somewhere in between.

It is now accepted that all three manuscripts are indeed holographs, and they, along with the formulary, have formed the basis for subsequent studies of Hoccleve's hand. A facsimile of the literary manuscripts was produced by J. A. Burrow and A. I. Doyle for the Early English Text Society in 2002.[4] Burrow and Doyle date the manuscripts to the last four years of the poet's life. The Huntington manuscripts are probably earlier than the Durham one, and it has been suggested by Doyle and Parkes that they may have at some point formed part of a single volume.[5] J. M. Bowers has provided support for this argument, claiming that the Huntington MSS share many physical similarities in terms of decoration, titles and foliation, and that the lack of duplication of poems and their arrangement over the two manuscripts suggests a planned organization according to

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[1] Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, pp. xxix; xlix.
[2] H. C. Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, scribe', *Speculum* 12 (1937), pp. 71-81.
[3] Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, scribe', p. 75.
[4] J. A. Burrow and A. I. Doyle (eds.), *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, (Oxford, 2002).
[5] A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 182, n. 38.

theme.[6] However, Burrow and Doyle argue that the evidence of different treatment of the manuscripts (in terms of such factors as cropping and varying levels of damage) suggests that their separation dates from soon after or even before Hoccleve's death.[7]

The possibility that Huntington MSS HM 111 and HM 744 were originally bound together has implications for our understanding of why Hoccleve was motivated to compile the manuscripts. Previous scholars have drawn attention to the rise of the genre of the compilation in the medieval period; Malcolm Parkes has studied the development of the ideas of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* in the thirteenth century as a means of making various authorities easily accessible, referring to this period as the beginning of 'the age of the compiler'.[8] He examines the contribution of the compiler to the text, not through additions to the work itself, but through their choice of arrangement of its component parts according to books and chapters, using apparatus such as headings, running titles and *tabulae*. He argues that the genre influenced the compilers of manuscripts of vernacular literature during the later medieval period, in particular those containing works such as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and he singles out the Ellesmere manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* as being 'the most spectacular example' of the influence of the *compilatio* on the literary vernacular text, as it contains sections labelled with rubrics, running titles, and marginal annotations indicating important topics and sources.[9] However, while the works of Hoccleve's contemporaries may display signs of the influence of compilation, no other medieval vernacular authors are known to have left self-compiled collections of their work. Autograph manuscripts by medieval authors are extremely rare; P. J. Croft concludes that only four medieval writers, Hoccleve, John Shirley, John Capgrave and William Herbert, have left examples of their work in their own hand, and of these Hoccleve is the only poet of substance rather than primarily a translator.[10] In light of this, and of the possibility of the two Huntington manuscripts having originally formed a single work, J. M. Bowers has attempted to claim for Hoccleve

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[6] J. M. Bowers, 'Hoccleve's Huntington holographs: the first "collected poems" in English', *Fifteenth Century Studies* 15 (1989), pp. 27-51.

[7] Burrow and Doyle (eds.), *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, introduction, xxvii.

[8] M. B. Parkes, 'The influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* on the development of the book', *Medieval Learning and Literature*, J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (eds.), (Oxford, 1976), p.129.

[9] Parkes, 'The influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*', p. 134.

[10] P. J. Croft (ed.), *Autograph Poetry in the English Language: facsimiles of original manuscripts from the fourteenth to the twentieth century* (London, 1973), vol. I, p. xii.

the role of the first compiler of a 'collected poems' in English.[11] The Huntington manuscripts were not expensively produced, suggesting they were intended for personal use rather than as presentation copies, as a means of maintaining control over Hoccleve's poetry and preserving it for future readers.

Bowers also suggests that it may have been Hoccleve's role as a clerk that resulted in his pioneering of the genre of the self-compiled collected works; this was due not only to his proficiency as a scribe but also the likelihood that he was responsible for recording the activities of the Privy Seal office.[12] The main evidence for this comes from the fourth manuscript written largely in Hoccleve's hand, a formulary of documents of the Privy Seal, now British Library MS Additional 24062. This manuscript comprises 201 folia containing documents relating to both the administrative and diplomatic functions of the Privy Seal, arranged into sections according to headings, such as *Au Chanceller, Pur Venir au Conseil*, *Lettres Patentes* and *Sauf Conduytz et Autres Garranz Overtes*. These are listed in a table of contents, and Hoccleve also provided marginal annotations summarising the content of each document. The manuscript has been edited by Elna-Jean Young Bentley, who numbered each of the items.[13] Because of the nature of the work, dating is problematic; as it was intended to demonstrate the form rather than the content of documents, people and place-names are generally replaced by initials, *un tiel* or *tielle ville*, and titles, greetings and dating clauses are omitted. However, Bentley has assigned dates to many of the items based on their content, and, based on the fact that a writ of November 1422 appears on fol. i, she argues that Hoccleve began the work during the reign of Henry VI, and continued its compilation almost until his death in 1426.[14] Burrow and Doyle note that previous scholarship has often remained unclear on the number of hands within the formulary, and exactly which sections were written by Hoccleve himself.[15] Bentley states that the hand is almost entirely Hoccleve's, but that another scribe (Hand B) wrote many of the Missives and some other documents. She claims that, in the first 105 folia, Hand B copies only two items, but that in the concluding half of the manuscript he appears more frequently. She describes him as having different spelling, and a less cursive hand, in

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[11] Bowers, 'Hoccleve's Huntington holographs'.

[12] Bowers, 'Hoccleve's Huntington holographs', p. 27.

[13] E-J. Y. Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve', (PhD diss., Emory University, 1965).

[14] Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve', introduction, p. viii.

[15] Burrow and Doyle (eds.), *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, introduction, xxxvi, n. 1.

darker ink, with a distinctive round *r*.[16] Whilst acknowledging that the majority of Hoccleve's hand within the formulary dates from the end of his life, and was written only for the benefit of his fellow-clerks, Mooney has recently argued that several folia of the manuscript contain an example of his neat, formal handwriting from earlier in his career.[17] Based on the dating of the items within this section, ff. 105-108v, Mooney claims that it constitutes a separate booklet containing samples of Letters Patent, which served as a reference for Hoccleve and other clerks prior to the compilation of the formulary, and was later inserted into that work.[18]

In addition to the manuscripts described above, a case has been made for the existence of another Hoccleve holograph. It has previously been thought that there is no extant copy of the *Regiment of Princes* in his own hand, despite its survival in over forty other manuscripts.[19] However, Linne Mooney has recently argued that one of these, British Library MS Royal 17 D. XVIII, is in fact a holograph.[20] This is one of the two *Regiment* manuscripts which contains Hoccleve's balade to John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford, which is also included as a stand-alone item in Huntington HM 111. Mooney's argument, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, is based on the presence of this dedication, along with a number of palaeographical, codicological, and linguistic factors.

Besides those containing his own works, Hoccleve has also been found writing in other literary manuscripts. He has been identified by Doyle and Parkes as one of the five scribes (labelled by them as A-E) responsible for a copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Trinity College Cambridge MS R. 3. 2.[21] The production of this manuscript, which they date to between Gower's death in 1408 and Hoccleve's in 1426, is important for our understanding of the working relationships between scribes in the late medieval period. Doyle and Parkes argue that the frequency with which the end of scribal stints correspond with the ends of quires within the manuscript suggests that the exemplar was distributed in sections for copying; furthermore, they claim that the awkward transitions between

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[16] Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve,' introduction, p. vi.

[17] L. R. Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *SAC 33* (2011) forthcoming.

[18] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 5, n. xix.

[19] M. C. Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 4 (1974), pp. 253-71; R. F. Green, 'Notes on some manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *British Library Journal* 4 (1978), pp. 37-41; A. S. G. Edwards, 'Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*: a further manuscript', *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 5 (1978), p. 32.

[20] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*'.

[21] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 182.

sections suggests that the scribes were not working in the same location, but were 'independent craftsmen who were employed on a particular commission, not as members of a scriptorium or workshop.'[22] There appears to have been little communication between the scribes or overall supervision, with each making corrections to their own section; however, there is a slight indication that Hoccleve as Scribe E had some supervisory role in that he can be seen writing the catchword on folio 33[v], and therefore must have had access to at least one other section of the manuscript.[23] Hoccleve's contribution to the manuscript as a whole was not great, as his hand only occurs in a very small section (fols. 82[r]-84[r]).

Hoccleve's role in the production of the Trinity Gower, however minor, has significant implications. Doyle and Parkes' identification of two of his fellow-scribes in the manuscript reveals that they worked on a number of other important manuscripts of vernacular literary works. They have found Scribe B writing in three other manuscripts: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 392D; San Marino, Huntington Library, MS 26 C 9 (the 'Hengwrt' and 'Ellesmere' manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*), and Hatfield House, 'Cecil Fragment' Box S/1 (Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*).[24] Scribe D appears to have been a professional scribe, who can be found writing in a total of ten other manuscripts, including a copy of Langland's *Piers Plowman* (London, University Library MS V. 88), two copies of the *Canterbury Tales* (London, British Library MS Harley 7334 and Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 198), and all or parts of six other copies of the *Confessio Amantis*.[25] The importance of the Trinity Gower is thus indicated by the fact that, between them, Scribes B and D are responsible for the copying of the four earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.[26] Scribe B has since been identified by Mooney as the scrivener Adam Pinkhurst, who, in addition to the manuscripts above, copied the famous 'Petition of the Folk of the Mercerie of London' to the King's Council in 1387, and can be found keeping the Company's accounts between 1391 and 1393.[27] The Hengwrt manuscript is believed to have been begun during

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[22] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 167.
[23] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 166.
[24] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 170.
[25] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 177. A seventh manuscript partly written by Scribe D, Princeton MS Taylor 5, was discovered by Jeremy Griffiths; see J. Griffiths, '*Confessio Amantis*: the poem and its pictures', in A. J. Minnis (ed.), *Gower's Confessio Amantis: Responses and Reassessments* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 170, n. 19.
[26] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 194.
[27] L. R. Mooney, 'Chaucer's scribe', *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp. 97-138.

Chaucer's lifetime, and the close connection between their copyist and the poet is reinforced by his probable identification as the subject of the poem 'Chaucers Wordes unto Adam, His Owne Scriveyn', written to the scribe who was making the first copies of *Boece* and *Troilus and Criseyde* in the 1380s.[28] The connection of Adam Pinkhurst to the Mercers' Company suggests links between the London mercantile interest and the production of vernacular literary texts during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Consequently, Hoccleve's involvement in the production of the Trinity Gower suggests that he (figuratively if not literally) worked alongside the scribes most closely connected with the major vernacular authors of the period.[29] There is also some indication that he was connected to figures within the London mercantile community who could have acted as patrons of vernacular literature. One of his poems to the Virgin in Huntington MS HM 111 is dedicated to Thomas Marleburgh, in 1423 described as a Warden of the Limners and Textwriters' Gild, and although, as Doyle and Parkes point out, there is no evidence to suggest that he commissioned the production of the Trinity Gower or any other literary manuscript, this shows that Hoccleve had links to 'the *sort* of person who might be expected in the course of his business to have arranged for the copying and decoration of copies of the *Confessio Amantis* and the *Canterbury Tales*.'[30]

Having described the manuscripts in which Hoccleve has been found, let us now turn to the characteristics of the hand itself. Schulz was the first to stress the fact that Hoccleve was able to alter his hand according to the context of the work: 'The nature of the contents of a manuscript appears to have determined, to a large extent, the type of handwriting in which it was to be executed [and] the mastery of several types of hands, book hands, court hands, or combinations of both, was part of any good scribe's equipment.'[31] In keeping with Hoccleve's role as a royal clerk, Schulz describes his hand as generally exhibiting more features in common with the court rather than book hand. In the formulary it is described as 'a very regular, rapid, and consistent hand, with no

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[28] Mooney, 'Chaucer's scribe', p. 98.

[29] In addition to this manuscript, Doyle and Parkes have also suggested that Hoccleve may also be found making some corrections in the Hengwrt manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales*, and they draw attention to a hand 'of the same school as Hoccleve's and other Privy Seal clerks' in the first portion of British Library MS Cotton Vespasian B.XXII, a collection of Admiralty ordinances. See A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'Palaeographical Introduction,' in P. G. Ruggiers (ed.), *The Canterbury Tales: A Facsimile and Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, with Variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript*, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1979), p. xlvi. Folio 10 of Cotton Vespasian B.XXII is reproduced in J. A. Herbert (ed.), *Schools of illumination: reproductions of manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1915), Part 4, pl. 10.

[30] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 198.

[31] Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, scribe', pp. 71-2.

pretences to the dignity of a text hand'; it is cursive, commonly with ligatures between letters, and very few letters formed by two strokes separated by the pen leaving the paper.[32] Although his writing in the literary manuscripts is more formal, Schulz argues that 'Hoccleve's experience was so confined to the court hand that he had not had the opportunity of forming a separate and distinct book hand, but merely retarded his speed of writing and altered the form of a few letters.'[33] However, he does admit that the dedication to the countess of Westmorland in the Durham holograph is written more carefully than the rest of the manuscript, being more upright and angular. Schulz argues that the formulary and the dedication represent the two extremes of Hoccleve's hand, and that the other manuscripts fall somewhere in between.[34]

Schulz lists four letter-forms which are particularly distinctive to Hoccleve and occur in both the formulary and the literary manuscripts; these are *A, g, w* and *y*.[35] These forms are not unique to Hoccleve when found individually, but all four are not found together in any other Middle English hand. He records some variation in the lower loop of the *g* in the Durham manuscript, which can also be seen in the formulary. He also notes the angular, two-stroke *w* used in the first six lines of the Westmorland dedication as being 'very uncommon with Hoccleve', and ascribes its usage to 'a striving after a decorative appearance when the speed of writing happened to be of secondary importance.'[36] Although this *w* is uncommon in the literary manuscripts, it is the form used almost without exception in the Privy Seal documents; its occurrence in the most formal section of one of Hoccleve's poems thus raises some questions about the nature of Hoccleve's documentary hand and of 'formality' in general. These issues will be discussed in more detail below.

A more detailed and comprehensive description of Hoccleve's hand was offered by Burrow and Doyle in their introduction to the facsimile of the autograph manuscripts. They provide written descriptions of all four of Schulz's characteristic letter-forms: 'an expansive **A** with a sweeping deep downwards stroke turning upwards counter-clockwise either to a flattened head with an angular junction on the right with a straight broken

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[32] Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, scribe', p. 72.
[33] Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, scribe', p. 73.
[34] Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, scribe', p. 74.
[35] Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, scribe', p. 73. Examples from the manuscripts are shown on Plates I and II.
[36] Schulz, 'Thomas Hoccleve, scribe', p. 73.

downstroke or else continuing with a simple curve, in each with a more or less strongly seriffed foot'; 'a flat-topped **g** with variant tails, turning either tightly or in a wide sweep on the left to its head or else turning back more or less sharply to the right'; 'a round or oval **w** made usually with two strokes, the second like a 2 within the circle', and '**y** with its tail turning right up alongside or often back through the head as a hair stroke to make a dot or tick above'.[37] In addition to the oval *w*, they note Hoccleve's usage of other anglicana forms: a long *r* descending below the base line, and, in the formulary and the draft letter E 28/29 piece 30, a cursive ('reverse') *e* and '6'-shaped (sigma) *s*.[38] They have also identified a number of further characteristic forms evident in Hoccleve's section of the Trinity Gower, which they describe as 'The most formal and constrained example of his handwriting in English'.[39] These include an alternative form of *g* with an angular head, which is not found in the holographs, 'though common in his colleagues' documents', and the only example of a *v* 'with long rising curved approach stroke from the left below', as well as Hoccleve's usual form 'with a broken curve up to the left and then right above'. Previously, Doyle and Parkes have also pointed out that Hoccleve characteristically drops his *h* below the level of the rest of the line.[40]

In addition to the characteristics outlined above, Mooney's study of the newly-identified documents in the National Archives (to be discussed below) has allowed her to add the following forms to the description of Hoccleve's hand: tyronian *et* which continues in an upwards stroke to form a hairline tick above in a similar fashion to his *y*; an initial *V* with a distinct spike to the left; an unusually pointed top to kidney-shaped *s*, and an uppercase *N* with detached initial stroke.[41] Her recent article on the holograph *Regiment* manuscript includes a comprehensive description of the features identified above, as well as adding several more; these include an uppercase *T* with a loop extending from the left of the crossbar and rising through the centre; *d* with a looping ascender inclining over to the left and a spike to the left of the lobe, and *s* and *f* with ascenders which continue in a 'roof' to the right over the following letters.[42]

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[37] Burrow and Doyle (eds.), *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, introduction, xxxiv.
[38] Burrow and Doyle (eds.), *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, introduction, xxxvi.
[39] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 185.
[40] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 223.
[41] L. R. Mooney, 'Some new light on Thomas Hoccleve', p. 319.
[42] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', Appendix A, pp. 29-31.

1.2 The Privy Seal records in the National Archives

On the basis of these descriptions, Linne Mooney carried out a systematic search for Hoccleve's hand in the Privy Seal documents now residing in the National Archives. [43] Until recently, previous scholars had largely limited their studies of the documentary evidence regarding Hoccleve to identify the various grants and payments due to him recorded in the Issue Rolls.[44] However, Doyle and Parkes noted that documents written by Hoccleve himself were likely to survive in the government archives; in 1978 they identified two of these documents; E 28/29, piece 30 (temp. Henry IV-V) and E 404/31/322 (27 May, 3 Henry V [1415]).[45] More recently, Burrow and Doyle reiterated the likelihood of further discoveries to be made: 'We have not yet identified any specimen of his handwriting that can be assigned certainly to date before 1408 or 1413 (that is after he had been working for the Privy Seal for more than twenty years), but there should be more examples in the Public Record Office awaiting recognition that have not yet been found.'[46] They acknowledge the fact that much of the Privy Seal archive is incomplete, but refer to the existence of substantial numbers of documents sent from that office to the other government departments. However, it has only been in recent years that this resource has begun to be more fully utilised. Mooney identified and described 145 documents written by Hoccleve in the following series: E 404 (Exchequer of Receipt: Warrants for Issues); E 208 (Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Brevia Baronibus files); E 28 (Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt: Council and Privy Seal Records), and E 43 (Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt: Ancient Deeds).

Of these series, the most voluminous is E 404, which contains writs and warrants ordering payments out of the Exchequer on the king's authority. The series is most complete for the period 1399-1485, and the most common types of document are warrants

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[43] Mooney, 'Some new light', pp. 293-340.
[44] See Furnivall, *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, Appendix compiled by R. E. G. Kirk, li-lxx; Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Appendix, pp. 33-49.
[45] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 182. The second of these documents is printed in P. Chaplais, *English Royal Documents: King John – Henry VI, 1199-1461* (Oxford, 1971), p. 74, pl. 22a.
[46] Burrow and Doyle, *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, introduction, xxxiv.

under the privy seal and great seal, and Wardrobe debentures.[47] The size of these files varies considerably; each contains between 10 and 25 green soft-backed booklets of between 20 and 60 documents each, so the number of documents per file ranges from 200 to 700. However, these files contain a mixture of Chancery and Privy Seal documents, and for the period in question, Chancery warrants greatly outnumber those of Privy Seal, with the latter only making up approximately a quarter of each file. The Chancery warrants instructed the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer to make routine payments such as wages and annuities owed to various royal officials, while the warrants of Privy Seal dealt with more unusual matters, such as payments for military or diplomatic service and the repayment of royal debts. Payments made as a result of these warrants were recorded on the Issue Rolls, now in the series E 403.

A few documents written by Hoccleve were found by Mooney in E 208, which contains Chancery and Privy Seal writs to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer sending or requiring information, giving administrative instructions, or discharging an account.[48] These are stored in boxes, each containing roughly ten bundles of documents bound with string. Four documents in Hoccleve's hand, all dated on the same day, survive in E 28, which contains records of the Privy Seal and Council; these include petitions to the king and council, drafts of letters and other instruments which were to pass under the Privy Seal Office, memoranda of that office, and Council agenda and memoranda. These particular items are draft letters from Henry V asking for troops to be raised from various counties for the war in France.[49]

Lastly, Mooney identified one document of particular interest in the series E 43, which contains miscellaneous receipts and debentures removed from E 404 due to the completeness of their seals.[50] This is a receipt for Hoccleve's annuity, in his own hand and displaying his personal seal. This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

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[47] These are in separate sequences; the Privy Seal and Chancery warrants are in files 1-228 and the Wardrobe debentures are in files 481-85 (see *Catalogue of the National Archives*, E 404, Exchequer of Receipt: Warrants for Issues, Introductory Note, p. 2).

[48] *Catalogue of the National Archives*, E 208, Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Brevia Baronibus files, Introductory Note p. 1.

[49] Appendix I, p. 226.

[50] E 43/554, Appendix II, p. 231.

These documents deal exclusively with communication between the Privy Seal and the Exchequer; however, this only constituted part of the business of the office. During this period, the Privy Seal was the main means of communication between the king and the other government offices. This is demonstrated in the diagram below (p. 29). The red arrows show the direction of communication between the king, council and government offices in the later medieval period, and the numbers on these arrows denote the National Archives series in which these documents now reside. The blue arrows show the start of the process; the various requests, usually in the form of petitions, from subjects for royal favour or payment. These were most often addressed directly to the king, but could also be directed to other sources of authority such as the queen or chancellor. On granting a petition, the king would order action to be taken under the great seal, either directly, or more often using one of the smaller seals (the privy or signet) as an intermediary. The Privy Seal, as the office through which the most internal government communication travelled, thus held a central position in the administrative process.

However, the lack of a systematic process for the preservation of documents within the Privy Seal, coupled with losses resulting from a fire at Whitehall in 1619, have meant that the majority of surviving documents issued by the office are those sent to and preserved by other departments, as Edouard Perroy describes: 'were it not for those fortunate bureaucratic tendencies of both Chancery and Exchequer, little direct evidence would have come to us of privy seal activities. But the Chancellor was always careful to keep and file all the privy seal or signet warrants sent to him for the issue of great seal letters, while the Treasurer made enrolments of all royal writs and bills ordering payments.'[51] The records thus give a rather misleading picture of the function of the Privy Seal; its activities were not limited to internal administrative communication, but also extended to its use as a diplomatic instrument in its own right, for sending out missives from the king to provincial officials, religious houses and foreign rulers. There are very few surviving examples of these, mostly dating from prior to the start of Hoccleve's career; however, a number of drafts do survive, and there are copies in the formularies.

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[51] E. Perroy, *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*, Camden 3rd series, v. 48 (London, 1933), p. xiii.

Written communication between the late medieval government bodies
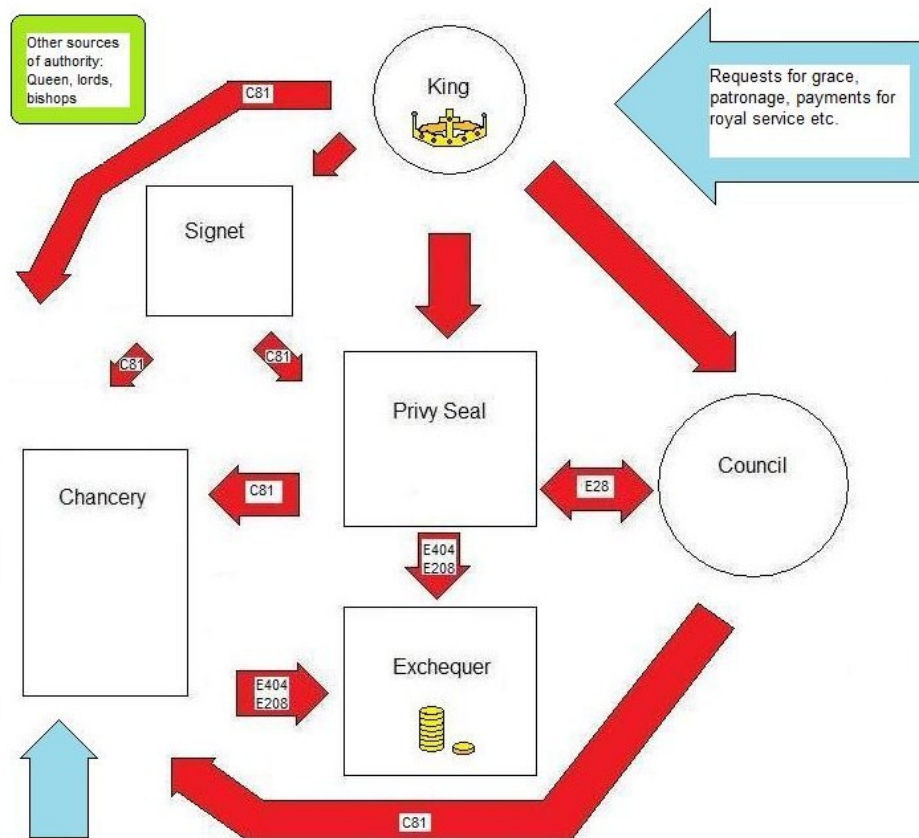
The National Archives series are organised according to the destination, rather than the point of origin, of their contents; this means that the Privy Seal archives are fragmented. Although a significant number remain in those series relating to the Exchequer described above, by far the most documents issued under the Privy Seal were directed to the Chancery; therefore, as Mooney herself states, 'The newly identified E 404 and E 208 documents probably witness only a small fraction of Hoccleve's work at the office'.[52]

The series in which the vast majority of Privy Seal documents can now be found is C 81 (Chancery: Warrants for the Great Seal, Series I). This contains warrants sent to the Chancellor authorising action to be taken under the great seal, in accordance with the wishes of the king, from the period 1230-1485. Most of these were sent under the Privy Seal, but some are authorised by the Signet or other small seals; by signed bill; by the king's Council; by a Regent; or by the Treasurer, Chancellor or other household officials. The warrants are bound in red hard-backed files, each containing 100 items, with their

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[52] Mooney, 'Some new light', p. 309.

number stamped on the back. Many individual items display references to their corresponding entries in the printed *Calendars* of Chancery rolls on the guard in pencil.[53] The series is organised according to type rather than in one chronological sequence; thus the Privy Seal documents are divided into writs (C 81 1-907); letters (C 81 908), and bills (C 81 909-1327).

The different types of documents issued under the Privy Seal for the period in question will now be briefly described in terms of their function, physical appearance and diplomatic. The most common type of document was the writ of Privy Seal, which was sent to the Chancery or Exchequer as a warrant for the carrying out of royal commands. Privy Seal writs dealt with a variety of matters, such as the issuing of licences, pardons, or grants of office or land. They took the form of strips of parchment, originally folded and sealed close, and most were written in French, although Latin was generally used 'for warrants concerning ecclesiastical causes, ratifications of estate, presentations to churches, prebends and other benefices; for warrants in connection with inquisitions, the taking of homage and the restoration of seisin; and for writs of *procedendo* and other judicial business.'[54] Writs included the king's full title (*Henri par la grace de dieu…*), the address to the Chancellor or Treasurer, including their name only in the case of the former (*A lonurable pere en dieu nostre treschier cousin lercevesque de…*), the body of the text detailing the nature of the royal order or request, and the dating-clause (*Donne sous nostre prive seel le … jour de … lan de nostre regne ….*). The following is a transcription of one of the newly-identified warrants written by Hoccleve in C 81, authorising payment of an annual grant of 40 marks to Chaucer in recognition of good service by Henry IV:

TNA C 81/596/1351 – 9 February, 1 Henry IV [1400]

Henri par la grace de dieu Roi d'Engleterre et de France et Seigneur d'Irelande. A nostre treschier Johan de Scarle nostre Chanceller, saluz. Come de nostre grace especiale et pur le / bon service que nostre ame Esquier Geffrey Chaucer nous ad fait et ferra lui eons grantez quarrante marcs a prendre annuelement durante sa vie a nostre Eschequer as termes de / Pasque et de seint michel par oueles portions outre les vynt livres a lui

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[53] *Catalogue of the National Archives*, C 81 (Chancery: Warrants for the Great Seal, Series I), Introductory Note p. 2.
[54] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 35.

grantees par sire Richard nadgairs Roi dengleterre le second apres le conquest et par nous confermez a prendre / durante sa vie a nostre Eschequer avandit. Vous mandons que sur ce facez faire noz lettres souz nostre grand seel en due forme de la date de nostre coronacion. Donne souz nostre prive seel a Westminstre le ix iour de Feuerer l'an de nostre regne primer.

[Henry by the grace of God king of England and of France and Lord of Ireland. To our most beloved clerk John de Scarle our Chancellor, greetings. With our special grace and for the good service that our beloved squire Geoffrey Chaucer has done and will do to us we grant to him forty marks to be taken annually during his life from our Exchequer in the terms of Easter and of Michaelmas in equal portions, further to the twenty pounds granted to him by lord Richard, lately King of England the second after the conquest, and by us confirmed to be taken during his life from our aforementioned Exchequer. We command you that on this you make our letters under our great seal in due form from the date of our coronation. Given under our privy seal at Westminster the 9th day of February in the first year of our reign.]

Bills of Privy Seal were a later development of warrants used from the early fourteenth century. They resulted from approved and sealed petitions, and dealt with more routine matters such as the issuing of commissions, protections and safe-conducts, often to those travelling abroad on military or diplomatic service. They were sent open, with the seal applied to the face of the document, and were normally in Latin. They represented an abbreviated form of the writ, written in the third person and without a formal protocol or greeting, and typically beginning '*Fiant litterae…*' or '*Soient faites lettres…*'. Up until the mid-fourteenth century the dating clause was often omitted or curtailed, but for the period in question it is normally present. Chancery documents warranted by bill of Privy Seal were less important and less costly than those authorised by writ, as indicated by the lower fees due to the clerks.[55] The following is a Privy Seal bill granting a protection for the king's cousin Henry Bolingbroke, later Henry IV:

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[55] B. Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III* (Manchester, 1929), p. 223.

TNA C 81/1062/23 – 6 February, 16 Richard II [1393]

Fiat protectio cum clausula volumus pro dilecto consanguines et fideli nostro Henrico de Lancastre comite Derbeie qui in obsequio nostro in partibus ultramarinis moratur per unum / annum duratur. Datum sub privato sigillo nostro apud civitatem nostrum Wynton' vi die Februarii anno regni nostri sextodecimo.

[We desire that a protection with the clause volumus be made for our beloved and faithful kinsman Henry of Lancaster earl of Derby who remains in our service in regions beyond the sea for the space of one year. Given under our privy seal at our city of Winchester the 6th day of February in the sixteenth year of our reign.]

During this period, writs and bills sometimes displayed memoranda on the foot or the back recording the date of delivery of the document, the name of the bearer, and the key individuals involved; this was added after it reached its destination, not by any staff of the Privy Seal office itself.[56]

The third main type of document issued under the Privy Seal was the letter. Due to the reasons described above, no examples of formal Privy Seal letters survive in Hoccleve's hand, but there are some examples in his formulary and some drafts.[57] Personal letters of the king to members of his family and foreign rulers were sealed close. They followed a similar form to the Privy Seal writ, but the protocol was often omitted or shortened. The phrase '*De par le Roy*' or sometimes '*Le Roy Dengleterre et de France*' often appeared in a separate line at the head of the document. The greeting used denoted the status of the recipient: '*tresreverent pere en dieu*' for an archbishop; '*reverent pere en dieu*' for a bishop; '*treschier en dieu*' for an abbot or dean, and '*chier et bien ame*' or '*chier et foial*' for letters to laymen. There was also a form of letter which dispensed with any greeting and began abruptly with the name of the recipient, for the expression of royal disapproval.[58] The Privy Seal also issued letters patent, official documents acting as proof

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[56] T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of England*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920-33), 5: 114.

[57] At least one of these drafts was copied by Hoccleve into the formulary; see E 28/29 piece 30, one of the documents first identified by Doyle and Parkes in 1978, described above p. 9.

[58] Brown, 'Privy Seal', Appendix C. See for example British Library MS Additional 24062 f. 128, Bentley item 647.

of commissions or receipts, containing a general address.[59] The following is a transcription of one of the draft letters in Hoccleve's hand, from the king to the Treasurer demanding payment of debts:

TNA E 28/23/53 (20 December, 7 – 14 Henry IV [1405-1412])

De par le Roy
Treschier et foial (et nos treschiers et bien amez). Nous veullanz par certaines causes estre certifies de les sommes par vous receves sibien de les revenues de nostre Roiaume come des autres / derniers queconques par vous receuz a nostre oeps et de les paiemenz et deliverances qen avez fait de nostre part du temps que vous avez este nostre Tresorer dengleterre. / Vous mandons que toutes excusacions cessantes nous en facez certifier distinctement par roulles et remembrances sur ce a faire en due forme et a nous demon / - strer loytisme iour de Janvier prochain venant sanz defaute. Et ce ne veullez lesser come nous nous fions de vous. Donne souz nostre prive seal a Westminster le xix iour de decembre.

[From the King.
Most dear and faithful (and our most beloved and good friend). We desire for certain reasons to be informed of the amount received by you both from the revenues of our Realm, and from others of any kind lately received by you from our profits, and of the payments and deliverances made from our possessions in the time that you were our Treasurer of England. We order you that, all excuses set aside, you will inform us precisely by rolls and remembrances to be made in due form on this to be shown to us by the 8th day of January next coming, without fail. And this you will not wish to neglect for our trust in you. Given under our privy seal at Westminster the 19th day of December.]

The practice of sealing differed between the Chancery and Privy Seal, as whereas the great seal was double-sided, and too large to be applied to the main surface of the parchment itself, the privy seal was single-faced and much smaller. During the period in question, Privy Seal writs and letters close were sealed in the following manner. The parchment was folded in on itself to form a package, and an incision was made through

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[59] Chaplais, *English Royal Documents,* p. 32.

every layer of this. A narrow strip was partially cut off the foot of the document to form a tongue, which was wound round the package and inserted through the incision to fasten it. The seal was applied over the tongue on the dorse of the document, and the address to which it was to be sent was written lengthways on the part of the tongue which extended beyond the seal.[60] The Privy Seal used red wax, whereas the Exchequer used green and the Chancery used green or white according to the importance of the document.[61] Most seals have now dried out and fallen off the parchment, but some examples do exist. In addition to the incisions made for fastening the document, most writs and bills display a small hole in the left hand side of the parchment through which they would have been strung together on a thong for filing after receipt.

As referred to above in relation to the series E 28, the archives of the Privy Seal are often linked to those of the king's Council. During the fourteenth century, the Privy Seal increasingly became the main instrument by which the actions of the Council were authorised, and the Keeper became one of its key ministers.[62] Correspondingly, Privy Seal clerks were used to keep a record of its meetings, becoming in effect, as Tout describes, a 'council secretariat'.[63] This relationship was formalised in 1392 with the appointment of the Keeper of the Privy Seal John Prophete as the first Clerk of the Council. He was succeeded by another Privy Seal clerk, Robert Frye, who was instrumental in improving the efficiency of Council records; during his Clerkship, these began to include comprehensive endorsements which recorded the date, place and those in attendance, the issues discussed at the meeting, and the decisions reached.[64] The surviving records of the Council are hard to separate from those of the Privy Seal because, as Brown explains, documents retained by the Council were kept in the Privy Seal office, along with those Council warrants sent to that office as authority for the issue of Privy Seal letters.[65] For this reason, the series E 28 described above contains many documents relating to both offices, including the journal of Council proceedings kept by John Prophete.[66] Council warrants were also used as authorisation for action to be taken under the great seal; these surviving records can be found in C 81, files number 1538-48A, containing approximately

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[60] Chaplais, *English Royal Documents,* pp. 30-32; Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 116-120.

[61] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 130.

[62] J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 257-9.

[63] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 13.

[64] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 316.

[65] A.L. Brown, *The Early History of the Clerkship of the Council* (Glasgow, 1969).

[66] E 28/3; see Baldwin, *The King's Council*, pp. 389-91, 489-504.

700 documents from the reigns of Edward I – IV. In addition, Brown states that records of the Council can be found in the series C 49 (Chancery and Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Parliamentary and Council Proceedings), E 175 (Exchequer: King's Remembrancer and Treasury of the Receipt: Parliament and Council Proceedings, Series II), SC 8 (Ancient Petitions) and in several other series. The close relationship between the archives of the Council and the Privy Seal means that there is a possibility that Hoccleve's hand may be found in the above-mentioned series; the implications of this will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

1.3 The new documents

Having determined the series in which to look, and the type of documents to be found there, it remained only to search these series for those documents written by Hoccleve. Despite the previous work that has been carried out on the poet's hand outlined above, this was by no means a straightforward exercise. Burrow and Doyle claim that 'The handwritings of the several contemporary clerks of the Privy Seal and of the Signet who practised the Secretary script are all quite easily distinguishable, despite their common style and features' and that 'Hoccleve's is perhaps the most distinctive'.[67] Whilst the latter part of this statement is probably true, it underestimates the difficulties inherent in distinguishing between the hands of Privy Seal clerks, who, although not perhaps trained as formally as their contemporaries in the Chancery, would have been encouraged to conform to a particular writing-style during their apprenticeships. Apart from Hoccleve, Burrow and Doyle give as an example of another Privy Seal hand, that of Robert Frye. Frye's hand is identifiable because we have a collection of his personal correspondence, containing letters to and from his family, business associates and colleagues in the government offices.[68] Although Brown, who identified Frye's hand in the records of the Council during this period, described it as 'distinctive and easily recognised',[69] it is lacking in those distinguishing features possessed by Hoccleve and thus difficult to isolate from that of the other clerks in the Privy Seal documents. Much of Frye's correspondence is written in a less formal hand than the one he used in the government records (although it does vary according to language, and those letters written in Latin are in many ways

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[67] Burrow and Doyle, *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, introduction, p. xxxv.
[68] Now in TNA E 28/29. See Brown, 'Privy Seal', v. II, Appendix of Documents, pp. 353-70.
[69] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 133.

similar in appearance to Privy Seal warrants).[70] It may also be possible to identify other clerks' hands from their letters to Frye, such as that of his Privy Seal colleague John Stone.[71] Examples of John Prophete's hand can be seen in his record of Council proceedings referred to above and his 'letter-book' (British Library MS Harley 431). However Prophete, at least by this period, was too important to have been writing routine warrants for the office. Beyond these high-profile clerks, the task of identifying individual hands in the Privy Seal archives is a difficult one, and rests largely on our possessing another example of their hand.

However, thanks to the work of the scholars described above, and as demonstrated by Mooney, it is possible to distinguish with some certainty the documents written by Thomas Hoccleve from those of his contemporaries at the Privy Seal. In addition to the 145 documents identified by Mooney, a further 913 documents have been discovered in the series C 81, and two further documents have been found in E 28. These are listed chronologically in Appendix I. The new documents have been briefly described, and in the case of the E 404s and other documents identified by Mooney, page references have been given to the corresponding entry in the appendix of her article. For the series C 81, where possible, references have been given to any resulting issue in the *Calendars* of Chancery rolls. Most of these are to be found within the Patent rolls, but the issues resulting from some warrants were recorded in others such as the Fine, Close and Charter rolls. An attempt to locate the corresponding enrolments for the bills in C 81 was made by searching for the recipients of the protections and safe-conducts in the AHRC-funded online database 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England'.[72] In some cases the warrant has been matched to the petition from which it originated or a later petition concerning the same subject; in these instances the Appendix records the TNA reference number in the series SC 8. The results demonstrate the range of documents that Hoccleve was required to produce for the Privy Seal; these include grants, licences, pardons and commissions to a variety of individuals and institutions, from members of the royal family to household servants. Eleven further documents have also been found in Hoccleve's hand written on behalf of institutions or individuals other than the Privy Seal, such as the king's Council; these are listed in Appendix II and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

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[70] See for example TNA E 28/29/51, a letter from Frye to his mother.
[71] TNA E 28/29/57.
[72] www.medievalsoldier.org

In addition to these documents, there are a number which exhibit many of Hoccleve's characteristic features, but display differences regarding duct and flow. Although in many cases these are very similar to those documents identified as having been written by Hoccleve, the likeness is not sufficient to make a positive identification. For this reason, these documents have not been included in Appendix I, but have been listed separately (see Appendix III, pp. 233-5). These date from the beginning of his career; with the exception of one document written in 1399, they are all dated between 1384 and 1391. It is possible that these represent further variations of Hoccleve's hand, but there is also the possibility that their resemblance to his work is due to their having been produced by somebody trained under him. Several documents within this group, all dating from the fourteenth century, are similar enough to each other to indicate that they are by the same hand, which, if not Hoccleve, may be one of his apprentices.[73] This hand demonstrates a number of similar features, including a square-topped capital *A* very like that of Hoccleve's, but has a markedly different aspect; the slope is more upright, the letters taller and closer together, and horizontal strokes are often reduced to hairlines so that there appear to be gaps between the minims (see Plate 1). The most obvious candidate for a hand resembling Hoccleve's is John Welde, who was recorded as having been his under-clerk between 1414 and 1417, and who on several occasions signed for Hoccleve's annuity in his absence.[74] Alternatively, Linne Mooney has suggested that, given the early date of these documents, the hand may be that of Hoccleve's mentor Guy de Rouclif; if Rouclif was responsible for Hoccleve's training as a clerk, we might assume that his hand would resemble that of his teacher.[75] If some, or all, of these borderline documents can be identified as being variants on Hoccleve's own hand, this would have implications for our understanding of his life and work at the Privy Seal. The hypothetical scenarios resulting from this will be discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

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[73] TNA C 81/507/5497; C 81/507/5498;C 81/510/5798; C 81/515/6223; C 81/517/6479; C 81/525/7285. It is of course likely that these are not the only examples of this hand in the National Archives, but as the aim of the search was to identify Hoccleve's hand only those sufficiently resembling him were recorded.

[74] A. L. Brown, 'The Privy Seal clerks in the early fifteenth century', in D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey (eds.), *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major* (Oxford, 1971), p. 262; Burrow, Thomas Hoccleve, p. 43 item 42; Mooney, 'Some new light', p. 306.

[75] Private discussion with L. R. Mooney, 20 October 2010.

Plate 1.

TNA C 81/507/5497 (1 September, 13 Richard II [1389])
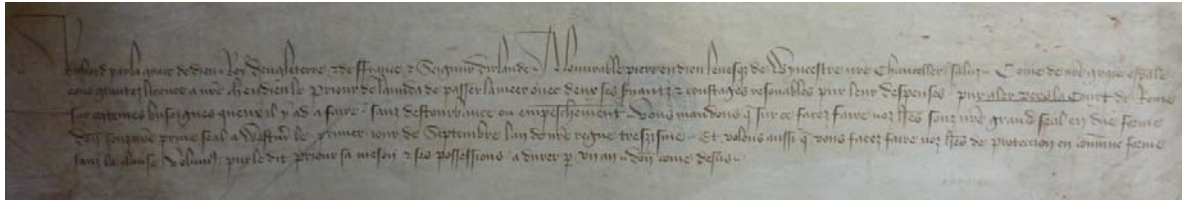
The main, if obvious, distinction between examining Hoccleve's hand in the literary manuscripts and in the Privy Seal documents is that the latter requires constant re-evaluation. A feature that occurs within the holograph manuscripts can be automatically assigned to Hoccleve and therefore labelled as one of his characteristics; however, with the documents, this security is lacking, as each must be assessed independently. The process is something of a catch-22: in order to decide if a feature is characteristic of Hoccleve, one must determine whether the document in which it occurs is written by him; but how can one do this without being sure of his characteristics? The boundaries of what constitutes his hand are therefore permanently shifting in accordance with the findings. With this in mind, if a letter-form was in doubt, it was evaluated on the basis of how many other characteristic forms it occurred alongside; if a positive identification was made, it was then added to these. This was accomplished with an awareness of the dangers of over-reliance on characteristic letter-forms and of extracting these features from their context, and thus neglecting the important issues of word spacing, duct and flow. After initial identification, each was re-examined and assessed according to a number of key criteria; with such a large quantity of documents, there is still likely to be some level of error, but hopefully this is not high enough to be significant.

When carrying out this task, it was important to consider the various factors that may have influenced variation in Hoccleve's hand. It has already been established that he possessed both literary and documentary styles, but the newly-discovered Privy Seal records show that he was able to vary this documentary hand according to register. For instance, much of the formulary is written in a more cursive, less formal hand, presumably because it was intended only to be read by Hoccleve and his fellow-clerks. In contrast, the warrants and bills of Privy Seal, which were intended for communication between governmental departments, are written more clearly and neatly, with greater gaps between

words and more evenly-spaced lines. There are even some decorative elements, with flourishes added to the capitals in the first line.

Language is also likely to have had an influence on the style of Hoccleve's hand, which can cause further complications with identification. A number of differences can be observed between his writing in French, Latin and English; these can be explained by several factors. Firstly, the issue of language is inseparable in many ways from that of register, as Latin was more associated with formality than were the vernacular languages. The difference in duct between Hoccleve's Latin and French documents can be seen from comparing the documents in Plate 2, which were written within a few months of each other. Although they are recognisably the same hand, the Latin is less cursive and more regular than the French, with less space between the minims. The ascenders are also not as high and the abbreviation marks are often extended over the entire word and even beyond.
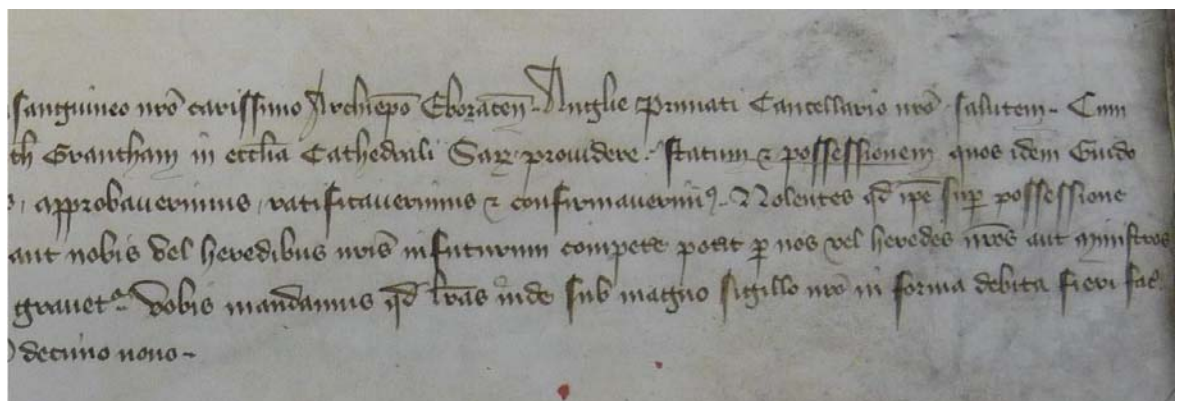
Plate 2.

TNA C 81/555/10248 (27 September, 19 Richard II [1395])
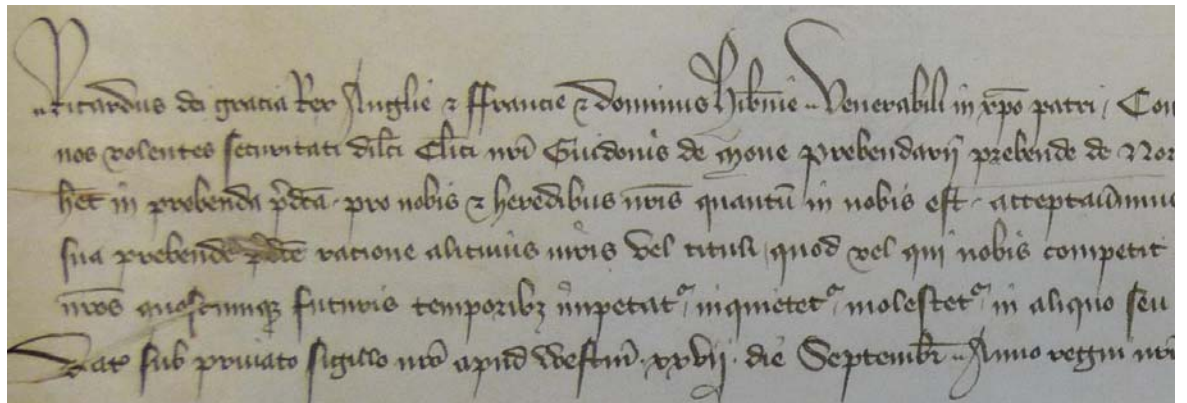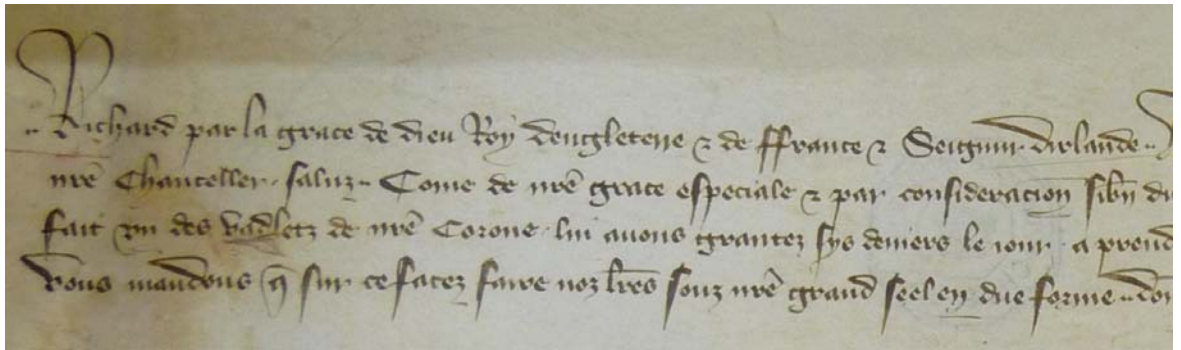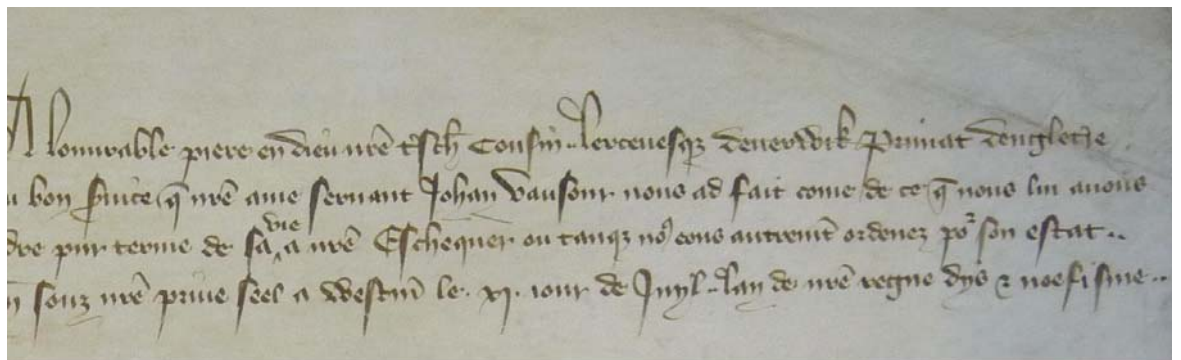
(left side)

(right side)

TNA C 81/553/10075 (11 July, 19 Richard II [1395])

(left side)

(right side)

There is some indication that Hoccleve preferred certain letter-forms when writing in a particular language; for instance, in the Privy Seal documents, the round-topped capital *A* tends to be reserved almost exclusively for writing in Latin. This is also the form preferred in the English poetry, which might suggest it had more formal associations. However, it may also be due to more practical reasons; the letter *A* does not occur in such a prominent position in the Latin documents as in the French; the address, beginning '*A* …' or '*Au* …' followed by the recipient's name, always begins in the middle of the first line, whereas in the Latin documents the *A* is more often mid-sentence ('*Rex Anglie…*'). Hoccleve seems to have used the square-topped *A* for emphasis, unlike the round-topped version which is generally the same height as the other capitals and without flourishes. In a similar way, Mooney has argued that position may play a role in determining the characteristics of letter-forms; she claims that Hoccleve's tendency to drop his initial *H*

below the level of the line was a result of emphasising this letter when repeatedly writing '*Henri par la grace de dieu…*' in Privy Seal documents.[76]

Mooney has also argued that Hoccleve preferred certain forms in a particular language for reasons of clarity; for example, she claims that, when writing in English, he was careful to use a form of thorn that would not be confused with *p*, and that he used the simplified, pointed *g* more when writing in English rather than in Latin or French, as English contained fewer examples of the letter *q*, with which this form might be confused.[77] However, the use of this form in the earlier Privy Seal documents, all of which are in French or Latin, might suggest that in this case this graph for *g* was gradually abandoned in favour of the flat-topped, coat-hanger variety. Identification can also be made more difficult by the fact that some letters are absent, or occur less, in certain languages; for example, *w* and *y* occur more frequently in English than in Latin or French, and *k* and thorn rarely occur in Latin documents. The absence of many key characteristics from the Latin documents, coupled with the lack of the centrally-placed capital *A*, makes them more difficult to identify. These examples of how language can alter hand further demonstrate the problems with relying solely on the English holograph manuscripts to provide an archetype of Hoccleve's hand.

Whilst it may be stating the obvious, it is worth remembering that Hoccleve's writing style also changed according to the length of document he was writing, affecting such characteristics as the size of the letter forms, the amount of decoration given to the capitals in the top line, line height and straightness, and the spacing between words. In general, the bills of Privy Seal were more problematic to identify because of their comparative brevity, meaning they provided a shorter sample of Hoccleve's hand.

Because the documents span a period of over 40 years, the most important aspect to consider is how Hoccleve's hand altered over time. Mooney has pointed out that the manuscript examples are from towards the end of his life, by which time his handwriting would probably have been affected by the deterioration of his eyesight; Hoccleve's poetry contains several references to this and to his vanity in refusing to wear spectacles.[78] In

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[76] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 30.
[77] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', pp. 11-12.
[78] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', pp. 3-4.
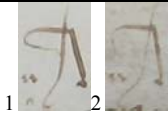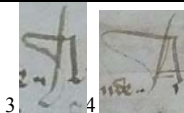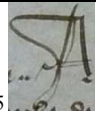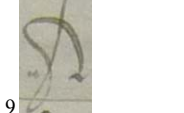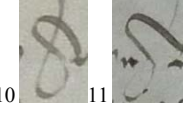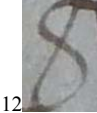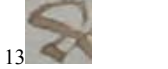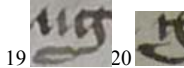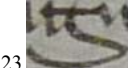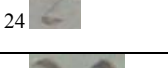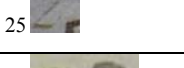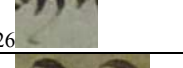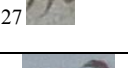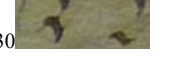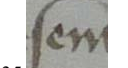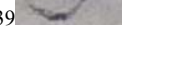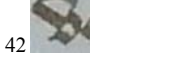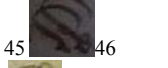
addition, Mooney also acknowledges the way that Hoccleve's hand changed over time, arguing that a number of letter forms found in the newly-discovered holograph *Regiment* and the Trinity Gower are 'earlier graphetic preferences of the poet', which do not occur in the later holographs: these include the anglicana form of *w* with a more rounded base; the secretary *g* with a pointed top and minus Hoccleve's distinctive 'coat-hanger' tail (also noted by Burrow and Doyle in their introduction to the facsimile), and a final *e* with tongue protruding to the right.[79] As would be expected, the letter-forms from these earlier manuscripts can also be found in the documents dating from the earlier part of Hoccleve's career at the Privy Seal.

The date of the documents must also be taken into account when making a positive identification. When assessing a document, it must be considered within the context of others identified from that time; taking into account the differences due to register and language mentioned above, we have to assume he was fairly consistent during any one period. For this reason, particularly regarding the earlier documents, the plausibility of a document rests to some degree on its resemblance to those already identified, as well as the number of key characteristics it exhibits.

With this in mind, I have examined the development of Hoccleve's hand in the documents according to four periods of roughly ten years, based on the usage of various letter-forms at certain points in his career. Each key letter-form is illustrated with examples from the documents in the chart below; however, representative documents from each period have also been provided in order to illustrate duct and flow.

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[79] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 11.

Hoccleve's hand in the Privy Seal documents

Letter form	Identified by	Phase 1 (1384-1393)	Phase 2 (1394-1403)	Phase 3 (1404-1413)	Phase 4 (1414-1426)
A (square-topped)	Schulz	1 2	3 4	5	6
A (round-topped)	Schulz	7 8	9	10 11	12
D	Mooney	13	14	15	16
g	Schulz/ Burrow and Doyle	17 18	19 20	21 22	23
H	Doyle & Parkes	24	25	26	27
N	Mooney	28	29	30	31
S	Mooney	32	33	34	35
T	Mooney	36	37 38	39	40
V	Mooney	41	42	43	44
W	Schulz	45 46	47	48 49	50
Y	Schulz	51	52	53	54
Et	Mooney	55 56	57 58	59 60	61 62

[**1.** C 81/486/3393, **2**. C 81/486/3393, **3**. C 81/545/9248, **4**. C 81/545/9284, **5**. C 81/622/3976, **6**. C 81/1166/23 **7**. C 81/486/3347, **8**. C 81/490/3710, **9**. C 81/562/10981, **10**. C 81/624/4159, **11**. C 81/623/4001, **12**. C 81/1119/64, **13**. C 81/487/3449, **14**. C 81/562/10960, **15**. C 81/620/3711, **16**. C 81/663/516, **17**. C 81/486/3393, **18**. C 81/494/4134, **19**. C 81/545/9284, **20**. C 81/559/10684, **21**. C 81/628/4522, **22**. C 81/627/4410, **23**. C 81/678/881, **24**. C 81/487/3449, **25**. C 81/549/9606, **26**. C 81/639/5642, **27**. C 81/678/842, **28**. C 81/494/4134, **29**. C 81/562/10981, **30**. C 81/647/6432, **31**. C 81/1172/40, **32**. C 81/486/3393, **33**. C 81/545/9248, **34**. C 81/626/4316, **35**. C 81/663/515, **36**. C 81/522/6956, **37**. C 81/565/11250, **38**. C 81/573/12015, **39**. C 81/1106/1, **40**. C 81/1115/22, **41**. C 81/486/3393, **42**. C 81/545/9248, **43**. C 81/627/4410, **44**. C 81/663/515, **45**. C 81/506/5307, **46**. C 81/518/6569, **47**. C 81/562/10981, **48**. C 81/626/4316, **49**. C 81/654/7128, **50**. C 81/663/515, **51**. C 81/542/8929, **52**. C

81/549/9601, **53**. C 81/626/4316, **54**. C 81/663/515, **55**. C 81/486/3393, **56**. C 81/542/8929, **57**. C 81/585/286, **58**. C 81/581/12852, **59**. C 81/626/4316, **60**. C 81/628/4507, **61**. C 81/663/515, **62**. C 81/684/1498]

The first phase encompasses the years 1384-1393; the end of Hoccleve's apprenticeship at the Privy Seal and the beginning of his career as a full clerk. This is by far the most problematic period; Hoccleve's hand is less distinguishable from the other clerks, who presumably had received similar training, and also has less in common with the familiar hand of the literary holographs. The square-topped *A* is used (fig. 1), but there are also a number of variant forms: these include a less obviously single stroke version, where the loop is reduced to a hairline and in some cases the pen possibly leaves the parchment (fig. 2); and two alternate versions of the round-topped *A*, one less curved, and one taller and thinner, both retaining the seriffed foot (figs. 7 and 8). The three letter-forms noted by Mooney as particular to the earlier literary manuscripts are all evident. The final *e* with protruding tongue occasionally appears, but is not particularly common; this was presumably because *e* would more often be the final letter in a line in literary manuscripts. As noted above, the *w* used throughout Hoccleve's career at the Privy Seal is the angular, bipartite form rather than the round form characterised by a 2-shaped stroke within a circle, and in the earlier documents this was often more rounded at the base, minus the distinctive feet of the form occurring in the holograph manuscripts. In addition, a number of variants of this *w* were employed: a version where the two strokes form wide loops over to the right (fig. 45), and one where the two parts are separated, looking much like two *v*'s next to each other (fig. 46). The form of *g* most commonly used during this period is angular, with a tail either curved to the right or turning in a tight loop to the left (figs. 17 and 18). The more distinctive, 'coat-hanger'-tailed version associated with the literary manuscripts does not appear in the documents until the 1390s. Hoccleve's distinctive *T* with a loop descending from the cross-stroke and returning through the middle has not yet fully evolved, here appearing with a loop descending from the cross-stroke and turning to the left (fig. 36). Characteristic features evident during this period include *v* with a sharp spike to the left, capital *N* with the right-hand stroke detached from the initial stem, and long *s* with the downward stroke returning to form a spike emerging from the top (figs. 41, 28, 32). Some distinctive features of Hoccleve's hand are notable by their absence: the *h* does not appear to drop noticeably below the line, and the tyronian *et* only begins to have a tick above it towards the end of the period (figs. 55 and 56). However, the *y* with the tail which comes back to form a tick above itself is frequently employed (fig. 51). Plate 3

below is a typical document written by Hoccleve from this period, exhibiting his graphs for *A*, *y*, *g*, *N* and *v*.

