Nation, England and the French in Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica Maiora* 1376-1420

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Abstract

This thesis examines the construction and presentation of nationhood and national identity in the contemporaneous *Chronica Maiora* of Thomas Walsingham (covering 1376-1420, written c.1381-1420). Taking as its premise the continued vitality and importance of late medieval English Latin-language texts in the construction of English nationhood, this thesis aims to partially redress the imbalance in modern scholarship of the period toward English-language texts and the resulting neglect of Latin-language works. This thesis argues for the existence of a vibrant and complex form of national identity and sentiment within Walsingham's chronicle, informed by both contemporary trends of opinion and various scholarly and historiographical traditions. In this Walsingham can be located within a wide-ranging, clerical-monastic, Latinate discourse of late medieval Englishness which has been relatively neglected by modern scholarship.

Specifically this thesis examines a number of key issues surrounding Walsingham's construction of nationhood and English national identity. First the definitions of nationhood found in the *Chronica* are analysed, seeking to unpick Walsingham's underlying beliefs and assumptions regarding what constituted a national community. Second Walsingham's presentation and stereotyping of national groups is examined, in particular the setting-up of 'Others' and the significance of the idea of ancient Rome within Walsingham's construction and glorification of England. Third the treatment of foreigners or 'aliens' in the *Chronica* is discussed, particularly the way in which Walsingham used such individuals as a vehicle with which to reflect upon and critique the English themselves. Throughout the thesis too the ambiguous but important place of the French within Walsingham's vision of Englishness is examined in depth. In Walsingham's text the French were not simply an enemy or a straightforward Other but were presented in rather integral but variable or even conflicted ways, reflective of the variable political and cultural position the French occupied for the English in this period.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference has been made to the contribution of others, this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of York or any other institution.

Introduction

It is a commonplace among scholars of both late medieval England and the concept of nationhood that during the Hundred Years War era national identity and national sentiment grew and strengthened among the English. Thanks to the near-constant financial demands of the war effort, the recruitment of men to fight, the grand victories won by English armies on the continent, the threat of invasion, and the crown's propagandist efforts to win popular support for the war, the English gradually became bound together into a closer and more strident national community than before.[1] In the words of May McKisack in 1959, 'the most lasting and significant consequences of the war should be sought, perhaps, in the sphere of national psychology...In the crudely patriotic verses of Laurence Minot, in monastic chronicles, popular histories and parliamentary speeches, the same note is heard'.[2]

Various works have drawn attention to the 'crudely patriotic verses' of Minot and others as expressions of this growing national feeling, and recent work by Andrea Ruddick has uncovered the important facilitating role played by governmental rhetoric in shaping how that feeling was expressed.[3] Important and widely-read histories from the period such as the various versions of the *Brut* and the phenomenally successful *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden (c.1280-1364), as well as their vernacular translations, have too been studied for their

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[1] For just a small proportion of the works arguing along these lines see: J. Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society: Social Values in the Hundred Years War 1337-99* (Cornell, 1974) (pp. 32-55); C. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988) (pp. 136-50); W.M. Ormrod, 'The Domestic Response to the Hundred Years War', in eds. A. Curry & M. Hughes, *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994) (pp. 83-101); D. Green, 'National Identities and the Hundred Years War', in ed. C. Given-Wilson, *Fourteenth-Century England VI* (Woodbridge, 2010) (pp. 115-30); and those cited in the following notes. For similar conclusions regarding France in this period see in particular P.S. Lewis, *Later Medieval France: The Polity* (London, 1968) (pp. 59-77) and C. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (trans. S.R. Huston) (California, 1991) [orig. publ. in French (Paris, 1985)].

[2] M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959, repr. 1976) (p. 150).

[3] For studies of the largely anonymous polemical poetry of the period as vehicles for national sentiment see in particular: V.J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971) (pp. 35-105); J. Coleman, *English Literature in History: 1350-1400, Readers and Writers* (London, 1981) (pp. 71-8); S. Menache, 'Symbols and National Stereotypes in the Hundred Years War', in idem, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1990) (esp. pp. 200-5); and D. Matthews, *Writing to the King: Nation, Kingship, and Literature in England, 1250-1350* (Cambridge, 2010) (esp. pp. 135-53). For Ruddick's work on governmental rhetoric see in particular her *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2013), but also her earlier 'Ethnic Identity and Political Language in the King of England's Dominions: A Fourteenth-Century Perspective', in ed. L. Clark, *The Fifteenth Century VI: Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006) (pp. 15-31) and 'Gascony and the Limits of Medieval British Isles History', in ed. B. Smith, *Ireland and the English World in the Late Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Robin Frame* (Basingstoke, 2009) (pp. 68-88).

nationalistic potential.[4] More literary works have also been picked apart for national themes and agendas, particularly the growing body of literature written in the English vernacular from the fourteenth century onwards, often held to reflect a new English cultural confidence opposed to the old supremacy of French and Latin.[5]

Such work on McKisack's other source base, monastic chronicles, as opposed to histories, has however been much more limited.[6] There are several possible reasons for this relative neglect, not the least of which may be the prevailing historiographical narrative of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century decline of traditional, Latinate monastic chronicles in favour of chronicles and histories written by laymen and secular clergy.[7] Important too is a prevalent belief, as will be discussed in more detail below, that texts written in Latin are inherently less indicative of national sentiment than those written in the vernacular. Neither of these are truly fair however: monastic, Latin chronicle-writing continued to be practiced in many religious houses in the later fourteenth century and into the first half of the fifteenth, and many of these chronicles are clearly national in tone and outlook, dividing the world into neatly categorised

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[4] Raluca Radulescu for example has worked on the role of *Brut* histories in political and national identities in her *The Gentry Context for Malory's* Morte Darthur (Woodbridge, 2003) (pp. 54-60) and 'Writing Nation: Shaping Identity in Medieval Historical Narratives', in ed. P. Brown, *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c.1350-c.1500* (Oxford, 2009) (pp. 359-64), but see also M. Lamont, 'Becoming English: Ronwenne's Wassail, Language, and National Identity in the Middle English Prose *Brut*', in *Studies in Philology* 107 (2010) (pp. 283-309). A recent study of the *Polychronicon*'s nationalising potential is K. Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Cornell, 2006) (pp. 71-92), but see also P. Brown, 'Higden's Britain', in ed. A.P. Smyth, *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 1998) (pp. 103-118) and A. Galloway, 'Latin England', in ed. K. Lavezzo, *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minnesota, 2004) (pp. 41-72). See also Thorlac Turville-Petre on the works of Robert of Gloucester and Robert Manning (in his *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity* (Oxford, 1996) (pp. 71-107).

[5] A recent work arguing this cause particularly stridently is D. Williams, *The French Fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 2004), but see also older work such as B. Cottle, *The Triumph of English 1350-1400* (London, 1969).

[6] Here and throughout the rest of this thesis the standard scholarly distinction between 'chronicle' (referring to a historical narrative of one's own times composed year-on-year) and 'history' (referring to a historical narrative telling a longer and more self-contained story of a more distant past) has been used. For this distinction see: D. Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1977) (esp. pp. 38-59); A. Gransden, 'The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: Part I', in *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990) (pp. 129-30); and D. Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', in ed. E. Kooper, *The Medieval Chronicle II* (Amsterdam, 2002) (pp. 1-8).

[7] For this historiography see for example: C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913) (esp. pp. 3-11); Hay, *Annalists and Historians* (esp. pp. 75-86); A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II: c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982) (esp. pp. xi-xv, 220-48, 342-424); idem, 'The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland' (esp. pp. 130-3, 143-4); and C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004) (esp. pp. xix-xx, 16-8, 153-8, 212-3). Cf., to some extent, V.H. Galbraith, 'Historical Research in Medieval England', in V.H. Galbraith, *Kings and Chroniclers: Essays in Medieval History* (London, 1982) (pp. 29-46) and J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987) (pp. 1-36).

national groups, displaying clear preference for the English, and belittling or 'Othering' non-English nations. Writers such as Henry Knighton and the anonymous Westminster Chronicler in the fourteenth century, John Strecche in the fifteenth, and those such as the anonymous writer of the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* who spanned the change of century, all wrote from within monastic institutions, in Latin, and in overtly national vein.[8] Though not a monastic writer, the much-travelled lawyer Adam Usk too wrote a significant, if highly individual, Latin chronicle of his times, and the clerical author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, likely a royal chaplain in Henry V's household, wrote his exultant biography of the king in scholarly Latin.[9]

Among these writers and their chronicles the *Chronica Maiora* of Thomas Walsingham (c.1340-c.1421), monk of St Albans, stands in pride of place. Walsingham's chronicle of his own times dwarfs any one of the aforementioned Latin works in simple size and often in its level of both detail and authorial intervention, and was the product of some forty years of almost unbroken energy. Not only that, the national tone and focus of the *Chronica* is undeniable: its pages are filled with references to national communities in generalised terms and to individuals by their nationality; national communities are stereotyped and characterised by supposedly innate traits; and Walsingham clearly drew inspiration from explicitly national textual traditions such as Virgil's *Aeneid* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Although sometimes regarded as something of a poor man's version of his thirteenth-century predecessor Matthew Paris,[10] and a temporary revival of an increasingly defunct monastic chronicle-writing tradition,[11] Walsingham's writings deserve

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[8] The editions used for this thesis are, respectively: Henry Knighton (Oxford Medieval Texts edition); Westminster Chronicle (Oxford Medieval Texts edition); John Strecche, 'The Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V (1414-1422)' (ed. F. Taylor), in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 16 (1932) (pp. 137-87); and *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (ed. G. Stow) (Pennsylvania, 1977).

[9] The editions used for this thesis are, respectively, Adam Usk (Oxford Medieval Texts edition) and *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth* (eds. & trans. F. Taylor & J.S. Roskell) (Oxford, 1975) [Oxford Medieval Texts]. For the question of the *Gesta*'s authorship see *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (pp. xviii-xxiii).

[10] For example Galbraith, a scholar of Walsingham, discussed Walsingham as following in the footsteps of Paris and concluded that, while Walsingham may have been a better scholar and Latinist than Paris, his historical work was inferior to the earlier chronicler (see his 'Historical Research in Medieval England' (pp. 33 (n. 2), 37-8)). John Taylor, Walsingham's most recent editor, similarly concluded that Walsingham was 'more of a scholar than Matthew Paris if less of a literary artist' as well as describing Walsingham's opinions as 'thoroughly conservative' (see his 'Walsingham, Thomas (c.1340-c.1422)', in *ODNB*).

[11] For example: David Knowles described Walsingham's career as a short-lived one of few 'clusters of more luxurious vegetation' surviving the 'extinction' of monastic chronicle-writing in the later Middle Ages (in his *The Religious Orders in England, Volume II: The End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1957) (pp. 263-6)); Antonia Gransden termed Walsingham's career a 'last period of vitality' and 'Indian Summer' for monastic chronicle-writing (in her 'The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland' (pp. 133, 143)); and Andrea Ruddick wrote that he 'embodied a late fourteenth-century revival' of St Albans historiography (in her *English Identity and Political Culture* (p. 39)).

fuller attention for what they reveal regarding contemporary beliefs, attitudes and assumptions surrounding nationhood and Englishness.[12] While by no means an accurate measure of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century popular opinion, Walsingham's works and in particular his *Chronica Maiora* do convey some powerful sentiments and beliefs regarding nationhood and Englishness which are important to add to the wider picture of such opinions in contemporary England. Some of these sentiments and beliefs are expressed explicitly and demonstrate conscious thought from the chronicler, but others remain implicit and must be unpicked as demonstrations of unconscious assumptions regarding the nature of the (inter)national world.

Within any discussion of late medieval Englishness and English national identity the important place of the French must not be ignored. The Norman Conquest in 1066 had of course installed a French-speaking aristocracy into England, France continued to provide the majority of English royal marriage matches into the fifteenth century, and the French connections and lands of the English ruling dynasties kept English political ambitions focussed on continental Europe, including of course the Hundred Years War itself.[13] From 1340 too, thanks to Edward III's assumption of the title of King of France, the English king also had claim to be the French king, on paper at least making the people of each realm fellow subjects with the other.[14] The French language also retained considerable sway in late medieval England, not just in the realms of governmental documentation and literature but also in more mundane or day-to-day contexts.[15] Recent work on Anglo-French literary culture by Ardis Butterfield too has stressed the continual interpenetration and interrelation of

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[12]   The only study encountered thus far of Walsingham's views regarding nationhood is in Galloway, 'Latin England' (pp. 73-86). Galloway's investigation is however limited to only a few aspects of Walsingham's substantial chronicle, focuses solely on English community divorced from the depiction of any other national group, and draws some rather far-reaching conclusions based on very narrow analysis.

[13]   Of the four English kings who ruled during Thomas Walsingham's lifetime (Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V) all four married Francophone wives while king (in Richard II's case this was his second wife). On the general topic of Anglo-French connections and relations, especially in terms of the nobility and court, see in particular M. Bennett, 'Isabelle of France, Anglo-French Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange in the Late 1350s', in ed. J.S. Bothwell, *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001) (pp. 215-25) and idem, 'France in England: Anglo-French Culture in the Reign of Edward III', in eds. J. Wogan-Browne et al, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100-c.1500* (York, 2009) (pp. 320-33).

[14]   On Edward III's claim to the French throne see C. Taylor, 'Edward III and the Plantagenet Claim to the French Throne', in ed. J.S. Bothwell, *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001) (pp. 155-69) and W.M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (Yale, 2011) [Yale English Monarchs series] (esp. pp. 190, 195-6, 212-4, 261-2). At the March 1340 Parliament the English Lords and Commons had expressed concerns regarding the exact nature of this fellow subject-hood, specifically that they not be counted as Edward's subjects as King of France, and were reassured by the crown (see *Rot. Parl.* ii.113.9).

[15]   Excellent recent contributions to the continued importance of the French language in many contexts are the essays in eds. J. Wogan-Browne et al, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100-c.1500* (York, 2009).

'English' and 'French' medieval literature.[16] Thanks to these connections the French occupied a number of cultural roles for the English during Walsingham's lifetime: bitter enemies in war; fellow subjects of the same king; honourable rivals within an international chivalric and crusading culture; and cultural or dynastic cousins thanks to the legacy of the Norman Conquest and the continued use of the French language in England. Not for nothing did Malcolm Vale and Ardis Butterfield entitle their recent works studying late medieval Anglo-French relations *The Ancient Enemy* and *The Familiar Enemy* respectively.[17] Given these simultaneous and often conflicting potential attitudes to the French, the position of France and its people should be a central part of any study of late medieval English self-fashioning and national identity. Walsingham's *Chronica* is no exception and includes some rather ambiguous presentation of the French as a people, ambiguities which in turn reveal much about his conception of the English.

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[16]   See in particular A. Butterfield, 'England and France', in ed. P. Brown, *A Companion to Medieval English Literature, c.1350-1500* (Oxford, 2007) (pp. 199-214) and idem, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford, 2009).

[17]   M. Vale, *The Ancient Enemy: England, France and Europe from the Angevins to the Tudors* (London, 2007) and A. Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*. See also R. & I. Tombs, *That Sweet Enemy: The French and the British from the Sun King to the Present* (London, 2007) for a more modern period. For a playful reassertion of this love-hate relationship in the realm of popular history see S. Clarke, *1000 Years of Annoying the French* (London, 2010).

a) Studying and Theorising Nationhood

In seeking to examine how Walsingham conceived of and expressed the idea of nationhood and national identity this thesis fits within a larger field of scholarly debate among medievalists. Since the 1980s scholars of various historical periods have directed much attention to theorising, defining and examining what forms pre-modern national communities might take and how they might develop.[18] This thesis does not seek to apply any particular theoretical formulation to Walsingham's chronicle, but several key theories, debates and problems within the field must be briefly addressed here as they inform this project. In general this thesis proceeds from what has been called a 'perennialist' position, namely the belief that some form or forms of national community existed before the modern era, and takes some inspiration from the formulations of nationhood posited by Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner and Caspar Hirschi. As well as this there are two problematic aspects of many studies of medieval nationhood to which this thesis hopes to provide a limited corrective. The first of these is the common attempt to seek in past societies a single true or real form of nationhood, and the second is a similarly common assumption that national identity was primarily or only expressed through the use of the vernacular.

Perhaps the most significant conceptualisation of nation and national identity in the last century is that of Benedict Anderson, whose idea of the nation as 'imagined community' has become something of a standard view among scholars. Writing in 1983 Anderson defined the nation as: 'An imagined community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign', possessed of 'finite, if elastic boundaries' of whatever size and 'always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'.[19] This construction of the national community as 'imagined' was not to imply its existence was illusory, but that such a community existed because its constituent members *believed* it existed.[20] Anderson argued that a national

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[18] For some excellent general surveys of this field see: A.D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 2000) (esp. pp. 27-41); L. Scales & O. Zimmer, 'Introduction', in eds. L. Scales & O. Zimmer, *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge, 2005) (pp. 1-29); C. Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 2011) (pp. 1-33); and Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 2-22).

[19] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983, rev. edn. 2006) (quotes at pp. 6-7).

[20] As Adrian Hastings and Lesley Johnson have put it: 'A nation exists when a range of its representatives hold it to exist...The more people of a variety of class and occupation share in such consciousness, the more it exists' (A. Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997) (p. 26)) and 'The resonance of 'imagined' here is not 'not real' but constructed, produced: the nation is a construct which requires representational labour' (L. Johnson, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern', in eds. S. Forde, L. Johnson & A.V. Murray, *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1995) (p. 6)).

community could be held to correspond to a number of factors (a people, a territory, a culture, a language, and so on), but insisted that these were merely the ways in which the participants *believed* that their nation was bound together, rather than their nation being empirically constituted by any such factor or factors.[21] For Anderson such 'imagined communities' were however impossible in the Middle Ages; he believed that the existence of the universal 'truth language' of Latin and the dynastic nature of medieval polities militated against the formation of truly national communities.[22] In his view it was the advent of print capitalism in the early modern period which countered the prestige of Latin and aided the development of a vernacular national consciousness.[23] As mentioned above, Anderson's definition has been widely accepted by scholars, with some labelling it a 'touchstone' of nation scholarship and crediting it with having 'breathed new life into' the study of past nations.[24] Perhaps ironically however, as Ardis Butterfield has noted, this definition has found particularly fertile ground among scholars of medieval nations, many of whom have taken up Anderson's emphasis on the 'imagined' nature of nations with gusto.[25] A large part of the appeal of Anderson's formulation is its flexibility: by seeking national identity not in positivist terms of real-world phenomena but in 'constructivist' terms of contemporaries' *belief in* and *engagement with* such an identity he opened the field to scholars of periods where surviving source material is more sparse and less socially diverse than the modern period.[26] Anderson's framework of the nation as something that existed in whatever time and shape people believed it to underlies the premise of this thesis in its attempt to discover how Thomas Walsingham and others thought and wrote about the national communities of their own time.

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[21] For earlier but somewhat similar conclusions see V.H. Galbraith, 'Nationality and Language in Medieval England', in V.H. Galbraith, *Kings and Chroniclers: Essays in Medieval History* (London, 1982) [orig. publ. in *TRHS* 4th Series 23 (1941)] (p. 113) ('A nation may be defined as any considerable group of people who believe they are one; and their nationalism as the state of mind which sustains that belief') and J.A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (North Carolina, 1982) (pp. 4-5) (using Fredrik Barth's thinking regarding ethnic identity).

[22] See Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (pp. 9-36). Anderson also writes regarding the differing conceptions of time in the medieval and early modern periods, although this is rather more diffuse and generalised.

[23] See Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (pp. 37-46).

[24] 'Touchstone' is from Johnson, 'Imagining Communities' (pp. 4-5), and 'breathed new life into' is from K. Lavezzo, 'Introduction', in ed. K. Lavezzo, *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minnesota, 2004) (p. vii). Both Johnson and Lavezzo also demonstrate their debts to Anderson in their titles.

[25] Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy* (pp. 28-31). See also: Scales & Zimmer, 'Introduction' (pp. 3-4); H. Tsurushima, 'What do we Mean by 'Nations' in Early Medieval Britain?', in ed. H. Tsurushima, *Nations in Medieval Britain* (Donington, 2010) (pp. 4-17); and Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 10-11).

[26] The 'constructivism' of Anderson's work is discussed in Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 10-3). Bernard Guenée made a similar distinction between traditional 'objective' and 'subjective' approaches to the study of nation (see his *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe* (trans. J. Vale) (Oxford, 1985) (pp. 216-7)).

In marked contrast to that of Anderson, the formulation of nation by Ernest Gellner in the same year has found little positive reception among medievalists. For Gellner the nation was the result of the directed creation of a mass participatory culture by political elites after the Industrial Revolution.[27] This precondition of a mass culture shared across all social classes precluded, in Gellner's view, any pre-industrial society from possessing a truly national consciousness and identity. Pre-modern societies, which he called 'agro-literate polities', were instead possessed of greater inter-class boundaries within themselves than inter-society boundaries between those of the same class. Using his now-famous diagram (see Figure 1) Gellner argued that the existence of these 'horizontal' links across political boundaries mitigated against the formation of strong 'vertical' boundaries between classes within the same polity.[28] Put bluntly, medieval aristocrats or churchmen identified more with their counterparts in other states than with the peasants within their own.

Figure 1 - Reproduction of Gellner's 'agro-literate polity' diagram.[29]
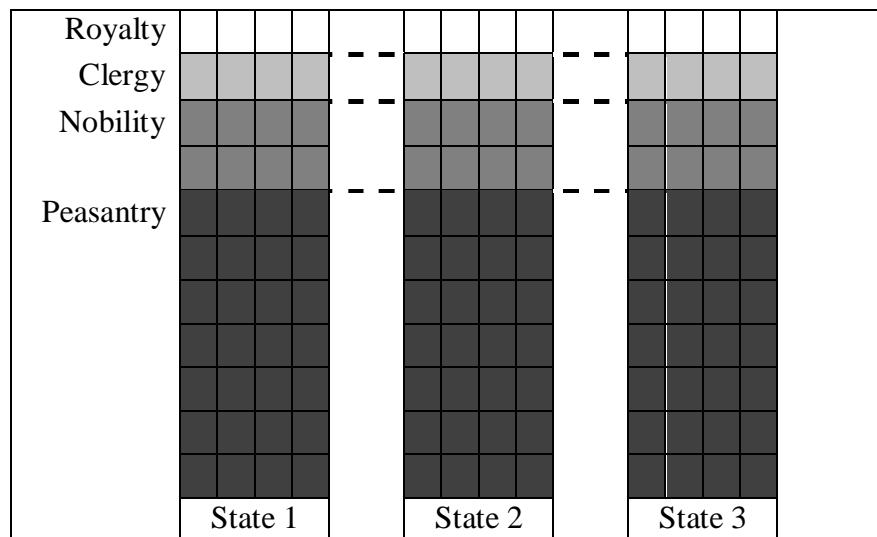
Almost needless to say, this characterisation of the Middle Ages has not sat well with medievalists, who have derided Gellner's formulation of 'agro-literate polities' as 'crude to

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[27] E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983). See also his earlier but similar discussion in *Thought and Change* (London, 1964, repr. 1969) (pp. 147-78).

[28] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (pp. 8-18). Gellner made very similar comments but lacking some of the later theoretical refinements in *Thought and Change* (pp. 153-7, 164-75). Anderson, somewhat confusingly, reversed these directional terms, using 'deep horizontal comradeship' to refer to the bonding of all the members of one society together (*Imagined Communities* (p. 7)). Gellner's formulation appears to be the standard one however so will be used in this thesis.

[29] For the original diagram see Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (p. 9).

the point of caricature'.[30] While this thesis fundamentally disagrees with Gellner's arguments regarding the Middle Ages, it is however worth noting that the underlying premise of his diagram and argument has some validity for this period. Inter-national identities, links and loyalties did exist in the medieval period and were by no means insignificant, often competing with national identities and loyalties. There was a significant international chivalric culture in the later Middle Ages for example, and monks and churchmen could often find themselves conflicted regarding their allegiances to king and Pope. That said, Gellner's distinction between 'nations' with 'vertical' solidarities and 'agro-literate polities' with 'horizontal' ones somewhat resembles a zero sum game, in which a society must have either one or the other. In reality of course an individual within almost any society or community possesses both forms of solidarity in tandem with one another, and it is in fact the relative strength of each which should be studied to understand that individual's sentiments and attachments. Walsingham is no exception to this and, as will be seen on several occasions below, he possessed some very negative opinions regarding certain social groups within 'the English', on occasion more negative even than his opinions regarding some other national groups. The people of London, the inhabitants of the North of England, and the English peasantry all received rather hostile treatment in the *Chronica* and appear to have been considered as somewhat distinct from Walsingham's vision of his own identity.[31] This does not however mean that Englishness was an unimportant part of Walsingham's identity, merely that he simultaneously possessed class-based and regional aspects to that identity.

While scholars of the 'modernist' school continue to argue that true forms of nation did not exist in Europe until the sixteenth century at the earliest,[32] most medievalists have accepted what Anthony Smith terms the 'perennialist' position which holds that varying forms of nation and national identity have existed since long before the modern era.[33] This does not mean however that those historians have been able to agree on how pre-modern nations might have been 'imagined' at the time. Definitions offered by various scholars include: being a

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[30] See for example: Lavezzo, 'Introduction' (p. viii); Scales & Zimmer, 'Introduction' (pp. 8-10, quote at p. 9); and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 10, 25-33, esp. p. 29).

[31] For further discussion see below (pp. 170-4).

[32] For examples of the modernist school see: D. Loades, 'The Origins of English Protestant Nationalism' and A. Fletcher, 'The First Century of English Protestantism and the Growth of National Identity', in ed. S. Mews, *Religion and National Identity* (Oxford, 1982) [Studies in Church History, 18] (pp. 297-307 and 309-18 respectively); L. Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Harvard, 1992); J. Breuilly, 'Changes in the Political Uses of the Nation: Continuity or Discontinuity?', in eds. L. Scales & O. Zimmer, *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge, 2005) (pp. 67-101); and of course Anderson and Gellner themselves.

[33] For discussion of 'perennialism' see Smith, *The Nation in History* (pp. 34-51) and idem, 'National Identities: Modern and Medieval?', in eds. S. Forde, L. Johnson & A.V. Murray, *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1995) (pp. 22-4).

kingdom with a belief in a shared ethnic heritage;[34] having a shared spoken vernacular language;[35] having a body of literature and theological texts in that vernacular;[36] possessing a specific territory believed to be ancestrally theirs;[37] and having a shared history or origin myth,[38] particularly in cases where ruling elites sought to unify several ethnic groups into one.[39] Surprisingly however, such scholarship has only rarely concluded that pre-modern national identity and distinctiveness could in fact be a variable concept taking on parts or all of several of these features, and none of others.[40] This seems a weak point in the existing scholarship, an attempt to locate a single 'true' defining feature of the idea of a nation rather than to allow for flexibility and variability in contemporaries' assessments of their own forms of community.

An important yet occasionally problematic strand of thinking within the perennialist position regards the place of ethnic, rather than national, communities and identities. In some cases such 'ethnic' communities serve in perennialist formulations as a way to sidestep the modernist insistence that 'national' communities existed only in the modern period. 'Ethnicity' in this sense reflects not necessarily a truly genetic or racially-based identity but a cultural one, often made up of various markers such as language, histories, clothing and so on,

[34] See for example S. Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', in *History* 68 (1983) (pp. 375-390) and idem, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1997).

[35] See for example Guenée, *States and Rulers* (pp. 52-4) and D. Green, 'Lordship and Principality: Colonial Policy in Ireland and Aquitaine in the 1360s', in *Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008) (pp. 25-6).

[36] See for example Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood* (esp. pp. 2-4, 12-3, 19-25). Michael Jones has argued that the lack of an independent literature in the Breton dialect contributed to the failure of fourteenth-century attempts to create a Breton 'nation' (in his '*Mons Pais et ma Nation*: Breton Identity in the Fourteenth Century', in M. Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State* (London, 1988) (pp. 304-6) [orig. publ. in 1976]).

[37] See for example E.H. Kantorowicz, '*Pro Patria Mori* in Medieval Political Thought', in *The American Historical Review* 56 (1951) (pp. 472-92) and idem, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957) (pp. 232-67).

[38] See for example: Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*' (pp. 375-90); Guenée, *States and Rulers* (pp. 58-63); and Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* (esp. pp. 3, 71, 82-100).

[39] See for example J. Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation', in eds. S. Forde, L. Johnson & A.V. Murray, *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1995) (pp. 75-101) and R.M. Stein, 'Making History English: Cultural Identity and Historical Explanation in William of Malmesbury and Laʒamon's *Brut*', in eds. S. Tomasch & S. Gilles, *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1998) (pp. 97-115).

[40] Exceptions are Lavezzo, 'Introduction' (pp. xv-xvi) and W. Pohl, 'Introduction - Strategies of Identification: A Methodological Profile', in eds. W. Pohl & G. Heydemann, *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2013) (esp. pp. 6-12).

and as such has clear similarities to national identity.[41] The foremost exponent of ethnic identities in place of national ones for the pre-modern world has been Anthony Smith, who has put forward the argument that ethnic communities are in fact both older and more ubiquitous than the national ones which developed from them.[42] While ethnic communities, or 'ethnies' as Smith calls them, share many features with nations they are generally defined as being of smaller size, possessing lesser attachment to a specific territory or homeland, and being chiefly the identity of a ruling elite rather than that of the entire society.[43] While there have been some misgivings regarding the utility of the concept of distinct 'ethnic' communities,[44] these three factors, and especially the latter, have made the label attractive to medievalists. Many scholars such as Armstrong, Reynolds and, despite his claims to the contrary, Smith have posited a progression over time from communities formed of such ethnic bonds into more political, territorial and socially-shared national communities.[45] The shift from 'ethnic' to 'national' community and identity has been variously conceived by scholars and theorists. For example Susan Reynolds attaches great significance to the formation of kingdoms, Anthony Smith to the attachment to a specific territory, and Paul James to the scale and level of abstraction within that community.[46] As will be discussed in more detail in

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[41] Much of the formulation of this concept of 'ethnicity' has been undertaken by scholars of the early medieval period, for example: W. Pohl, 'Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies', in eds. L.K. Little & B.H. Rosenwein, *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Malden, 1998) (pp. 15-24); G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568* (Cambridge, 2007) (pp. 35-62); and Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification' (esp. pp. 1-27).

[42] See Smith, 'National Identities: Modern and Medieval?' (pp. 26-8) ('the nation is a sub-category of, and develop out of, the far more common phenomenon of the ethnic community') and idem, 'Were there Nations in Antiquity?', in eds. L. Scales & O. Zimmer, *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge, 2005) (pp. 38-9) (nation as 'a form of human community which is conceptually a development of the wider phenomenon of ethnicity').

[43] Compare the different definitions or 'ideal types' of each proposed in Smith, 'Were there Nations in Antiquity?' (pp. 34-5, 38-9). For the importance of the distinction regarding 'ethnic' identities as those of the ruling elite see Greenfeld, *Five Roads to Modernity* (pp. 12-4) and Smith, 'National Identities: Modern and Medieval?' (p. 28).

[44] Lesley Johnson has declared herself 'far from confident' of the distinction between 'nations' and 'ethnies' (see her 'Imagining Communities' (pp. 11-3)); Adrian Hastings has criticised the 'modernist presuppositions' Smith brings to the study of pre-modern nations (see his *Construction of Nationhood* (p. 8)); Paul James has condemned 'ethnicity' as just as 'amorphous and contradictorily abstract/concrete' as 'nation' (in his *Nation Formation: Towards a Theory of Abstract Community* (London, 1996) (pp. 15-6); and Scales & Zimmer discuss the objections of both Breuilly and Gellner to the concept of 'ethnicity' (in their 'Introduction' (pp. 15-7)).

[45] See for example: Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (esp. pp. 3-13); Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (esp. pp. 250-87); and Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood* (esp. pp. 2-4, 11). Smith protests that he does not argue for an 'evolutionary development' from 'ethnie' to nation ('National Identities: Modern and Medieval?' (p. 31)), but this is undermined by his frequent assertions that such 'ethnies' 'develop' into nations (see above (p. 18 (n. 42))).

[46] Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (pp. 250-87); Smith, 'Were there Nations in Antiquity?' (pp. 38-9); and James, *Nation Formation* (esp. pp. 1-5).

Chapter 1, Walsingham appears to reveal a similar narrative of national development to these modern theorists, in which ethnic communities (as denoted by the Latin *gens*) constitute ancestral forms of community but have by his time given way to more political forms of community (usually the *regnum*).

A general weakness of the perennialist position has been its inability or reluctance to offer a compelling grand narrative or overall theory of the development of nations to counter those provided by modernist scholars. This lacuna no doubt derives naturally from the disagreements among perennialist scholars as to how nation is to be defined, but it does contribute to an impression of the perennialist position as under-theorised and based upon personal scholarly preferences or interests. Caspar Hirschi has recently attempted to offer such a grand theoretical narrative, arguing that, contrary to much modernist theorising, the common culture and heritage of medieval European states actually aided rather than hindered the development of nationhood and national feeling.[47] For Hirschi it was the competition between medieval peoples or polities for the prestige of Roman imperial glory in the 'multipolar' political world of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance which stimulated the development of national pride and identity.[48] This grand narrative is still new and few scholars appear to have engaged with it in depth yet, although Ilya Afanasyev has praised Hirschi's notion of the value of a *shared* culture across national boundaries as stimulating inter-nation competition, himself emphasising the role of the Catholic faith and dating such competition earlier than Hirschi had.[49] While Hirschi's work does tend to compress the history of nationhood into a series of studies of key moments and thinkers, his and Afanasyev's notions of national identity's development being a result of competition for prestige and distinctiveness within a 'multipolar' world of similar yet politically different polities has great benefit as a conceptualisation of nation development.

There are two chief problems with the existing approaches to the study of medieval nations and national identities, to which this thesis hopes to offer a small but hopefully first-step corrective. First there is a general problem within nation scholarship in which scholars have assembled a definition of a 'true' nation and sought to locate it in the past. The teleological and distortive potential of these efforts to checklist true nationhood should be

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[47] Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism*.

[48] See Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (esp. pp. 2-3, 34-47, 78-103, 212-9). Hirschi uses 'multipolar' to describe the nature of a nation-based political-cultural world (in which multiple similar yet distinct polities and peoples coexist) as opposed to the more 'binary' constructions found in most imperial political-cultural worlds (which tend to posit a simpler insider-outsider, civilisation-barbarism worldview).

[49] I. Afanasyev, 'Biblical Vocabulary and National Discourse in Twelfth-Century England', in *Anglo-Norman Studies* 36 (2004) (pp. 37-8).

readily apparent, and Hirschi has recently branded such attempts 'determinist' and 'unhistorical'.[50] This approach is particularly found in the work of Anthony Smith, who constructs 'ideal types' of nation and 'ethnie' before testing various past societies against them, and in the work of John Breuilly, who tests past eras of English history against his modernist definition of a true nation.[51] While this approach need not necessarily be anachronistic in theory, it possesses the very real danger of being so in practice. As well this approach hinges as much upon how the modern historian defines a true or real nation as how historical individuals defined their national community. For these reasons this thesis has deliberately sought to approach the problem from the opposite angle, asking how individuals defined the national communities in which they lived rather than whether such communities truly constituted 'nations' by a later, *a priori* definition. Following Benedict Anderson's thinking, this thesis hopes not to discover if late medieval Englishmen considered themselves part of what we as modern observers would call a 'real' national community, but to discover how those men 'imagined' the national communities of their time.

Another problem within medievalist nation scholarship, and one particularly prevalent in studies of late medieval England, is a too-exclusive focus on vernacular language as indicator and driver of national identity. While there is of course a potentially potent connection between language and ethnic or national identity, as noted by sociologists and historians, often this potential connection is treated as direct correlation.[52] In this perspective writings in or regarding the use of the English vernacular (rather than Latin or French) are treated as default indicators of national sentiment and identity. There are various strands to this school of thought, but all of them subscribe to the notion that increasing recognition of and writing in the English vernacular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries demonstrated and furthered increasing English nationhood and national feeling in the period. This narrative is sometimes, teleologically, referred to as 'the triumph of English'.[53] Some scholars have

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[50] Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 1-2).

[51] See: Smith, 'National Identities: Modern and Medieval?' (esp. pp. 26-37); idem, *The Nation in History* (pp. 41-50); idem, 'Were there Nations in Antiquity?' (esp. pp. 34-49); and Breuilly, 'Political Uses of the Nation' (esp. pp. 69-84).

[52] For examples of sociological studies on this connection see J.A. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays* (Rowley MA, 1972) (pp. 40-85) and C. Fought, *Language and Ethnicity* (Cambridge, 2006, repr. 2010) (pp. 19-41). For the potential importance of a distinct language on ethnic or national identity formation see for example Guenée, *States and Rulers* (pp. 52-4) and Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood* (pp. 19-25). This approach can often owe much to the modernist approaches of Anderson and Gellner discussed above.

[53] 'Triumph of English' is from Cottle, *Triumph of English*, something of an ur-text for this narrative which teleologically refers to the rise of English as 'English returned to its own' (p. 11) and 'the recognition of English as the national language' (p. 40). Turville-Petre characterised the same events as 'the battle for English' and concluded it had been 'won' by the late fourteenth century (in his 'Afterword: The Brutus Prologue to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in ed. K. Lavezzo, *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minnesota, 2004) (pp. 340-2)).

asserted that the appearance of chronicles and histories written in English in this period demonstrated and furthered an English national identity.[54] Others have seen the rise in English-language literature in this period as an indication of a newly strident English cultural confidence seeking to establish a new national culture against the previous hegemony of French and Latin.[55] Still others have argued for a deliberate royal policy, especially under Henry IV and Henry V, which sought to spread the official use of English as part of a nationalising agenda.[56] Each of these strands is open to question. For example, Ardis Butterfield has criticised the fixation on the English-language works of Chaucer and his contemporaries and neglect of their French- and Latin-language works, part of a wider trend in scholarship of emphasising the continued vitality of those two languages in late medieval England.[57] Recent work by Mark Ormrod and others has particularly questioned the significance given to famed examples of supposed official endorsement of the English vernacular, such as the 1362 Statute of Pleading, and stressed the uneven and practical rather than ideological adoption of English in governmental records.[58] The underlying proposition has been questioned too, with Patrick Geary noting the origins of the association of nations

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[54] See for example Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* (esp. pp. 9-10, 71-100) and S.L. Mitchell, ''We Englisse Men': Construction and Advocacy of an English Cause in the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester', in ed. E. Kooper, *The Medieval Chronicle I* (1999) (pp. 191-201).

[55] See for example Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood* (pp. 2-4, 19-21, 46-9) and Williams, *The French Fetish*.

[56] See in particular M. Richardson, 'Henry V, the English Chancery, and Chancery English', in *Speculum* 55 (1980) (pp. 726-50) and J.H. Fisher, 'A Language Policy for Lancastrian England', in *PMLA* 107 (1992) (pp. 1168-80), but also Cottle, *Triumph of English* (pp. 15-8, 22-6, 91) and Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* (p. 9). For very cogent criticism of this viewpoint see G. Dodd, 'The Spread of English in the Records of Central Government, 1400-1430', in eds. E. Salter & H. Wicker, *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c.1300-1550* (Turnhout, 2011) (esp. pp. 225-43).

[57] Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy* (esp. pp. xxii-xxvi, xxix-xxx, 8-9, 11-2). For further work on the vitality of the French language in England see in particular the essays in eds. J. Wogan-Browne et al, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*. For the French-language court culture in Ricardian England in particular see A. Butterfield, 'French Culture and the Ricardian Court', in eds. A.J. Minnis, C.C. Morse & T. Turville-Petre, *Essays in Ricardian Literature in Honour of J.A. Burrow* (Oxford, 1997) (pp. 82-120). For the continued vitality of Latin culture in late medieval England see below (p. 23 (n. 65)).

[58] See in particular W.M. Ormrod, 'The Use of English: Language, Law, and Political Culture in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Speculum* 78 (2003) (pp. 750-87), but also: idem, 'The Language of Complaint: Multilingualism and Petitioning in Later Medieval England', in eds. J. Wogan-Browne et al, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England* (York, 2009) (pp. 31-43); G. Dodd, 'The Rise of English, the Decline of French: Supplications to the English Crown, c.1420-1450', in *Speculum* 86 (2011) (pp. 117-46); and idem, 'The Spread of English' (pp. 225-66). Another interesting study of the continued use of French in England in this period is S. Lusignan, 'French Language in Contact with the English: Social Context and Linguistic Change', in ed. J. Wogan-Browne et al, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England* (York, 2009) (pp. 19-30).

with linguistic groups in nineteenth-century nationalist scholarship, and Armstrong noting that few medieval states actually corresponded neatly to linguistic units.[59]

These objections aside, there is one especial flaw with this assumed correlation between English-language writings and English national identity, namely the neglect of Latin works. As V.H. Galbraith, one of the scholars to most intensively study Thomas Walsingham, once wrote: 'to equate nationality with the literary achievements of the vernacular, to the exclusion of Latin culture, is to ignore the realities of medieval national life'.[60] For Galbraith the focus on the vernacular as the highest expression of national feeling was to 'read back' modern views onto the medieval past and to neglect the vital role of Latin writers and texts in the development and expression of English national identity.[61] For example, the twelfth-century chronicles, histories and ethnographies by writers including Gerald of Wales, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon have been repeatedly credited with creating a new sense of 'Englishness' among the previously divided inhabitants of England, and were all written in Latin.[62] However, because the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed a more vibrant vernacular culture, contemporary Latin writings have been almost totally overshadowed in studies of contemporary English national identity.[63] This neglect should not however be allowed to continue; as Andrea Ruddick notes, Latin- and French-language texts of this period might be concentrated within learned and clerical contexts, but they 'were no less expressive of national identity than their more famous English vernacular cousins'.[64] The continued prestige and utility of Latin as a language of the Church, government and literature ensured the continued production of a vibrant Latin culture both by clerical and monastic authors of poetry, chronicles and devotional literature, and also within more secular genres

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[59] P. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002) (esp. pp. 29-34, 37-40) and Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (pp. 241-72). Gellner noted a similar mis-match between linguistic and political units to Armstrong in his *Thought and Change* (pp. 152-3).

[60] Galbraith, 'Nationality and Language' (p. 120).

[61] Galbraith, 'Nationality and Language' (pp. 118-9, 122). Robert Swanson has come to a similar conclusion, writing of this neglect of Latin works as a result of the 'disciplinary bind of thinking of national identity through literary language' (in his '*Gens secundum cognationem et collectionem ab alia distincta*?: Thomas Polton, Two Englands, and the Challenge of Medieval Nationhood', in eds. G. Signori & B. Studt, *Das Konstanzer Konzil als Europäisches Ereignis: Begegnungen, Medien und Rituale* (Ostfildern, 2014) (pp. 78-9)).

[62] This has become a widely-accepted argument in recent years but see in particular: Gillingham, 'Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation' (pp. 75-101); Stein, 'Making History English' (pp. 97-115); and J.J. Cohen, 'Green Children from Another World, or the Archipelago in England', in ed. J.J. Cohen, *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages* (New York, 2008) (pp. 75-94).

[63] For example, the only real discussion of Latin works in Deanne Williams' book is a short and rather superficial discussion of the anonymous poem *An Invective against France* in which the poem is used simply as an example of anti-French Othering (*The French Fetish* (pp. 10-1)). Galloway, 'Latin England' (pp. 41-95) is an attempt to address this problem, but suffers from rather superficial analysis.

[64] Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 46-7).

such as newsletters or the literary works of men like John Gower.[65] While it seems entirely reasonable to describe the decision to write in the vernacular as, at least potentially, 'a statement about belonging', this does not disqualify those who chose to write in Latin from partaking in contemporary trends and discussions regarding English national identity.[66] It is hoped that this thesis can help to begin redressing this linguistic balance within our understanding of medieval English nationhood and national identity by focussing attention on a particularly interesting and vibrant source on that theme.

As mentioned above, the perennialist position has been taken as read in this thesis due to the abundant evidence that writers and thinkers of the later Middle Ages partook of a fundamentally 'national' vision of the world. Medieval texts are filled with references to peoples and kingdoms as discreet and self-governing entities with standardised names, medieval histories are often framed in national terms either explicitly by aim and title or implicitly by content, and medieval writings were often deeply underpinned by highly national intellectual traditions such as the Old Testament, Virgil's *Aeneid* and origin myths. Thomas Walsingham is of course no exception to any of these, and as such this thesis does not seek to answer *whether* Walsingham thought about nation, but to ask *how* he thought about nation. In doing so the thesis aims to avoid many of the aforementioned pitfalls of current nation scholarship and definition, chiefly the desire for 'ideal types' or overly-precise and limiting definitions as well as the myopic focus on linguistic politics. The *Chronica Maiora* may not be an explicit history of a specific nation or a learned tract regarding the truest form of national community, but it does contain and provide access to deeper assumptions and accepted ideas about nationhood in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England.

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[65] For this Latin culture see for example: A.G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (Cambridge, 1992) (pp. 241-309); idem, 'Anglo-Latin in the Ricardian Age', in eds. A.J. Minnis, C.C. Morse, T. Turville-Petre, *Essays on Ricardian Literature in Honour of J.A. Burrow* (Oxford, 1997) (pp. 121-41); C. Baswell, 'Latinitas', in ed. D. Wallace, *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 1999) (esp. pp. 142-51); and D. Carlson, 'Anglo-Latin Literature in the Later Middle Ages', in ed. A. Galloway, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture* (Cambridge, 2011) (esp. pp. 202-8). Latin poetry of complaint or moral critique, such as the examples collected in Wright's two-volume *Political Poems and Songs* for the Rolls Series, thrived in this period and has offered much useful comparative material for this thesis. For the genre and its authorship see in particular J.R. Maddicott, 'Poems of Social Protest in Early Fourteenth-Century England', in ed. W.M. Ormrod, *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1986) (pp. 130-44).

[66] 'Statement about belonging' is from Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* (p. 11).

b)   Walsingham's Life and Works

As James Clark has noted, 'the most remarkable' aspect of Walsingham's life and career is the relative scarcity of records of his life, and he concludes that the chronicler may have 'sought anonymity'.[67] That said, we can still provide an overall sketch of the known facts and stages of the chronicler's life, punctuated by the creation of his various works. A reference to the ordination of a Thomas Walsingham, a monk of St Albans, as a priest by Simon Sudbury, Bishop of London in September 1364 allows us to infer a birth date of around 1340 for Walsingham.[68] Given his surname it seems almost certain that Walsingham originated from Norfolk, in or near the pilgrim town of the same name, and that he might plausibly have joined St Albans via the dependent cell at Wymondham (around thirty miles from the town of Walsingham). It was usual for monks to have spent three to four years in the cloister prior to their ordination as priests, which would suggest that Walsingham had become a monk around 1360 and that he may have been a member of the generation of St Albans monks whose careers were fast-tracked to make up the shortfall of personnel after the Black Death in 1349-50.[69]

At some point between joining the monastery and the year 1380 Walsingham attended Gloucester College, the Benedictine establishment at the University of Oxford.[70] The chief evidence for Walsingham's attendance at Oxford is a reference within the *Chronica Maiora* in which he lamented the decline of the university and expressed the hope that his criticisms of Wycliffism there would not be interpreted as his biting at the teat of the 'mother' that had fed him knowledge.[71] Walsingham also gave quite detailed attention in his chronicle to the 'town and gown' disturbances in Oxford in 1354, and the Tudor antiquarian Thomas Allen noted the existence of a stained glass window in Gloucester College chapel depicting a 'Thomas

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[67] Clark's comments are in his 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered: Books and Learning at Late-Medieval St Albans', in *Speculum* 77 (2002) (pp. 836-7). The best short account of Walsingham's life is Taylor, 'Walsingham, Thomas (c.1340-c.1422)'. The entry by Lisa Ruch in ed. G. Dunphy, *The Encyclopaedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden, 2010) II (pp. 1492-3) is rather less full and less useful.

[68] 'Fr. Thomas de Walsyngham; St Albans M.' was ordained by Sudbury on Saturday 21st September 1364 (see *Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria, diocesis Londoniensis A.D. 1362-1375* (eds. R.C. Fowler & C. Jenkins) (Oxford, 1938) [Canterbury and York Society, 38] II (p. 28)).

[69] Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 838). For the impact of the Black Death on St Albans and the abbey's 1363 appeal for permission to admit monks below the usual minimum age see Knowles, *The Religious Orders* (pp. 10-2, 42).

[70] For life at Gloucester College in this period see Knowles, *The Religious Orders* (pp. 15-22).

[71] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xx, 174-6) - 'ne materna uidear ubera decerpere dentibus, que dare lac, potum sciencie, consueuere'.

Walsingham'.[72] In attending Oxford University Walsingham was part of a fourteenth-century Benedictine trend of increasing attendance at the universities after the 1336 papal bull *Summa magistri* required at least one of every twenty Benedictine monks to receive a university education.[73] St Albans, under the abbacy of Thomas de la Mare, was at the forefront of this trend and sent at least thirty monks to Oxford in the period 1340-1420, at least twelve of whom received doctorates.[74] Clark has also located a reference in the Calendar of Close Rolls for 1354 regarding a ruling that a 'Thomas Walsingham, clericus' should settle a debt of eleven marks incurred in Oxfordshire to a Richard de Thoresby, clerk, which would require a re-dating of Walsingham's birth date.[75] However, the Calendared version of the Close Roll fails to include a reference in the original document to the 'lands and chattels' of the debtor, which a young monk was unlikely to have possessed while staying at Gloucester College.[76] Thus it seems likely that this 'Thomas Walsingham' was in fact one of the other three such named individuals traceable through the Patent and Close Rolls of the period, not the monk of St Albans.[77]

By 1380 Walsingham was back at St Albans and was made precentor of the new scriptorium built as part of Abbot de la Mare's building programme and encouragement of both scholarship and text production at the abbey.[78] Under Walsingham and de la Mare's

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[72] For the recounting of the 1354 'town and gown' disturbances see Thomas Walsingham, *Thomae Walsingham, Quondam Monachi Sancti Albani: Historia Anglicana* (ed. H.T. Riley) (London, 1863) [Rolls Series, 28.1] I (p. 278). For Allen see Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 839).

[73] For this trend and the bull within it see: Knowles, *The Religious Orders* (pp. 3-5, 15-9); J.G. Clark, 'Monachi and Magistri: The Context and Culture of Learning at Late-Medieval St Albans', in ed. J. Greatrex, *The Vocation of Service to God and Neighbour: Essays on the Interests, Involvements and Problems of Religious Communities and Their Members in Medieval Society* (Leeds, 1998) (pp. 1-23); and Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 839-43).

[74] Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 839-41). See also Clark, 'Monachi and Magistri' (pp. 9-10), where Clark notes that there were no less than 8 doctors among the St Albans community of Walsingham's generation. The quantity and quality of St Albans graduate monks was noted with pride in the *Gesta Abbatum* and attributed to de la Mare's influence (Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, a Thomas Walsingham Regnante Ricardo Secundo, Ejusdem Ecclesiae Praecentore, Compilata* (ed. H.T. Riley) (London, 1869) [Rolls Series, 28.4] III (pp. 410-1)).

[75] Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 839).

[76] The calendared version is at *CCR Edward III, Volume 10, A.D. 1354-1360* (p. 80) and the original is TNA C54/192 (m. 17d) (26th June 1354).

[77] From a survey of the Calendars of Close Rolls and Calendars of Patent Rolls for the period 1350-1429 there are (at least) 3 identifiable men of the name 'Thomas Walsingham': a priest or chaplain active c.1350-1401 who moved between 3 churches; a merchant active c.1422-29 described as 'of London' but with lands in various counties; and a 'king's servant' active c.1396-1416 who occupied various administrative posts. Given this popularity of the name it seems quite a leap to attach the Close Roll entry to Thomas Walsingham the monk.

[78] Walsingham or another monk recounted and praised de la Mare's building programme and beautification of the abbey, including the provision of studies for the graduate monks and the new scriptorium, in the *Gesta Abbatum* (see *Gesta Abbatum* III (pp. 380-93)), and Walsingham is named as the head of the new scriptorium (III (pp. 392-3)). For discussion of de la Mare's commitment to such

leadership the scriptorium produced a raft of new works and updated several in-house works which had fallen into abeyance in previous decades.[79] Walsingham was at the forefront of this updating, personally producing a revived *Chronica Maiora* taking up from the thirteenth-century chronicle work of Matthew Paris and a continuation of the *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani* covering 1308 onwards.[80] He also took charge of the creation of a new *Liber Benefactorum* or Book of Benefactors, a beautifully illustrated prestige piece listing the abbey's past benefactors which was of prime importance for the community.[81] These works of the 1380s were produced with some care and to high standards in what Galbraith has called a distinctive 'St Albans hand', and the *Liber Benefactorum* in particular was lavishly decorated with artistic touches and pictures of the higher-status benefactors.[82] There is a clear vein of what has been termed 'corporate pride' on show in the updating and composition of these works and others of the period, each of them designed to glorify the abbey and protect its rights.[83] It is also possible that it was in this period that Walsingham penned the treatises on music,[84] monasticism and Saints Alban and Amphibalus that are attached to his name,

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building and to education in particular see Knowles, *The Religious Orders* (pp. 3-7, 39-47) and J.G. Clark, 'Mare, Thomas de la (c.1309-1396)', in *ODNB*.