The absence of many of the features associated with Hoccleve's literary hand in the documents during this period means that identification relies heavily on the appearance of this form of *y* in conjunction with one of Hoccleve's forms of *A*, and the correct duct and flow. Although one must acknowledge the fact that the capital *A* is Hoccleve's most distinctive feature, there are several documents in which this is the only characteristic form, leading to the conclusion either that his early hand was very different regarding a number of letter forms, or that others also produced that square-topped single-stroke *A*.

Plate 3.
TNA C 81/506/5307 (9 July, 13 Richard II [1389])
(left side)

(right side)

The second phase examines the period between 1394 and 1403. Here we see Hoccleve's hand begin to assume the form it would take for the remainder of his career, with the majority of distinctive characteristics being frequently employed. These are visible in the document in Plate 4. The square-topped *A* begins to include a cross-stroke, sometimes a doubled stroke (fig. 4), and the round-topped *A* assumes the form recognisable from the literary holographs (fig. 9). The letter *h* begins to drop below the line (fig. 25), and the 'coat-hanger'-tailed *g* becomes evident (fig. 20).

Plate 4.

TNA C 81/560/10708 (18 August, 20 Richard II [1396])

(left side)
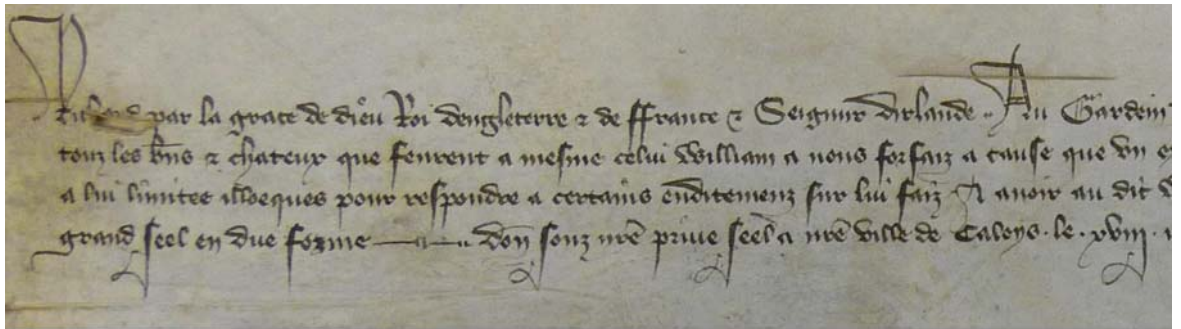
(right side)
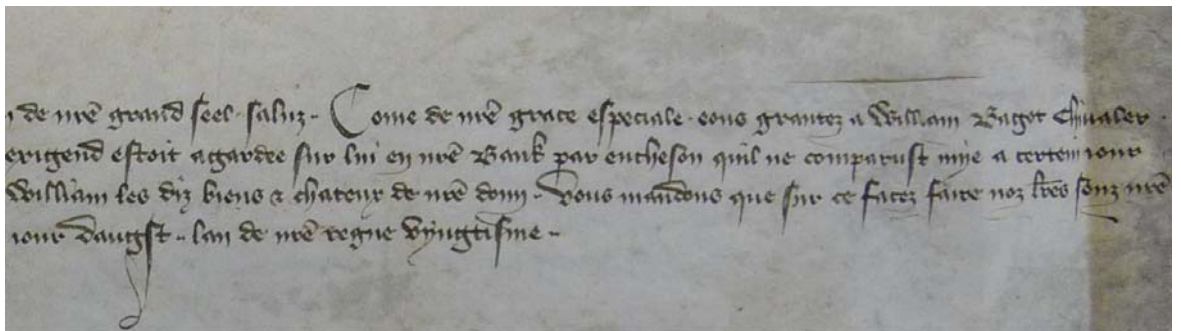
The third phase covers the period 1404-1413. Although retaining the majority of characteristic features, Hoccleve's hand during this period sees the introduction of a number of variants, which can be seen in Plate 5. The foot of the round-topped *A* begins to turn back towards the left and becomes much more strongly seriffed, forming a shape similar to an *et* sign (fig. 11). The ticked form of *et* appears alongside a form without the tick but with a long stroke which curves underneath (fig. 60). This period also sees one of the only usages of the round *w* of Hoccleve's book hand in an official context; this occurs in a petition of 1412 written on behalf of John Muriden (fig. 49 and Plate 6 below, line 5 '*William…*').[80] This is significant; as described above, the bipartite form prevalent in the Privy Seal documents is assigned a 'decorative', 'formal' register by Schulz, and Burrow and Doyle also ascribe a 'formal' status to this graph: 'The more complex three-stroke bipartite *w* with angular feet is employed chiefly in initial positions and for greater formality', although they admit that it is also used 'somewhat paradoxically for crowded

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[80] The other examples of this usage occur exclusively in the documents Hoccleve wrote for the Council, listed in Appendix II.

corrections in HM 744'.[81] This raises some questions regarding the concept of 'formality' in relation to scribal hands in the late medieval period; is this a quality we would expect to apply more to an official document or a literary manuscript? Obviously, this would depend on specific examples; a literary manuscript could range from being a presentation copy to a rough draft, and official documents could also vary in terms of importance. It may be assumed that formality was to a large extent associated with decoration and the expense of production, in which case the Privy Seal warrants, which presumably prioritised speed and legibility over these qualities, would be classed as informal documents. However, Hoccleve's use of the rounded, anglicana *w* in a petition might suggest that the difference between this graph and the bipartite form was one of register; it is possible that the latter had a specific association with official writing, and that Hoccleve's use of an alternative form in a petition shows that he was not confined to this style when writing something which ostensibly originated from outside the government administration.

Plate 5.

TNA C 81/623/4001 (2 May, 5 Henry IV [1404])

(left side)

(right side)

Plate 6.

TNA C 81/654/7128 (March, 13 Henry IV [1412])

(left side)

(right side)

The fourth phase covers the period from 1414 to the end of Hoccleve's life in 1426. The task of identifying Hoccleve becomes significantly easier in the later stages of his career. As would be expected, the later documents are the ones that bear the greatest resemblance to the literary manuscripts, our default image of Hoccleve's hand, as can be seen in Plate 7. There is a sense that his style becomes refined, and thus easier to recognise, over time, with the characteristic letter-forms becoming increasingly exaggerated, possibly as a result of his failing eyesight. In addition, in the later documents, his hand appears to be different to that of the other clerks; whereas in earlier years there were several that exhibited similar features, by the 1420s he stands out more from his contemporaries, suggesting that the office style was changing.

Plate 7.

TNA C 81/1117/23 (16 February, 2 Henry V [1415])

(left side)
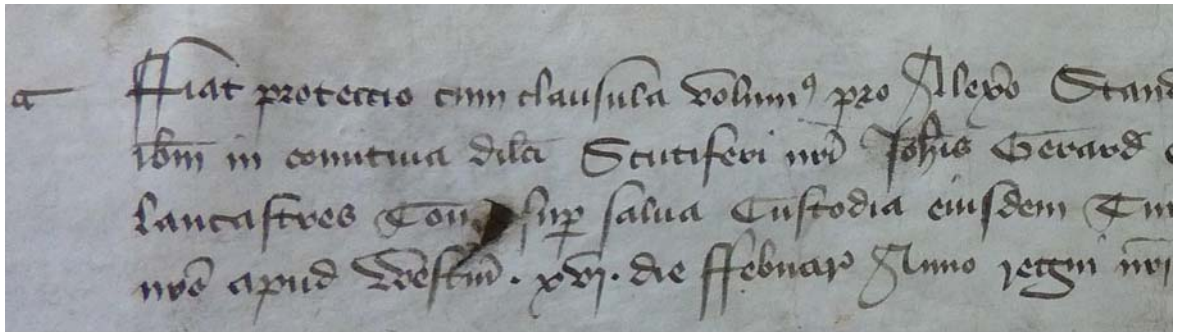
(right side)
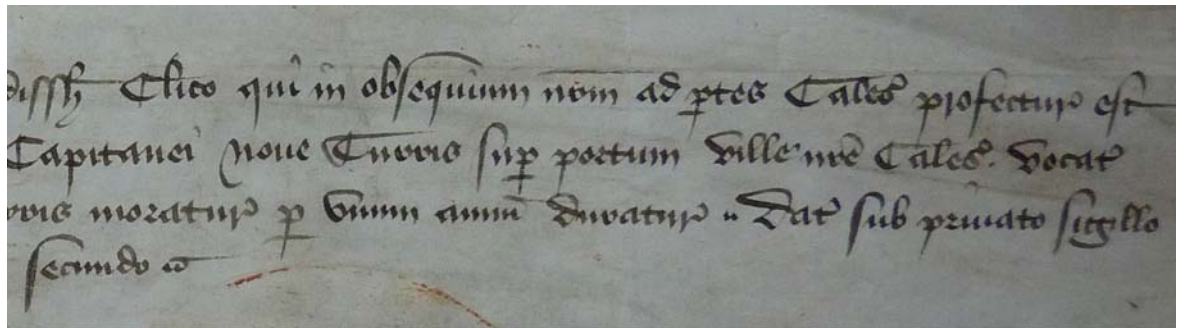
Whilst the documents identified in this study represent a significant proportion of the work carried out by Hoccleve for the Privy Seal office, it is likely that many documents still remain to be discovered. Apart from the possibility of further positive identifications to be made in the series already examined, there are several other sources which may contain Hoccleve's hand. The fact that clerks were not always confined to one particular government department means that Hoccleve may be found in the archives of other government offices, such as the Signet; this is supported by the documents in Appendix II, which lists documents written by Hoccleve outside the Privy Seal. The petitions included here suggest that Hoccleve may have performed this service on behalf of other individuals; this means that his hand may be found in the series SC 8 (Ancient Petitions). These issues will both be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 2. Lastly, there remains the distinct possibility of further discoveries to be made beyond the archives of the government offices, whether in further literary manuscripts or in the records of municipal or mercantile institutions, which would have received and retained documents issued by the Privy Seal.

Chapter 2: Hoccleve as Clerk

The overall objective of this study is to attempt to locate Thomas Hoccleve the poet in the context of his position as a royal clerk in the office of the Privy Seal. In order to accomplish this, this chapter will consider a number of issues: the development of that office and its role in late medieval government; the character of the individual clerks who were the backbone of the government administration; and finally, the specific relationships and responsibilities of Hoccleve himself, and how these impacted on his literary work. The first part of the chapter will give a brief account of the inception of the Privy Seal as a personal instrument of the king, and its evolution in the fourteenth century into one of the great offices of state. The second part will undertake a more thorough examination of the clerks themselves; their background, training, social status, and prospects for advancement within their profession, and the hierarchies present within the offices in which they worked. Particular attention will be paid to how the role of the clerk was affected by the changes taking place in the organisation of the late medieval bureaucracy. The final part of the chapter will attempt to draw together the issues addressed in the earlier sections by using Hoccleve as a case study of the late medieval royal clerk. Using the evidence from his poetry and the documents identified as having been produced by him during the course of his work for the Privy Seal, it will discuss his daily life at Westminster, the connections that he made both within and outside government through the course of his work, and the interaction between his administrative and literary activities.

2.1 The Privy Seal

Much of the scholarship on the administrative history of England in the middle ages is heavily indebted to the work of T. F. Tout, whose seminal six-volume work was first published in the 1920s, and remains the most comprehensive study of the subject. As he explains, his intention was to address the fact that, despite the plentiful resources available, previous scholarship had tended to concentrate on parliamentary and constitutional history rather than that of governmental administration.[1] In order to remedy this situation, he undertook to chart the evolution of the medieval English government from its origins in

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[1] Tout, *Chapters*, 1: introduction.

the *curia regis* to its growth into a number of separate bureaucratic institutions, which were 'national and public rather than domestic and curialistic in their scope', through a process termed going 'out of court'.[2] This involved the creation of a new class of professional administrators, who became increasingly removed from both royal and religious affiliations. His study concentrates on the role of the household offices, the king's Chamber and Wardrobe, from which originated the three offices of state: the Chancery, Exchequer and Privy Seal. Tout's work recounts this history up until the end of the fourteenth century, when the Privy Seal, the last of these to detach itself from the royal household, was undergoing the final stages of this process.

The process of going 'out of court' was central to the development of medieval government; as the various instruments of power became separated from the control of the monarch and the royal household, they became organised, accountable public offices with a hierarchical structure, and responsibility for overseeing the public affairs of the kingdom. This concept has been generally accepted as underlying the development of the medieval administration, but there has been some debate as to when exactly the individual departments became separate from the king's household, and the reasons for their doing so. Tout argues that the first department to undergo this development was the Exchequer, followed by the Chancery in the thirteenth century under Henry III.[3] However, Bertie Wilkinson, whilst acknowledging that the reign of Henry III was 'a critical period in the history of the medieval chancellor … [and] even more important in the evolution of chancery as a whole', argues that it was not until 'the reign of Edward I … that a new period in the history of the chancery may be said definitely to begin.'[4] He claims that it was only then that the Chancery began to separate its roles as the king's secretariat and as an administrative office; it established a permanent headquarters at Westminster, a system of controls governing the issue of letters, and became increasingly independent of the king.[5] He sees these developments as being caused by the increasing demands placed on the office; it was 'an inevitable result of the growing complexity of administration rather than of a merely physical separation between chancery and the court.'[6]

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[2] Tout, *Chapters*, 1: v; 12.
[3] Tout, *Chapters*, 1: 15.
[4] Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III*, pp. 8-9.
[5] Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III*, p.9.
[6] Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III*, p.9.

Although it may be argued that the Chancery did not fully emerge as an administrative institution until the fourteenth century, the removal of the great seal from the king's unchallenged jurisdiction in the thirteenth had other results; namely, the emergence of the small seals from the household departments of the Chamber and Wardrobe, which gave the king 'the best available instruments, both for governing his house and realm after his own fashion, and for withstanding the encroachments of the lay and clerical baronage upon his traditional prerogative';[7] in this way the privy seal, the oldest and most important of the small seals, can be seen as a challenge to the authority of its predecessor, as Tout describes, a 'sort of domestic chancery' operating out of the Wardrobe.[8] From its foundations as a means of preserving the personal authority of the king, the privy seal began to weaken its ties to the royal household under Edward II, when the office of Keeper of the seal became separate from that of Controller of the Wardrobe, and had several clerks serving under him. Tout describes how the first independent Keeper, Roger Northburgh, regularly attended meetings of the Council, and argues that his relationship to the king was such that 'Even in court he was a check, if not a spy, on the king's actions.'[9] Edward did not easily acquiesce to these developments, and in the Household Ordinance of 1318 it was specified that the Keeper and the clerks of the Privy Seal were to remain part of the household, and would continue to be paid in the same way as other clerks of the Wardrobe. Despite its connection to the court becoming increasingly 'more nominal than real', and the setting up of the Secret Seal, and subsequently the Signet, to act as the king's personal seals in its place, the Privy Seal clerks continued to be referred to in official records as part of the household, even after it had become a ministry of state in its own right.[10]

One issue that becomes apparent in charting the history of the office is the extent to which its role was determined by its Keeper and his relationship to the king. Whilst an official such as Roger Northburgh may have increased the distance between the Privy Seal and the crown through his allegiance to the barons, his successors attempted to change the character of the office in other ways. Robert Baldock, who was both Keeper and Chancellor under Edward II, attempted to place the office under the control of the

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[7] Tout, *Chapters*, 1: 22.
[8] Tout, *Chapters*, 1: 23.
[9] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 1.
[10] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 2-3; for the Secret Seal and Signet see H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England* (London, 1926), pp. 104-8; Chaplais, *English Royal Documents*, pp.34-5; Tout, *Chapters,* 5: 161-81; 195-211.

Chancery, which, if he had been successful, Tout argues could have led to the formation of a single great Chancery controlling all the sealing departments, along the lines of the French administration.[11] The importance of the Keeper in influencing the character of the Privy Seal is illustrated by the conditions surrounding the deposition of Edward II in 1327. Richard Bury, Keeper of the seal from 1329 to 1333, involved himself in the political machinations surrounding the accession of Edward III, associating himself with William Montague and the group of nobles who seized Mortimer and Isabella at Nottingham Castle in 1330.[12] In this case, Tout describes Bury as having been 'forced into duplicity' by the circumstances of the king's minority, as despite the growing separation of the office of the seal from the court, its Keeper was still identified as a royal servant rather than a state official: 'the keeper of the privy seal still worked by subterranean rather than by open channels. He still regarded himself as an officer "about the court," in contrast to the chancellor and treasurer, who concerned themselves with "the public affairs of the kingdom." Under the conditions of Edward III's minority, the king's confidant enjoyed little influence over the great officers of state.'[13] The continued close relationship that existed between the king and his Keeper is borne out by the fact that, after the fall of Mortimer and the assumption of the role of head of state by Edward III, Bury then 'came into the open as a trusted servant of the king, the "beloved clerk" whose attendance at court was indispensable'; he was frequently employed by the king regarding matters outside the jurisdiction of the Privy Seal, and accompanied Edward on his secret visit to Philip VI of France in 1331.[14] However, whilst the Keeper of the privy seal was still in many ways the personal retainer of the king during the first half of the fourteenth century, the extent to which the office itself had become indispensable to the process of government is indicated by the fact that, whilst during the previous period of royal minority, that of Henry III, the privy seal was not used until the king was old enough to personally assume power, this precedent was not followed during the minority of Edward III.

The Keeper of the Privy Seal was also instrumental in the passing of the Walton Ordinances in 1338, which signalled the start of a new stage in the history of the

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[11] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 3.
[12] Tout, *Chapters*, 3: 25-29.
[13] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 6.
[14] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 6.

development of the office and its relationship to the crown and Chancery.[15] These arose out of the need for Edward III to be able to control the administration from afar after having left the country on military campaign at the start of the Hundred Years War. This was to be accomplished through the Privy Seal, which was brought more fully under the king's control through the promotion of a member of his household staff, William Kilsby, to the Keepership. Kilsby is considered to be one of the driving forces behind the ordinances, which decreed that the Privy Seal should accompany the king to France and be the means through which he could exercise authority over the home administration; the office was to act as a check on the activities of the Chancery and the Exchequer by making a privy-seal warrant a prerequisite for the issue of chancery writs or of exchequer payments. This created a rising tension between the crown and the domestic government, headed by the archbishop of Canterbury John Stratford, culminating in the crisis of 1340-1. In September 1340, in a 'dramatic reassertion of the royal prerogative', the king returned to England and dismissed Stratford's brother the chancellor, the treasurer, the chief justice of the King's bench and four justices of the court of Common Pleas, replacing them with new ministers who were primarily loyal to the crown.[16]

Ormrod has examined the effects of this change in staff on the government administration. While Tout and later historians have claimed that the effect of the Walton Ordinances was short-lived, Ormrod instead argues that they were instrumental in the development of the Privy Seal's role in the process of government.[17] This was to a large extent the result of the repeated campaigns waged on the Continent by Edward III in the 1340s and '50s, and thus the repetition of the circumstances under which the ordinances were first issued. During this period, Edward continued to exercise his authority over the administration by appointing his followers, such as John Offord and John Thoresby, to the offices of Chancellor and Keeper. This strengthened the ties between the Chancery and the Privy Seal, with the effect that the tension that had previously arisen between the foreign and domestic administrations was averted. Much of the previous opposition to the increasing authority of the Privy Seal was in this way removed, meaning that it could assume its new position as an administrative department: 'If the privy seal were now

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[15] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 11; Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III*; W. M. Ormrod, 'Edward III's Government of England c. 1346 – 1356', (DPhil thesis, Oxford, 1984), p. 62.
[16] W. M. Ormrod, 'Accountability and collegiality: The English royal secretariat in the mid-fourteenth century', in K. Fianu and D. J. Guth eds., *Écrit et Pouvoir dans les Chancelleries Médievales: Espace Français, Espace Anglais* (Louvain-le Neuve, 1997), p. 59.
[17] Ormrod, 'Accountability and collegiality', p. 64.

recognised and used not as an instrument of royal authority but, like the great seal, as a means of communicating the unanimous will of the king and his ministers, then it is possible that in [the mid-fourteenth century] its powers might be extended not in the face of opposition, but with the active encouragement of the offices of state, eager to delegate and relieve themselves of some of the ever-expanding business of royal government.'[18]

The ordinances also affected the bureaucratic process itself; documents surviving from this period demonstrate a marked increase in the number of issues from the Exchequer which were authorised by Privy Seal warrants. This invested the clerks responsible for producing the Privy Seal documents with a considerable degree of influence, as Tout describes; 'The chancery clerks were content, as a rule, to copy, or translate, the words of their warrant, and it followed that those who fixed the form of the writs were, in the long run, likely to suggest the policy underlying them.'[19] However, Ormrod describes how the ordinances were also used as a check on the growing authority of the office: 'with its separation from the household and its growing administrative competence, the privy seal now had in turn to be brought under the system of checks and balances which had become the theme of the Walton Ordinances.'[20] He argues that the new administration was characterised by a culture of 'accountability'; in the Chancery, this took the form of two types of warranty note which begin to be used on documents issued by that office during this period. These were 'mentions of service' (referred to as 'notes of warranty' by A. L. Brown), which specified the originating authority for the document, such as by direct authority of the king, by Signet letter, or by writ of Privy Seal,[21] and 'mentions of clerks', the signatures of senior clerks responsible for checking the documents.[22] The first of these was for a short period made the custom of the Privy Seal in 1349, and between 1352-4 clerks signed their names to drafts produced by the office; the adoption of these 'internal auditing processes', is argued by Ormrod to signify 'an attempt to extend the principle of accountability enshrined in the Walton Ordinances beyond the Chancery and into the privy seal office itself.'[23]

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[18] Ormrod, 'Edward III's Government of England', p. 66.
[19] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 11.
[20] Ormrod, 'Edward III's Government of England', p. 78.
[21] Brown, 'The authorisation of letters under the Great Seal'; B. Wilkinson, 'The authorisation of Chancery writs under Edward III', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 8 (1924).
[22] Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III*, pp. 66; 75-6.
[23] Ormrod, 'Accountability and collegiality', pp. 66; 70.

Another factor which contributed to the Privy Seal assuming its place as the third of the great offices of state was the development of its relationship to the King's Council. Since the reign of Edward II, the privy seal had commonly been used for the summoning of the Council, particularly in the absence of the king, in the same way that the great seal was used to summon Parliament.[24] By the second half of the fourteenth century, the Keeper was a key member of the Council and Privy Seal clerks were increasingly being used to record the activities of meetings. As Tout states: 'the daily transactions of the king's council came so often to be enforced by writs of privy seal that, before long, the office of privy seal was largely utilised as a council secretariat, just as chancery supplied parliament with the clerks who recorded its proceedings, carried out its routine work and formulated its methods of conducting business.'[25] Under Richard II, the relationship was formalised with the appointment of John Prophete to the position of Clerk of the Council in 1392, and he and his successor in this role, Robert Frye, were responsible for important developments in the way Council business was conducted and recorded.

Whilst previously the Keeper of the Privy Seal and its clerks had been itinerant, accompanying the king around the country and abroad on military campaigns, it was during this period that the office began to be more permanently located at Westminster. Various circumstances contributed to this development. Firstly, the period of peace resulting from the fall of Calais in 1347 meant that the Privy Seal returned from France to the capital for an extended period; subsequently, it became less usual for the king to take the seal abroad on military campaign, although he sometimes took the Keeper and a few clerks.[26] Secondly, the development of the Secret Seal and Signet as the king's personal seals meant that it was no longer necessary for the Privy Seal to accompany the king around the country. Lastly, the office's growing connections to the Council meant that the Keeper had to be in Westminster to attend meetings; Tout argues that it is likely that the Privy Seal was allotted space near the new meeting-place of the Council, the Star Chamber, when it was built in 1346.[27] From this period on, the Privy Seal was based at this *officium*, which is referred to in contemporary records in connection with the purchase of supplies; wax, parchment, ink and sometimes furniture, such as the benches and

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[24] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 13.
[25] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 13.
[26] Ormrod, 'Edward III's Government of England', p. 68; Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 73.
[27] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 72-3.

calculating table made for the office in 1375.[28] Westminster is also referred to as the location of the Privy Seal in Hoccleve's poetry and in Robert Frye's letters.[29]

Evidence for the more permanent residence of the office at Westminster can also be seen in the places in the dating clauses in the writs issued by the office. Formerly, it had been possible to use these to reconstruct the itinerary of both the king and Privy Seal; however, Maxwell-Lyte has noted that this is no longer possible from the reign of Edward III, as a number of inconsistencies become apparent. The problem lies with the fact that, due to delays between the various stages of the administrative process, the dates on the documents do not always denote the day they were actually written. Although Brown argues that the date on the warrants indicates the actual date of their preparation, Maxwell-Lyte, whilst agreeing that this was generally true, provides evidence to suggest that this was not always the case; for example, the fact that there are more documents dated on certain days than could have been produced by the number of clerks working in the office.[30] His explanation for this is that occasionally, warrants were back-dated, either because the office was behind with its work, or at the request of a client; those in receipt of grants of office or lands would want as early a date as possible so that they did not lose income. The place given on the warrant by the clerk would be the location the king, or the Keeper, was presumed to be at that particular time; in consequence, discrepancies can be seen in the documents: 'Particular days might be mentioned on which writs of Privy Seal purport to have been issued from three, or even four, different places scarcely within a ride of each other.'[31] This ambiguity regarding dates was also the custom in the Chancery; David Carpenter describes how, although the gap between a Privy Seal writ and the corresponding Chancery action was often several months, 'the chancery always made it look as though it had acted instantly by giving to its charters and letters the same date and the privy seal letters which commanded them.'[32] Although Ormrod admits the difficulties inherent in attempting to draw conclusions regarding the location of the king from the place-dates on the issue warrants, he argues that 'the prevailing use of Westminster place-dates on privy seal instruments between 1347 and 1355 at least suggests that this period

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[28] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 74.

[29] Brown, 'Privy Seal', Appendix of documents no. 55N; Hoccleve, *Male Regle* ll. 177-80; *Complaint* ll. 183-7.

[30] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 136; Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, pp. 63-70; 80-1.

[31] Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, p. 71.

[32] D. Carpenter, 'The English royal Chancery in the thirteenth century', in *English Government in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. A. Jobson (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 63.

did indeed mark the first important step in the permanent establishment of the privy seal office in the capital.'[33] Westminster was still the most common location given on Privy Seal documents at the end of the fourteenth century; out of over a thousand documents identified as having been written by Hoccleve, just under a quarter are stated as being issued at a different location.

By the end of the fourteenth century, changes in the relationship between the Privy Seal and the king, his Council, and the other government offices had resulted in it assuming a unique position in the late medieval government administration. It retained the role of a personal seal of the king through its function as an instrument of authority in its own right, authenticating formal letters to secular and religious leaders or institutions (although it was not the preserve of the king; there are surviving examples of privy-seal missives from the Council and Chancellor). However, its main role was, as A. L. Brown describes, a 'clearing-house'; it received commands from the king directly or via the Signet, or from the Council, and sent out warrants of authorisation to the other government offices of Chancery and Exchequer.[34] It could be argued that it was the development of the Signet in the late fourteenth century that signalled the end of the Privy Seal as part of the household, as the former became the primary means of communication between the king and the office: 'A direct order from the King to the Keeper of the Privy Seal was increasingly rare once the Privy Seal went out of court; if the King did not convey the petition to him with his decision through a chamberlain at hand, he signified his wishes, especially while on his travels, by signet letter'.[35] By this point in time, the Privy Seal was pivotal to the everyday running of government as the most frequently-used channel of communication between the crown, the ministers and the offices of state; the privy-seal warrant was the most common type of document received in Chancery, and it had particular importance in the Exchequer as the means by which the key government officials and military commanders could have a 'credit-account' for recurring expenses.[36]

Given the amount of government communication that went through the office, we might expect the Privy Seal to have substantial and comprehensive archives; however, this is unfortunately not the case. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the Privy Seal does

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[33] Ormrod, 'Edward III's Government of England', p. 69.
[34] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 261.
[35] *Catalogue of the National Archives,* C 81: Warrants for the Great Seal, Series I, Introductory Note, p. 4.
[36] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. xiii.

not appear to have had a systematic procedure for record-keeping during this period. Although the office has left nothing to compare to the extensive Chancery rolls, there is evidence to suggest that it had at one point been in the practice of enrolling warrants; Tout and Maxwell-Lyte point to a section of the Walton Ordinances which specifies that this should be carried out, and have also drawn attention to memoranda which refer to the existence of Privy Seal rolls compiled by the clerks of the Wardrobe between 1290 and 1297.[37] These do not survive, but other documents relating to the recording of Privy Seal activities are extant. Pierre Chaplais has noted an entry in Bishop Stapleton's Calendar of 1323 which indicates that under Edward I, yearly registers of the Privy Seal were compiled; rather than being rolls similar to those made by Chancery, these were comprised of twelve monthly quires in book form.[38] He has located one leaf of the register for 1301 which has survived as a flyleaf in British Library Royal MS 13 A. XI, having been used as a paste-down by a medieval binder. In addition, Stapleton's Calendar also mentions the existence of 'transcripta' of letters under the Privy Seal; Chaplais argues that these were rough drafts, as distinguished from the fair copies made for the registers. He draws attentions to a number of these drafts from the reigns of Edward I and II, now surviving in E 28 and other series in the National Archives, which contain endorsements indicating that they had once been arranged in monthly files, each of which presumably corresponded to a quire of the annual register.

We do not know how long the practice of compiling Privy Seal rolls and registers continued, but it is generally accepted that the office had ceased to preserve enrolments by the mid-fourteenth century.[39] However, evidence from Hoccleve's formulary may contradict this. In the early part of the manuscript, a marginal annotation occurring next to a number of items is described by the work's editor, Bentley, as the 'familiar double "r"', which, presumably interpreting this as an abbreviation of *irrotolatur*, she suggests means that that particular document had been enrolled .[40] Brown, however, disagrees, arguing that these annotations in fact say 'irr'; he fails to specify what this might stand for, but does state that it was not indicative of enrolment, but rather that the document was suspect, as

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[37] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 12; II, pp. 80-1; Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, pp.26-7.
[38] P. Chaplais, 'Privy Seal drafts, rolls and registers (Edward I – Edward II)', *EHR* 73 (1958): 270-3, reprinted in P. Chaplais, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration*, (London, 1981).
[39] Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, p. 27.
[40] Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve', ix.

with the small crosses that appear later in the manuscript.[41] In Cappelli's dictionary of Latin abbreviations, several are listed beginning with 'irr', most of which stand for some form of the words *irrationale* or *irregularis*; it is presumably the second of these which Brown is assuming to be applicable in this case.[42] From my examination of the manuscript, I agree with Brown's reading of the letters as 'irr' rather than 'rr'; however, there is a flourish attached to the second 'r' which could possibly be the 2-shaped scribal abbreviation for 'ur'; this would suggest that the reading of *irrotolatur* was correct.[43] The small crosses or plus signs that appear in the margins further on in the manuscript I would take to indicate mistakes, as on f. 101v one occurs with the word 'restyle' next to an item which Bentley identifies as being in the wrong section.[44] We must therefore not dismiss the possibility that the Privy Seal had some system for preserving examples of its documents in the early fifteenth century, even if this was less regular and organised than Chancery enrolment. The absence of any surviving copies of these could be explained by the other main reason for the inadequacy of the Privy Seal archive, namely the exceptionally high loss rates associated with the office. A fire at the Banqueting House in Whitehall in 1619 resulted in the destruction of most of the documents kept by the Privy Seal from prior to 1399; those that remain are now in the National Archives series PSO 1 (Privy Seal Office: Signet and other Warrants for the Privy Seal) and E 28 (Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt: Council and Privy Seal Records). However, there are many examples of the kind of document produced by the Privy Seal in the archives of the offices to which they were sent; these are largely to be found in the series E 404 (Exchequer of Receipt: Warrants for Issues) and C 81 (Chancery: Warrants for the Great Seal). The diplomatic letters issued by the office are less well-preserved, but examples of these survive in Hoccleve's and other Privy Seal formularies, which will be discussed in more detail below.

2.2 The Clerks

Having given a brief description of the history of the Privy Seal office and its function in the late medieval period, this study will now turn to the clerks who were responsible for

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[41] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 183 n. 15.
[42] A. Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum: Dizionario de Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane*, 6th ed. (Milan, 1979).
[43] British Library Additional MS 24062, ff. 6-14.
[44] Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve', p. 513.

the documents it produced: the kind of background they came from; the character of their daily lives; and the social circles in which they moved. This period is a particularly useful one for a study of this kind, as whilst in previous times information regarding clerks was limited to the presence of their names in official records, there is an unprecedented amount of evidence relating to a few individual clerks who were employed by the office in the late fourteenth century. Hoccleve's poetry is the most comprehensive and revealing of these sources, but in addition there are extant documents produced by two of his contemporaries, Robert Frye and John Prophete; these three individuals form the basis of A. L. Brown's study of Privy Seal clerks.[45] This section of the chapter will use Brown's study to compare the position of Privy Seal clerks with that of their contemporaries in the other government offices; how did they differ in terms of their training, social status and changing relationship to the royal household?

Tout describes how in 1318 the Privy Seal is recorded as being staffed by four clerks under a Keeper, but that this number was undoubtedly higher, as there would have been several under-clerks; 54 men are recorded as having worked for the office between 1307 and 1399, and Brown lists 27 clerks who are mentioned as being connected with the office between 1399 and 1425, the majority of whom are at least once described as clerks of the Privy Seal.[46] However, it is difficult to be more precise about the number of clerks employed in the office at any one time due to the uneven survival of sources; as Brown explains, as Privy Seal clerks were unwaged, the best source for information regarding their dates of service comes from records relating to the issue of cloth to clerks in the Wardrobe Account books, the survival of which during this period is sporadic.[47]

By the end of the fourteenth century, the office was beginning to be organised along more hierarchical lines. Although the formal distinction between clerk and under-clerk did not exist until the mid-fifteenth century, the titles were likely to have been used earlier on a more informal basis; the term *subclericus* is first recorded as being used in 1421.[48] This system of apprenticeship is further evidenced by the fact that a number of clerks were designated as working under a more senior member of the office at the beginning of their careers; for example, Robert Frye is referred to as John Prophete's clerk

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[45] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', pp. 260-281.
[46] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 68; Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 296; Appendix E.
[47] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 296.
[48] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 262.

in 1394, Thomas Frank as Frye's in 1423, John Welde as Hoccleve's in 1414-17, and it is likely that Hoccleve himself began his service under Guy de Rouclif, as shall be discussed in more detail below.[49] Apart from the Keeper, the other main office of the Privy Seal was that of Secondary, the most senior clerk who oversaw the day-to-day running of the department. This office had been introduced during the reign of Richard II, and was first performed by William Dighton in 1382, before he was succeeded by John Prophete. However, after this date it appears to have been somewhat erratically filled; there is no Secondary recorded between 1395 and 1406, when Prophete's nephew Thomas Felde was appointed on the former's accession to the position of Keeper. Felde, who came from outside the Privy Seal, seems to have had little impact on the running of the office, and left in 1414 to join the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was not replaced until 1420, when Robert Frye combined being Secondary with the position of Clerk of the Council.[50] A third position, that of Filacer, the clerk responsible for the purchase of office supplies, did not become formally recognised until 1431 when it was held by Thomas Frank; however, there is some evidence to suggest that Hoccleve was fulfilling this duty during his time at the Privy Seal; this will be discussed in more detail below.[51]

It seems that, with the exception of the division between the Keeper and the clerks, the structure of the Privy Seal appears to have been comparatively unformed during this period; Brown claims that 'the clerical organisation of the office was ill-defined in the early fifteenth century; there was certainly no officially recognised terminology to describe the clerks; and even the senior offices of Secondary and Clerk of the Council were irregularly filled.'[52] This is in stark contrast to the office of the Chancery, which by the late fourteenth century was well-organised and rigidly hierarchical; the *Ordinaciones Cancellarie Domini Regis*, first issued under Richard II in 1388-9 and revised under Henry V, specified the division of the office into three grades: the first grade or 'Masters' of Chancery, comprising twelve clerks, each served by three under-clerks; the second grade of twelve clerks, each with a single under-clerk; and the third grade of twenty-four 'cursitors'.[53] Tout describes these divisions as being designed to promote 'class

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[49] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 262; E. M. Ingram, 'Thomas Hoccleve and Guy de Rouclif', *Notes and Queries* n. s. 218 (1973), pp. 42-3.
[50] Brown, 'Privy Seal', pp. 312-3.
[51] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 321.
[52] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 298.
[53] Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III*, pp. 65; 214-23; M. Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V*, (London, 1999), pp. 9-18.

consciousness' in the office; the clerks of the first grade enjoyed considerable privileges and were forbidden from fraternising with those from lower grades.[54]

This hierarchy meant that a Chancery clerk had some prospects of advancement in the office, with the expectation of moving up grades over the course of his career. This was largely in contrast to his contemporaries in the Privy Seal; although, if competent, they might expect a long and secure career (Hoccleve's forty years in the office was not uncommon), there were few opportunities for promotion. The individuals who were appointed to the office of Keeper came from a different background to the ordinary clerks; they were normally university-educated, and were the recipients of some form of ecclesiastical preferment. Very few men who rose to be Keeper had served as a Privy Seal clerk, and this only occurred after they had left the office and served in a position of authority in some other government department; for example, John Prophete had left to take up the position of king's Secretary in 1395. A senior clerk of high ability such as Frye might be made Secondary, but this was likely to be the pinnacle of his career. However, there was also the possibility of obtaining extra rewards and recognition through carrying out secretarial work for the Council. Although the position of Clerk of the Council was not formally recognised before 1390, Privy Seal clerks had been used to carry important information and record the proceedings of Council meetings prior to this date; for example Tout describes Hoccleve's mentor Guy de Rouclif as acting as 'intermediary between king and council' between c. 1384 and 1387.[55] Clerks even sometimes attained something approximating to membership of the Council, signing their name to the attendance lists; John Wendelyngburgh is rewarded 'for his costs and labours in continually attending the king's council from the time of the coronation'.[56] In terms of careers within the government administration, these appear to have been the only avenues open to a Privy Seal clerk; Tout describes the office as having 'a restricted opportunity of promotion to other government departments.'[57] The exception to this concerns the king's Signet. As a new office, formed into a fully-fledged department under the secretaryship of Roger Walden in the 1390s, it was forced to draw on the other offices of the Chancery, Exchequer and particularly the Privy Seal for its staff. Privy Seal clerks who at some point

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[54] Tout, *Chapters*, 3: 444-5.
[55] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 102. The possible connection between Hoccleve and the Council will be discussed further in Chapter 3.
[56] J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council during the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1913), pp. 364; 367.
[57] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 101.

served under the Signet include Robert Frye, who divided his time between the offices for twelve years, John Prophet, who was Secretary of the office from 1402 to 1406, and John Macclesfield.[58] J. Otway-Ruthven, in her study of the Signet, argues that this was a natural development, as effectively the office could be seen as the Privy Seal's successor; 'in its more public aspect the signet office was taking over work which had formerly been done by the privy seal, and privy seal clerks would be the persons best qualified to supervise the execution of such business.'[59]

However, other possibilities for advancement for Privy Seal clerks presented themselves through the way in which they were remunerated. In the early fourteenth century, employees of the office had begun to receive wages out of the Wardrobe in recognition of their increasing separation from the support of the royal household; however, by Hoccleve's time, these had generally been replaced by an annual grant out of the Exchequer.[60] After the accession of Henry V in 1413, these annuities were less forthcoming; the new king confirmed existing grants but bestowed only two new ones.[61] In addition, although it has been argued that Hoccleve may have exaggerated the severity of his financial problems, annuity payments were often late, particularly in the period of 1404-5 when the government imposed restrictions on the payment of annuities due to the financial crisis.[62] In consequence, clerks increasingly came to rely on other sources of income. These fell into two main categories: fees and the granting of offices. The first describes the one-off rewards that were occasionally due to clerks for writing documents for important and influential patrons; for example, the two marks given by the Earl Marshall, John Mowbray, to Hoccleve in 1423 for writing a petition to the Council on his behalf.[63] In the *Regiment of Princes*, Hoccleve refers to the fact that sometimes the clerks were cheated out of these payments by unscrupulous servants of lords.[64] A royal clerk was well-placed to form profitable connections outside his government office, as Brown demonstrates with the example of Robert Frye. Evidence of Frye's business affairs can be

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[58] J. Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary and the Signet Office in the Fifteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 1939), p. 108.
[59] Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary and the Signet Office*, pp. 107-8.
[60] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 84-5.
[61] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 305.
[62] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p.15.
[63] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p.17.
[64] *Regiment*, ll. 4404-7.

seen in his private correspondence, which is now in the National Archives file E 28/29.[65] These letters are almost entirely business-oriented; they refer to him looking after the financial interests of merchants overseas, his relatives in Wiltshire, and his colleagues, and include requests to obtain pardons, arrange bail, and oversee sales of land. In 1406, he was also asked to be the Member of Parliament for Wilton, as Brown states, probably due to the fact that 'his services would be less costly and more effective than those of a townsman'.[66] The letters demonstrate how, located as he was in the centre of government, a clerk could use his connections to act as an agent for those outside London, and become in doing so a successful man of business.

The second form of remuneration available to the Privy Seal clerk was that of ecclesiastical preferment; the granting of new-creation pensions, corrodies, benefices, or, at the higher end, prebends and deaneries. These offices were primarily sources of income, intended to be performed by a deputy, from which the holder would receive cash in lieu of maintenance; they could also be bought and sold. The 'Letter-Book' of John Prophete, now in British Library MS Harley 431, contains correspondence largely concerning his ecclesiastical career which demonstrates how these church offices were treated as commodities by high-ranking civil servants; Prophete is shown to have exchanged benefices and prebends with various relatives for the mutual advancement of their careers.[67] Brown argues that the examples of Hoccleve, Frye and Prophete illustrate, respectively, 'the fairly rough, only modestly rewarded, money-grubbing world of the average clerk; the scope that was open to an able clerk to become a man of business … and the rewarding world of the clerical careerist, rich in benefices and full of ecclesiastical gossip, but a world beyond the hope of all but a few highly qualified clerks.'[68] So, whilst there were a number of options open to Privy Seal clerks regarding financial rewards, many were unreliable, and some were unavailable to all but the most able or well-connected. The situation of a Chancery clerk was less precarious; whilst the success of Prophete's ecclesiastical career was unusual for a Privy Seal clerk, this was not the case in the Chancery, where 'a large number of crown livings of small value were expressly

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[65] Brown, 'Privy Seal', Appendix of documents no. 55N.
[66] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 275.
[67] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 278.
[68] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 281.

handed over to the chancellor's nomination so that he might reward therewith the clerks in his office.'[69]

As outlined above, by the end of the fourteenth century the Privy Seal had become permanently located at Westminster; although there are numerous warrants written by Hoccleve dated at locations such as Nottingham, Reading or Coventry, these indicate the location of the king, or possibly the Keeper, rather than of the office itself. However, a section of the Privy Seal office did accompany Henry V to France on several occasions, as it had done in the military campaigns of the 1340s. Between July 1417 and February 1421, when the king was largely absent from England, it was divided into two branches, each with its own seal; the French branch under the command of the Keeper and the English under the Secondary. Records show that Hoccleve's contemporaries Richard Prior, John Welde and William Alberton were rewarded for their service in Calais in 1416.[70] The fact that Welde was Hoccleve's clerk has led Burrow to speculate whether Hoccleve ever spent time in France; this remains uncertain.[71] Whether he ever travelled during the course of his work or not, it is clear that he spent most of his life in London, and that the city had a substantial influence on his poetry. As Burrow states; 'the world of London and Westminster is more vividly present in his writings than in those of his fellow-citizen Chaucer.'[72] Since the reign of Edward III, the Privy Seal clerks had been housed in a *hospicium* maintained by the Keeper (although, until the early fifteenth century the wording of the Exchequer payments made to the Keeper for their upkeep specified that this was only until they could be re-accommodated within the royal household).[73] This was normally a townhouse hired from a bishop when he was away from the capital; in 1382 it was the house of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and subsequently it moved to that of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, whose seat was at Chester, hence Hoccleve's reference to living 'at Chestre Ynne, right fast be the Stronde'.[74] The *hospicium* provided the clerks with both bed and board; four villages in Middlesex were appointed by the Keeper to provide provisions, it employed a number of domestic staff, and Henry IV is recorded as having eaten there in 1400.[75] This communal living undoubtedly contributed to a feeling of

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[69] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 99.
[70] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 290.
[71] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 7 n. 22.
[72] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 7.
[73] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 292.
[74] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 70-1; *Regiment* l. 5.
[75] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 266.

fellowship among the clerks, and when Hoccleve talks of going 'hoom to the prive seel', it is unclear whether he is referring to the *officium* or the *hospicium*.[76] Frye's letters are addressed to him either 'a le prive seal' or 'a lostel de monseigneur le prive seal', which may suggest, if these are the same, that the clerks' hostel could be simply referred to as 'the Privy Seal'.[77] In any case, there was clearly a strong sense of identity and of belonging to the office amongst its clerks.

One of the key developments which occurred regarding the departments of the government administration at the end of the fourteenth century is the gradual laicisation of its staff. The *Ordinaciones Cancellarie* of 1388 required that clerks should remain unmarried and made provision for them to receive benefices as ordained clergy, suggesting that this was already perceived as a problem in the office; the Chancery clerk John Tamworth was recorded as having been married prior to 1375. Even though this ordinance did not apply to the other offices, married clerks were still in a minority at the beginning of the fifteenth century, probably due to the benefits of ecclesiastical preferment described above; Hoccleve himself states that he only married after having failed to obtain a benefice, and as Janice Gordon-Welter writes, his tone implies that 'he saw marriage as a poor substitute for a successful clerical career.'[78] However, in the fifteenth century, the number of married clerks was steadily increasing. Gordon-Welter, in her study of the administrative staff under Henry VI, describes several types of evidence for the lay status of clerks, such as records referring to a wife or legitimate children, or election as a Parliamentary representative or acceptance of another secular office. Using this information, she has claimed that over a third of the bureaucracy of Henry VI was comprised of lay clerks.[79] R. L. Storey has studied the significance of the use of the title 'gentleman' by civil servants during this period as denoting lay or married status; this is first recorded as being used to in relation to a government clerk in a grant of land made to Simon Yerll, an Exchequer clerk, in 1419, although it did not become common until the reign of Henry VI.[80] Storey suggests that this laicisation may have taken place due to the 'climate of anti-clerical opinion' that was the result of the Papal Schism in the late

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[76] *Male Regle* l. 188.
[77] Brown, 'Privy Seal', Appendix of documents no. 55N.
[78] *Regiment* ll. 1447-56; J. Gordon-Welter, 'The lay presence: Chancery and Privy Seal personnel in the bureaucracy of Henry VI', *Medieval Prosopography* 10 (1989), p. 61.
[79] Gordon-Welter, 'The lay presence', pp. 60-2; 70-3.
[80] R.L. Storey, 'Gentlemen bureaucrats' in C.H. Clough (ed.), *Profession, Vocation and Culture in the Later Middle Ages: Essays dedicated to the memory of A.R. Myers* (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 97-9.

fourteenth century.[81] More specifically, there was also widespread condemnation at this time of pluralism amongst absentee clerical bureaucrats, who treated church livings as sources of income and neglected to fulfil their duties in their parishes. This can be seen in the example of John Prophete, who held as many as sixteen ecclesiastical offices during his career. Brown describes a Privy Seal letter from the king to the cathedral chapter of Hereford, which says that due to complaints about damage to the church caused by Prophete's absence, he is being given leave to take up his deanery in person.[82]

Whilst the laicization of the bureaucracy was still in its early stages during Hoccleve's lifetime, the careers of his contemporaries such as Prophete and Frye demonstrate that many of the trends associated with it began prior to the 1430s and 1440s. As C. W. Smith writes, men such as Prophete, although clerical, can be viewed as belonging to 'a class of *de facto* laymen, clerics interested in their ecclesiastical benefices only as sources of income.'[83] Gordon-Welter supports this view, arguing that, although 'A numerically significant lay presence did result in changes in bureaucratic life … these changes were often accelerations in tendencies inherent in the active, involved life of a bureaucrat, lay or clerical. Their professional status and their awareness of the advantages of the bureaucratic life did not isolate the clerks from the surrounding society. Rather, it provided them with the means for active interaction in both the public and the private spheres.'[84] Hoccleve can therefore be seen to be living through a transitional period in the character of the medieval civil service, in which, although the majority of its personnel were still ordained clerics, many of the trends associated with a secularised, professional bureaucracy were already evident.

Although the careers of some individual clerks can be reconstructed from the records, information regarding the background of most Privy Seal employees is scarce; there are very few references to clerks prior to their entry into the office. From the late thirteenth century, and the occasional movement of the administration to York during the early fourteenth century, the government administration had drawn on South-East Yorkshire, North Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire for the recruitment of its clerical staff.

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[81] Storey, 'Gentlemen bureaucrats', p. 103.
[82] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 279.
[83] C. W. Smith, 'Some trends in the English royal Chancery: 1377-1483', *Medieval Prosopography* 6 (1985), p. 76.
[84] Gordon-Welter, 'The lay presence', p. 69.

This had resulted in the development of clerical dynasties, which meant that a disproportionate number of clerks continued to come from these regions even after the government offices had become settled at Westminster.[85] However, Malcolm Richardson has argued that, by the early fifteenth century, the Northern dominance of the administration had ended, and the Chancery in particular had become more diverse. This was encouraged by the practice of dividing work according to region: 'as the Chancery court expanded, it increasingly needed clerks who knew the districts from which cases arose … Most, possibly all, counties were represented at some Chancery rank by the 1420s.'[86] Richardson also claims that this period saw the end of the domination of the administration by family dynasties; whereas previously, 'a few families and their regional hangers-on often gained heavy influence to the point of virtually controlling the Chancery', post-1399, while there were still examples of clerks who were related, 'no family group extended itself beyond two generations'.[87] However, the re-occurrence of names in the offices suggests that it was still useful to have family working there. Richardson gives the example of Thomas and John Franke, who were respectively clerks of the Privy Seal and Chancery, and the Keeper of the Hanaper Henry Kays, who had three brothers working in the legal side of the Chancery, suggesting that 'some offenders must have had a powerful sense of being hounded by an implacable clan of royal bureaucrats.'[88] Another example was the appointment of John Prophete's nephew Thomas Felde to the position of Secondary on the former's accession to the Keepership in 1406. Whereas this promotion normally fell to the senior clerk, Felde came from outside the office and had little administrative experience; we may imagine that this appointment caused some annoyance to the more established clerks of the office who may have been hoping for the position.

Except in the case of the heads of the offices, it was unusual for a clerk to have received a university education; Prophete, with his Oxford Master's degree, did not represent the average Privy Seal employee, and it is significant that he was one of the very few clerks who managed to rise to the position of Keeper. However, those who became apprenticed at Westminster must have attained a fairly high degree of literacy in English, Latin and French; the possible contexts for this early education will be examined more

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[85] Ormrod, 'Accountability and collegiality', pp. 79-80.
[86] Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V*, p. 34.
[87] Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V*, p. 36.
[88] Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V*, pp. 36; 29.

thoroughly in the final chapter of this study. It appears that, at least in the Privy Seal office, the only vocational training undertaken by a new employee was an apprenticeship under a more senior clerk. However, it is difficult to establish what form this apprenticeship took; was there any formal program of training, or did the senior clerk merely oversee the junior's work, checking for any errors? As described above, it was for a short period in the mid-fourteenth century the custom in the Privy Seal for clerks to sign the foot of warrants; however, this practice was not taken up again until after 1434.[89] Ormrod points out that the number of documents produced by the office between 1352-4 signed by William Bolton could indicate that he was involved in checking the work of lesser clerks.[90] The early fourteenth-century Privy Seal drafts identified by Chaplais also show signs of having been checked by a senior clerk, as the dating clause and corrections are often written in a different hand and ink to the rest of document.[91] However, there is no evidence that a system for monitoring the work of junior clerks existed in the Privy Seal during the period in question. There is some indication that formal training existed in the Chancery; both John Tamworth and his successor as Clerk of the Crown Geoffrey Martin received an allowance for keeping a household for Chancery clerks, and some have suggested that this may have also operated as a school.[92]

While the key skills for clerks, proficiency in languages and legible handwriting, were practical in nature, they also had to be relatively competent regarding composition. The wording of privy-seal warrants had to be very precise, because these were the models for the resulting Chancery letter, and those which were insufficiently specific or inaccurate would be rejected. This was the case even with those that had to be translated from French into Latin, as the Chancery clerk generally tried to remain as faithful as possible to the original document. The diplomatic missives sent under the privy seal raise the question of whether the clerks were trained in the *cursus* or *ars dictandi*, the medieval art of letter-writing. Brown claims that the diplomatic letters going out of the office sometimes conformed to these rules, and points to the ownership of collections of model letters by the clerks Robert Frye and Thomas Felde.[93]

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[89] Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, p. 34; Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 114, n. 1.
[90] Ormrod, 'Accountability and collegiality', p. 71.
[91] Chaplais, 'Privy Seal drafts, rolls and registers', p. 273.
[92] Tout, *Chapters* 3: 209-10; Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V*, p. 34.
[93] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 264; 'Privy Seal', p. 313, n. 106.

The main source of knowledge available to clerks regarding the correct composition of the various types of document issued under the privy seal were the formularies, which contained 'collections of proverbs, phrases, exordies, even forms of wills, as well as old diplomatic letters considered to be good examples of composition, and forms of the letters they wrote day by day.'[94] There are an unusually high number of compendiums of this type surviving from this period; in addition to the formularies of Hoccleve and Frye, which will be discussed further below, Brown lists a Chancery formulary of Henry IV written in roll form (British Library MS Additional Charters 15013), the 'Letter-Book' on ecclesiastical matters compiled by John Prophete (British Library MS Harley 431), Oxford, All Souls College MS 182, which is associated with the administration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, including the Privy Seal clerk Thomas Felde, as well as other compilations of ecclesiastical and municipal documents.[95] Three works, all dating from the early fifteenth century, are particularly relevant: these are British Library MS Additional 24062, Hoccleve's own formulary; Edinburgh University Library MS Laing 351a, a collection largely composed of diplomatic letters made by Robert Frye, and Cambridge University Library MS Dd.3.53, Part I, a compilation of documents issued under the great seal, privy seal and signet made by several scribes.[96]

Hoccleve's formulary was compiled towards the end of his life, and includes examples of the range of documents issued under the Privy Seal; these are systematically organized into sections, listed in a table of contents.[97] There has been some disagreement regarding how much of the formulary is in his own hand; several folia in the later part of the manuscript have been assigned to a different scribe, but recently Linne Mooney has argued that these sections are written by Hoccleve himself, who as we have seen, was capable of writing in various different hands according to context.[98] The documents contained within typically omit the dating clause, but most have been assigned dates by Bentley, the manuscript's editor, according to their content; she finds that the first half of the formulary is composed of documents from Richard II onwards, but the later diplomatic

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[94] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 264.
[95] Brown, 'Privy Seal', pp. 170; 187; 253 n. 6.
[96] Brown, 'Privy Seal', Appendix B, pp. 170-87.
[97] Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve'; several of the diplomatic letters are edited in Perroy, *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*, xi-xvii.
[98] Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve', introduction, vi; Burrow and Doyle (eds.), *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, xxxvi, n. 1; Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', pp. 4-5.

sections contain items mainly from the reign of Edward III. The reason for this is unknown, but it suggests that Hoccleve must have compiled the work over several years and had access to the archives of the Privy Seal. The manuscript containing Frye's formulary is in two parts; the first half is a collection of Signet letters, presumably acquired whilst Frye was a clerk in that office, and the second is a Privy Seal formulary written in his own hand. It was originally bound with Laing 351, which was also owned by Frye, and contains proverbs in his hand as well as fragments of the *Epistolarum de Petrus Vineis*.[99]

The origins of the Cambridge formulary are more difficult to determine. However, recent research by Mooney suggests that part of it may have been written by Hoccleve.[100] The manuscript is in two parts: the formulary and a copy of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*. Every item in the first part of the manuscript was listed by James Nasmith in the eighteenth century, who described it as 'A Formulary, or Book of Precedents, of such Grants, Warrants, and Letters as were accustomed to pass the Signet Office … probably drawn up for the use of the Keeper of the Privy Seal.'[101] The section containing letters issued under the Chancery, Privy Seal and Signet ends on p. 179 (f. 94^r), after which is appended a sixteenth-century addition containing letters from the Corporation of London in Latin. The dating of the manuscript is problematic. The documents in the original formulary can be dated to 1370-1390, but are mostly headed either 'R., Rex, Roy', or 'Richard' whether issued under Richard II or Edward III. There is one item which is styled 'Henricus'; however, Edouard Perroy has argued that this was a mistake, and that the manuscript was probably compiled c. 1390.[102] M. C. Seymour, on the other hand, suggests that the manuscript was compiled c. 1400, for Henry IV.[103] In fact, the content of the item leads to a different conclusion; Richardson and Sayles have noted that it refers to the confirmation of William Welles as the abbot of St. Mary's, York, which must mean that the letter was issued in 1423.[104] They therefore conclude that the formulary was originally

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[99] Brown, 'Privy Seal', pp. 172-4.
[100] Private discussion with L. R. Mooney, April 2010.
[101] See C. Hardwick and H. L. Luard (eds.), *A Catalogue of Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1856-67), pp. 106-151.
[102] Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 3. 53, p. 49 (f. 29); Perroy, *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*, xxi.
[103] M. C. Seymour, *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts, Vol. I: Works before the Canterbury Tales* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 108.
[104] H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, 'Parliamentary documents from formularies', *Bulletin of Institute of Historical Research* 11 (1933-4), p. 148; *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, iii., p. 111.

drafted under Richard II, using material from the reign of Edward III, in which Richard's name was (sometimes incongruously) substituted, and that it was then copied in 1423.

However, Brown has claimed that the first part of the collection (pp. 1-20) may be part of the original fourteenth-century formulary, and it is in these pages that Mooney argues Hoccleve's hand may be found.[105] This section is of a higher quality than the rest of the manuscript, containing coloured and ornamented capitals and some gold leaf. Brown observes that the hand is the only one within the formulary which looks like that of a Privy Seal clerk, and that the items in this section are styled 'Rex' or 'Le Roy' rather than 'Ricardus' or 'Richard', suggesting a more professional compiler. This section, he argues, was likely to have been part of a formulary compiled from original Privy Seal warrants under Richard II; he suggests that this may have happened shortly after 1386, when the Keeper was ordered to send the office archives from the reign of Edward III to the Tower for safe-keeping: 'Perhaps the original formulary was prepared then because the transfer was going to deprive the clerks of the forms in the files.'[106] If Mooney's identification of the hand as Hoccleve is correct, then this has important implications for his role within the Privy Seal. If we accept Brown's thesis that the first part of the formulary was made in the 1380s, then this means that Hoccleve was involved in the recording of office practice from the very beginning of his career. On the whole, this seems more plausible than the alternative explanation, that the whole manuscript was copied after 1423, as this would have meant that Hoccleve was involved in the compilation of two formularies at the same time, one of which was a copy of a collection made nearly fifty years previously. The high quality of the first section of the manuscript indicates that it was intended for an important patron, rather than as a practical reference manual for the clerks; possibly this was the new Keeper John Waltham, who was appointed in 1386 after the reform of Richard II's administration by the Lords Appellant.

In comparing the position of a Privy Seal clerk to that of their contemporaries in the other government offices, one of the key issues is the extent to which their associations with the royal household exposed them to attack in times of political crisis. By the end of the fourteenth century, it might be supposed that royal clerks had evolved from being personal retainers of the king into 'permanent public servants, whose duty was to serve the

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[105] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 178.
[106] Brown, 'Privy Seal', pp. 176-9; 184.

state, irrespective of the shiftings of political feeling among the ruling classes.'[107] However, as might be expected, this was more the case regarding the employees of some departments than of others. This can be seen in the varying fortunes of the clerks of the various offices during the various political upheavals and changes in regime that occurred throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It seems that, by the end of the fourteenth century, the clerks of the Chancery and Exchequer were relatively impervious to political events; Richardson points out that 'All Richard II's clerks were quickly confirmed in their positions and benefices as soon as Bolingbroke came to the throne.'[108] There were a few exceptions to this; the Chancery clerk Robert Ragenhill appears not to have enjoyed the same level of preferment as previously after 1399 as a result of his Ricardian sympathies.[109] Whilst in general the staff of the more established offices did not suffer from the deposition of Richard II, the staff of the recently-created office of the Signet, as still having strong associations with the monarch, did not fare so well. As a result of the Merciless Parliament of 1388, the king's secretary Richard Medford and his fellow clerks were imprisoned, and in 1399, all but one of the staff of the signet was dismissed. The only survivor was William Hugoun, who, despite having accompanied Richard to Ireland in 1399, later shifted his allegiance to Henry, securing an annuity of forty marks and being described as 'the king's familiar' in 1405.[110] The signet suffered similarly at the deposition of Henry VI by Edward of York in 1461, the clerk and poet George Ashby being imprisoned for his Lancastrian sympathies, as described in his 1463 poem, the *Complaint of a Prisoner in the Fleet*. By the late fourteenth century, the clerks of the Privy Seal appear to have become sufficiently removed from the royal household to escape any personal association with the king; however, this was not so true of their Keeper. The holders of this office under Richard II were unable to reconcile the role of the king's 'beloved clerk' and 'first minister' with that of an impartial public servant, and in consequence some of them suffered due to their royalist allegiance. During the Peasants' Revolt, the Keeper John Fordham's loyalty to the king made him unpopular with the rioters, who raided his house in the Strand; and his successor Walter Skirlaw was removed from his position in 1386 after speaking out in parliament in defence of the king's controversial appointments.[111] Whilst there is little evidence to suggest that the ordinary

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[107] Tout, *Chapters*, 3: 449.
[108] Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V*, p. 37.
[109] Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V*, p. 103.
[110] J. Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary and the Signet Office*, p.180.
[111] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 47-9.

clerks were exposed to political association, it is possible that they still felt themselves to be vulnerable, and therefore made sure to align themselves with the ruling dynasty.

2.3 Hoccleve at the Privy Seal

In the context of the issues that have been discussed previously in this chapter regarding the evolution of the Privy Seal office and the roles played by its staff, the final section will examine the individual career of Thomas Hoccleve himself. Whilst the level of autobiographical detail contained within Hoccleve's poetry has made him one of the key sources for those attempting to find out more about the daily life of the late medieval clerk, here the extant documentary sources relating to the Privy Seal will be used in order to try to throw some light on the circumstances in which that poetry was created: who did Hoccleve come into contact with in the course of his work, and how did the pressures and responsibilities of his job affect his literary themes? This approach is not new; J. A. Burrow, in his biography of Hoccleve, makes extensive use of the records of grants and payments made to him out of the Exchequer in order to draw conclusions regarding his life and work, and more recently, Linne Mooney has added to this by identifying some of the documents produced by Hoccleve himself for the office of the Privy Seal.[112] However, this study will re-examine Hoccleve's career in light of the extremely high number of newly-identified documents written by him now in the National Archives. In addition, it will consider the work of previous scholars in drawing connections between Hoccleve's bureaucratic environment and his poetry; this will be re-evaluated in the context of the information provided by the documents. This part of the study will concentrate on the contextual influence of the Privy Seal on Hoccleve's literary work; the effect of the language of administrative documents on his writing style and vocabulary will be considered in Chapter 4.

There are two ways in which the Privy Seal records can contribute to a greater knowledge of Thomas Hoccleve. Firstly, identification of the extant documents written by him for the office can enable us to compile a more complete chronology of his life; analysis of fluctuations in his productivity over the course of his career can help to establish the date and particular circumstances surrounding the writing of his poetry.

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[112] Mooney, 'Some new light', pp. 293-340.

Secondly, the content of the documents themselves can give us an insight into the nature of his work at the Privy Seal, and the relationships he may have established both within and outside government. Linne Mooney's recent article has re-examined Hoccleve's career through identification of the Privy Seal warrants written by him for the Exchequer, now in the National Archives series E 404, Exchequer of Receipt: Warrants for Issues.[113] In this way, she aims to establish his working patterns and ascertain whether there are any gaps which might be explained by his absence from the office due to ill health, political factors, or engagement elsewhere. However, as described in Chapter 1, the Privy Seal documents sent to the Exchequer constituted only part of the work of that office. This study has attempted to identify the extant documents written by Hoccleve now in other series at the National Archives; the vast majority of these consist of Privy Seal documents directed to the Chancery. These now reside in C 81, Chancery: Warrants for the Great Seal, Series I, in two separate sections: writs and bills. The former were sealed close, included a full address and dating clause, and were predominantly written in French, while the latter were sealed open on the face, did not include a formal protocol and address, and were mainly written in Latin; they were sent as warrants to the Chancery for the issue of routine documents such as protections and safe-conducts.[114]

The documents identified as having been written by Hoccleve can be seen in Appendix I. However, before this evidence can be used it is necessary to relate it to the Privy Seal archive as a whole. It must be considered within this context, so as to avoid any misleading conclusions regarding his working patterns; for example, the attribution of lack of documents during a particular period to his absence from the office, when in fact this may be because there are fewer documents surviving from this period, either due to the fact that less were produced or because they have since been lost. With this in mind, an attempt will be made to determine how representative the extant documents now residing in the archives are of the original number produced by the office.

Establishing the extent of the losses to the archives of the medieval administration is problematic. Michael Clanchy has argued that the extant documents probably represent only a very small proportion of the original number. In his examination of the productivity of the Chancery under Henry III, he admits that it is difficult to calculate the original

[113] Mooney, 'Some new light', pp. 301-9.
[114] Brown, 'Privy Seal', Appendix C; Chaplais, *English Royal Documents*, pp. 30-2.

number of letters issued by the office from the chancery rolls, as 'numerous routine documents … were not enrolled.'[115] As an alternative measure, he uses accounts of the period recording the purchase of wax for the office as indicative of the number of documents produced; he argues that 'these figures have the advantage over all others that they were compiled at the time by an official, the keeper of the hanaper' and consequently can be used to avoid the difficulty of having 'to estimate an indefinite number of lost or unrecorded documents.'[116] His results demonstrate a steady increase in the number of documents issued over the years, which is mirrored in the number of letters extant.[117]

Time constraints do not allow for as comprehensive a study of the Privy Seal documents as that of Clanchy's analysis of the Chancery, but some indication of the completeness of the archive can be established by comparing the number of extant Privy Seal warrants to their corresponding entries in the rolls. Loss rates in E 404 can be estimated from looking at the corresponding payments in the issue rolls (E 403); these reveal the series to be relatively complete: 'A warrant does not survive for every issue on the rolls and loss, rather than administrative slackness, must account for this deficiency, for the Exchequer would not make an issue without a warrant under the great or privy seal. For the first half of the fifteenth century, however, the great number of surviving warrants gives an impression of near-completeness'.[118] Loss rates in C 81 are more difficult to assess; a process similar to that employed with the E 404s could be used, by counting how many of the enrolments relating to this series have a surviving issue warrant. However, there are a number of different types of Chancery enrolment, now residing in C 53 (Charters), C 54 (Close Rolls), C 61 (Gascon), C 62 (Liberate), C 64 (Norman), C 66 and C 67 (Patent), C 69 (Redisseisin), C 71 (Scotch) and C 76 (Treaty, formerly known as French). Although many of these have been calendared, the task of finding out whether each entry in the Rolls has a corresponding warrant in C 81 would be a long one. The National Archives guide to the series simply says, 'Warrants do not survive for all enrolments, but for most of them; we must therefore assume a similar level of completeness to that of the E 404s.'[119] In Brown's study of the authorisation of Chancery

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[115] M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (London, 1979), p. 43.

[116] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 45.

[117] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 44-6; 58-9.

[118] *Catalogue of the National Archives*, E 404, Exchequer of Receipt: Warrants for Issues, Introductory Note, p. 3.

[119] *Catalogue of the National Archives*, C 81, Chancery: Warrants for the Great Seal, Series I, Introductory note p. 2.

letters, he notes that for the sixth year of the reign of Henry IV, Privy Seal writs survive for all but 20 of the 471 letters in the Chancery rolls for that year.[120] Although warrants for the Chancery and Exchequer were not the only documents produced by the Privy Seal, they do account for the bulk of its workload and therefore, taking into account the loss rates explained above, the surviving numbers can be taken as indicative of the productivity of the office for the period in question.

Operating on the assumption that the extant documents can be viewed as representative of the productivity of the office, the next step is to establish how many documents survive during the period in question, from the earliest item found written by Hoccleve in 1383, to the last, written near the end of his life in the summer of 1425.[121] This can only be a rough estimate, as the number of documents per file varies between series, and some documents are only approximately dated. In the series C 81, each file of writs contains 100 documents, and each file of bills contains between 40-60 documents. In the series E 404, the matter is complicated by the fact that the Privy Seal warrants are filed together with those given under the great seal; they constitute roughly a quarter of documents in each file. Furthermore, the number of documents per booklet, and the number of booklets per file, varies dramatically; an E 404 file may contain anywhere between 200-600 documents, divided into 20-30 booklets. Having taken samples from files throughout the period in question, an average of 400 documents per file was estimated, of which a quarter are Privy Seal warrants. Working with these figures, it is possible to estimate the approximate number of extant documents issued under the Privy Seal according to regnal year (see Graph I, p. 97). Due to the arrangement of the documents in the files in the National Archives, it is not possible to give a more detailed breakdown of the activity of the office year-by-year, but this graph is able to display broad fluctuations in the productivity of the office. These fluctuations can be explained by a number of factors: losses; the accession of a new monarch; war or political crises, or changes in the administrative process. In an individual year the productivity of the office would also have been determined by seasonal patterns, based on the dates of the Parliamentary terms. The most obvious fluctuation occurs towards the end of the reign of Richard II; the activity of the office falls dramatically, with virtually no letters issued under the Privy Seal between April and October 1399, before rising to its highest point on the accession of Henry IV;

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[120] Brown, 'The authorisation of letters under the great seal', p. 131.
[121] TNA E 404/13/84 (13 April 1383); C 81/684/1498 (17 July 1425), see Appendix I, pp. 187; 230.

almost twice as many documents are issued in the first year of his reign than in any other. Other peaks occur in 1389, upon Richard II's re-assumption of power after the crisis of 1386-8; in 1415, due to Henry V's preparations for the war in France, and in 1423, the first year of Henry VI's reign.

Graph II (p. 98) provides an overview of the total number of documents found written by Hoccleve over the same period. Very broadly, it demonstrates that the number of documents written by Hoccleve correlates with the number of extant documents produced by the Privy Seal during this period as a whole, with a few important exceptions. These will now be examined in chronological order, with particular attention being given to certain key episodes during Hoccleve's life.

During the period 1383-1390, the number of letters issued under the Privy Seal fluctuates a great deal but is uniformly high. Hoccleve's productivity, however, is very low, only picking up towards the end of this period.[122] The beginning of his career has previously been approximately dated to 1387, based on lines in the *Regiment of Princes* which state that he has been writing for the Privy Seal for twenty-four years 'come Easter'.[123] The documents found in the National Archives indicate that he had been working in the office, presumably as an apprentice, for several years before this date; Linne Mooney has identified a warrant for the Exchequer dated to April 1383.[124] The relative scarcity of documents written by Hoccleve between this date and 1390 can therefore be attributed to his low status within the office; presumably, at this point he was still learning his trade under the supervision of his mentor Guy de Rouclif.

Graph III (p. 99) gives a more detailed indication of Hoccleve's productivity between the years 1399-1401, encompassing the deposition of Richard II and the beginning of the Lancastrian dynasty. As can be seen in Graph I, the output of the Privy Seal during this period varied dramatically; very few documents survive from the first half of 1399, but after Henry IV's accession in October of that year, the number rises to an unprecedented high, with over two thousand documents surviving from the first year of his

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[122] It should be noted, however, that the 116 documents listed in Appendix III are almost exclusively from the period 1384-91; therefore, if these can be positively identified as being written by Hoccleve, then we must revise our opinion of the amount of work he produced in the early years of his career at the Privy Seal.

[123] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 2; *Regiment*, ll. 802-5.

[124] TNA E 404/13/84, see Appendix I, p. 187.

reign. It is therefore surprising that Hoccleve appears to have been working comparatively steadily throughout the transition between the old and new regimes. He is found writing for the Privy Seal up until July 1399; the low number of documents surviving from this period suggests that he may have been responsible for a substantial percentage of the output of the office at this time. After Henry's accession to the throne, his productivity rises in line with that of the office as a whole, with nearly 40 documents found dating from October and November 1399. The fact that Hoccleve continued to work during the last years of Richard's reign, and then helped to shoulder the increased workload of the Privy Seal after the accession of the new king, suggests that he was one of the more indispensable members of the administration. He appears not to have suffered from any association with the old regime, and the annuity of ten pounds a year he received from Henry in November 1399 'on account of the good and laudable service [that he] has performed for a long time in the said office and will perform in future', suggests that he was just as valuable to the new monarch.[125]

Hoccleve appears to have been relatively busy at the Privy Seal from the beginning of Henry IV's reign until the end of 1409, when his productivity begins to decline; between 1410 and 1414 only 36 documents are found in his hand. As can be seen in Graph I, the number of documents surviving from the office as a whole is only slightly lower than average during this period, so Hoccleve's relative absence from the archives requires some explanation. Mooney has attributed the lack of E 404 documents in Hoccleve's hand during this time to the turbulence of the final years of the reign of Henry IV; she points to the irregular payment of his annuity as indicating that he may have fallen out of favour with the king through association with the Prince, who had assumed control of the King's Council in January 1410.[126] This was also the period of the composition of the *Regiment of Princes*, which Mooney suggests may have been written as a result of Hoccleve's 'involuntary sabbatical' from the Privy Seal. In Chapter 3, I have drawn attention to certain documents written in Hoccleve's hand for the Council which support this; I argue that this period marks the beginning of a greater association between Hoccleve and the Council, and thus with the Prince, who may have had some influence in the commissioning and composition of the *Regiment*.

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[125] TNA C66/355, trans. Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 11.
[126] Mooney, 'Some new light', pp. 312-3.

The documents can also help to establish the period of Hoccleve's mental breakdown, which is the subject of his poem the *Complaint and Dialogue*. Previous scholarship has depended on the poem itself for the dating of his period of illness, in particular the lines in which the narrator says that by God's grace, his sanity was 'Made … to returne into the place/ Whennes it cam, whiche at All Hallwe Messe/ Was five yeere, neyther more ne lesse'.[127] If we accept the veracity of this statement, we may therefore assume that Hoccleve recovered from his breakdown five years before he started writing the *Complaint*, on All Saints' Day, November 1st. M. C. Seymour has dated the writing of the poem to 1421, and based on this and the fact that Hoccleve did not collect his annuity in person in 1416, has argued that this must have been the time of his illness.[128] More recently, J. A. Burrow has argued for an earlier date than this, drawing attention to the significance of lines in the *Dialogue* which refer to Hoccleve's patron, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester as 'my lord þat now is lieutenant'; he claims that this means that the poem must have been started sometime between late 1419, when Humphrey was made regent of the country in his brother Henry V's absence, and the king's return in February 1421. He argues that this composition was most likely to have been early in this period on the basis of lines elsewhere in the poem which refer to the duke's recent military successes in the French campaign of 1417-19; this would date Hoccleve's recovery to sometime in late 1414.[129]

However, Mooney has argued in favour of Seymour's dating, pointing to the lack of Exchequer warrants produced by Hoccleve between September 1415 and December 1416. She also remarks on the exceptionally high number of documents in Hoccleve's hand dating from May 1415, the result of Henry V's preparations for the war in France, as indicating that Hoccleve's breakdown may have been due to overwork.[130] Graph IV (p. 100) demonstrates that the additional documents found written by Hoccleve in the series C 81 support this. The gap of fourteen months after September 1415 is the longest period of inactivity found in Hoccleve's career, and does not correspond to the activity of the Privy Seal as a whole, which is relatively high in 1416. The findings of this study would therefore support Mooney's dating of Hoccleve's breakdown, rather than the earlier one argued by Burrow.

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[127] *Complaint*, ll. 54-6.
[128] M. C. Seymour ed. *Selections from Hoccleve* (Oxford, 1981), p. 133.
[129] *Dialogue* l. 526; Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, pp. 26-8.
[130] Mooney, 'Some new light', pp. 305-8.

In addition to the value of the documents in ascertaining the date of certain events in Hoccleve's life, their content can also give an insight into how those employed in the governmental administration interacted with each other, their clients and their superiors. Mooney argues that '[Hoccleve]'s supervisory role, or his seniority in the Privy Seal, is … demonstrated by his capacity to choose to write the documents for the highest-ranking people who were to be remunerated by the Exchequer, thus ensuring for himself the best rewards.'[131] She claims that this is particularly noticeable in the 1420s, towards the end of Hoccleve's career, when he can be seen to be writing warrants for John, duke of Bedford and Henry Percy, amongst others.[132] Further to this, the documents demonstrate another benefit of being a royal clerk, that of using their position or their contacts within government in order to obtain a new source of income or quicker payment of an existing one. Tout refers to the fact that, regarding their annuities, the clerks 'must have felt some satisfaction in drafting the privy seals necessary to spur on the exchequer to make the issue.'[133] Previous scholars have remarked on instances of clerks using their knowledge of the system to further their own ends; Brown gives as an example the case of Hoccleve's own Hayling corrody, one of seven made vacant by the death of the chamber official William Gambon in 1392, which within a few days had all been petitioned for and obtained by various royal servants.[134] He also points out the fact that, although late payment of annuities was common during this period, the clerks of the Privy Seal, and Hoccleve in particular, managed to secure quicker payments than most: 'The privy-seal clerks were, however, in a favoured position. They were near at hand and they were fellow civil servants of the clerks of Chancery and Exchequer. They were always among the first annuity-holders to be paid and, among the privy-seal clerks, Hoccleve was frequently the first to be paid.'[135]

One document in particular may offer an insight into this process; this is a Privy Seal warrant in Hoccleve's hand confirming his grant of the corrody of the priory of Southwick in 1424.[136] This is not the only example of a warrant written by Hoccleve where he himself is the recipient; he writes several warrants for the Exchequer granting

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[131] Mooney, 'Some new light', p. 299.
[132] TNA E 404/39/269; E 404/41/158; see Appendix I, pp. 228; 229.
[133] Tout, *Chapters*, 5: 88.
[134] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 268.
[135] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 306.
[136] TNA C 81/ 682/1201a, see Appendix I, p. 229.

himself reimbursement for the purchase of wax, ink and parchment for the office of the Privy Seal.[137] However, this is the only warrant found which is the direct result of a petition from Hoccleve, and guarantees him, as the beneficiary, to a substantial source of income. The petition was presented to the Council in the presence of Humphrey of Gloucester, amongst others, and it seems significant that it, the Privy Seal warrant and the record of the grant in the Close rolls are all dated 4 July; presumably Hoccleve was able to write the authorising warrant immediately after presenting his petition. This clearly demonstrates the possibilities available to the government clerk for speeding up the administrative process to suit their own interests.

In addition, there is evidence that the clerks may have used their knowledge of the system to help others; it is possible that those within government may have obtained quicker responses to their requests through favours from colleagues. The most interesting example of this concerns Hoccleve's relationship with Chaucer. Hoccleve's claims of being personally acquainted with Chaucer in the *Regiment of Princes* have long been a matter of debate amongst scholars, but a document found by Mooney throws new light on this subject. She has identified an Exchequer warrant written by Hoccleve after the accession of Henry IV in 1399 securing the payment of arrears on Chaucer's annuity, which she argues confirms that they were indeed acquainted and on good terms; here Hoccleve is seen 'taking care that his mentor continues to receive his annuity from the crown after the change of dynasty'.[138] This argument is strengthened by the existence of at least one other document written by Hoccleve with Chaucer as a recipient; this is a Privy Seal warrant for the Chancery dated 9 February 1400, confirming the payment of an annual grant of 40 marks to Chaucer in recognition of good service.[139] An examination of the documents relating to the payment of Chaucer's Exchequer annuities in the *Chaucer Life-Records* has led its editors, M. M. Crow and C. C. Olson, to conclude that Chaucer 'secured a regularity of payment far above the normal' and they suggest that this may have been due to 'a personal knowledge of exchequer practice gained in his own offices'.[140] However, there is also a possibility that he managed to shortcut the process by using his acquaintance with Hoccleve to secure quicker payments. There are three enrolments relating to the renewal of grants made to Chaucer by Henry IV in October 1399, none of

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[137] Mooney, 'Some new light', p. 297, n. 12.
[138] TNA E 404/15/62 (9 November 1399), see Appendix I, p. 211; Mooney, 'Some new light', p. 312.
[139] TNA C 81/596/1351 (9 February 1400), see Appendix I, p. 213.
[140] M. M. Crow and C. C. Olson (eds.), *Chaucer Life-Records* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 533-4.

which have surviving warrants, but it is possible that Hoccleve wrote these in addition to those mentioned above.[141] Even more significantly, there is a warrant in a hand which looks very like that of Hoccleve dated 1 May 1388, authorising the transferral of Chaucer's Exchequer annuity to John Scalby.[142] As discussed in the previous chapter, identification of Hoccleve's hand during this period is problematic, as he had yet to refine many of the distinctive characteristics which make his later documentary hand so recognisable; however, many of the letter-forms within this document are similar to those he habitually used. Crow and Olson are circumspect in attributing any motives to Chaucer regarding the transferral of this annuity, but they do state that it was made 'at a time when the king's grants of annuities were being questioned in parliament, and when the whole of the king's chamber had been subjected to a ruthless attack by the lords appellant … The evidence found thus far in regard to the effects of these conditions upon Chaucer is inconclusive, but it suggests that Chaucer weathered the political storm with considerable skill.'[143] If Hoccleve did indeed write this transferral, there is an indication that his relationship to Chaucer was more than that of a disciple and copyist of his works; it suggests that Chaucer may have utilised the young clerk's position within the administrative system in order to obtain financial rewards and to circumvent the possibility of political threat.

A parallel may be drawn with another document, a warrant written by Hoccleve confirming a grant of £30 to be given by Henry IV to John Prentys and John Arundell in July 1401.[144] It is very likely that these are the men referred to in Hoccleve's *Male Regle*, who exceed even the poem's narrator in their bad habits:

> I dar nat seye Prentys and Arondel
> Me countrefete and in swich wach go ny me.
> But often they hir bed loven so wel
> That of the day it drawith ny the pryme
> Or they ryse up. Nat telle I can the tyme
> Whan they to bedde goon, it is so late.[145]

These men are referred to in a number of records, but it is uncertain whether they were Privy Seal clerks; as in the above warrant, they are generally referred to simply as king's

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[141] Crow and Olsen (eds.), *Chaucer Life-Records*, pp. 525-7.
[142] National Archives C 81/500/5794, printed in Crow and Olsen (eds.), *Chaucer Life-Records*, pp. 337-8.
[143] Crow and Olsen (eds.), *Chaucer Life-Records*, pp. 338-9.
[144] TNA C 81/609/2677, see Appendix I, p. 214.
[145] *Male Regle*, ll. 321-6.

clerks.[146] Brown states that: 'There is no further evidence that they had any connection with the Privy Seal and "countrefete" is a vague term which does not necessarily mean "clerk" or even "servant" in the Privy Seal.'[147] Whether they served under the Privy Seal or not, it seems likely that Prentys and Arondel were government clerks of some kind, and the word 'countrefete' is presumably a variation on counterfeit, ie. a replica or likeness; Hoccleve is saying they are his peers or accomplices. Whether this refers to their status as clerks or their shared predilection for excess and staying up late is unclear; however, the fact that they appear together as the joint recipients of a grant does imply that they were colleagues, as described in Hoccleve's poem, and his personal acquaintance with them suggests that the warrant described above may have been written as a favour.[148]

Several other documents in particular give a further insight into the possibilities open to a royal clerk for influencing the administrative system. These are petitions to the king written by Hoccleve on behalf of other parties, now found in the series E 28, containing Privy Seal drafts and memoranda and records of the Council, and in C 81, amongst the warrants for the Chancery.[149] The presence of these documents in the latter series is anomalous, as most petitions were removed from their corresponding royal warrants during the second half of the nineteenth century, when the old series of Parliamentary Petitions was broken up to form the series SC 8 (Special Collections: Ancient Petitions).[150] A few however remained attached to their warrants, as in the case of the earliest of these documents. This is a petition to the king regarding the church living of Aldyngton on behalf of the clerk William Menuesse; the ensuing warrant, also written by Hoccleve, is dated 1 June 1391.[151] The petitions in E 28 are endorsed with the words *Le Roy ad grante*, and also in two cases with the signature of Richard de Grey, a member of the Council and Henry IV's chamberlain at the time.[152] One petition of 1415 was written

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[146] See Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 14, n. 54. In 1414 John Prentys is referred to as one of the clerks of the king's chapel (*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 200).

[147] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 299, n. 51.

[148] They are linked in the records on one other occasion; on February 23, 1400 they are named in consecutive entries as recipients of church livings (*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 204). Hoccleve wrote one other warrant for John Prentys in 1414 (TNA C 81/660/267, see Appendix I, p. 222).

[149] See Appendix II.

[150] G. Dodd, 'Parliamentary petitions? The origins and provenance of the "Ancient Petitions" (SC 8) in the National Archives', in W. M. Ormrod, G. Dodd and A. Musson (eds.), *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance* (York, 2009), pp. 24-7.

[151] TNA C 81/525/7265, see Appendix I, p. 193.

[152] H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 23 (Oxford, 2004), p. 876.

by Hoccleve on behalf of John Welde, his under-clerk, requesting that he be granted the gift of three oak trees from the forest of Warborough.

The fact that Hoccleve can be seen to be writing petitions at all is significant. As Brown describes, as the normal channel for the king's subjects to ask for a favour or to seek redress, the petition was 'the key to all administrative action'; most of the Privy Seal warrants and their resulting actions in the Chancery and Exchequer were a response to a petition from a subject.[153] In this context, it is therefore interesting that a royal clerk such as Hoccleve could be responsible for drafting not only the king's response, but also the original request itself. Brown has argued that, when the supplicants were members of the royal household, connections in the royal administration were likely to have played a part in the petitions process: 'In the case of these people of importance, the written petition is of course likely to tell only part of the story. They had friends and influence at court, and friends and influence were the key to most things in the fifteenth century … there are quite a number of complaints in parliament about the furthering of petitions by influence, although the original petitions rarely show any evidence of this.'[154] A possible example of this can be seen in records showing that Hoccleve was paid two marks for writing a petition to the Council and the ensuing warrant for John Mowbray in 1423.[155] The petitions in Hoccleve's hand demonstrate that this process could operate on a lower level; in return for remuneration, a clerk could oversee several stages of a client's case in the administrative system. The petition for John Welde is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, the fact that we know Hoccleve and Welde were personally acquainted suggests that the writing of petitions might be carried out as a favour to a friend, and not necessarily for financial gain. Secondly, it raises the question of why Welde, as a fellow clerk who was clearly in possession of the necessary skill and knowledge of official forms, did not write the petition himself; perhaps there was something unacceptable in the idea that a clerk in the government administration could write petitions in order to further his own interests. Whether the writing of petitions by government clerks was accepted practice is unknown; other petitions written by Hoccleve could survive in SC 8, but until we have positive identification of the hands of other clerks we cannot know whether he was

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[153] Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 340.
[154] Brown, 'The authorisation of letters under the great seal', p. 148.
[155] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 17.

unusual in this respect.[156] It is interesting that, in the case of the Muriden petition, he adopts a hand which contrasts in several respects to the one he normally uses in administrative documents; it displays certain characteristics similar to his book hand. This may be an indication that the writing of petitions was extra-curricular to the role of a royal clerk and something not necessarily approved of by his superiors.

Two items in Appendix II raise further questions regarding the extent to which Hoccleve carried out work for offices other than the Privy Seal. These are Latin warrants in Hoccleve's hand, issued under the great seal, both dated 27 April 1402. They occur in the C 81 subseries *Warrants of the Council*, which indicates that they are probably misplaced. The existence of Chancery warrants in Hoccleve's hand is surprising, and indicates a greater mobility of clerks between government offices than might hitherto have been expected. As has been described above, during this period the Chancery had a rigidly hierarchical structure, being divided into three grades through which a clerk had to pass in order to reach the highest level. This, coupled with the fact that very few Privy Seal clerks can be shown to have served in other offices, suggests that mobility between these two institutions, at least, was unusual. However, the existence of these two warrants implies that senior Privy Seal clerks may sometimes have carried out individual jobs for the Chancery, presumably in much the same way that Hoccleve occasionally worked for the Council, as will be described in more detail in the next chapter. Without more evidence, it is impossible to know how frequently this occurred; the fact that both warrants are written on the same day might suggest it was a one-off commission. However, it is possible that a search for Hoccleve's hand in the records of the Chancery may yield further results which can throw light on this matter; this will be discussed further in the conclusion.

The documents he produced can also provide evidence regarding Hoccleve's role within the Privy Seal. A number of scholars have remarked on the fact that over the course of his career, Hoccleve is recorded as having received numerous payments out of the Exchequer for the purchase of parchment, wax and ink for the Privy Seal office.[157]

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[156] Gwilym Dodd has discovered another example of a petition and resulting Privy Seal warrant written by the same clerk, Hoccleve's contemporary Henry Benet: see G. Dodd, 'Trilingualism in the medieval English bureaucracy: the use – and disuse – of languages in the fifteenth century Privy Seal office', forthcoming 2011, p. 13, n. 32.
[157] See Brown, 'Privy Seal', p. 321; Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, pp. 4-5; 29-30; Mooney, 'Some new light', pp. 297-8. Burrow lists the eleven entries in the Issue Rolls pertaining to this in his Appendix, nos. 19, 22, 24, 31, 35, 39, 43, 50, 56, 62 and 68.

Mooney has identified a considerable number of Privy Seal warrants for the Exchequer ordering these payments, either in Hoccleve's hand or naming him as the recipient, beginning in the first year of Henry IV's reign and continuing until 1426.[158] Until 1414, he is recorded as being reimbursed for parchment, wax and ink, but after this date only for wax and ink; this is due to the fact that prior to 1414, the office had been accustomed to purchasing parchment directly, but that subsequently, it was bought in bulk from merchants in London and Lincoln for the Privy Seal and Exchequer.[159] This has led Brown to suggest that Hoccleve may have been performing the role of Filacer in the office, which is not recorded as being formally recognised until 1431. The title filacer comes from the Anglo-Norman word *filace* (file); this implies that the filacer, as well as purchasing office supplies, may also have been responsible for keeping the records of the Privy Seal. This may throw some light on the circumstances of the compilation of Hoccleve's formulary. It has generally been assumed that Hoccleve's decision to write a Privy Seal formulary was prompted by his own desire to organise and record the procedures of the office for posterity, in much the same way as he compiled his own poetry around the same time. However, the identification of his hand in another formulary, possibly written at the very beginning of his career, coupled with his role as the purchaser of office supplies, suggests that he may have been singled out for this task by his superiors at the Privy Seal.

During Hoccleve's time at the office, the Privy Seal dealt with two suppliers of parchment, wax and ink; initially, William Surcestre (spelt Circestre in the Issue Rolls), and after 1417 the haberdasher Walter Lucy. Hoccleve's repeated contact with these men over the course of his career means that he would have known them fairly well, and it is possible that they may have contributed to his connections in the world of London book production. A number of scholars have posited the existence of a network of scribes producing literary manuscripts for copying in London bookshops later in the fifteenth century,[160] and there is evidence to suggest that Hoccleve was involved in a similar network. Along with Adam Pinkhurst, the scribe of the Hengwrt and Ellesmere copies of the Canterbury Tales, he was one of the scribes of Trinity College Cambridge MS R. 3. 2,

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[158] Mooney, 'Some new light', p. 297 n. 12.

[159] Brown, 'Privy Seal, p. 321, n. 134.

[160] E. Hammond, 'A Scribe of Chaucer', *Modern Philology* 27 (1929); L. R. Mooney, 'Scribes and Booklets of Trinity College, Cambridge, MSS R.3.19 and R.3.21', in A. Minnis (ed.), *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall,* (Woodbridge, 2001).

a copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.[161] Further indication of his links to those involved in book production comes from the dedication of one of Hoccleve's short poems in the Huntington holograph manuscript HM 744 to 'T. Marleburgh'. This name has been identified as Thomas Marleburgh, 'a prominent member of an active community of textwriters, scriveners, stationers and limners in Chaucer's London'.[162] It is possible that Hoccleve's roles as a literary copyist and as procurer of supplies for the Privy Seal may have been interlinked; there is no reason why Surcestre or Lucy could not have supplied parchment or ink to London book manufacturers as well as to government offices. There is even a slight possibility that Hoccleve may have used office materials for his own literary work; A. I. Doyle has observed that several folia of the Durham holograph manuscript of his *Series* display prickings at the top of the page, perhaps indicating that the parchment came from a large piece ruled lengthways, similar to those used for Privy Seal warrants.[163]

Having demonstrated the use to which the documents can be put in establishing the context in which Hoccleve's poetry was produced, this chapter will now consider the possible influence of the Privy Seal on the content of his work. There have been several previous attempts to link the themes of Hoccleve's poetry to the environment in which he worked; most recently, Ethan Knapp has pointed out the apparent contradiction of 'the dramatic first stirrings of vernacular autobiography' coming from 'a clerk at Westminster, one of those whose professional responsibilities had less to do with self-expression than with the endless reduplication of a language of grave bureaucratic anonymity'.[164] In this context, Knapp argues that Hoccleve's poetry can be seen as an assertion of selfhood in reaction to the repetitive work of the Privy Seal. He also contends that the financial instability of their position forced Hoccleve and his fellow clerks to develop a sense of 'corporate social identity', which led to them banding together for mutual financial gain, forming syndicates for property investment or money-lending, testifying for each other in court or acting as executor of each other's wills.[165] James Simpson has also remarked on Hoccleve appearing to set himself up as a spokesman for his fellow clerks in the *Regiment*;

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[161] See above, pp. 21-23.
[162] J.J. Thompson, 'A poet's contacts with the great and the good: further consideration of Thomas Hoccleve's texts and manuscripts', in F. Riddy (ed.), *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late-Medieval Manuscripts and Texts* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 94.
[163] A. I. Doyle, addressing L. R. Mooney's palaeography class at Durham University Library, February 2009. Burrow and Doyle comment on the inferior quality of the parchment used in this manuscript in their introduction to *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, xxviii.
[164] Knapp, 'Bureaucratic identity', p. 357.
[165] Knapp, 'Bureaucratic identity', p. 358.

they are depicted as friendless and unrepresented, and having no means of redress when they are cheated by lords' men out of payment for work.[166] Elsewhere he is literally a spokesman, writing a poem on behalf of his colleagues Baillay, Hethe and Offord to the Under-Treasurer, Henry Somer, that he might pay their overdue annuities: 'We your seruantes, Hoccleue and Baillay,/ Hethe and Offorde, yow byseeche and preye,/ Haastith our heruest as soone as yee may.' [167]

There is some suggestion that the environment at Westminster was in some ways conducive to the pursuit of literary activities amongst its clerks. The clerk to whom Hoccleve was apprenticed, Guy de Rouclif, is recorded as having left him 'uno libro vocato Bello Troie' in his will; although Rouclif left gifts to many of his Privy Seal colleagues, Hoccleve is the only one to have received a book, suggesting that he was known to be a literary man.[168] E. M. Ingram has suggested the possibility that Rouclif's connections may have influenced the young clerk's literary aspirations in other ways, as he had sold two manor houses to John Gower in 1382. The transaction took place in London, which leads Ingram to wonder 'whether Rouclif introduced his young clerk with literary leanings to the older poet living in the priory of St. Mary Overy, and perhaps to Chaucer as well.'[169] A more obvious environment for the dissemination of poetry and literature was the 'Court de Bone Conpaignie' referred to by Hoccleve in the second of his *balades* to Henry Somer, then Chancellor of the Exchequer.[170] Derek Pearsall has compared this dining club to the literary festivals or *puys*, organised by merchants in London and France until the mid-fourteenth century, at which there would be songs and poetry-recitals.[171]

A number of scholars have commented on the fact that, while the majority of the official documents Hoccleve wrote were the responses to petitions, many of his poems, like the *Balade to Henry Somer* just mentioned, were themselves requests to those in authority for financial aid; as Nicholas Perkins puts it: 'Hoccleve the clerk would have drafted an official reply to the kind of request that Hoccleve the petitioner habitually

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[166] J. Simpson, 'Nobody's man; Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*', in J. Boffey and P. King (eds.), *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1995), p. 153.
[167] Seymour (ed.), *Selections from Hoccleve*, p. 25; ll. 25-6.
[168] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 9.
[169] Ingram, 'Thomas Hoccleve and Guy de Rouclif', p.43.
[170] Seymour (ed.), *Selections from Hoccleve*, p. 26.
[171] D. Pearsall, 'The *Canterbury Tales* and London club culture' in A. Butterfield (ed.), *Chaucer and the City* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 108.

addressed to the King or Chancellor. He stands between the two worlds, mimicking both the authoritative voice of government and the complaint of the petition.'[172] The evidence of the documents described above suggests in fact that, during the course of his work, Hoccleve was accustomed not only to writing the responses to petitions, but also the petitions themselves. His decision to write so many literary works of this kind must primarily be viewed as motivated by the financial insecurity of his position, but there is some evidence to suggest that his poems were influenced by the form and language of the royal petition. Gwilym Dodd has used Thomas Paunfield's 1414 petition to Parliament as a means of analysing the language of petitioning, and it is interesting to note certain similarities between the rhetoric deployed in this document and Hoccleve's poetry.[173] These include such devices as the use of direct speech, the naming of the author, purporting to be allied with the interests of the monarch and also with those of the wider community, and adopting the persona of the underdog or victim. Although Paunfield's petition was unusual both in terms of the intensity of its rhetoric and the fact that it was written in English rather than French, it demonstrates the range of linguistic devices that were open to petitioners. Although Hoccleve's work involved the drafting of responses rather than the petitions themselves, there is some indication that he would have come into contact with the original documents, as already discussed. In this context, it is interesting that Hoccleve sometimes addressed the same poem to multiple recipients; in his *Balade to Master John Carpenter* in the Huntington holograph manuscript HM 111, the name of Carpenter has been written over an earlier erasure, demonstrating that he was not the original recipient.[174] It is tempting to draw a parallel here with the documents collected in Hoccleve's formulary, where information relating to names, places and dates was left out or abbreviated, so that they could be copied and adapted according to circumstance; is it possible that Hoccleve intended his poems to be used in a similar way? Even though this is highly speculative, it is clear that Knapp's distinction between the formal language of bureaucracy and the personal nature of Hoccleve's poetry is not as clear-cut as might be supposed.

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[172] N. Perkins, *Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes: Counsel and Constraint* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 38.

[173] G. Dodd, 'Thomas Paunfield, the "heye Court of rightwisnesse" and the language of petitioning in the fifteenth century', in W. M. Ormrod, G. Dodd and A. Musson (eds.), *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance* (York, 2009), pp. 222-41.

[174] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 16.

The various attempts to draw connections between the content of the documents that Hoccleve wrote for the Privy Seal and his poetry raise the question of the extent to which he and his fellow clerks were responsible for the composition of the warrants, letters and bills they produced. The Privy Seal had considerable responsibility in setting the forms of documents to be sent to the other departments; it is therefore likely that a clerk of that office would have had more autonomy over what he wrote than his contemporaries in the Chancery, who largely copied or translated privy seal writs. Brown even suggests that many of the items in the Privy Seal formularies were not copied from the original documents, but were created by the clerks from various sources; he argues that 'it did not matter if the documents were imaginary or had never been issued … The copyist was clearly working from draft documents in the office files and not from originals, and he was probably not afraid to vary from the text he was copying when he thought it necessary.'[175] The implications of this are that a Privy Seal clerk was so well-versed in the forms and style of documents produced by the office that he could compose templates for various different types of letter, rather than having to copy an existing precedent.

One of the most interesting documents recently identified by Linne Mooney amongst the Privy Seal warrants is a receipt for Hoccleve's annuity, to which is attached the only surviving example of his personal seal.[176] Mooney describes the seal as depicting a maniculum surrounded by the words '*va illa voluntee*', meaning 'he goes there willingly'; she argues that this motto suggests the commitment of a personal, familial retainer, and links it to similar sentiments voiced in the poetry of Hoccleve's near contemporary George Ashby, a clerk of the signet under Henry VI who describes his childhood upbringing in the court, and his committed service to the royal family. However, in a recent article, R.F. Green and Ethan Knapp have disputed this reading, instead arguing that the motto reads '*va ma voluntee*', translating as 'Go, my will'.[177] They claim that the sentiment expressed here can be related to the recurring theme within Hoccleve's poetry, particularly within the *Series*, of the relationship between 'wit' and 'will': 'The restless and mobile wit is a grounding figure in Hoccleve's world, one that reaffirms the Augustinian/Boethian tradition in its emphasis on the need to properly orient will

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[175] Brown, 'Privy Seal', pp. 184-5.
[176] Mooney, 'Some new light', pp. 315-8.
[177] R. F. Green and E. Knapp, 'Thomas Hoccleve's seal', *Medium Aevum* 77 (2008), pp. 319-21.

('voluntee') towards some permanent virtue beyond the fickle snares of the world.'[178] They do not address, however, the question of the purpose of a Privy Seal clerk's personal seal; the context in which Hoccleve's is used, in receipt of his annuity, is clearly a professional one. Sir Hilary Jenkinson, in his *Guide to the Seals in the Public Record Office*, argues that by this period ownership of a seal was fairly common, and certainly among those with any official capacity: 'Undoubtedly there was quite early a presumption that anyone of any standing had one'.[179] Roger Ellis, in his catalogue of personal seals, defines one as 'the seal owned and used by any man or woman in his or her private or personal capacity, not by virtue of any office.'[180] Whilst admitting that 'The personal and the official are not invariably distinguishable', he has nevertheless excluded from the catalogue 'any seals of a layman in his quality of office-holder'; according to this definition, Hoccleve's seal could not therefore be called personal. The design of seals may have had some allusion to position or office, as Jenkinson describes; 'the sheriff's custody of the royal castle in his county, for instance, is frequently symbolised by the device of a castle; a key betokens the clerk of the Great Wardrobe; and so forth.'[181] In this instance, the *maniculum* is ambiguous; it could refer both to Hoccleve's position as a clerk or his more general persona as a man of letters. It is possible that he may have used the seal for private correspondence; however, as we have no examples of this, we cannot know whether this was in his capacity as a clerk or for other matters. It seems probable that Hoccleve's seal was intended more for public rather than private use; for matters relating to his position as a clerk. This is supported by the fact that the motto is in French, the language of administrative documents; this was not necessarily the case with other personal seals of the period; as C H. Jenkinson states, Latin was the conventional language of seal legends until late in the medieval period, and English was used relatively early, with some examples existing from the thirteenth century.[182] In this light, Green and Knapp's reading of the motto seems less plausible; a seal used largely for official documents would have been unlikely to have had any relation to Hoccleve's poetry, and the documents it was used on would have been expressions of the king's will, rather than that of its owner. The sentiment expressed in Mooney's reading, which is more in keeping with the duties of a royal clerk, therefore seems the more likely interpretation.

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[178] Green and Knapp, 'Thomas Hoccleve's seal', p. 320.
[179] H. Jenkinson, *A Guide to Seals in the Public Record Office* (London, 1954), p. 7.
[180] R. H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*, Vol. I (London, 1978), vii.
[181] Jenkinson, *Guide to Seals*, p. 25.
[182] Jenkinson, *Guide to Seals*, p. 29.

This study has attempted to demonstrate how the background of the Privy Seal shaped Hoccleve and in many ways influenced the character of his poetry in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The differences between the government offices during this period were caused by the varying degrees to which they had gone 'out of court', and this determined many aspects of the lives of the clerks who worked in them. The clerks of the Privy Seal had fewer opportunities for advancement than their contemporaries in Chancery, and so were forced to make contacts and seek favours outside the office. This financial instability undoubtedly formed part of Hoccleve's motivation for composing his poetry, and may also have led to him forming connections which furthered his literary career. Identification of the documents produced by Hoccleve during the course of his working life provides us with an invaluable resource in establishing the date of the events referred to in his poetry, the circles that he moved in, and his status in the office of the Privy Seal. In particular, they reveal that there may have been possibilities open to a royal clerk to use their position to further the interests of other parties, through the writing of petitions or warrants; there is an indication that Chaucer may have used his acquaintance with Hoccleve in order to obtain preferential treatment at the hands of the royal administration. The various parallels between the substance of Hoccleve's writing at the Privy Seal and his poetry, and the people that reoccur in both, suggest that his literary work was inextricably linked to his role within the government administration.

Estimated number of extant documents produced by the Privy Seal office 1383-1426
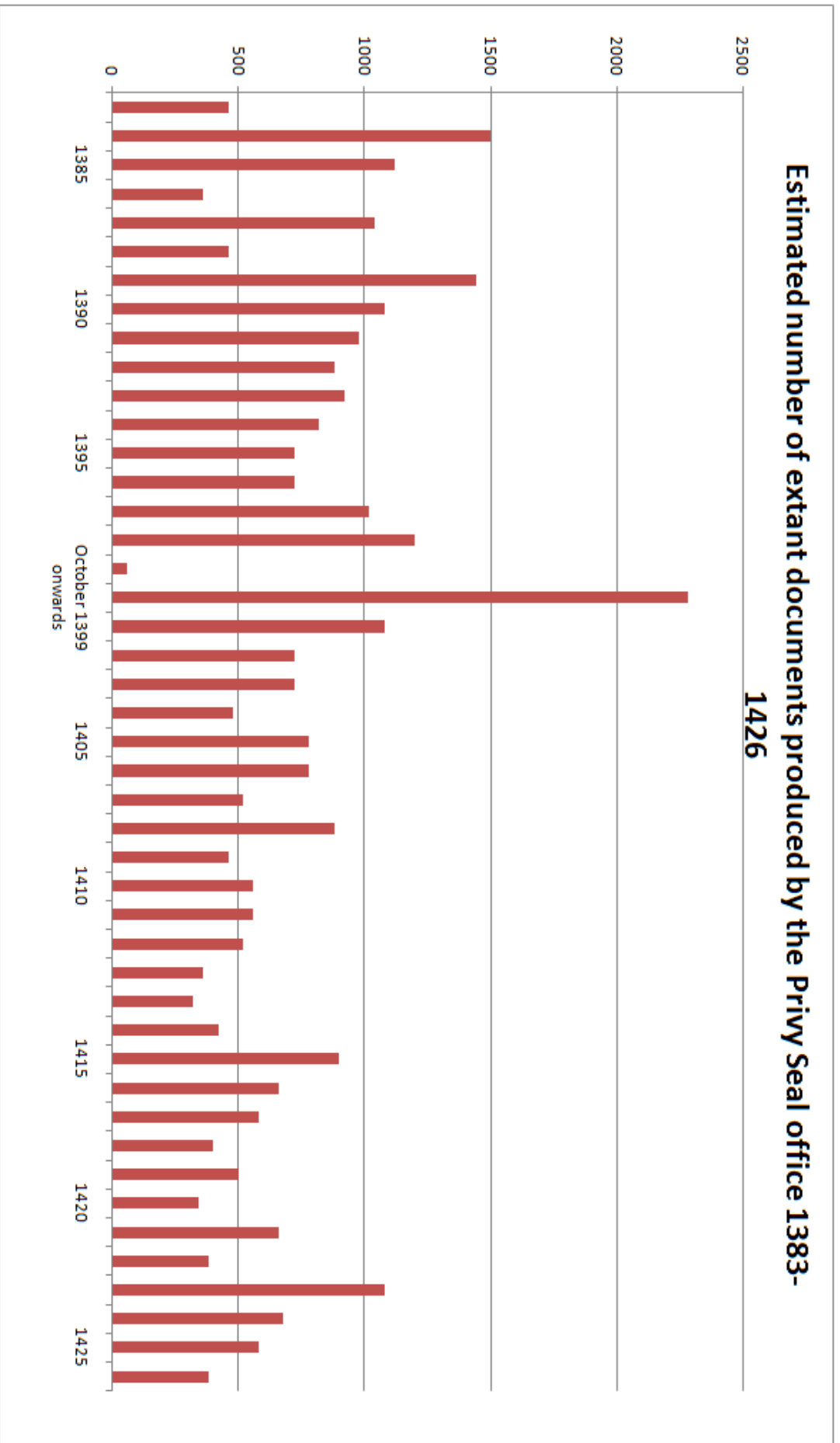
II. Number of extant documents found written by Thomas Hoccleve for the Privy Seal 1383-1426
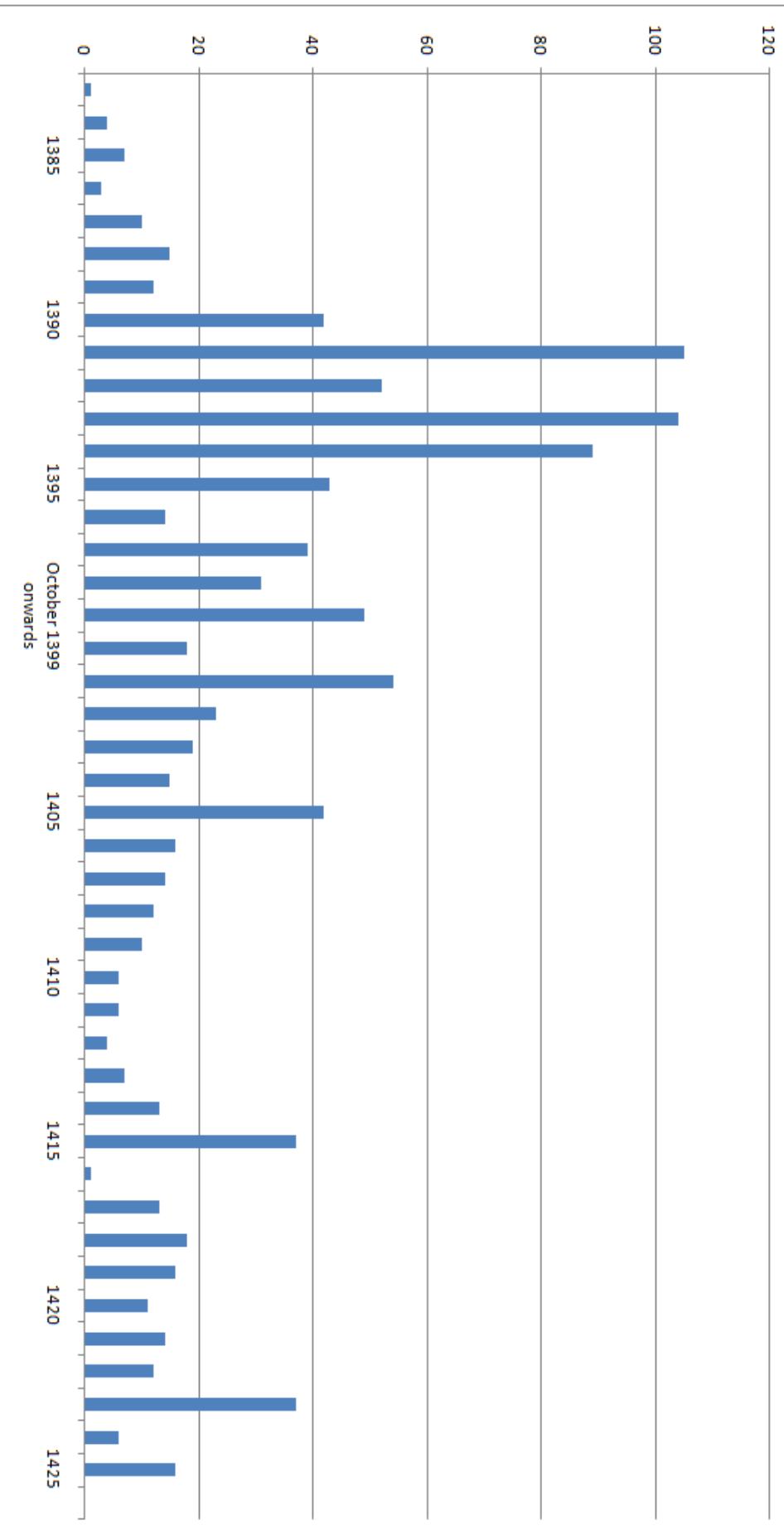
III. Number of extant documents found written by Thomas Hoccleve for the Privy Seal 1399-1401
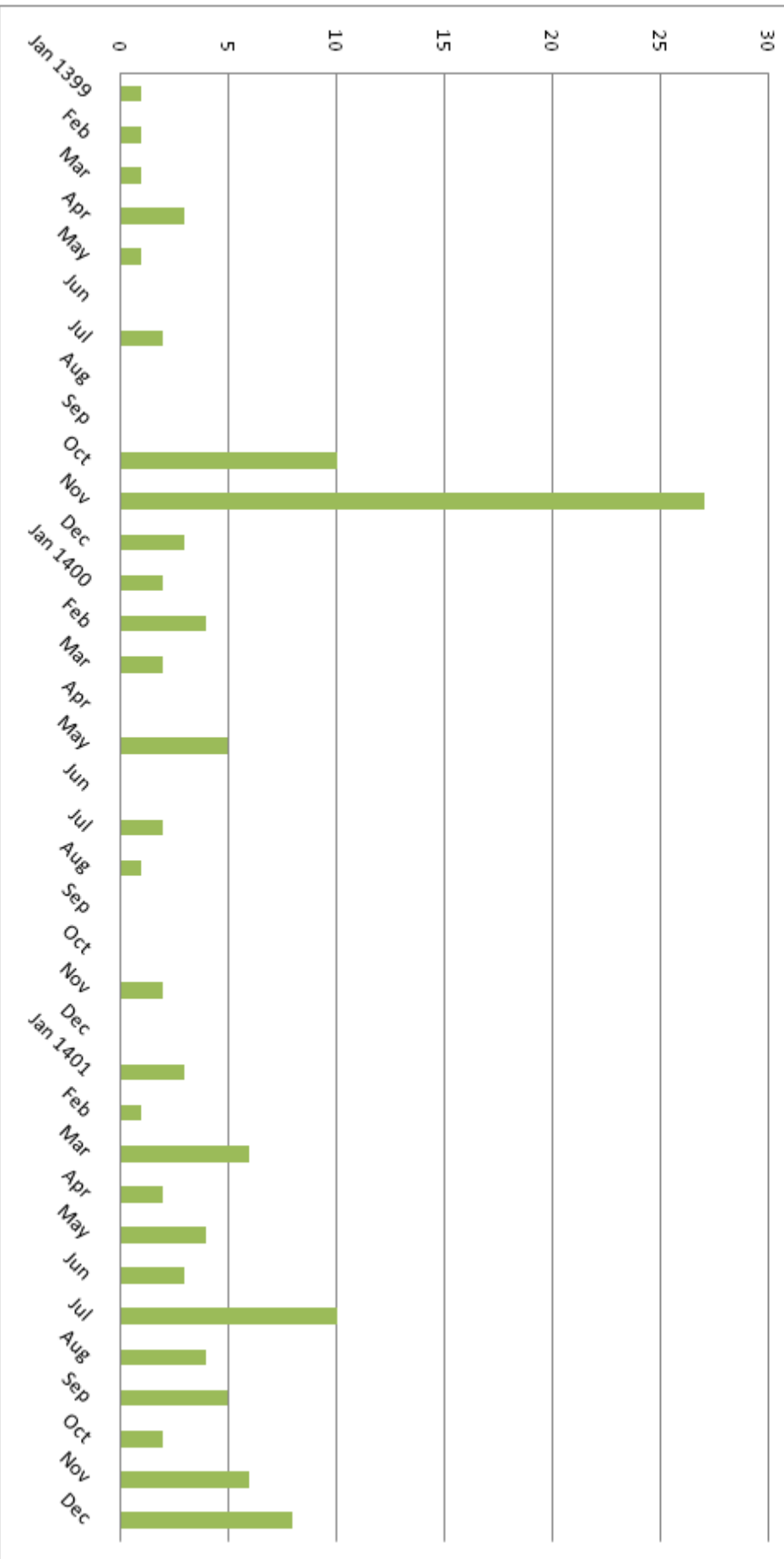
IV. Number of extant documents written by Thomas Hoccleve for the Privy Seal 1415-1416
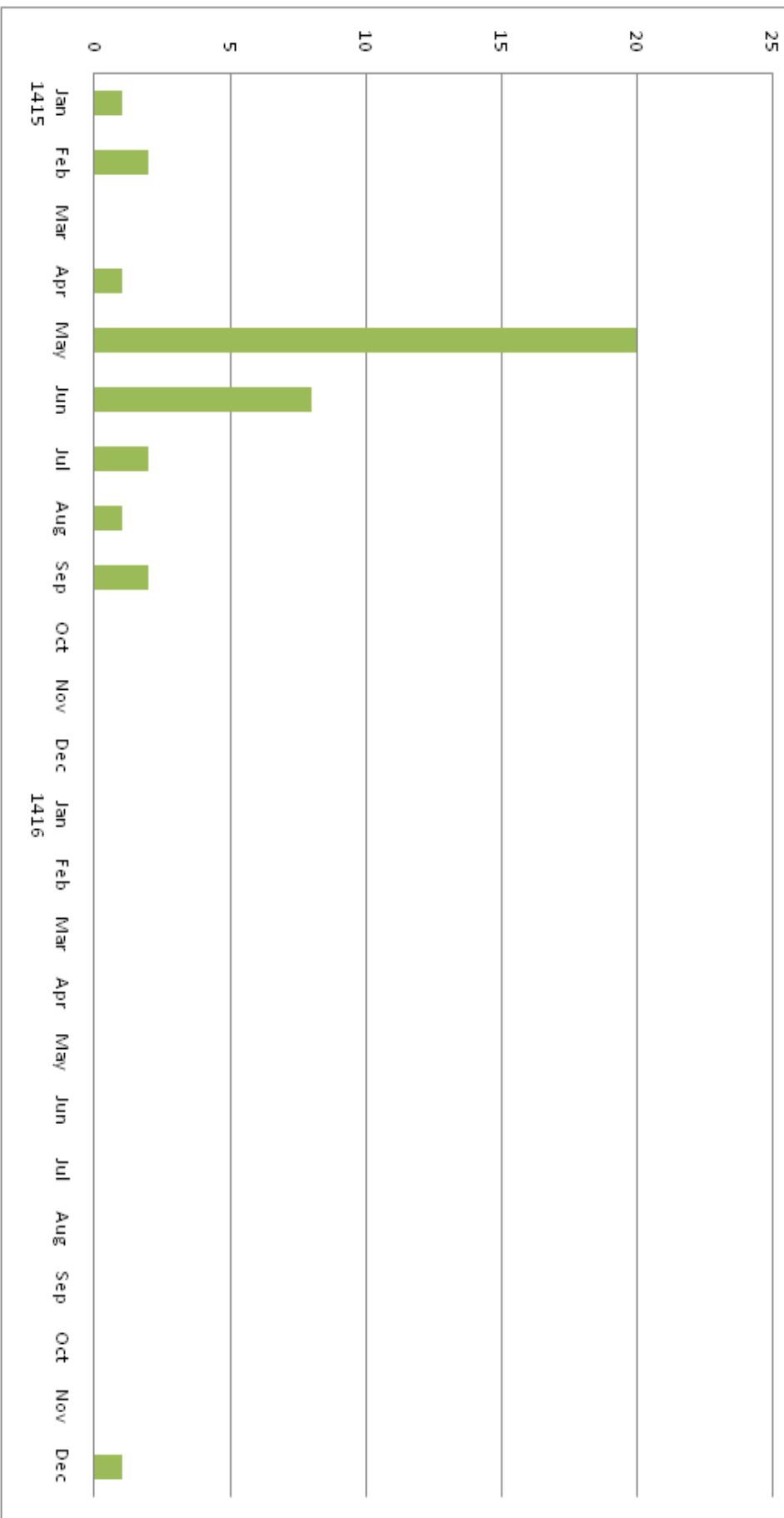
Chapter 3
The Regiment of Princes

The *Regiment of Princes* was composed in 1411 for the Prince of Wales, who would succeed the throne as Henry V in March 1413. It is Hoccleve's most successful and widely-disseminated work, surviving in over forty manuscripts; this chapter will attempt to uncover some of the reasons for this. Firstly, the poem will be considered within the wider context of the genre of the Mirror for Princes and the proliferation of political texts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Secondly, the chapter will consider how Hoccleve's role as a clerk affected his decision to compose the poem, and the circumstances under which he wrote it, and in particular the effects of the political turbulence of the time. Finally, the *Regiment's* reception will be examined in more detail; based on a study of the extant manuscripts, this section will attempt to explain the poem's popularity, and describe the type of people amongst which it circulated.