[79] For this high-point of scholarly endeavour and book production in general see *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. xxxvi-xl, lxi-lxii) and J.G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his Circle c. 1350-1440* (Oxford, 2004) (pp. 105-8). Clark has noted that over 40 books can be attributed to this period, and that two thirds of new books recorded at the abbey c.1370-1440 were in-house productions by the monks themselves (see his 'Monachi and Magistri' (p. 7) and 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 835)).

[80] The revival of the *Gesta Abbatum* is edited in *Gesta Abbatum* II (pp. 113-466) and III (pp. 3-372) - this is the portion likely written by Walsingham himself in the 1380s-90s, covering 1308-c.1394 and found in BL Cotton MS Claudius E iv. It is uncertain who composed the text's continuation covering from c.1396-c.1401 and found in CCCC MS 7 (edited in *Gesta Abbatum* III (pp. 373-535)).

[81] The *Liber Benefactorum* is BL Cotton MS Nero D vii. At some point the manuscript has received two slightly different folio numberings, leaving different folio numbers at the top and bottom of individual folios for some parts of the text. The text itself states that it was composed by Walsingham, and that he had personally procured 7 marks for the abbey from John and Christine of Bedingham - 'Thomas de Walsingham precentor. Qui istum librum compilavit. Et septem marcas de pecunia Johannes de Bedingham et Cristiane coniugis sue ad opus nove porte donari procuravit' (fol. 82v (top) / 75v (bottom)). The text was continued long after the 1380s, including biographies of abbots down to Thomas Ramryge (elected 1492) (fols. 24-48).

[82] Both the Nero MS and the CCCC MS 7 continuation include illustrations alongside the names of the most important donors to the abbey. For the 'St Albans hand' of the 1380s see V.H. Galbraith, 'Thomas Walsingham and the St Albans Chronicle, 1272-1422', in *English Historical Review* 47 (1932) (p. 16) and *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. lxi-lxii).

[83] 'Corporate pride' is used by both Galbraith and Vaughan to describe this kind of works (see their 'Historical Research in Medieval England' (p. 37) and *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958) (p. 137) respectively). A cartulary now held at Chatsworth House (unclassified MS, St Albans Cartulary) recording the abbey's property portfolio may also have been Walsingham's work or that of monks under his aegis (see Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 848)).

[84] Walsingham's treatise on music (*Regule Magistri Thome Walsingham de figuris compositis et non compositis, et de cantu perfecto et imperfecto, et de modis*) is found among other monastic musical treatises in the fifteenth-century collection now known as BL Lansdowne MS 763 (see *A Catalogue of*

although certain dating remains impossible.[85] Walsingham's high standing within the abbey community is attested by his position as the twenty-second of the fifty-six monks listed in the *Liber Benefactorum*, and by the attribution of these works to him by name.[86] While Clark has objected to the characterisation of Walsingham as the sole 'presiding genius' behind this period of productivity at the abbey, the chronicler's role in the scriptorium, as both writer-compiler himself and director of the energies of others, appears clear and significant.[87]

The next period in Walsingham's life, the years 1394-96, was rather different. In 1394 the chronicler was made Prior of the St Albans cell at Wymondham in Norfolk, either by Abbot de la Mare himself or by John Moote, Prior of St Albans, who had taken on much of the ailing abbot's administrative responsibilities.[88] Wymondham was a very different community to St Albans itself, consisting of only around sixteen monks, possessing much more limited financial resources, and engaged in some rather persistent and bitter disputes with both the Bishop of Norwich and the local townspeople.[89] Despite Martin Heale's recent

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the *Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum* (unknown editor) (London, 1819) (pp. 169-71)). As precentor Walsingham was in charge of musical composition at the abbey and the treatise, though conventional, displays some technical knowledge of the subject (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxiii-xxiv)).

[85] Walsingham's treatises on monasticism (*Tractatus de praerogativis et dignitatibus ordinem monasticum concernentibus*) and on the lives of Saints Alban and Amphibalus (*De nobilitate, vita, et martyrio S. Albani et Amphibali*) are both found in BL Cotton MS Claudius E iv along with various St Albans materials and the *Gesta Abbatum* (see *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum* (unknown editor) (London, 1802) (pp. 198-9)). The former is a defence of traditional monastic privileges and an anti-Lollard tract, while the latter is a more biographical than purely hagiographical treatment of the lives of the two Saints (see W.A. Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises on the Origins of Monasticism', in eds. V. Ruffer & A.J. Taylor, *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford, 1950) (pp. 202-6, 210, 214-5) and Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 848-51)).

[86] This position in the list includes the abbot, the prior and four junior monks (see BL Cotton MS Nero D vii fols. 81v-83v (top) / 74v-76v (bottom)). Historians have offered differing versions of this position, largely because of differing views of whether to include the abbot, the prior and the junior monks (compare: Galbraith, 'Thomas Walsingham and the St Albans Chronicle' (pp. 13-5); *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (p. xxxvii); Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 838); and *Chronica Maiora* I (p. xix)).

[87] For Clark's opposition to the notion of Walsingham as 'presiding genius' see his 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (esp. pp. 833-5, 843-6, 859-60, 'presiding genius' is at p. 834).

[88] For de la Mare's infirmity after c.1387 and Moote's taking over his responsibilities see: *Gesta Abbatum* III (pp. 403-4, 419-20); Knowles, *The Religious Orders* (p. 47); and Clark, 'Mare, Thomas de la (c.1309-1396)'.

[89] For Wymondham's situation in this period see: D. Knowles & R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953) (p. 81); R. Le Strange, *Monasteries of Norfolk* (King's Lynn, 1973) (pp. 133-4); and ed. D. Smith, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales. III: 1377-1540* (Cambridge, 2008) (pp. 88-9). The priory was engaged in a dispute with the local townspeople regarding the use of a belltower and its bells, a dispute which appears to have spilled into violent encounters on at least 2 occasions in the 1370s (see: *CPR 1374-77* (pp. 318, 328); Le Strange, *Monasteries of Norfolk* (pp. 133-4); and M. Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge, 2004) (pp. 212-4, 228)). A dispute also arose with Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich in 1380 over his attempts to have the Prior collect taxes under his jurisdiction (see: *Gesta*

revisions of the perception of dependent cells as intellectual backwaters compared with their mother houses, the only surviving records from Wymondham suggest an extremely limited library housed there.[90] In accordance with this there is little evidence for Walsingham having engaged in scholarly efforts while at Wymondham, although it is possible that the much compressed *Chronica* narrative of 1392-93, contained in its own easily-transportable quire, was his work while at the priory.[91] The reasons for Walsingham's dispatch to the priory are debatable, with the possibility that it constituted an 'exile' from the mother house after a dispute with Abbot de la Mare, as argued by James Clark, or that Walsingham was sent there as a trusted agent similar to how other graduate monks were deployed after their studies.[92] The only surviving reference to why Walsingham was thus dispatched is in the *Gesta Abbatum* note regarding his return in 1396, claiming that he had gone to Wymondham at his own request and the request of the abbot, either 'excited by worldly affairs' or 'assailed by worldly affairs'.[93] This wording is rather ambiguous in terms of motives behind the move, but Walsingham's return is described as his being permitted 'to vacate the quiet of the cloister' which suggests that Walsingham sought to return to the relative hustle and bustle of the mother house on the death of Abbot de la Mare.[94] While this is not evidence for the dispute posited by Clark, it does leave the question of whether Walsingham's time at Wymondham should be seen as exile, sabbatical or promotion somewhat open. What is clear however is that, whatever the initial motives for the move, it was not long before Walsingham wished to return to his books and the work of the scriptorium.

Abbatum III (pp. 122-34, 281-5, 395-6); *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 350-6); and Heale, *The Dependent Priories* (pp. 80-1)).

[90] For Heale's arguments see M. Heale, 'Books and Learning in the Dependent Priories of the Monasteries of Medieval England', in eds. C.M. Barron & J. Stratford, *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R.B. Dobson* (Donnington, 2002) (pp. 64-79) and idem, *The Dependent Priories* (esp. pp. 181-2). No fourteenth- or fifteenth-century booklist survives for Wymondham specifically, but John Leland's 1536-40 listing of books in English monasteries lists only 2 books at Wymondham (see *English Benedictine Libraries* (pp. 676-7)).

[91] This is CCCC MS 7 (2i) (see below (pp. 38-9)).

[92] For Walsingham's having been exiled see Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 837). For contemporary views of dispatch to dependent cells as 'exile' see Heale, *The Dependent Priories* (pp. 119-21, 183-4). For the use of graduate monks as trusted agents in administrative roles see Clark, 'Monachi and Magistri' (pp. 6-7, 11) and Heale, 'Books and Learning' (p. 67).

[93] *Gesta Abbatum* III (p. 436) - 'et Dominum Thomam Walsyngham, alias Praecentorem Monasterii, et mundialibus curis lacessitos, ad eorum preces et instantiam praecipuam'. 'Lacessitos' is an ambiguous term in this context, potentially meaning either 'attacked by' or 'assailed by', or alternately meaning 'excited by'. The *Gesta Abbatum* continuation after 1396 is also ambiguous regarding the writer's attitude to de la Mare, listing at great length his virtues and qualities (see *Gesta Abbatum* III (pp. 400-13)), but also providing a litany of his failings (see III (pp. 413-20)).

[94] *Gesta Abbatum* III (p. 436) - 'alterum claustrali quieti vacare permittens'. Simon Southerey returned at the same time, taking up the role of Prior at the abbey.

After his return to St Albans in 1396 Walsingham never again held any recorded administrative position but did return to his chronicle-writing and scholarly efforts. As will be discussed more below, the *Chronica Maiora* was revived again c.1399 and it may have been in this period that Walsingham turned even more closely to his classical interests. He produced a number of detailed texts on classical writers and histories, demonstrating in each a careful and thorough approach in combining information taken from multiple classical sources into an 'encyclopaedic' kind of work that demonstrates his excellent grasp of many Roman classical texts.[95] The *Archana Deorum* is a complex work which took as its base text Ovid's poem the *Metamorphoses* but which incorporated information regarding pagan myths and gods from a variety of other sources, and refused to simply turn these tales into Christian moral parables as other Ovidian commentators did.[96] The *Prohemia Poetarum* is a compilation of biographical and textual information regarding important classical (and some medieval) authors including Ovid, Virgil and Lucan, again demonstrating a grasp of a variety of ancient sources.[97] The *Dites Ditatus* is an account of the fall of Troy, largely based on the relatively rare *Ephemeris belli Troiani* by Dictys Cretensis but also incorporating digressions drawn from elsewhere.[98] Walsingham's *Historia Alexandri Magni Principis* again is chiefly a copy of a semi-classical work, the 'Zacher epitome' of Julius Valerius' fourth-century Latin *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, but includes multiple digressions and additions from other sources.[99] An overriding impression of these works is that rather than simply copying or

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[95] For Walsingham's classical works and the individual spin he put on them see *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. xli-xlv); Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 852-6); and idem, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 163-5, 169-76, 181-3, 191-207).

[96] The text is edited as Thomas Walsingham, *Thomae Walsingham, De Archana Deorum* (ed. R.A. van Kluyve) (Durham NC, 1968). For discussion see *De Archana Deorum* (pp. ix-xviii) and Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 173-6). An older and now somewhat superseded discussion is F.W. Hall, 'An English Commentary on Ovid', in *Classical Quarterly* 21 (1927) (pp. 151-4). A.G. Rigg and James Clark have both noted that Walsingham 'eschewed' the usual Christian allegorical interpretation in his text (see their *Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (pp. 297-8) and 'Ovid in the Monasteries: The Evidence from Late Medieval England', in eds. J.G. Clark, F.T. Coulson & K.L. McKinley, *Ovid in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011) (pp. 191-2) respectively). For Ovid's importance in the Middle Ages see: D.M. Robathan, 'Ovid in the Middle Ages', in ed. J.W. Binns, *Ovid* (London, 1973) (pp. 191-209); J. Dimmick, 'Ovid in the Middle Ages: Authority and Poetry', in ed. P. Hardie, *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid* (Cambridge, 2002) (pp. 264-87); and the essays in eds. J.G. Clark, F.T. Coulson & K.L. McKinley, *Ovid in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011) especially the contributions of Siegfried Wenzel, James Clark and Kathryn McKinley.

[97] The text is edited as Thomas Walsingham, *The Prohemia Poetarum of Thomas of Walsingham and the Accessus ad Auctores Tradition* (ed. F.T. Cabral) (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Nebraska, 1974). For discussion see: *De Archana Deorum* (pp. xii-xiii); *Prohemia Poetarum* (pp. 1-21); Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 854); and idem, *A Monastic Renaissance* (p. 170).

[98] The text remains unedited but is found in Oxford Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 124. For discussion of the text see: *De Archana Deorum* (pp. x-xi); Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 854-7); and idem, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 170-3, 191-3).

[99] The text remains unedited but is found in Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 299 (see *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (eds. F. Madan et al), Volume IV

glossing classical texts Walsingham instead sought to produce reference works for future classicists. Certain dating of all of these texts' composition is sadly impossible and rather complex. Galbraith argued in the 1930s that Walsingham's classical works constituted something of a retirement project after 1396, and the *Archana Deorum* is dedicated to Simon Southerey as Prior of the abbey, suggesting composition sometime 1396-1405 when Southerey held that post.[100] Clark has more recently attempted to argue that Walsingham's classical scholarship was a constant presence rather than a later project, noting colophons in manuscripts of both *Archana Deorum* and *Dites Ditatus* which refer to Walsingham as precentor, a role he ceased to hold in 1394.[101] The specific evidence of these colophons is inconclusive however, as any monk could have added them to Walsingham's text later, identifying him using the most important and prestigious title he attained at the abbey. That said, the ample use of classical quotation and allusion in the contemporary narrative of the *Chronica Maiora* from its earliest phase to its end, and the possibility that the classical texts themselves formed the result of lengthy scholarly endeavours, does support Clark's general argument.[102] Later in his life too Walsingham was associated with other likeminded scholar monks such as Southerey, a scholar and theologian who appears to have been a close friend of the chronicler, and the future abbot John Whethamstede, who would go on to produce his own classicist works and correspond with the humanist circle of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester.[103]

(Oxford, 1897) (p. 585)). For discussion and noting of the use of Walsingham's distinctive 'T' sign marking his own additions see: *De Archana Deorum* (pp. xi-xiii); Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 854-6); and idem, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 169-70). In the MS itself Walsingham claimed that the text was written 'to alleviate [the monks'] boredom and sloth' (cited in Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (p. 125)). For a brief description of Julius Valerius' text and the epitomes of it that were used in the Middle Ages, including the so-called 'Zacher epitome', see G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956) (pp. 24-6).

[100] *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. xli-xlv). Walsingham dedicated the *Archana Deorum* to 'patri venerabili domino Simoni priori monasterii Sancti Albani, sacre Pagine professori' (*De Archana Deorum* (p. 3)). A reference to the *Archana Deorum* within the *Dites Ditatus* also suggests that the former predated the latter (see *De Archana Deorum* (pp. x-xi)).

[101] See Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 853-4) - the *Dites Ditatus* colophon attributes the text to Walsingham as 'precentor sancti Albani', and the colophon of what Clark believes to be the earliest manuscript copy of the *Archana Deorum* attributes the text to 'Thomae de Walsyngham, precentoris monasterii sancti Albani'.

[102] For Walsingham's classical quotation and allusion see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 995-6) and II (p. 849).

[103] For Southerey see J.G. Clark, 'Southerey, Simon (b.c.1342, d. in or after 1420)', in *ODNB*. Walsingham dedicated the *Archana Deorum* to Southerey and it was Southerey, as Prior, who authorised Walsingham's return to the abbey in 1396. For the better-known Whethamstede see especially: Knowles, *The Religious Orders* (pp. 193-7); Clark, 'Ovid in the Monasteries' (p. 194); and idem, 'Whethamstede [Bostock], John (c.1392-1465)', in *ODNB*. For Whethamstede's humanist interests and connections see: R. Weiss, 'Piero del Monte, John Whethamstede, and the Library of St Albans', in *English Historical Review* 60 (1945) (pp. 399-406); idem, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1957) (pp. 25-7, 30-8, 45, 61, 64-5); and D. Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature, 1430-1530* (Oxford, 2007) (pp. 51-3, 63, 88) and references therein. Walsingham's discussion of Lucan from the *Prohemia Poetarum* is found copied into a fifteenth-

Both Southerey and Whethamstede had appeared as simple, presumably junior, monks in the 1380 *Liber Benefactorum*, making it possible that they may have enjoyed something of a patron-student relationship with Walsingham.[104] While it is somewhat grandiose to term Walsingham a 'precursor to the English Renaissance' as Knowles did, he and the St Albans of his day do deserve pride of place in the early stages of English 'Renaissance' classicism and scholarship.[105]

The exact date of Walsingham's death is unknown, although it seems most likely that he died sometime 1421-22. This date differs slightly from the usual date of 1422, but is suggested by the degeneration of the fifteenth-century *Chronica* text into a series of short, disordered annalistic entries covering 1419-20, the latest of which covers December 1420.[106] This material most likely reflects that assembled by Walsingham before his death, copied up by another monk seeking to conclude Walsingham's work. A marginal note in this text plans the insertion of the terms of the May 1420 Treaty of Troyes which were never included, suggesting that composition had significantly slowed by the second half of 1420.[107] This material also contains a reference under 1420 to that year 'still being the king's seventh', implying that at the time of writing Henry V (d. August 1422) was still alive.[108] Thus Walsingham ceased to work on the *Chronica* between January 1421 and August 1422, presumably either through infirmity or death. Walsingham's final chronicle project, the *Ypodigma Neustria* or 'Symbol of Normandy', a compilation of histories chronicling Anglo-Norman history since the first Duke of Normandy, Rollo, in the tenth century, was compiled

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century anthology composed for Whethamstede (see Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (p. 165)). Whethamstede was also, as abbot, responsible for the purchase and production of over 100 new books for the abbey library (see *English Benedictine Libraries* (pp. 563-84)). For various other scholar monks at the abbey in this period see: Knowles, *The Religious Orders* (p. 193); Clark, 'Monachi and Magistri' (pp. 9-10, 20-2); idem, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 843-4); and idem, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 209-38).

[104] For Southerey and Whethamstede, both listed as monks with no titles or responsibilities, in the *Liber Benefactorum* see BL Cotton MS Nero D vii fols. 83-83v (top) / 76-76v (bottom).

[105] Knowles, *The Religious Orders* (pp. 266-7). Clark has made this argument most forcefully in his *Monastic Renaissance*. By contrast Weiss was rather scathing regarding Walsingham's classicist efforts (see his *Humanism in England* (pp. 7, 10, 31)).

[106] See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. xxviii, 782-8). Several entries are out of chronological order and there are several significant gaps in the coverage - the entries run: September 1419; June 1419; September 1419; October 1419; June 1419; November 1419; March 1420; May 1420; 'after Easter' 1420; June 1420; December 1420.

[107] See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 784-6). The note reads 'Quorum tenor sequitur ad hoc signum relatus'. The terms of the treaty were later included in the anonymous continuation in CCCC MS 7 (3) (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 746-50).

[108] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 784) - 'Anno gracie millesimo .cccc.⁰ .xx.⁰ et regis adhuc septimo'.

in these final years and it too may have been interrupted by Walsingham's death.[109] While the *Ypodigma*'s editor H.T. Riley concluded that the text's introductory dedication to Henry V, which is in a different hand to the rest of the text and is explicitly Walsingham's work, was written at the end of the chronicle's composition in 1419, there is in fact no evidence to suggest that the dedication was not in fact written *first*.[110] If this were the case then it would suggest Walsingham was alive and well in 1419 but shortly afterwards succumbed to illness or death, which accords with the evidence of the *Chronica*. This would also conform to what Clark has suggested regarding the possibility that the bulk of the actual *Ypodigma* text was written by another, less competent monk.[111] While the original concept of the *Ypodigma* as expressed in the dedication was undoubtedly Walsingham's work, the end result is not the promised comprehensive history of Normandy but a more muddled and error-filled history of *England*, which could suggest a change of writer.[112] Similarly the text itself refers to the death of Charles VI of France, who actually survived Henry V by two months, implying that the text was carried on and completed after Walsingham, Henry and Charles were all dead.[113] Thus it appears that Walsingham died sometime 1421-22, the same year as two kings whose deaths marked a new stage in the Hundred Years War.

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[109] The text survives in a single manuscript, CCCC MS 240 and is edited in Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustrie a Thoma Walsingham, Quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, Conscriptum* (ed. H.T. Riley) (London, 1876) [Rolls Series, 28.7]. The original MS has been partly but not fully digitised by the Parker Library on the Web project (available at: www.parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=240&page=1r [accessed 18/02/15]).

[110] For Riley's argument see *Ypodigma Neustriae* (pp. x-xi, xiii). The dedication states that it is the work of 'Frater Thomas de Walsigham, monachus Monasterii Sancti Albani' (*Ypodigma Neustriae* (p. 3)).

[111] See Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 168, 266).

[112] Scholarly assessments of the *Ypodigma* have been rather scathing, including noticing that the text fails to deliver the history promised by the dedication (see in particular: *Ypodigma Neustriae* (p. xiv); A. Curry, 'Lancastrian Normandy: The Jewel in the Crown?', in eds. D. Bates & A. Curry, *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994) (p. 245); and Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 168, 266)). This would also go some distance to explaining the reliance upon slightly unusual source material by the text's composer (see *Ypodigma Neustriae* (pp. xiv, xv-xxxix)), and would problematise the assumption of Walsingham's full authorship by Chris Guyol (in his 'The Altered Perspective of Thomas Walsingham's *Symbol of Normandy*', in ed. R.W. Kaeuper, *Law, Governance, and Justice: New Views on Medieval Constitutionalism* (Leiden, 2013) (esp. pp. 189-90)).

[113] *Ypodigma Neustriae* (pp. xxxiii, 364) - the text refers to Charles never having recovered his sanity after 1392 ('nec unquam postea potuit ullis artibus plenae restitui sanitati'), implying that Charles was dead by the time of writing.

c)   <u>Establishing the *Chronica Maiora*</u>

While Walsingham's 'corporate' and scholarly works were undoubtedly important to him, it was to his national chronicle, the *Chronica Maiora* or Major Chronicle, that he dedicated the greatest time and energy across his forty-year career of textual production. The *Chronica*'s contemporary narrative, covering 1376-1420, is a huge, vibrant and detailed account of English and international events, displaying considerable sustained effort and affording us a valuable source for the assumptions and agendas of its writer with regards to nationhood and national groups. That said, before the *Chronica* can be used for such a study we must unpick the complex history of its composition and transmission to locate the versions of the text closest to Walsingham himself.

The *Chronica Maiora* as composed by Walsingham does not survive in a single text or in simple form, and must be reassembled from different manuscripts representing different stages of its composition and later alteration. This confusion was compounded for many generations of scholars by the defective nineteenth-century Rolls Series editions of H.T. Riley and E. Maunde Thompson, which reproduced under seemingly invented names manuscripts which were in fact rather late and distant chronicle versions consisting of amalgamations of the *Chronica* and its abbreviated form the so-called Short Chronicle.[114] The work of V.H. Galbraith in the early twentieth century did much to clarify this confusion and identified the three chief manuscripts of the *Chronica* which preserved the earliest and least adulterated texts.[115] Galbraith argued that a fourteenth-century text of the *Chronica* covering 1376-1392 can be found in **British Library Royal MS 13 E ix**, a short bridging narrative covering 1392-96 can be found in **Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 7**, and a fifteenth-century text covering 1396-1420 can be found in **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 462**. In recent

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[114]   The Rolls Series editions are: *Historia Anglicana* (cited above), which reproduced the fifteenth-century composite of *Chronica Maiora* and Short Chronicle in College of Arms MS Arundel 7; *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde, Monachorum Sancti Albani, necnon Quorundam Anonymorum, Chronica et Annales, Regnantibus Henrico Tertio, Edwardo Primo, Edwardo Secundo, Ricardo Secundo, et Henrico Quarto* (ed. H.T. Riley) (London, 1866) [Rolls Series, 28.3], which reproduced CCCC MS 7 (2), named as *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, a combination of *Chronica* and anonymous later chronicle; and *Chronicon Angliae, ab anno domini 1328 usque ad annum 1388, Auctore Monacho Quodam Sancti Albani* (ed. E. Maunde Thompson) (London, 1874) [Rolls Series, 64], which reproduced BL Harley MS 3634 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 316, both partial fourteenth-century composites of *Chronica* and Short Chronicle. For the interrelation of these manuscripts see Appendix 2. For criticism of these editions see in particular: *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. x-xv, xxiii, xlvii); Galbraith, 'Historical Research in Medieval England' (p. 33 and (n. 2)); and J.C. Havens, 'A Curious Erasure in Walsingham's Short Chronicle and the Politics of Heresy', in ed. C. Given-Wilson, *Fourteenth-Century England II* (Woodbridge, 2002) (esp. p. 97). For the Rolls Series in general see D. Knowles, 'Great Historical Enterprises IV: The Rolls Series', in *TRHS* 5th Series 11 (1961) (pp. 137-59).

[115]   See his *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420*. For Galbraith's impact on Walsingham studies see: G. Stow, 'Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles', in *Speculum* 59 (1984) (p. 75); Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 833-5); and *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. v, xxxiv-xxxv) and II (pp. xxiv-xxvi).

years John Taylor, Wendy Childs and Leslie Watkiss have edited these manuscripts for the Oxford Medieval Texts series and it is these editions used here, albeit with some minor amendments to their conclusions regarding the various texts' authorship and composition process.[116] What follows is a brief summary of the manuscripts themselves, the conclusions of Taylor, Childs and Watkiss, and my own amendments to their conclusions.