3.1 Mirrors for Princes

The *Regiment* is commonly described as belonging to the literary genre of the Mirror for Princes or *Fürstenspiegel*; these terms are used to refer to a number of medieval texts that contain advice for rulers on how to govern. However, these texts vary widely in terms of date, author, format and content; the range of works that have been referred to as belonging to this genre includes lengthy encyclopaedia-style compendiums, sermons and vernacular poetry. Some examples of these texts will now be examined in an attempt to further define the genre, and the *Regiment* will be considered within this context, in order to establish whether it marked a departure from the tradition.

The high number of texts associated with the genre means that only a proportion can be considered here; these have been selected according to two criteria: firstly, those that were particularly influential or that Hoccleve mentions as influencing the *Regiment* specifically, and secondly, those that were written in England or France in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries by Hoccleve's literary contemporaries. I will begin with an overview of the genre as a whole, followed by an examination of their influences and content, before addressing the question of why they proliferated in the later medieval period and the ways in which these works differed from earlier texts.

The first problem that becomes apparent on examining the genre of the Mirror for Princes is that of definition. As Jean-Philippe Genet has observed, early scholarship tended not to address this issue directly, but only by implication through the works included or excluded from studies of the genre.[1] However, there have been more attempts in recent years to establish generic characteristics and patterns of change. Kate Langdon Forhan identifies three stages of evolution in the genre.[2] The first refers to the period after the Christianisation of the Roman Empire, when authors collected together classical, patristic and Biblical sources on good governance in an attempt 'to combine Christian morality, Roman political ideas and pagan political structures into effective rule.' The second stage begins in the twelfth century with the writing of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, in which classical sources were applied to the medieval context in order to address the growth of the state and the institutionalisation of government. The third stage is defined as the period from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries when authors used variations on the tradition of the mirror as a new form of political expression.

Forhan's historical framework places works as disparate as Augustine's *De civitate dei*, the various mirrors written by Christine de Pisan and Machiavelli's *The Prince* within the genre, but ignores the impact of what is generally considered to be the most influential text, the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*. This work, purporting to be a letter from Aristotle advising Alexander the Great and containing information on a wide range of subjects, from politics and ethics to astrology, medicine and magic, is in fact a Latin translation of a tenth-century Arabic text, the *Kitāb sirr al-asrār* (The Book of the Secret of Secrets).[3] It was first translated into Latin in the mid-twelfth century, but was not widely read until the second, more complete, translation written by Philippus Tripolitanus in the early thirteenth century. It is by far the most widely disseminated text on governance in the medieval period, surviving in approximately five hundred manuscripts. In the thirteenth century, translations and commentaries on the work were written by important figures such as Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon and Michael Scot, and during

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[1] J-P. Genet, *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages*, Camden 4th series 18 (London, 1977), x.

[2] K. L. Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pisan* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 28-30.

[3] See M. A. Manzalaoui (ed.), *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English versions*, EETS o.s. 276 (Oxford, 1977) intoduction, ix.

the later medieval period its continued popularity in England is evidenced by the number of Middle English translations.[4]

The contentious nature of the issue of definition can be seen from the different approach offered by Genet's earlier outline of the genre, which he claims only fully emerged in the Capetian court of the second half of the thirteenth century with the writing of such works as Gilbert de Tournai's *Eruditio Regum et Principum* and the *De Eruditione Filiorum Regalium* and *De Moralis Principis Instructione* of Vincent of Beauvais.[5] He argues that true Mirrors have the following four characteristics in common; firstly, they are written by friars and are aimed at teaching the fundamental tenets of Christianity to the laity (including the aristocracy); secondly, they are specifically didactic in tone; thirdly, in contrast to earlier works such as the *Policraticus* in which political theory was allied with rhetoric, they are more concerned with ethics and theology; and finally, while they generally refer less to classical sources, they combine a firm Aristotelian basis with Augustinian teaching.

According to this definition, the relevant works of writers such as Hoccleve, Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate and Christine de Pisan cannot be called true Mirrors, but are instead part of 'the bulky political literature of the court, specially designed to be more easily understood by the laity, whereas most of the genuine *Miroirs*, being too technical, required a learned intermediary.'[6] This distinction seems difficult to comprehend, especially as it appears to contradict the first of Genet's four generic attributes. He also excludes the corpus of texts which are translations or variations on the *Secreta Secretorum*, particularly popular in England. In fact, Genet comes to the conclusion that, while exceeding France in its audience for certain other forms of political literature, there was little interest in the genre in England: 'If we except the late poem of George Ashby for the Prince Edward, son of Henry VI, no English tract qualifies entirely for the appellation of *Miroir*, and there exist only two translations into English of original French *Miroirs*.'[7] Again, the internal consistency of this definition is undermined by the inclusion of George Ashby, a secular clerk, within the list of true Mirror-writers.

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[4] See Manzalaoui, *Secretum Secretotum*; R. Steele (ed.), *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, EETS e.s. 74 (Oxford, 1898); R. Steele (ed.), *Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philosoffres*, EETS e.s. 66 (Oxford, 1894).
[5] Genet, *Four English Political Tracts*, xii.
[6] Genet, *Four English Political Tracts*, xvi.
[7] Genet, *Four English Political Tracts*, xiv.

What emerges from examining these two theories is that there is little agreement on what constitutes a true *Mirror for Princes*, and that a definition should not be too restrictive. The framework offered by Forhan examines changes in the genre over time, but fails to take into account the impact of the *Secreta Secretorum*, a work that has been referred to as 'the paradigm of the genre'[8], and that according to Charles Blyth is one of the key influences on Hoccleve's *Regiment* in 'the structural relationship it sets up between poet and prince.'[9] Genet's definition, whilst useful in drawing attention to the influence of the French court, does not regard Hoccleve's *Regiment* to be a Mirror for Princes at all – a stance which this essay, and the majority of the scholarship on the subject, would take issue with. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, an inclusive definition of the genre will be used; broadly, any text written for a lord, monarch or heir containing advice on how to govern, referring in particular to topics such as their role in relation to God, the Church and their subjects, moral character, health, statecraft, and military strategy. The genre is conventional; its authority comes from its reliance on accepted classical, Biblical and patristic authority and the repetition of stock *exempla*, *topoi* and metaphor. However, these conventions are used by each author in a variety of ways, as will be illustrated below.

Previous scholarship on the subject has tended to over-emphasise the conventional nature of the genre, sometimes at the expense of its practical use or any relevance it might have to its immediate political context. However, this view fails to take into account the way that successive writers of Mirrors re-interpreted sources in order to fit their own views and the political climate of the time. For example, Christine de Pisan's *Book of the Body Politic* (1407) takes its central conceit (the corporal state) from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, written in 1159, but differs from his work in that she assigns the clergy a functional, rather than essential, role in the body politic, whereas he argues that the state functions under the church in order to maintain a divinely prescribed order. Similarly, despite both having a largely Aristotelian basis, the late thirteenth-century *De Regimine Principum* by Giles of Rome and the *Policraticus* differ in that the latter advocates a limiting of the power of rulers, whereas Giles says that kings should be above the law. Although later examples of the genre such as those by Hoccleve, Christine, and John

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[8] R. Meyer-Lee, *Poets and Power from Chaucer to Wyatt* (Cambridge, 2007), p.62.
[9] Blyth (ed.), *The Regiment of Princes*, p. 9.

Lydgate still invoke the received authorities of Aristotle and Valerius Maximus, these were often acquired through reading the work of previous influential Mirror-writers such as John, Giles or the thirteenth-century *Book of the Treasure* by Brunetto Latini. Changing political and social contexts resulted in variations in emphasis on particular sources, such as the increasing influence of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* in later medieval works, a development which will be discussed in greater depth later in the chapter.

It is true that some Mirrors appear to have little practical application; one of the texts that Hoccleve names as an influence is the late thirteenth-century treatise *De Ludo Scacchorum* by the Dominican friar Jacob de Cessolis, which contains many *exempla* that appear to be more illustrative of wit and dialectical reasoning than any educational or moral purpose. This particular work, in which the pieces and strategies of chess are used to illustrate the various estates in society, is unusual in that it was originally written as a sermon, and was converted by Jacob into a treatise at the suggestion of his fellow monks. It may be that in this instance, Jacob was more concerned with rhetoric and entertainment than with instruction; for this reason, David Antin claims that we 'must not confuse the morality in *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* with an interest in action or in education.'[10] However, this work is the exception; other Mirrors had a clear educational purpose. Evidence suggests that many works belonging to the genre were intended to be and used as practical works of advice by those in authority. Charles Briggs draws attention to the passage in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* which describes how the advice of Giles of Rome on sieges (derived from Vegetius' *De Re Militari*, a late fourth-century handbook on military strategy) was read by Henry V in preparation for Harfleur in 1415.[11] R.F. Green makes the point that several works were written to guide young princes, and that they were sometimes owned by their tutors.[12] These include George Ashby's *Active Policy of a Prince*, written for Edward the son of Henry VI, Christine de Pisan's *Book of the Body Politic*, written for the young dauphin, Louis of Guyenne, and Walter de Milemete's *De Nobilitatibus, Sapientiis et Prudentiis*, addressed to the 14 year-old Edward III on his succeeding the throne in 1327. This last work was, in fact, one of three treatises on kingship given to the young monarch at this time. A number of Mirrors were also the result of commissions from royal or noble patrons, including Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*,

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[10] D. Antin, 'Caxton's the Game and Playe of the Chess', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29 (1968): 278.
[11] C. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De Regemine Principum* (Cambridge, 1999), p.1.
[12] R.F. Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980), p.141.

written at the request of Humphrey of Gloucester, his *Secrees of Old Philosoffres* (a Middle English translation of the *Secreta Secretorum*), undertaken at the instigation of Henry VI and completed after his death by Benedict Burgh, and John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, ostensibly commissioned by Richard II. There are, of course, other reasons why a lord or king would wish to commission a Mirror for Princes specific to him; namely, to project an image of himself as a capable ruler or, in the disputed succession to the English throne of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to confirm himself as the legitimate heir. These issues will be examined in more detail in the next section.

This evidence illustrates the popularity of the genre amongst kings and lords, but the high number of extant manuscripts of some Mirrors indicates that they were read by a far wider audience. Giles of Rome's *De Regemine Principum* survives in approximately 350 manuscripts, meaning that it was by far the most popular of the Mirrors after the *Secreta Secretorum*, and also that we can draw more conclusions about who read it and for what purpose. Charles Briggs' analysis of these manuscripts reveals that there are far more without illumination than those with, but that if the Latin manuscripts are separated from those translated into vernacular languages, there are significantly more with illumination amongst the vernacular group.[13] Whilst the existence of the illuminated vernacular manuscripts suggests the expected circulation amongst the nobility, the high number of Latin manuscripts with minimal or no illumination, and the fact that many of these bear marks which suggest they were copied from pecia exemplars, suggests that the work was used as a textbook in the universities.[14] This shows how works of this type could have multiple audiences and uses: the *De Regemine Principum* could be read by a king as a practical handbook on governance, as described above, or by a student as a compilation and commentary on the teachings of Aristotle and other classical authorities.

Another question discussed in relation to Mirrors for Princes is whether they constitute works of political commentary or criticism. In particular, the earlier examples of the genre have often been regarded as compendiums of established authority, with little relevance to their immediate historical context. It is true that in works such as the *Policraticus* there are few explicit references to current events; however, Murray F. Markland claims that, if we read the work with knowledge of the details of John's life and

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[13] Briggs, *Giles of Rome*, pp.30-31.
[14] Briggs, *Giles of Rome*, pp.13-15.

the rift between his master Thomas Beckett and Henry II, his discussions of the relationship between church and state and the limiting of the power of kings become decidedly more relevant and even contentious.[15] Another work, the *Book of the Treasure* by the thirteenth-century Florentine politician Brunetto Latini, is historically and geographically explicit in that, alongside the conventional collection of classical and Biblical material, it includes rules for governance specific to the Italian city-state, referring to elected officials rather than kings. However, despite this, the perception of the genre as largely conventional, general and catering to the prevailing medieval taste for received wisdom has persisted, even regarding later medieval works. R.F. Green argues that authors of advice manuals for rulers, especially those who belonged to the household of their patron, were forced to confine their work to the adaptation of standard handbooks containing 'conventional platitudes' in order to avoid offending their lords.[16]

Contrary to this view, more recent scholarship has argued that Mirrors for Princes in later medieval England became increasingly politicised, and that the driving force behind this was the number of disputes revolving around the issue of succession to the throne. Between the early fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries the monarchy underwent three depositions and two changes in royal dynasty, and there were a number of child kings and heirs whose succession was in doubt. Larry Scanlon argues that because of these events, there was a need to redefine the ideology of kingship, and that the Articles of Deposition of Richard II in particular illustrate the expression of this need. He claims that this document, issued in 1399, demonstrates the way in which, during this period, 'Narrative becomes a species of political power'.[17] The Articles were an attempt to challenge the authority of Richard without damaging the authority of the monarchy, and the genre of the Mirror was part of this new form of public political expression.

Ulrike Grassnick, in his study of Mirrors for Princes during the late fourteenth century, puts forward a similar argument; however, he argues that, rather than being a product of historical circumstance, the genre was itself instrumental in shaping political

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[15] M. F. Markland (ed.), *Policraticus: The Statesman's Book*, (New York, 1979), introduction, ix.
[16] Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, p. 165.
[17] L. Scanlon, 'The king's two voices: narrative and power in Hoccleve's *Regiment*', in L. Patterson (ed.) *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain 1380 - 1530* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 226.

thought and actions during this period.[18] He claims that, as part of an aristocratic education, such texts would have been the conceptual basis for the ideal of good government, and that the Articles of Deposition of Richard II demonstrate this, being 'shaped by the *topos* of the incompetent ruler'.[19] He describes how the Articles criticise Richard's reign specifically in terms of certain key issues: obedience to the law; fair and equal treatment of subjects; financial restraint, and the ability to listen to wise counsel. As these are the main requirements of good government according to the advice manuals, Richard's failure to adhere to them portrays him as an 'anti-king', thus legitimising his removal from power.

Richard was not the first fourteenth-century king to be deposed by his subjects, and it could be argued that the genre had already begun to take on a more overtly political tone prior to 1399. M. Michael has observed that *De Nobilitatibus*, a commentary on the *Secreta Secretorum* written by king's clerk Walter de Milemete in 1327, shows signs of being influenced by the specific language used in the Articles of Deposition of Edward II, written earlier the same year: the reference to Edward's 'unseemly works and pastimes' in the Articles is mirrored in Walter's advice to his son on the desirability of 'seemly actions' and 'seemly sports'.[20] Other parts of the text also voice the concerns of Edward's detractors by pointedly warning his successor against the dangers of keeping suspect counsellors too close: 'For you should shrewdly place your trust in those to whom you reveal your secrets, lest perhaps such a person may be (may God prevent it) of the sort that he causes harm to you … And from this no small damage (heaven forbid) could happen to you.'[21] This statement, almost threatening in tone, is likely to be a reference to Edward II's favourite Piers Gaveston.

Later Mirrors continue to demonstrate their authors' political concerns and views. John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* was originally commissioned by Richard II on his coming of age, and the first recension, written around 1390, outlines his intention to write

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[18] U. Grassnick, 'O Prince, desyre to be honourable': The deposition of Richard II and Mirrors for Princes', in J. S. Hamilton (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England IV* (2006, Woodbridge, Suffolk), pp. 159-74.
[19] Grassnick, 'O Prince, desyre to be honourable', p. 167.
[20] M. Michael, 'The iconography of kingship in the Walter of Milemete treatise', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994): 35-47.
[21] Walter de Milemete, *De Nobilitabus, Sapientiis et Prudentiis*, in C.J. Nederman (ed.), *Political Thought in early fourteenth-century England: treatises by Walter de Milemete, William of Pagula, and William of Ockham* (Arizona, 2002), p. 43.

a work 'for king Richardes sake'.[22] However, by 1392, Gower had lost faith in Richard, and revised this statement so that he claims to be writing 'A bok for Engelondes sake', going on to omit all praise of the king and placing his trust in Henry Bolingbroke, later Henry IV. There are many statements in Hoccleve's *Regiment* which give us clues as to his political leanings, for example his reference to the deposition of Richard, his praise for John of Gaunt and Edward III, and his comments on current issues such as the king's treatment of Lollards. These have been interpreted in a variety of ways, and will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Certain later medieval authors, however, have continued to be seen as conventional, repetitive and lacking in political relevance; in particular this is the traditional view of much of the work of the Benedictine monk John Lydgate. Derek Pearsall, whilst acknowledging the poet's artistic skill, claims that the content of his work was largely determined by the medieval audience's taste for instruction in the form of collections of *exempla* and *sententia* from ancient or Biblical sources: 'Lydgate has a good many things to say about politics, about kingship, government, war and peace, but they are the platitudes of his age, of the Middle Ages, in fact, no more than was being said by a dozen anonymous pamphleteers of the time.'[23] David Lawton disagrees with this view, arguing that it would be strange if poetry produced by writers close to the court at a time of such political turbulence did not in some way reflect their environment. He claims that, although the writing of the fifteenth century maintains a reputation for being long-winded, repetitive and dull, this 'dullness' was in fact part of a conscious affectation on the part of authors such as Lydgate, Hoccleve and the clerk George Ashby which enabled them to write works of advice and political commentary for their lords without bringing themselves into disfavour. This guise takes the form of expressions of humility (traditional in the genre of the Mirror), but here taken to extremes; the authors profess themselves to be '"lewed", "rude", lacking in "cunnynge", innocent of rhetoric and social savoir-faire, bankrupt in pocket or brain, too young or too old, feeble, foolish and fallen – in a word dull.'[24] These claims of ignorance of rhetoric and cunning are coupled with professions of plainness and simplicity, by implication suggesting the author's honesty and moral virtue, and rendering their advice objective, truthful and of greater worth to its addressee. This

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[22] John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, R.A. Peck (ed.), (Toronto; London, 1980), l. 24.
[23] D. Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, p. 15.
[24] Lawton, 'Dullness in the fifteenth century', p. 762.

can be seen in Hoccleve's apologies to the Prince for his 'symple' character, 'dul conceit', and his professions of childishness.[25]

Dullness is also proof against authority; this can be directed towards a literary predecessor such as Chaucer, a patron, or in its ultimate form, God himself. Lawton argues that the latter is 'the utmost vindication of dullness' as from the author's perspective it is 'the only appropriate response' in an unstable and declining world; if God is the only repository of 'cunning' and 'wit', then true wisdom only comes from recognising our own inferiority.[26] He points out that this fatalistic stance demonstrates the influence of *The Consolation of Philosophy*, an early fifth-century text written by the Roman consul Boethius. Boethius had been hugely influential on the Scholastics and on subsequent medieval thought through his translations and commentaries on Aristotle and Cicero, and the *Consolation* in particular had been used as a source in the writing of Mirrors for Princes since the beginnings of the genre. However, during the fourteenth century his influence became more pronounced, as the themes of Fortune and instability present in the work became increasingly appropriate for the political unrest of the period. Boethius wrote the work whilst in prison, awaiting execution for treason after having fallen from favour with the Emperor Theodoric, to whom he had been an advisor. It falls within the genre of the *consolatio*, a form of the diatribe especially associated with philosophy in pagan Greece and Rome, and meant as a 'cure' for a philosophical problem, in this case, the protagonist's loss of memory of his true self as a result of turning away from God. This is remedied by the descent of Lady Philosophy to Boethius to his prison cell from the heavens in order to lead him back to God through a series of Platonic dialogues. In chapter six, a view of history is outlined which describes an interplay between two forces: on the one hand, Providence, which is God's plan and unchanging, and on the other, Fate, which is the distribution of events in this plan, and mutable. In this way Boethius is cured of his dilemma; through the realisation that God is the constant in the changing world, and that the further the soul moves away from the corporeal world and towards the stability of God, the less susceptible it is to the vagaries of Fate.[27]

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[25] *Regiment*, ll.2054-8.
[26] Lawton, 'Dullness in the fifteenth century', p. 769.
[27] Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, V.E. Watts (ed.), (Middlesex, 1969), introduction.

The thematic influence of this work on the late medieval mirror can be plainly seen; it is cited by Hoccleve in the first of the marginal Latin glosses to the *Regiment*, and the narrator voices his concern at the troubled times he must endure in the opening lines of the poem: 'Musyng upon the restles bisynesse/ Which that this troubly world hath ay on hande', and later asks 'wher is this worldes stablenesse?'[28] But the reason that Boethius' work resonated so deeply with writers of Mirrors is that it emphasised the fact that all were at the mercy of Fate, whether they were a king or a pauper; their advice hinged on the fact that the king was answerable to God. Lawton argues that Lydgate's ultimate message to his patron Duke Humphrey was 'ye have no sewerte'; in other words, that even the greatest could be struck down without warning, and should therefore attempt to lead a good life.[29] This sentiment is the underlying theme behind Book I of the *Fall of Princes*, which describes God's punishment of tyrannical rulers.

The motif of Boethian instability was particularly important in late medieval Mirror-writing because it struck a chord with both author and addressee. The *consolatio* was popular with rulers, particularly those that had encountered rebellions or had been deposed, as can be seen from examining a related literary genre; that of the prison poem. There are a number of poems written by imprisoned kings and nobles written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most notably *The Kingis Quair*, written by James I of Scotland in 1424 towards the end of his eighteen-year imprisonment in England, and *Fortunes Stabilnes* written by Charles of Valois, Duke of Orleans, who was captured by the English at Agincourt in 1415 and released in 1440.[30] Particularly poignant is the Anglo-Norman poem attributed to Edward II whilst imprisoned in Kenilworth or Berkeley Castle, which in the second stanza voices the following Boethian sentiment:

> En mond n'ad sib el ne si sage,
> [Ne] si curtois ne si preysé,
> Si eur(e) ne lui court de avantage,
> Que il ne serra pur fol clamé.
>
> (There's none so fair, so wise
> So courteous nor so highly famed,
> But, if Fortune cease to favour,
> Will be a fool proclaimed.)[31]

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[28] *Regiment*, ll.1-2, 47.
[29] John Lydgate, *The Fall of Princes*, H. Bergen (ed.), EETS e.s. 124 (Oxford, 1927), l.3566.
[30] L.R. Mooney and M-J. Arn, *The Kingis Quair and Other Prison Poems*, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, 1995).
[31] P. Studer, 'An Anglo-Norman poem by Edward II, king of England', *Modern Language Review* 16 (1921): 34-46.

The genres of the Mirror and the *consolatio* are brought together most obviously in the work of George Ashby, a clerk of the queen's signet who was imprisoned for his Lancastrian sympathies after the defeat of Henry VI at the battle of Towton in 1461. At the time of or soon after his release in 1463 he wrote the *Complaint of a Prisoner in the Fleet*, which begins by bitterly describing the unjustness of his treatment: 'And in theyr service I spendyd all my youth,/ And now in prison throwen in myn age'. The narrator goes on to rationalise his predicament in Boethian terms: 'Thaugh Fortune lyst make me ryght sory,/ Shewyng that thys welth ys transitory' before concluding that suffering is beneficial to the soul and that he will endure his imprisonment with God's help.[32] Ashby's other major work, the *Active Policy of a Prince*, is a Mirror composed for Henry VI's son Edward, which hopefully assumes that the prince will succeed the throne; the dating of the poem is uncertain, but is generally thought to be somewhere between Ashby's release from prison and the end of the brief Lancastrian restoration in May 1471.[33]

These two poems are used by Robert Meyer-Lee to support his argument that George Ashby, drawing on the work of his predecessors Hoccleve and Lydgate, represents the embodiment of another pose of the fifteenth-century political writer; that of the laureate.[34] He claims that this role was first referred to in England by Chaucer, who had been influenced by the fourteenth-century Italian laureate Petrarch, and that it was taken up by Hoccleve, Lydgate and Ashby, who saw themselves as his successors. This posthumous conferral of the role of laureate on Chaucer can be seen in Lydgate's *Troy Book*, where he refers to him as 'the laurer of our englishe tonge', just as 'Petrak Fraunceis' is 'in Ytaille'.[35] He describes the ways in which these three poets adopt a laureate pose; they write on public themes; they refer to themselves in the context of past literary authority, as if taking on a vacant role; and (especially in the case of Hoccleve and Ashby) they include an unprecedented amount of personal detail, sometimes naming themselves, so as to provide 'a direct communication to the reader'.[36]

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[32] George Ashby, *Complaint of a Prisoner in the Fleet*, in Mooney and Arn, *The Kingis Quair*, ll.71-2, 83-4.
[33] See R. Meyer-Lee, 'Laureates and beggars in fifteenth-century English poetry: the case of George Ashby', *Speculum* 79 (2004): 688-276; M. Bateson, *George Ashby's Poems*, EETS e.s. 76 (Oxford, 1899); M. Kekewich, 'George Ashby's Active Policy of a Prince: an additional source', *The Review of English Studies* 41 (1990): 533-535.
[34] Meyer-Lee, 'Laureates and beggars'.
[35] John Lydgate, *Troy Book*, H. Bergen (ed.), EETS e.s. 106 (Oxford, 1910), ll.4234-63.
[36] Meyer-Lee, 'Laureates and beggars', p.704.

Meyer-Lee also outlines the inherent contradiction within the role; that the laureate is simultaneously defined by a commission from the king, but also claims to be serving a higher authority; that of God, truth and artistic integrity. Lydgate, as a monk of a powerful Benedictine abbey, was able in some regard to overcome this contradiction, as he was not entirely reliant on political authority. Hoccleve, however, was entirely dependent on the king for his livelihood, and thus faced the difficulty of being both an objective political commentator and a royal servant. Meyer-Lee argues that, unlike Lydgate, Hoccleve does not attempt to disguise this contradiction, but instead embraces it; his combination of personal and political poetry emphasises his subjection to authority, so that he exposes his own weakness and adopts the role of the 'laureate-beggar'. In this way, he argues that Hoccleve 'represents a wonderful realization of one-half of the laureate paradox. Idealized laureate and abject beggar are, I contend, dialectically paired symptoms of the same historical pressures on literary production and the same desire to make poetry somehow transcend these pressures.'[37] George Ashby, like Hoccleve a government employee, drew on that poet's work in order to approach this paradox in a similar way; in the *Complaint of a Prisoner* he writes a personal complaint which stresses his role as a devoted royal servant, and in the *Active Policy* he attempts to give objective, disinterested advice to the prince which will benefit not just himself, but the entire nation.

What emerges from this overview of the evolution of the Mirror for Princes is that, despite having been seen as a genre defined by convention and reference to accepted authorities, advice manuals for rulers were rarely without some kind of political relevance, as each was a product of its particular historical context. During the later medieval period, with the increased instability of the English throne, this relevance became more acute. This development took place for a number of reasons and in various ways. The first thing that becomes apparent when comparing late medieval authors of Mirrors to their predecessors is that they are increasingly secular; whereas John of Salisbury, Giles of Rome and Jacob de Cessolis were all ordained, Hoccleve, Christine de Pisan and George Ashby were not. These writers, like the clerk Walter de Milemete, were all employed by or connected with the court, and unlike earlier writers, did not have the financial security associated with belonging to a religious order. This meant that they were simultaneously

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[37] Meyer-Lee, 'Laureates and beggars', p.698.

closer to the subject of the Mirror, more dependent on his patronage, and more affected by what happened to him; as R.F. Green writes: 'A prince's fall might prove disastrous even for quite humble members of his affinity.'[38] A Mirror consequently had a dual purpose: to improve the author's standing with his lord, but also to ensure that lord's continued supremacy; it is not a coincidence that Walter, Hoccleve and Ashby all wrote works following a change in regime that made some attempt to legitimise an heir. Works such as these necessitated the combination of advice with flattery, but faced the paradox that in order for their advice to be valuable it must be objective, which, as the fate of the author was inextricably linked to that of their addressee, it could not be. As a result, late medieval political authors adopted various guises; they claimed objectivity through being lacking in guile and therefore unable to tell anything but the truth ('dull'), or through being answerable to a higher power (the laureate).

However, neither of these roles succeeded in plausibly claiming objectivity on the part of their author, and in consequence these authors adopted a new stance; that of open sympathy with their subject. In doing this, they looked to another genre, that of the *consolatio*, and its progenitor, Boethius. Rather than, as in the past, attempting to claim authority as faceless commentators and compilers of received wisdom, late medieval authors identified themselves, ceased to adopt personas, and included personal detail from their own lives. They emphasised the instability of their predicaments, and the analogous position of the king. In the case of Hoccleve and John Gower, the literary form of the *consolatio* as well as its theme was utilised; as defined by Michael Means, this is a work where 'in an essentially philosophical or eschatological dialogue (or series of dialogues), with one or more allegorical instructors, the narrator is reconciled to his misfortunes, shown how to attain his goal, or enlightened and consoled in a similar way.'[39] In Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, the narrator is saved from his loss of identity through a dialogue with a confessor, Genius, and in the *Regiment*, the troubled Hoccleve resolves his dilemma through conversation with a nameless Old Man. While Ashby's *Active Policy of a Prince* is a more traditional Mirror, if taken with his *Complaint of a Prisoner in the Fleet* the influence of Boethius on his role as a public poet becomes more pronounced. Despite lacking an allegorical figure, the poem follows the narrator's journey from self-pity to acceptance, and due to the political context of its writing, this has more than personal

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[38] Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, p.148.
[39] M.H. Means, *The Consolatio Genre in Medieval English Literature* (Gainesville, 1972), p.3.

significance. Meyer-Lee even suggests that the poem was composed when Henry VI was himself imprisoned, and that Ashby meant his complaint to be written in some way on behalf of the king.[40] The work of these poets demonstrates how the genres of the Mirror and the *consolatio* were brought together in an attempt to overcome the problems inherent in giving disinterested advice to a lord; by emphasising their common subjection to Fate, they sought both to counsel and console.

3.2 Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes

Having established the developments that were taking place in the genre of the Mirror for Princes at the time the *Regiment* was written, let us now examine the work itself in more detail, how Hoccleve's position as a royal clerk affected his decision to write it, and its tone and content. It has already been shown that Hoccleve was not unique in being both a political writer and a government employee; however, the nature of this dual role and its effects on his work deserve closer examination. As a Privy Seal clerk Hoccleve served under four different monarchs and survived a change in royal dynasty, and this had an impact on his poetry in a number of ways. Firstly, his role and life at the Privy Seal will be considered, before examining how he was affected by Richard II's deposition in 1399, his life under the Lancastrian regime and what can be learned regarding the influence of these events on his political beliefs and writing. Even in the context of the changing nature of the Mirror for Princes during the late medieval period, the *Regiment* is unusual in the degree to which it combines the personal and the political. While the main body of the text conforms to the genre of the Mirror, it begins with a 2000-line Prologue which sets the poem in the context of a complaint about the author's overdue annuity; this ambiguity of purpose has led to the work being variously interpreted as a personal petition, a critique of the current regime, or even a work of propaganda. The key to this debate is the nature of the relationship between the author and the poem's addressee, the young Prince Henry.

Hoccleve's anxiety over his financial situation can be confirmed as having its basis in truth; as a clerk of the Privy Seal he was largely dependent on his annuity and the board and lodging provided for employees of that office. In the Prologue he voices his concern at what will become of him when he is too old to work and these benefits are taken away

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[40] Meyer-Lee, 'Laureates and beggars', p.719.

from him, forcing him to retire to a 'poore cote'.[41] His situation can be better understood within the context of the changes in government administration that were occurring during the later medieval period. As described in the previous chapter, during the fourteenth century, the court, the royal council and the three main administrative offices of the Chancery, Exchequer and Privy Seal had gradually moved out of the king's household to become formal institutions, and clerks of those offices had begun to form a new, secular class of professional bureaucrats.[42] However, Hoccleve and his fellow-clerks could be argued to represent a transitional phase in this development, falling between the roles of familial servant and professional administrator. This can be seen by comparing the sentiments voiced by Hoccleve in the *Regiment* and those of his near contemporary George Ashby, a clerk of the signet under Henry VI who matched his 40-year career. In the *Complaint of a Prisoner in the Fleet*, Ashby describes his childhood upbringing in the court, and his committed service to the royal family: 'Nat sparyng for to go ne for to ryde/ Havyng pen and inke evyr at my side/ As truly as I coude to theyre entent/ Redy to acomplysshe theyre commandment.'[43] The closeness of the relationship of the clerk to his lord, greater than that of employer and employee, is also evident in Hoccleve's poetry, where he describes his annuity as having been bought with his 'flesshe and blood'.[44] Both poet-clerks clearly feel themselves to be personal, faithful retainers of the king, and as such are troubled by the fact that, as Hoccleve states: 'Service, I woot wel, is noon heritage'[45]; in other words, they can be treated as mere employees, and left destitute when their usefulness has expired.

As the character of medieval government was heavily dependent on the king, it would be useful to consider Hoccleve's working life under Richard II, and how he was affected by the king's deposition in 1399. Unfortunately, the evidence relating to his life during that period is limited; we know that on two occasions he was granted sums of money, and that in 1394 he was given a corrody at Hayling Priory.[46] Furthermore, there are no datable poems before his *Letter of Cupid* in 1402, meaning that we have little information regarding Hoccleve's personal views of Richard and the events of 1399. As

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[41] *Regiment*, l. 845.
[42] See A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England 1272-1461* (London, 1989), pp.43-60; Tout, *Chapters*, 1: 22-31.
[43] Ashby, *Complaint*, ll. 67-70.
[44] *Regiment*, l. 950.
[45] *Regiment*, l. 841.
[46] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 9.

discussed in the previous chapter, by this period the careers of government clerks, at least those employed in the three main offices, were unlikely to be adversely affected by a change in regime, and Nigel Saul has described the transition from Richard to Henry IV as occurring with remarkably little upheaval.[47] The lack of changes made by Henry to the administration is demonstrated by the annuity of ten pounds a year granted to Hoccleve and three other Privy Seal clerks on 12 November 1399. The wording of the grant makes clear that Henry valued his clerks and relied on their support; Hoccleve is rewarded 'on account of the good and laudable service [that he] has performed for a long time in the said office and will perform in future', this grant being maintained 'until he is promoted by us to an ecclesiastical benefice'.[48] The additional promise of a benefice (referred to in the *Regiment* as long-hoped for, but never granted) seems almost designed to secure the clerk's future loyalty.

An examination of the political climate under Henry IV can give us a better understanding of the circumstances of writing the *Regiment*. The early years of Henry's reign were troubled; he faced the rebellions of Henry Percy and Owain Glyndŵr, the ongoing threat of French invasion, insurrection in Scotland and Ireland, piracy in the Channel, and near bankruptcy due to improvident household spending. The context of his succession had also shaken the institution of the monarchy; G.L. Harriss argues that these circumstances resulted in an environment 'where political debate was more heightened and criticism of royal government more widely disseminated than at any previous point in English history.'[49] Henry began his reign wishing to present the image of a king who was open to counsel and would face these criticisms, unlike his predecessor who had acquired a reputation for ignoring the advice of his counselors (earning him the nickname 'Richard the Redeless' or 'uncounselled', as in the contemporary satirical poem of the same name); Henry stated on his succession that he would be 'advised by the wise men of his council on matters touching his estate and that of his realm.'[50]

However, previous scholarship has depicted the relationship between Henry IV, the council and the Commons as characterised by the king's resistance to the loss of royal

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[47] N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1997), p. 423.
[48] Patent Roll, 1 Henry IV, pt 2. TNA C66/355, trans. Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 11.
[49] G.L. Harriss (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), p. 1.
[50] Rot. Parl., III, 433, quoted in G. Dodd, 'Henry IV's Council, 1399-1405', in G. Dodd and D. Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003), p. 97.

prerogative. This view has emphasised in particular the movements made towards conciliar government resulting from the 'Long Parliament' of 1406 as Douglas Biggs writes: 'Few historical traditions seem more firmly grounded than the perception that in 1406 a combination of foreign and domestic crises coupled with a strong, unified Commons drove Henry IV from most of the daily routine of government and then placed government in the hands of a continual council who were beholden to them.'[51] The king's response to attempts by parliament to make the business of government more accountable has been described as 'an angry retort that kings were not wont to render account.'[52] More recent work has claimed, however, that this was not the case. A.J. Pollard and Douglas Biggs both argue that the king was not resistant to reform, but that his prolonged ill health over the three sessions of the 1406 parliament led to the formation of a continual council which took on some of the responsibilities of government in order to support, rather than lessen, his power. Pollard claims that Henry's baronial background as earl of Derby would have accustomed him to open debate with his retainers, and that consequently 'in good health or ill, the King himself was prepared to listen to criticism, debate with his critics and, when necessary, make concessions.'[53]

A distinction should clearly be drawn between Henry's willingness to accept the advice of his counsellors and his opinion of works of political criticism. However, Hoccleve's perception of the events of 1406 would have influenced the *Regiment*; the emphasis in the work on the importance of a king surrounding himself with good advisors, and the use of Edward III and John of Gaunt (not the king) as role models are interpreted by David Lawton as a sign that Hoccleve agreed with 'the standard contrasts drawn in the chronicles between Henry as Prince of Wales, who held large and open court, and Henry IV, who was accessible only to a narrow circle of advisors.'[54]

The fact that Hoccleve chose to address the *Regiment* to the prince rather than the king is in itself telling; it can of course be explained partly by the aims of the genre of the Mirror for Princes in instructing young or inexperienced rulers, but may also be interpreted in more personal terms. The poem proclaims itself to be a petition for unpaid

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[51] D. Biggs, 'The politics of health: Henry IV and the Long Parliament of 1406', in Dodd and Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime*, p. 186.

[52] E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485* (Oxford, 1961), p. 82.

[53] A.J. Pollard, 'The Lancastrian constitutional experiment revisited: Henry IV, Sir John Tiptoft and the Parliament of 1406', *Parliamentary History* 14:2 (1995), p. 116.

[54] Lawton, 'Dullness in the fifteenth century', p. 777.

wages; in the Prologue Hoccleve encounters an Old Man, who advises him to ask the prince for aid, as 'Thow woost wel he benigne is and demeur/ To sue unto'.[55] Much of Hoccleve's previous work (such as the *Male Regle*, the *Balade to Henry Somer* and the *Balade to the Chancellor*) takes this form; a complaint of poverty and ill health, and a plea for help from a wealthy superior. The poem is considered within this context by James Simpson, who argues that Hoccleve sets himself up as the spokesman for his fellow clerks, who feel themselves to be unrepresented.[56] Hoccleve describes how they are often cheated out of pay by the unscrupulous servants of lords, against which they have no recourse, for 'We dar noon argument/ Make ageyn him … Lest he reporte amis and make us shent'[57]: in other words, they cannot complain in case the lord's man, who has a powerful guardian and is therefore more likely to be believed, turns their accusations against them. When the Old Man asks him whether he and his fellow clerks have a 'friend' or patron who could help them, Hoccleve replies ironically in the affirmative, that they have a friend, called 'Nemo'; 'Nobody', and that were it not for him, they would have few friends.[58]

The frequency of the petition in Hoccleve's work has led earlier scholars to criticise the poet as a complaining, beggarly figure. However, we should not forget the context in which he outlined these grievances. He is petitioning not for charity, but for his salary as a government employee; the statement of the Old Man that 'An egal change, my sone, is in soothe/ No charge'[59] serves to remind the audience that a contract should be honoured by both parties. By bringing his fellow-clerks at the Privy Seal into the poem, he widens the implications of his complaint. The failure of the government to pay its debts had long been a contentious issue, and one that the reign of Henry IV had failed to resolve.[60] Consequently, a work that addressed the failure of the king to pay an annuity had inescapable political significance.

Judith Ferster goes so far as to suggest that the petitionary element of the poem may even be a device intended to frame a political criticism. She argues that Hoccleve's financial worries may have been exaggerated or even invented in order to provide a

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[55] *Regiment*, l. 1844-5.
[56] Simpson, 'Nobody's man', p. 153.
[57] *Regiment*, ll. 1514-5.
[58] *Regiment*, ll. 1485-91.
[59] *Regiment*, ll. 1884-5.
[60] Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 74-81.

literary framework for his advice regarding government expenditure.[61] She cites one of the central themes discussed in the body of the poem: the importance of observing a balance between frugality and liberality. Governmental spending was particularly relevant to the prince at the time of the poem's composition, between mid-1410 and 1412, as he had recently headed the council, which had been given jurisdiction over the realm's finances due to the crisis in royal credit. Ferster claims that, in this context, Hoccleve's petition is used to frame the warnings against both prodigality and avarice later in the poem: 'What kyng that dooth more excessyf despenses/ Than his land may to souffyse or atteyne/ Shal be destroyed aftir the sentences/ Of Aristotle; he shal nat flee the peyne.'[62]

According to this view, the poem is seen as a censure of Henry's government; this is the conclusion arrived at by R.F. Yeager, who claims that the *Regiment* contains strong criticism of the reign of Henry IV, whilst simultaneously praising and advising his son and heir.[63] He cites the fact that Hoccleve urges the prince to look to his grandfather, John of Gaunt, as the embodiment of kingly virtues, rather than follow the example of his father, and that when he does praise the king, it is in perfunctory terms. In this context, the poem assumes a new degree of controversy: at the time of its composition, Henry IV had been ill for over a year, and his death was expected. With his appointment to the head of the Council, the prince became in effect the ruler of the country, and rumours circulated that he might try to assume the crown by force. Recovering sufficiently to remove the prince and his supporters from power in November 1411, the king let it be known that he was contemplating disinheriting Henry in favour of his younger brother. It was not until October 1412, after Henry had sent his father a letter declaring his loyalty and refuting the rumours of treason, that the king publicly declared him his heir.[64] In such a volatile political climate and at a time when Prince Henry's succession was not assured, the dedication of a Mirror to him was a controversial undertaking, especially when the work included an element of implied criticism of the ruling monarch.

However, others have tended to view the poem as a more conservative work, arguing that the fact that it is addressed to Prince Henry is not meant as a criticism of the

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[61] J. Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*, (Pennsylvania, 1996), p. 147.
[62] *Regiment*, ll. 4404-7.
[63] R.F. Yeager, 'Death is a lady: *The Regiment of Princes* as gendered political commentary', *SAC* 26 (2004): 147-193.
[64] Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 112-6.

king, but rather an attempt to reinforce the legitimacy of the Lancastrian succession as a whole. The work's editor, Charles Blyth, argues that by addressing Prince Henry as if his accession were already assured, and by referring in flattering terms to John of Gaunt, the work attempts to legitimise the usurpation of Richard II by Henry IV. Blyth also points out that some of the recurring themes of the poem are in line with Lancastrian policy, such as the anti-Lollard sentiments expressed in the description of the burning of the heretic John Badby, the eulogistic references to Chaucer, and the support shown for the English language, which coincide with the prince's attempts to foster a sense of national identity through vernacular literature.[65] Larry Scanlon supports this view, arguing that Hoccleve may have believed that at the time, the continuation of the Lancastrian line was in doubt, and that the prince represented its best chance of survival.[66]

These arguments do not provide conclusive proof regarding Hoccleve's opinion of Henry IV or whether he would have supported a hypothetical coup led by his son, but it may be safely asserted that he was a Lancastrian. There is little evidence to suggest that he disapproved of the deposition of Richard II; his comments regarding this event at the beginning of the poem are too general, and should be seen rather as a device to illustrate the Boethian themes of his work rather than criticism of the king's usurpers: 'Me fil to mynde how that nat longe agoo/ Fortunes strook doun thraste estat rial/ Into mischief, and I took heede also/ Of many another lord that hadde a fal.'[67]

A question that still remains, however, is the extent of Prince Henry's involvement in the composition of the poem. Derek Pearsall has argued that the prince may have had a direct influence on Hoccleve's decision to write the *Regiment*, either commissioning it or possibly suggesting the genre of the Mirror for Princes. Aside from the substance of the work, he cites as evidence for this Henry's familiarity with the genre: he points out that the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* describes Henry V's knowledge of one of Hoccleve's main sources, Giles of Rome. He also characterizes Henry as a master of self-publicity, who was accustomed to use written documents for political purposes: 'Henry "employed" Hoccleve for the purposes of kingly self-representation. His exceptional interest and skill in the

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[65] Blyth (ed.) *The Regiment of Princes*, p. 5.
[66] Larry Scanlon, 'The king's two voices: narrative and power in Hoccleve's *Regiment'*, in L. Patterson (ed.), *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain 1380 - 1530*, (Berkeley, 1990), p. 232.
[67] *Regiment*, ll. 22-5.

staging and publicizing of himself and his policies are everywhere well-documented.'[68] Pearsall also argues that the destinations of early copies of the *Regiment* may suggest Henry's influence, and that the recipients of the presentation volumes may have been chosen specifically by the prince 'to cement relationships with possibly doubtful friends.'[69] Henry had sent books as gifts to others in a similar fashion, and if this was the case then he undoubtedly paid for the volumes; it does seem unlikely that Hoccleve could have afforded them. This argument would explain the success of the *Regiment* (which survives in forty-three manuscripts), and the fact that Hoccleve subsequently gained other royal commissions after Henry's succession, becoming as some have argued a semi-official public commentator on issues such as heresy.[70]

Evidence for the argument that the Lancastrian dynasty attempted to secure its reputation through the patronage of literary figures has been described in detail by Richard Firth Green. He cites as examples the gifts given to John Gower by Henry IV on writing such pro-Lancastrian works as the *Chronica Tripertita* and also the role played by Humphrey of Gloucester in the work of John Lydgate.[71] Humphrey's personal interest and involvement in the composition of the *Fall of Princes* can be seen from lines in the text which refer to corrections made by him, and Lydgate's expectations of financial reward for completing the translation.[72] Green also cites the public poetry written by Hoccleve after Henry's V's succession, in particular the *Address to Sir John Oldcastle* (1415), which he argues was commissioned by the king as a work of propaganda in anticipation of Lollard uprisings while he was waging war in France: 'The *Gesta Henrici Quinti* tells us that shortly before his departure Henry supervised the preparation of anti-French propaganda for circulation on the continent; what more natural than that he should also commission counter-propaganda against the Lollards for circulation at home, and that he should employ Hoccleve for this purpose?'[73]

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[68] D. Pearsall, 'Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*: the poetics of royal self-representation', *Speculum* 69:2 (1994), p. 391.

[69] Pearsall, 'Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*', p.396. Linne Mooney has pointed out that the holograph manuscripts of Hoccleve's poetry are of inferior quality to the presentation copies of the *Regiment*, suggesting that they were produced at his expense; see 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 21.

[70] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 34

[71] Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, p. 182.

[72] Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, p. 156.

[73] Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, p. 185.

This evidence demonstrates the growing awareness by the Lancastrian monarchy of the importance of reputation and historical legacy, and its use of literary works in influencing these factors. However, the status of the *Regiment* as a work of propaganda is still uncertain. A key issue in this debate is the extent of the relationship between Hoccleve and the prince. Pearsall argues that Henry would have been in close contact with the Privy Seal due to his recent role as head of the Council, as there were connections between these institutions; Privy Seal clerks often carried out secretarial work for the Council, and councilors in 1413 included the Keeper John Prophet and former Chancellor and Keeper Thomas Langley.[74] It is even possible that Hoccleve himself may have worked for the council, which would obviously have important implications for interpretations of the poem.

Hoccleve's working patterns during this period may be established by an examination of the relevant government documents. Linne Mooney's research uncovered very few Privy Seal issue warrants for the Exchequer in Hoccleve's hand dating from the time of the *Regiment's* composition; between February 1410 and April 1414 (a year after the succession of Henry V), she found only two documents written by Hoccleve. As discussed in Chapter 1, Privy Seal documents sent to the Exchequer account for only a part of the workload of that office, the majority being intended for the Chancery; consequently, this does not give a complete picture of Hoccleve's activity. However, an examination of the Privy Seal warrants for the great seal during this period reveals a similar pattern; from 1410-1414 only 36 documents in Hoccleve's hand exist in total. This figure is considerably lower than for almost any other four-year period in Hoccleve's working life; it therefore suggests that he was not as regularly employed by Privy Seal at this time, and may well have been occupied elsewhere.

Mooney has suggested that a possible reason for Hoccleve's comparative absence from the Privy Seal at this time may have been the turbulence of the final years of the reign of Henry IV, and argues that the fact that Hoccleve was not paid regularly could indicate that he had fallen out of favour with the king and taken the Prince's side in the disputes between father and son.[75] An additional possibility, however, is that during this

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[74] J. Catto, 'The king's servants', in G.L. Harriss (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), p. 95.

[75] Mooney, 'Some new light', pp. 312-3.

time Hoccleve was working for the king's Council. The January 1410 Parliament saw a transfer of power from the king to the Council, which was then administered by the Prince and his faction. Bearing in mind the close connection between the Privy Seal and the Council, the fact that this event coincides both with Hoccleve's period of inactivity and the period of composition of the *Regiment* must be seen to be significant. Pearsall stresses Henry's need, more than ever, during this time, to represent himself as a wise and capable ruler. If Hoccleve was in fact working for the Prince in a personal capacity, it seems unlikely that he would have produced a work such as the *Regiment* without being under some form of influence from Henry himself.

The question of whether Hoccleve ever carried out work for the Council can be determined by an examination of its records. This is by no means a straightforward exercise, as the archives of the Council were not systematically kept and are now fragmented. A. L. Brown describes three ways in which records of Council business were preserved: firstly, records sent to the Chancery to authorise the issue of letters under the great seal (surviving in twelve files in series C81 in the National Archives); secondly, documents sent from the Council to the Privy Seal as warrants for the issue of letters; and thirdly, documents retained by the Council itself.[76] These last two groups are difficult to distinguish, because documents retained by the Council were kept in the Privy Seal office; therefore, to avoid confusion, Brown uses the term 'Council records' to refer to the records of Council decisions, and 'Council archives' to refer to documents retained by the Council itself. Further confusion arises from the fact that Privy Seal clerks often wrote for both offices, and the fact that a large part of the records of the Privy Seal were destroyed in a fire at Whitehall in 1619. Surviving documents from these groups are now in the National Archives series E 28 (Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Council and Privy Seal), in the Chancery and Exchequer series of Parliamentary and Council Proceedings (C 49 and E 175), in Ancient Petitions (SC 8) and in several other series.

Bearing in mind these problems, it is possible to carry out a systematic search of these series for examples of Hoccleve's hand. This search reveals three examples of Council warrants for the Chancery identified as having been written by Hoccleve, dating from 1401, 1404 and 1418; these are listed in Appendix II. They order certain persons to

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[76] A.L. Brown, *The Early History of the Clerkship of the Council* (Glasgow, 1969).

appear before the king and Council, and record the presence of the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. Although none of these warrants date from the time of the composition of the *Regiment*, the fact that any Council documents written by Hoccleve have been found is highly significant. The lack of systematic record-keeping and high loss-rate of manuscripts relating to this institution means that even if he had written more regularly for the Council, these documents may no longer exist. The evidence therefore strongly suggests that Hoccleve was one of the more trusted members of the Privy Seal who on occasion carried out work of a secretarial nature for the king's Council. Whether this occurred during the time of the Prince's governorship is still uncertain; however, the fact that the documents identified are spread over an eighteen-year period suggests that Hoccleve's work for the Council was a long-standing arrangement, not simply an isolated incident.

It is tempting to view the image of a kneeling Hoccleve giving his finished work to the prince in British Library MS Arundel 38, one of the presentation copies of the *Regiment*, as evidence of a more personal relationship. However, this must be seen in the context of literary tradition: similar images appear in copies of the *Secreta Secretorum*, Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum* and also the works of Gower and Lydgate, and can refer to a desired rather than actual event.[77] If further research were to confirm that Hoccleve's relationship with the Prince was more than superficial, we should still be wary of arguing that the *Regiment* was the result of a 'commission': this term must be used cautiously, as it could mean anything from Henry making it generally known that he was in the habit of patronising literary works, to a specific request for a work conforming to certain guidelines (in this case, a Mirror for Princes, written in the vernacular). Whatever its extent, it is important not to stress the influence of the Prince at the expense of Hoccleve's own political expression, as the poem is too personal and complex to be seen as a work of propaganda composed by a dutiful retainer. Even if the *Regiment* was Hoccleve's most successful work and resulted in his gaining further royal commissions, it is hard to label the opinions expressed within the poem as anything but the author's own.

Despite the apparent contradiction in a royal clerk writing an advice manual for his employer, it is possible that it was in fact his job that led Hoccleve to assume this

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[77] Oxford, University College MS 185 (*Secreta Secretorum*), Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W.144 (*De Regemine Principum*).

authority. A passage in the *Secreta Secretorum* describes the particular right, or even responsibility, of a clerk to be well-informed regarding a ruler's affairs and to give him advice: 'And as the scribe is thy confidant in secret matters he ought to be trustworthy, honest, acquainted with thy intentions and with the consequences of thy affairs.'[78] In this context, the incidence of Hoccleve having been found to work (even on an occasional basis) for the king's Council, has significance beyond merely that of providing a means of communication with his addressee. Leaving aside the issue of a personal relationship between the prince and his clerk, Hoccleve's role in drafting Council warrants means that the poet was connected to the very heart of late medieval government, and to the very institution that existed in order to advise the ruler. In these circumstances, his decision to write a work of 'counsel' for the prince takes on a new importance.