British Library Royal MS 13 E ix is one of the large, display piece manuscripts produced by the St Albans scriptorium in the 1380s while Walsingham was precentor. The manuscript constitutes something of an historical miscellany relating to the abbey and includes Walsingham's attempt to resurrect the model of *Chronica Maiora* composed in the previous century by Matthew Paris, picking up from Paris' text in 1272.[117] For the period 1273-1325 this *Chronica Maiora* is a compilation of previous St Albans writers since Paris, before becoming an original composition for the period 1325-92.[118] Due to the revision of the Royal manuscript text in the 1390s the original 1325-78 narrative was excised and a more politically-neutral Short Chronicle account substituted, but the coverage of 1376-77 has been reassembled from other manuscripts.[119]

Walsingham's authorship of the text in the Royal manuscript is relatively certain from a marginal note within the manuscript and from cross-textual references between Walsingham's other works. A marginal note alongside the end of the anonymous continuation of John of Tynemouth's *Historia Aurea* in the manuscript states that 'this the vicar of Tynemouth set forth, the following Thomas Walsingham compiled', suggesting Walsingham's composition of the following narrative.[120] Cross-textual references within

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[116] *Chronica Maiora* I reproduces the Royal manuscript text and the Corpus manuscript text, while *Chronica Maiora* II reproduces the Bodley manuscript text.

[117] The manuscript includes: lists of British kings, emperors and Popes; a Latin version of John Mandeville's *Travels* (popularly believed to the a St Albans native); a partial inventory of the abbey's relics; Higden's description of the British Isles and the mores of the English people from the first book of the *Polychronicon*; an abridged version of the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tynemouth (a St Albans dependency) with continuation; and the *Chronica Maiora* covering 1273-1392 (a full list of the contents of the MS can be found in its entry in the British Library Manuscript Catalogue, available at: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=IAMS_VU2 [accessed 14/04/12]). The chronicle 1273-1392 begins at fol. 177 and covers the remainder of the MS.

[118] The text includes the work of William Rishanger (covering 1272-1306), John Trokelowe (covering 1307-23) and Henry Blaneforde (covering 1323-25) (see: *Historia Anglicana* I (pp. xiv-xviii); Gransden, *Historical Writing in England. II* (p. 124); and the British Library Manuscript Catalogue entry in the preceding footnote). A version of the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden was used to fill a gap in the St Albans Chronicles in the Royal manuscript (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. xvii)).

[119] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxviii-xxix).

[120] 'Hic dimisit vicarius de Tynem[outh], cetera inde sequencia per Thomam Walsyngham sunt compilata' (fol. 150) - this note is very faded in the MS now but is transcribed in the British Library Manuscript Catalogue entry. Galbraith suggested that Walsingham may have also been responsible for the *Historia Aurea* continuation, but the evidence remains inconclusive (see his 'The *Historia Aurea* of

Walsingham's other works, studied by Galbraith, confirm both his authorship and the name of the Royal manuscript text.[121] For example, the *Ypodigma Neustriae* refers to the articles of the 1360 Bretigny negotiations as 'described more extensively in our major chronicle' and ends its account of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt with a comment that such events require more detailed handling, dispatching the reader to 'our major chronicle' for a fuller narrative.[122] Both of these fuller versions appear in the Royal manuscript text.[123] Steven Justice has also noted the similarity between the use of 'tragic history' and 'rustic tragedy' to describe the Revolt in the Royal manuscript text and the *Ypodigma* respectively, possibly suggestive of the same authorship.[124] In the *Gesta Abbatum* too the reader is directed to 'the chronicles of Brother Thomas of Walsingham' for a more detailed account of a 1389 visitation of St Albans by Archbishop William Courtenay, an account found in the Royal manuscript text.[125] Likewise the Short Chronicle text found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 316 sends its reader to 'the greater chronicles of Brother Thomas of Walsingham' for fuller accounts of Richard II's coronation and the Peasants' Revolt, again both in reference to the substantial accounts in the Royal manuscript text.[126]

Dating the composition of the Royal manuscript text has not proven so easy as locating its authorship. Galbraith argued for a composition of the entire text either in 1394 or sometime 1396-99 based on a reference under 1383 to Hugh Calveley 'whose memory is blessed', suggesting a composition date after Calveley's death in 1394.[127] However, as George

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John, Vicar of Tynemouth, and the Sources of the St Albans Chronicle (1327-1377)', in ed. H.W.C. Davis, *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927) (pp. 379-98)).

[121] For this see *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. ix-x, xxiii-xxvii, xlvii-xlix, lxvi-lxxi) and *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxxiv-xxxv, xli-xlii). This conclusion was a direct rejection of that of the Rolls Series editors, who posited multiple writers active at St Albans at the same time (see: *Historia Anglicana* II (p. xv); *Trokelowe* (p. xxiii); and *Chronicon Angliae* (pp. xxxi-xxxiv)).

[122] 'Quorum articuli in chronicis nostris maioribus latius describuntur' (*Ypodigma Neustriae* (p. 306)) and 'Que quia tractatum expetunt specialem presenti compendio non impono remittens ad nostra maiora chronica videre cupientes tragediam rusticam' (*Ypodigma Neustriae* (p. 335)) respectively.

[123] See *Historia Anglicana* I (pp. 290-5) (actually reproducing the Royal manuscript text in this instance) and *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 410-562).

[124] 'Historiam tragicam' in the *Chronica* (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 504)) and 'tragicam rusticam' in the *Ypodigma* (*Ypodigma Neustriae* (p. 335)) - S. Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley, 1994) (pp. 202-4).

[125] 'Cetera huius visitacionis in chronicis fratris Thome de Walsingham poterunt plenius reperiri' (*Gesta Abbatum* III (p. 281)). The fuller account is at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 884-90).

[126] 'In cronicis fratris Thome de Walsingham' and 'in cronicis maioribus fratris Thome de Walsingham' (at fols. 167 and 170 respectively). The fuller accounts are at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 136-56 and 410-562) respectively.

[127] 'Dominus Hugo Calverlee, cuius memoria in benediccione est' (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 672)); Galbraith, 'Thomas Walsingham and the St Albans Chronicle' (pp. 23-5) and *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (p. xlvii).

Stow and Jill Havens have discovered, versions of the Short Chronicle covering up to 1388 were circulating outside of St Albans by 1393, meaning that at the very least some form of the narrative existed before Calveley's death.[128] The most likely solution to this problem, as put forward by Taylor, Childs and Watkiss, is that the text found in the Royal manuscript existed in either a different manuscript or in some form of 'drafts' before the 1390s but was copied up into the Royal manuscript around 1394.[129] That said, the reference to Calveley's death is the only real evidence of alterations made to the text in any such copying process and the rest of the text suggests a rolling composition no more than a few years behind the events being described, either year-on-year or in small batches of years. Judging from internal references to later events, the obvious attempt to carefully organise material regarding the Peasants' Revolt, and the sheer scale of the narrative, the initial segment of chronicle covering 1376-81 appears to have been put together as one such batch, likely only a few years after the fact.[130] It seems likely that the desire to record the dramatic events of these years may in fact have been the stimulus to Walsingham's resurrecting the St Albans chronicling tradition in the first place.[131] Based on the gradually declining scale and detail of the coverage of 1382-92, as well as periodic internal references, it seems that Walsingham continued to produce the text in either small batches or in a rolling pattern of a few years at a time.[132]

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[128] See G. Stow, 'Bodleian Library MS Bodley 316 and the Dating of Thomas Walsingham's Literary Career', in *Manuscripta* 25 (1981) (pp. 67-76) and Havens, 'A Curious Erasure' (pp. 97-103). Cf. G. Stow, 'Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles' (pp. 79-83) where Stow argued that the text of the Short Chronicle in Bodley 316 pre-dates that of the Royal manuscript.

[129] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. liii-liv).

[130] The narrative of the six years 1376-81 covers some 574 pages in facing page translation in the Taylor, Childs and Watkiss edition, well over half of the entire volume covering 1376-94. The narrative of the Revolt demonstrates a clear, if somewhat unsuccessful, attempt to marshal and order a huge volume of material into a coherent narrative (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 410-574) and below (p. 43 (n. 162))). A reference to the future 'regni commotio et vulgaris insurrectio' under 1377 is almost certainly a reference to the Revolt (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 122)), as are the references 1377-80 to the poll tax as the cause of popular unrest and the 'extraordinary evil in the land' which would follow (I (pp. 54-6, 100, 400)). The lack of reference to the eventual resolution in 1383 of the disputed election of Edmund Brounfeld (a figure whom Walsingham followed with some interest) at Bury St Edmunds in the coverage of that election in 1379 would also suggest a composition before that resolution (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 316-24); for later coverage of Brounfeld's career see I (pp. 618-20, 864, 912)). For Brounfeld see ed. Smith, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales* (pp. 23-4).

[131] For this suggestion, specifically in relation to the Peasants' Revolt, see Justice, *Writing and Rebellion* (pp. 202-4). Andrew Galloway has likewise suggested that the Good Parliament may have fulfilled this role (in his 'Latin England' (p. 75)).

[132] For the declining size and scale of the *Chronica* compare the coverage of the 3 years 1382-84 (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 574-736)) and that of the 3 years 1391-93 (I (pp. 904-44)). A reference to the birth of a suspected Antichrist in Babylon in 1385 under the year 1382 suggests a composition in 1385 or later (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 646)), and likewise a reference to John Wyclif 'of accursed memory' under 1382 suggests a composition date after Wyclif's death in 1384 (see I (p. 582)). The inaccurate noting of Edmund Brounfeld's death under 1391 could also suggest a composition around the time of Brounfeld's actual death in 1393 (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 912)). It is also possible that the vitriolic criticism of Richard II's counsellors under 1385-87 (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 736-844)) could suggest a composition date during Appellant control of the government 1387-89, alongside the

One problem with the use of the Royal manuscript text is the aforementioned editing of the text in the 1390s, involving the excision of the original 1325-78 text and its replacement with a version of the Short Chronicle. This far-reaching revision to the manuscript's text appears to have been conducted in the late 1390s in an attempt to remove criticism of John of Gaunt, either because Gaunt had increasingly donated to the abbey or because of the accession of Gaunt's son Henry as Henry IV in 1399.[133] As well as the removal of the 1325-78 text various other passages were marked with marginal notes of 'offendicula' (lit. stumbling-block or cause of offence) or simple crosses, and still others had words or sentences erased and replaced.[134] Strikingly these revisions appear to have never been completed and the manuscript 'placed on one side', suggesting that the monks believed its narrative too comprehensively hostile to Gaunt to be remedied.[135] Reconstruction of the removed narrative of 1376-78, dubbed the Scandalous Chronicle by Maunde Thompson, has been conducted by Taylor, Childs and Watkiss from three earlier manuscripts which circulated outside of St Albans itself, each preserving partial versions of the original narrative.[136] Despite no longer forming a part of the Royal manuscript text, this reconstituted Scandalous Chronicle has been used in this thesis as it better represents Walsingham's original intentions in writing this stage of the *Chronica* than the substituted Short Chronicle text.

Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 7, unlike the Royal or Bodley manuscripts, does not constitute a deliberate attempt at the production of a St Albans *Chronica Maiora* but a rather haphazard composite of fragments of historical works never intended to form a single

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disappearance of such vitriol from the coverage of 1388 (I (pp. 844-62)) which could suggest composition after Richard's resumption of authority in 1389 (for the Appellant Crisis see: McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (pp. 451-64); A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London, 1971); and N. Saul, *Richard II* (Yale, 1997) [Yale English Monarchs series] (pp. 176-204)).

[133] Gaunt appears in both the BL Cotton MS Nero D vii and CCCC MS 7 versions of the *Liber Benefactorum*, but in slightly different terms. Both the Nero version and the CCCC MS 7 version note Gaunt had donated two gold cloths to the abbey as well as wine and 100 pounds to the cell at Tynemouth, but the CCCC MS 7 version adds a reference to many other, albeit unspecified, gifts to the abbey church (see Appendix 3). Riley has estimated that the CCCC MS 7 version is in a hand dating to 1388-96 (in his *Trokelowe* (pp. xlii-xliv)), which could suggest that Gaunt had increased his gifts to St Albans between 1380 and the 1390s.

[134] For this editing process see *Chronicon Angliae* (pp. xx-xxiv) and *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. lii-lv). 'Offendicula' notes appear on fols. 239v and 255v, and for just a few examples of erasures and replacements of words see fols. 243, 243v, 246-7, 253-54v, 299 and 299v.

[135] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. lii-liii, lx).

[136] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxix-xxxi, lxviii-lxix) - Taylor, Childs & Watkiss used BL Cotton MS Otho C ii, BL Harley MS 3634 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 316. The reconstructed narrative covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 2-124). Maunde Thompson coined the name Scandalous Chronicle but based his reconstruction only on Harley 3634 and Bodley 316 (see *Chronicon Angliae* (pp. xv-xx)). These 2 MSS have a complex interrelation, themselves having originally formed a single MS which was divided and revised for political reasons for its gifting to Gaunt's brother, the Duke of Gloucester (see *Chronicon Angliae* (pp. xvi-xviii) and Havens, 'A Curious Erasure' (pp. 95-106)).

whole.[137] A note at the foot of the first folio of the manuscript describes how the various parts of the manuscript were discovered among the belongings of brother William Wintershulle after his death in 1430 and combined together.[138] This dating does not of course tell us when any part was written, or by whom, merely that they all existed in their present form in the scriptorium by 1430. The constituent parts of the manuscript are:[139]

> CCCC MS 7 (1) - a Short Chronicle covering 1377-1405
> CCCC MS 7 (2) - a combination chronicle covering 1392-1406
> CCCC MS 7 (3) - a Short Chronicle of increasing size covering 1392-1422
> A short copy of the *Liber Benefactorum*[140]
> A continuation of the *Gesta Abbatum*

CCCC MS 7 (2) is the portion of the manuscript incorporating part of the *Chronica Maiora* and further breaks down into three parts:

> (2i) - a quire detached from the Royal manuscript covering 1392-93
> (2ii) - an anonymous continuation of the Royal manuscript text covering 1393-94
> (2iii) - a fifteenth-century copy of the Bodley manuscript text covering 1394-1406

The whole of CCCC MS 7 (2) was published by Riley for the Rolls Series as the 'legitimate continuation' of the Royal manuscript text, but he failed to notice the divisions within it.[141] Taylor, Childs and Watkiss have published **CCCC MS 7 (2i)** and **CCCC MS 7 (2ii)** as a bridging narrative between the Royal and Bodley manuscript texts, although only the former will be used in this thesis.

The single quire which forms **CCCC MS 7 (2i)** can be safely attributed to Walsingham based on several factors: its scale, character and hand matches the final years of the Royal manuscript text; it provides the concluding year summary of the final year of the

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[137] The full MS has been digitised by Stanford University's Parker Library on the Web project at www.parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=7 [accessed 28/08/15].

[138] 'Hunc librum cronicalem tam gestorum regum quam abbatum, post mortem dompni Willelmi Wyntershylle in quaternis derelictum, connecti fecit dompnus Robertus Ware...' (CCCC MS 7 fol. 1r (visible in the digitised version via the Parker Library on the Web project online)). This note is cited in both *Trokelowe* (p. xxi) and *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (p. lvi). Cf. Clark, who has argued for Wintershulle's authorship of the manuscript (in his 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 844-6) and *A Monastic Renaissance* (p. 261 (n. 112))). For Wintershulle's career see: Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (pp. 843-6); *Chronica Maiora* II (p. xlv); and Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 88, 157).

[139] This division was first noted by Riley in *Trokelowe* (pp. xix-xxi), and is followed by Galbraith (*The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. lv-lx)) and Taylor, Childs & Watkiss (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxxi-xxxvii)).

[140] This short version of the *Liber Benefactorum* is formed of only a single quire (CCCC MS 7 fols. 102r-111v) and is edited in *Trokelowe* (pp. 427-64).

[141] See *Trokelowe* (pp. xx-xxi, xlii). The text of CCCC MS 7 (2), which Riley named the '*Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*', cover *Trokelowe* (pp. 155-420).

Royal manuscript text; and it bears a numbering as quire 16, which fits it onto the Royal manuscript's original quire numbering.[142] Taylor, Childs and Watkiss have concluded that this quire was 'detached' from the Royal manuscript, although it seems just as likely that it had been intended for addition to the Royal manuscript but was never added.[143] The most probable dating of this portion of the *Chronica* narrative is either shortly before Walsingham was sent to Wymondham in 1394 or during his stay there 1394-96, either of which could explain why it was never appended onto the Royal manuscript text which it is clearly intended to continue.

CCCC MS 7 (2ii) continues the Corpus (2i) text over the years 1393-94 but was most likely composed by another monk, and as such will not be used in this thesis.[144] Taylor, Childs and Watkiss have noted a 'distinct change of style' in (2ii), including greater use of participles, different preferences for Latin vocabulary and longer, more complex sentences, leading them to conclude that Walsingham had delegated his role as chronicler and possibly his assembled materials to 'another monk, a Latinist of some accomplishment'.[145] There is also a duplication of information regarding the troubles of Gaunt's daughter Catalina in Portugal in the Corpus (2ii) text under 1393 and in the Bodley manuscript text under 1394.[146] It seems rather unlikely that such a detailed tale of corrupt friars, forged letters and a villainous duke would be retold by the same writer, suggesting different authorship for the two pieces of *Chronica* narrative. In the manuscript itself there is an abrupt and very noticeable change of hand on folio 25v, where Corpus (2i) becomes Corpus (2ii), which could also suggest a change in the composition process.[147] If this portion of text was indeed composed while Walsingham was at Wymondham then it can be securely dated to 1394-96, and it seems reasonable to suggest that it was intended to be added onto the end of the Royal manuscript text with Corpus (2i) but that this was interrupted by the revisions being made on the Royal manuscript text in the later 1390s.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 462 was given only cursory attention by the Rolls Series editors, but Galbraith was able to identify it as the closest text to the original of

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[142] CCCC MS 7 (2i) covers fols. 25r-25v in the MS and is edited in *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 936-44). For the similarities between it and the Royal manuscript text see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxix, xxxix).

[143] For Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' belief that the quire was 'detached' see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxxi-xxxii, xxxix, lxix-lxx).

[144] CCCC MS 7 (2ii) covers fols. 25v-27r in the MS and is edited in *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 944-62).

[145] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xliv-xlvi).

[146] Compare *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 948-50) and II (pp. 2-4).

[147] The change of hand includes narrower letter forms, more vertical d letters and a change from the descending r letters of the Royal manuscript and CCCC MS 7 (2i) hand. There also appears to have been a change of ink to one which faded less than that used for CCCC MS 7 (2i). Galbraith noted this change of hand but did not associate it with a change of writer (*The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (p. lvii)).

Walsingham's fifteenth-century composition.[148] Although the Bodleian Summary Catalogue states that the manuscript includes a single chronicle covering 1337-1421, Taylor, Childs and Watkiss have unpicked that chronicle into much the same compilation of St Albans chronicles found in the Royal manuscript text up to 1343 then the text of a Short Chronicle covering 1327-92.[149] From 1392 the chronicle text consists of abbreviated versions of Corpus (2i) and Corpus (2ii) before beginning its own unique text from 1394.[150] The general consensus among scholars has been that the Royal, Corpus and Bodley manuscript texts formed a single *Chronica Maiora*, or, in Galbraith's words, 'a unity, a single continuous narrative'.[151] A more accurate assessment however, given the abandonment of the Royal manuscript text and the content of the Bodley manuscript, would be that the latter was in fact a new attempt at a *Chronica Maiora*, intended to replace the politically-dangerous Royal manuscript text. This does not adversely affect this thesis given its aims to unpick how Walsingham wrote about nationhood and nations across his career, but it is an important fact to remember when dealing with Walsingham's chronicles in general.

Walsingham's authorship of the Bodley manuscript text is a considerably more vexed question than that of the earlier manuscript texts. Taylor, Childs and Watkiss have argued for Walsingham's having taken up a more 'supervisory' role in the composition of the Bodley manuscript text, noting certain changes of Latin style at various points in the text and hypothesising at least four anonymous writers working under Walsingham's guidance.[152] This

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[148] Riley wrote off the MS as a 'close transcript' of the Royal manuscript text in his *Historia Anglicana* I (p. xiv), and gave it only slightly more attention in his *Trokelowe* (p. xlii). For Galbraith's identification of the Bodley manuscript's importance see *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (esp. pp. ix-xx) and *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxiv-xxvi). Cf. George Stow, who has labelled the Bodley manuscript text 'another, although later, copy of the short chronicle' (in his 'Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles' (p. 77)). Galbraith did posit the existence of a now-lost 'fuller original' text from which the Bodley manuscript text was copied (see *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. xvii-xx)), although it seems as likely that this original constituted initial drafts copied up into a single text rather than a full text.

[149] *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* II (pp. 372-3) and *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. xix-xx, xxxix-xl). See also *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. ix-x, xxvii-xxxvi, lxxiii-lxxv).

[150] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. xix-xx).

[151] Galbraith was particularly vocal on this front - see for example his description of the Bodley manuscript text as 'the continuation of that in Royal MS 13 E ix' (*The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (p. x)), 'a unity, a single, continuous narrative' (pp. xxiii-xxiv), and 'the absence of a single continuous text does not disprove the real unity' (pp. xlvi-xlvii). See also Galbraith, 'Thomas Walsingham and the St Albans Chronicle' (pp. 26-8). This view has been continued by Clark (see in particular 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (p. 846)) and Taylor, Childs & Watkiss (see in particular *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. xxxiv, xxxvi, lxv, lxix) and II (pp. xxvi, xxxix, xli, li-lii)).

[152] See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. xlii-li) - Taylor, Childs & Watkiss argue that the classical quotations of various episodes within the text, including the Agincourt narrative, are likely Walsingham compositions; they argue that certain portions of the Bodley manuscript text contain a 'more elaborate, but less engaging, style of Latin'; other portions of the text are supposedly distinguished for their longer sentences, increased use of participles, more or less vivid imagery, and differing levels of rhetoric.

argument, while entirely possible, is not entirely satisfying - even within the securely-attributable Royal manuscript text Walsingham was capable of varying his style considerably between bluntness and elaborate language, between using and not using rhetorical devices, and varying his vocabulary considerably. By contrast, Galbraith took Walsingham's authorship of the Bodley manuscript text as read due to several factors, including the repetition of themes and interests such as the Great Schism and Lollardy from the earlier Royal manuscript text.[153] That said, it must be noted that these themes would likely have interested any monk of St Albans. More compelling is the fact that the Bodley manuscript text refers to a visiting Danish bishop in 1405 engaging the writer of the chronicle in conversation regarding St Alban, and Walsingham himself is the most likely candidate for this given his previously having composed a Life of Saints Alban and Amphibalus.[154] Similarly there is no other known, named chronicler active at St Albans during Walsingham's lifetime, and both Gairdner and Kingsford have noted striking similarities of Latin style between the Royal and Bodley manuscript texts, particularly in the description of battles.[155] Given these it seems the wiser course to assume, guardedly, Walsingham's authorship or close control of most of the Bodley manuscript text.

There is a significant disparity between the Bodley manuscript text coverage of the years 1394-96 and 1397-99 in terms of the narrative's size, scale, detail and focus, leading to the possibility that the former was in fact composed separately from the remainder of the Bodley manuscript text. That this portion of the *Chronica* may have been composed by Walsingham c.1396 with the aim of completing the Royal-Corpus manuscript text is suggested by its size and general focus, which accords closely to the final years of the Royal-Corpus manuscript text, and the fact that its coverage of Richard II is broadly favourable, both of which contrast hugely to the huge, domestically-focused and anti-Ricardian narrative of 1397-99.[156] The 1394-96 narrative of the Bodley manuscript text ends with the death of Abbot Thomas de la Mare, the patron of scholars with whom Walsingham had worked for many years, on 21st September 1396.[157] That there are no events included between this and the beginning of 1397 suggests a gap in composition, and George Stow has noted that Walsingham originally aimed to end his *Gesta Abbatum* continuation at the death of Abbot

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[153] *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. lxvi-lxvii).

[154] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 458) - 'Qui mecum diu contulit de Sancto Albano'. For discussion see *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (p. lxx) and *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. xlii-xliii). For Walsingham's life of Saints Alban and Amphibalus see above (pp. 26-7 and n. 85).

[155] See: J. Gairdner, *England* (London, 1879) [Early Chroniclers of Europe series] (pp. 268-9); Kingsford, *English Historical Literature* (pp. 13-5); and *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. lxvi-lxxi).

[156] Compare *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 2-52) and II (pp. 52-282).

[157] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 52).

Thomas, making it likely that he would seek to bring his *Chronica Maiora* down to the death of his friend before ending it.[158] Thus it is possible to view the 1394-96 narrative in the Bodley manuscript text as an attempted continuation and ending to the Royal-Corpus manuscript text, which was then repurposed to fill what would otherwise have been a 1394-96 gap left in the new fifteenth-century *Chronica* by the existing accounts.

By contrast the account of 1397-99 reads rather more like a carefully-constructed and pre-planned narrative of dramatic events akin to the 1376-81 narrative in the Royal manuscript text. The entire narrative of these years is, unlike that of the preceding years, given over to the abuse and criticism of Richard II based on the Lancastrian propaganda document regarding Richard II's deposition known as the *Record and Process*, which is itself incorporated into the chronicle under 1399.[159] Given the extent to which this portion of the chronicle is geared toward its crescendo in the copied *Record and Process* we can conclusively date its composition to after the deposition of Richard II and the circulation of the said document in 1399. Likewise a reference under 1397 to Archbishop Walden's removal from Canterbury, which occurred in October 1399, requires a composition date after late 1399.[160] There is a possibility that this portion of the Bodley manuscript text was not in fact the work of Walsingham himself but another monk, although it is hard to be certain. This possibility could be supported by the differences in style across sections of the text noted by Clark and Taylor, Childs and Watkiss, as well as the absence of Walsingham's usual year summaries and notices of where the king spent Christmas from this portion of the narrative.[161] Also, despite his evident effort with the account of the Peasants' Revolt in the Royal manuscript text, Walsingham's talents appear to have lain in year-by-year chronicling rather than pre-planned history-writing. While the Peasants' Revolt narrative is disordered and not especially coherent, the 1397-99 narrative is a consummate piece of character assassination

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[158] The exact phrase in the *Gesta Abbatum* is 'Exhinc, usque ad obitum Thomae Abbatis, ex studio Fratris Thomae de Walsigham, Praecentoris' (in *Gesta Abbatum* II (pp. xix, 109)). For discussion see Stow, 'Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles' (pp. 71-2 (n. 11)).

[159] See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 52-282), of which (pp. 158-216) is the *Record and Process* itself copied into the chronicle. For the original of the *Record and Process* see *Rot. Parl.* iii.416-24. For discussion of the document see: C. Given-Wilson, 'Henry IV: Parliament of October 1399: Introduction', in *PROME* (eds. C. Given-Wilson et al) and *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II* (ed. & trans. C. Given-Wilson) (Manchester, 1993) (pp. 3-6, 10-1, 168-9). Various scholars have noted the *Chronica*'s 'wholesale borrowing' from the *Record and Process*, for example: Stow, 'Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles' (pp. 88-99); A. Gransden, 'Propaganda in English Medieval Historiography', in *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975) (pp. 363, 366-8, 375-7); and idem, *Historical Writing in England. II* (pp. 139-42).

[160] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. liii, 86).

[161] Taylor, Childs & Watkiss identified the 1394-96 narrative as one of the recensions in which the text was composed, but did not see it as a separate composition from the 1397-99 narrative (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. xliii-li, liii)). For the lack of year summary and royal Christmas location for 1397-99, and its resumption in 1400, see *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. li-liv) and *Chronica Maiora* II (p. lvii).

extrapolated from a single propaganda document.[162] It is somewhat hard to believe that the writer of one was the writer of the other. While the evidence for either side is not conclusive, it would perhaps have made sense for the community of St Albans to allocate the task of composing this politically-sensitive narrative to a monk not responsible for the previous *Chronica* text which needed to be edited so comprehensively to remove criticism of the new king's father.

Once the narrative progresses beyond 1399 it returns to the form and scale seen in the Royal manuscript text, possibly suggesting a greater role for Walsingham in its composition. Aside from the aforementioned stylistic similarities noted by Gairdner, Kingsford and Galbraith, the Bodley manuscript text includes quotations from and allusions to several of Walsingham's most favoured classical writers, in particular Virgil, Lucan and Ovid.[163] Two specific usages in the Bodley manuscript text also suggest the same author as the Royal manuscript text. First, the Bodley manuscript text refers to Henry Percy's rebellion and Scottish raiding using the rare and somewhat classicising term *bacchor*, meaning wild rampaging, which had previously appeared in the Royal manuscript text in relation to the Scots and the rebels of 1381.[164] Second, the Bodley manuscript text labels some of Henry IV's advisors as knights 'more of Diana than of Mars, of Laverna more than Pallas', a phrasing which echoes Walsingham's reference to Richard II's associates as 'more knights of Venus than of Bellona' in the Royal manuscript text.[165] In terms of dating too the Bodley manuscript

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[162] The Peasants' Revolt narrative is huge in size and demonstrates a clear attempt at pre-planning, but ends up somewhat confused and crosses its own chronology several times - the narrative runs: the main/London Revolt narrative 30th May-15th June (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 410-42)); the St Albans Revolt narrative 14th June-18th June (pp. 442-78); the rest of the country Revolt narrative 15th June-unspecified date (pp. 478-94); an interjection on the Revolt's causes (pp. 496-504); the consequences of the Revolt in London, Essex and Kent unspecified date-2nd July (pp. 504-22); the consequences at St Albans 28th June-20th July (pp. 522-62). The initial notices under 1381, dispensed with before the Revolt narrative, also include discussion of the Earl of Cambridge's arrival in Portugal on 19th July (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 408)), and John of Gaunt's activities during the Revolt and afterward are described at the end of the Revolt narrative (I (pp. 562-74)). By contrast the narrative of the years 1397-99 is clear, ordered and chronological throughout.

[163] For the stylistic similarities see above (p. 41 (n. 155)). For Walsingham's quotation from older authorities, similar across both the Royal and Bodley manuscript texts, see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 994-6) and II (pp. 848-9). For example, line 281 from book 1 of Lucan's *De Bellum Civile* is quoted twice in the Royal manuscript text and once in the Bodley manuscript text (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 320, 672) and II (p. 362)), as is Ovid's *Amores* i.10.48 (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 468, 658) and II (p. 116)). No precise quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* is repeated across the two texts, but each text includes multiple references to Virgil's text. For the chronicler's attachment to and knowledge of classical writers see above (pp. 29-31).

[164] Versions of *bacchor* are used in relation to the Scots and rebels in the Royal manuscript text (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 428, 504, 750, 856)) and in the Bodley manuscript text under 1402 to describe Scottish actions and 1403 in relation to Percy's soldiers (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 328, 364)). For *bacchor* see Lewis & Short (at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=bacchor&la=la#lexicon [accessed 30/10/14]).

[165] For the 'more knights of Venus than of Bellona' ('milites plures erant Veneris quam Bellone') remark see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 814) and W.M. Ormrod, 'Knights of Venus', in *Medium Aevum* 73

text appears, like that of the Royal manuscript, to have been composed either year-on-year or in short batches of years, with most of the narrative demonstrating no foreknowledge beyond a few years.[166] As with the Royal manuscript the text gradually declined in size and scope over the course of the first two decades of the fifteenth century, although there does appear to have been something of a revival of interest around the mid-1410s regarding Henry V's campaigns in France.[167]

As discussed above, the Bodley manuscript text devolves into a series of short and disordered entries for the years 1419-20, what Taylor, Childs and Watkiss have called Walsingham's 'swansong'.[168] This seems to suggest that this text represents the material Walsingham had assembled before his death c.1421-22 which was copied into his chronicle by another monk seeking to reach some semblance of conclusion to the text. Thus the Bodley manuscript's *Chronica Maiora* was never completed in any true sense but was most likely abandoned after the death of its chief architect. A later abbreviation and continuation, which reordered and expanded the 1419-20 entries of the Bodley manuscript text, was produced by another anonymous monk, possibly with a view to continuing Walsingham's project. This continuation is now CCCC MS 7 (3), and was used by Taylor, Childs and Watkiss to bring their edited text up to the year 1422.[169] However, given that it is extremely unlikely that this text was the work of Walsingham, it has not been used in this thesis.

(2004) (pp. 290-305). For the 'more of Diana than of Mars, of Laverna than of Pallas' ('magis Dione quam Martis, Lauerne quam Palladis') remark see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 382).

[166] An entry under 1400 demonstrates foreknowledge of Queen Isabella's return to France in November 1401 (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 300)). The mis-dating of the 1409 Council of Pisa to 1410 suggests composition of the 1409 narrative after 1410, possibly at some distance in time (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 578-80)). A reference to the Battle of Agincourt at the end of the 1412 narrative suggests a composition date after the battle in 1415 (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 618)). Under 1414 the text also conflates the 1414 and 1415 embassies to France and includes events of 1415 from the Council of Constance, suggesting a composition after 1415, possibly at some distance in time (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 648, 650-2)). By contrast, Sir John Oldcastle's escape from prison in 1413 is related without the name of his accomplice, but that accomplice is named as William Fisher under 1415, suggesting that the 1413 narrative was composed before Fisher's arrest and trial in 1416 and the 1415 narrative afterwards (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 634, 664)). Based on a change of hand in the manuscript Taylor, Childs & Watkiss have also argued for the narrative of 1403 as the end of one of these recensions (see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. liii)).

[167] The coverage of the years 1400-08 (with the exceptions of 1401 and 1405) remained generally quite substantial in size (covering *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 282-564)), but for the years 1409-13 the chronicle is more sparse, falling below 20 pages of facing page text per year in the modern edition (covering (pp. 564-636)). Something of a revival occurs for the coverage of the years 1414-17 (with the exception of 1416), with page ranges again exceeding 20 pages per year (covering *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 636-730)).

[168] See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. xxviii, xxxix, xli-xlii, 782-8) and above (p. 31).

[169] See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. xl-xlii). The text of CCCC MS 7 (3) covers *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 742-78).

In summary therefore, Thomas Walsingham began a revival of the St Albans *Chronica Maiora* tradition around the early or mid-1380s, likely in response to the dramatic events of the period 1376-81 and as a part of a wider revival of scholarship and manuscript production at the abbey (the text now in the Royal manuscript and CCCC MS 7 (2i)). This text was continued until Walsingham was dispatched to Wymondham in 1394, whereupon an anonymous monk and Latinist continued the work (in what is now CCCC MS 7 (2ii)). Either upon his return to St Albans in 1396 or during his time at Wymondham Walsingham continued his text, bringing it to a close with the death of Abbot de la Mare in 1396 (the text covering 1394-96 now in the Bodley manuscript). At some point after the deposition of Richard II 1399, and after the aborted editing of the Royal manuscript text, a new *Chronica Maiora* was begun and continued through to Walsingham's death c.1421-22 (the remainder of the Bodley manuscript text).

This thesis uses Taylor, Childs and Watkiss' edition of Walsingham's *Chronica Maiora* 1376-1422 with some minor amendments (see Tables 1 & 2, and Appendix 1). First, the text of the Corpus (2ii) manuscript is not used as it most likely represents the work of the anonymous Latinist rather than Walsingham. Second, the Bodley manuscript text covering 1394-96 is treated as an intended conclusion to the fourteenth-century Royal manuscript text rather than the beginning of the fifteenth-century Bodley manuscript text. Third, the anti-Ricardian narrative covering 1397-99 based on the *Record and Process* is treated with caution as it may not be the work of Walsingham himself. And fourth, the short entries concluding the Bodley manuscript text (published by Taylor, Childs and Watkiss as an appendix) are used instead of the fuller but later conclusion of the Corpus (3) manuscript text as these are more likely to represent Walsingham's original intentions for the text.

Table 1 - The Fourteenth-Century *Chronica Maiora*

1376-77	The 'Scandalous Chronicle'	- Reassembled from BL Cotton MS Otho C. ii, BL MS Harley 3634 and Bodl. MS Bodley 316 - *Chronica Maiora* I, pp. 2-124
1377-81	The early years of the Royal manuscript text	- From BL Royal MS 13 E. ix - *Chronica Maiora* I, pp. 124-574
1382-92	The bulk of the Royal manuscript text	- From BL Royal MS 13 E. ix - *Chronica Maiora* I, pp. 574-936
1392-93	The 'detached' quire from the Royal manuscript	- CCCC MS 7 (2i) - *Chronica Maiora* I, pp. 936-944
1393-94	The Anonymous Latinist's continuation	- CCCC MS 7 (2ii) - *Chronica Maiora* I, pp. 944-962
1394-96	The conclusion to the Royal manuscript text	- From Bodl. MS Bodley 462 - *Chronica Maiora* II, pp. 2-52

Table 2 - The Fifteenth-Century *Chronica Maiora*

1397-99	The anti-Ricardian narrative	- From Bodl. MS Bodley 462 - *Chronica Maiora* II, pp. 52-282
1400-18	The bulk of the Bodley manuscript text	- From Bodl. MS Bodley 462 - *Chronica Maiora* II, pp. 282-738
1419-20	The jumbled entries concluding the Bodley manuscript text	- From Bodl. MS Bodley 462 - *Chronica Maiora* II, pp. 738-742 & 782-788
1419-22	The anonymous continuation	- From CCCC MS 7 (3) - *Chronica Maiora* II, pp. 742-778

[The shaded portions represent those portions of the narrative which can be ascribed to other, anonymous writers rather than Walsingham himself and are thus used only with caution in this thesis. See also Appendix 1.]

d)   Aims & Methodology

Methodologically speaking this thesis sits somewhat uncomfortably between the spheres of historical and literary study, seeking as it does to combine the detailed analysis of the specifics of Walsingham's text with the study of Walsingham's place within his wider cultural context and environment. In seeking to marry these two aims I have followed a method of what might be termed historical 'deep reading' of the *Chronica Maiora*, directing sustained and detailed attention to the specific language and terminology, themes and insinuations of the text before then attempting to locate and compare similar features within the wider context of contemporary clerical writings. The first element of such an approach is similar to that known in literary studies as 'close reading', a methodology which developed in the second half of the twentieth century based on the deliberate focussed or 'intensified' reading of the specifics of a text without giving extensive attention to the text's context.[170] Such an approach is of value for the depth of understanding of Walsingham's text which it provides, but where such 'deep' reading diverges from traditional literary 'close' reading is in its second stage. In this second stage the techniques, themes and insinuations located within Walsingham's text are placed within their wider context, both in terms of unpicking intellectual currents and traditions which had influenced Walsingham's writing and of identifying other contemporaries who utilised similar elements within their own writings. This approach has allowed me to, for example, study the precise terminological and lexical choices Walsingham made in writing the *Chronica* before ranging more widely to discover what contemporary usages influenced those choices. The benefit of this methodology is to combine the depth of textual knowledge and analysis of a close reading with the historical and cultural context prioritised by historians but often missing from classic close readings, a combining of both literary and historical aims.

When considering the wider context of the techniques, terminologies and imaginings which Walsingham wrote into his text the emphasis here has been primarily on English, Latinate clerical culture. On several fronts it has been possible to demonstrate that Walsingham's themes and usages either enjoyed wider circulation among English churchmen of the era or were directly influenced by elements within the Latin-language textual traditions read by those churchmen, including histories and chronicles. The reason for prioritising such a

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[170]   For 'close reading' as a methodology within literary studies see for example: A. Dubois, 'Introduction', in eds. F. Lentricchia & A. Dubois, *Close Reading: The Reader* (London, 2003) (pp. 1-39); J. Gallop, 'The Historicization of Literary Studies and the Fate of Close Reading', in *Profession* (2007) (pp. 181-6); and D.F. Bell, P. Harris & E. Méchoulan, 'Close Reading: A Preface', in *SubStance* 38 (2009) (pp. 3-7) [Special Issue: Close Reading]. An interesting demonstration of close reading's ability to draw out a writer's intentions and techniques within a text is C.J. Nolan Jr., 'Hemingway's "Out of Season": The Importance of Close Reading', in *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 53 (1999) (pp. 45-58).

sub-set of contemporary English culture at the expense of, for example, aristocratic cultures of chivalry or English vernacular poetry of complaint is that it was this clerical and primarily Latinate milieu in which Walsingham spent much of his life. At the abbey of St Albans, at Oxford University, and even in the more provincial environs of Wymondham, Walsingham dwelled within a circle of educated and Latinate churchmen. Concentrating on this particular milieu does not however mean that this thesis has been overly limited in terms of comparative source materials, and productive links and comparisons have been discovered between the *Chronica* and contemporary Latin-language chronicles, histories, sermon collections and polemical poetry. A related body of source material which has also been used here is that of the multilingual documentation produced by the English crown, in particular the Latin-language royal writs, diplomatic documents and the rolls of Parliament which circulated outside of government circles and thus came into the hands of men such as Walsingham. This contact with such documents, particularly in the case of an abbey's semi-official in-house chronicler, and the crown's deliberate propagandist efforts can be shown to have resulted in some shared national imagery and terminological usages between the *Chronica* and such documents. On occasion too sources from the contemporary vernacular tradition, particularly popular nationalistic verses, have been used as comparative material in this thesis where their themes and imagery possessed particularly strong similarities or differences to those within the *Chronica*. Where such imagery was similar this could suggest that Walsingham was partaking of a larger 'English' outlook or conception of the national world, and where there were differences this could suggest faultlines of a sort between Walsingham's clerical outlook and a more vernacular or mainstream conception of Englishness.

This thesis originates in a rather simple premise: to investigate how Walsingham, along with his contemporaries, thought and wrote about nationhood and national identity, particularly with regard to England and France. This simplicity is somewhat deceptive however as there are numerous complex issues to be found within it. As such, this thesis breaks this large area into several key questions for investigation. First, how did Walsingham define and delineate nationhood as a concept and the specific nations of his day? Second, how did Walsingham characterise, stereotype and caricature the national groups of his day, including his own, and what does this reveal regarding his larger worldview? And third, how did Walsingham respond to the presence of foreigners living and serving among the English, a presence which implicitly complicates or contradicts a neat nation-based vision of the world? Each section of this thesis seeks to answer one of these questions with regard to the *Chronica Maiora*, and each chapter within them investigates one specific aspect of that question.

Section one addresses the first question, unpicking how Walsingham, to use Benedict Anderson's phrase, 'imagined' national community. Chapter 1 seeks to assess how in the *Chronica* Walsingham prioritised and deployed four chief definitions of national community

in the Middle Ages: political unity and autonomy, attachment to a particular territory, possession of a distinct vernacular language, and being an 'ethnic' community or people. In this Walsingham can be shown to have prioritised political forms of national community over others, according 'national' treatment in the chronicle (a national name, an identity distinct from other nations) chiefly to entities or communities which possessed their own political autonomy or possessed political significance to English observers. Contrary to much modern theorising, notions of attachment to a particular homeland or *patria* and of attachment to a distinct vernacular language can be shown to have carried little weight within the chronicler's worldview. 'Ethnic' forms of national community did coexist with political forms within the *Chronica*, but were usually reserved for nations Walsingham considered to be lesser or more primitive than the English. While chapter 1 approaches Walsingham's definitions of nationhood in general, chapter 2 approaches a more specific and unique aspect of the *Chronica*, namely the dual labelling of the French as both aristocratic and fearsome *Franci*, and lower-ranking and inferior *Gallici*. This dual labelling, almost but not entirely unique to the French in the chronicle, provides a first hint of the ambiguity and duality within Walsingham's depiction of the French, and reflects the otherwise hidden influence of the Geoffrey of Monmouth tradition on Walsingham's construction of nationhood.

Section two leaves questions of nation definition to concentrate on the ways in which Walsingham chose to characterise and stereotype the various national groups that appeared within the *Chronica*. This discussion is guided somewhat by modern theorising of both the stereotyping process and of the creation of 'Others' by past societies, seeking to use Walsingham's ethnic-national stereotypes to unpick deeper unconscious assumptions he made regarding his world and the relative place of nations within it. Chapter 3 discusses the stereotyping of the Irish as barbarous, along similar lines to prior English medieval traditions, the Flemings as treacherous, in line with some seemingly popular sentiments in contemporary England, and the Scots as savage, following and likely demonstrating the absorption of contemporary governmental propaganda. This chapter thus investigates how writers such as Walsingham 'Othered' other national groups, and what factors and traditions influenced that process. Chapter 4 follows a similar approach with regard to the French within the *Chronica*, but deals with a much more complex and ambiguous subject. Both a positive generalising stereotype of Anglo-French martial 'brotherhood' when abroad and a negative generalising stereotype of the French as innately given to pride (*superbia*) and oppression coexist within the chronicle. While the latter is without doubt the stronger characterisation of the French, the coexistence of the two suggests a degree of ambiguity and complexity within Walsingham's perception of the French as a nation. Similarly the characterising of the French as prideful and tyrannical people can be shown to draw upon long-standing Christian traditions of the fall of such peoples, an association which glorified the English as the victors over the French but also implied French power.

Chapter 5 changes tack somewhat, considering Walsingham's stereotyping and characterisation of the English themselves. While Walsingham's generalised characterisations of the English as a people are less common and consistent than those of other national groups, he does display some belief that the English possessed an inherent military prowess and that England was a 'mistress of nations', superior to other nations. Both of these were of course relatively straightforward (self-)glorification of the English. Interestingly too Walsingham also appears to have sought to patriotically defend his nation against claims that the English were innately treacherous and disloyalty, a defensive but no less (self-)glorifying English trait. This chapter also takes up an important but under-studied part of late medieval English self-fashioning that is found within the *Chronica*, namely the use of ancient Rome as both idealised parallel (via Walsingham's use of quotation from and allusion to classical texts) and as an explicit exemplar of national-moral decline aimed at reforming or warning the English. Thus Walsingham's classicising scholarly interests were not tangential but integral to his approach to English nationhood. Likewise Rome also appears in these moulds in several texts of Walsingham's period, most of them written by churchmen, and this thesis thus hopes to urge further consideration of this important aspect to clerical English self-fashioning.

Section three consists of a single chapter, chapter 6, which deals with those individuals depicted in the *Chronica* whose presence would seem to run counter to the neat nationally-divided worldview Walsingham normally presented, namely immigrants or 'aliens' dwelling in England. Here, somewhat unexpectedly, Walsingham is seen not as uniformly hostile to such aliens in England or in English service but as both indifferent and sympathetic to them. Taking as case studies the depiction of foreign-born soldiers and merchants this chapter demonstrates that such individuals entered the *Chronica* not as villains or as representations of ethnic-national stereotypes but as genericised 'aliens' who were inherently less trustworthy and able than the English. These individuals thus figure in the chronicle more as narrative devices designed to shame the English than as subjects of interest in their own right. A third case study, of alien courtiers, reveals a somewhat different picture of the characterisation of aliens as villainous and grasping. This more negative colouring was most likely inherited from Walsingham's predecessor Matthew Paris and may reflect concerns regarding foreign influence over the monarch. In this too however, the individuals are depicted by the chronicler not as representatives of those stereotypes attached to their specific nationality but as holders of a generic 'alien'-ness which rendered them inferior to the English.

Chapter 1
Defining Nation in the *Chronica Maiora*

'The meaning of nationality in the Middle Ages turns largely upon our definition of the terms we use' - V.H. Galbraith.[1]

As discussed above, while many medievalists have agreed that forms of nationhood and national identity existed in the Middle Ages, they have only rarely agreed on how exactly these forms were defined or 'imagined' by contemporaries. A case in point perhaps is the definition of 'nation' given by the English delegate at the Council of Constance (1414-18), Thomas Polton.[2] In a document he entered into the Council record on 31st March 1417, Polton put forward the argument that England possessed:

> Everything necessary to being a nation […] whether nation be understood
> as a people distinct from another by blood relationship and association, or
> by diversity of languages, which is the chief and surest proof of being a
> nation and its very essence, either by divine or human law, as will be
> explained; or whether nation be understood to connote equal provincial
> status with the French nation, as it deserves to be.[3]

This passage has often been cited by modern scholars as a definitive late medieval statement of what constituted a 'nation', often in particular one which stressed the importance of the possession of a distinct vernacular language, but the reality is rather more complex.[4] In fact,

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[1] Galbraith, 'Nationality and Language' (p. 127).

[2] For the Council itself see P.H. Stump, 'The Council of Constance (1414-18) and the End of the Schism', in eds. J. Rollo-Koster & T.M. Izbicki, *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)* (Leiden, 2009) (pp. 395-442). For Polton specifically see M. Harvey, 'Polton, Thomas (d.1433)', in *ODNB*. For Walsingham's coverage of the Council see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 648-56, 700-10); the *Chronica* refers to a 'Master Thomas Polton, the dean of York' as a member of the English delegation (II (p. 706)), but this is not enough to infer any personal connection or acquaintance.

[3] The full text of Polton's document is in *Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium De Universali Ecclesiae Reformatione, Unione, Et Fide* (ed. H. von der Hardt) (Frankfurt, 1699) V (pp. 76-101; quote at p. 92) - 'Omnia enim necessaria ad esse nationis […] sive sumatur natio et gens secundum cognationem et collectionem ab alia distincta, sive secundum diversitatem linguarum, quae maximam et verissimam probant nationem et ipsius essentiam, jure divino pariter et humano, ut infra dicetur; sive etiam sumatur natio pro provincia aequali etiam nationi Gallianae, sicut sumi deberet'. The exact translation of this passage has been debated by some scholars; here I have largely followed Crowder and Swanson (see *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (ed. & trans. C.M.D. Crowder) (London, 1977) (p. 120) and '*Gens secundum cognationem*' (p. 60-1)).

[4] For the importance attached to this document see for example: L.R. Loomis, 'Nationality at the Council of Constance: An Anglo-French Dispute', in *American Historical Review* 44 (1939) (pp. 508-27); *Unity, Heresy and Reform* (pp. 24-8); J.-P. Genet, 'English Nationalism: Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance', in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 28 (1984) (pp. 60-78); and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 81-8). Derek Pearsall and Ardis Butterfield in particular have argued for the

rather than being a statement of the definition of secular 'nation'-hood, Polton's argument was explicitly and specifically part of a heated debate at the Council regarding whether the English should be counted as their own individual conciliar voting 'nation', a proposition under fire from the French delegation.[5] Rather than being a definition of a secular *natio particularis*, Polton was providing a definition of a larger, ecclesiastical *natio principalis*.[6] As Robert Swanson has argued recently, this ultra-specific context and meaning is made clear by an important phrase usually missing from quotations of the above passage (in the ellipsis above): 'with an authentic voice as fourth or fifth part of the papal obedience, just like the French nation'.[7]

This passage is not however without usefulness here, as it does demonstrate two key points regarding late medieval English definitions of 'nation'-hood. First, it demonstrates the variability and contingency of such definitions. This passage does not provide one single definition of nation but lists various forms which a nation, of whatever kind, might take and repeatedly uses the Latin *sive* or 'or' in that list. Second, by seeking to establish England as a *natio principalis*, Polton's text does inadvertently reveal some of how a *natio particularis* might be defined. For example, there is no political element to Polton's passage and elsewhere in the text he criticised the naming of conciliar nations after secular kingdoms, suggesting that such kingdoms could be *nationes particulares*.[8] Ecclesiastical geography appears to have been important to Polton's definition of conciliar nation but not the need for a recognisable geographical territory, again suggesting that such was more appropriate for a *natio*

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importance of language in this passage (in their 'Chaucer and Englishness', in ed. K. Lynch, *Chaucer's Cultural Geography* (London, 2002) (pp. 291-2) and *The Familiar Enemy* (134-5) respectively).

[5] For a narrative of this debate see Loomis, 'Nationality at the Council of Constance' (pp. 510-23) - the late arrival of Iberian delegates to the Council in 1416 had sparked the problem as their arrival led to the creation of a fifth voting *natio* rather than the traditional four; the French delegation argued that the English were not truly a *natio* in their own right but should be subsumed under the German *natio*; violent clashes broke out between the two delegations and they spent Christmas 1416 separated; on 3rd March 1417 Jean de Campan of the French delegation attempted to read a statement of the French position to the Council but was shouted down; and a few weeks later Polton submitted his document to the Council record-keepers in response.

[6] See especially Swanson, '*Gens secundum cognationem*' (pp. 57-88). For further discussion of *nationes particulares* and *nationes principales* see Genet, 'Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance' (p. 65) and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 85-6).

[7] Swanson, '*Gens secundum cognationem*' (p. 62-3) - 'auctorisabilis quartam aut quintam partem obedientae Papalis, sicut natio Galliana'.