What emerges from these conclusions is that, despite his anxiety over the failure of the king to pay his annuity, Hoccleve was a supporter of the Lancastrian monarchy. Although the *Regiment* is sparing in its praise of Henry IV, claims regarding the poem's criticism of the king are hard to substantiate. It seems more likely that Hoccleve addressed the *Regiment* to the prince because the king's illness led him to believe that his son would soon succeed to the throne, and it would therefore be useful to secure his patronage. The controversy surrounding the prince's succession made this decision a calculated risk, but one that Hoccleve was probably better informed about than many in the country at the time due to his proximity to the centre of government. It seems likely that the connection between Prince Henry and his clerk had some influence on the composition of the *Regiment*, but how far it determined the character of the poem is uncertain; Hoccleve's role as a scribe for the Council could be seen as increasing rather than lessening his authority, as it gave him a more acute understanding of the process of government. The strongly autobiographical nature of the work suggests that Hoccleve, even if commissioned to write a Mirror for the prince, had a significant amount of control over what form the poem would take, and was not merely the author of Lancastrian propaganda.

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[78] A.S. Fulton, 'The Secret of Secrets', in *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, R. Steele and A.S. Fulton (eds.), (Oxford, 1920), p. 242.

3.3 The Poem's Reception

Having considered the relationship between Hoccleve and the poem's dedicatee, this chapter will now explore the audience of the work in a wider context. Surviving in forty-three manuscripts, the *Regiment* is one of the most successful works of Middle English literature. Its success has in some part already been explored in this chapter; the proliferation of Mirrors for Princes in the later medieval period due to the increasing number of disputes regarding the succession to the English throne, the suitability of the genre as a safe vehicle for political commentary, and its subsequent adaptation to incorporate the increasingly appropriate theme of Boethian instability. However, in order to fully understand the reception of the poem, it is necessary to examine those who were responsible for the dissemination of the text in more detail. Firstly, Hoccleve's perceptions regarding the potential readers of the poem will be examined: what were his expectations regarding the reception of his work and the *Regiment* in particular, and how was he himself responsible for determining who read his poems? Secondly, an attempt will be made, as far as possible, to establish who his wider audience was; this will largely be based on the evidence of the extant manuscripts and references to the work in other sources such as wills and booklists. And lastly, this audience will be considered in the context of the reading habits of the period; this section will examine the recent debate on private and public reading in the later middle ages.

Emphasis on the petitionary nature of Hoccleve's verse has meant that scholarship has sometimes focussed on the immediate dedicatees of his poems at the expense of other readers. However, whilst acknowledging the importance of Hoccleve's relationship with Prince Henry in determining his motives for writing the *Regiment*, there is no indication that he viewed his works as being intended only for a particular individual; there is evidence that his poems were sometimes recycled for different patrons, as in the holograph manuscript containing the *Balade to Master John Carpenter*, in which the dedicatee's name has been written over an erasure, indicating that it had originally had a different recipient.[79]

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[79] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 16.

It could be argued that the *Regiment* is unusual in its degree of specificity to its subject; it frequently addresses the Prince directly, and it is hard to envisage the possibility of it being adapted for another recipient. However, Hoccleve must have been aware that he was composing within the framework of a popular genre, which would have appealed to other noble patrons; it is almost certain that he played a part in the production of the extant presentation volumes. British Library MS Arundel 38 contains the arms of John Mowbray, who died not long after Hoccleve in 1432, and was the son-in-law of Joan, countess of Westmorland, to whom he addressed the holograph copy of the *Series*.[80] The recipient of the other volume, British Library MS Harley 4866, is unknown; M.J. Seymour in his 1974 catalogue of the manuscripts suggests that it could have been either Edward, Duke of York or John, duke of Bedford, but John Burrow argues against this.[81] Whoever the recipient was, it is likely that Hoccleve had a role in the production of both manuscripts. Although he did not write them himself, Seymour suggests that he may have obtained special rates through his contacts at the Privy Seal for copying and materials.[82] The manuscripts are closely related; they are similar in layout and both originally contained two pictures attributed to the workshop of Hermann Scheere, a continental painter living in London: a portrait of Chaucer (now missing from Arundel 38), and a kneeling Hoccleve presenting the book to Prince Henry (now missing from Harley 4866).[83] The possibility that the presentation picture constitutes a true portrait of the poet further strengthens his personal involvement with the volumes.[84] The high cost of producing such volumes may have placed them beyond Hoccleve's means; the recipient may have paid for them, or as referred to above, Derek Pearsall has suggested that Henry himself may have ordered them as gifts for others.[85]

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[80] K. Harris, 'The patron of British Library MS Arundel 38', *Notes and Queries* n.s.31:4 (1984), pp. 462-463; Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p.19, n.72.

[81] M.C. Seymour 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 4 (1974), p. 269; Burrow, Thomas Hoccleve, p.18, n. 71. Seymour suggests that Harley 4866 could be the manuscript intended to have been accompanied by either of the balades to Bedford and York in San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 111, but Burrow takes exception to both of these on the grounds that the Bedford dedication appears to have been written for a holograph *Regiment*, and that the York poem was intended to accompany a different work.

[82] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 256.

[83] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 19.

[84] See M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 174.

[85] Pearsall, 'Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*', p. 396.

Recent work by Linne Mooney has important implications for the extent of Hoccleve's involvement in the production of copies of the *Regiment* for noble patrons.[86] We know that Hoccleve made a copy of the poem for Henry IV's third son, John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford, because of the presence in one of the holograph manuscripts, Huntington MS 111, of a dedicatory balade intended for this copy in which Hoccleve apologises for the poor quality of his handwriting due to his failing eyesight. This balade appears in two other manuscripts, both copies of the *Regiment*, and one of these, British Library MS Royal 17 D XVIII, is argued by Mooney to be written in Hoccleve's own hand. This is based on a number of palaeographical, codicological, and linguistic arguments. As described in Chapter 1, Mooney and others have argued that Hoccleve was capable of writing in a number of different hands, and that his style would have changed over time; consequently, we must not be over-reliant on the holograph manuscripts for our conception of his hand, as these were all written towards the end of his life. She claims that the hand in the Royal manuscript lies somewhere between that of Hoccleve's section in the Trinity Gower and the later holograph manuscripts, and exhibits all of the characteristic letter-forms of the poet, with a few forms that are compatible with his 'earlier graphetic preferences'.[87] She also points to the similarity of the manuscript to the holographs in terms of layout and punctuation. The language used in the Royal manuscript has also previously been noted to resemble Hoccleve's usage in the holographs, and Mooney's study of its spellings reveals them to be identical to Burrow's description of Hoccleve's orthography and morphology.[88] She also argues that some variants in terms of word choice in the manuscript can be argued to be the result of authorial improvement.[89]

The Royal manuscript is inexpensively produced; the vellum is of inferior quality and its decoration is minimal, in contrast to the existing presentation copies of the *Regiment*. For this reason, it might seem an unlikely candidate for the copy intended for John of Lancaster. However, the presence of the dedicatory balade is fairly conclusive; as Mooney argues, 'the balade clearly states that Hoccleve wrote a copy for John, and one for which he felt he had to apologise for his handwriting. Unless we assume that he wrote another, grander copy of the *Regiment* to present to John – still apologizing for his

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[86] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*'.
[87] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 11.
[88] Blyth (ed.), *The Regiment of Princes*, pp. 16-17; Burrow (ed.), *Thomas Hoccleve's Complaint and Dialogue*.
[89] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', pp. 26-27.

handwriting – and wrote this lesser copy for someone else – still appending the balade addressed to John – we must assume that this manuscript, being both written by Hoccleve's hand and containing an balade apologizing for his handwriting, is the one referred to in the balade copied here and in HM 111.'[90] A comparison might be made with the Durham holograph of the *Series*, written by Hoccleve for Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmorland, and also of inferior quality; Mooney argues that these manuscripts may have been produced at Hoccleve's own expense, unlike the presentation copies of the *Regiment*.

The Royal manuscript can be dated to between 1411 and the death of Henry V in August 1422, soon after which John of Lancaster was made Regent of France. Mooney argues that the date is likely to have been earlier in this period; the handwriting is different enough from the holographs to suggest it was written some time before them, and the balade does not refer to John's title as duke of Bedford, which was given to him in 1414. She suggests that Hoccleve may have written the manuscript around this time, when John was a young man in his twenties becoming more prominent at court, and thus an obvious potential patron. An earlier date is also suggested by the inclusion of stanzas within the poem condemning war, which Mooney argues would have been inappropriate after 1415, when Henry V resumed war with France.[91]

If we accept Pearsall's argument that the poem may have been commissioned by Henry as a piece of 'kingly self-representation', then Hoccleve would have been aware that part of his commission was not only to please the Prince, but to reach as wide an audience as possible. The manuscripts described above demonstrate that Hoccleve was aware of the potential of the poem to appeal to other noble patrons, but who did the Prince himself intend the work to influence: did he simply wish to present himself as a capable ruler to his immediate circle of friends and advisors, or did he aim to reach a wider readership? The commissioning of a work in the vernacular would have limited its circulation abroad; R.F. Green points out that English works of royal propaganda would have to be translated into French, the 'lingua franca of courtly society' if they were to reach a continental audience.[92] This could lead to the conclusion that Henry was less concerned with cementing his reputation internationally than with winning the respect of

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[90] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 19.
[91] Mooney, 'A holograph copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 24.
[92] Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, p. 171.

the English court; however he may also have desired a work in English rather than French because it would be accessible to a greater proportion of his subjects.

Hoccleve was certainly aware of his wider readership, as can be seen from his other poems. The *Series*, for example, although nominally intended to fulfil the promise of a book for his patron Duke Humphrey, contains lines in the *Dialogue with a Friend* in which Hoccleve debates the consequences of its publication which would result in it being made 'forth to goo / Among the peple', and he later includes a direct address to his female readers, which will be discussed further below.[93] John Burrow argues that these lines demonstrate that the poet, partly as a result of the illness which is described within the *Series*, is more than usually concerned with his work's reception; 'Hoccleve displays an acute, even morbid, sensitivity to the possibilities of unfavourable response.'[94] On a similar note, in discussion of his role as a scribe and compiler of his own works in the 1420s on the three holograph manuscripts (Durham MS Cosin v. iii. 9 and San Marino, Huntington MSS HM 111 and 744), John J. Thompson argues that these works demonstrate an awareness of his poems' broader readership and concern with their survival after his death, making him one of the first 'poet-editors' in English literary history.[95]

The evidence that the other extant manuscripts present regarding the production, ownership and use of the poem demonstrate the popular appeal of the *Regiment* amongst a number of social groups. The forty-three surviving copies date from the early fifteenth to the late sixteenth centuries, ranging in quality from the presentation volumes to small paper books, and in twenty-five of the manuscripts the poem appears alone. Several comprehensive studies of the manuscripts have been conducted; most notably, those by M.J. Seymour in 1974 and Nicholas Perkins in 2001.[96] Seymour provides catalogue descriptions of each manuscript and describes the various names, annotations and coats of arms within their pages as clues to use and ownership. Perkins draws on subsequent scholarship carried out on the *Regiment* manuscript tradition and focuses in more detail on

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[93] *Dialogue* ll.23-4; 806.

[94] J. Burrow, 'Hoccleve's *Series*: experience and books', in R.F. Yeager (ed.), *Fifteenth Century Studies: Recent Essays* (Hamden, 1984), p. 267.

[95] J. J. Thompson, 'Thomas Hoccleve and manuscript culture', in Helen Cooney (ed.), *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-century English Poetry* (Dublin; Portland, Oregon, 2001), pp. 81-85.

[96] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', pp. 253-71; Perkins, *Counsel and Constraint*, pp. 151-191.

what can be learnt from their production, the other texts by which the poem is accompanied, and the glosses to the text.[97]

Aside from the poem's noble patrons, Seymour describes the poem's audience among the administrative class of which Hoccleve was a member. He cites as precedents the poet's previous works addressed to government officials, such as the Chancellor of the Exchequer Henry Somer and John Carpenter, the Common Clerk of London.[98] Evidence for an audience for the *Regiment* amongst administrative professionals and in the retinues of the nobility can be seen from the names within the manuscripts. These include Sir Thomas Lucas, secretary to Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford (d.1495)[99], Sir John Allyn, probably the man of that name who was Lord Mayor of London in 1525 and 1535, John Shirley, member of the retinue of Richard Beauchamp, duke of Warwick, and Avery Corneburgh, Yeoman of the Chamber to Edward IV and Shirley's brother-in-law.[100] In addition, British Library MS Arundel 59 on f.130^v contains an inscription stating that it was bought by Thomas Wall, Windsor Herald 'of henry at the tauerne within bischops gate at London the yere of our Lord 1525'. Arundel 59 is one of several *Regiment* manuscripts identified as having been written by the Hammond scribe, a professional London copyist of manuscripts of English literature, medicine, science and governance first identified by Eleanor Hammond in 1929.[101] Mooney describes another example of this scribe's work discovered by Jeremy Griffiths (BL Additional MS 29901), which contains treatises on state ceremonial and heraldry, leading her to suggest a link between the scribe and the institutions of the Heralds, Earls Marshall, Constables, Blackfriars and the King's Wardrobe.[102] Perkins argues that these connections suggest that 'the *Regiment* could have been of special interest to those with a professional or personal concern in heraldry, the

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[97] See A.S.G. Edwards, 'Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*: a further manuscript', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* 5:1 (1978), p. 32; Green, 'Notes on some manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', pp. 37-41; M.S. Marzec, 'The Latin marginalia of the *Regiment of Princes* as an aid to stemmatic analysis', *Text* 3 (1987): 269-84 and 'Scribal emendation in some later manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography* n.s. 1 (1987): 41-51.

[98] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 256.

[99] See E. J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1904), I, p.258.

[100] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', pp. 274; 290.

[101] Hammond, 'A scribe of Chaucer'.

[102] L. R. Mooney, 'A new manuscript by the Hammond scribe discovered by Jeremy Griffiths', in T. Edwards, R. Hanna and V. Gillespie (eds.), *The English Medieval Book: Essays in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London, 2000).

duties of a king, political theory, administration, the workings of royal bureaucracy and public spectacle.'[103]

Apart from the names mentioned in the manuscripts themselves, evidence for a professional administrative readership can be drawn from other sources. Perkins points out that we can assume that Nicholas Brigham, the sixteenth-century lawyer, antiquary and Teller of the Exchequer, owned Hoccleve manuscripts, as he is cited by his contemporary John Bale as a source for his knowledge of Hoccleve in his catalogue of British writers.[104] The dedicatory balade in the copy of the *Regiment* intended for John, duke of Bedford described above also refers to a 'Maister Massy', who Hoccleve hopes will read the work 'Secreetly / & what is mis / rectifie'.[105] Turville-Petre and Wilson have identified Massy as William Massy, Receiver-General and General Attorney in the duke's household.[106] They argue that Hoccleve's motives in addressing him were monetary rather than literary, as he would have been in charge of the duke's finances: 'A request for patronage that was of no political importance would perhaps not have been dealt with by John himself, but would be passed directly on to his treasurer, and in this way Massy would be of greater importance than John as far as Hoccleve's purse was concerned.'[107] A parallel can be drawn with Hoccleve's reference to 'Maister Picard' in his balade to Edward, Duke of York, who probably performed a similar function in the ducal household. Although it is uncertain whether the York balade was intended to accompany a copy of the *Regiment*, these envoys demonstrate how a volume intended for a noble patron could also have a readership among their administrative household.

There is also evidence of the poem's circulation in other professional contexts. A possible readership in the universities is indicated by Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 496, which was written by William Wilflete, the Master of Clare College from 1436-55.[108] It would be interesting to establish the use of the *Regiment* as an academic textbook; it has already been noted that one of its main sources, the *De Regimine Principum* of Giles of

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[103] Perkins, *Counsel and Constraint*, p. 175.
[104] Perkins, *Counsel and Constraint*, p. 175.
[105] Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, p. 57.
[106] T. Turville-Petre and E. Wilson, 'Hoccleve, "Maistir Massy" and the *Pearl* poet: two notes', *Review of English Studies* n.s. 26 (1975), pp. 129-32.
[107] Turville-Petre and Wilson, 'Hoccleve, "Maistir Massy" and the *Pearl* poet', p. 133.
[108] On f. 60ᵛ: 'Explicit liber iste qui vocatur Occliffe de regimine principum & constat Magistro Willelmo Wilflete socio Aule de clare Cantabrig' qui eum scribendo propriis manibus laborauit'.

Rome, was read in this way.[109] There are no other manuscripts which contain names associated with the universities, but Perkins makes some connections from the evidence of a late fifteenth-century booklist in the front flyleaf of Oxford, Bodleian MS Fairfax 10, which lists 'Hocklyf de regimine' amongst other items, including medical and religious texts, as well as works by Giles, Jacobus de Cessolis and Boethius.[110] A parchment wrapper surviving in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 227 lists three of the works from this list in the same order, including the Hoccleve; the manuscript was donated to the college by a cleric named Woodcock in 1488, and was previously owned by Roger Marchall, fellow of Peterhouse from 1437/8 and physician to Edward IV. Perkins raises the possibility of the booklist in the Oxford manuscript also relating to books owned by Marchall; whether or not this was so he argues that the list provides 'a valuable context for Hoccleve's *Regiment* in the reading public of the fifteenth century. Here are two of his major sources (Aegidius and *De ludo scaccorum*), the manuals of deportment and health so vital in maintaining the physical bodies of the social and political elite, religious and legal tracts and two of Hoccleve's most important authorities – Boethius and Chaucer.'[111] Several of the *Regiment* manuscripts have connections with the clergy; British Library Royal MS 17 D XIX was owned by the priest Henry Beighton, another priest Richard Wygynton gave British Library MS Additional 18632 to the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Wiltshire in 1508, and British Library MS Harley 7333 was owned by a house of Augustinian canons in Leicester.[112] A copy of the *Regiment* was also bequeathed to the priest Nicholas Frenge in the will of Robert Norwich in 1443.[113]

It is clear from this evidence that the *Regiment* had an audience amongst the professional, bureaucratic and clerical classes in the century after its composition. Seymour argues that 'beyond these circles of court, government, church, universities, and professions, the book had little appeal and no circulation'.[114] The extant manuscripts, however, can be used to reveal connections between the *Regiment* and another group; that of the London mercantile establishment. Sylvia Thrupp has argued that, despite an increasing interest in education and schools among the London guildsmen, book ownership during this period was still largely limited to 'professional men – the doctors,

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[109] Briggs, *Giles of Rome*, pp. 13-15.
[110] Perkins, *Counsel and Constraint*, pp. 176-77.
[111] Perkins, *Counsel and Constraint*, p. 177.
[112] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', pp. 274; 276; 271.
[113] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 257.
[114] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 257.

lawyers, and wealthy men's secretaries.'[115] However, Pamela Nightingale's more recent assessment of late medieval mercantile society has revealed that the beginning of the fifteenth century saw a rising number of books mentioned in the wills of members of the Grocers' company, 'reflecting an investment in culture made at the time of their earlier prosperity.'[116] Hoccleve's own patrons reflect this growing interest in literary patronage amongst merchants; his *Balade to the Virgin and Christ* is a translation of a French *chanson d'aventure* made for Robert Chichele (d.1439), alderman of the Grocer's company and twice Lord Mayor, and the *Miracle of the Virgin* was made for Thomas Marleburgh (d.1429), a stationer and Warden of the guild of Limners and Textwriters, who dealt in manuscripts and had two shops in Paternoster Row.[117]

Although the manuscripts of the *Regiment* do not show explicit evidence of ownership by merchants, several have associations with commercial London book production. San Marino, Huntington EL 26. A. 13 contains the bookplate of John Shirley, mentioned above as a member of the retinue of the Duke of Warwick, now studied for his work as a scribe, compiler of miscellanies and book collector.[118] As well as his associations with the London book trade, Shirley had connections with London mercantile society through his second wife Margaret Lynne, whose father William was a wool-merchant and grocer. Two manuscripts, British Library MSS Arundel 59 and Harley 372, have been identified as the work of the Hammond scribe, who had connections to the Draper Sir Thomas Cook. Further links are suggested by Perkins' study of the manuscripts' collation. He identifies several of the manuscripts (British Library MS Harley 7333, Coventry MS Acc. 325/1, Oxford, Bodleian MS Selden Supra 53 and Cambridge, Queen's College MS 12) as having originally been produced as separate booklets, before later being compiled into larger volumes.[119] This suggests a similar context of production as that described by Linne Mooney in relation to other literary manuscripts written by the Hammond scribe; a shop in London in the mid-fifteenth century where professional scribes

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[115] S. Thrupp, *The Mercantile Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500* (Michigan, 1962), p. 247.
[116] P. Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community: The Grocers' Company and the Politics and Trade of London 1000-1485* (New Haven; London, 1995), p. 374.
[117] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 25.
[118] See A.I. Doyle, 'More light on John Shirley', *Medium Aevum* (1961); L.M. Mooney, 'John Shirley's heirs: the scribes of manuscript literary miscellanies produced in London in the second half of the fifteenth century', *Yearbook of English Studies,* Special Number 33 (2003).
[119] Perkins, *Counsel and Constraint*, pp. 169-71.

borrowed books and made copies of them as exemplars for further copies, and possibly the first printed editions.[120]

The number of extant manuscripts produced in this way, and the identities of many of the known owners, place the poem firmly within a London context; this might seem to support Seymour's statement that the work 'was rarely copied outside the south-east'.[121] However, some of the manuscripts do show evidence of both provincial ownership and production. The Harley *Regiment* owned and possibly written by the Augustinian monks of Leicester has already been mentioned; another example is Oxford, Bodleian MS Digby 185, which contains the armorial bearings of Sir William Hopton (d.1484), of Swillington in Yorkshire, who also held lands in Norfolk and Suffolk.[122] Seymour, for an unspecified reason, refutes the idea that the work was written by a Northern scribe; this conclusion is odd in the light of his suggestion that the Hoccleve items in the manuscript are copied from British Library MS Royal 17 D VI,[123] which he argues (presumably based on the names within the manuscript of members of a Lincolnshire family), was 'carried into the North in the 15th c.'[124] Neither manuscript can be dated more precisely beyond the middle of the fifteenth century, but if Digby 185 was owned by a Yorkshire family in the latter part of the century, and is derived from another manuscript with Northern connections of the same period, it seems safe to assume it was copied in that region. Mooney argues in favour of this conclusion, pointing out that the manuscript contains the distinctive 'bubbles' in the flourishing within the border decoration that Joel Fredell has claimed to be indicative of York production.[125] Mooney also suggests that other *Regiment* manuscripts showing signs of having been produced or owned outside of London include Cambridge University Library MS Hh.4.11, which she speculates may have come from the South-west (explaining its ownership in the seventeenth century by Roscarrock of Cornwall), and

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[120] L. R. Mooney, 'Scribes and booklets of Trinity College, Cambridge, MSS R. 3. 19 and R. 3. 21', in A. Minnis (ed.), *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001).
[121] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 257.
[122] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 277; O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford, 1966-73), 3: 86.
[123] M.S. Marzec supports this conclusion – see her stemma in D.C. Greetham, 'Challenges of theory and practice in the editing of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', in D. Pearsall (ed.), *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 66-7.
[124] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', p. 273.
[125] Personal communication with L. R. Mooney, 15 May 2010 (she has also identified this decoration in the *Regiment* manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 158); J. Fredell, 'The Green Knight at York: was MS Cotton Nero A. X written in York?', Leverhulme Lecture for the York Medieval Literatures, University of York, 11 November 2010.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Dugdale 45, which contains late fifteenth-century annotations on the weather and local nobility indicating a northern owner.[126]

An issue which has often been overlooked by previous scholarship is the possibility of a female audience for the poem. Although the tradition of the princely advice manual could be seen to be explicitly male, the genre did not preclude female readers; there are several examples of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* being owned by noblewomen or given by them to their husbands or children, as in the case of Humphrey of Gloucester's mother Eleanor, who left him a copy of the book in her will in 1399.[127] Christine de Pisan even composed a mirror for princesses, *Le Trésor de la cite des dames*.[128] Christine was a major influence on Hoccleve's work; his earliest datable poem is the *Letter of Cupid*, a translation of her *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*, and as a writer with a background in royal service who was successful at obtaining noble patronage for political works, she was an obvious role model. Hoccleve's own awareness of a female readership may have been heightened at the time of writing the *Regiment*; although he is often imagined as living and writing within a male-dominated world, at some point in the recent past he has married, and the *Regiment* is the first poem in which he mentions this.[129] This awareness is made explicit in his later work; in the *Series* he prefaces the *Tale of Jereslaus's Wife* (his 'apology' for the misogynistic undertones of the *Letter of Cupid*), with a three-stanza address to his female readers, beginning 'My ladyes all'.[130] Despite acknowledging the debt these verses owe to Chaucer's similar refrain in the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, Burrow argues that the poet's sentiment is sincerely meant: 'A note of pleading in Hoccleve's voice serves as a reminder that women formed an influential part of that society from which his illness alienated him.'[131] The apology displays concern not only over the loss of women's society, but more importantly, their patronage; Hoccleve's influential female patrons include the recipient of the Durham holograph manuscript of the *Series*, Joan, countess of Westmorland, and Joan FitzAlan, countess of Hereford, for whom he wrote the *Complaint of the Virgin*.[132]

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[126] Personal communication with L. R. Mooney, June 2009.
[127] Briggs, *Giles of Rome*, p. 61.
[128] Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pisan*, p. 27.
[129] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 12; *Regiment*, ll. 1447-61.
[130] *Dialogue*, l. 806.
[131] Burrow, 'Hoccleve's *Series*', p. 270.
[132] Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, pp. 28; 24.

Although the *Series* was composed several years after the *Regiment,* Hoccleve's awareness of his potential female audience can be seen in the long section in praise of women towards the end of the poem.[133] Perkins describes Cambridge, St. John's College MS I.22, a hybrid regiminal text created from the *Regiment* and the *Fall of Princes,* in which these lines are placed pointedly after Lydgate's anti-feminist rhetoric, invoking 'the dangerous potential contained in Hoccleve's image of a powerful female audience'.[134] The lines specifically refer to women readers and their power as equal to, or even greater than, that of men:

> If that this come unto the audience
> Of women, I am sure I shal be shent:
> Ffor that I touche of swiche obedience,
> Many a browe shal on me be bent;
> Thei wille wayten been equipollent,
> And sumwhat more, vnto hir housbondis,
> And sum men seyn swich vsage in this lond is.

The controversial nature of lines which argue, in contradiction of Biblical authority, that a happy marriage is one in which wives have 'souereynte' over their husbands leads to the conclusion that Hoccleve must have both expected and desired the poem to have been read by women. Although there is no evidence that he capitalised on this appeal by addressing a volume to a female patron, there are several instances of women who owned a copy of the text. The only noblewoman associated with a *Regiment* manuscript is Joan Neville, Countess of Salisbury (d.1462), whose coats of arms appear on British Library MS Royal 17 D VI. However, there are other examples of copies associated with less aristocratic female readers. San Marino, Huntington MS EL 26.A.13 has already been mentioned as containing the bookplate of John Shirley; however, Seymour's list of 'former owners' of the manuscripts links this copy to Margaret Shirley, his second wife.[135] This assumption is presumably made on the basis that incorporated within the bookplate are the names of not only Margaret but also her sister Beatrice, associating the manuscript with her family rather than that of her husband. A similar deduction leads to the identification of another possible fifteenth-century female owner, Thomasin Hopton, the second wife of the Suffolk landowner John Hopton. In her will of 1497 she bequeathed a book by Hoccleve to her son by a previous marriage, Nicholas Sidney. Colin Richmond suggests that this may be

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[133] *Regiment,* ll. 5097-5194.
[134] Perkins, *Counsel and Constraint,* p. 163.
[135] Seymour, 'The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes',* p. 294.

Oxford, Bodleian MS Digby 185, mentioned above as containing the arms of Sir William Hopton, who was John's son and heir by his first wife.[136] William predeceased Thomasin in 1468, and Richmond is presumably suggesting that the Digby manuscript was left to her by him in his will. The *Regiment* might seem an unusual text for a son to bequeath his stepmother; possibly the lines regarding the relationship between husbands and wives might have been particularly pertinent to Thomasin as she was a very strong character; her marriage to John Hopton involved an unusually detailed contract providing for her children by previous marriages, and she took an active role in the financial running of the household.[137] However, if it is the case that Digby 185 and Thomasin's 'book of Englissh called Ocliff' are the same, it does seem odd that she decided to leave it to Nicholas Sidney rather than to a member of the Hopton family. Whatever the case, even if her manuscript was not the Digby *Regiment*, considering the popularity of the text in comparison to Hoccleve's other works, there is a high likelihood that it was another copy of the same poem; she therefore provides an interesting example of a non-aristocratic, female owner.

Having established the varied audience of the poem, it is important to consider the various ways in which texts could be read during this period. Attempting to move away from the idea of reading as a solitary, private activity, Joyce Coleman emphasises the continued practice of public reading amongst an élite, literate audience from the mid-fourteenth until the late fifteenth century.[138] She criticises Walter Ong's failure to take into account the distinction between 'aurality' (reading aloud from a written text) and 'orality' (an oral performance by a bard or minstrel), and the corresponding characterisation of the reading aloud of literary texts as 'oral' literature, when these occasions differ in terms of the size of audience, the greater complexity of the relationship between the text and the reader, and sometimes the presence of the author.[139] She argues that, rather than being something undertaken out of necessity due to illiteracy, public reading in groups could be a legitimate social activity carried out by educated nobles in either a formal or informal setting. This raises the question of whether Hoccleve envisaged the possibility of reading the *Regiment* aloud to Prince Henry. The picture of Hoccleve presenting the book to the

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[136] C. Richmond, *John Hopton: A Fifteenth Century Suffolk Gentleman* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 131, n. 8.
[137] Richmond, *John Hopton*, pp. 117-21.
[138] J. Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge; New York, 1996).
[139] Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public*, pp. 28-32.

prince in Arundel 38 could be seen as an indication of this desire, even taking into account the fact that similar pictures are frequently found within such works. Coleman cites various lines in the proem to the main body of the text which support the idea of a public address to the prince through the aurality of their language, such as 'yf your plesaunce it be to here, / A kynges draught, reporte I shall now here', and Hoccleve's request to 'Yeve unto me benigne audience'.[140]

Tempting though this idea is, it seems likely that these expressions are mere formulae, as much part of the tradition of the genre as the presentation miniature. A possible case for comparison, however, may be found in a reference to a supper of the Merchants' Guild in London in the early fifteenth century, at which Henry Scogan, a squire in the household of Henry IV, presented an advice poem, the *Moral Balade*, to the three sons of the king. This event is recorded by John Shirley in his rubric to the poem: 'Here foloweth next a Moral Balade, to my lord the Prince, to my lord of Clarence, to my lord of Bedford, and to my lord of Gloucestre, by Henry Scogan; at a souper of feorthe merchande in the Vyntre in London, at the hous of Lowys Johan.'[141] Derek Pearsall acknowledges that Shirley does not explicitly state that the poem was read aloud, but argues that this is implied, and therefore presents evidence of 'a reading or presentation of a poem, in a city venue, before a burgher audience that included some royal visitors.'[142]

This occasion bears a marked similarity to the meetings of the London *puy*, a mercantile literary society formed in the thirteenth century in imitation of similar organizations in France. This was an all-male group of guilds members who would meet at regular intervals in order to hold feasts and poetry competitions, at every meeting appointing a different judge or 'prince'. Pearsall and Helen Cooper both put forward the idea that the *puy* presents a possible context for the setting of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; Cooper draws parallels between the structure and purpose of the *puy* and Chaucer's company of pilgrims: 'Literary judgement, the provision of a supper paid for by the members of the *compaignie*, and acceptance of the authority of the prince come as a single package for both groups.'[143] Although there is no record of the London *puy* surviving into

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[140] *Regiment*, ll. 2127-8; 2149.
[141] Oxford, Bodleian MS Ashmole 59 f. 27[r].
[142] Pearsall, 'The *Canterbury Tales* and London club culture', p. 105.
[143] H. Cooper, 'London and Southwark poetic companies: "Si tost c'amis" and the *Canterbury Tales*' in A. Butterfield (ed.), *Chaucer and the City* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 112.

the late fourteenth century, Pearsall argues that the tone of Chaucer's poetry and its 'recurrent appeal to a "clubby" kind of male coterie audience' would have made such an organisation a likely context for the dissemination of his work.[144] He cites as evidence for the survival of societies of this kind Hoccleve's reference to his own club, the 'Court de Bone Conpaignie'. This was a supper club, probably comprised of fellow government clerks, on whose behalf Hoccleve wrote the *Balade to Sir Henry Somer* of 1410, a response to Somer's previous letter regarding the expenses of the society.[145] The poem describes the provisions for the feast and arrangements for their next meeting on the 1st May, and expresses the desire to trust to Somer's judgment on these matters. Although primarily a social club rather than a literary contest, the 'Court de Bone Conpaignie' bears a resemblance to the *puy* in that it was a regular meeting of people in the same profession, excluding women, where an appointed member (in this case Somer) is made the 'ruler of the feast'.[146] Hoccleve's decision to write a balade on this subject also strongly suggests that poetry would be a feature of these meetings. Whether he used the club as a forum for the dissemination of his more serious works or limited his contributions to more frivolous poems better suited to the occasion must remain a matter of conjecture; however, the example of Scogan's address to the princes at a guild feast suggests that didactic texts such as the *Regiment* could find an audience at a convivial public gathering.

It is clear from this evidence that the audience of the *Regiment* in the centuries immediately after its composition was varied, ranging from noble patrons of expensive presentation volumes, to those in service in royal and aristocratic households, London mercantile networks, and provincial readers. The possibility that it could have been read aloud in a group context raises the issue of the 'invisible' audience; whilst a name in a manuscript may give information regarding an owner, it tells us nothing about the other individuals connected to that person who may have come into contact with the text. Hoccleve's own reference to 'Maistir Massy' demonstrates that a patron or manuscript owner is only the most prominent consumer of the work; behind him there may lie a network of readers, connected through institutions such as the family, a royal or noble household, religious house, university or social club. While seldom recorded as the owner of manuscripts, and excluded from literary societies such as the *puy*, it is likely that women

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[144] Pearsall, 'The *Canterbury Tales* and London club culture', p. 99.
[145] Seymour, *Selections from Hoccleve*, pp. 26-8.
[146] Seymour, *Selections from Hoccleve*, p. 111.

formed an important part of the audience of the poem through public reading in family and household groups. Manuscripts such as British Library MS Royal 17 C IV, which contains the inscription 'Nicholai Saunder et amicorum', raise the possibility of joint ownership. Carol Meale points out that this is often difficult to establish; and that 'even where heraldic devices within a manuscript suggest joint ownership, they offer little in the way of positive evidence of the impetus informing patronage or acquisition.'[147] She cites the example of Royal 17 D VI, which contains the arms of Joan Neville, and later in the book display those of her husband William FitzAlan. She suggests that this may be an indication that the text was acquired to form part of a family library; this is one of the many contexts where the poem could have been disseminated amongst a wider group of readers than that of the nominal owner or patron.

Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* is a key text in the development of later medieval didactic literature. The poet adapted a popular and authoritative literary tradition, the Mirror, as a means of negotiating the difficult task of offering advice to a man to whom he was closely connected and on whom his livelihood depended, whilst still retaining his autonomy as a writer. This was accomplished through the adoption of the theme of Boethian instability, which enabled a king's clerk to speak from a position of universal authority without compromising his position. The nature of the poem, simultaneously personal and universal, explains its appeal to a readership which spanned both sexes, the nobility, and professional and mercantile society.

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[147] C. M. Meale, "'… alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch': laywomen and their books in late medieval England", in C. M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 135.

Chapter 4

Hoccleve's Languages

The period in which Thomas Hoccleve lived was an important one for the history of spoken and written language in England. The uses and relative status of Latin, French and English during the second half of the fourteenth century have long been subjects of debate amongst scholars, and the existence of autographs of his writing in all three languages means that Hoccleve presents a unique case study through which to examine the varied linguistic culture of later medieval England. This study of Hoccleve's multilingualism will concentrate on his use of two of these languages, French and English, as it is the changing relationship between these two vernaculars which makes this period one of particular interest to linguists and historians. The chapter is divided into three parts; firstly, I will address the issue of Hoccleve's use of French in his work for the Privy Seal, in the context of the debate over the 'decline' of French in the fourteenth century. Following on from the work of Richard Ingham, this will take the form of a grammatical study of one aspect of his French writing in order to assess Hoccleve's proficiency in the language and hypothesise some conclusions as to how he acquired it. The second section will consider whether Hoccleve's use of French at the Privy Seal influenced his literary work; to this end, his poetry will be examined to see whether it contains words and phrases specific to Anglo-Norman administrative writing. Lastly, I will undertake an orthographical study of Hoccleve's poetry in the context of the growth of English as an official written language during this period; how close was his writing to the model of 'Standard English'? Although time constraints will not allow for more than a brief examination of these complex issues, through these linguistic studies we will hopefully gain some new insight into how the multilingual environment in which a late medieval royal clerk worked and the skills which the role required influenced the composition of Hoccleve's poetry.

4.1 Hoccleve's use of French

The first issue that becomes apparent concerning the dialect of French used in England from the eleventh century is that of definition; whereas some use the terms 'Anglo-Norman' and 'Anglo-French' interchangeably to refer to all varieties of insular French in use after the Conquest, others such as D. A. Trotter would draw a distinction between these terms as denoting, respectively, the vernacular dialect in use up until the early

thirteenth century, and its later incarnation as a written language of record.[1] A distinction has also been drawn between the French of England and the technical terminology in use in the law courts from the thirteenth century, generally referred to as 'Law French'.[2] In his introduction to the On-line Anglo-Norman Dictionary, William Rothwell argues that the term 'Anglo-Norman' is in fact a simplification, which does not take into account the varied origins of the French migrants into Britain or the impact of continental influence during the centuries after the conquest; he uses it in this context only for the sake of continuity with the title of the first edition of the dictionary.[3] With this in mind, the term 'Anglo-French' (hereafter AF) will be used in this study to refer to the spoken and written language used in England between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries; when 'French' is used without specification, it should be understood to refer to the insular form rather than that in use on the continent, which will be termed 'continental French'.

This problem of nomenclature raises the issue of the changing nature of AF over this period; in particular, the question of when it ceased to be a vernacular dialect. It may be helpful here to specify exactly what is meant by this. The key features of a vernacular appear to be the fact that it is spoken by the populace, and that it is acquired naturally at a young age rather than taught, but linguists may also consider such issues as the fluency with which the language is used, and by what proportion of the population. The study of AF, as with any historical language, is obviously limited by the lack of aural evidence; any conclusions regarding spoken language must be inferred from written records, which are open to a number of interpretations.

Regarding the issue of the vernacular status of AF, scholars have tended to fall within one of two camps, labelled by Richard Ingham as French 'minimisers' and 'maximisers'.[4] The first group has followed the views espoused by M.K. Pope, who saw

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[1] D. A. Trotter, 'Language Contact and Lexicography: The Case of Anglo-Norman', in H. Nielsen and L. Schoesler (eds.), *The Origins and Development of Emigrant Languages* (Odense, Denmark, 1996), p. 21. Note that M. K. Pope uses this term to refer to the French of fifteenth-century literary compositions, which she argues is modelled on Continental French rather than the insular variety: M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman* (Manchester, 1934), p. 423.

[2] J. H. Baker, *Manual of Law French*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot, 1990); W. M. Ormrod, 'The use of English: language, law and political culture in fourteenth-century England', *Speculum* 78 (2003), p. 754.

[3] W. Rothwell, Introduction to the On-Line Anglo-Norman Dictionary: http://www.anglo-norman.net/sitedocs/main-intro.html.

[4] R. Ingham, HiSon Conference University of Bristol 2-4 April 2009, handout.

the history of AF as divided into two distinct periods. In the first period, that of 'development', AF can still be regarded as 'a dialect of French, i.e. as a living local form of speech, handed down from generation to generation, albeit one that was progressively modified by the peculiar conditions in which it found itself'. The second period, that of 'degeneracy', begins after the loss of Normandy in 1204, when England and its languages became increasingly separate from the continent, with the result that 'insular French was cut off from its base and more and more restricted in use ... a "dead" language, one that had ceased to be the mother-tongue of anybody and had always to be taught; a "faus franceis d'Angletere", a sort of "Low French", characterised by a more and more indiscriminate use of words, sounds and forms'.[5] This view, as taken up by later scholars such as D. A. Kibbee, sees later AF as a linguistically inferior dialect in the process of dying out, and exhibiting an increasing number of syntactic and phonological errors. This inferiority is supposed to have been evident to contemporaries, as demonstrated by sentiments such as the famous reference to 'faus franceis' quoted by Pope above, from the twelfth-century *Vie d'Édouard le Confesseur* (although, as Kibbee notes, such apologies were often formulaic).[6]

The second school of thought, more subscribed to in recent years, has challenged this theory of the 'decline' of AF, arguing that it held the status of a vernacular for much longer, and was more closely related to continental French, than has previously been supposed. Early surveys of AF documents such as the study conducted by Helen Suggett and the collection of letters and petitions compiled by M. Dominica Legge reveal the continued usage of AF in a wide range of spheres in the later medieval period, including administrative, legal and mercantile records and in the personal and business correspondence of the nobility, clergy and middle classes.[7] More recently, this evidence has been used to support the idea that, far from being in decline, AF flourished in the fourteenth century. This view has been espoused by scholars such William Rothwell, D. A. Trotter, and Richard Ingham. The last of these has carried out a series of linguistic studies

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[5] Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, p. 424.

[6] D. A. Kibbee, 'Emigrant languages and acculturation: the case of Anglo-French', in H. Nielsen and L. Schoesler (eds.), *The Origins and Development of Emigrant Languages* (Odense, Denmark, 1996), p. 6; O. O. Södergård (ed.), *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur; Poème anglo-normand du XIIe siècle* (Uppsala, 1948), ll. 7-10.

[7] H. Suggett, The use of French in the later middle ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series 28 (1946): 61-84; M. D. Legge (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions*, ANTS 3 (Oxford, 1941).

suggesting that AF followed a similar pattern of syntactic change to continental French; these will be discussed in more detail below.

Whilst historians and linguists acknowledge the extent to which AF continued to be used in the later medieval period, there is still considerable disagreement over its continued linguistic validity; in other words, whether its increasing separation from continental French and status as an imperfectly learned second language resulted in a higher instance of error amongst users. This debate often seems to be a matter of interpretation; for example, the work of Trotter and Kibbee demonstrates how the same evidence can be used to argue opposing points of view, with one side seeing language mixing as evidence of AF's deterioration, the other as proof of its vitality. In Trotter's view, there were no clear-cut distinctions between vernaculars during the medieval period; word borrowing, the creation of neologisms and macaronic texts were thus a natural product of the multilingual culture of England at this time. He argues that the modern practice of labelling dialect varieties would have been alien to the medieval mindset, citing the work of Tony Hunt, who has recorded a considerable number of instances where texts have been erroneously glossed by medieval scribes as 'anglice' or 'gallice'.[8] In this context, Trotter sees the adoption of English loan-words into AF (and vice versa) not as an indication of decline, but as proof of 'the linguistic virtuosity of polyglot users'.[9] He goes on to argue that the dismissal of AF by scholars such as Pope as a 'degenerate', 'dead' language is founded on prejudices existing in French and English philology, which over-emphasise literary sources and assume the existence of a homogenous, 'pure' form against which other dialects should be evaluated. He takes issue with this view, and with the corresponding assumption that language contact results in the degradation of a language into a linguistically inferior hybrid: 'the purists are wrong: contact leads not to contamination and corruption, but to exchange and enrichment.'[10]

In contrast to this view, Kibbee sees the influence of English linguistic features and syntactic constructions, the insertion of English words, and the adoption of French words into English as signifying 'the morbidity, not the vitality' of the language.[11] Whereas Trotter views the development of new words unknown in continental French with

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[8] T. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in thirteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1991).
[9] Trotter, 'Language contact and lexicography', p. 27.
[10] Trotter, 'Language contact and lexicography', p. 31.
[11] Kibbee, 'Emigrant languages', p. 9.

meanings specific to AF as part of the language's natural evolution, Kibbee claims that 'The creation of neologisms in Anglo-French could just as easily represent the weakness of the language as its strength.'[12] From this perspective, the flourishing of Law French during the fourteenth century is in itself evidence of the dialect's linguistic stagnation; AF was chosen as the language of the law because it was no longer a living vernacular, and therefore offered a terminology which would exclude those without legal training and would not be confused by dialectal variation.

The above example illustrates how the linguistic changes taking place in AF and English during the fourteenth century can be viewed in very different ways; whilst both acknowledging the importance of the study of later AF, Trotter sees the increasing mutual influence of the languages on each other as signifying a period of creative development, whilst Kibbee argues that this was in fact the time of the 'death agony of French in England'.[13] In the debate regarding the relative status of French and English in the later medieval period, the historical, as well as linguistic, evidence has been subject to differing interpretations. W. M. Ormrod describes a number of events in the second half of the fourteenth century which are often cited as pivotal moments in 'the re-emergence of the [English] vernacular as the spoken language of the aristocracy and, thus, as an acceptable written language of literature.'[14] These include the first recorded reference to English being used to address Parliament in 1362, its use by Henry IV in accepting the throne in 1399, the first English petitions to the Crown in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the statement by John Trevisa in his translation of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, written in the 1380s, that English was now used as the medium of instruction instead of French in grammar schools.[15] However, the event most frequently cited in discussions of the changing uses and status of the vernacular during this period is the Statute of Pleading, passed by Edward III's Parliament in 1362, regarding the languages used in courts of law. This event has been interpreted as signalling the replacement of French by English in official writing; Kibbee has claimed that the statute ordered 'that French no longer be the

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[12] Kibbee, 'Emigrant languages', p. 9.

[13] Kibbee, 'Emigrant languages', p. 1.

[14] Ormrod, 'The use of English', p. 750.

[15] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 2:268; 3:422-23 and C. Given-Wilson (trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 185-6; TNA SC 8/192/9580 and SC 8/20/997, printed in R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt (eds.), *A Book of London English, 1384-1425* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 272; 33-37; C. Babington (vols. 1-2) and J. R. Lumby (eds.), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, 9 vols. Rolls Series 41 (London, 1865-86), 2:161.

language of government and of the legal system', and Legge has argued that the existence of government documents written in French after this date means that the statute was subsequently ignored.[16] However, Rothwell and Ormrod argue that these are misconceptions based on a tendency to overlook the distinction between written and spoken language; this has led to the assumption that the statute was prohibiting any use of French, whereas in reality, it referred only to oral pleading, as Ormrod states: 'the technical abolition of the use of law French as the spoken language of the courts in 1362 had no direct effect on the acceptability and feasibility of Anglo-Norman as a written language of record.'[17]

Rothwell argues that administrators had no reason to cease the use of written French, which had an established specialized lexis and system of abbreviations. He claims that, even in spoken pleading, French could not entirely be abandoned as so much of the technical legal terminology was in that language, and there were no parallel words in English with which to replace the French terms; the Statute was therefore aimed only at ensuring that 'the syntactical framework of the language of pleading would be English'.[18] He demonstrates how this specialized vocabulary was absorbed and eventually became part of the English language, giving examples of legal terms used in Chaucer's description of the 'Sergeant of the Lawe' in the *Canterbury Tales*, including 'assise', 'commissioun', 'patente' and 'purchasour'.[19] Ormrod supports this idea; he argues that the wording of the Statute Roll, which is itself in AF, shows that those who drafted it were aware of the possible ambiguities and confusion that would arise from the translation of legal terms from French into English; by specifying adherence to the 'terms and processes'[20] of the law, 'the statute effectively gave permission for the continued application of French (and, indeed, Latin) terminology where it was necessary and advantageous to the business of the court.'[21] This example demonstrates how certain events can be misinterpreted in the context of the debate surrounding the rise of the vernacular in the late fourteenth century;

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[16] D. A. Kibbee, *For To Speke Frenche Trewely: the French language in England, 1000 – 1600: its Status, Description and Instruction* (Amsterdam, 1991), p. 58; M. D. Legge, 'Anglo-Norman and the Historian', *History* 26 (1941), p. 167.
[17] W. Rothwell, 'English and French in England after 1362', *English Studies* 82 (2001): 539-559; Ormrod, 'The use of English', p. 755.
[18] Rothwell, 'English and French', p. 542.
[19] Rothwell, 'English and French', p. 544.
[20] Statutes of the Realm, 11 vols. (London, 1810-28), 1:375-6.
[21] Ormrod, 'The use of English', p. 773.

the 1362 Statute of Pleading did not prohibit the use of French in official records, but to some extent sanctioned it.

It is clear from this brief overview that there is little consensus regarding the relative status and uses of French and English in the later medieval period. However, recent linguistic studies conducted by Richard Ingham have thrown more light on AF's relationship to both continental French and English during the fourteenth century, and could provide a possible solution to the debate regarding the 'decline' of AF. Following on from the arguments of the French 'maximisers', Ingham makes use of contemporary linguistic theory to suggest an alternative scenario for the development of the two languages in this period.[22] He considers AF in the context of Winford's typology of language contact scenarios, which describe the possible outcomes of the introduction of a new language into a region (the Target Language), and its relationship with the dominant native dialect (the Source Language).[23] Broadly, these scenarios fall into two categories: language maintenance, and language shift. In the first of these, the Target Language continues to be used by some of the population, either borrowing lexical items from the Source Language, or merging at a structural level. In the second, one of the two languages becomes dominant, the other eventually being abandoned. Ingham argues that the case of AF has formerly been viewed as falling into the language shift category; in other words, it was abandoned in favour of English. However, he argues that this does not take into account the continued usage of the language in the fourteenth century. Instead, he envisages the case of AF as falling into the second of Winford's language maintenance scenarios, that of structural convergence with the Source Language. In this context, he argues that later AF is a 'contact variety'; a language that may or may not be learned as a mother tongue, exhibiting traits such as the simplification of cases and gender or the formation of new auxiliary verbs or prepositions conforming to those existing in the model language. In this context, Ingham describes how these 'errors', previously cited as evidence that later AF was an imperfectly learned second language, can in fact be attributed to its status as a contact variety; in support of his argument he describes how similar developments took place in other native speaker dialects of medieval French, such as Walloon, Franco-Provencal and Poitevin.

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[22] R. Ingham, 'Later Anglo-Norman as a contact variety of French', in R. Ingham (ed.), *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts* (York, 2010), pp. 14-37.
[23] D. Winford, *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* (Oxford, 2003), p. 13.

In contrast to the views put forward by Pope and other scholars that AF declined as a result of its increasing separation from the continent after the thirteenth century, becoming an 'artificial language', Ingham's studies have suggested that it is possible to trace a similar pattern of evolution in the language to that of continental French.[24] He examines a number of syntactic changes occurring in continental French during the period c.1300-1350 and finds that AF underwent these developments at a similar time.[25] The changes in question are significant because they do not take place in Middle English, and so indicate that AF was following continental rather than insular patterns of language development.

Furthermore, Ingham identifies a number of developments in Middle English at this time which follow similar changes taking place in continental French, and he argues that AF was the conduit through which this process took place.[26] The influence of AF on English has previously been argued to have been largely lexical rather than grammatical; however, whilst acknowledging the fact that English was the demographically dominant language, Ingham argues that AF exerted a disproportionate influence due to its association with the élite.[27] He cites as evidence the example of the formation of the modal perfect; early Middle English did not use modal verbs with 'have' as an auxiliary, instead using the pluperfect; it is significant that this construction first began to be used in Southern dialects in the mid-thirteenth century, where AF was more prevalent.

The parallel development of AF and continental French in terms of syntactic change during the later medieval period, and the evidence that it was the medium for the structural influence of French on Middle English, make a strong case for the argument that it was not a dying language, cut off from its linguistic base, but rather that it continued to function as a true dialect for much longer than previously thought, with users who were 'balanced bilinguals with a high degree of competence in insular French.'[28] This argument

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[24] R. Ingham, 'Syntactic change in Anglo-Norman and continental French chronicles: was there a "middle" Anglo-Norman?', *Journal of French Language Studies* 16 (2006): 25-49; 'The persistence of Anglo-Norman 1230-1362: a linguistic perspective', in J. Wogan-Browne et al. (eds.), *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain* (York, 2009).
[25] Ingham, 'The persistence of Anglo-Norman', pp. 46-54.
[26] Ingham, 'Later Anglo-Norman', pp. 30-33.
[27] Rothwell, 'English and French in England after 1362', p. 551; Ingham, 'Later Anglo-Norman', p. 33.
[28] Ingham, 'Later Anglo-Norman', p. 33.

has implications not only for Hoccleve's proficiency in French, but also for the role he and his fellow-clerks may have played in the wider development of written language in England at this time. Ingham argues that continued contact between insular and continental French was maintained through the government administration of which Hoccleve was a part. He describes how the first usages of syntactic developments in AF which parallel those taking place on the continent occurred 'in the genre most closely and regularly in touch with the upper levels of society in France, that is, the records written by royal clerks', before these innovations disseminated to other regions and contexts.[29] Furthermore, he argues that it was through the first use of written English in an official context by these clerks that French exerted its syntactic influence.

The hypothesis that users of AF in the fourteenth century were linguistically proficient has been put forward by other scholars; Rothwell has also taken issue with the assumption that later AF sources were produced by scribes who were unable to master the syntactical intricacies of the language, arguing that this image is not consistent with the accuracy of equivalent Latin documents, as he observes ironically: 'the demonstrably differing standards of linguistic competence as between the Latin and French sections might suggest scribal schizophrenia, the scribes perhaps losing all their linguistic ability the moment they turned from Latin to French.'[30] However, these conclusions prompt certain questions regarding the scribes responsible for these documents; who were these 'balanced bilinguals' and how did they acquire their linguistic abilities? Whilst an educational framework for the instruction of Latin had long been established, there is little evidence of comparable formal instruction in French taking place before the end of the fourteenth century. Ingham suggests two main contexts for the transmission of the language before this period.[31] The children of provincial gentry were often sent to court or to noble households for instruction in aristocratic accomplishments, which would have included literary French; this is referred to by contemporary writers such as Froissart, in the language manual Bibbesworth, and in Trevisa's *Polychronicon*, where the children of gentlemen are described as being taught to speak French from the cradle, and being imitated in this practice by those in lower stations.[32] Lower down the social scale, boys

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[29] Ingham, 'The persistence of Anglo-Norman', p. 53.
[30] Rothwell, 'English and French', p. 554.
[31] R. Ingham, 'Parallel evolution of Medieval English and French syntax', 20th International Conference on Computational Linguistics, University of Geneva, 2004.
[32] *Polychronicon* II, p. 159.

who attended grammar schools were obliged to learn French as this was the medium through which they were instructed in Latin. This system was presumably in place until at least the late fourteenth century, when Trevisa describes how 'Iohn Cornwaille, a maister of grammer, changed þe lore in gramer scole and construccioun of Frensche in to Englische'. His mixed reactions to this innovation reveal the continued usefulness of French as a skill at the time he was writing (1385): 'in alle þe gramere scoles of Engelond, children leueþ Frensche and construeþ and lerneþ an Englische, and haveþ þerby auauntage in oon side and disauauntage in anoþer side; here auauntage is, þat þey lerneþ her gramer in lasse tyme þan children were i-woned to doo; disauauntage is þat now children of gramer scole conneþ na more Frensche þan can hir lift heele, and þat is harme for hem and þey schulle passe þe see and trauaille in straunge lands and in many oþer places.'[33]

Even excepting Trevisa's reference to the difficulties of learning Latin in this way, grammar school boys' knowledge of French must have been sufficiently great for it to have been their medium for acquiring another language; for this reason, Ingham argues that it must have been learnt at an earlier stage. His suggested context for this is the church schools, which provided tuition from the parish priest for children aged five or six who were intended for training as clerks, before they went to grammar school at age seven.[34] The evidence regarding the parallel evolution of AF and continental French outlined above supports the idea that AF was acquired at a young age; the developments discussed are 'basic points of core syntax', which 'belong to the areas of grammar that are learned instinctively in early childhood, but with difficulty by second-language learners in adulthood.'[35]

Whilst Ingham's studies provide evidence for the persistence of AF as a native language until a much later date than previously suggested, he acknowledges that by the end of the fourteenth century, this state of affairs was no longer the case, and that it had begun to show signs of being an imperfectly learned second language. In a recent study, he carried out a linguistic analysis on contemporary documents in order to determine more

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[33] *Polychronicon*, II, p. 161.
[34] R. Ingham, *Bilingualism and language education in Medieval England*, Multilingualism in the Middle Ages seminar series, Birmingham, 2007.
[35] Ingham, 'The persistence of Anglo-Norman', p. 53.

specifically the date when this change occurred.[36] As referred to above, theories on language-learning suggest that a language acquired early in life (i.e. within the first five years), will be learnt to native-speaker standard. Those who acquire languages when older, however, even if they attain an advanced level, will be unable to completely separate the different grammatical systems, and consequently will experience interference from their first language leading to a certain degree of syntactical error. On this basis, Ingham examined examples of later AF to see at what point they exhibited sufficient levels of error to suggest non-bilingual proficiency. He isolated two grammatical traits which were particularly suitable to test this: object pronoun use, and noun gender. The 'degeneration' of these characteristics has been attributed to the influence of Middle English; however, Ingham argues that there has not been enough consideration of phonetic factors; namely, that the loss of the final *schwa* vowel in later AF could have led to confusion between the masculine and feminine determiner and adjective forms. In order to separate these phonemic and grammatical errors, Ingham therefore based his study on gender markers with a distinct phonology, such as possessives: *mon/ma*, *son/sa*, and *ton/ta*. He notes that the language manual by Walter of Bibbesworth indicates that possessives were used for the learning of noun gender in fourteenth-century England, possibly due to the fact that other forms had become unreliable. Similarly, his study of object pronoun usage restricts itself to the third person plural forms *les* and *eux*, in order to avoid the possibility of phonological confusion.

After conducting pilot studies on legal texts, Ingham chose as source material the online database of the 'Parliament Rolls of Medieval England' (PROME),[37] as this provided a substantial corpus of dated, searchable texts covering a large time period. He also took into account the fact that these records are 'stylistically fairly uniform, thus avoiding the problem encountered, if one samples texts of various styles, that apparent changes in language may simply be preferences in different stylistic registers that happen to come from different periods, rather than being genuine diachronic shifts in a linguistic system.'[38] The study examined parliamentary records dating from the late thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries. His results indicate that gender neutralisation on forms subject to

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[36] R. Ingham, 'The transmission of later Anglo-Norman: some syntactic evidence', in R. Ingham (ed.), *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts* (York, 2010), pp. 227-51.
[37] *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, C. Given-Wilson, P. Brand, A. Curry, R. E. Horrox, G. Martin, W. M. Ormrod and J. R. S. Phillips (eds.), 16 vols., (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005): http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME/home.html.
[38] Ingham, 'The transmission of later Anglo-Norman', p. 233.

phonological interference occur from the late thirteenth century. However, errors regarding possessive forms are extremely rare until the late fourteenth century, occurring on average just once every twelve sessions of Parliament. The breakdown of consistent gender marking does not occur until the 1370s, when there is a substantial increase in the number of errors; thirty-four instances can be found in the twenty-nine sessions between 1371 and 1399.[39] The data regarding third person plural object pronouns reveals similar results. He notes that in a study of this kind, a numerical analysis could be problematic because of the very small margins involved; regarding frequency of errors, the difference between advanced second-language learners and bilinguals 'would amount to a difference between a fairly low incidence of errors, and virtually no errors at all'.[40] However, bearing in mind the fact that almost any instance of error is significant, the results strongly indicate that the shift from bilingual proficiency in AF towards imperfect second language learning occurred much later than previously imagined, in the final decades of the fourteenth century. Up until this point, 'The grammatical accuracy of the petition writers on the variables studied here was such that French seems more likely to have been acquired naturally in a milieu where it had the status of a spoken vernacular, i.e. 'absorbed' rather than taught'.[41]

Ingham acknowledges the fact that there would have been considerable variation among the general population in terms of proficiency in AF, and that 'Accordingly, caution is in order in generalising the results from PROME beyond the professional community of clerks who produced the texts examined.'[42] It could be argued that royal clerks were trained language specialists, and therefore unrepresentative of society as a whole; however Ingham claims that AF was sufficiently similar to English, and different from continental French, for it not to be seen in terms of foreign language learning. He argues that clerks were aware of this distinction, and were able to switch from one form of French to another according to the demands of the situation. Rothwell supports this assertion; while writing in Latin was 'a traditional exercise in translation into a foreign language', writing in French 'could hardly be called translating in the full sense of the

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[39] Ingham, 'The transmission of later Anglo-Norman', p. 240.
[40] Ingham, 'The transmission of later Anglo-Norman', p. 239.
[41] Ingham, 'The transmission of later Anglo-Norman', p. 246.
[42] Ingham, 'The transmission of later Anglo-Norman', p. 245.

word, because much of the necessary terminology had already been assimilated into English and the boundary with English was harder to determine'.[43]

The data examined by Ingham enables him to locate the end of AF as a vernacular dialect to a very specific point in time, the 1370s. These results may be viewed as surprising; we might expect such a fundamental linguistic change to have occurred more gradually. His conclusions prompt a number of questions; was the sudden rise in errors due to the deterioration of French grammar amongst individual clerks, or by the introduction of new apprentices who had not received the same standard of training? It would be useful here to elaborate on the production of the Rolls. The clerks of Parliament were recruited from the Chancery; Tout has compared the relationship of Chancery to Parliament as being comparable to that of the Privy Seal to the Council; in other words, one acted as the other's secretariat.[44] A. F. Pollard has described how Parliament was composed of six 'grades', each with their own clerk, which merged into the three divisions of king, Lords and Commons during the fourteenth century; by the reign of Richard II this number had consequently been reduced to the clerk of Parliament and his assistant, the clerk of the Commons.[45] Some of the clerks of parliament served for considerable periods of time; Tout describes how John Scarle was recorded as clerk from 1384 to 1394, and may well have continued in that office until 1397.[46] Considerable stretches of the Rolls can therefore be firmly attributed to one or two individuals; Mark Ormrod draws attention to the case of Thomas Drayton, whose name appears on all extant rolls between 1340 and 1346.[47] Bearing in mind the fact that the Parliament Rolls were produced by a comparatively small number of clerks during any one period, we must therefore consider their validity as a source in measuring linguistic usage, as without knowing more about the background of these men it is difficult to come to any firm assumptions regarding the shift away from AF bilingualism.

It may therefore be interesting to examine AF usage during the late fourteenth century by an individual, so that the results can be considered within the context of their

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[43] Rothwell, 'English and French in England after 1362', p. 555.
[44] Tout, *Chapters*, 3: 467.
[45] A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament*, 2nd ed. (London, 1926), p. 125.
[46] Tout, *Chapters*, 3: 448, n. 2.
[47] W. M. Ormrod, 'On - and off - the record: the rolls of parliament, 1337-1377', in L. Clark (ed.), *Parchment and People: Parliament in the Later Middle Ages*, Parliamentary History 23:1 occasional publication (Edinburgh, 2004), p. 41.

particular background and training. Hoccleve presents a useful case study for a number of reasons: he began working at the Privy Seal during the 1380s, during the period that Ingham has identified as the beginning of the breakdown of AF as a vernacular; there are a considerable number of documents identified as having been written by him in the course of his work; and his career spanned nearly four decades, meaning that it should be possible to see whether his use of AF changes over time; does his proficiency in the language deteriorate, reflecting the wider developments supposedly taking place?

According to Ingham's theory, Hoccleve was born too late to have learnt AF at a sufficiently young age to have attained bilingual status, and his documents should therefore exhibit a certain level of syntactical error. In order to test this, one aspect of Hoccleve's French grammar was examined; that of noun gender-marking in possessive forms. The sources used fell into two categories; the formulary of Privy Seal documents compiled by Hoccleve just before his death, and the warrants for the Chancery identified as having been written by him over the course of his career. The formulary, whilst being convenient for this type of study as presenting a sizeable corpus of written material in the clerk's own hand, is problematic regarding dating. Whilst it is possible that Hoccleve compiled the work over the course of his career, its editor, E.-J. Young Bentley, suggests that it was probably begun in the reign of Henry VI, as f.i contains a writ of 6 Nov 1422. Writs dated 1423-5 occur elsewhere in the manuscript, leading Bentley to suggest that the formulary was compiled at some time between 1422 and 1425. On the basis that Hoccleve is recorded as receiving his corrody on 4 July 1424, an event which normally occurred prior to a clerk's retirement, she therefore argues that 'Hoccleve must have been allowed access to the Privy Seal office files after he retired in order to complete his formulary.'[48] This presumed access to the Privy Seal archives enabled Hoccleve to include documents spanning a long time period; whilst the first half of the work is composed of items from the reign of Richard II onwards, the later diplomatic sections contain documents mainly dating from the reign of Edward III. As the book was a formulary, intended to record the form and style of documents rather than their contents, the original sources have been copied largely omitting such details as names, places and dates; consequently, much of the

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[48] Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve', viii. Note that my own research and that of Linne Mooney has uncovered documents written by Hoccleve after this date, showing that he did not in fact retire after receiving his corrody.

dating must be done by context. So, whilst the work is useful in that it presents examples of the range of documents produced by the Privy Seal, it is more difficult to use the formulary as a means of charting changes in the way these documents were produced over time. Therefore, in order to complement this source, a number of Privy Seal warrants for the Chancery in Hoccleve's hand were also examined, as these are clearly dated.

The first fifty different gender-marked possessive pronouns were examined from the beginning of the formulary, as whilst most of the work is Hoccleve's, there is another hand, which occurs almost entirely in the second half of the manuscript. Unfortunately, due to the formal nature of the documents, the study was limited to that of third person pronouns (*son* and *sa*); as both the nominal sender (the king or Chancellor) and the addressee are important personages the documents use the formal 'plural of majesty' in the first and second persons.[49] The gender agreement of the possessive forms was checked in Frédéric Godefroy's dictionary of Old French, supplemented by Tobler and Lommatzsch's *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* where necessary.[50] As referred to above, the original date of the sources is hard to ascertain; Bentley has assigned a date to only seventeen out of fifty of the items looked at, and only eleven of these are specific. The results, as can be seen in Appendix IV (i), show no errors regarding gender-marking. The second part of the study examined gender-marking in Privy Seal documents between 17 June 1394 (the earliest warrant for the Chancery as yet found which can firmly be identified as being in Hoccleve's hand) up until the end of May 1403. These sources were unfortunately unable to present a wide range of examples, as third person possessive pronouns occurred relatively rarely in the warrants, with the exception of *sa vie* (as in *pour terme de sa vie*), a formula which is used frequently. In fact, only 26 different possessive pronouns appear in over 250 documents. The results, displayed in Appendix IV (ii), demonstrate a similarly accurate level of possessive pronoun usage.

Whilst acknowledging that a study of this scale can be far from conclusive, these results suggest that Hoccleve's proficiency in AF was high. However, can they be taken as

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[49] See J. H. Fisher, M. Richardson and J. L. Fisher (eds.), *An Anthology of Chancery English*, (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1984), p. 9.

[50] F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes, du IXe au XVe siècle*, (Paris, 1880-1902); *Adolf Toblers altfranzösisches Wörterbuch ... Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Erhard Lommatzsch*, (Berlin, 1915).

proof that he was a bilingual, who had acquired the language as a young child? There are several problems with this assumption. With some of the examples, the gender of the noun is straightforward (for example those referring to family members such as *son piere, sa femme* etc.). In the case of the examples taken from the Formulary, we have no way of knowing whether the original sources were drafted by Hoccleve himself; in the case of the documents later in the work from the reign of Edward III, he was obviously copying from someone else's exemplar, so there is no reason to believe that he only chose to include documents originally drafted by him from the time of his own career, although he may have been more likely to do this. Consequently, we cannot be sure that it is his grammar that we are assessing, or that of a predecessor. Whilst the evidence from the warrants may give a more accurate representation of Hoccleve's own usage, it could be argued that the nature of his work at the Privy Seal meant that even the documents drafted by him were largely based on a pre-existing structure; the number of formulae used in administrative writing (which will be discussed in more detail below) may have meant that a clerk's potential for error was to some extent limited, and that a study of this kind is not a reliable indicator of linguistic proficiency. However, this is an accusation which could also be levelled at Ingham's sources, the legal texts and Parliament Rolls; as these show clear indications of change over time we must assume some level of autonomy on the part of the individual clerk, however constrained he was by official forms.

Ingham's thesis suggests that Hoccleve, as a clerk who began his career in the late 1380s, would have acquired French as a second language, and consequently that his level of proficiency would have been less than that of a bilingual. The results of this brief study have suggested that this was not necessarily the case, and that his mastery of at least one aspect of AF grammar was to native-speaker standard. The data shows that he maintained this level over his career, and was not affected by a more general trend towards syntactic decline in AF usage. This may suggest that the increasing number of errors recorded by Ingham were the product of a few individuals, rather than indicating a general breakdown in grammatical accuracy. Accordingly, we can hypothesise that during this period, there was wide variation in the proficiency of AF users, not only between trained professional minorities such as government clerks and the wider populace, but within those groups themselves; Hoccleve, as his long career and later connections demonstrate, was likely to have been one of the more able and better-trained employees of the Privy Seal.

Hoccleve's proficiency in French suggests that he received instruction in the language from a young age, whilst he was still able to assimilate the distinct syntax of the language. We might suppose that this instruction was acquired in one of the church schools; however, Ingham has argued that the decline of AF in the later fourteenth century was in part due to the closure of many of these schools due to the high rate of mortality amongst the provincial clergy in the aftermath of the Black Death.[51] Nevertheless, it seems likely that some of these institutions survived, and the suggestion that this was the context of Hoccleve's primary education is a plausible one. Others, such as Furnivall, have suggested that Hoccleve may have attended a church school; assuming that his name identifies him as having come from Hockliffe in Bedfordshire, records mention a man named John Annestey, a priest living there in 1363 who was known to offer instruction to local children.[52]

The conclusions of Ingham's linguistic analysis also have implications for the use of AF as a spoken language. He suggests that the evidence of phonological interference regarding gender errors suggests that AF was still being spoken in some contexts, as 'The syncretism between phonologically close gender exponents, and non-syncretism between phonologically more distant ones, would be hard to account for if French had been confined to a largely written mode.'[53] On the subject of spoken French, Ingham has previously challenged the traditional view of later medieval multilingualism as constituted by spoken English with Latin and French as essentially written codes.[54] In his examination of fourteenth-century Latin manorial accounts, he found examples of English nouns which are prefaced by French articles, which he claims demonstrates the practice of 'code-switching', in which chunks of a different language are transported unintegrated into a text. His thesis therefore is that French was used as a spoken medium of communication among officials administering manorial estates, who switched to using English technical terms when there were no equivalents in French.

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[51] Ingham, 'Bilingualism and language education in Medieval England'.
[52] *VCH Bedfordshire*, III, p. 385.
[53] Ingham, 'The transmission of later Anglo-Norman', p. 248.
[54] R. Ingham, 'Mixing languages on the manor', *Medium Aevum* 78 (2009).

There is little evidence of such 'code-switching' in fourteenth-century Privy Seal documents,[55] but there is still the question of whether AF was ever spoken by government clerks in the course of their work. Regarding the language spoken in Parliament, Ormrod has argued that our knowledge of this has to some extent to be inferred, as it was not necessarily the same as the choice of written language. Generally, French was used in meetings between lords up until the reign of Richard II, but this is not necessarily true of meetings with the Commons; the fact that the opening speech to the 1362 Parliament is specified as being in English suggests this may have been unusual. Although Parliament was 'the one place outside the central courts … where French appears to have been used consistently in plenary proceedings during the first half of the fourteenth century', the Statute of Pleading discussed above suggests that by the 1360s spoken French was beginning to be regarded as the preserve of a minority.[56] Obviously, the language spoken in Parliament may well have had no bearing on that used in the day-to-day business of Westminster, but they may be more connected than we might think. If French was spoken at meetings of the king's council, at which a clerk of the Privy Seal acted as secretary, then whoever fulfilled that role must have had the ability to understand the language. Is it possible that verbal communication between the king and Keeper of the Privy Seal, and even between the Keeper and the clerks under him, was carried out in French? This must remain a matter for conjecture, but even if this scenario was not the case, it is possible that Hoccleve himself sometimes spoke French in a literary context, as will be discussed in more detail below.

The status of AF in the fourteenth century continues to be a subject on which there is much disagreement. Whilst use of the language persisted on a greater scale and for much longer than previously supposed, the role that it played in late fourteenth century English society is still to some extent unclear. This is the time when its status as a medium of spoken communication, used by fluent bilinguals, was beginning to change, and the beginning of the end of its use as the primary language of written record. The problem lies in determining when these changes occurred. Ingham has shown that the transmission of the language is central to this debate, and has demonstrated how linguistic analysis of the

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[55] However, Gwilym Dodd has drawn attention to instances of the reporting of direct speech in a different language to that of the main text in other official records: see G. Dodd, 'Trilingualism in the medieval English bureaucracy', forthcoming 2011.
[56] Ormrod, 'The use of English', p. 777.

French produced by late medieval clerks can throw some light on the subject. This study has attempted to use these techniques to examine language use on the part of a contemporary individual, in order to locate the texts examined more firmly in their immediate context; by taking Hoccleve as a case study it is possible to formulate a more detailed hypothesis on his linguistic training and the role AF played in his working life, based on the evidence provided by the manuscripts and documents he left behind. Whilst we should be careful when using his example to make generalisations about the use of French in the population as a whole, his obvious proficiency in the language could indicate that the professional administrative elite continued to use the language accurately and fluently even in the early fifteenth century. This might suggest that Hoccleve's claim, in the *Regiment of Princes*, that he 'in Frensshe … canst but smal endyte',[57] was part of the standard literary tradition of modesty, rather than an actuality.

4.2 The influence of the Privy Seal on Hoccleve's poetry

The fluency with which Hoccleve was able to write in French, and the frequency with which he was called upon to do so, means that it would have been strange if his use of the language did not in some way come to bear on his other written work, his poetry. The relationship between the literary work of a medieval author and the writing produced during the course of their day job is a subject that has been studied before; Rothwell argues that Chaucer is a suitable case study through which to examine the multilingual culture of late medieval England, as he was 'involved with all three languages in his various capacities as an envoy of the Crown abroad, a senior home civil servant employed at one time or another in a number of different departments of government, and also a great writer. Moreover he was living in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the linguistic situation in England was in the process of a change so decisive that it would mark off the medieval world from our own.'[58] Rothwell bases this study on Chaucer's poetry, the documents relating to him and his contemporaries in Crow and Olson's *Chaucer Life-Records,* and other fourteenth-century documents produced in the spheres in which he worked. It could be argued that Hoccleve presents an even more useful subject for this purpose, as we have access both to a substantial corpus of documents in his own

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[57] *Regiment*, l. 1871.
[58] W. Rothwell, 'The trilingual England of Geoffrey Chaucer', *SAC* 16 (1994), p. 45.

hand, and the autograph manuscripts of his poetry; it is therefore possible to gain a more accurate picture of the way in which he personally used English, French and Latin.

Concentrating on Hoccleve's use of the first two of these languages, this study will attempt to find evidence for the influence of the kind of language used at the Privy Seal on his literary work; in other words, whether Hoccleve's English poetry made use of the lexis and phraseology specific to Anglo-Norman administrative writing. This will be divided into two parts. The first study will examine individual lexical items present in Hoccleve's poetry which are etymologically French, and consider whether these words had a particular association with government writing, or a meaning or register specific to administrative documents. This will be accomplished through consideration of the use of these items in the Privy Seal documents and in the Parliament Rolls. In order to establish whether these terms were confined to administrative French, or whether by this stage they had become absorbed into Middle English, their usage by Hoccleve's literary contemporaries will then be examined. The second part of the study will look at the relationship between word-pairings and phrases appearing in the poetry and the formulae used in official documents; the distinctive character of these means that the influence of administrative writing can sometimes be identified even when the phrase in question has been anglicized. From this evidence, it will be argued that even regarding words and phrases that had by this point passed into common usage in Middle English, Hoccleve often utilized language in such a way as to invoke meanings specific to official governmental writing, and that this had a substantial impact on the character of his poetry. This hypothesis will be considered within the broader context of the syntactic impact of French on Middle English at this time.

As referred to above, Rothwell has described how the specialized lexis of Law French was transferred when spoken English began to be used in the law courts, and was eventually absorbed into Middle English, giving examples of its usage in Chaucer's poetry.[59] In the introduction to the Anglo-Norman Dictionary, he claims that this was a process that also occurred when written English began to be used in government writing: 'The hybrid language that is the modern English administrative style was made up to a considerable degree of Anglo-French terminology set in English "function words".'[60] He cites A.L. Brown's study of Privy Seal clerks, and the cases of Hoccleve and Robert Frye

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[59] Rothwell, 'English and French', p. 544.
[60] Rothwell, Introduction to the On-line Anglo-Norman Dictionary.

in particular, as providing evidence for the continued importance of AF not only in their work in the government office, but also in their personal lives; he points out that French was the most frequently used language in the Frye correspondence, even in the letters to and from his family.[61] However, the influence of French is not always so obvious today; many words which in the fourteenth century had only recently been absorbed into the English language are now so thoroughly integrated as to make their identification problematic. Rothwell describes how the free interchange of words between languages common during this period makes certain words difficult to ascribe to any particular language. He takes the example of the word *dekaie*, used by a clerk writing in French in a Parliament Roll of 1436, as demonstrative of this problem; although the word is unknown in continental French, he argues that it is likely to have been derived from an AF past participle. He argues that in this case, it is unclear whether the clerk considered the word to be French or English, 'accustomed as he must have been to working with all three languages and moving freely from one to the other on a daily basis, without asking himself whether he was crossing linguistic boundaries.'[62]

Rothwell argues that it was this mentality present in the users of the two languages which was responsible for the close and complex nature of the relationship which existed between them at this time. In his study of Chaucer's use of language, he identifies three levels of influence of French on English during the later medieval period: the adoption of individual items of French vocabulary, which may or may not have taken on new meanings; the adoption of French linguistic mechanisms to create new 'French-looking' terms particular to English; and the formation of hybrid words whose origin is difficult to determine, such as the example given above. However, this influence was not one-sided; there is also substantial evidence for the influence of Middle English on AF at this time. Rothwell argues that this came about through the mindset present in contemporary scribes of official documents which meant that they were often 'thinking in English to draw up a document that by convention needs to be in French.'[63] This operated in one of two ways;

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[61] Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 264. See Brown, 'Privy Seal', v. II, Appendix of Documents, pp. 353-70 for a list of the Frye correspondence and transcriptions and translations of some items. Of the 26 letters, 16 are in French, 6 in Latin and 4 in English. The content of these is largely business-related, including those to and from Frye's family, and the choice of language seems to have been determined by the preference of the other party. For example, Frye's communication with his mother appears to have been mainly conducted through another family member and in French, except in the case of E 28/29/50 (Brown item F), a letter in English which is most likely in his mother's hand.

[62] Rothwell, 'English and French', p. 553.

[63] Rothwell, 'The trilingual England of Geoffrey Chaucer', p. 60.

neologisms were either constructed through the application of an English linguistic mechanism to French lexical items, or vice versa. In the first case, Rothwell gives such examples from documents in the *Chaucer Life-Records* as *liter* (to bed in) and *ponter* (to bridge); these were created through the English practice of converting nouns into verbs being applied to French words. In the second scenario, French constructions were used in conjunction with English terms in order to create words unknown in continental French. For example, the addition of the French *-er /-our* ending to English words in order to denote occupation resulted in the creation of titles of royal officials which were unknown at the French court, such as the *pulter* (buyer of poultry), *tormentour* (slaughterman) and *sergeant chaundelere* (official in charge of candles). In a similar way, the suffix *–erie* was added to denote the office or place where these occupations were carried out, and *–age* was attached to nouns to denote different types of action, or later, the payment attached to the fulfilment of that action; for example *pavage* and *pontage*, taxes payable for the upkeep of roads and bridges. It was these processes which have resulted in the existence in modern English of words such as butler, confectioner, chandlery and scullery, which have no immediate equivalents in modern French.

Rothwell thus argues that looking at the relationship between French and English during this period in terms of the concept of 'borrowing' is too simplistic a view; the culture of mutual influence that existed between the languages meant that in many cases contemporaries would have found it difficult to firmly ascribe a word to one or the other. In the context of this linguistic fluidity, and the requirements of the environment in which he worked, it seems probable that Hoccleve's vocabulary would contain a substantial proportion of words that can be identified as having recently been adopted into the English language from French, or display some kind of French influence. With this in mind, a number of lexical items were selected from his poetry on the basis of their having either a very similar French equivalent, or recognisable orthography. The *Regiment of Princes* was used as source material, as it contains a certain amount of autobiographical information relating to Hoccleve's work at the Privy Seal, and also tackles the themes of governance and kingship; it is therefore the most likely of all of Hoccleve's works to contain words and concepts which he may have used in his day-to-day life as part of the machinery of government.

These items were considered in the context of their usage in the Parliament Rolls and their given origin and earliest citation in the Middle English Dictionary (MED). The results of this study can be seen in Appendix IV (iii). The entries for these terms in the MED demonstrate that although some of these words, such as *conseil*, *richesse*, *enchesoun* and *suffrance*, had been adopted into Middle English in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, others, such as *duete*, *governaille*, *guerdoun* and *seurte*, only began to be used in the second half of the fourteenth century. Interestingly, the evidence from the Parliament Rolls indicates that it was during this period that many of these terms began to be used more frequently in administrative French; the words *duete*, *governaille*, *guerdoun*, *richesse*, and *servage* are almost never found in the Rolls before c. 1350, and in most cases, the majority of the citations are from the 1370s or later. In most cases, these words tend to decrease in frequency after the early fifteenth century, suggesting that they were not adopted into the lexis of administrative English or were translated; for example in the case of *governaille* and its variations, only 3 out of 52 citations occur in English documents, *estat* becomes *state* or *estate* in English, and *enchesoun* is translated into *occasion* or *occasioun*. Hoccleve's vocabulary can therefore be seen to have contained a number of terms which had recently become more prevalent in French administrative writing. In some cases, he appears to express a preference for the French form of a word rather than its English equivalent; for example he favours the form *governance* which appears frequently in French documents, rather than *governaunce*, which begins to be used in English after 1423.

In order to establish how far Hoccleve's use of these terms can be attributed to French influence, it is necessary to examine the extent to which they had become absorbed into the English language by this period. One way of doing this is to consider their use amongst Hoccleve's contemporaries, Chaucer, Gower and Langland, using the available concordances of their major works.[64] Appendix IV (iv) displays the results of this study. It shows that Chaucer used all of these terms at least once in *The Canterbury Tales*, Gower used all of them in the *Confessio Amantis* with the exception of *governaille*, *guerdoun* and *seurte*, but relatively few were used by Langland; the words *duete*, *enchesoun*, *estat*, *governance*, *governaille*, *guerdoun*, *obeissant*, *servage* and *seurte* do not appear in *The*

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[64] Chaucer Concordance http://www.umm.maine.edu/faculty/necastro/chaucer/concordance/; J. D. Pickles and J. L. Dawson (eds.), *A Concordance to John Gower's Confessio Amantis* (Cambridge, 1987); T. Matsushita (ed.), *A Glossarial Concordance to William Langland's The Vision of Piers Plowman: the B-text* (Tokyo, 1998).

Vision of Piers Plowman in any form. It is possible that this is due to the earlier date of the poem, implying that these words had not yet become fully integrated into the English language. However, it is also possible that Langland was not familiar with these terms because, unlike Hoccleve, Gower and Chaucer, he did not work in an environment in which he was brought into contact with official writing. Considering the length of *The Canterbury Tales* in comparison to the *Regiment*, even Chaucer uses most of these terms relatively infrequently. This leads to the conclusion that Hoccleve's use of these words was in some part due to their association with the government records that he produced; in a similar way, Simon Horobin has demonstrated how Chaucer utilised technical terms in his poetry which were related to his position as controller of the wool customs.[65]

Some terms occurring in the *Regiment* also imply a specific meaning associated with official writing; for example, the word *seuretee* is used frequently by Hoccleve in the context of the Boethian themes of the poem, but his advice to the prince that a king should be willing to listen to the opinions of his subjects 'for the seuretee / Of his good loos' suggests a sense particular to its usage in administrative records; that of a guarantee to a contract, as in the phrase 'par certeine seurtee' which occurs frequently in the Privy Seal warrants.[66] Similarly, Hoccleve's use of the word *duetee* in his description of his overdue annuity payment refers to the specific sense of a sum of money owed to a person, the sense in which it is most frequently used in official writing.[67] A similar sense is attached to the word *guerdoun*; rather than just simply meaning 'reward', Hoccleve uses it to denote a payment in return for service, referring to his 'yearly guerdoun, myn annuitee / That was me grauntid for my long labour' and later advising the Prince that 'if yee graunten by your patent / To your servants a yeerly guerdoun', this payment should be honoured.[68] This is comparable with the sense in which the word is used in the Parliament Rolls, in both French and English documents, for example regarding Richard II's decree that those officials who have been deprived of their positions for term of life shall be financially compensated 'par voie de guerdoun pur lour service', and Henry VI's reference to those 'olde servantz and feble' who have spent their lives in service to his grandfather, father

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[65] S. Horobin, *Chaucer's Language* (Basingstoke, 2007), p. 74.
[66] *Regiment*, ll. 2542-3.
[67] *Regiment*, l. 823.
[68] *Regiment*, ll. 4383; 4790.

and brother, and who are now 'withoute any liflode or guerdon'.[69]

This study of a sample of Hoccleve's vocabulary demonstrates that he made use of a number of words which had recently begun to be used with more frequency in the Parliament Rolls. Although Hoccleve was not himself a clerk of Parliament, we can assume that the language used by such clerks was of a similar character to that used by the other government offices at the time; these are all terms which are used with varying degrees of frequency in Hoccleve's formulary and in the Privy Seal warrants. The number of citations must be seen in the context of the number of documents produced by the government administration overall at each period in time, but the fact that many of these words are not used at all before the late fourteenth century must be seen to be significant. The occurrence of the majority of these terms in the poetry of Chaucer and Gower suggests that they were beginning to be adopted into Middle English, and could lead to the conclusion that Hoccleve acquired them through their influence; however, the frequency with which Hoccleve made use of words that were then still relatively unusual in literary English such as *seurte*, which is used only twelve times in the entirety of the *Canterbury Tales*, and not used at all by Gower and Langland, and the particular meaning ascribed by him to such words, suggests that his familiarity with these terms was at least partially attributable to his exposure to the lexis of French administrative writing.

The second part of this study will examine the formulae used in Privy Seal warrants to see whether any counterparts to these can be found in Hoccleve's poetry; i.e., whether there are any specific phrases or pairs of words which can be seen to correspond to those commonly used in contemporary administrative language. Previously, A.A. Prins has examined how the borrowing of phrases from French in the later medieval period can be seen to have had an effect on the structure of Middle English.[70] This influence is most obviously syntactic, whereby the grammatical structure of an English phrase can be traced back to a French counterpart. He explains how through this process, the phrasal power of words was extended; for instance, the prepositions 'at', 'on', 'by' and 'for' and the adjectives 'fair', 'great' and 'high' came to have a much wider range of meanings under the influence of Old French phrases; in this way the use of 'at' in the phrases 'at ease' and

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[69] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Richard II, January 1394, item 54: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116499; Henry VI, July 1433, item 18: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=116537.

[70] A.A. Prins, *French Influence in English Phrasing* (Leiden, 1952).

'at will' led to the formation of the phrase 'at liberty', and the influence of *beau* and *belle* led to the use of 'fair' in phrases such as 'the fair sex'. Prins argues that, although present, the stylistic and lexical influence of French on English is more difficult to establish, as similar expressions often arose in different languages independently; he suggests that word-pairs such as 'peace and concord' are 'no doubt due in part to that tendency to balance and harmony inherent in the human mind'.[71]

Prins describes how the disproportionate influence of French culture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in conjunction with the adoption of English by formerly monolingual French-speakers, resulted in an increasing flow of loan-words and phrases from French to English, with a peak being reached in the second half of the fourteenth century.[72] However, his research suggests that by the early fifteenth century borrowings began to decline, due to the fact that 'by that time the vocabulary and phraseology had been largely established'.[73] The results of the previous study, whilst broadly fitting in with these dates, suggest however that French lexical influence on those, like Hoccleve, connected to the government administration, may have persisted longer. Many of the English phrases which Prins describes as coming about through French influence include modes of speech now considered to be ingrained within the English language, and which are often found within official documents, for example 'at peace' (*a pais*), 'to bear arms' (*porter les armes*), 'before/behindhand' (*avant le/arriere main*), 'by counsel of' (*par le conseil de*), 'by grant of' (*par le graant de*), 'by right' (*par droit*), 'to do homage/honour/penance/service' (*faire homage/honneur/penance/service*), 'equal to' (*égal à*) , 'gentleman' (*gentilhomme*), 'good graces' (*les bonnes grâces*), 'to hold court' (*tenir sa court*), 'to make petition' (*faire sa petition*), 'safe-conduct' (*sauf conduit*), 'the space of' (*l'espace de*) and 'to take advice/counsel' (*prendre avis/conseil*). In this way he shows how the choice of preposition or verb in these English phrases is far from arbitrary, but is in fact a result of it being a direct translation of a pre-existing French expression.

Some of Prins' examples demonstrate the influence of administrative French on English literary writing of the period; in the case of the phrase 'by occasion of' or 'by encheson of' he cites its derivation from *par occasion de* in various official sources such as

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[71] Prins, *French Influence*, p. 7.
[72] Prins, *French Influence*, p. 38, see graph p. 33.
[73] Prins, *French Influence*, p. 39.

the Parliament Rolls, and its subsequent use by Chaucer in the *Tale of Melibee* in the line 'by enchesoun of the hete'.[74] The majority of Prins' examples in both English and French, however, come from literary, religious or didactic works, with the exception of some citations from legal texts. In this context, an examination of Hoccleve's English may lead to some new insights into the specific influence of administrative French on English phrasing. Having established whether Hoccleve's poetry contains any examples of word-pairings or modes of speech which can be traced back to the French used in government documents, it would then be interesting to compare these with the English which began to be used in these documents towards the end of his life. Whilst the date of his death means that Hoccleve's contact with English in the course of his work was likely to have been limited, it would be interesting if his poetry contained any examples of phrases which later come to be used in English administrative documents.

On several occasions, Hoccleve makes use of French phrases without translating them; he uses 'par chance' or 'par cas' when describing hypothetical situations,[75] and 'sanz faille' to add emphasis to a statement.[76] As Prins has described, the choice of preposition in a phrase may betray its French derivation, and this can be seen in the *Regiment* in Hoccleve's reference to his annuity as having been given by the king 'of his special grace'.[77] The phrase *Come de grace especiale* is used extensively in the Rolls and documents produced by the government offices with regard to grants made by the king to his subjects, and is a key part of official rhetoric in that it invokes the king's God-given right to rule; as he was appointed by the grace of God, so it is this authority which enables him to dispense grace to his subjects. The phrase is used frequently in Latin and French, and is first used in English in the Rolls in 1437, under Henry VI; in this context Hoccleve can be seen to be pre-empting its translation. Whilst it may be argued that in this case, Hoccleve is not so much exhibiting the stylistic influence of French administrative writing as quoting from it (the warrant that granted his annuity is likely to have used these very words), there are other aspects of his poetry which could be argued to demonstrate a less obvious influence. A distinctive feature of administrative writing is its use of pairs or groups of words with similar meanings; such formulae have the function of removing the possibility of ambiguity and identifying the authenticity of the document through use of a

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[74] Prins, *French Influence*, p. 90.
[75] 'par chance': *Regiment*, ll. 175; 4977; 'par cas': 1449; 1564; 4544; 4895; 4099.
[76] *Regiment*, ll. 1361; 4366.
[77] *Regiment*, l. 820.

form associated with a particular source. Examples of this include the commands that an order should be *ratifier et confirmer*, or that something should be set down in the *roulles et remembrances*. A similar use of pairs of words with similar meanings can be found in the *Regiment*, such as 'speke or seye', 'ebben and abate', 'herkne and heere' and 'ryde or goon'.[78] These are scathingly referred to by Bernard O'Donoghue as 'unenlightening doublets'; he lists them as one of Hoccleve's main poetic weaknesses, as they are 'especially rife' in his work.[79] However, it can be argued that this repetition was intentional, an attempt to emulate the style of the official language that Hoccleve was accustomed to use in his role as a clerk. In the official documents, repetition could also take the form of lists, especially regarding goods or payments; for example a grant of land often specifies that the owner should receive any income from it in the form of *les gages fees et toutes autres maneres des profiz*. This could be compared with Hoccleve's reference to the loss of 'hyre and fees and wages'[80] in the *Regiment*. However, it should be noted that this use of pairs or groups of words with similar meanings was not limited to official documents; Horobin has documented their use by Chaucer for the purposes of rhyme or metre.[81]

Two other phrases which are used frequently in official documents of the period are *bone/male governance* and *commune profit*; these are found with consistent regularity from the reigns of Edward III to Henry V, and are translated into English before becoming less frequent in the government records of Edward IV. These were both key pieces of political rhetoric in the turbulent relationship between king and Commons that characterised much of the late medieval period; G. L. Harriss describes the first parliaments of Henry V's reign as being 'concerned with the problems of "bone governance"', which the king attempted to address by pledging to rule with 'good counsel, financial discipline, efficient and economical administration, and the maintenance of strong defences.'[82] That this concept was seen as the basis of kingship can be seen from the comments of the speaker of the Commons, Sir William Stourton at the May 1413 Parliament, who told Henry V and the assembly how they had often requested good governance from his father, but that the king himself was aware of the extent to which this

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[78] *Regiment*, ll. 4702; 4828; 4870; 1495.
[79] O'Donoghue (ed.), *Thomas Hoccleve: Selected Poems*, p. 12.
[80] *Regiment*, l. 4689.
[81] Horobin, *Chaucer's Language*, p. 72.
[82] G. L. Harriss, 'The management of Parliament', in G.L. Harriss, (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), p. 142.

request had been granted.[83] In the context of the nature of the *Regiment*, it is perhaps therefore surprising that Hoccleve does not make use of this significant phrase; he does refer on a couple of occasions to 'housbondly governaille' and 'fals governaille', but neither is used in a sense specific to the government of the realm.[84] The poem, however, does contain several references to 'common' or 'universal profit', often in the context of the virtues of a good ruler; for example the tales of the king of Sicily who 'loved bet profit / Commun than his avantage or delyt', and Marcus Regulus, who 'hadde of the profit universel / Than of himself', and Hoccleve's praise of 'Lady Largesse' who works towards the 'commun profyt'.[85] Although the idea that a king should put the public good before his own interests was one of the central tenets of good government, and was therefore a feature of most works within the genre of the Mirror for Princes, the fact that Hoccleve makes use of a phrase that was one of the main elements of fourteenth-century political rhetoric can be seen as evidence of the influence of the language of government on his poetry.

The editor of the *Regiment*, Charles Blyth, has acknowledged the role that Hoccleve's use of French played in the composition of his poetry, but has interpreted this in terms of literary influence; he argues that 'given Hoccleve's familiarity with French in his daily work at the Privy Seal, it would be surprising if he were not familiar with the *dits* and begging poems of a poet such as Deschamps'. Furthermore, he downplays the extent of this influence, claiming that 'While the subject deserves more attention than it has received, one may doubt that there is much in the way of close intertextual relationships, and in particular one may doubt the influence of French poetry on the *Regiment*.'[86] Whilst the influence of French authors on Hoccleve's poetry is arguable (the fact that his earliest datable poem is a translation of a work by Christine de Pisan may suggest that she at least was a literary role model), this study has hoped to demonstrate that Hoccleve's poetry contains many words and phrases that can be traced back to the writer's use of administrative French. The importance of the vocabulary and style of French government documents in the development of the English language has been argued by Rothwell, who claims that the dismissal of AF in the later medieval period by modern scholars 'has hampered the correct appreciation of the English language in the crucial fifteenth century,

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[83] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Henry V, May 1413, iv.
[84] *Regiment*, ll. 908; 5268.
[85] *Regiment*, ll. 1147-8; 2295; 4108.
[86] Blyth, *The Regiment of Princes*, p. 12.

because no attention has been paid to the lexis used in thousands of pages of French written by English scribes at a time when the two languages were closer than they had ever been before or will probably be again.'[87] The poetry of Hoccleve represents a unique opportunity to examine the complex relationship between the two languages during this time.

4.3 Hoccleve's English

Having considered the work of Thomas Hoccleve in the context of the changes taking place in the French language in the later Middle Ages, this study will now turn to the poet's use of English. Whilst accepting that English would have been Hoccleve's first language and the one that he felt most comfortable writing in, it is worth examining his motives for choosing it as a literary medium in more detail. Although he is often now seen as taking part in a movement towards the establishing of an English literary tradition that began with Chaucer and was continued by Gower and Lydgate, his choice of language was not a foregone conclusion; up until very recently French had been the accepted language of courtly literature, and English poets still looked to France for influence; the fact that the Old Man in the *Regiment* tells Hoccleve to 'Endite in Frensshe or Latyn thy greef cleer' suggests that these, rather than the vernacular, were still the suitable languages in which to address a noble patron, and we have already noted the probable influence of French authors on Hoccleve himself.[88]

In the *Regiment*, Hoccleve's stated reasons for writing in English are the limitations of his ability in other languages (he professes that he 'in Latyn / Ne in Frensshe neithir canst but smal endyte', upon which the Old Man tells him that 'In Englisshe tonge canstow wel afyn') and his desire to imitate Chaucer, who is praised specifically for being 'The firste fyndere of our fair langage'.[89] However, it is also likely that he would have been aware that writing in English would please the Prince, his patron. The patronage of vernacular literature by the Lancastrian nobility has been well-documented,[90] and the potential role of Henry V in the composition of the *Regiment* has already been discussed; however, the major contribution of the king towards the development of written English

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[87] Rothwell, 'English and French', p. 558.
[88] *Regiment*, l. 1854.
[89] *Regiment*, ll.1870-3; 4978.
[90] See Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, pp. 156; 182-5.

was concerned with its use as an official language of record; M. Richardson refers to his reign as 'the pivotal period for the use of English by the government'.[91] The number of documents in English to and from the government offices increased in the first half of the fifteenth century, but rose dramatically after Henry's accession to the throne in 1413. John Fisher divides the earliest English documents into three categories; petitions sent to Chancery and their responses, of which only two exist before 1400, rising to 63 in the 1420s and 132 in the 1430s; petitions to the king and council, mainly coming through the Privy Seal, and indentures and agreements, which usually came from outside of the government offices.[92]

The beginning of the use of English in official documents in the early fifteenth century is now agreed to have resulted in the standardization of the language and the development of 'Standard' or 'Chancery English'. Fisher, Richardson and Fisher in their *Anthology of Chancery English* have pointed out that this term is in some ways misleading, as the form was not limited to the Chancery, but was a product of all the government offices combined; however they argue that 'The generalized term is valid in an historical sense.'[93] Elsewhere, Richardson has described the particular conditions in the Chancery which caused this process of standardization to take place; these include the necessity of developing a precise terminology for use in legal documents, a hierarchical structure with central control (although he stresses the fact that the standard was slowly adopted by the clerks rather than being imposed from above), and the apprentice system in place which allowed for the training of younger Chancery clerks within the *hospicia*.[94] In addition, John Fisher has stressed the importance of the mobility of the office until the fourteenth century, when it ceased to accompany the king as he moved around the country; in doing this 'the court as a whole must have reinforced the impression of an official class dialect, in contrast with the regional dialects with which it came in contact.'[95]

Whilst acknowledging the role of the Chancery and other government offices in providing the necessary background conditions for the development of Chancery English,

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[91] M. Richardson, 'Henry V, the English Chancery and Chancery English', *Speculum* 55 (1980), p. 727.
[92] J. H. Fisher, 'Chancery and the emergence of standard written English in the fifteenth century', *Speculum* 52 (1977), p. 889.
[93] Fisher, Richardson and Fisher (eds.), *An Anthology of Chancery English*, xxii.
[94] Richardson, 'Henry V, the English Chancery and Chancery English', p. 745.
[95] Fisher, 'Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English', p. 873.

Richardson has placed great importance on the role of Henry V himself in the dissemination of the form. It was in the king's Signet office that English first came to be used consistently and with a uniform style; after the second invasion of France in 1417 nearly all of Henry's correspondence was in English. It has been argued that his decision to make a concerted movement towards the use of English as the language of government was in part motivated by 'sensitivity to linguistic nationalism';[96] in other words, a desire to win support for the war. There had been attempts by previous monarchs to use language as a means of encouraging nationalist feeling; the argument that a French victory would mean the death of the English language appears in accounts of opening addresses to Parliament several times throughout the fourteenth century.[97] However, these had not been accompanied by a corresponding movement towards the use of written English (although, as has already been mentioned, spoken English had been used in Parliament since 1362).

Richardson argues that the correspondence produced by the Signet office represents the personal language usage of the king himself; whilst we have only a few examples of Henry's own hand, such as part of the letter to Sir John Tiptoft,[98] he claims that those letters which were dictated to secretaries and their clerks are important in that they symbolise the official voice of the king: 'Henry's correspondence is therefore not necessarily a reflection of his own personal language preferences, but it *is* his official voice speaking in "the king's English," and that is what is important here.'[99] Over 100 of these letters have been collected in Fisher, Richardson and Fisher's *Anthology*, dating from between August 1417 and August 1422, with the aim of illustrating 'the general drift of the written language towards uniformity'.[100] In this volume, they emphasise the importance of the movement towards uniformity in this office in the standardisation of English, and consequently the central role of the king himself; although English was not used in the Parliament Rolls or the Chancery until after his death, Richardson has argued that 'Henry's use of English exercised a profound influence upon the development of Chancery English, both in style and in linguistic content.'[101] He claims that this influence operated in two ways; not only did Henry's use of English make it respectable (or even fashionable) amongst the nobility, thus increasing its usage, but it also provided a linguistic and stylistic

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[96] Fisher, Richardson and Fisher (eds.), *An Anthology of Chancery English*, xvi.
[97] Fisher, Richardson and Fisher (eds.), *An Anthology of Chancery English*, xvi.
[98] T. Rymer (ed.) *Foedera*, (London, 1816-69) 4:2, pp. 190-1.
[99] Richardson, 'Henry V, the English Chancery and Chancery English', p. 703.
[100] Fisher, Richardson and Fisher (eds.), *An Anthology of Chancery English*, xi.
[101] Richardson, 'Henry V, the Chancery and Chancery English', p. 728.

model to be emulated. Richardson's evidence for this is based on a linguistic analysis of Henry's Signet letters, which demonstrates that his English displays a number of characteristics associated with Chancery Standard. This is in contrast to other English documents of the time, such as those produced by other members of the royal family, and even to documents produced by the Chancery itself prior to 1425. This has led Richardson to the conclusion that the style adopted by Henry's Signet in 1417 must have provided the model upon which subsequent official documents written in English were based.

The immediate context of the composition of Hoccleve's poetry was therefore one of great importance in the standardisation of written English, and consequently in the development of the language itself. As someone who was working in the environment in which this process took place, it would be interesting to analyse his own use of English to see whether it shows any signs of conforming to the nascent Chancery model, or whether it can be assigned to any particular regional dialect. John Burrow describes Hoccleve's usage as 'an early fifteenth-century type of London English'; however, there has been some disagreement as to what this actually constituted. Although London English is often identified with Chancery English, John Fisher has taken exception to this view, arguing that bureaucrats were recruited from all over the country, and that Chancery English was therefore representative of various dialects, both northern and southern.[102] Furthermore, he questions the existence of a written form of 'City' dialect, as he argues that too much variation can be found in London-produced texts. Similarly, M. L. Samuels has outlined the difficulties of establishing the form of such a dialect, as although there must have been various spoken varieties, we do not necessarily have written evidence of them; whilst it is tempting to regard early fifteenth-century documents written in London differing from Chancery Standard as evidence of London English, he points out that these could equally be the product of Home Counties immigration or influence. In addition, Samuels argues that we must consider the issues of class as well as regional variation, and the fact that the copying of manuscripts by scribes may mean the transferral of variants which could confuse attempts to localise texts to a particular region.[103]

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[102] Fisher, 'Chancery and the emergence of standard written English', p. 872.
[103] M. L. Samuels, 'Spelling and dialect in the late and post-middle English periods', in J. J. Smith (ed.), *The English of Chaucer and his Contemporaries: Essays by M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith* (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 92.

In an attempt to combat this problem, Samuels has described four types of London English according to the dates in during which they were used; he uses these as a framework in which to examine Chaucer's spelling, considering thirteen contemporary texts in the context of eleven variational criteria.[104] He attempts to establish how close the spelling of the earliest manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, Hengwrt and Ellesmere, may have been to Chaucer's own, and argues that, despite being characterized by the usage of the scribe, these manuscripts demonstrate the influence of various 'authorial' or 'archetypal' forms which could be those of Chaucer himself. These are also found in the Cambridge manuscript of Chaucer's *Equatorie of the Planetis*, which he suggests could signify that this is in Chaucer's own hand.[105] The thirteen texts used as a frame of reference through which to examine Chaucer's spelling include Hoccleve's Huntington autographs and a model of Chancery Standard; according to Samuel's evidence, these can be seen to be fairly similar in orthography.[106] This would support the contention of Fisher, who has argued that the language of Chaucer and Hoccleve 'may indeed have been a proto-Chancery', as distinguished from the language used in the records and correspondence of the London guilds and merceries.[107] However, whilst Samuels agrees that Chaucer and Hoccleve's connections with the government administration might lead us to expect this, he claims that there is in fact more similarity between their language usage and that of the guild records; Hoccleve's poetry is therefore assigned to 'Early fifteenth century Type III', used between c.1380-1420, and occupying an intermediate position between the Chancery and City dialects.[108]

There are, however, several problems regarding Samuels' four types, and Type III in particular. The texts chosen by Samuels as representative of the later form of Type III include the Hengwrt and Ellesmere manuscripts and Trinity College, Cambridge MS B. 15. 17, which contains a copy of *Piers Plowman*. A recent palaeographical study by Simon Horobin and Linne Mooney has shown that these manuscripts are in fact all written by the same scribe, labelled by A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes as Scribe B from his participation (along with Hoccleve) in a copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Trinity College

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[104] M. L. Samuels, 'Chaucer's spelling', in J. J. Smith (ed.), *The English of Chaucer and his Contemporaries* p. 28.
[105] Samuels, 'Chaucer's spelling', p. 27-30.
[106] Samuels, 'Chaucer's spelling', p. 28-29.
[107] Fisher, 'Chancery and the emergence of standard written English', p. 885.
[108] Samuels, 'Chaucer's spelling', p. 24.

Cambridge MS R. 3. 2.[109] This scribe has since been identified by Linne Mooney as the scrivener Adam Pinkhurst, who can be found writing in a number of literary manuscripts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and also in records of the Mercers' Company, including the 1387 *Petition of the Folk of Mercerye* (identified by Samuels as belonging to the earlier form of Type III).[110] Horobin and Mooney thus argue that, 'While Samuels has attributed the similarity in the language of these manuscripts to a process of linguistic standardisation … the similar language found in the three manuscripts may be explained as that of a common scribe.'[111] In addition, they argue that well into the fifteenth century, the divisions between Samuels' types did not signify clear-cut shifts in language usage, but that the variants were used concurrently: 'The use of the labels Type II, III and IV has tended to imply that each variety was entirely replaced by the subsequent type, whereas the evidence presented above suggests that such a system of classification should not be too rigidly imposed. There was clearly a degree of continuity in the preservation of certain variants throughout this period in the history of London English, and it is only in the period after 1430 that we begin to see a gradual move towards the removal of such variation and toward linguistic standardisation.'[112] Elsewhere, Horobin has also pointed out that certain linguistic variants may have been the result of differences in register rather than chronology; for example, he notes that the spelling *such* tended to be used more frequently in official documents, whereas literary manuscripts tended to use *swich*.[113]

If Samuels' Type III London English is problematic, then we must find other models against which to assess Hoccleve's use of English. Whilst Samuels' study was based primarily on orthographical variation, Fisher has looked in more detail at syntactic evidence; based on this, he has constructed a schema of characteristics for Chancery English as opposed to generic 'Regional' attributes. In considering the question of the relationship of Hoccleve's language to the emergent Chancery form, it may therefore be useful to measure his usage against these criteria. For the purpose of the study, it was necessary to use a holograph manuscript; the obvious choice for this is the Durham *Series*, as although the exact date of the poem has been disputed, it is agreed to have been

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[109] S. Horobin and L. R. Mooney, 'A *Piers Plowman* manuscript by the Hengwrt/Ellesmere scribe and its implications for London Standard English', *SAC* 26 (2004): 65-112; Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', pp. 163-210.

[110] Mooney, 'Chaucer's scribe'.

[111] Horobin and Mooney, 'A *Piers Plowman* manuscript', p. 67.

[112] Horobin and Mooney, 'A *Piers Plowman* manuscript', p. 92.

[113] Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, p. 24.

composed between 1419-21; in other words, concurrent with the corpus of English letters produced by the office of the Signet.[114] The results of this study can be seen in Appendix IV (v). They demonstrate that while there are a couple of features of Hoccleve's English which conform to Fisher's criteria for Chancery Standard, in most cases it constitutes a mixture of Chancery and 'Regional' forms; for example he frequently adds the –n suffix to plural verbs and past participles, he occasionally uses the –y prefix with past participles, and the negative particle is generally placed before rather than after the verb. In light of these inconsistencies, and even taking into account the fact that the Chancery records themselves had yet to be fully standardized at the time Hoccleve was writing, it is difficult to fully support Fisher's contention that his English could be described as 'proto-Chancery'. This is in part due to the fact that some of the characteristics of Hoccleve's writing which have been identified by Fisher as being representative of Chancery Standard were not exclusive to it; for example, the use of –d rather –t in the past tense was a feature of other Southern regional dialects.

Whilst the evidence for the influence of the emergent Chancery Standard on Hoccleve's English orthography is inconclusive, Simon Horobin has provided evidence in favour of another model: that of Chaucer. Although we do not have any examples of Chaucer's handwriting, Horobin has previously argued that the orthography of Scribe B in the Hengwrt and Ellesmere copies of the *Canterbury Tales* is very close to Chaucer's own.[115] His study compares the spelling of thirteen common items in Hengwrt and Ellesmere, Hoccleve's holographs, and his contribution to the Trinity Gower, in order to see whether his usage changed according to whether he was copying his own work or that of another poet.[116] His results show that Hoccleve's spelling remained consistent, and also that it was remarkably similar to that of Scribe B. The main difference concerns the past tense verb 'saw'; whereas Scribe B generally uses 'saw, saugh', and occasionally 'say, seigh', Hoccleve uses the rare form 'sy' (and occasionally 'say' in rhyme). Despite the rarity of this form, Horobin points out that it occurs once in Chaucer's *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, and therefore must have occasionally been used in London English during this period.[117] In terms of morphology, the two scribes also display a high degree of similarity,

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[114] Durham University Library MS. Cosin V. iii. 9; Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 26.
[115] Horobin, *Chaucer's Language*, p. 47.
[116] Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, p. 119.
[117] Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, p. 121.

both making use of grammatical variants such as the *y-* prefix and final *-n* in past participles and infinitives for metrical purposes.

Considering the fact that Hoccleve was a generation younger than Chaucer, Horobin points out that this similarity between their linguistic practices is perhaps surprising. We might expect the similarity to stem from Hoccleve's connection with Scribe B; given the fact that they both contributed to the Trinity Gower, it is possible that the two scribes were acquainted and perhaps worked in the same location. However, Doyle and Parkes have argued that the awkward transitions between scribes in this manuscript suggest 'the absence of the kind of intimate association between the scribes which we would expect if they had worked together under constant supervision in one place where adjacent portions of the exemplar were kept together.'[118] Horobin also argues against the possibility of Hoccleve and Scribe B having shared similar training, based on the differences between their styles of handwriting. In light of this evidence, he concludes that 'the most likely explanation for the close relationship between Hoccleve's and Chaucer's linguistic practices is that Hoccleve deliberately modelled his practice upon that of Chaucer.'[119] In other words, Chaucer's stylistic influence on Hoccleve could have extended to orthography and morphology, at least as far as they affected metre. It appears that Hoccleve was unusual in this respect, and that other Middle English poets who followed Chaucer's style and themes did not attempt to imitate his spelling. Horobin's study of Lydgate's language usage concludes that he took as his model the emergent standardised Type IV English, and Samuels and Smith argue that despite his connections with the court, Gower's usage retained the linguistic features of his background in Kent and Suffolk.[120]

Even if we accept the idea that the main influence on Hoccleve's English orthography was his exposure to the works of Chaucer, it would be unusual if he was not in some way affected by the adoption of English as an official language that was beginning towards the end of his career, especially when we consider the key role that his patron and employer Henry V played in this development. While the Privy Seal did not begin to use English in its writs until the reign of Henry VI, there is an example of a letter patent in

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[118] Doyle and Parkes, 'The production of copies', p. 166.
[119] Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, p. 124.
[120] Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, p. 130; M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith, 'The Language of Gower', in J. J. Smith (ed.), *The English of Chaucer and his Contemporaries*, p. 17.

English issuing a safe conduct to John Moreau, a barber, issued at Vincennes on the 27 August 1422, four days before the death of Henry V.[121] It follows the same format and contains the same clauses as its French and Latin counterparts, and is countersigned by John Offord, a Signet clerk who moved to the Privy Seal after 1406 and accompanied the king to France. If the king was the main impetus for the adoption of written English in the business of government, we might expect that English would begin to be used at the Privy Seal when it was travelling with him away from Westminster. Whilst there is no evidence that Hoccleve ever went to France, he was well-acquainted with Offord; they were among the four main clerks of the Privy Seal in the years after the accession of Henry IV, and Hoccleve's poem addressed to Henry Somer is written on all their behalf in request of the payment of their salaries: 'We, your servantes, Hoccleve and Baillay, Hethe and Offorde, yow beseeche and preye.'[122] In addition, he is likely to be the man whose name appears in a marginal annotation of the Durham holograph manuscript of the *Series*; A. L. Brown has suggested that this note could either be linking Offord with the 'wrecche' referred to in the stanza alongside, or possibly giving him an instruction to complete an illuminated initial on that page of the manuscript.[123] The fact that Hoccleve had friends and colleagues at the Privy Seal who used English in the course of their work, and that he himself was presumably known to be able to write fluently in the language, allows for the possibility that he wrote in English for that office; however, the high loss rate of the Privy Seal records means that these documents may no longer exist.

It is apparent from this evidence that, unsurprisingly, Hoccleve's use of language was subject to a variety of influences, both administrative and literary. Whilst it is often hard to separate from the more general absorption of French terms into Middle English that was taking place in the late fourteenth century, there is some evidence to suggest that Hoccleve's exposure to the lexis of French administrative writing led to the adoption of certain terms into his poetry that were still relatively unused by other Middle English authors. However, the area in which Hoccleve's poetry does not appear to have been unduly influenced by his working environment is that of orthography, regarding which he

[121] E. Déprez, *Études de Diplomatique Anglaise* (Paris, 1908), pp. 35-8; Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, p. 37. The earliest extant Privy Seal writs in English date from 1437; see Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, pp. 52-3, esp. p. 53, n. 1.
[122] Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works: the Minor Poems*, p. 60. For the career of Offord see Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 180-1.
[123] Durham MS Cosin V. iii. 9, f. 49; Brown, 'Privy Seal clerks', p. 262, n. 2.

made a conscious decision to emulate Chaucer. Given his proximity to the world which has since been credited with the birth of English as a standardised language, this conclusion is perhaps surprising. Although Hoccleve's contact with administrative English would only have taken place towards the end of his life, and there is no evidence that he made use of it himself, he must have been aware of the changes that were taking place in the government administration and the ramifications they were likely to have. We might speculate that, in his mind, his literary and administrative work were separate pursuits, and that any lexical influence his work at the Privy Seal had on his poetry was largely subconscious. It is possible that he viewed English solely as a language for personal expression, resisting its use as an official language; his only use of English in the administrative documents is a corrective note in the formulary, in which he is very obviously speaking as himself, apologising for his mistake: 'Heere made y lepe yeer – ex negligencia etc. Witnesse on Petebat etc. in the next syde folwynge, which sholde have stonden on this syde. But how so it stoned, it is a membre of the matere precedent.'[124] As a vernacular, the late medieval view of English would still primarily have been as an informal, largely spoken, medium; this is indicated by the context in which it was first applied in government documents, the king's personal correspondence; it is significant that Henry V, along with pioneering the use of English in official writing, broke with tradition and adopted the first person in his signet letters.[125] As an elderly clerk, it is likely that Hoccleve would have found it difficult to adapt to the new role English was assuming in the royal administration. However, the fluid nature of the relationship between the languages at this time means that Hoccleve's poetry was, to some extent, a product of his background as a clerk of the Privy Seal, even if he was not aware of this.