[8] See the passage above and *Unity, Heresy and Reform* (p. 122). See also Polton's references to: the German *natio*'s including 'Germany, Hungary, and several other kingdoms' (*Unity, Heresy and Reform* (p. 114)); 'several kingdoms have been part of the English nation', including the 8 of his own day (p. 116); and 'the prominence of rank, honour, and size of its kingdoms and lordships' in relation to the English *natio* (p. 125).

particularis.[9] 'A people distinct from another by blood relationship and association' is somewhat different, but the extent to which Polton sought to merge the 'British' with the 'English' in his text would suggest that he considered the former, inclusive of the Scots, Welsh and Irish, to be more apt for a *natio principalis* and the latter merely a *natio particularis*.[10] Polton's reference to 'diversity of languages', and his proud claim that the 'English' *natio* consisted of speakers of no less than five mutually-incomprehensible languages, also securely locates the possession of a single language as a marker of a *natio particularis*.[11]

This chapter will thus seek to assess how Walsingham prioritised each of these four forms of national definition or imagining in the *Chronica Maiora*, aiming to unpick the unconscious assumptions he brought to the chronicle. As mentioned above and in response to the variability within Polton's text, this chapter does not seek to locate one predetermined definition of nationhood in Walsingham's work or to test Walsingham's definitions against an *a priori* 'ideal type', but to assess the relative prioritising of all four defining features. As will be seen, political autonomy and importance were the chief defining features which gained a community 'national' treatment (i.e. a national label or name, references to individuals' nationality, ethnic-national stereotypes) in the *Chronica*. Contrary to much modern theorising however, attachment to a specific territory or *patria* and the possession of distinct vernacular or national language appear to have had little significance to Walsingham, and he even displayed considerable distaste for the English vernacular thanks to its contemporary associations with heresy and sedition. Lastly, 'ethnic' forms of community do appear to have had some significance to Walsingham, albeit only within specific contexts including 'primitive' nations and supposedly timeless or innate ethnic-national traits.

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[9] In asserting England as *natio principalis* Polton exaggerated the size of the English nation as including 52,000 parishes (*Unity, Heresy and Reform* (pp. 116, 119)), and in the passage above cited status as *provincia* as proof of such status. Nowhere in his text however was *patria*, *terra* or an equivalent term used in reference to being a *natio principalis*.

[10] For Polton's equation of 'Britain' with 'England' see for example *Unity, Heresy and Reform* (pp. 111, 115-7, 120-2, 125-6). Andrea Ruddick has written recently on this aspect of Polton's arguments, particularly their being embedded in constructions of the 'Plantagenet Empire' (in her 'The English "Nation" and the Plantagenet "Empire" at the Council of Constance', in eds. P. Crooks, D. Green & W.M. Ormrod, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1259-1453* (Donington, 2016) (forthcoming)).

[11] This phrasing, 'sive secundum diversitatem linguarum', is often translated as 'difference of language' but as Swanson has pointed out 'diversity of languages' is a better rendering (see Swanson, '*Gens secundum cognationem*' (pp. 60-1, 65)). For Polton's reference to the 5 languages of the 'English' *natio* see *Unity, Heresy and Reform* (p. 121).

a) <u>The Political Nation</u>

The idea of national communities being defined chiefly as political units with their own political autonomy has been significant in modernist approaches to the issue of nationhood, but has been less so in perennialist ones. This is largely due to the different forms of political state found in the modern and medieval periods. Modernist John Breuilly for example has argued that a requirement for a true 'nation' is a mass-participant political system such as modern democracy, and that medieval polities thus cannot be counted as true nations given their dominance by ecclesiastical and aristocratic elites.[12] There is however a rich array of medieval writings which accord at least some importance to political community and autonomy in the definition of a national community. For example, Isidore of Seville, the famed seventh-century encyclopaedist, allocated a rule or *regnum* to each *natio*, and stressed the connection between a *natio* and its king or *rex*.[13] The 1320 Declaration of Arbroath, an eloquent defence of Scottish political independence against English claims of overlordship, described Scotland as an independent nation which, although a *natio* in the past, was now a *regnum* in the present.[14] Susan Reynolds has argued that examples such as these demonstrate that, for medieval thinkers, the *regnum* was 'The highest, most honourable, and most perfect of all secular communities', and that over the course of the central Middle Ages ethnically-conceived communities had grown into or come to coincide with politically-conceived or 'regnal' ones.[15]

Walsingham, in the *Chronica Maiora* at least, appears to have shared similar views to these writers and considered the *regnum* to be the truest form of nationhood. While the references to 'England' and to 'the English' in the chronicle are never precisely defined, a detailed reading of the text suggests that these referred to the *kingdom* of England and the

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[12] Breuilly, 'Political Uses of the Nation' (esp. pp. 67, 69-84). This criteria is found in Anthony Smith's modernist 'ideal type', but not in his pre-modern 'ideal type' (in his 'Were there Nations in Antiquity?' (pp. 34-5, 39)). See also Smith's definition of 'nation' in his *The Nation in History* (p. 3). Both Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner required a mass-participatory culture as a precondition for true nationhood (see above (pp. 13-6)). Liah Greenfeld has attached similar importance to an early modern shift in the meaning of 'the people' to designate the entire population of a state rather than a class-based designation (in her *Five Roads to Modernity* (esp. pp. 6-14)).

[13] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (eds. & trans. S.A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach & O. Berghof) (Cambridge, 2006, repr. 2011) (IX.iii.2, IX.iii.14).

[14] Declaration of Arbroath (ed. J. Ferguson & trans. A. Borthwick) (National Archives of Scotland, 2005) (available at: http://www.nas.gov.uk/downloads/declarationArbroath.pdf [accessed 17/02/14] - the text discusses the origins of the Scots among the ancient *naciones* of Scythia then discusses the modern relations between the *regna* of Scotland and England. For discussion of the Declaration and its context see the essays in ed. G. Barrow, *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting* (Edinburgh, 2003).

[15] Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (pp. 250-330). See also 'loyalties of kingship came to coincide with the solidarities of supposed common descent and law' (*Kingdoms and Communities* (pp. 260-1)).

people of that *kingdom* respectively. This is particularly demonstrated in times of moral or physical danger, or in instances where the chronicle displays particularly 'patriotic' or 'nationalistic' sentiments, in which Walsingham referred to the threat to the *regnum* and *rex* of England. Walsingham's 'national' treatment of the *de facto* autonomous, and often English-allied, duchy of Brittany and county of Flanders suggest that it was this political autonomy and importance which guaranteed a community treatment as a distinct national group. The consistent withholding of similar 'national' status to the English continental possessions of Calais and Gascony, constitutionally held to be distinct from but subordinate to England itself, both confirms the importance of political autonomy and also suggests the importance of contemporary governmental rhetoric in shaping these political versions of nationhood. Finally, the case of Normandy raises an interesting question regarding both of these points however, as the duchy is only accorded its own 'national' status in the chronicle narrative after its conquest by Henry V in the mid-1410s. That the duchy should receive this treatment given its non-autonomous constitutional position is rather odd, and it seems likely that a combination of the duchy's newfound (for English observers) political importance was the deciding factor in the attribution of a distinct Norman nation in the final years of the *Chronica*.

We might reasonably expect instances of danger or threat to one's own nation to contain and make reference to what an individual perceived to be the foremost definition of that nation - emotive statements of fear and pleas for aid are likely to reveal underlying assumptions regarding what needs saving. In instances such as this within the *Chronica* Walsingham consistently refers to England as *regnum* rather than as ethnic, linguistic or territorial community. This may appear rather simple given that the Hundred Years War was above all a conflict between two kingdoms, but the fact that it is this aspect of 'England' which Walsingham believed to be most under threat suggests its importance within how he understood 'England' to be constituted. Threats to 'England' conveyed as threats to the English people, land and language appeared prominently in governmental rhetoric intended to garner support for the war, but Walsingham's own conception of such threats was almost universally of a threat to the *regnum*.[16] This difference may suggest that Walsingham had not succumbed to the crown's propagandist efforts, but this does not truly imply that such efforts

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[16] The notion of a threat to the English language was particularly used by Edward III (see *Rot. Parl.* ii.147.6, ii.150.14, ii.362.12), but was also used under Richard II (see *Rot. Parl.* iii.133.10, iii.231). For discussion of this particular claim see Ormrod, 'The Use of English' (pp. 778-81) and Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 1, 161-3). Governmental claims that the French sought to destroy the land of England and its people were also common (see for example *Rot. Parl.* ii.165.9, ii.303.1). Often such claims combined various forms of national definition, presumably for emotive effect. For example, in June 1344 Edward III's ministers claimed before Parliament that the French sought 'to destroy us, our allies and subjects, lands and places, and the English language', combining various forms of national definition, and in September 1346 too they claimed that the French aimed 'to destroy and ruin the whole English nation and language', combining linguistic and ethnic forms of national definition (*Rot. Parl.* ii.152.24 and ii.158.7 respectively).

had failed in his case. Walsingham was clearly as fearful and 'patriotic' in his attachment to the *regnum* as his contemporaries could be to the English language, land and people, implying that he either already possessed the kind of sentiments the crown sought to encourage, albeit attached to a different locus of nationhood, or that he had converted such sentiments into his preferred frame of reference.

Perhaps the time of gravest threat to the safety of England itself during the period covered by the *Chronica* was the year 1386, as the French gathered forces and supplies for a planned invasion of England.[17] In the *Chronica* entries mentioning this projected invasion, which by their frequency and tone seem to have concerned Walsingham and his readers greatly, there are several references to the danger to 'England' (*Anglia*), which is somewhat ambiguous in terms of definition, but there are just as many references to 'the kingdom of England' (*regnum Angliae*) specifically. Of the repeated references to the French king's plans to invade 'England' in the account of 1386 the first two are expressed as *Anglia*, but as events move toward the projected invasion and the narrative increases its drama and rhetoric this gives way to three references expressing 'England' as *regnum Anglie*.[18] The climax of Walsingham's account, in which the invasion is prevented only by divine intervention, is one of the *regnum Anglie* expressions and emotively states that the French king gathered 'an unheard of crowd' of lords, 1200 ships and 100,000 troops ready to 'devastate the kingdom of England'.[19] The domestic narrative around the projected invasion also focuses on the *regnum*, with Walsingham describing the 'great disturbance in the whole kingdom' created by the forces assembled 'from almost every end of the kingdom' by Michael de la Pole, and describing Pole's accusers in the Parliament of that year as 'working for the good of the kingdom'.[20] Thus this particularly dramatic and fearful event attracted, particularly at its most dangerous moments, an imagining of English national community based on the *regnum* rather than *patria*, *gens* or *lingua*.

Potentially dangerous betrayals and betrayers of the English nation are also discussed primarily in terms of their betrayal of the *regnum* and only secondarily of the king himself, not

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[17] For this planned invasion and the panic it created in England see: *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 792-806); McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (p. 442); and J.W. Sherborne, 'The Defence of the Realm and the Impeachment of Michael de la Pole in 1386', in eds. J. Taylor & W. Childs, *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England* (Gloucester, 1990) (pp. 97-116).

[18] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 792 (twice)) and I (pp. 794, 796, 804) respectively.

[19] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 804) - 'Rex interea Francie, cum ducum, comitum, et aliorum procerum inaudita turba moram traxit in Flandria, paratus ad diripiendum regnum Anglie, si non Deus eius conatibus obstitisset'; 'Numerus classis regis Francie mille ducente naues; in hac comitiua fuere duces quidecim, comites uiginti sex, tria millia militum et sexcenti, centum millia pugnatorum'.

[20] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 796) - 'immanis commocio tocius regni'; 'conuocari fecit pene de cunctis regni finibus armatos et arcitenentes'; 'Adunatis igitur de diuersis regni comitatibus uelut innumerabilibus, tam armatis quam arcitenentibus'. The 1386 Parliament is at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 798-802) - 'pro regni commodo' (p. 800).

in terms of the people or land of England. For example, the Bishop of St Asaph's decision to join Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion in 1404 earns him the description of 'public enemy of the kingdom', not of the king, in the *Chronica*.[21] Walsingham also accused Henry Scrope of having had secret dealings with the French around the time of the Southampton Plot of 1415, lambasting Scrope for having dealt with the enemy 'as a secret enemy of his own king' and having two-facedly contrived trouble for the *regnum* in support of the French.[22] This of course bears similarities to the contemporary law of treason, which after the 1352 Statute of Treasons explicitly delineated high treason as a crime against the king and his officers.[23] The reproduction of contemporary legal form in this way is not particularly surprising, but Walsingham's construction of these betrayals displays a marked preference for reference to the kingdom over the law of treason's preference for the king himself. Walsingham clearly agreed that betrayals such as these were betrayals of England as a political entity, but his own take on that was of betrayals of the *regnum* rather than the *rex*.

Major events in domestic politics are likewise framed as affecting the *regnum*, such as the Good Parliament of 1376.[24] There are several references to 'the people' (*populo*, *communitas*), 'the English' (*Angli*) and 'England' (*Anglia*) but from a detailed reading of the narrative it is clear that these are subsumed under the *regnum Anglie* rather than the other way around. For example, in describing the assembling of the knights at the start of the Parliament, Walsingham wrote that the said knights sought to serve the body and soul of the king as well as 'the utility and advantage of his kingdom', and that they planned to root out the evils that had afflicted the *regnum* so that the 'populace of the land' ('populus terre') could enjoy

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[21] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 426-8) - 'hostis regni publicus'. See also the labelling of the 1381 peasant rebels as 'traitors to the kingdom' ('regni...proditores') (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 416)).

[22] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 660) - 'Tractabat cum hostibus ipse domino regi suo hostis occultus'; 'moliens regno duplex incommodum fauore Francorum'. For the Southampton Plot see C. Allmand, *Henry V* (Yale, 1992) [Yale English Monarchs series] (pp. 74-8).

[23] The 1352 Statute of Treasons included: compassing the death of the king; levying war against the king; adhering to or aiding the king's enemies; counterfeiting the king's seals; circulating counterfeit money; and slaying one of the king's officials or justices (see *Statutes of the Realm* 25 Edw. III, s. 5, c. 2, in *The Statutes of the Realm, Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third* (London, 1810) I (pp. 319-20)). The standard work on medieval English treason is still J.G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1970) (esp. pp. 59-101). In 1397 Richard II reaffirmed and expanded the crime of treason intending to use it against the Lords Appellant, adding compassing the king's deposition to the crime, although this was later annulled by Henry IV (see *Statutes of the Realm* 21 Ric. II, c. 3, in *The Statutes of the Realm* II (pp. 98-9) and Bellamy, *The Law of Treason* (pp. 114-6)).

[24] For the Good Parliament see: *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 2-52); G. Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975); and W.M. Ormrod, 'The Good Parliament of 1376: Commons, *Communes*, and 'Common Profit' in Fourteenth-Century English Politics', in eds. D. Nicholas, B.S. Bachrach & J.M. Murray, *Comparative Perspectives on History and Historians: Essays in Memory of Bryce Lyon* (Kalamazoo, 2012) (pp. 169-88).

peace.[25] In his narrative Walsingham likewise criticised Edward III's hated mistress Alice Perrers for having 'defiled virtually the whole kingdom of England', and claimed that after the Parliament Gaunt sought to oppress 'the kingdom of England'.[26] This focus on the *regnum* as the national community aided by the Parliament is somewhat continued after the 1376 narrative, with Walsingham referring under the following year to the Good Parliament deserving its title due to 'the increase it brought to the country (*patria*) and the good to the kingdom (*regnum*)'.[27]

Examples of patriotic fervour recorded in the *Chronica* likewise use the *regnum* as the chief embodiment of the English nation. For example, the patriotic speech put into the mouth of Walsingham's hero and probable personal friend John Philpot in 1378 makes reference to his actions to protect the people (*plebes*, *gens*) and the land (*patria*) but also describes England as 'noblest kingdom, the mistress also of peoples' ('nobilissimo regno, domina quoque gencium').[28] By doing so Walsingham placed the highest prestige on the *regnum* as opposed to the other constructions of English nationhood used, and also celebrates the English *regnum* as superior to and ruler of other, 'ethnic', nations (*gentes*). Similarly the death of the Black Prince in 1376 is described as mourned by 'the entire kingdom of England' ('toti regno Anglie').[29] This statement is then followed by a series of similar dramatic and rhetoricised statements, listing the grief the prince's death caused for 'the English' (*Angli*), 'the entire populace' ('tocius populi'), 'the land' (*patria*), and 'the citizens' (*cives*).[30] After this list Walsingham

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[25] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 2-6) - 'pro regni totius utilitate, regisque comodo et honore; quamquam rex dure foret accepturus quicquid pro salute corporis eius et anime, necnon pro utilitate et comodo regni sui'; 'necnon quomodo abusiones in regno actenus usitate ualerent radicitus extirpari, quo plenius populus terre pace et iustitia frueretur'.

[26] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 44, 64) - 'potissimos ex Anglicis quosdam iniuriose exheredasset, et fere totum regnum Anglie sue procacitatis dedecore maculasset'; 'Per idem tempus dux, qui semper regnum Anglie suppeditare studebat'. For Perrers see W.M. Ormrod, 'Who was Alice Perrers?', in *The Chaucer Review* 40 (2006) (pp. 219-29).

[27] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 168) - 'pro incremento patrie atque regni comodo'.

[28] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 226-8) (I have amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. slightly). For Philpot's life and career see P. Nightingale, 'Philpot, Sir John (d.1384)', in *ODNB*. Walsingham explicitly notes that Philpot was a source of information for the *Chronica* at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 364-6), and the merchant's actions are frequently described in detail in the chronicle and the man himself praised (see for example I (pp. 84, 94, 224-8, 728)). Philpot was also a donor to the abbey of St Albans, appearing in the *Liber Benefactorum* produced by Walsingham in the 1380s credited with donating 40 pounds to works on the cloister and 2 unspecified amounts of dates and almonds (see *Trokelowe* (p. 460)).

[29] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 36) - 'O obitus deflendus toti regno Anglie!'.

[30] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 36-8) - The full passage, immediately following that of the preceding footnote, runs: 'O mors inmatura nimis, que tollis quicquid Anglorum esse subsidii uideretur! O quam mestum reddis uetulum regem patrem, auferens ab eo non solum eius desiderium set totius populi, ut scilicet eius primogenitus sederet post eum super eius solium et iudicaret populum in equitate! O quantos et quales das luctus patrie que se eius absentia protectore nudatam credit! Quas das lacrimas ciuibus priuatis tanto principe, exultaciones hostibus, defensoris tanti remoto timore!'.

calls on God to aid 'the English' (*Angli*) and protect them from the destruction of 'our country and people' ('nostrum locum et gentem').[31] This list and prayer thus contain many different possible constructions of 'England', as kingdom, people and land, but overall primacy and pride of place is clearly accorded to the *regnum*, and two of the listed constructions (*populus* and *cives*) are also overtly political in meaning. Similar semi-classical political constructions are visible in Walsingham's description of the recruiting of men to fight the Lollard rebel Sir John Oldcastle in 1415. Here Walsingham referred to appeals to those who loved 'the king and kingdom' ('regem regnumque') and who cared for the safety of 'the state' ('rempublicam').[32]

Spiritually too the English as a nation are defined through the *regnum*, particularly in terms of their collective sins. For example, under 1413, on the accession of Henry V, Walsingham claimed that a snowstorm portended the disappearance of all vices from the *regnum*.[33] Slightly more ambiguous is Walsingham's recounting of a miraculous appearance of Saint Ethelreda to a man in Ely in 1389, in which she warned that great danger menaced the *regnum* unless God's anger against 'the English populace' ('populo Anglicano') could be assuaged.[34] In this the English nation is referred to using a 'people'-based term, but this is subordinated to the primary use of the political *regnum* and in itself *populus* is a term with political overtones. The lament put into the mouth of Archbishop Arundel under 1404 asserts that, as a result of English knighthood's having strayed from the true faith into Lollardy, peace has been banished or eliminated from the *regnum* and that the *regnum* has been weakened as a result.[35] This claim fits within contemporary associations of Lollardy with sedition and disorder, but crucially the harm is done here against the *regnum* rather than the people or land of England.[36]

Walsingham's presentation of the duchy of Brittany and the county of Flanders is in many ways indistinguishable from fully independent nations such as England or France. Despite both being theoretically constituent parts of France, Brittany and Flanders are both

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[31] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 38). Although in general 'place' would be a more literal translation of 'locum', in this context Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' translation as 'country' has been followed as the text clearly means to refer to England the 'place'.

[32] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 664) 'ut mane diluculo occurrent armati sibi apud castrum suum de Haneley, omnes qui regem regnumque diligerent et saluam rempublicam affectarent'.

[33] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 618-20) - 'allis magis sane sapientibus hanc aeris intemperiem interpretantibus optimum quod rex, uidelicet, niues et frigora uiciorum faceret in regno cadere et seueros uirtutum fructus emergere.

[34] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 870).

[35] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 426) - 'eliminata est pax a regno'; 'Nec fore possibili diu stare regnum, quod saluacionis sue negligit sacramentum'.

[36] For this association see Walsingham's accusations that Lollardy was responsible for urban disorder and the Peasants' Revolt (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 500-2, 612-6, 816-20, 924)).

referred to in the *Chronica* as distinct places or regions, separate from 'France' and with their own 'national' label for their people. The county of Flanders is consistently referred to as a territory distinct from France, as the Flemish people are also consistently referred to as a distinct national group with their own label.[37] For example, Flanders and the Flemings appear in several of Walsingham's year summary clauses, alongside but distinct from other nations like England and France.[38] Importantly too, the people of Flanders are accorded one of the most overt and consistent, not to mention hostile, ethnic-national stereotypes found within the chronicle, something that demonstrates that they were perceived to be a distinct national group.[39] In fact, Walsingham's coverage of French attempts to subdue the rebellious towns of Flanders in the 1380s was repeatedly used as opportunity to criticise and stereotype the French as a nation given to tyranny and oppression, never once including any reference to the fealty the Flemings owed to France, which again demonstrates some perception of the Flemings as a distinct nation from the French.[40]

Brittany too is consistently treated as an independent and distinct nation within the chronicle, appearing under its own label rather than being subsumed under 'France'. For example, the *Chronica* relates that during the summer of 1404 'each of the peoples, English, French, or Breton' experienced changes of fortune.[41] Although in this case writing of nations comprising of peoples rather than states as such, the separation of 'French' and 'Bretons' is clear. In some of Walsingham's year summaries too Brittany is referred to as distinct from France, for example under 1379 where the chronicle lists that the year had been varied for Rome, quiet but mistrustful for France, varied for England, joyous and happy for Brittany, ignominious for Flanders and favourable for Scotland.[42] Likewise Brittany is listed separately from France among the nations which had learned to fear the renowned English commander Sir Robert Knolles in the chronicle's account of his death in 1407.[43] The 1380 expedition to Brittany too is lauded in the *Chronica* narrative as passing through all of 'France' before

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[37] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 40, 668, 710, 766, 854). Walsingham also claimed under 1383 that the Duke of Brittany argued with the French king regarding the lesser martial ability of the Flemings compared with the English, also suggestive of a perceived distinctive Flemish nation (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 696)).

[38] For Flanders in the year summaries see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 342, 716, 844).

[39] For Walsingham's stereotyping of the Flemings as a distinct national group see below (pp. 150-7).

[40] For this stereotyping of the French and the 1380s coverage in particular see below (pp. 187-96).

[41] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 398) - 'utrisque gentibus, Anglis et Gallis, siue Britonibus'.

[42] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 342). See also the preceding year's summary, which referred to that year as one filled with suspicion for 'England, France, and Scotland, or Brittany' ('Anglie, Francie, atque Scocie, siue Britannie') (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 268)).

[43] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 518) - 'cuius arma Francorum regnum sensit infesta per annos plurimos, Armorice Britannie ducatus timuit, regio quoque exhorruit Hispanorum'.

reaching the border of 'Brittany'.[44] When fighting alongside French allies against the English, 'Bretons' are distinguished clearly and consistently from 'the French'. This is perhaps most noticeable in the account of Bishop Despenser's 1383 Crusade to Flanders, where troops were brought 'from France and Brittany', where 'French and Breton' troops fought against the English, and where the Duke of Brittany is described as having led his own men in an independent attack on English-held Bourbourg.[45]

While this separateness is by far the chief presentation of Brittany and the Bretons in the *Chronica*, there are some instances which appear to demonstrate that Walsingham was in fact well aware of the legal subjection of the duchy to the French king. Under 1378 Walsingham wrote that after a 'dissension' ('discensione') between the king and the Bretons the king dispatched Bertrand Du Guesclin to expel 'Bretons' from castles in the duchy and replace them with 'his Frenchmen' ('Francos suos').[46] Later Walsingham moralised Charles VI of France's decline into madness via his plans to, 'without justice', attack Brittany and his refusal to pray upon the relics held at Fleury-sur-Loire as his ancestors had done before undertaking expeditions 'in distant provinces' ('in longinquam prouinciam').[47] Each of these instances implies the Bretons were subjects of the French king, particularly the choice of 'dissension' and 'provinces', but even here the Bretons are accorded their own national identifying label and Walsingham is clearly opposed to the French efforts to (re)subject them.

There are two potential motivations for this 'national' treatment or presentation of Brittany and Flanders, neither of which is exclusive of the other. Either Walsingham accorded such 'national' status to political communities which enjoyed *de facto* if not *de jure* autonomy, or he accorded such status to political communities which possessed political importance to contemporary England. On the first note, the duchy of Brittany enjoyed considerable *de facto* autonomy from French royal control in this period, as studied in depth by Michael Jones, and the towns of Flanders spent much of the 1380s in open revolt against their French-backed Count.[48] Thus Walsingham's treatment of each as a distinct nation could

[44] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 382-90).

[45] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 672, 676, 680, 696-700). For other, similar examples elsewhere in the *Chronica* see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 786) and II (pp. 398-402).

[46] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 266-8) - 'Rex autem Francie paulo post misit Bertrandum Clekyn cum exercitu copioso ad extorquendum prefatas municiones de manibus Britannorum, et imponendum Francos suos'.

[47] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 932-4) - 'rex Francie Karolus grauem infirmitatem incurrit frenesis, ut putatur, dum expedicionem moueret in Britanniam ad infestandum ducem, ut dicitur, minus iuste'; "Domine mi rex', inquid, 'progenitores uestri, illustres reges Francie, quociens in longinquam prouinciam uel ad bellafuerant egressuri'.

[48] For Breton semi-autonomy see especially: Jones, ''Mons Pais et ma Nation'' and idem, 'The Duchy of Brittany in the Middle Ages', both in M. Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State* (London, 1988) (pp. 283-307 and pp. 1-12 respectively); idem, *Ducal Brittany, 1364-1399: Relations with England and France during the Reign of Duke John IV* (Oxford, 1970, 2nd edn. 1997); and idem,

reflect a recognition of these political realities. On the other count however, both Flanders and Brittany had recent historical diplomatic ties to Edward III's England thanks to Edward's alliances in the Low Countries in the early stages of the Hundred Years War, particularly with the cloth towns of Flanders, and to English championing of the victorious House of Montfort in the Breton civil war 1341-64 and afterwards.[49] These ties of course made Brittany and Flanders important entities for English observers, and may stand behind the treatment of them as distinct nations. Walsingham also recorded the eventual return of Duke John IV from exile in England to Brittany in 1379, casting John as something of an exemplar of ideal rulership in the process, and lambasted as a 'betrayal' John's making peace with France in 1380-81.[50] Both of these could work to suggest that it was Brittany's political importance as an English ally which led to its treatment as a distinct nation, although it must be noted that even after John's 'betrayal' the Bretons continue to be treated as distinct from the French.