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[124] Bentley, 'The Formulary of Thomas Hoccleve', p. 1127.
[125] Fisher, Richardson and Fisher, *An Anthology of Chancery English*, p. 9.

Conclusion

Thomas Hoccleve's status as a poet of substantial importance in the canon of Middle English literature has long been established. This study has set out to achieve two aims: firstly, to re-examine Hoccleve's poetry in the context of his career as a clerk of the Privy Seal, and secondly, to consider what his life and work can tell us about the changing nature of the government administration during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. His particular suitability for this task rests on the existence of a substantial number of manuscripts written in his own hand; this has allowed for identification of his handwriting in other, non-literary contexts, meaning that it is possible to learn more about his day-to-day activities than those of any other late medieval poet.

The identification of the documents in his hand written for the office of the Privy Seal represents the opening up of an important new resource for Hoccleve scholars. In addition, it demonstrates the many and varied uses of the records of medieval government. This can sometimes apply to areas we would not necessarily expect; for example, the documents have been able to contribute to the debate in literary scholarship surrounding the extent to which Hoccleve's poetry was truly autobiographical, or whether it was largely influenced by literary convention. One of these issues concerns Hoccleve's relationship with Chaucer. Many have viewed this as being primarily figurative, the former's expressions of unworthiness in comparison to the latter being part of the standard medieval *topos* of humility rather than evidence of a personal acquaintance; in regard to their supposed friendship, Jerome Mitchell argues that 'Neither Hoccleve's nor Chaucer's life records give indication of any such thing.'[1] The fact that Hoccleve is found on more than one occasion to have written the warrants securing the payment of Chaucer's annuity would seem to contradict this statement. Another example of how official records can be used to determine the extent to which a poem was autobiographical concerns Hoccleve's *Male Regle*. This poem, which has often been viewed as owing much to conventional medieval descriptions of youthful indiscretion, is given an added authenticity by details such as the reference to the figures of Prentys and Arundel. The discovery of these individuals as the co-recipients of a royal grant in 1401 shows that not only did they exist, but that they were presumably closely-connected enough to be sharing financial rewards;

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[1] Mitchell, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 118.

furthermore, the fact that Hoccleve wrote the warrant securing this grant is evidence of their mutual acquaintance.

John Burrow's challenge to Mitchell's statement of the lack of evidence of a personal relationship between Hoccleve and Chaucer is based on the supposition that administrative records can reveal very little regarding the personal lives of individuals; he argues that 'one only has to recall the character of those documents to see the absurdity of this argument. The Public Record Office is not rich in records of literary friendships.'[2] As has already been demonstrated, this is not entirely correct. Although explicit detail regarding the nature of a relationship between two individuals is rare, administrative documents can establish whether a connection existed, and valuable conclusions may be drawn from this.

Another area in which the documents can be used to determine the level of autobiographical detail in Hoccleve's poetry is in terms of the dating of those key events in his life which he refers to. Administrative records are particularly useful in such matters, as they are one of the only types of medieval source which are clearly dated. Taking into account the problems with the dating of Privy Seal writs which have already been discussed, it is generally possible to establish the periods when Hoccleve was most occupied with his work at the office. As has been demonstrated, these tended to correspond to periods when the government administration as a whole was overworked for some reason: for example, the start of a new monarch's reign, preparations for war, or political crisis. As Hoccleve's productivity generally appears to correlate to that of the office as a whole, unexpected periods of inactivity can be attributed to his absence from the Privy Seal. The documents can therefore help to determine the date of events such as Hoccleve's mental breakdown, and the period of composition of the poems themselves.

Some scholars would argue that the question of whether the events referred to in Hoccleve's poetry are true, or whether they occurred in the manner he described, is not important; they are primarily concerned with the status of his poems as texts, comprised of various literary constructions. Whilst accepting the validity of this approach, this study would suggest that it is not incompatible with any attempt to determine the historical

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[2] Burrow, 'Autobiographical poetry in the middle ages: the case of Thomas Hoccleve', p. 398.

circumstances of a poem's composition; as Burrow has pointed out, something described in a work of literature can be both true and conventional.[3] In the case of a poet such as Hoccleve, whose work is of an unusually self-reflective character, the details of his life assume a particular importance; in fact, they are central to our understanding of his poetry. In light of this, the existence of a substantial amount of documentation relating to Hoccleve's life is particularly fortunate.

Having emphasised the importance of Hoccleve's Privy Seal documents, it is also necessary to acknowledge their limitations. Due to their official and therefore formulaic nature, there is obviously much that these sources cannot tell us. Much of what is described in the records of the Privy Seal is routine; the everyday issues involved in the workings of medieval government. An examination of the documents in Appendix I demonstrates that, besides the official formulae, they largely confine themselves to stating the nature of the king's gift, the reasons behind it and the name of the recipient. The role of the person who drafted the writ, and their connection to those individuals referred to in it, is something that must be inferred from our knowledge of the administrative process. It is probably for this reason that it is only in recent years that scholars have begun to consider the documentary evidence relating to Hoccleve's life. This study has hopefully demonstrated that the apparently mundane content of these documents need not prevent them from presenting a valuable addition to our understanding of the poet.

It is clear that there is scope for further work to be done in this area, as it is likely that yet more documents in Hoccleve's hand remain to be found in the National Archives. The documents in Appendix II demonstrate that Hoccleve, despite being a Privy Seal clerk, sometimes carried out work for other government departments, and more evidence of this may exist in their records. There are three main areas in which further searches could be carried out. Firstly, the documents issued under the great seal in Appendix II suggest that examples of Hoccleve's hand may survive in those series containing the records of the Chancery, for example in the series E 208, which contains writs from the Chancery to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer. Secondly, the petitions in Hoccleve's hand in Appendix II imply that he was accustomed to carry out this service for individuals both within and outside government. In this case, other examples of

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[3] Burrow, 'Autobiographical poetry in the middle ages: the case of Thomas Hoccleve', p. 394.

Hoccleve's hand may survive in the series SC 8, which contains petitions to the king, Council, Chancellor, and other officers of state. Finally, the mobility of clerks between offices indicated by these documents implies that Hoccleve may have worked for yet further government departments. The most likely possibility for this would be the Signet, as the office most closely related to the Privy Seal in terms of function. Otway-Ruthven describes how, in the late fourteenth century, as a new office the Signet drew on the other offices, the Privy Seal in particular, for its staff. However, she also points out that in subsequent years, this process worked both ways; Hoccleve's colleagues Robert Frye and John Offorde were both originally Signet clerks before moving to the Privy Seal.[4] There was clearly a certain amount of overlap between the roles of the two offices, and it seems feasible that an experienced clerk such as Hoccleve would have been able to compose writs for either if the occasion arose.

Hoccleve's poetry reveals the influence of his career at the Privy Seal in a number of ways. Firstly, changes to the late medieval bureaucracy itself affected the nature of what it meant to be a royal clerk. This was a turbulent period for the Privy Seal in particular, which was undergoing the transition from the personal instrument of the king to one of the main offices of state; this process of going 'out of court' had an impact upon its employees, who were caught between their dual roles as royal retainers and administrative professionals. As others have observed, the financial insecurity inherent in this situation may account in many respects for Hoccleve's motivation to write poetry and its petitionary nature. Secondly, the nature of the clerk's job enabled Hoccleve to form relationships that would have a bearing on his literary work; a Privy Seal clerk, whilst being comparatively low in the hierarchy of the government administration, had many opportunities for making contacts among influential people. Hoccleve made use of his position to form connections with other writers such as Chaucer, and also to secure the patronage of figures such as Prince Henry. Thirdly, the Privy Seal can be seen to have had an impact on the content of Hoccleve's poetry. The complex relationship between the two vernaculars of Middle English and Anglo-French in England during this period is evidenced by the influence of the language of French administrative writing on the lexis and style of his literary work. In addition, the position of a clerk near the centre of government meant that Hoccleve was more than usually qualified to compose public poetry; his contact with those in authority

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[4] Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary and the Signet Office*, pp. 107-8.

and experience of how government worked allowed him to give insightful commentary on such issues as heresy, the war with France, and the royal succession. Having served under four different monarchs, Hoccleve was in a better position than most to compose a work such as the *Regiment of Princes*, as during his long career he had had ample opportunity to observe the many changes that were taking place in the process of government during the late medieval period.

Appendices

Appendix I: Documents in the National Archives identified as written by Thomas Hoccleve

Italics = see Mooney (2007)

All rolls references relating to protections and safe-conducts have been taken from from the AHRC-funded database 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England': www.medievalsoldier.org

TNA reference	Date	Place	Content	Rolls
E 404/ 13/84	13 April, 6 Richard II [1383]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), p. 310 n. 45 (not listed in Appendix)	
C 81/ 1018/4	6 July, 8 Richard II [1384]	Westminster	Protection for William Cheveleye and Simon de Burgh	C 76/69 m. 25
C 81/ 1018/5	10 July, 8 Richard II [1384]	Westminster	Protection for William de Bryene	C 76/69 m. 28
C 81/ 486/3393	25 August, 8 Richard II [1384]	Westminster	Grant to William Geddyng	*CPR 1381-1385*, p. 463
C 81/ 487/3449	10 November, 8 Richard II [1384]	Westminster	Grant of office to John Orwell	
C 81/ 1022/9	11 January, 8 Richard II [1385]	Westminster	Protection for John Dene	C 76/69 m. 14
C 81/ 488/3565	14 March, 8 Richard II [1385]	Westminster	Pardon to Symon de Gedeneye	*CPR 1381-1385*, p. 545
C 81/ 489/3627	21 April, 8 Richard II [1385]	Westminster	Pardon to Roger Adams	*CPR 1381-1385*, p. 549
C 81/ 489/3631	27 April, 8 Richard II [1385]	Westminster	Licence to Michael de la Pole	*CPR 1381-1385*, p. 555
C 81/ 489/3649	15 May, 8 Richard II [1385]	Westminster	Grant to Robert de Sutton	*CPR 1381-1385*, p. 565
C 81/ 489/3650	15 May, 8 Richard II [1385]	Reading	Grant to Roger de Elmham	*CPR 1381-1385*, p. 565
C 81/ 1039/8	5 June, 8 Richard II [1385]	Westminster	Protection for John Cauchon de Warton and Adam Merrman	C 71/65 m. 2
C 81/ 493/4041	8 July, 10 Richard II [1386]	Westminster	Exemption for John Nichol	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 193
C 81/ 493/4054	9 August, 10 Richard II [1386]	Oseney	Grant of office to Roger Mascal	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 203
C 81/ 494/4134	15 November, 10 Richard II [1386]	Westminster	Nomination of Robert Brandon to pension	*CCR 1385-1389*, p. 109
C 81/ 494/4187	8 January, 10 Richard II [1387]	Westminster	Presentation of John Prophete to the church of Worthing	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 251
C 81/ 496/4307	5 May, 10 Richard II [1387]	Westminster	Grant to John de Hastyngges	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 291
C 81/ 496/4313	8 May, 10 Richard II [1387]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Derling	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 299
C 81/ 496/4394	26 June, 11 Richard II [1387]	Westminster	Pardon to John Dewy	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 328

C 81/ 497/4412	14 July, 11 Richard II [1387]	Chester Castle	Ratification of estate of John Salwerp	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 352
C 81/ 497/4448	13 August, 11 Richard II [1387]	Worcester	Exemption for William Prissley	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 351
C 81/ 497/4450	13 August, 11 Richard II [1387]	Worcester	Grant to Thomas Mewe and John Beaufitz	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 351
C 81/ 497/4494	29 September, 11 Richard II [1387]	Westminster	Pardon to John Colyns	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 349
C 81/ 497/4495	29 September, 11 Richard II [1387]	Woodstock Manor	Pardon to Peter Portugaler	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 346
C 81/ 498/4539	17 October, 11 Richard II [1387]	Westminster	Safe conduct and protection for John de Roos	
C 81/ 499/4662	3 February, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Pardon to Augustine Kenebrok	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 403
C 81/ 499/4663	5 February, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Ratification of estate of Nicholas de Wykeham	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 401
C 81/ 1045/22	22 February, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Protection for John de Cliffe	C 71/67 m. 4
C 81/ 1045/28	24 February, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Gerard	C 71/67 m. 4
C 81/ 1046/1	1 March, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Protection for Nicholas de Kighlay	C 76/72 m. 16
C 81/ 500/4702	8 March, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Pardon to William Wartre of Pokelyngton	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 413
C 81/ 500/4744	27 March, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Pardon to John Yonge	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 437
C 81/ 500/4757	4 April, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Grant to Lambert Fermer	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 428
C 81/ 500/4758	4 April, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Grant of office to Lambert Fermer	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 449
C 81/ 1047/2	12 April, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Protection for John Heyward	C 76/72 m. 7
C 81/ 500/4780	19 April, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Grant of office to Richard Clerc	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 431
C 81/ 1047/25	20 April, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Protection for John Toutprest	C 76/72 m. 7
C 81/ 500/4794	1 May, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Grant to John Scalby	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 462
C 81/ 500/4797	2 May, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Grant to Edmund, duke of York	*CPR 1385-1389*, p. 451
C 81/ 501/4858	17 June, 11 Richard II [1388]	Westminster	Grant to Nicholas Exton	
C 81/ 504/5169	25 March, 12 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Clubbury	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 32
C 81/ 504/5187	20 May, 12 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Pardon to William Sheffeld	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 41
C 81/ 505/5208	30 May, 12 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Pardon to William Scott	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 44
C 81/ 1051/1	26 June, 13 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Protection for John de Derby	C 71/69 m. 6
C 81/ 506/5307	9 July, 13 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Grant to Alexander de Nevyll	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 87
C 81/ 506/5327	12 July, 13 Richard II [1389]	Windsor	Pardon to Walter Walkere	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 81

C 81/ 506/5333	12 July, 13 Richard II [1389]	Windsor	Grant to Robert Hoddesdon	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 90
C 81/ 506/5342	15 July, 13 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Sleddale	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 86
C 81/ 507/5454	21 August, 13 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Wyngham	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 130
C 81/ 507/5475	25 August, 13 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Grant to John Macclesfield	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 115
C 81/ 507/5493	28 August, 13 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	Safe conduct for Adam de Lordes	
C 81/ 508/5503	7 September, 13 Richard II [1389]	Westminster	License to cross the sea for Thomas de Walkyngton	
C 81/ 512/5939	22 January, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	License to cross the sea for John Twyneo, Roger Wilky and others	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 178
C 81/ 512/5941	22 January, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	License to cross the sea for Walter Davy, John Hicke and Robert Hulle	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 180
C 81/ 512/5968	28 January, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Pardon to John filz Elys	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 177
C 81/ 512/5972	29 January, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Pardon to John Hikson 'le Coke'	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 185
C 81/ 512/5973	30 January, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Pardon to William Morthyng	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 177
C 81/ 512/5978	1 February, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Pardon to William Megson	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 184
C 81/ 514/6102	25 February, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	License to cross the sea for Richard Pomfreid	
C 81/ 514/6105	26 February, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Commission to Walter atte Lee, William de Lokton and Thomas Wodyfeld to arrest Richard Thorpe	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 219
C 81/ 514/6107	26 February, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Grant to John de Hermesthorp and William Wenlok	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 222-3
C 81/ 515/6233	2 April, 13 Richard II [1390]	Eltham	Grant of office to Thomas Stoute	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 241
C 81/ 515/6244	9 April, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Exemption for Robert Sengilton	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 241
C 81/ 516/6336	24 May, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Grant to the warden and college of Windsor chapel	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 251
C 81/ 516/6376	7 June, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	License for abbey of Saint John the Baptist Colchester	
C 81/ 516/6377	7 June, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Order to collectors in the port of Southampton to allow Geoffrey Horne and William Lambard free passage	*CCR 1389-1392*, p. 142
C 81/ 516/6390	12 June, 13 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Grant to the archbishop of Armagh	*CPR 1388-1392*, pp. 265-6
C 81/ 517/6421	23 June, 14 Richard II [1390]	Woodstock	Grant of office to John Halton	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 277
C 81/	28 June, 14 Richard	Westminster	Pardon to John Arondell	*CPR 1388-*

517/6431	II [1390]			*1392*, p. 277
C 81/ 517/6463	12 July, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Commission to Geoffrey Chaucer	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 288
C 81/ 518/6519	16 August, 14 Richard II [1390]	Clifton Cannville	Grant of office to Thomas de Bekyngham	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 293
C 81/ 518/6557	3 September, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Presentation of Thomas Harper to the church of Market Overton	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 324
C 81/ 518/6569	9 September, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	License for John Filioll	
C 81/ 1055/32	22 September, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Protection for William Waleys	
C 81/ 519/6630	12 October, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	License for Lewis de Cliffort	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 306
C 81/ 519/6633	14 October, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Withered	
C 81/ 519/6646	16 October, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Pardon to William Merlond	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 309
C 81/ 1055/41	17 October, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Protection for Adam Alotes	C 71/70 m. 3
C 81/ 519/6687	31 October, 14 Richard II [1390]	Easthampstead	Grant of office to John Thame	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 321
C 81/ 519/6693	2 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Pardon to William Grayne	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 318
C 81/ 519/6699	5 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Michael Causton	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 323
C 81/ 520/6708	8 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Feryby	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 322
C 81/ 520/6725	13 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Order to those profiting from the subsidy of cloth in London, to pay arrears to William Pirie	*CCR 1389-1392*, pp. 215-6
C 81/ 520/6744	21 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Grant to John Maudelyn	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 336
C 81/ 520/6745	21 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Commission to Robert Burgiloun, Thomas Neuport and John Marchall	*CPR 1388-1392*, pp. 441-2
C 81/ 520/6765	27 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Pardon to John Frost of Hoghton	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 332
C 81/ 520/6781	30 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Reginald, cardinal deacon in the prebend of Bekyngham	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 333
C 81/ 520/6797	30 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Draft of C 81/520/6799	
C 81/ 520/6799	30 November, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of clerks John Abraham, John Prat, John Donne and Ralph Walsham	SC 8/ 183/9114, 188/9400, 342/16103, 342/16104
C 81/ 521/6814	4 December, 14 Richard II [1390]	Westminster	Licence for alienation in mortmain for Philip de la Mare	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 335
C 81/	29 December, 14	Eltham	Grant to Thomas	*CPR 1388-*

521/6885	Richard II [1390]		Appultrewyk	*1392*, p. 362
C 81/ 521/6886	29 December, 14 Richard II [1390]	Eltham	Confirmation of grant to Richard de Waldegrave, George de Felbrigg, John de Staverton and Edmund de Lakyngheth	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 380
C 81/ 1056/39	29 December, 14 Richard II [1390]	Eltham	Commission to William Hoo, Arnaud Sauvage, John de Fremyngham, William Makuade and Richard Sherstoke	
C 81/ 521/6892	31 December, 14 Richard II [1390]	Eltham	Grant to Arnald Sauvage,	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 358
C 81/ 521/6893	1 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Eltham	Pardon to John Kendale of Lostwithiel	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 360
C 81/ 521/6895	1 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Eltham	Grant of office to John Maudelyn	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 362
C 81/ 522/6902	5 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Eltham	Pardon to John Killom	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 384
C 81/ 522/6903	5 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Eltham	Pardon to Nicholas Leche	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 377
C 81/ 522/6905	5 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Eltham	Pardon to Thomas Broun	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 378
C 81/ 522/6916	12 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to John de Drayton	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 362
C 81/ 522/6920	12 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Robert Churche	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 363
C 81/ 522/6936	18 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to Philip Walwayn	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 364
C 81/ 522/6937	18 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant of office to Pety Johan	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 339
C 81/ 522/6943	20 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to John Scalby	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 368
C 81/ 522/6953	24 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to William Haregrove	
C 81/ 1057/9	24 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Protection for John Smart, William de Saleby and John Kedyngton	C 76/75 m. 5
C 81/ 522/6956	25 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Order to Walter Stirkeland, to cause William del Parre etc. to have seisin of lands	*CFR 1383-1391*, p. 351
C 81/ 522/6959	26 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Usshier	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 370
C 81/ 522/6965	28 January, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Presentation of William Hannay to canonry and prebend	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 371
C 81/ 523/7003	17 February, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant of office to John Elyngham	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 380
C 81/ 523/7029	29 February, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the sum of 1000 marks owed to William Wyndsor by Nicholas Brembre	
C 81/ 523/7053	18 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to Nicholas Gaoler	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 384

C 81/ 523/7055	22 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant of office to Robert Inwode	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 390
C 81/ 523/7057	22 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant to the earl of Huntingdon	*CFR 1383-1391*, p. 333
C 81/ 523/7059	22 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant to John Bofeld	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 387
C 81/ 523/7063	22 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Presentation of William Hervy to the church of Cotton	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 392
C 81/ 523/7064	22 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant of office to William Podmour	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 393
C 81/ 523/7065	22 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant of office to the earl of Rutland	
C 81/ 523/7066	23 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Confirmation of the indenture of castles and manors in Richmondshire to Henry fitz Hugh	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 393
C 81/ 523/7072	24 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant of office to John Treverbyn	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 401
C 81/ 523/7074	24 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Order to Robert Lisle to appear before the king	*CCR 1389-1392*, p. 261
C 81/ 523/7077	25 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant to John Stoke	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 431
C 81/ 523/7080	26 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant to the prior provincial and friars hermits of Augustine	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 391
C 81/ 523/7082	26 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant to Peter Briket	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 394
C 81/ 523/7083	26 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant to John atte Wode and Alice his wife	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 394
C 81/ 523/7084	26 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Pardon to Robert Hayne	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 391
C 81/ 523/7098	28 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant to Simon filz Thomas	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 388
C 81/ 524/7101	28 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Pardon to John Alisandre	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 399
C 81/ 524/7115	29 March, 14 Richard II [1391]	Bristol	Grant to John de Wyndsore	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 388
C 81/ 1057/22	17 April, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Protection for Simon Burwell	C 76/75 m. 5
C 81/ 1057/24	25 April, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Protection for William Hicche	
C 81/ 524/7140	26 April, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Ferrour	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 431
C 81/ 524/7149	26 April, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to Lambert Fermer	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 395
C 81/ 524/7177	27 April, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to the prioress and convent of St. Leonard, Stratford	*CChR 1341-1417*, p. 325
C 81/ 524/7196	2 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to Nicholas Renenys	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 402
C 81/ 525/7202	3 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to John Thame	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 402

C 81/ 525/7211	4 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Licence for John Warmecaux to pass the sea	
C 81/ 525/7232	15 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas de Percy	*CPR 1388-1392*, pp. 413-4
C 81/ 525/7233	16 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Licence for Thomas Astel and Richard Abberbury to pass the sea	
C 81/ 525/7234	16 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Confirmation of grant to Richard Massy	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 419
C 81/ 525/7243	21 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Henley Manor	Request to the abbot and convent of Reading	*CCR 1389-1392*, pp. 363-4
C 81/ 525/7244	21 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Henley Manor	Nomination of John Bilney to pension	*CCR 1389-1392*, p. 351
C 81/ 525/7245	21 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant of office to William Serle and John Atteldew	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 420
C 81/ 525/7246	21 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Henley Manor	Grant to William Goderych	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 421
C 81/ 525/7252	24 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Licence for Thomas Beaupeny	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 415
C 81/ 525/7253	26 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to John de Mitford	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 414
C 81/ 525/7261	29 May, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Order to William Treresse to appear before the council	
C 81/ 525/7265	1 June, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of William Menuesse	*CCR 1389-1392*, p. 303
C 81/ 1057/58	11 June, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Protection for John Say and John Latymer	C 76/75 m. 2
C 81/ 526/7311	13 June, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to John Bures and William Bridport	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 429
C 81/ 526/7317	14 June, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Presentation of John Warner to church	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 427
C 81/ 526/7322	15 June, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Louches	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 424
C 81/ 526/7330	16 June, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Commission to Robert de Cherlton, John Cassy and John Hulle	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 444
C 81/ 526/7251	22 June, 14 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to Roger Tysherst	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 446
C 81/ 526/7356	26 June, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to William Purcell	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 447
C 81/ 526/7360	26 June, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to William de Saredon	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 448
C 81/ 526/7388	4 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Spaldynge	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 458
C 81/ 526/7396	5 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Yoxhale	*CPR 1388-1392*, pp. 447-8
C 81/ 1058/16	8 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Protection for Peter de Frethyngham	
C 81/ 527/7414	11 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Richard Daniell	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 460
C 81/	12 July, 15 Richard	Westminster	Grant to William	*CPR 1388-*

527/7423	II [1391]		Wyncelowe	*1392*, p. 472
C 81/ 527/7441	14 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of William Cheddre	
C 81/ 527/7442	15 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to John Wyghtlok and Adam atte Wode	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 462
C 81/ 527/7453	17 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of William de Botheby	SC 8/ 251/12515
C 81/ 527/7459	20 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to John Seint John	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 469
C 81/ 527/7465	21 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to Hugh Lutrell	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 465
E 404/ 14/96 pt. 1	25 July, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 322	
C 81/ 527/7485	1 August, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to John, bishop of Salisbury	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 467
C 81/ 527/7489	5 August, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to the prioress and convent of Bromhale	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 473
C 81/ 527/7496	8 August, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to the abbot and monks of St. Mary Graces	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 475
C 81/ 528/7502	10 August, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant of office to Richard Leuesham	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 470
C 81/ 528/7525	1 September, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Licence for Henry Bryd	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 475
C 81/ 528/7560	28 September, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to William Makney	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 487
C 81/ 528/7590	9 October, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the case between Robert Swanlond and Thomas Coneway and Richard Fideler in the court of Admiralty	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 487
C 81/ 529/7603	17 October, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to John Wightlok and Adam atte Wood	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 489
C 81/ 529/7606	19 October, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the case between John Beche and John Nyweman in the court of Admiralty	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 491
C 81/ 529/7607	19 October, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Licence for John Pountfret, Roger Wyngreworth and Edmund Bys	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 491
C 81/ 529/7608	20 October, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant of office to Gerald Baybrok le Fitz	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 492
C 81/ 529/7618	25 October, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of William Cheddre	
C 81/ 529/7628	29 October, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Order to escheators in various counties to cause Roger of Swyllyngton to have seisin of his father's lands	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 18
C 81/ 529/7632	30 October, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to Robert Redesdale	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 494
C 81/ 529/7646	2 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of William Flete	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 491
C 81/ 529/7657	6 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Revocation of presentation of Thomas Harper to the	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 495

			parish of Market Overton	
C 81/ 529/7665	8 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of John Kyllome	SC 8/ 250/12497
C 81/ 529/7690	20 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to the abbot of Westminster	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 21-2
C 81/ 530/7703	23 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Order to William Thernyng and other justices to hold an assize	
C 81/ 530/7708	25 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Order to escheator Edmund Lakynghithe to give Audrey de Strauley livery of manor of Redenale	*CCR 1389-1392*, p. 409
C 81/ 530/7716	26 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of William Cheddre	SC 8/ 196/9796
C 81/ 530/7720	27 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Discharge of Roger and Thomas Fauconberge from the custody of Thomas Fauconberge	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 513
C 81/ 530/7723	28 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Exemption for John Sandes	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 511
C 81/ 530/7724	28 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty of Coventry	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 511
C 81/ 530/7725	28 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Thomas de Sudbury	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 511
C 81/ 530/7729	29 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to Hugh Gardyner	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 513
C 81/ 530/7730	29 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Grant to Nicholas Potyn	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 511
C 81/ 530/7734	29 November, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Appointment of Edward earl of Rutland as Admiral in the North and West	
C 81/ 530/7780	8 December, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Commission to the justice, chamberlain and sheriff of Chester, Laurence de Dutton, Ralph Vernon and various others	*CPR 1391-1396*, pp. 77-8
C 81/ 530/7788	11 December, 15 Richard II [1391]	Westminster	Pardon to Ralph, bishop of Bath and Wells	*CPR 1388-1392*, p. 506
C 81/ 531/7830	4 January, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Grant to John Overton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 12
C 81/ 531/7838	12 January, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Grant to queen Anne	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 19
C 81/ 531/7855	23 January, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Henry Bowet	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 51
C 81/ 531/7860c	23 January, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of the prior of Merton	SC 8/ 125/6207
C 81/ 531/7895	8 February, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Licence for William Noioun	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 20
C 81/ 532/7902	13 February, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Pardon to Robert de Thekeston	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 44
C 81/ 532/7906	15 February, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Grant to John Golafre	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 20
C 81/	25 February, 15	Eltham	Ratification of the estate of	*CPR 1391-*

532/7941	Richard II [1392]	Manor	John de Dalton	*1396*, p. 34
C 81/ 532/7950	28 February, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Licence for John Despanha	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 36
C 81/ 533/8022	15 April, 15 Richard II [1392]	Eltham Manor	Pardon to Robert bishop of London	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 45
C 81/ 533/8030	24 April, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Order to the sheriffs of London to release William Martyn and Griffith Sterenger	*CCR 1389-1392*, p. 458
C 81/ 533/8035	26 April, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Robert Gilbert	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 57
C 81/ 533/8065	5 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Grant to Giles Wenlok	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 58
C 81/ 533/8070	7 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Confirmation of grant to John Marche	
C 81/ 533/8073	9 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Richard Pittes	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 64
C 81/ 533/8075	11 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Grant to William Esturmy	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 45
C 81/ 533/8092	25 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Licence for the warden and scholars of Saint Mary College of Winchester, Oxford	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 62
C 81/ 1060/33	26 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Protection for John de Sutton	C 76/76 m. 2
C 81/ 1060/34	28 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Safe conduct for Antoyn Lumbard	
C 81/ 534/8103	29 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Licence for John ap David	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 65
C 81/ 534/8104	29 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Presentation of Geoffrey Whitteley to the church of Folkyngham, Lincoln	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 65
C 81/ 534/8105	29 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Pardon to William Radclyf	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 69
C 81/ 534/8114	30 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Grant to Richard Pontefrayt	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 74
C 81/ 1060/36	30 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Protection for William Charneys	C 71/71 m. 3
C 81/ 534/8118	31 May, 15 Richard II [1392]	Stamford	Grant to Richard Ronhale	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 57
C 81/ 534/8162	29 June, 16 Richard II [1392]	Nottingham	Order to escheator in county of Norfolk to cause Henry Scoggan to have seisin of his brother's lands	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 50
C 81/ 534/8166	29 June, 16 Richard II [1392]	Nottingham	Grant to the abbess and convent of Barking	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 126
C 81/ 534/8172	30 June, 16 Richard II [1392]	Nottingham	Grant to William Bonelli	
C 81/ 535/8222	22 July, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Grant to Henry Vyell	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 127
C 81/ 535/8223	22 July, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Grant to John Trevarthian	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 190
C 81/ 535/8228	22 July, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Pardon to Robert Hunte	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 127

C 81/ 535/8237	24 July, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Grant to John Treverbyn and Henry Kirkestede	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 53
C 81/ 535/8240	24 July, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Grant to John Elyngeham	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 131
C 81/ 535/8241	24 July, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	License for Henry Caysho, John de Geytington, John Hoxne and other burgesses of Northampton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 178
C 81/ 535/8242	24 July, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Grant of office to Henry Murcroft	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 133
C 81/ 535/8248	1 August, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Grant to John Breton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 131
C 81/ 535/8250	1 August, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Revocation of letters patent to Richard Holand	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 130
C 81/ 1061/10	4 August, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Protection for John Edward Mason	
C 81/ 535/8252	6 August, 16 Richard II [1392]	Windsor	Order to the justice of Ireland to remedy the case of Thomas Everdoun	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 15
C 81/ 536/8304	20 September, 16 Richard II [1392]	Woodstock	Grant to Henry Vyell	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 158
C 81/ 536/8308	21 September, 16 Richard II [1392]	Woodstock	Order to escheator in county of York that Stephen Lescrop should have seisin of his father's lands	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 57
C 81/ 536/8309	21 September, 16 Richard II [1392]	Woodstock	Licence for John Devereux	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 164
C 81/ 536/8310	21 September, 16 Richard II [1392]	Woodstock	Grant to William Arundell	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 178
C 81/ 536/8311	21 September, 16 Richard II [1392]	Woodstock	Pardon to Roger Gadyner	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 174
C 81/ 536/8313	23 September, 16 Richard II [1392]	Woodstock	Pardon to Thomas del Botery	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 173
C 81/ 1061/21	7 October, 16 Richard II [1392]	Woodstock	Protection for Thomas Lynne	C 76/77 m. 10
C 81/ 536/8378	7 November, 16 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation to William Statham	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 201
C 81/ 536/8394	23 November, 16 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Grant to William de Lisle	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 198
C 81/ 1061/30	24 November, 16 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Edwyn Skymere	
C 81/ 537/8403	28 November, 16 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation to John Verdon	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 208
C 81/ 537/8417	11 December, 16 Richard II [1392]	Westminster	Pardon to John Welsshman	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 207
C 81/ 537/8451	29 December, 16 Richard II [1392]	Eltham	Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent of a grant to John de Farendon	*CPR 1391-1396*, pp. 207-8
C 81/ 537/8459	4 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Eltham	Grant to John Sayer	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 247

C 81/ 537/8460	4 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Eltham	Request to the prior and convent of Norwich concerning the maintenance of William and David Warner	*CCR 1392-1396*, pp. 110-1
C 81/ 537/8463	5 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Eltham	Ratification of the estate of Robert Broun	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 207
C 81/ 537/8463	5 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Roger Basset	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 208
C 81/ 537/8468	7 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Eltham	Grant to Edmund Thorp	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 206
C 81/ 537/8474	10 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Remission to the abbess and convent of Elnestowe	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 207
C 81/ 537/8480	16 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to John Saint John	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 213
C 81/ 537/8484	16 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Alice Berners	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 209
C 81/ 537/8492	24 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Grant of office to Thomas de Percy	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 221
C 81/ 537/8493	25 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Grant of office to John Elys	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 211
C 81/ 537/8497	26 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Licence for Richard Redemayn	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 211
C 81/ 1062/13	26 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Protection for William Hoper	C 76/77 m. 9
C 81/ 538/8506	30 January, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Pardon to Roger de Raynford	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 221
C 81/ 538/8508	2 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Licence to the mayor and commonalty of Hereford	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 213
C 81/ 538/8515	4 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Grant to the prior and convent of Pontefract	*CPR 1391-1396*, pp. 215-6
C 81/ 538/8529	7 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	*Inspeximus* and confirmation of letters patent to John Randolf	*CPR 1391-1396*, p.240
C 81/ 538/8533	8 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Grant to Thomas Horn	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 222
C 81/ 538/8547	9 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Grant of office to Richard Merston	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 222
C 81/ 538/8515	4 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Order to Richard Basy, escheator, concerning lands belonging to Sibyl late wife of Roger de Fulthorp	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 59
C 81/ 1062/21	4 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Protection for Richard Gray	
C 81/ 1062/23	6 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Protection for Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby	
C 81/ 1062/25	10 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Protection for John Hobyldod	
C 81/ 538/8554	10 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Exemption for Thomas de Lavynton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 217
C 81/ 538/8558	11 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Grant to Henry Somer	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 216
C 81/	11 February, 16	Winchester	Pardon to Elizabeth and	*CPR 1391-*

538/8562	Richard II [1393]		Hugh Courtenay	*1396*, p. 225
C 81/ 538/8563	11 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Pardon to William de Freze	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 222
C 81/ 538/8575	20 February, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Mewe	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 226
C 81/ 539/8611	4 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Hugh Bridham	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 224
C 81/ 539/8615	5 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to William Hyde, John Sibille and Agnes Franceys	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 258
C 81/ 539/8633	11 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant of office to John Hebden	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 244
C 81/ 539/8638	12 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Baudewyn de Bereford	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 260
C 81/ 1062/39	13 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Protection for William de Scolehall	C 61/103 m. 3
C 81/ 539/8642	16 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Richard of York	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 245
C 81/ 539/8643	18 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Hudbovill	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 259
C 81/ 1062/40	24 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Safe conduct for Charles Beaumont de Navarre	
C 81/ 539/8664	30 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Presentation of John de Waldeby to the church of Blabym Lincoln	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 245
C 81/ 539/8665	31 March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to William de Freze	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 222
C 81/ 1062/41	? March, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	John de Ardenes, John duke of Aquitaine	
C 81/ 539/8667	2 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John Sherwynd	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 246
C 81/ 539/8672	8 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Eltham	Pardon to Richard Grey	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 250
C 81/ 539/8675	8 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Eltham	Grant to Robert Lincoln	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 289
C 81/ 539/8676	9 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Licence for John Colard and Richard Slug	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 249
C 81/ 539/8680	11 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to William Sykus	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 247
C 81/ 539/8682	11 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Barker	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 247
C 81/ 539/8685	15 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Haxey	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 276
C 81/ 1063/3	17 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Protection for John Dale	C 76/77 m. 3
C 81/ 539/8691	20 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to John Warrewik	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 259
C 81/ 1063/5	23 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Protection for Walter Loryng	
C 81/ 1063/6	23 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Protection for William Scharneden	C 76/77 m. 3
C 81/ 540/8710	26 April, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John Bendel	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 270
C 81/	5 May, 16 Richard	Westminster	Safe conduct for William	

1063/13	II [1393]		Douglas	
C 81/ 1063/14	6 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Protection for John Bolowe	C 76/77 m. 3
C 81/ 540/8738	7 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Stephen Lescrope	*CChR 1341-1417*, p. 335
C 81/ 540/8739	7 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to abbot and convent of Byland	*CChR 1341-1417*, p. 335
C 81/ 540/8743	8 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon and remission to the earl of Huntingdon	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 263
C 81/ 540/8750	9 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John Urban	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 263
C 81/ 540/8752	10 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to John Newynton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 264
C 81/ 540/8753	18 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to John Drax	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 274
C 81/ 540/8767	14 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant of office to Henry de Percy	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 270
C 81/ 540/8788	20 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Nicholas Lillyng	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 269
C 81/ 540/8794	22 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Licence to William Lescrope	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 276
C 81/ 540/8795	23 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	*Inspeximus* and confirmation of grant to Eliska wife of Here Mistilburgh	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 286
C 81/ 1063/24	23 May, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Protection for William de Bryntyngham	
C 81/ 541/8825	9 June, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Order to the collectors of customs in London	*CCR 1392-1396*, pp. 44-5
C 81/ 1063/30	16 June, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Protection for William Elmham	
C 81/ 541/8857	19 June, 16 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Henry Potter	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 281
C 81/ 541/8866	misplaced? 16 Richard II [1393]	Winchester	Grant of office to John Warewyk	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 216
C 81/ 541/8875	26 June, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John Mareys and Nicholas Andreu	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 304
C 81/ 541/8880	26 June, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to the warden and canon of the free chapel of Windsor Castle	
C 81/ 541/8891	1 July, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John Tayllour	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 314
C 81/ 541/8896	3 July, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Cokon	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 301
C 81/ 542/8925	14 July, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas de Percy, John Burghchier and others	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 305
C 81/ 542/8933	15 July, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to John Clement	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 306
C 81/ 542/8939	19 July, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to William Venour	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 312
C 81/	15 August, 17	Salisbury	Grant to Richard	*CCR 1392-*

542/8949	Richard II [1393]		Mawardyn	*1396*, p. 230
C 81/ 542/8951	16 August, 17 Richard II [1393]	Salisbury	Grant to John Wilton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 315
C 81/ 542/8961	18 August, 17 Richard II [1393]	Salisbury	Pardon to Alice wife of Edmund Bendissh	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 323
C 81/ 542/8984	17 September, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John Waleys	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 311
C 81/ 543/9010	6 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Isabel wife of Edward Cowhurd	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 317
C 81/ 543/9018	10 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas de Castleton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 324
C 81/ 543/9025	12 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John Teb	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 320
C 81/ 543/9027	13 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Windsor	Grant to Janico Dartasso	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 320
C 81/ 543/9036	16 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon at the supplication of William Walden to Thomas Manger for the death of John, servant of Elys Baxster	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 320
C 81/ 543/9042	18 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to William Pokelyngton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 325
C 81/ 543/9046	18 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Order to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer not to trouble William de Rythere for homage	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 183
C 81/ 1064/39	28 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Jacob Culpell, Thomas Swynbourn	
C 81/ 1069/44	30 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Walter Stiward	
C 81/ 543/9079	30 October, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Trebuher	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 342
C 81/ 543/9089	4 November, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Gilbert Gerard	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 328
C 81/ 543/9093	7 November, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Calscroft	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 335
C 81/ 543/9096	8 November, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to Roger de Hynkersell	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 329
C 81/ 543/9100	8 November, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Roger de Hynkershill, Robert Milner, Adam de Norton	Pat 329
C 81/ 544/9103	9 November, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Order to escheator in county of Cambridge that Thomas Frevyle shall have seisin of his father's lands	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 100
C 81/ 544/9111	12 November, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Lynelay	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 332
C 81/ 544/9128	18 November, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Otto de Grauntson	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 342
C 81/ 544/9145	24 November, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to John Trailly	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 336
C 81/ 544/9174	3 December, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Selby	
C 81/	4 December, 17	Westminster	Grant of office to Robert	*CPR 1391-*

544/9176	Richard II [1393]		Potthowe	*1396*, p. 343
C 81/ 544/9181	10 December, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to John Malyne	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 407
C 81/ 544/9182	10 December, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to John Fraunceys	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 350
C 81/ 544/9184	10 December, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to John Stapenhull	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 349
C 81/ 544/9185	10 December, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Pardon to William Whyteley	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 341
C 81/ 544/9189	12 December, 17 Richard II [1393]	Westminster	Grant to William Frodesham	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 341
C 81/ 545/9225	22 January (misplaced), 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Pardon to John Gomond	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 351
C 81/ 545/9243	19 January, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to John de Holand, earl of Huntingdon	*CPR 1391-1396*, pp. 351; 363
C 81/ 545/9247	20 January, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to Adam atte Wode, John Wiltonm and Giles Freynssh	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 248
C 81/ 545/9248	20 January, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant of office to Adam atte Wode	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 351
C 81/ 545/9259	24 January, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Order to Thomas Chelrey, escheator, to give Edmund de Whitefeld seisin of the manor of Whitefeld	*CCR 1392-1396*, pp. 180-1
C 81/ 545/9284	3 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to Queen Anne	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 362
C 81/ 546/9309	11 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Order to escheator in country of York that William de Roos shall have seisin of his brother's lands	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 110
C 81/ 546/9317	12 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster,	Licence for the prior and convent of Christ Church, Canterbury	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 370
C 81/ 546/9334	17 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Order to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer not to trouble Isabel wife of Richard Ponynges for homage	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 198
C 81/ 1065/27	17 February, 17 Richard II [1394]		Protection for Robert Grigges	C 76/78 m. 10
C 81/ 546/934	18 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Ilkton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 372
C 81/ 546/9351	20 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Forester	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 374
C 81/ 546/9357	21 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to John Buket	*CFR 1391-1399*, pp. 111-2
C 81/ 546/9360	22 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to John Bussy	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 380
C 81/ 546/9370	24 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant of office to Nicholas Monkton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 375
C 81/	25 February, 17	Westminster	Grant to William Arundell	*CPR 1391-*

546/9374	Richard II [1394]			*1396*, p. 378
C 81/ 546/9381	25 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Walssh	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 373
C 81/ 546/9387	28 February, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	To the abbot and convent of Bardeney concerning the maintenance of Stephen Rumylowe and others	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 273
C 81/ 547/9417	7 March, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Licence the abbot and convent of Wellebek	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 381
C 81/ 547/9425	10 March, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Writ of aid for William Castell	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 393
C 81/ 1065/35	10 March, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John Spoo	C 76/78 m. 10
C 81/ 547/9472	6 April, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to William Assh	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 391
C 81/ 547/9474	6 April, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	William Assh	Pat 391
C 81/ 548/9508	27 April, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Pardon to Robert Pugge	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 405
C 81/ 1065/41	1 May, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for Roger Grymeston	
C 81/ 548/9535	6 May, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Pardon to Robert Alder	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 405
C 81/ 548/9544	12 May, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Peter Maydewell	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 415
C 81/ 548/9556	19 May, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Presentation of Ralph de Bromley to the church of Sibbesdon	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 415
C 81/ 548/9562	26 May, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Waldegrave	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 415
C 81/ 548/9600	17 June, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to the burgesses of Droghda, Meath	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 421
C 81/ 549/9601	17 June, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Order that William Serle shall have maintenance at the convent of St. Mary Graces	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 295
C 81/ 549/9606	20 June, 17 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Pardon to Stephen Speleman	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 421
C 81/ 549/9617	1 July, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to Henry Warderobe	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 448
C 81/ 1066/20	8 July, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John Charveles	
C 81/ 549/9636	22 July, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to William Knaresburgh	
C 81/ 549/9660	5 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant of office to William Tiryngton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 484
C 81/ 549/9665	7 August?, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant of office to William Sadeler	
C 81/ 549/9666	6 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Abberbury	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 489
C 81/ 549/9675	7 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Ratification and confirmation of grant to Thomas of Gloucester	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 504
C 81/	7 August, 18	Westminster	Protection for William	

1067/10	Richard II [1394]		Drayton	
C 81/ 1067/17	9 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for William Bredewardyn and John Core	
C 81/ 1067/26	10 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for Richard Cicestren	
C 81/ 550/9706	10 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to John Howlyn	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 500
C 81/ 550/9715	11 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to John Rakebrond	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 484
C 81/ 550/9724	11 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Westende	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 557
C 81/ 1067/39	11 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John Wykes	
C 81/ 1067/59	14 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for William de Farendon and Thomas Rede	
C 81/ 1067/75	29 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Protection for John Corn	C 76/79 m. 10
C 81/ 550/9751	30 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Grant of office to John Parker	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 499
C 81/ 550/9752	30 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Ratification of the estate of John Echenham	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 481
C 81/ 550/9753	30 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Grant to Walter Bolle	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 479
C 81/ 1067/78	31 August, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Protection for John Carpe and John Thame	
C 81/ 1068/4	1 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Protection for John Langford, William Asshurst, Nicholas Jugelfeld and Gregory Ballard	
C 81/ 550/9757	1 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Pardon to Thomas Clerk	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 480
C 81/ 550/9761	2 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Pardon to Roger Hethton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 500
C 81/ 550/9763	2 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Grant to Thomas Horwod	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 500
C 81/ 550/9764	2 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Nomination of Richard Prentys to new creation pension	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 422
C 81/ 550/9766	2 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Grant to John Bandebury	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 489
C 81/ 1068/7	2 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Protection for Ralph Repynton, John Bregge and John Fekenham	
C 81/ 1068/8	2 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Protection for Thomas Brut	
C 81/ 1068/9	2 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Protection for Jacob Clifford	
C 81/ 1068/11	2 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Protection for William Grey	
C 81/ 1068/12	3 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Hereford	Protection for John Bowerby	
C 81/	3 September, 18	Hereford	Protection for Nicholas	

1068/14	Richard II [1394]		Slake	
C 81/ 1068/16	4 September, 18 Richard II [1394]		Protection for John Bradshawe	
C 81/ 1068/25	16 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for Edward Bokeland and Richard Puryton	
C 81/ 550/9782	16 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Request to the abbot and convent of Gloucester to admit John Burghill and John Logwardyn	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 390
C 81/ 550/9783	16 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Grant to Robert Teye	
C 81/ 550/9786	20 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Licence for the friars of Kermedyn	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 482
C 81/ 1068/28	20 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for William Wynselowe and John Fekenham	
C 81/ 1068/33	23 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for Rhys ap Thomas	
C 81/ 550/9787	23 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Grant to Robert Stokley	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 490
C 81/ 1068/34	24 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for John Devereux and Robert Lovel	
C 81/ 1068/37	24 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for Henry Stedolf	
C 81/ 1068/39	25 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for Thomas Pickworth	
C 81/ 1068/41	26 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for Robert Clay	
C 81/ 1068/42	26 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for William de Ferreriis	
C 81/ 550/9794	27 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Grant to William Power	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 480
C 81/ 550/9795	27 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Grant to John Thame	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 503
C 81/ 1068/46	28 September, 18 Richard II [1394]	Haverford	Protection for Gilbert de Haycok, William Talbot and John de Laton	
C 81/ 1069/6	19 October, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for Peter Shopwyk alias Horston	
C 81/ 1069/11	21 October, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John Roundell	
C 81/ 1070/1	1 November, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John Andrewe	C 76/79 m. 12
C 81/ 1070/7	6 November, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John de Bowetby	
C 81/ 1070/8	7 November, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John Bown	
C 81/ 1070/20	15 November, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas de Tunstall	C 61/104 m. 7
C 81/ 1070/30	23 November, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John de Bello Monte	
C 81/ 1070/33	24 November, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for Walter Lambard	

C 81/ 1070/34	29 November, 18 Richard II [1394]	Westminster	Protection for John de Wesshyngton	
C 81/ 1071/12	1 February, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for John Golafre	
C 81/ 1071/16	4 February, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for William Herkey	
C 81/ 1071/38	12 February, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Shelle	
C 81/ 1071/41	13 February, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for Reginald Marryrit	
C 81/ 1071/58	20 February, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for Richard Mordon	
C 81/ 1071/67	26 February, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for Henry Huse	C 76/79 m. 3
C 81/ 1072/5	7 March, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for Henry le Noneys	
C 81/ 1072/22	19 April, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for Helia Breggez	
C 81/ 1072/26	29 April, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for John Golofre	
C 81/ 1072/33	5 May, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for William Brantyngham	
C 81/ 552/9917	21 May, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Pardon to John Pykeryng	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 574
C 81/ 552/9938	1 June, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant of office to Edward, earl of Rutland	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 572
C 81/ 552/9967	10 June, 18 Richard II [1395]),	Westminster	Licence for the dean and chapter of St. Chad, Lichfield	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 583
C 81/ 552/9977	13 June, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas duke of Gloucester	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 574
C 81/ 552/9990	16 June, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Wyche	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 582
C 81/ 552/10000	18 June, 18 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John Millere	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 573
C 81/ 553/10015	22 June, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to Geoffrey Tilliol and Geoffrey Louthir	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 596
C 81/ 553/10018	22 June, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Kirkeby	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 595
C 81/ 553/10027	27 June, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant of office to Thomas Lowry	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 595
C 81/ 553/10030	28 June, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Pardon to Gilbert Jaunt	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 594
C 81/ 553/10039	2 July, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John Trevore	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 593
C 81/ 553/10052	4 July, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to Leonard Monsenigo	
C 81/ 553/10057	5 July, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Pardon to John Say	*CPR 1391-1396*, pp. 608-9
C 81/ 553/10075	11 July, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John Vausour	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 604
C 81/ 553/10076	11 July, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John Haukeswell	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 604

C 81/ 553/10077	11 July, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John Hunte	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 604
C 81/ 1073/13	11 July, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Damers	
C 81/ 553/10080	12 July, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Revocation of grant to William atte Hethe	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 615
C 81/ 554/10157	5 August, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Pardon to John Vaux	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 616
C 81/ 554/10160	10 August, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Pardon to Amice wife of Robert Bardolf	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 668
C 81/ 554/10189	30 August, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John Sparowe	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 621
C 81/ 554/10190	30 August, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John de Kneveton and Thomas Galy	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 620
C 81/ 554/10200	9 September, 19 Richard II [1395]	Windsor	Grant to Robert Cary	*CPR 1391-1396*, pp. 613-4
C 81/ 555/10204	10 September, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John Boor	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 620
C 81/ 555/10248	27 September, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Guy de Mone	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 637
C 81/ 555/10263	8 October, 19 Richard II [1395])	Westminster	Grant to John Burford, John Fouler and John Churche	
C 81/ 1073/28	8 October, 19 Richard II [1395])	Westminster	Protection for Thomas de Carrew	
C 81/ 555/10264	11 October, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to John Clopton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 632
C 81/ 555/10272	15 October, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to Henry Norton and William Assh	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 636
C 81/ 556/10359	15 October, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Treasurer of Calais, Richard Helme	
C 81/ 1073/37	20 October, 19 Richard II [1395])	Westminster	Richard Bedford, William Lescrope	
C 81/ 556/10361	16 December, 19 Richard II [1395]	Westminster	Grant to William Serle	
C 81/ 1074/1	1 January, 19 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Protection for William Curteys	
C 81/ 558/10502	11 April, 19 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Plowmes	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 687
C 81/ 558/10502	11 April, 19 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Pardon to Roger de Cotton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 691
C 81/ 558/10517	20 April, 19 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Sutton	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 694
C 81/ 558/10565	8 May, 19 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Pardon to William Grene	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 718
C 81/ 559/10601	6 June, 19 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas de Everdon	*CPR 1391-1396*, p. 714
C 81/ 1076/48	15 June, 19 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Safe conduct for Hugh Palmere	
C 81/ 559/10612	20 June, 19 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Grant to John Shipton	
C 81/ 559/10669	8 July, 20 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Grant to William Lescrope and William Warde	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 16
C 81/	8 July, 20 Richard	Westminster	Grant to William	*CChR 1341-*

559/10670	II [1396]		archbishop of Canterbury	*1417*, p. 362
C 81/ 559/10684	23 July, 20 Richard II [1396]	Windsor	Grant to Henry Gosenore	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 77
C 81/ 560/10708	18 August, 20 Richard II [1396]	Calais	Grant to William Bagot	
C 81/ 560/10767	1 December, 20 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Enlenewyke	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 41
C 81/ 560/10778	7 December, 20 Richard II [1396]	Westminster	Grant to Benet Sely	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 37
C 81/ 561/10892	14 February, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to William del Parke	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 71
C 81/ 561/10894	14 February, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to John de Elvet	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 68
C 81/ 562/10960	1 March, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation to Thomas Dongesell	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 91
C 81/ 562/10964	1 March, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of John Park	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 81
C 81/ 562/10965	2 March, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Wedon	
C 81/ 562/10966	2 March, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Dongeselle	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 87
C 81/ 562/10981	8 March, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to William abbot of Westminster	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 93
C 81/ 564/11122	18 March, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Order to the sheriff of Oxford to free John Friston	*CCR 1396-1399*, p. 108
C 81/ 564/11146	24 March, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Bone	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 140
C 81/ 564/11147	24 March, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to Margery wife of Thomas Horner	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 151
C 81/ 564/11172	5 June, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to William son of John Taillour	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 145
C 81/ 564/11176	8 June, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to Gilbert Smyth	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 145
C 81/ 564/11184	10 June, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to John de Montagu	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 148
C 81/ 564/11186	10 June, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to John Langford	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 145
C 81/ 565/11203	15 June, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Waltham, Thomas Euere and others	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 149
C 81/ 565/11209	16 June, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Wade	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 154
C 81/ 565/11212	16 June, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to William Jowbel	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 150
C 81/ 565/11215	16 June, 20 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to John ap Henry	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 152
C 81/ 565/11250	3 July, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to John Patrik	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 208
C 81/ 565/11251	3 July, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Broun	
C 81/ 565/11280	3 July, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Licence for Nicholas Walssh	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 189
C 81/ 566/11313	27 July, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to William Arundell	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 175

C 81/ 566/11358	29 August, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to John Bras and Geoffrey Mugge	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 190
C 81/ 567/11404	26 September, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to John Merchman	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 251
C 81/ 567/11421	28 September, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to the earl of Rutland	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 201
C 81/ 567/11476	3 October, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to John Powell	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 201
C 81/ 1077/31	4 October, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Protection for Reginald Grey	
C 81/ 569/11660	7 November, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Licence to the abbot of Westminster	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 251
C 81/ 570/11701	17 November, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to John Nicol	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 184
C 81/ 570/11703	17 November, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to Nicholas Saxton	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 255
C 81/ 570/11733	25 November, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Swynborne	
C 81/ 570/11737	26 November, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to William de Neuton	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 260
C 81/ 570/11761	17 November, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to Henry Haggeley	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 268
C 81/ 1078/11	30 November, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Protection for Edmund Whytemore	C 76/82 m. 7
C 81/ 570/11776	11 December, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Pardon to Walter Bocher	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 271
C 81/ 570/11789	18 December, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Grant to Blanche wife of Andrew Hake	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 271
C 81/ 570/11790	18 December, 21 Richard II [1397]	Westminster	Exemption for William Jurden	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 273
C 81/ 571/11810	28 December, 21 Richard II [1397]	Coventry	Grant to Robert Tanfeld	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 277
C 81/ 571/11811	28 December, 21 Richard II [1397]	Coventry	Pardon to John Rastard	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 273
C 81/ 571/11827	3 January, 21 Richard II [1398]	Coventry	Grant to Jenn ap Gron	
C 81/ 571/11829	3 January, 21 Richard II [1398]	Coventry	Grant to John Raundes	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 274
C 81/ 571/11831	4 January, 21 Richard II [1398]	Coventry	Grant to Edward earl of Rutland	
C 81/ 571/11841	7 January, 21 Richard II [1398]	Coventry	Grant to John Chancy	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 277
C 81/ 571/11847	13 January, 21 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to John Gilberd and John Welles	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 184
C 81/ 571/11888	1 February, 21 Richard II [1398]	Salisbury	Grant to Agnes Corby	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 278
C 81/ 571/11890	2 February, 21 Richard II [1398]	Salisbury	Grant to John de Holand duke of Exeter	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 290
C 81/ 572/11959	6 March, 21 Richard II [1398]	Gloucester	Grant to Muade Fauconthebern	Bain IV, item 501
C 81/ 572/11962	8 March, 21 Richard II [1398]	Gloucester	Grant to John White and Thomas Piers	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 332
C 81/	15 April, 21	Westminster	Grant to Nicholas	

573/12015	Richard II [1398]		Oterbourne	
C 81/ 573/12020	17 April, 21 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Swynborne	
C 81/ 573/12030	22 April, 21 Richard II [1398]	Windsor	Grant to Richard de Chelmeswik	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 330
C 81/ 1078/28	23 April, 21 Richard II [1398]	Windsor	Protection for Bernard Whyte alias Chapman	C 76/82 m. 4
C 81/ 573/12041	24 April, 21 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to Simon Gaunstede	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 332
C 81/ 573/12063	2 May, 21 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to Henry Mory	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 332
C 81/ 574/12101	23 May, 21 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to Gilbert de Bruche	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 347
C 81/ 574/12113	29 May, 21 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Eland	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 344
C 81/ 574/12141	12 June, 21 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to John Wilteshire	
C 81/ 574/12153	29 June, 22 Richard II [1398]	Nottingham	Grant to Nicholas Danyel, William Bulcotes	*CFR 1391-1399*, p. 274
C 81/ 574/12173	1 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Nottingham	Grant to John del Halle	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 414
C 81/ 574/12174	1 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Nottingham	Licence to abbess and convent of Pollesworth	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 484
C 81/ 574/12177	1 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Nottingham	Grant to Robert Eland	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 382; *CCR 1392-1396*, p. 319
C 81/ 574/12198	3 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Nottingham	Exemption for Gilbert de Haydok	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 382
C 81/ 574/12200	3 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Nottingham	Pardon to Thomas Gamul	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 377
C 81/ 575/12201	4 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Nottingham	Request to prior and convent of Lancaster to admit Walter de Wasshynton for maintenance	*CCR 1392-1396*, p. 394
C 81/ 575/12207	8 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Nottingham	Nomination of John de Shrewesbury	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 385
C 81/ 575/12241	27 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to Rhys and William ap Tidre	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 400
C 81/ 575/12248	28 July, 22 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to John Ikelyngton and William Waltham	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 377
C 81/ 1079/7	24 August, 22 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Protection for Hugh Sturmyn	
C 81/ 576/12376	28 September, 22 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to William fitz Hugh	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 416
C 81/ 578/12522	3 December, 22 Richard II [1398]	Westminster	Grant to Tangui du Chastel	
C 81/ 579/12610	22 January, 22 Richard II [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas duke of Surrey	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 476
C 81/ 579/12682	24 February, 22 Richard II [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Henry Mosok	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 475
C 81/	15 March, 22	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Multon	*CPR 1396-*

579/12738	Richard II [1399]		and William Champeneys	*1399*, p. 492
C 81/ 580/12852	16 April, 22 Richard II [1399]	Westminster	Grant to William Elmham	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 529
C 81/ 581/12925	28 April, 22 Richard II [1399]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent to William Benet	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 576
C 81/ 582/12926	28 April, 22 Richard II [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Couele	*CPR 1396-1399*, p. 544
C 81/ 1083/15	5 May, 22 Richard II [1399]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas West	
C 81/ 1084/5	6 July, 23 Richard II [1399]	Westminster	Protection for John Noble	C 61/106 m. 4
C 81/ 1084/7	10 July, 23 Richard II [1399]	Westminster	Protection for John Daunttesey	
E 28/29 item 30	Undated Henry IV		Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 322; Doyle and Parkes, 'Production of copies', p. 182	
C 81/ 583/15	4 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Totty	
E 404/ 15/34	14 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
C 81/ 583/87	16 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Chaucer	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 15
E 404/ 15/37	17 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
E 404/ 15/40	20 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
C 81/ 584/197	27 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Appointment of William de Lodyngton to office	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 34
C 81/ 585/201	27 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Henry Forester	
C 81/ 585/239	28 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Nicholas Lary	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 65
C 81/ 585/268	30 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to David Rouclif	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 61
E 404/ 15/45	30 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
E 404/ 15/47	2 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
E 404/ 15/49	3 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
C 81/ 587/401	4 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to William Clerc	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 46
C 81/ 587/428	4 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Ralph Fowne	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 51
C 81/ 587/450	4 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Roger de Beurlen	
C 81/ 587/471	4 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Confirmation of grant to Richard Bavell	
C 81/ 588/513	7 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to John Ryver	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 73
E 404/ 15/62	9 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	

C 81/ 588/606	10 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to William Beauchamp	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 101
C 81/ 589/666	12 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to John Stapilton	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 73
C 81/ 589/681	12 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Marjorie Pensax	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 95
C 81/ 589/706	13 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to John Tiptot	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 98
C 81/ 590/732	13 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Thomas de Brunham	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 126
E 404/ 15/69	13 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
C 81/ 590/790	14 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to John Foljambe	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 80
C 81/ 590/799	15 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to John Partout	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 85
C 81/ 591/810	15 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Walys	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 99
C 81/ 591/827	15 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Thomas Wodecrofte	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 10 Cl 21
C 81/ 591/837	16 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Edward Charleton	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 123
C 81/ 591/849	16 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to William Moigne	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 45
C 81/ 591/871	17 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to John Herle	
C 81/ 591/899	18 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Pardon to Robert Northflete	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 107
E 404/ 15/78	19 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
E 404/ 15/81	19 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 323	
C 81/ 592/930	20 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to William de Leek	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 118
C 81/ 592/940	20 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to John Wardeboys	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 246
C 81/ 592/943	20 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Bendowe	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 146
C 81/ 592/956	20 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Mary wife of Robert del Hall	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 119
C 81/ 592/993	22 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Richard Lescrop	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 155
E 404/ 15/105	1 December, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 324	
E 404/ 15/109	3 December, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 324	
C 81/ 594/1117	4 December, 1 Henry IV [1399]	Westminster	Grant to Walter Park and others	
C 81/ 595/1253	3 January, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Presentation of John Catryk to church	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 171

C 81/ 595/1292	26 January, 1 Henry IV[1400]	Westminster	Grant to John Moubray	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 177
E 404/ 15/141	1 February, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 324	
C 81/ 596/1351	9 February, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Grant to Geoffrey Chaucer	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 194
E 404/ 15/154	19 February, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 324	
C 81/ 598/1508	23 February, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of indenture to Thomas Arthur	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 244
C 81/ 599/1642	18 March, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Grant to William bishop of Tournay	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 246
C 81/ 1086/27	28 March, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Protection for William Nortone and Gerard Abraham	C 76/84 m. 9
C 81/ 601/1835	12 May, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Grant to John Torell	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 393
E 404/ 15/301	12 May, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 324	
E 404/ 15/398	20 May, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 324	
E 404/ 15/422	26 May, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 324	
C 81/ 601/1880	27 May, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Erpyngham	*CFR 1399-1405*, p. 62
C 81/ 1087/43	18 July, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Protection for John Warde	C 76/84 m. 3
C 81/ 602/1982	28 July, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Grant to John lord of Latymer	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 338
C 81/ 602/1990	3 August, 1 Henry IV [1400]	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Grant to the duke of York	
C 81/ 604/2165	13 November, 2 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Grant to William Laudesdale	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 338
C 81/ 604/2170	14 November, 2 Henry IV [1400]	Westminster	Grant to Nicholas Barbour	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 380
E 404/ 16/325	13 January, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 324	
E 404/ 16/328	16 January, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 325	
C 81/ 605/2291	18 January, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of a charter in favour of the order of Sempryngham	*CChR 1341-1417*, p. 407
C 81/ 606/2364	17 February, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas West	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 435
C 81/ 607/2411	2 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Joan daughter of Robert Tresilian	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 440
C 81/ 607/2417	3 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John earl of Somerset	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 454
E 208/11 Box 2/5/1	4 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 325	
C 81/ 607/2431	10 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Nomination of John Atherton to new creation	*CCR 1399-1402*, p. 409

			pension	
E 404/ 16/401	22 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 325	
E 404/ 16/403	29 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 325	
C 81/ 608/2501	14 April, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Janico Dartas	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 472
C 81/ 608/2522	20 April, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Pardon to Augustine Fissher	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 476
C 81/ 608/2565	5 May, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Langley	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 474
C 81/ 608/2569	6 May, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John Santon	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 487
C 81/ 609/2618	2? May, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Edward earl of Rutland	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 509
C 81/ 609/2625	28 May, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John de Skidmore	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 490
C 81/ 609/2637	8 June, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John Ikelyngton	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 501
C 81/ 609/2639	16 June, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of pardon to abbot and convent of Dunbrothy	*CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 528-9
E 404/ 16/711	24 June, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 325	
E 404/ 16/725	2 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 325	
E 404/ 16/727	3 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 325	
E 404/ 16/730	4 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 325	
C 81/ 609/2677	6 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John Prentys and John Arundell	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 507
E 404/ 16/738	8 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
C 81/ 609/2685	10 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Edward earl of Rutland	
C 81/ 1089/6	13 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Protection for John Deverose	C 61/108 m. 9
E 404/ 16/746	19 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
E 404/ 16/751	29 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
E 404/ 16/752	29 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
C 81/ 610/2746	12 August, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John Walyngton	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 530
C 81/ 610/2749	16 August, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Alice de Holand countess of Kent	*CCR 1399-1402*, p. 370
C 81/ 610/2778	28 August, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Edward earl of Rutland	
E 404/ 16/766	30 August, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
C 81/	6 September, 2	Westminster	Grant to the people of	*CPR 1399-*

611/2808	Henry IV [1401]		Gravesend	*1401*, p. 542
C 81/ 611/2826	12 September, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Henry Cawode, Andrew Dirham, John Cateby and Fithian Mascy	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 542
C 81/ 1090/25	23 September, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Protection for John Sticheworth	C 76/85 m. 1
E 404/ 16/744	23 September, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
C 81/ 611/2844	25 September, 2 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Matthew de Gourney	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 543
C 81/ 1091/12	12 October, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Swynbourne	C 76/86 m. 12
C 81/ 611/2872	30 October, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John Fouler	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 11
E 404/ 17/254	1 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
E 208/11 Box 1/8/10	6 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
C 81/ 611/2892	8 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Helmyng Legat	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 12
C 81/ 611/2893	8 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John Bolton	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 12
E 404/ 17/289	11 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 326	
E 404/ 17/328	23 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 327	
E 404/ 17/344	1 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 327	
C 81/ 612/2961	3 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to John Brigge	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 22
C 81/ 612/2962	3 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to abbey of Bynedon	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 22
C 81/ 612/2966	8 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Philippa Waldyf and Isabel Fynbarugh	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 28
C 81/ 612/2978	11 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Primerose	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 30
E 404/ 17/363	13 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 327	
E 404/ 17/373	21 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 327	
E 404/ 17/377	28 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]	Eltham	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 327	
C 81/ 613/3033	9 January, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to John le Strange	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 35
C 81/ 613/3056	20 January, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to John Hobildod	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 33
C 81/ 614/3135	10 March, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to John Forster	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 92
C 81/ 1092/12	6 April, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Protection for John Blaket	
C 81/ 1092/25	24 April, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Protection for Richard Wigornien and others	
C 81/	24 April, 3 Henry	Westminster	Grant to Henry Harburgh	*CPR 1401-*

615/3233	IV [1402]			*1405*, p. 87
C 81/ 616/3360	17 August, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	To the prior of Merton concerning the maintenance of John Bromhale	*CCR 1399-1402*, p. 594
C 81/ 616/3362	20 August, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to John Godegrome and John Holwey	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 123
C 81/ 616/3370	23 August, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to John Bernard	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 116
E 404/ 17/787	29 August, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 327	
C 81/ 616/3388	22 September, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Cliderowe and Thomas Elmeden	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 120
C 81/ 617/3412	6 October, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to John Thorne	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 160
C 81/ 617/3422	13 October, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to Peter Cranburn	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 165
C 81/ 617/3433	14 October, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Nicholas Herbury	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 157
E 404/ 18/207	26 October, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 327	
C 81/ 617/3485	3 November, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Pardon to Humphrey de Swynerton and others	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 169
C 81/ 617/3490	4 November, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to the king's son John	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 170
E 404/ 18/255	29 November, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	
E 404/ 18/260	December, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	
E 404/ 18/267	December, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	
C 81/ 618/3536	12 December, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Presentation of William Byngham to church	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 182
C 81/ 618/3551	28 December, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Westminster	Grant to William Ryder and John Hunt	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 194
C 81/ 618/3558	7 January, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Presentation of William Bildeston to church	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 190
E 404/ 18/285	8 February, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	
C 81/ 619/3601	26 February, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Grant to Columba son of George de Dunbarre	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 195
E 404/ 18/292	28 February, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	
C 81/ 1094/12	27 April, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Protection for Edmund Burgeys	C 71/77 m. 13
C 81/ 620/3701	17 May, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Walter Bullok	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 206
C 81/ 620/3711	29 May, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Grant to Banassie de P-[illegible]	
E 404/ 18/564	15 June, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	
E 404/ 18/579	28 June, 4 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	
E 404/ 19/163	1 November, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Cirencester	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	

C 81/ 621/3822	2 November, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Cirencester	Grant to Thomas Kirkebryd	
C 81/ 621/3829	3 November, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Cirencester	Licence for the prior of the hospital of St. Batholemew, Gloucester	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 329
C 81/ 621/3836	5 November, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Cirencester	Appointment to office of Thomas lord of Berkeley	*CPR 1401-1405*, pp. 328-9
E 404/ 19/232	15 November, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 328	
E 404/ 19/273	5 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 329	
E 404/ 19/274	8 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 329	
E 404/ 19/281	11 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 329	
E 404/ 19/284	20 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 329	
E 404/ 19/285	27 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]	Abingdon Abbey	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 329	
E 404/ 19/292	15 January, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 329	
C 81/ 622/3976	15 March, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Grant to William de Wilughby	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 373
C 81/ 623/4001	2 May, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Grant to Bernard de Guauaston	*Carte I*, p.189 n. 21
C 81/ 1097/14	8 June, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Protection for William Fissher	
C 81/ 623/4030	17 June, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Grant to Henry Strangways	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 403
E 404/ 19/450	18 June, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 329	
C 81/ 623/4036	27 June, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Pontefract	Grant to William Stierefacre	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 406
C 81/ 623/4037	27 June, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Pontefract	Grant to John Horsy	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 406
C 81/ 1097/30	4 July, 5 Henry IV [1404]	Pontefract	Protection for Richard Colyngham	
E 208/11 Box 1/3	29 October, 6 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 329	
C 81/ 624/4114	9 November, 6 Henry IV [1404]	Coventry	Pardon to Richard Beche	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 463
C 81/ 624/4120	14 November, 6 Henry IV [1404]	Coventry	Pardon to Agneys Knovill	
C 81/ 624/4130	3 December, 6 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Grant to the king's son John, Thomas Longley and William prior of Okebourne	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 466
C 81/ 624/4141	8 December, 6 Henry IV [1404]	Westminster	Licence for Gerald Braybrok and others	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 479
C 81/ 624/4153	5 January, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Grant to William Lochard	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 478
C 81/ 624/4159	11 January, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Appointment of John Gloucestre to church office	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 478
C 81/	11 January, 6	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of	*CPR 1401-*

624/4160	Henry IV [1405]		Simon Sydenham	*1405*, p. 451
C 81/ 1098/30	13 January, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Protection for John Brampton	C 76/88 m. 13
C 81/ 624/4174	22 January, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Kytelby	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 480
E 404/ 20/133	26 January, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 330	
C 81/ 624/4176	27 January, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Pardon to John Wolgar	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 484
C 81/ 624/4179	31 January, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Balne	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 483
C 81/ 625/4203	16 February, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Ratification of the estate of Walter Cook	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 451
E 404/ 20/161	18 February, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 330	
E 404/ 20/164	18 February, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 330	
E 404/ 20/165	18 February, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 330	
C 81/ 626/4309	22 April, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Grant to John Petyt	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 56
C 81/ 626/4314	24 April, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Windsor	Grant to George Louthorp	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 8
C 81/ 626/4316	25 April, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Grant to Clement ap David	*CPR 1405-1408*, pp. 7-8
C 81/ 1100/23	14 July, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Protection for John Yus and John Kent	C 76/88 m. 1
C 81/ 627/4410	26 July, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Presentation of John Southo to church	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 34
C 81/ 627/4411	26 July, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Grant to John Southo	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 34
C 81/ 627/4436	6 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Commitment of lands to John Blaket	*CFR 1399-1405*, p. 316
C 81/ 627/4438	6 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Grant to John Petyt	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 38
C 81/ 627/4441	7 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Grant to Robert Steward and Henry Welsme	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 35
C 81/ 627/4443	7 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Grant to John Banbury	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 36
C 81/ 627/4448	7 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Grant to Thomas Neville	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 36
C 81/ 1100/28	8 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Protection for John Joy	
C 81/ 627/4460	9 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Grant to John Skipton	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 45
C 81/ 627/4462	10 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Grant to John Peryent	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 57
C 81/ 627/4467	10 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Grant to David de Rouclif	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 50
C 81/ 627/4470	10 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Pardon to Robert Takell and John Etton	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 55
C 81/ 627/4488	13 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Pontefract	Grant to Ralph Whitfeld	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 35
E 404/	16 August, 6 Henry	Leicester	Mooney (2007), Appendix	

20/294	IV [1405]		p. 330	
C 81/ 628/4507	7 September, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Hereford	Licence for prioress and convent of Acornebury	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 50
C 81/ 628/4508	7 September, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Hereford	Grant to William Byngley	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 55
C 81/ 1100/32	7 September, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Hereford	Protection for Thomas Holgot	
C 81/ 628/4515	10 September, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Hereford	Grant to Richard Conyngston	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 42
C 81/ 628/4522	8 September, 6 Henry IV [1405]	Hereford	Ratification of the estate of Hugo Hanneworth	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 35
C 81/ 1101/13	29 October, 7 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Protection for Stephen Sporet	C 76/89 m. 16
E 404/ 21/27	18 November, 7 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 330	
C 81/ 628/4568	21 November, 7 Henry IV [1405]	Hereford	Ratification of the estate of Maurice Campeden	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 91
C 81/ 629/4612	4 December, 7 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of Galiard Mountet	
E 404/ 21/32	7 December, 7 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 330	
E 404/ 21/37	11 December, 7 Henry IV [1405]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 330	
E 404/ 21/54	9 February, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 330	
E 404/ 21/73	24 March, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 331	
C 81/ 631/4815	7 April, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Grant to John Hatfeld	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 166
E 404/ 21/104	3 May, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 331	
C 81/ 631/4878	27 May, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Partially illegible due to dirt	
E 404/ 21/254	12 June, 7 Henry IV	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 331	
C 81/ 632/4926	29 June, 7 Henry IV?	Westminster	Licence for Edward duke of York	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 227
C 81/ 632/4936	3 July, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Pardon to Walter Alderford	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 204
E 208/11 Box 1/8/41	6 July, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 331	
E 404/ 21/279	7 July, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 331	
E 404/ 21/294	24 July, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 331	
C 81/ 632/4983	18 August, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Grant to John Hawe	*CFR 1405-1413*, p. 44
C 81/ 632/4995	3 September, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Leicester	Grant to John Baylle and Henry Hewe	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 217
C 81/ 632/4997	4 September, 7 Henry IV [1406]	Leicester	Grant to William Kynwalmerssh	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 216
C 81/ 633/5038	8 October, 8 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Pardon to Thomas Barker	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 241
E 404/	16 October, 8	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix	

22/100	Henry IV [1406]		p. 331	
E 208/11 Box 1/3	27 October, 8 Henry IV [1406]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 331	
E 404/ 22/271	26 February, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 332	
C 81/ 635/5211	28 March, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Grant to John Merlawe	
C 81/ 1105/13	2 April, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Protection for John Chappell	C 76/90 m. 11
E 404/ 22/374	16 April, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 332	
E 28/23/12	8 June, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Draft letter from Henry IV to Thomas Walton	
C 81/ 636/5332	5 July, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Election of William Brome to ecclesiastical office	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 340
C 81/ 636/5346	24 July, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Grant to William Pilton	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 344
C 81/ 636/5348	25 July, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Grant to John Everdon	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 348
C 81/ 636/5349	25 July, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Grant to John Everdon	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 348
C 81/ 636/5351	25 July, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Grant to Symon Sydenham	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 346
C 81/ 1105/51	10 September, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Protection for John Morhay	
C 81/ 636/5378	11 September, 8 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Licence for William Forestre	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 347
C 81/ 1106/1	5 October, 9 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Protection for Alan de Hilton	
C 81/ 636/5388	1 Nov? 9 Henry IV [1407]	Westminster	Grant to Richard de Grey	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 260
E 404/ 23/279	27 February, 9 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 332	
C 81/ 639/5642	24 April, 9 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Fauconer	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 435
E 208/11 Box 2/2/2	12 July, 9 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 332	
E 404/ 23/536	31 July, 9 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 332	
C 81/ 641/5852	3 August, 9 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Exemption for Thomas Skynner	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 465
E 404/ 23/544	1 September, 9 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 332	
C 81/ 641/5900	22 September, 9 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Grant to John Hende	*CPR 1405-1408*, p. 468
C 81/ 642/5911	2? September 9 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Concerning the petition of Henry Nicholas	SC 8/ 188/9358
E 404/ 24/228	18 November, 10 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 332	
E 404/ 24/236	22 November, 10 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 333	
C 81/ 642/5928	18 October, 10 Henry IV [1408]	Westminster	Presentation of John Wandestre to church	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 25
C 81/	30 December, 10	Westminster	Grant to William Werthe	

643/6033	Henry IV [1408]		and others	
E 404/ 24/293	21 February, 10 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 333	
E 208/11 Box 1/4/28	22 April, 10 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 333	
E 208/11 Box 1/4/29	22 April, 10 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 333	
E 208/11 Box 1/4/5	27 May, 10 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 333	
C 81/ 644/6168	18 June, 10 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Assignment of profits from lands late of Henry Retford	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 83
C 81/ 645/6251	11 September, 10 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	To the abbot of Pershore requesting that William Lochard and William Lyne be granted maintenance	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 512
C 81/ 645/6258	September, 10 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Wolveden	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 104
E 404/ 25/177	9 December, 11 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 333	
C 81/ 646/6373	10 December, 11 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Election of Joan Trayley as abbess of house of Elnestowe	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 151
C 81/ 646/6381	28 December, 11 Henry IV [1409]	Westminster	Licence for William Scolall	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 234
C 81/ 647/6432	8 February, 11 Henry IV [1410]	Westminster	Commission to Thomas de Morleye and others	*CPR 1408-1413*, pp. 181-2
E 404/ 25/201	23 February, 11 Henry IV [1410]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 333	
C 81/ 649/6622	20 June, 11 Henry IV [1410]	Westminster	Grant to Margaret late wife of John earl of Somerset	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 210
C 81/ 649/6637	13 July, 11 Henry IV [1410]	Westminster	Grant to Francis Toppesfeld	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 211
C 81/ 649/6689	15 October, 12 Henry IV [1410]	Westminster	Pardon to William Lokard	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 239
C 81/ 1111/5	25 October ,12 Henry IV [1410]	Westminster	Protection for Gilbert de Kyghlay	
C 81/ 1111/30	15 February, 12 Henry IV [1411]	Westminster	Protection for Edmund Berry	C 76/94 m. 25
C 81/ 650/6776	26 February, 12 Henry IV [1411]	Westminster	Grant of office to Hartouk van Clucx and John Stokes	*Carte II*, p.202 m. 21
C 81/ 651/6873	13 May, 12 Henry IV [1411]	Westminster	Commission to the sergeant at arms	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 318
C 81/ 651/6894	20 May, 12 Henry IV [1411]	Westminster	Licence for Reginald de Grey	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 290
C 81/ 652/6984	8 September, 12 Henry IV [1411]	Westminster	Grant to the king's son Thomas	
C 81/ 653/7010	16 October, 13 Henry IV [1411]	Westminster	Pardon to John Palmere	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 324
C 81/ 655/7212a	16 March, 13 Henry IV [1412]	Westminster	Protection for the priory of Ivychurch	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 400
C 81/ 1112/22	18 May, 13 Henry IV [1412]	Westminster	Protection for John Bassyngbourne	
C 81/	1 July, 13 Henry IV	Westminster	Protection for James	C 76/95 m.

1113/4	[1412]		Brampton	11
E 28/23/53	20 December, 7 – 14 Henry IV [1405-1412]	Westminster	Letter from Henry IV to the Treasurer	
E 404/ 28/77	10 October, 14 Henry IV [1413]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 334	
E 404/ 28/227	11 March, 1 Henry V [1413]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 334	
C 81/ 658/38	31 May, 1 Henry V [1413]	Westminster	Grant to Marjorie Pensax	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 29
C 81/ 658/82	14 August, 1 Henry V [1413]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent relating to John Holde	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 131
C 81/ 658/88	28 August, 1 Henry V [1413]	Westminster	Grant to William Halyday	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 96
C 81/ 658/93	27 September, 1 Henry V [1413]	Westminster	Grant to John Hertishorn	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 126
C 81/ 659/104	16 October, 1 Henry V [1413]	Westminster	Grant to Roger Trumpyton	*CFR 1413-1422*, p. 33
C 81/ 660/202	17 August, 1 Henry V [1413]	Westminster	Pardon to Leonard Rys	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 94
C 81/ 1115/22	23 January, 1 Henry 5 [1414]	Westminster	Protection for John Dobyll	C 76/96 m. 12
E 404/ 30/63	17 April, 1 Henry 5 [1414]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 334	
C 81/ 660/248	8 June, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Pardon to John de Holtby	
C 81/ 660/249	8 June, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Grant to John son of Henry, lord of Beamont	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 196
C 81/ 660/250	8 June, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Isabel Pegg	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 193
C 81/ 660/251	8 June, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Grant to Elizabeth Beaumont	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 193
C 81/ 660/267	3 July, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Presentation of John Prentys to church	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 200
C 81/ 660/289	4 August, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Grant to John Sanky, Roger Martyn and Walter Kendale	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 219
C 81/ 660/291	8 August, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to John Dudman	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 237
C 81/ 660/292	8 August, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Grant to John Foreste	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 236
C 81/ 661/329	18 October 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Order to escheator in county of Kent that Hamo Bealknap shall have seisin of his father's lands	*CFR 1413-1422*, p. 79
C 81/ 661/335	23 October, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Arnald de Gent	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 245
E 404/ 30/191	29 January, 2 Henry V [1414]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 334	
C 81/	4 November, 2	Westminster	Grant to the abbey of	

661/344	Henry V [1414]		Kingeswode	
C 81/ 1117/23	16 February, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for Alex Standissh	
C 81/ 662/417	2 April, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Licence for sub-prior and convent of Newstead	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 296
C 81/ 662/427	3 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Grant to John Bristowe	*Carte II*, p. 224, m. 11
E 404/ 31/219	12 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 334	
E 404/ 31/225	12 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 334	
E 404/ 31/248	15 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
E 404/ 31/250	15 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
E 404/ 31/258	15 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
E 404/ 31/261	16 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
E 404/ 31/264	16 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
C 81/ 1118/36	16 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for Henry de Percy	C 76/98 m. 22
C 81/ 1119/34	16 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for Charles de Beaumond	C 76/98 m. 16
E 404/ 31/266	20 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
E 404/ 31/278	20 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
E 404/ 31/296	23 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
C 81/ 662/442	24 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Grant to Richard Arundell	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 322
E 404/ 31/307	26 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335	
E 404/ 31/322	27 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 335; reproduced in Chaplais, *English Royal Documents*, p.74.	
E 404/ 31/326	28 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 336	
C 81/ 1119/51	28 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for Roger Semper, John Kirton, William Malthous and others	C 76/98 m. 19
C 81/ 1119/56	29 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for John Berwyk, John Brygg, Nicholas Twyford and Tilman Gheladebach	
C 81/ 1119/64	29 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Tunbrigge, Hugh Bigge, Roger Chieff and others	
E 404/ 31/344	31 May, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 336	

E 404/ 31/351	1 June, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 336	
E 404/ 31/355	4 June, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 336	
E 404/ 31/364	5 June, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 336	
C 81/ 662/455	5 June, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Grant to Joan Waryn	*CPR 1413-1416*, p. 329
C 81/ 1120/31	5 June, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for Reginald Cobham	C 76/98 m. 19
C 81/ 1120/60	7 June, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for William Bourchier	
C 81/ 1121/21	11 June, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Denny	
E 404/ 31/383	13 June, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 336	
C 81/ 1124/3	1 July, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for John Carlyon	
C 81/ 1124/19	7 July, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Protection for William atte Halle	C 76/98 m. 14
C 81/ 663/515	28 August, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Order to William Loveneye	
E 404/ 31/452	1 September, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 336	
C 81/ 663/516	24 September, 3 Henry V [1415]	Westminster	Grant to William Knottyngley	
E 404/ 32/262	9 December, 4 Henry V [1416]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 337	
C 81/ 1133/28	18 March, 4 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for John Clynton	C 76/99
C 81/ 1134/1	21 March, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for John Clerk	
C 81/ 1134/4	22 March, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for John Ifeld	
C 81/ 1134/5	23 March, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Derhyng	
C 81/ 1134/14	29 March, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Cok, John Baret, Richard Wodeward and John Smyth	C 76/100 m. 24
C 81/ 1134/29	8 April, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Bekyngham	
C 81/ 1135/1	21 April, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for John Mapurley	C 76/100 m. 20
C 81/ 1135/4	21 April, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for Nicholas Warde	C 76/100 m. 23
C 81/ 1137/26	21 May, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for John Mapurley	
C 81/ 1137/48	25, May, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for Henry Ingelhous	C 76/100 m. 5
C 81/ 1139/50	28 July, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Prudeman	
C 81/ 1140/30	16 November, 5 Henry V [1417]	Westminster	Protection for William Swanlond	C 61/117 m. 3
E 404/	10 December, 5	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix	

33/194	Henry V [1417]		p. 337	
E 404/ 33/219	22 February, 5 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 337	
C 81/ 1141/33	4 March, 5 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for Richard Eckeford and William Peny	
C 81/ 1141/36	4 March, 5 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Milton and John Hadsore	
E 404/ 33/223	7 March, 5 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 337	
C 81/ 1142/4	21 March, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John lord of Furnevale	
C 81/1142/18	20 March, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Hornyngesherde	
C 81/ 1143/3	3 April, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Knaresburgh	
C 81/ 1143/5	4 April, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Gybon and John Beggeraunt	C 76/101 m. 11
C 81/ 1143/9	4 April, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for Robert Hereward	C 76/101 m. 11
C 81/ 1143/11	5 April, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Presden	C 76/101 m. 11
C 81/ 1143/48	29 April, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Hevenyngham	
C 81/ 1144/8	4 May, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for Edmund Crowe	C 76/101 m. 10
C 81/ 1144/20	10 May, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for William Swanlond	C 76/101 m. 9
C 81/ 1144/26	30 June, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Grenefeld	C 76/101 m. 7
C 81/ 1145/3	2 July, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Mersk	C 76/101 m. 7
C 81/ 1145/11	11 July, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for Thomas Wryght	
C 81/ 1145/31	26 October, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Gra	
C 81/ 1145/42	22 November, 6 Henry V [1418]	Westminster	Protection for John Oldy	
C 81/ 1146/25	1 March, 6 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Protection for John West	C 76/101 m. 2
E 404/ 35/119	21 May, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 337	
E 404/ 35/123	28 May, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 338	
E 404/ 35/131	10 June, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 338	
C 81/ 1148/9	28 June, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Protection for John Parker, alias Diconson	C 71/81 m. 4
C 81/ 1148/18	10 August, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Protection for John Stannerne	
C 81/ 1148/19	16 August, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Protection for John Brandon	C 76/102 m. 7
C 81/ 1148/26	23 September, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Protection for William Tybenham	
C 81/	16 October, 7	Westminster	Protection for Thomas	C 76/102 m.

1149/10	Henry V [1419]		Wodyl	7
C 81/ 1149/11	16 October, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Protection for John Rasyn	C 76/102 m. 7
C 81/ 1149/19	24 October, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Protection for Phillip Esburn	C 76/102 m. 7
C 81/ 1149/37	30 November, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Protection for William Spynke	C 76/102 m. 6
E 28/97/9A	29 December, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 338	
E 28/ 97/22A	29 December, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 338	
E 28/ 97/25	29 December, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 338	
E 28/97/28	29 December, 7 Henry V [1419]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 338	
C 81/ 1152/16	13 April, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Protection for Richard Bautre	
E 404/ 35/272	9 February, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 338	
E 404/ 35/273	9 February, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix pp. 338-9	
E 404/ 35/274	9 February, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 339	
E 404/ 35/275	9 February, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 339	
C 81/ 1154/5	4 July, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Protection for William Prat and John Pateswyk	C 61/118 m. 4
C 81/ 667/948	1 August, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Peronelle Aldrewyche	*CPR 1416-1422*, p. 301
C 81/ 667/954	7 October, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Election of William Clerk to church office	*CPR 1416-1422*, p. 298
C 81/ 1154/19	21 October, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Protection for Richard Hyman	C 76/103 m. 4
C 81/ 1155/9	18 November, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Protection for Robert Cliderowe	C 76/103 m. 3
C 81/ 667/970	15 December, 8 Henry V [1420]	Westminster	Grant to Peter de Alcobasse	*CPR 1416-1422*, p. 311
C 81/ 1155/27	2 April, 8 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for William Philipp	C 76/104 m. 9
C 81/ 668/1029	18 May, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Order not to trouble Ralph Nevylle for homage	*CCR 1419-1422*, p. 140
C 81/ 1156/46	20 May, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for Robert Delowe	C 76/104 m. 17
C 81/ 668/1033	22 May, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Pardon to Richard Waterton	*CPR 1416-1422*, p. 341
C 81/ 1157/28	25 May, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for Edmund earl of Marche	
C 81/ 1157/59	29 May, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for William Normanville	
C 81/ 1158/3	1 June, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for John Newesame	
E 404/ 37/102	3 June, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 339	

E 404/ 37/103	3 June, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 339	
C 81/ 1158/18	8 June, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for Owen ap Thomas	C 76/104 m. 13
C 81/ 1159/7	9 July, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for William Mountfort	C 76/104 m. 12
C 81/ 669/1132	8 November, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Licence for Robert de Barbour and others	*CPR 1416-1422*, p. 400
C 81/ 1159/36	23 November, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for John Frensh	C 76/104 m. 8
C 81/ 1160/3	5 December, 9 Henry V [1421]	Westminster	Protection for Richard Maltby	
C 81/ 1160/11	18 January, 9 Henry V [1422]	Westminster	Protection for John Tounsende	
C 81/ 1161/23	10 March, 9 Henry V [1422]	Westminster	Protection for Richard Weston	C 76/104 m. 1
C 81/ 1163/26	4 May, 9 Henry V [1422]	Westminster	Protection for Robert de Umframvile	C 71/82 m. 1
E 404/ 38/38	20 June, 10 Henry V [1422]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 339	
C 81/ 1164/18	11 July, 10 Henry V [1422]	Westminster	Protection for William Radclyf	C 76/105 m. 1
C 81/ 1165/2	11 November, 1 Henry VI [1422]	Westminster	Protection for John Bacon	C 76/106 m. 20
C 81/ 670/38	25 December, 1 Henry VI [1422]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Cristyne Houchon	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 16
C 81/ 670/58	25 December, 1 Henry VI [1422]	Westminster	Grant to Simon Felbrigg	
C 81/ 670/59	25 December, 1 Henry VI [1422]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Catherine late wife of William Beauchamp	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 53
C 81/ 670/62	25 December, 1 Henry VI [1422]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Roger Deyncourt	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 18
C 81/ 670/72	25 December, 1 Henry VI [1422]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Thomas Cotcher	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 17
C 81/ 671/185	30 December, 1 Henry VI [1422]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Humfrey duke of Gloucester	*CPR 1422-1429*, pp. 82-3
C 81/ 672/256B	4 January, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Grant to William Vadlet	
C 81/ 672/286	18 January, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to John Pikwell	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 43
C 81/ 672/287	19 January, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Richard Sturle	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 35
C 81/ 672/294	22 January, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Robert Passemere	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 42

C 81/672/296	22 January, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Thomas Ryngwode	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 42
C 81/672/299	23 January, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Robert Chuchelegh and others	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 43
C 81/1165/17	31 January, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Protection for Peter Guenesse	C 76/106 m. 18
C 81/673/386	4 February, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Simon Flete	*CPR 1422-1429*, pp. 74-5
C 81/674/410	7 February, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Thomas Holme	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 49
C 81/674/484	26 February, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Roger Tuttebury	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 67
C 81/674/485	26 February, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Robert Hilton	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 55
C 81/674/486	26 February, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Christopher Standyssh	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 53
C 81/674/490	26 February, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to James Ocle	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 67
C 81/675/529	29 February, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Thomas atte Wode	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 67
C 81/675/599	14 April, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Gruffith Reynold	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 85
C 81/675/600	14 April, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Richard de Stanes	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 99
C 81/676/601	14 April, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to John Merssh	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 103
C 81/676/602	14 April, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to John Burghope	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 110
C 81/1166/7	25 April, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Protection for William Boys	C 76/106 m. 15
C 81/676/650	3 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Thomas Hethey	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 65
E 404/39/268	4 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 339	
E 404/39/269	4 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 339	
C 81/1166/23	5 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Protection for Walter Goldyngham	C 76/106 m. 16
C 81/	8 May, 1 Henry VI	Westminster	Inspeximus and	*CPR 1422-*

676/675	[1423]		confirmation of grant to Isabelle Thorley	*1429*, p. 110
C 81/ 676/678	8 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Grant to Humfrey duke of Gloucester	*Carte II*, p.250 m. 13
E 404/ 39/285	11 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
E 404/ 39/303	19 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
C 81/ 1167/2	8 June, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Protection for John Wroughton	C 76/106 m. 15
C 81/ 1167/19	11 July, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Protection for William Oldehall	C 76/106 m. 12
C 81/ 678/842	12 July, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to Thomas Walleys	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 111
C 81/ 678/843	12 July, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Grant to John Shypton	
C 81/ 678/870	15 July, 1 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Grant to Thomas Fouler	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 119
C 81/ 678/881	2 September, 2 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Grant to John Fullour	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 139; *Carte II*, p.252 m. 10
C 81/ 1168/1	2 September, 2 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Protection for Robert Holme	
C 81/ 1168/5	29 October, 2 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Protection for Stephen Alby	C 76/106 m. 10
C 81/ 679/992	5 December, 2 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Grant to John Trebartha	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 161
C 81/ 680/1035	22 December, 2 Henry VI [1423]	Westminster	Safe conduct for John Vigier and John Aussent	*Carte II*, p. 252 m. 8
E 404/ 40/162	8 February, 2 Henry VI [1424]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
C 81/ 1170/4	4 March, 2 Henry VI [1424]	Westminster	Protection for William Hacombleu	C 76/106 m. 5
C 81/ 681/1173	2 June, 2 Henry VI [1424]	Westminster	Commitment of lands to Richard Nevill	*CFR 1422-1430*, p. 79
C 81/ 682/1201a	4 July, 2 Henry VI [1424]	Westminster	Order that Thomas Hoccleve should have the maintenance of the priory of Southwick	*CCR 1422-1429*, p. 151
C 81/ 1171/1	6 October, 2 Henry VI [1424]	Westminster	Protection for John White	C 76/107 m. 10
E 404/ 41/158	3 December, 2 Henry VI [1424]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
C 81/ 683/1388	24 February, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Order to summon parliament	
E 404/ 41/190	4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
E 404/ 41/191	4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
E 404/ 41/192	4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
C 81/	4 March, 3 Henry	Westminster	Warrant for Henry Percy to	Bain IV,

684/1401	VI [1425]		grant safe conducts to certain Scotsmen	item 975
C 81/ 684/1402	4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Safe conduct for Robert and Thomas de Lawedre	Bain IV, item 976
C 81/ 684/1403	4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Safe conduct for Walter Styward	Bain IV, item 977
C 81/ 684/1404	8 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Safe conduct for Nicholas Makyson and others	Bain IV, item 978
E 404/ 41/197	14 April, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
C 81/ 1172/19	5 May, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Protection for John Grey	C 76/107 m. 5
C 81/ 1172/36	19 May, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Protection for William Cliff	C 76/109 m. 18
C 81/ 1172/40	23 May, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Protection for William Lombe	C 76/107 m. 4
C 81/ 684/1451	12 June, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Inspeximus and confirmation of grant to William de Isenden	*CPR 1422-1429*, p. 287
E 404/ 41/344	29 June, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 340	
C 81/ 1173/29	16 July, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Protection for Henry Bottenham	C 71/84 m. 11
C 81/ 684/1498	17 July, 3 Henry VI [1425]	Westminster	Grant to Robert Ogle	Bain IV, item 984

Appendix II: Documents written by Hoccleve which are not writs or bills of Privy Seal

TNA reference	Date	Description	Rolls
C 81/525/7264	1391	Petition on behalf of William Menuesse concerning the church of Aldyngton	*CCR 1389-1392*, p. 303
E 28/24/6	1 Henry IV [1399-1400]	Petition on behalf of Henry Fowelere, sergeant of the king's larder, requesting a grant from the petty custom in the port of London	*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 330
C 81/1540/11	12 November, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Council warrant for Chancery – commission to Richard Drax, sergeant at arms, to arrest John Cosyn, Richard Draper and others	*CPR 1401-1405*, p. 200
C 81/1540/21	27 April, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Chancery warrant – commission to Richard bishop of Worcester, John earl of Somerset, Walter fitz Walter, William Esturmy, John Kyngton and Thomas Polton	
C 81/1540/22	27 April, 3 Henry IV [1402]	Chancery warrant– commission to Richard bishop of Worcester, John earl of Somerset, Walter fitz Walter, William Esturmy, John Kyngton and Thomas Polton	
E 43/554	27 November, 4 Henry IV [1402]	Receipt for Hoccleve's annuity, with his personal seal. See Mooney (2007), Appendix p. 327	
E 28/25/26	6 Henry IV [1404-5]	Petition on behalf of Richard Aberhale for 24 oak trees from the forest of Haywode	
E 28/25/28	6 Henry IV [1404-5]	Petition on behalf of William Bentle	
C 81/654/7128	1411/12	Petition on behalf of John Muriden regarding lands in Hundeston, Sook and Thorne Coffyn, Somerset	*CPR 1408-1413*, p. 378
E 28/30/17	19 March, 2 Henry V [1415]	Petition on behalf of John Welde	
C 81/1542/45	20 October, 6 Henry V [1418]	Council warrant for Chancery – order for Andrew Hyrnans and John Baker to appear before the Council	

Appendix III: Privy Seal documents in TNA that cannot be positively identified as written by Thomas Hoccleve

C 81/486/3347 (24 July, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/486/3355 (26 July, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/486/3362 (30 July, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/486/3365 (1 August, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/486/3369 (4 August, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/486/3373 (4 August, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/486/3381 (18 August, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/487/3410 (11 October, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/487/3452 (16 November, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/487/3461 (21 November, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/487/3480 (29 November, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/487/3484 (3 December, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/487/3488 (4 December, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/488/3514 (17 December, 8 Richard II [1384])
C 81/488/3526 (10 January, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/488/3545H (10 February, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/488/3559 (10 March, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/488/3567 (15 March, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/488/3570 (17 March, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/488/3598 (30 March, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/489/3613 (11 April, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/489/3627 (21 April, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/489/3639 (3 May, 8 Richard II [1385])
C 81/490/3710 (19 August, 9 Richard II [1385])
C 81/490/3729 (16 September, 9 Richard II [1385])
C 81/490/3766 (16 October, 9 Richard II [1385])
C 81/490/3768 (17 October, 9 Richard II [1385])
C 81/490/3771 (20 October, 9 Richard II [1385])
C 81/490/3781 (26 October, 9 Richard II [1385])
C 81/491/3871 (14 December, 9 Richard II [1385])
C 81/491/3889 (18 January, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/491/3900 (8 February, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/492/3904 (12 February, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/492/3951 (13 April, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/492/3954 (20 April, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/492/3957 (20 April, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/492/3974 (2 May, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/492/3982 (10 May, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4021 (20 June, 9 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4024 (26 June, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4032 (29 June, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4044 (15 July, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4045 (18 July, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4052 (8 August, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4060 (24 August, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4066 (5 September, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/493/4079 (25 September, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/494/4105 (27 October, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/494/4139 (20 November, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/494/4154 (6 December, 10 Richard II [1386])
C 81/494/4189 (14 January, 10 Richard II [1387])

C 81/495/4205 (5 February, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4206 (5 February, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4208 (6 February, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4220 (25 February, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4267 (20 April, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4269 (23 April, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4270 (24 April, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4280 (27 April, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4295 (2 May, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/495/4300 (2 May, 10 Richard II [1387])
C 81/497/4411 (13 July, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/497/4426 (31 July, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/497/4445 (12 August, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/497/4449 (13 August, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/497/4464 (20 August, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/498/4575 (8 November, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/498/4577 (9 November, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/498/4578 (10 November, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/498/4586 (14 November, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/498/4595 (21 November, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/498/4596 (21 November, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/499/4623 (30 November, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/499/4630 (5 December, 11 Richard II [1387])
C 81/499/4664 (5 February, 11 Richard II [1388])
C 81/499/4679 (22 February, 11 Richard II [1388])
C 81/501/4816 (12 May, 11 Richard II [1388])
C 81/501/4828 (23 May, 11 Richard II [1388])
C 81/501/4834 (30 May, 11 Richard II [1388])
C 81/501/4859 (19 June, 11 Richard II [1388])
C 81/502/4907 (20 August, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/502/4925 (13 September, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/502/4945 (28 September, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/502/4965 (16 October, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/503/5008 (1 December, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/503/5015 (14 December, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/503/5020 (24 December, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/503/5024 (27 December, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/503/5028 (29 December, 12 Richard II [1388])
C 81/503/5029 (3 January, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/503/5062 (5 February, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/503/5063 (5 February, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/503/5065 (6 February, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/503/5071 (9 February, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/503/5072 (11 February, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/503/5073 (12 February, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/503/5086 (17 February, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/504/5105 (26 February, 12 Richard II [1389])
C 81/507/5411 (9 August, 13 Richard II [1389])
C 81/508/5543 (28 September, 13 Richard II [1389])
C 81/512/5924 (21 January, 13 Richard II [1390])
C 81/512/5966 (28 January, 13 Richard II [1390])
C 81/515/6205 (17 March, 13 Richard II [1390])
C 81/515/6233 (2 April, 13 Richard II [1390])
C 81/516/6307 (11 May, 13 Richard II [1390])
C 81/517/6422 (23 June, 14 Richard II [1390])

C 81/517/6473 (17 July, 14 Richard II [1390])
C 81/519/6631 (13 October, 14 Richard II [1390])
C 81/519/6632 (14 October, 14 Richard II [1390])
C 81/519/6656 (20 October, 14 Richard II [1390])
C 81/519/6662 (21 October, 14 Richard II [1390])
C 81/520/6795 (undated, 14 Richard II [1390])
C 81/522/6965 (28 January, 14 Richard II [1391])
C 81/523/7036 (8 March, 14 Richard II [1391])
C 81/529/7637 (30 October, 15 Richard II [1391])
C 81/589/667 (12 November, 1 Henry IV [1399])

Appendix IV: Hoccleve's language use

(i) Gender-marked possessive pronouns in Hoccleve's formulary

Possessive pronoun & noun	Item number	Folio	Bentley p. ref.	Date if known	Correct?
Sa conpaignie	6	iii	7		Yes
Sa electioun	9	iii^v	8		Yes
Sa venue	9	iii^v	8		Yes
Sa charter	11	iii^v	10		Yes
Sa absence	13	vii^v	12		Yes
Sa femme	18	viii	17		Yes
Son droit	19	viii^v	18		Yes
Sa vie	26	viii^v	23	RicII/Hen IV	Yes
Son manoir	30	ix^v	26		Yes
Son noun	33	x	28	20 Dec 1391	Yes
Son estat	35	x	30		Yes
Son depute	45	xi^v	38	Post Oct 1415	Yes
Son office	48	xvi^v	43	25 Jan 1410	Yes
Sa supplication	48	xvi^v	43	25 Jan 1410	Yes
Son gree	51	xvii	46		Yes
Sa Baillie	52	xvii	46	Ric II/Hen IV	Yes
Sa conpaigne	55	xvii^v	49	1394-96	Yes
Sa robe	59	xviii	53	19 May 1392	Yes
Sa jurisdictioun	63	xviii^v	57		Yes
Sa prevende	63	xviii^v	57		Yes
Sa mort	64	xviii^v	58		Yes
Son testament	64	xviii^v	58		Yes
Sa volunteer	64	xviii^v	58		Yes
Son fauconer	69	xix^v	64	Ante 1397	Yes

Sa persone	70	xix^v	65	8 Oct 1397	Yes
Son procureur	70	xix^v	65	8 Oct 1397	Yes
Sa retenue	82	xxi^v	77		Yes
Son appel	85	xxii	80		Yes
Son heritage	93	xxiii^v	88		Yes
Soun heir	93	xxiii^v	88		Yes
Son age	93	xxiii^v	88		Yes
Sa sustenance	93	xxiii^v	88		Yes
Son purpose	100	xxiv^v	94	20 Jun 1408	Yes
Sa mesoun	102	xxiv^v	95		Yes
Son corps	104	xxv	97	c. Nov 1388	Yes
Son conseil	106	xxv^v	99	12 Dec 1405	Yes
Sa garde	110	xxvi	103		Yes
Son mari	149	xxxiv^v	145		Yes
Son homage	155	xxxv	150		Yes
Son paiis	156	xxxv^v	151	23 May 1410	Yes
Son lieutenant	157	xxxv^v	152		Yes
Sa chamber	173	xxxvii^v	164		Yes
Sa part	173	xxxvii^v	164		Yes
Son or	173	xxxvii^v	165		Yes
Son presentement	176	xxxviii	168		Yes
Sa possessioun	176	xxxviii	168		Yes
Son piere	183	xxxviii^v	173	Ante 1384	Yes
Son attorney	191	xxxix^v	181		Yes
Sa partie	193	lx	184		Yes
Son predecessor	194	lx^v	185	9 May 1411	Yes

(ii) Gender-marked possessive pronouns in warrants written by Hoccleve

Possessive pronoun & noun	C 81 file/no.	Regnal year	Date	Year	Correct?
sa vie	549/9601	17 Richard II	17 June	1394	Yes
son corps, sa mort	549/9675	18 Richard II	7 August	1394	Yes
sa chambre, son service	550/9724	18 Richard II	11 August	1394	Yes
sa creacion	550/9764	18 Richard II	2 September	1394	Yes
son age	550/9795	18 Richard II	27 September	1394	Yes
sa femme	553/10057	19 Richard II	5 July	1395	Yes
son estat	553/10075	19 Richard II	11 July	1395	Yes
son deputee	562/10966	20 Richard II	2 March	1397	Yes
son decees	565/11280	21 Richard II	13 July	1397	Yes
sa absence, son lieutenant	570/11733	21 Richard II	25 November	1397	Yes
son filz	571/11811	21 Richard II	28 December	1397	Yes
son aconte	571/11829	21 Richard II	3 January	1398	Yes
son heir, sa sustenance	571/11831	21 Richard II	4 January	1398	Yes
son gree	574/12198	22 Richard II	3 July	1398	Yes
son seel	578/12522	22 Richard II	3 December	1398	Yes
son depute	589/666	1 Henry IV	12 November	1399	Yes
son houstell	590/790	1 Henry IV	14 November	1399	Yes
son servant	591/810	1 Henry IV	15 November	1399	Yes
son Baron, sa forfeiture	592/956	1 Henry IV	20 November	1399	Yes
sa ferme	608/2501	2 Henry IV	14 April	1401	Yes
son piere	609/2618	2 Henry IV	2? May	1401	Yes
son frère	612/2978	3 Henry IV	11 December	1401	Yes
sa eglise	614/3135	3 Henry IV	10 March	1402	Yes

(iii) Words derived from French in the *Regiment*, their usage in the Parliament Rolls and citation in the Middle English Dictionary

Headword and main variants	PROME	MED
Conseil **(n.)** *con-, cun-, coun-, -sel(e), -seil(e), -seill(e), -sil(e), -ceil(e), -cel(e), -sal(e)*	Used frequently up until the reign of Henry VI, after which it appears to have been replaced by term 'advice' – less frequent in English documents.	OF *concile, conseil* (L *concilium*). First citation 1126 (*Peterborough Chronicle*). Frequent in literary sources from beginning of c14th.
Conseille **(v.)** *con-, cun-, coun-, -sel(e), -seil(e), -seill(e), -sil(e), -ceil(e), -cel(e), -sal(e), -saill(e)*	Conseille – 205, 201 of which date from 1376-1421, but almost always used as a noun, not a verb.	No meaning as a verb given.
Duete *due-, deu-, deue-, diu-, -te, -tee, -ti*	No citations pre-1346. Used more frequently from the reign o Henry VI, largely in English documents.	AF *dueté, duité, deueté*, from *du, dëu*, p.ppl. of *devoir*. First citation 1385 (Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales, Knight's Tale*).
Enchesoun *enches-, encheis-, enchais-, -oun(e), -on(e), -un(e)*	Used up until 1433, with only 2 citations occurring in English documents. *Enchesoun* is mostly found during Richard II's reign, occurring once in the reigns of Henry V and VI.	OF *enchaison*, remodeled form of *ochaison, achaison*. First citation c.1230 (*Ancrene Riwle*).
Estat *estat(e), estaat(e), astat(e), stat(e)*	Used frequently from the twelfth - early fifteenth century. *Estat/stat* found mostly between 1327-1416 *Estate/state/astat* found only in English documents. *Estaat* not used.	AF *astat*, CF *estat*, & L *status*. Wide variety of meanings according to context. Frequent use from 13th-16th centuries.
Governance *gov- gouv-, guv-, -nance, -naunce, -nans(e), -nauns(e)*	*Governance* begins to be used frequently in French documents in 1366, and only 13 of 204 citations are in English. Other variations occur largely in English documents.	OF *governance*. First citation c.1375 (Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales, Monk's Tale*).
Governaille *gov-, guv-, gouv-,*	Ranging from 1355-1427, but the vast majority date from between 1376-97. Governaille	OF. First citation c. 1382 (*Wycliffite Bible*).

-naill(e), -nail(e), -nal(e), -nel(e), -nil(e)	is most common form. Three are from English documents.	
Guerdoun *guer-, ger-, guar-, gar-, -doun(e), -don(e), -doin(e), -duin(e)*	Found in French documents between 1348-97 (mainly 1370s and 1380s), in one English document in 1433.	OF *guer(r)edon, ger(r)edon*. First citation c.1380 (Chaucer, *Boece*).
Obeissant *-aunt, -iant*	Sporadic usage from 1330 – 1472, the last in English, as is the only use of *obeisant*. *Obeisaunt* only used after 1450, in English.	OF *obëissant*, ppl.of *obëir*. First citation c.1325 (Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester).
Richesse *-ese, -es, -esses*	Found between 1363-1485, 13 date from 1376-1407 and 7 are found in English documents.	OF *richece*, *richese*, *richesce*, *richace, ricece*. First citation c.1225 (*Old English Homilies*).
Servage *-ege, -aige*	8 citations in French documents, 7 of which date from 1348-88.	OF *servage, servaige* & ML *servagium*. First citation c.1300 (*South English Legendary*).
Seurte *seure-, seuer-, sur-, sure-, -te, -tee, -ti(e)*	Frequent usage until reign of Henry VI. Only 2 citations in English documents. *Seuretee/surete/suretee* mainly used under Richard II.	OF *seurté, seurtei, seureté, sureté*. First citation c.1387 (John Trevisa, *Higden's Polychronicon*).
Suffrance *souf-, souff-, suff-, soff-, soef-, soeff-, -rance, -raunce, -rans(e)*	Rare. *Soeffrance* – 19 citations between 1351-1404. 9 of 11 citations of *suffrance* and *suffraunce*, date from 1377-99 and one is in English. *Sufferaunce* – 6 citations in English between 1455-1504.	OF *so(e)ffrance*, AF *suffraunce*. First citation c.1300 (*South English Legendary*).

(iv) Words derived from French in the *Regiment* and their usage by other Middle English Poets (numbers in brackets denote frequency of use)

Headword and main variant forms	Hoccleve, *Regiment of Princes*	Gower, *Confessio Amantis*	Langland, *Piers Plowman*	Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*
***Conseil* (n.)** *con-, cun-, coun-, -sel(e), -seil(e), -seill(e), -sil(e), -ceil(e), -cel(e), -sal(e)*	*Conseil* (24)*, conseiles* (2)	*Conseil /consail* (140)	*Co(u)nseil* (35)	*Conseil(s)* (197)
***Conseille* (v.)** *con-, cun-, coun-, -sel(e), -seil(e), -seill(e), -sil(e), -ceil(e), -cel(e), -sal(e), -saill(e)*	*Conseille/ consaille* (21)	*Conseil(l)e/ consail(l)e* (21)	*Conseille* (8)	*Conseil(l)e/ consaille* (62)
Duete *due-, deu-, deue-, diu-, -te, -tee, -ti*	*Duetee* (6)	*Duete/ duite* (6)		*Duetee* (7)
Enchesoun *enches-, encheis-, enchais-, -oun(e), -on(e), -un(e)*	*Enchesoun* (7)	*Encheson* (3)		*Enchesoun* (5)
Estat *estat(e), estaat(e), astat(e), stat(e)*	*Estat* (40)	*Astat* (86), *estat/ stat* (9)		*Estaat* (85), *estat* (6)
Governance *gov- gouv-, guv-, -nance, -naunce, -nans(e), -nauns(e)*	*Governance* (15)	*Governa(u)nce* (51)		*Governa(u)nce* (34)
Governaille *gov-, guv-, gouv-, -naill(e), -nail(e), -nal(e), -nel(e), -nil(e)*	*Governaille* (4)			*Governaille* (1)
Guerdoun *guer-, ger-, guar-, gar-, -doun(e), -don(e), -doin(e), -duin(e)*	*Guerdoun* (7), as verb *guerdouned* (1)			*Gerdon(e)/ gerdons/ gerdoun* (10), as verb *gerdoned* (1)
Obeissant *-aunt, -iant*	*Obeissant* (5), *obeissance* (1), *disobeissance* (2)	*Obeissant* (4), *obeissance* (10)		*Obeisa(u)nt* (5), *obeisa(u)nce* (10)
Richesse *-ese, -es, -esses*	*Richesse* (30)	*Richesse(s)* (41)	*Richesse(s)* (26)	*Richesse(s)* (84)
Servage *-ege, -aige*	*Servage* (3)	*Servage* (2)		*Servage* (14)
Seurte *seure-, seuer-, sur-, sure-, -te, -tee, ti(e)*	*Seurtee/ seuretee* (7)			*Seurete(e)/ suretee* (12)

| *Suffrance*
souf-, souff-, suff-,
soff-, -rance,
-raunce, -rans(e) | *Souffrance*
(10) | *Suffrance* (4) | *Suffraunce*
(2), in
French (1) | *Suffra(u)nce*
(13) |

(v) Hoccleve's English as compared to Fisher's characteristics of 'Chancery Standard'

Characteristic	Regional	Chancery Standard	Durham *Series*
Adverb endings	*-lich (frelich)*	*-ly*	Almost always *–e, -ly*, but in one case *–lich* (*Dialogue* 755)
Past participle prefix	*y- (ybe, yhidde)*	*bene, hidden*	Generally absent, but some examples: *yfalle* D393, *yknowe* D64, *y-blowe* D66
3rd p. pl. pronouns	*they, hem, her*	*they, them, their*	*they, them, their*
Plural verb endings	*-n (wolden)*	*wolde*	Both forms used: *hadden* (*Complaint* 66), *wearen* C255, *helden/ myghten, holden* C300/1
Past participle endings	*-n (founden)*	*found*	Both forms used.
Phonetic palatals	*thow, rite, hey*	*though, right, high*	Generally Chancery, but a few phonetic usages: *hye* C261
Past tense	*-t (asket)*	*-d (asked)*	Always *–d*
Negative particle	*before verb*	*after verb*	Before verb – *I ne might[e] nowght* C373

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