One case in support of political autonomy or independence as the deciding factor in the allocation of truly 'national' treatment to a particular political unit, region or group is Walsingham's treatment of those territories which made up what is commonly known as the 'Plantagenet Empire', most notably Gascony and Calais. The 'Plantagenet Empire' or 'Angevin Empire' is a modern term used to refer to the complex of distinct territories inherited by the kings of England but not as part of England, originating after the Norman Conquest of 1066 with the duchy of Normandy but later growing to include Anjou, Aquitaine, Gascony, and notionally at least the other nations of the British Isles.[51] These territories were

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'The Late Medieval State and Social Change: A View from the Duchy of Brittany', in M. Jones, *Between France and England: Politics, Power and Society in Late Medieval Brittany* (Aldershot, 2003) [orig. publ. in French in 1996] (pp. 117-144). For the Franco-Flemish wars of the 1380s see R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London, 1962) (pp. 16-38); D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London, 1992); idem, *The van Arteveldes of Ghent: The Varieties of Vendetta and the Hero in History* (Cornell, 1988) (pp. 108-19, 160-87); and K. DeVries, 'The Reasons for the Bishop of Norwich's Attack of Flanders in 1383', in ed. W.M. Ormrod, *Fourteenth-Century England III* (Woodbridge, 2004) (pp. 156-60). For both Brittany and Flanders see also J. Le Patourel, 'The King and the Princes in Fourteenth-Century France', in idem, *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (London, 1984) (pp. 163-75) [orig. publ. in eds. J.R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield & B. Smalley, *Europe in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965) (pp. 163-75)].

[49] For Anglo-Flemish ties in this period see: Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (esp. pp. 217-31, 317-26); C. Barron, 'Introduction', in eds. C. Barron & N. Saul, *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995) (pp. 1-28); and Ormrod, *Edward III* (esp. pp. 200-5, 214, 221-7, 267, 432-4, 509-10). For Anglo-Breton ties in this period and the Breton civil war see Jones, *Ducal Brittany* and Ormrod, *Edward III* (esp. pp. 249-53, 289-90, 431-2, 508-9).

[50] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 294-8, 384-90). For the portrayal of the Duke as exemplar of good rulership see C. Guyol, 'Self-Censorship and Allusion in Thomas Walsingham's Lancastrian Chronicles' (unpubl. MA thesis, University of York, 2006) (pp. 4-5). For Duke John's return to Brittany and the 1381 Second Treaty of Guérande see Jones, *Ducal Brittany* (pp. 76-92) and Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 52-5).

[51] The chief proponent of 'Angevin Empire' as a label for this complex of territories was John Le Patourel in the 1970s and 1980s, but it has since become an accepted term in medieval English history - see in particular: J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976) (esp. pp. v-vi, 319-54); the essays

inherited and ruled by the person of the English king but in his simultaneous and distinct capacity as duke of Gascony, count of Anjou and so on; in this manner, although increasingly ruled from England, these territories were kept constitutionally separated from England itself, preserving many of their own ancestral customs, laws and institutions.[52] This constitutional separateness has been noted by various scholars in relation to Gascony and even the more recent addition of the area around Calais (the term 'Pale' not being used until the 1430s at the earliest), with contemporary governmental documents consistently referring to both territories with legalistic or euphemistic labels such as 'lands subject to the King of England' rather than as parts of 'England' proper.[53] Government documents also deliberately referred to travel and trade between 'Calais' and 'England', and to proposals to relocate the Staple 'to Calais, or within England', clearly demarcating the town as distinct from England itself.[54] Ralph Griffiths and Andrea Ruddick have noted a gradual heightening of this separateness within English governmental documents in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly the hardening of the distinction between England as *regnum* and the king's other dominions as *terrae*.[55] Ruddick has also noted the extent to which these elements of governmental rhetoric then spread more widely to become 'the default view held by English political society', including that of chroniclers such as Walsingham.[56] Perhaps the clearest indicator of the

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included in J. Le Patourel, *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (London, 1984); and M. Vale, *The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War, 1250-1340* (Oxford, 1990) (esp. pp. 9-21). The 'Plantagenet Empire' in its late medieval form is also the subject of a forthcoming volume for the Harlaxton proceedings series (eds. P. Crooks, D. Green & W.M. Ormrod, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1259-1453* (Donington, 2016/forthcoming)).

[52] See in particular J. Le Patourel, 'The Plantagenet Dominions' (pp. 302-8) and 'The Origins of the Hundred Years War' (pp. 38-42), both in idem, *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (London, 1984) [orig. publ. in *History* 1 (1965) (pp. 289-308) and ed. K. Fowler, *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1971) (pp. 28-50) respectively].

[53] See: R.A. Griffiths, 'The English Realm and Dominions and the King's Subjects in the Later Middle Ages', in ed. J.G. Rowe, *Aspects of Late Medieval Government and Society: Essays Presented to J.R. Lander* (Toronto, 1986) (pp. 83-105); D. Grummitt, ''One of the moste pryncipall treasours belonging to his Realme of Englande': Calais and the Crown, c.1450-1558', in ed. D. Grummitt, *The English Experience in France c.1450-1558: War, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange* (Aldershot, 2002) (pp. 51-7); Ruddick, 'Ethnic Identity and Political Language' (pp. 15-31); S. Rose, *Calais: An English Town in France, 1347-1558* (Woodbridge, 2008) (pp. 29-30, 44-6); and Ruddick, 'Gascony and the Limits of Medieval British Isles History' (pp. 68-88). For examples of the term 'Pays subgiet au royaume d'Angleterre' see *Rot. Parl.* iii.71.5, iii.75.17, iii.88.4, iii.92.21, iii.166.4 and A. Curry, 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms in English Armies in Normandy and the Pays de Conqueste, 1415-1450: A Preliminary Survey', in *Reading Medieval Studies* 18 (1992) (pp. 141, 155-6).

[54] *Rot. Parl.* iii.203.4, 250.43. For similar examples see also *Rot. Parl.* iii.119-20.107, 141.54.

[55] See Griffiths, 'The English Realm and Dominions' (pp. 89-92) and Ruddick, 'Ethnic Identity and Political Language' (pp. 18-27, quote at p. 22). Ruddick also suggests that the English crown sought to promote a form of 'allegiant identity' for the peoples of these *terrae* in place of more 'national' identity (see her 'Ethnic Identity and Political Language' (pp. 23-8) and *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 229-56, 315-6)).

[56] Ruddick, 'Ethnic Identity and Political Language' (pp. 18-9). Elsewhere Ruddick has argued that chroniclers were somewhat more resistant to such ideas and preferred straightforward 'national' labels,

widespread acceptance of these constitutional distinctions is in the petition of the Gascon community to Henry IV as king-duke in 1411, which refers to Gascony as 'land' ('paiis') and to England as 'realm' ('roiaulme').[57]

In the *Chronica Maiora* Walsingham quite closely reproduced these distinctions through revealingly euphemistic turns of phrase which distinguished the regions of Gascony and Calais from both 'England' and 'France'. Calais for example is labelled in the chronicle as one of 'the places of the king of England' ('loca regis Anglie') and nearby castles as 'the fortifications of the king of England' ('fortaliciis regis Anglie'), but not as part of 'England' or 'English' territory.[58] Similarly, that Walsingham considered Calais not to be a part of England proper is demonstrated by the frequent references to individuals having left 'England' for 'Calais' or vice versa.[59] Gascony received similar treatment, for instance when Walsingham described Gaunt having 'travelled from the parts of Gascony to England' in 1389.[60] Importantly too, neither region appears to have been considered a part of 'France' either, further indicative of political allegiance being a key definer of nationality and nationhood.[61] Aside for one isolated incident too, the inhabitants of both Gascony and Calais were referred to in the chronicle using circuitous language which clearly distinguished them from being 'English' or 'French' while also avoiding using 'Gascon' or 'Calesian' as their own nationality labels.[62] For example, the Gascon nobles who fought under the Seneschal of Aquitaine, Sir Thomas Felton in 1377 were labelled as 'many noblemen of that land, who supported the cause of the English' rather than as Gascons or as English themselves.[63]

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although in this case she is most concerned with Anglo-Scottish relations not the status of Calais or Gascony (in her *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 239-48)).

[57] *Rot. Parl.* iii.656-7.

[58] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 768, 770) - 'in loca regis Anglie, Calesiam uidelicet et partes adiacentes'; 'stipendiarii de Calesia, et fortaliciis regis Anglie illis in partibus constitutis'.

[59] See for example: the French king's plans to invade not Calais but England (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 792)); Michael de la Pole's having 'left England' when he fled to Calais in 1387 (I (p. 841)); Gaunt's having 'returned to England' rather than to Calais in 1392 (I (p. 920)); and the tricking of the Duke of Gloucester in 1397 that he would be returned to 'England' from Calais (II (p. 98)).

[60] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 890) - 'de partibus Wasconie in Angliam transfretauit'. See also *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 36-8) for Gaunt's having squandered the wealth of 'those parts' ('illis partibus') before returning to 'England'.

[61] See for example the aforementioned journey of John of Gaunt from 'France' to 'England' rather than to Calais (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 920)), and Henry V's 1412 plans to 'invade France, or Gascony' ('Franciam sive Wasconiam invasuri') (II (pp. 608-10)).

[62] There is one reference in the *Chronica* 1376-1420 to 'Gascons' seemingly as a nationality label, in reference to the coronation procession of Richard II in 1377 (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 136)), but this usage does not reoccur and may reflect Walsingham's having copied terminology from a newsletter or other source.

[63] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 166-8) - 'multis nobilius eiusdem terre, qui parte Anglicane fauebant'. See also *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 660) where Britigald be Bret, an Aquitainian lord, musters an army to

Similarly local troops serving English commanders at Calais were labelled not as English but as 'men or Calais' and Hugh Calveley, then-captain of Calais, was described as summoning 'all his neighbours who were apparently loyal to the English'.[64]

That Walsingham had either absorbed or was mimicking the contemporary governmental line regarding the status of the continental territories of the 'Plantagenet Empire' seems clear, but the implications for his understanding or 'imagining' of nationhood are significant. As territories constitutionally separate from England but subject to the English king both Calais and Gascony occupied something of an awkward halfway-house position in Walsingham's eyes - each existed distinctly from England but lacked political autonomy or independent rulers of their own. That this position precluded either from fully 'national' treatment within the *Chronica* reinforces the suggestion that it was this political autonomy which exerted a strong influence over how Walsingham defined 'nation'. Similarly the suggestion that Walsingham's perceptions on these issues were influenced by contemporary governmental policy and rhetoric is important for assessing the development of national sentiments and definitions in late medieval England and will arise again later in this thesis.

The picture painted within the *Chronica* of another of the territories of the 'Plantagenet Empire', Wales, is somewhat ambiguous in terms of how that territory was perceived by Walsingham, and what that perception might reveal regarding his conception of nationhood. In the chronicle Walsingham does make it quite clear that he considered Wales to be a distinct and recognisable unit, but what is less clear is whether he considered Wales to be its own national territory or to be a part of England itself. Many of Walsingham's rare references to Wales in the *Chronica* are made simply to Wales as a destination. For example, in 1399 Richard II is described as having landed 'in Wallia' in response to the future Henry IV's return to England, in 1405 Henry leaves *Wallia* seeking to intercept the traitors Lord Bardolf and Henry Percy, and in 1406 French troops arrive in *Wallia* to aid the Welsh rebel Owain Glyndŵr.[65] In each of these instances 'Wales' is clearly referred to as a distinct and recognisable region, but without the kind of explicit wording of 'left England for Wales' such as we saw regarding Calais and Gascony this could imply that 'Wales' was either a separate country or a region within England, akin to Northumbria or London. Similarly Walsingham's

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defend 'the men subject to him' ('homines suo subiecti') from French attack, which is described as costly to both him and 'the English'.

[64] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 216) - 'conuocatis omnibus uicinis suis qui parebant Anglicane fidei'. For references to 'men of Calais' and 'soldiers of Calais' see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 770) and II (pp. 436, 516).

[65] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 148-50, 448, 474). See also *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 824) and II (pp. 154, 328, 472). For Glyndŵr's revolt see R.R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987) (pp. 443-59) and idem, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1997).

reporting of the traitor John Minsterworth's meetings in France with an unnamed Welsh exile claiming to have ancestral rights in *Wallia* and planning to 'invade those parts' to reclaim them is clearly motivated by fears regarding Welsh hostility, but is unspecific about whether Wales was its own nation or part of England.[66]

On some occasions however, Walsingham's phrasing suggests in fact that he considered Wales to be a region within England itself. For example, when describing the comet which, he claimed, presaged Glyndŵr's revolt in 1402 Walsingham wrote that it foretold bloodshed in the regions (*partes*) in which it appeared, 'namely Wales, and Northumberland'.[67] This formulation would seem to place Wales equal to Northumbria as a constituent part of England. Likewise under 1403 the *Chronica* refers to the king having travelled 'ad partes Walliarum' and 'de partibus Aquilonis', again using the same term for both regions and implying a comparable status.[68]

On the other hand, there are also several instances within the chronicle in which Walsingham appears to have referred to Wales as a region or nation separate and distinct from England itself. For example, when describing Henry IV's 1402 campaign into Wales Walsingham wrote that the king had 'entered Wales' and, more revealingly, had 'entered the borders of *Cambria*'.[69] Not only does this reference to 'borders' imply a clear dividing line between two countries but the chronicle entry also distinguishes between Glyndŵr as 'the Welshman' ('Wallicus') and Henry's forces as 'the English' ('Anglici'), drawing a national border between the men involved as well as their countries. Perhaps an even clearer distinction is drawn under 1405 where the *Chronica* describes French ships arriving in *Wallia* to aid Glyndŵr in laying siege to Carmarthen, whereupon the defenders were permitted to leave 'for other of the king's lands in Wales, *or* in England' (my emphasis).[70] Elsewhere too there are hints that Walsingham viewed Wales as one of the king's Celtic lands, separate from England: the writer of the 1399 narrative claimed that there were rumours in that year that

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[66] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 108) - 'fatebatur quod circa Pascha cum <***>, qui se dicit heredem Wallie, uenisset ad inuadendum easdem partes, quatenus, propriis restitutus, auita hereditate gaudere eius auxilio potuisset, et ipse ad regem Francie iterum remeasse'. This Welshman was almost certainly a reference to 'Owain of the Red Hand', a Welsh exile at the French court who led raids on Wales, Gascony and Guernsey in the 1370s (see Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change* (p. 438) and Ormrod, *Edward III* (p. 574)).

[67] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 316) - 'presignans, ut opinor, humanum sanguinem effundendum circa partes in quibus apparuit, Wallie uidelicet, et Northanhymbrie, ut dicemus'.

[68] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 380) - the chronicle entry is entitled 'Rex se confert ad partes Walliarum' and the entry begins 'Reuersus rex de partibus Aquilonis, uersus Walliam'.

[69] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 324-6) - 'Rex intrat Walliam' and 'a die quo ingressus est fines Cambrensium' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss translated 'fines' as 'territory', but 'limits' or 'borders' is a better rendering).

[70] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp.462-4) - 'Gallici uenerunt in Walliam et capiunt Kaermerdyn' and 'ad alia loca regis in Wallia, uel in Angliam' (my emphasis).

Richard II now hated England and planned to spend both his life and the wealth of England in Ireland and Wales instead; and the coverage of Glyndŵr's revolt overall includes several of the same 'barbarian' tropes and characterisations seen in Walsingham's treatment of the Irish, as will be discussed below.[71] These hints suggest that Walsingham possessed an element of anti-Celtic sentiments encompassing both Irish and Welsh, and that he may have considered Wales in a similar light to the fully constitutionally distinct Ireland.

In some ways this ambiguity within Walsingham's presentation of Wales mirrors the contemporary position of Wales itself, caught between annexation to the English crown and a continued popular understanding as a distinct nation. Wales had been conquered at great effort by Edward I in the late thirteenth century and formally annexed (or 'wholly and entirely transferred under our proper dominion' to quote the 1284 Statute of Wales) but in many ways Wales continued to possess at least some elements of its own distinctive nationhood.[72] National stereotypes of the Welsh continued after the annexation of 1284, if anything worsened by the years of war preceding it, and even into Walsingham's era; the English crown consistently differentiated Wales as a *terra* distinct from the English *regnum* in official documents; Welsh law and customs continued to operate in Wales, for the ethnic Welsh at least; and of course the Welsh language continued in use.[73] Given these and the long history of Anglo-Welsh conflict it comes as relatively little surprise that English chroniclers and writers continued to preserve a notion of Wales as a nation distinct from England.[74] This then is perhaps what is reflected in Walsingham's ambiguity toward Welsh nationhood, a conflict between a Wales annexed to England and one preserving much of its nationhood in popular culture and usage. In all the separation of Wales from England appears to be the dominant in Walsingham's chronicle, perhaps a testament to the greater influence exerted upon his viewpoint by historical memory and popular opinion than constitutional specifics, but it is also worth noting that Wales appears in the *Chronica* only in times of political danger or fear. Minsterworth's plans, Richard II's rumoured abandonment of England for Wales and Glyndŵr's revolt were all instances in which political events brought Wales and Welsh

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[71] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 136) - 'nempe in ore omnium uoluebatur, quod iam terram Anglie idem rex habebat inuisam, et nunquam proposuit eam reuisere cum fauore; sed in Hibernia quandoque commorari, quandoque in Wallia, et bona regni Anglie in hiis regionibus non expendere sed uastare'. For Welsh 'barbarism' in the *Chronica* see below (pp. 147-9).

[72] For the conquest of Wales see Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change* (pp. 308-88) and M. Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225-1360* (Oxford, 2005) (pp. 141-62). The Statute is quoted in Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 76-8).

[73] See Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change* (pp. 3-20, 391-2, 419-21) and Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 29, 61-72, 76-81).

[74] This argument has been made particularly by Ruddick in her *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 66, 70-2).

nationhood to the forefront of English minds, and thus seem to have stimulated Walsingham's presentation of Wales as a distinct, recognisable and, at times, national unit.

The case of Normandy suggests a somewhat different case to that of Calais and Gascony within the *Chronica* in that it suggests that considerations of political *importance* rather than independence or autonomy determined whether a region or group was to be treated as a distinct nation in the chronicle. While different to Calais and Gascony this picture may in fact be closer to that of Wales, where political danger or fears may have spurred the presentation of Wales as a separate nation. Throughout the fourteenth-century text and much of the fifteenth-century text of the *Chronica* Walsingham subsumed Normandy and the Normans under 'France' and 'the French'. While there are some references in these portions of the chronicle to Normans as merchants or pirates, these instances are consistently somewhat vague, fail to be abstracted to a national level, and are extremely rare compared to references to France or the French.[75] References to 'Normandy' too are rare and generally are either ambiguous regarding the duchy's status or cast it as part of 'France'.[76] Particularly revealing is Walsingham's discussion of the reasons for the duel between John Annesley and Thomas Catterton in 1380, which is explained as Catterton's having unlawfully sold the castle of Saint Sauveur which Sir John Chandos had built 'in France on the Ile de Contentin'.[77] That this castle is referred to as 'in France' and even as 'on the Ile de Cotentin' but not as in Normandy suggests that Walsingham at this time saw the duchy as a constituent part of 'France'. Similarly several of the references to 'the Normans' show them to be subsumed within 'the French'. For example, under 1383 Walsingham wrote that England was supplied with foodstuffs 'by the French, and especially by the Normans', and under 1404 he wrote that Henry Pay became wealthy through capturing ships belonging to 'the Normans, or the French'.[78]

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[75] See for example: the brief, but positive, description of Anglo-Norman trade during the 1384 truce (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 716-8)); the reference to the capture of Normans among the French fleet in 1385, including a wealthy Norman merchant named Robert Bremvile (I (pp. 768-70)); and the brief reference under 1411 to recent naval defeats by 'Flemings and Normans' (II (p. 596)).

[76] See for example: the brief reference to English raids in Normandy in 1378 (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 218)); the reference in a 1379 entry title to a battle having taken place in Normandy, not repeated in the main text (I (p. 282)); the inclusion of Normandy in a list of English trading destinations also under 1379 (I (p. 304)); and the brief description of the places raided by a 1405 English naval force (II (p. 438)).

[77] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 356-64, quote at p. 356) - 'in Galiis intra insulam de Constantyn'. For the background to and details of this dispute see J.G. Bellamy, 'Sir John Annesley and the Chandos Inheritance', in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 10 (1966) (pp. 94-105).

[78] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 716) - 'per Gallicos, et maxime per Normannos' and II (p. 408) - 'Normannorum, siue Gallorum'.

With Henry V's campaigns in Normandy in 1415 and 1417 this treatment of the duchy and its inhabitants changed abruptly. From the chronicle narrative of 1412 (composed c.1415) onwards Walsingham increasingly referred to 'Normandy' as a distinct region and 'the Normans' as a distinct population, separated from France and the French.[79] Simple references to events in Normandy increase for this portion of the chronicle, as is to be expected given the subject matter being reported, but there is every reason to suspect that many of these events would have been referred to as taking place 'in France' in the chronicle narrative of 1376-1412. For example, in 1417 there are two tangential asides stating that John Oldcastle's rebellion occurred at the same time as events in 'Normandy', both of which are cases in which the 1376-1412 chronicle would likely have referred to 'France'.[80] References to Henry's landing 'in Normandy' near Touques and his spending Christmas 'in Normandy' in Bayeux too would likely have been expressed as 'in France' in the earlier narrative.[81]

Another interesting addition to the text from c.1415 onwards is reference to the English king's ancestral claim to the duchy of Normandy. This claim appears in several instances in the post-1415 text, but had never been so much as hinted at in the earlier narrative. For example, under 1412 Walsingham included in the chronicle the text of a letter patent, preserved only in the *Chronica*, in which then-Prince Henry pledges to recover the duchy of Aquitaine and 'other hereditary lordships and legal rights of the crown of England', implying that his 1415 expedition to Norman territory and capture of Harfleur was such a recovery.[82] Also, 'Normans' are explicitly included in a list of 'renegades' who are to be handed over to Henry at the surrender of Louviers in 1418 alongside 'Welshmen, Irishmen...and Gascons', positioning Normandy alongside other non-English possessions of the English king.[83] Legitimate ancestral claim is specifically stressed by the tale of a monk from the Abbey of Saint Stephen at Caen approaching the Duke of Clarence during the 1417 siege of the town, urging Clarence to protect the abbey from 'the French' (*Gallici*) who plan to destroy it, saying:

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[79]   There is a reference to the 1415 Battle of Agincourt at the end of the 1412 account, suggesting that the 1412 narrative was composed c.1415 or shortly afterwards (see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 618)).

[80]   *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 720, 722) - 'Dum hec agerentur in Neustria Lollardi, duce Iohanne Oldcastelle, insanire ceperunt in Anglia'; 'non obstante quod maxima multitudo in Normannia cum rege fuit'.

[81]   *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 710, 730). See also *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 666, 732, 784, 786).

[82]   *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 610-4, quote at pp. 610) - 'pro recuperacione ducatus sui Acquitannie et aliorum dominiorum hereditatem et iurium regalie sue ac corone Anglie' (my trans.); very similar wording is found at (p. 614).

[83]   *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 736) - 'tres status predicti sacramento sunt obligati ad deliberandum domino regi omnes renegatos Anglie, scilicet Wallicos, Hibernicos, Normannos iuratos et Wascones'. Shortly after this the writer of the CCCC MS 7 (3) text adds a reference to Henry's victories taking place 'in prouincia Normannorum', but this is almost certainly not Walsingham's work (see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 738)). Curry has stated that this latter reference represents a lack of recognition of Normandy as a duchy (in her 'Lancastrian Normandy' (p. 245)) but this seems to be incorrect.

> It has fallen especially to you to save our monastery, you who are
> descended from the royal line that founded, built and endowed our place
> [i.e. the monastery]. Wherefore do not hesitate in allowing me to go before
> you and I will lead you and make our place rejoice.[84]

This explicit connection drawn between Henry's brother and English kings' ancestral status as Dukes of Normandy serves to both legitimise and laud Henry's efforts to (re)conquer the duchy, but also works to create an impression of Normandy standing apart from the rest of France.

What this evidence appears to demonstrate is that Normandy remained, for Walsingham, subsumed within the larger entity of 'France' until c.1415, a conception which accurately reflected the duchy's actual political position in that period. However, Henry V's efforts to (re)conquer the duchy from 1415 onwards brought about a new portrayal of the duchy in the *Chronica*, one much more distinct and 'national' in nature. That said, the exact nature of how this change came about is not fully clear. Historians have debated Henry's exact intentions regarding Normandy over the course of his campaigns in France, in particular whether Henry sought to rule the duchy specifically as Duke of Normandy or as part of the larger realm as King of France.[85] The most likely conclusion appears to be that in 1415 Henry sought simply to take the town of Harfleur, and the Parliament Roll in fact refers to the town as 'es parties de France' rather than in Normandy.[86] During his second campaign however, Henry widened his aims to encompass the entire duchy, to which he could stake a claim as an ancestral possession of the kings of England.[87] This is suggested by the facts that from late 1417 Henry named himself as Duke of Normandy in official documentation, sought to establish a firm administration in the duchy separate from the English government, and even attended Candlemas in Rouen in 1419 wearing traditional ducal regalia.[88] After the murder of

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[84] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 716) - 'Vobis, specialius convenit nostrum servare monasterium, qui de regum linea descendistis qui locum nostrum fundaverunt, extruxerunt atque dotaverunt. Quapropter incunctanter utamini me duce previo et ego vos inducam et gaudere faciam loco nostro' (my trans.).

[85] Attempts to assess Henry's aims include: C. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford, 1983) (pp.1-23, 122-6); idem, *Henry V* (pp. 185-204); and A. Curry, 'Lancastrian Normandy' (pp. 235-52).

[86] Here I am largely following the argument of Anne Curry in her 'Lancastrian Normandy' (esp. pp. 239-45, 247-51). For Harfleur as 'es parties de France', and Henry's campaign being intended to regain his rights as king of France, see *Rot. Parl.* iv.62, iv.94.

[87] Christopher Allmand has alternately argued that Henry sought to use ancestral claims to the duchy for propagandist purposes (in his *Lancastrian Normandy* (pp. 1-23, 122-6)) and that Henry was himself influenced by this supposed historical link (in his *Henry V* (pp. 185-204)). Anne Curry has noted the presence of such ancestral links in chronicles and other materials composed by Englishmen following the (re)conquest of the duchy (in her 'Lancastrian Normandy' (pp. 238, 243-6)).

[88] See Curry, 'Lancastrian Normandy' (pp. 247-51). Henry labelled himself 'duc de Normandie' from late 1417 and referred to 'ducatum nostrum' in his official documentation (see *Foedera* IV.iv.16 and

the Duke of Burgundy in September 1419 however Henry's priorities changed, and with his new Burgundian allies he was in a better position to assert his claim to the crown of France as a whole. As such, Henry dropped the title of Duke of Normandy and the 1420 Treaty of Troyes, which recognised Henry as heir to the French throne, explicitly named the duchy as part of the kingdom of France.[89]

However, neither Henry's 1417-19 position nor his 1419-21 position completely explain Walsingham's change of portrayal of Normandy. Walsingham's references to Normandy as an ancestral and legitimate possession of the English king accord quite neatly with Henry's own position for 1417-19, but this position should logically have placed Normandy alongside Gascony and Calais in terms of their non-national status. Likewise as part of the kingdom of France, as per Henry's post-1419 position, Normandy should logically have been once more subsumed under the larger 'France'. In neither case did Normandy enjoy the kind of political autonomy or semi-independence which seemed to provide Flanders and Brittany with their 'national' treatment in the *Chronica*. This logical gap could however be filled if we were to take a more cultural approach to this problem. The (re)conquest of Normandy by Henry V appears to have stimulated a great deal of interest among English observers, particularly in terms of interest in Norman-English history.[90] Henry himself may have sought to further this revival of interest through his sponsorship of the copying and circulation in England of works of Anglo-Norman history by Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigny.[91] Walsingham's own final chronicle-writing project, the *Ypodigma Neustriae*, can be seen as a very deliberate and, given its proposed dedication to Henry, perhaps even cynical and self-interested participation in this revival, intended to trace the history of the Dukes of

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Allmand, *Henry V* (pp. 186-7)). The Parliament Roll for November 1417 refers to the towns and castles 'en Normandie' taken by Henry as part of his reclamation of the crown of France (see *Rot. Parl.* iv.106.2), but by 1419 the Rolls were referring to Normandy as separate from France and as part of the right of the King of England (see *Rot. Parl.* iv.116.2, iv.117.9, iv.118.12).

[89] See Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy* (pp. 18-9) and Curry, 'Lancastrian Normandy' (pp. 236-7). The Treaty of Troyes does not label Henry as Duke of Normandy and pledges that 'when it shall happen to us to come to the crown of France, the duchy of Normandy and all other places conquered by us in the realm of France shall be under the commandment, obedience and monarchy of the crown of France', explicitly subsuming Normandy under the larger France (in *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485* (ed. & trans. A.R. Myers) (London, 1969) [English Historical Documents, 4] **113.i** (pp. 225-6)). The Parliament Roll for May 1421 continued the separation of Normandy from France but dropped any reference to the duchy belonging to Henry specifically or to the English crown (see *Rot. Parl.* iv.132.17, iv.147.32). Allmand has argued that some 'ambiguity' remained in the Treaty regarding the status of the duchy, based on the refusal of John Duke of Bedford, regent of Henry VI, to return the duchy to France (in his *Lancastrian Normandy* (pp. 19-22)). This is not entirely correct however - the treaty was clear, but Bedford refused to follow its terms.

[90] For this revival of interest see in particular D.J.A. Matthew, 'The English Cultivation of Norman History', in eds. D. Bates & A. Curry, *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994) (pp. 1-18; esp. pp. 1-5) and Curry, 'Lancastrian Normandy' (pp. 238, 243-6).

[91] See Matthew, 'Cultivation of Norman History' (p. 4).

Normandy (for which read Kings of England after 1066) from Rollo to Henry himself.[92] Thus, rather than political autonomy, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, it appears that the increased political-historical *interest in* and *importance of* Normandy in these years led to the duchy's receipt of its own 'national' treatment in the *Chronica*.

From the cases discussed here it appears that political factors determined whether Walsingham conceived of a particular region, entity or group to warrant 'national' treatment or identity (a collective name, a named territory, an innate ethnic-national character). Politically united and autonomous entities such as the kingdoms of England and France were, to Walsingham, self-evidently nations and it was to the *regnum* of England that what we would now call 'patriotic' or 'nationalistic' sentiments were attached in the *Chronica*. The 'national' treatment of *regna* such as England and France and semi-autonomous polities such as Brittany and Flanders would seem to suggest that it was political autonomy that guaranteed such treatment, as do the non-'national' treatments given to Calais and Gascony. However, the case of Normandy, and perhaps that of Wales, suggests that a truer determinant of such 'national' treatment is political importance or significance in Walsingham's eyes, not necessarily real-world autonomy. With the campaigns of Henry V Normandy became newly significant for contemporary observers like Walsingham, resulting in a newly prominent and 'national' treatment in the *Chronica*. The same determinant of significance of course explains the treatment of the *regna* of England and France, but also that of Brittany and Flanders in that the two polities, while theoretically constituent parts of France, had recently been allies of the English and critical theatres of the Hundred Years War. Perhaps a combined conclusion is the most accurate: political autonomy or semi-autonomy was usually what made a polity important in Walsingham's eyes, and thus guaranteed 'national' treatment, but other forms of political and historical significance could also provide the same effect. What is clear however is the importance of such political considerations in determining, for Walsingham, whether a region, polity or group was to be considered a true nation.

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[92] For the *Ypodigma Neustriae*, and the possibility that it was not completed by Walsingham himself, see above (p. 31-2). The text was dedicated to Henry V himself and purported to be an instructional text regarding the dangers of the faithlessness of others (see *Ypodigma Neustriae* (pp. viii-x, 3-5)). In this dedication Henry is entitled 'Magnificentissimo et illustrissimo Francorum et Anglorum regi, Henrico, Normanniae Conquaestori' (*Ypodigma Neustriae* (p. 3)).

   b)   The Territorial Nation

An attachment to a specific territory is often believed to be a key definition of
nationhood among both modernists and perennialists, appearing in the definitions formulated
by Smith, Anderson, Reynolds, and others.[93] A particular marker of territorial attachment, in
the opinion of modern scholars at least, is the use of the Roman term *patria* (lit. 'fatherland')
to refer to the territory claimed by one's own nation. The seminal work on the use of *patria* in
the Middle Ages is still that of Ernst Kantorowicz in 1951.[94] According to Kantorowicz's
narrative, the notion of a *communis patria* to which every citizen should feel intense loyalty
and for which great sacrifices were needed was developed in the Roman Empire and, after the
Empire's fall, became associated with the heavenly kingdom of God.[95] From the twelfth
century on however, scholars revived this notion of the *patria* and kings, particularly in France
around the beginning of the fourteenth century, sought to spread and harness such devotion to
the 'fatherland' in order to increase tax revenue and military recruitment among their
subjects.[96] Scholarship on the use of *patria* in this way in medieval England specifically still
appears to be lacking, but Kantorowicz did note that the thirteenth-century English jurist
Bracton was writing of the dues Englishmen owed to their king 'for the defence of the *patria*',
suggesting that some degree of this use of *patria* was current in England.[97]

What is striking about Walsingham's *Chronica* in this regard is the relative absence of
emotive and nationalistic use of *patria*. While the term itself is used quite frequently in the
chronicle, the majority of those uses appear to refer to a rather different notion of *patria*,
namely *patria propria* or personal homeland. This meaning was also a legacy of the Roman
Empire, where it was used to refer to one's region of origin or birthplace rather than an

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[93] Smith includes 'occupying a historic territory or homeland' in both his modernist and perennialist
'ideal types' (see his 'National Identities: Modern and Medieval?' (pp. 27-8) and 'Were there Nations
in Antiquity?' (pp. 34-5, 38-9)). The 'finite, if elastic boundaries' aspect of Anderson's definition refers
to theoretical or 'imagined' territorial limits (see his *Imagined Communities* (pp. 6-7)). Reynolds argues
that c.900-1300 ethnically-defined communities settled into territories and invented *origines gentium*
legends attaching themselves to that territory (see her *Kingdoms and Communities* (esp. pp. 253-301)
and 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*' (pp. 375-90)).

[94] The seminal work is Kantorowicz, '*Pro Patria Mori*' (pp. 472-92), though Kantorowicz republished
much the same work but with some slight amendments in his *The King's Two Bodies* (pp. 232-67) six
years later. Kantorowicz has been largely followed by Bernard Guenée (*States and Rulers* (pp. 54-5))
and Caspar Hirschi (*Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 50-77)).

[95] See: Kantorowicz, '*Pro Patria Mori*' (pp. 473-7); idem, *The King's Two Bodies* (pp. 232-5); and
Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 50-67).

[96] See: Kantorowicz, '*Pro Patria Mori*' (pp. 477-84); idem, *The King's Two Bodies* (pp. 249-58); and
Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 64-77). Guenée places this development slightly earlier, in the
thirteenth century (see his *States and Rulers* (p. 55)).

[97] 'Ad patriae defensionem' and 'ad defensionem patriae', cited in Kantorowicz, *The King's Two
Bodies* (p. 237).

abstract political-territorial ideal, and continued to carry this meaning through the medieval changes to *communis patria*.[98] It is this less ideologically-charged and more localised meaning which appears within the *Chronica* among other terms such as *regio*, *terra*, *locus*, and *provincia*, all of which seem to be used largely interchangeably. This non-emotive use of *patria* and the interchangeable use of territory terminology of course imply that, for Walsingham at least, an attachment to a specific homeland or territory was not a high priority in imagining a true nation.

Particularly revealing of Walsingham's interchangeable use of territorial terminology are those occasions on which he uses multiple terms to refer to exactly the same area. For example, referring to Hugh Calveley and Thomas Percy's expedition to Brittany in 1379 Walsingham wrote that they disembarked on the coast ('litus maris Britannicum') hoping to plunder the surrounding area ('patriam conuicinam') before a local knight urged them to come further inland ('in regionem ascendere') as this would please the inhabitants of that land ('ipsius terre'). This knight even goes on to offer the Englishmen the guardianship of the region ('custodiam regionis') in the name of the area's chief men ('principum regionis'), as well as supplies for their army if they wish to proceed through the land ('patriam').[99] In this not particularly long or significant chronicle entry Walsingham used almost every conceivable Latin term for region or territory to refer to the same physical space, with no discernible pattern of meaning behind his choices. There are similar instances elsewhere too, both in terms of lands abroad such as Denmark and Brittany again,[100] but also in relation to England itself which is described as a *terra*, *patria*, *regnum* and as a set of *provinciae* within a short space of words within the 1381 narrative.[101] France is covered no differently either, for example under 1380 where the *Chronica* describes English forces ravaging the French *patria* and the assembling of an army from 'the whole land (*terra*) except for the lands (*terrae*) of the Duke of Orleans and the Lord of Clisson', using *terra* both in terms of the personal lands of the lords and the larger land of France.[102] Reference is also made to 'the powerful men of the region'

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[98] See: Kantorowicz, '*Pro Patria Mori*' (pp. 476-7); idem, *The King's Two Bodies* (pp. 246-8 and n. 165); Guenée, *States and Rulers* (pp. 54-5); and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 57-8) (who uses '*patria naturae*' and '*patria civitatis*' instead).

[99] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 270).

[100] For example, under 1403 Brittany is described as both *patria* and *terra* when being raided by English forces (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 386)), and under 1406 Denmark is referred to as *patria*, *terra* and *regio* within a very short entry (II (p. 476)).

[101] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 524-6).

[102] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 382) - 'tota terra preter terras Andegauensis ducis et domini de Clisson'. Use of *terra* variously for the physical earth itself, the land/s of individuals, and the larger territorial entity is common across both fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *Chronica* texts (see for examples *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 158, 170, 572-4, 704, 854, 920) and II (pp. 2, 64, 304, 444, 736)).

('potencioribus regionis') assembled by Orleans, suggesting that the Duke's own lands also constitute a *regio* as well as a *terra*.[103] None of the terms used on these occasions, not even *patria*, can truly be said to represent a form of territory set apart from the others to which Walsingham attached particularly distinctive meaning or particular ideological weight.

Patria is used on several occasions within the *Chronica* in ways which can be said to definitely not refer to an ideological construct tied to national identity. For example, *patria* is occasionally used to refer simply to 'land' as opposed to the sea, such as under 1378 when Walsingham reports that an English fleet set out to seek plunder at sea ('in maris') rather than on land ('in patria').[104] Likewise *patria* also appears meaning 'the country*side*' as opposed to the city, such as in the 1391 year summary which claims that corn was so scarce that 'there is no doubt that the country (*patria*) would not have been able to supply the city (*civitas*), nor the city the country'.[105] *Patria* is also found in the chronicle clearly referring to specific, localised regions, such as the speeches attributed to St Albans native Sir Walter atte Lee during the local events of the Peasants' Revolt. Lee supposedly addresses the rebellious villeins of the area regarding his concerns that should the royal army come to the area it would consume all the foodstuffs of the *patria* and that, to protect 'patria mee' or 'my *patria*', he had acquired a commission to try rebels in the *patria*.[106] It is very hard to imagine that this local man, supposedly speaking in a specifically local sense, meant anything wider than the immediate vicinity, which is compounded by Lee's supposed reference to the rebels as 'not outsiders, not unknown men, but your neighbours and friends'.[107] Almost identical sentiments are later attributed to Abbot Thomas de la Mare who hopes to spare 'the townsmen of Saint Albans' ('oppidanis Sancti Albani') and 'the country around' ('patria conuicina') the burden of the royal presence.[108] Elsewhere the North of England, Chester and the Welsh borders, and the

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[103] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 382).

[104] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 220-2) - 'gloriosius reputantes in mari de manibus hostium uictitare quam in patria de spoliis incolarum'. Presumably too this *patria* usage was in reference to France rather than England, further undermining any sense of national, ideological *patria*.

[105] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 914) - 'sine dubio nec patria civitati nec civitas patrie suffecisset' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.). The same meaning likely lies behind the 1382 comment that the Mayor of London's attacks on the fishmongers harmed 'the country around' ('patria conuicina') and earned the hatred of 'all the country around' ('tocius patrie conuicine') (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 616)), and the reference to 'accusers from the country' ('accusatores e patria') accusing the Londoners of crimes against the king in 1392 (I (p. 926)).

[106] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 522-30); Walsingham is explicit that Lee is there to deal with 'the villeins of Saint Albans' ('uillani de Sancto Albano' (p. 522) and has Lee refer to the king's efforts to restore order in Essex specifically as laying a heavy burden upon 'the entire *patria* and its inhabitants' ('patriam universam et habitores eius' (p. 524).

[107] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 528) - 'cui non extranei, non incogniti, set proximi uestri et amici'.

[108] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 538-40) - 'sed pro miseris oppidanis Sancti Albani, necnon pro patria conuicina, quibus sciuit per aduentum regium prouenturum maximum detrimentum'.

area around Radcot Bridge are all described using *patria* in its localised sense.[109] In his prelude to the 1403 Battle of Shrewsbury Walsingham also alludes to there being multiple localised *patriae* within England in his comments that Henry Percy the elder had not left 'the borders of *his* country' ('limites *sue* patrie') (my emphasis), and that Percy supporters claimed 'through the countries' ('per patrias') that Richard II still lived.[110]

This localised meaning of *patria* could be attached to some sentiments in the *Chronica*, but these are uniformly related to a localised *patria* as the land of an individual's birth rather than as an abstracted national feeling. For example, one of Walsingham's criticisms of Pope Urban VI was the Pope's 'extreme love of [his] country alone' ('nimius amor soli patrie').[111] Walsingham writes that Urban desired to return to his 'native soil' ('natale solum') and 'to the country of his birth' ('in patriam suam ubi natus') in order to be among 'his countrymen' ('suas patriotas') whom he trusted more than the people of Rome.[112] In the *Chronica* this desire is inappropriate for a Pope, whose true place is in Rome, and is the chief cause of strife between the Pope and the Roman people, but Walsingham does not seem to object to the idea of loyalty to one's birthplace, merely to the Pope's 'extreme' version.[113] Similar sentiments are also perhaps behind Walsingham's references to certain individuals 'returning home' using the verb *repatriare*.[114] French coastal raiders, the hated Bohemians at the court of Richard II, and Richard himself during his 1394-95 Ireland campaign are all referred to using this term.[115] While each of these could be construed as an indication of attachment to a nation of origin, each could equally be seen as an indication of attachment to a localised birthplace. Given the attachment Walsingham claimed motivated Pope Urban the latter of these may be the most likely.

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[109] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 264, 306, 838, 840).

[110] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 362) - 'nam pater non excessit limites sue patrie'; 'Nempe collaterales eorum et complices publicari fecere per patrias quod rex Ricardus uiuebat'. Plural *patriae* are referred to in the narrative of 1399 too (see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 156)), but this may not have been Walsingham's work directly.

[111] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 860).

[112] This was something of a minor theme for Walsingham, recurring on three occasions: *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 708, 740, 860).

[113] Walsingham's disapproval is demonstrated most clearly through the speech he puts into the mouth of the Abbot of Monte Cassino, who confronts Urban and summarily dispatches him back to Rome (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 858-60)).

[114] *Repatrio* appears to be a somewhat rare verb, but it does appear in Lewis & Short defined as 'to return to one's country' or 'go home again' and traced to the post-classical period with examples of its use by Solinus and Cassiodorus (see www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Drepatrio [accessed 03/08/15]).

[115] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 166 ('repatriauerunt'), 736 ('repatriare')) and II (p. 10 ('repatriare')).

There are some instances within the *Chronica* which could indicate some use of the notion of a *communis patria*, but in truth these are somewhat erratic and in several cases may reflect either conscious or unconscious mimicking of classical Roman terminology rather than any deep attachment to England as a *patria*. For example, twice in his coverage of 1377 and once in that of 1378 Walsingham used the term *patria* in what might be considered a traditional 'patriotic' sense. The account of the Bishop of Rochester's address to the people at Richard II's coronation in 1377 claims that the Bishop named the young king 'father of the country' ('patri patrie') in a rather Ciceronian vein.[116] Cicero had after all coined the term *pater patriae*, which was later used by Roman emperors.[117] Shortly after this the Abbot of Battle is reported as saying to French raiders that he would not surrender the town of Winchelsea as he sought to defend 'the peace of the country' in very similar terms ('pacis patrie').[118] Under 1378 Walsingham recounted another supposed speech in which his associate and informant John Philpot, defending his decision to personally outfit ships against a Franco-Spanish fleet, says that he acted due to his sympathy for 'the people and the country' ('plebis patrieque') and 'for the salvation of his people and the liberation of the country' ('pro proprie gentis saluacione et patrie liberacione').[119] Each of these three examples is found within the earliest stage of Walsingham's chronicle-writing, at the point where he appears to have devoted the greatest amount of energy to the *Chronica* in the early 1380s, and they all revolve around an invented and rhetoricised speech given by a heroic figure. It seems possible therefore that in the early stages of writing Walsingham drew upon the Ciceronian *pater patrie* formula, either on his own initiative or from reports of the Bishop of Rochester's coronation speech, and this remained sufficiently strong in his mind to impact some of his writing in the rest of the early portion of the narrative.[120]

Some occasional instances of similar 'patriotic' sentiments occur later in the chronicle too. For instance, in a speech supposedly given by John of Gaunt in 1384 Walsingham described Gaunt's comment that he had no reason to be 'traitor to my lord and country'

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[116] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 154) - the Bishop urges the people to give up their sins and model themselves upon the young king's innocence, saying that this was appropriate for the 'father of the country' as it would be easy for a king to stray from the correct path if served by sinful men ('asserens hoc omnino patri patrie opportunum, per facil que regi a recto deuiare, regnum et populum periclitari, si tales essent qui ei sedulo et eius consilio ministrarent').

[117] See Kantorowicz, '*Pro Patria Mori*' (p. 474) and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 56, 62-3).

[118] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 162) - 'nec illuc belli causa, set tuicionis et conseruacionis pacis patrie'.

[119] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 224-8).

[120] St Albans is known, even from the surviving partial library catalogues, to have possessed several copies of Ciceronian works during Walsingham's lifetime (see *English Benedictine Libraries* (pp. 553-4, 561)).

('domini mei patrie proditorem').[121] This rhetorical speech also refers in impassioned fashion to his loyalty to the *regnum*, *terra* and 'natali soli' or birthplace (lit. 'soil of his birth').[122] A second example is the description of the exiled Chancellor Michael de la Pole as 'traitor to the country' ('patrie delator') on his death in 1389, despite the majority of references to traitors and treason being to crimes against the king or kingdom.[123] This criticism of the hated Pole comes amid a litany of his crimes and vices including, among other things, that he was an 'instigator of treachery', a 'cesspool of avarice', a 'fabricator of lies' and a 'disseminator of hatred'.[124] In both of these cases, though significantly later in the text than the semi-Ciceronian usages above, a similar sense of *patria* as nation appears to be invoked. That said, in both cases *patria* is only one of several concepts being invoked or points being made: the *patria* is significant on these occasions but it stands alongside the *regnum*, the king, and the *terra* for Gaunt, and betrayal of the *patria* stands alongside a long list of other crimes for Pole. This fact does somewhat undermine the significance of these uses of *patria* in that it appears more as one item among many than a significant point in itself.

From this analysis of how Walsingham deployed the term *patria* we can see that, counter to Kantorowicz's conclusions and widely-held perceptions for a text of this kind and period, he appears to have attached little ideological weight to it. What references there are to the notion of a *comunis patria* appear to be either hangovers from an early Ciceronian reference or simply one avenue of attack among many. By far the most common meaning of *patria* in the chronicle appears to be that of *patria propria* or small, localised place of birth rather than any larger and more abstract 'national' territory. While the overall process of the medieval rediscovery of the classical *comunis patria* posited by Kantorowicz, Hirschi and Guenée may well be accurate overall, such a process does not appear to have influenced Walsingham specifically.

The larger point to be made here is the minimal distinction made in the *Chronica* between the many and varied Latin terms for land and territory, both in reference to England itself and to other nations. No term appears predominantly in emotive or ideologically-charged contexts, and no term appears predominantly in constructions such as 'the [land] of England'.

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[121] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 724).

[122] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 724) - Gaunt also rhetorically asks Richard II "Am I not the chief man in the kingdom (*regnum*) after you?", "Would your enemies make me any richer in their land (*terra*) than I have become in your land (*terra*) and my birthplace ('natali soli')?", "If I were to desire the kingdom (*regnum*)..."

[123] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 878). For references to treason as a crime against king and kingdom see the examples above.

[124] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 878) - 'perfidie promptuarium, sentina auaricie, hauriga prodicionis, archa malicie, odii seminator, mendacii fabricator, susurro nequissimus, dolo prestantissimus, artificiosus detractor, patrieque delator, Michel atte Pole'.

By contrast, as seen above, most available Latin terms are simply used interchangeably. This lack of a particularly favoured and ideologically-weighted term for a territory, while not conclusive proof of a lack of territorially-defined nationhood within Walsingham's mind, does suggest such a lack. Had Walsingham conceived of England, France or any other nation as constituted by a specific territory then we might expect him to favour a particular term or terms with connotations above and beyond simple land or area. *Patria*, for its literal meaning and classical heritage, would have been the obvious choice for such a term, but this choice was not made.

c)   <u>The Linguistic Nation</u>

As discussed above, for many scholars late medieval national identity revolved chiefly around the possession and use of a vernacular 'national' language, and in particular the possession of histories and literature in that vernacular.[125] This constitutes an important step in the development of, to borrow Gellner's model, a shared 'vertical' national culture and identity rather than a class-based 'horizontal' culture shared by members of the same class across state boundaries.[126] For Ardis Butterfield for example, such a vernacular culture is 'how nation is claimed and identified'.[127] Modernist definitions of nationhood also stress the importance of language, albeit generally along lines of print culture's role in standardising the vernacular and providing a medium for a mass culture.[128] The standard narrative for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England runs that gradually the English vernacular displaced Latin and French as the primary language of official record, history-writing and high literature.[129] This narrative has however been problematised by scholars discussing the continued vitality of French and Latin in late medieval England, the limited nature of supposedly wide-ranging pro-English measures, and the important role Latin had previously played in developing English national feeling.[130]

Medieval statements regarding the definition of nationhood are somewhat conflicted or even downright ambiguous on the issue of language. For example, Isidore of Seville commented that every nation possessed its own tongue after the fall of the Tower of Babel but that many nations sprang from within each 'language-stock', and that 'nations arose from languages, and not languages from nations'.[131] Thomas Polton's arguments at the Council of Constance do imply that *nationes particulares* are to be defined by a single language apiece (as opposed to the 'diversity of languages' of a *natio principalis*), but this argument grew out

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[125]   For this discussion see above (pp. 13-23).

[126]   For Gellner's model see above (pp. 14-6). Turville-Petre explicitly refers to Gellner's model in his work on English-language history-writing c.1290-1340 (see his *England the Nation* (pp. 9-10)).

[127]   Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy* (p. xxviii).

[128]   See in particular Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (esp. pp. 37-45) and Breuilly, 'Political Uses of the Nation' (pp. 84-8).

[129]   Key works, as discussed above, include: Cottle, *Triumph of English*; Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*; many of the essays in ed. Lavezzo, *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minnesota, 2004); and Williams, *The French Fetish*.

[130]   For more detailed discussion see above (pp. 20-3). Key works include: Galbraith, 'Nationality and Language' (esp. pp. 118-22); Ormrod, 'The Use of English' (pp. 750-87); Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy* (esp. pp. 3-35); and the essays in eds. J. Wogan-Browne et al, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*.

[131]   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* IX.1.1, .14.

of a specific context and may represent something of a dig at the French *natio*, possessed of only one vernacular.[132] Similarly the Declaration of Arbroath made no such connection between the vernacular and nationhood in relation to Scotland, but again this was determined by the context and aims of the Declaration - separating Scotland from England based on vernacular difference would have been virtually impossible in this period.[133] From both the Declaration and Polton's arguments at Constance it seems that, far from being the single clearest and most important designator of nationhood, a distinct vernacular language was in fact just as variable and mutable a designator as any other.

With such conflicted or ambiguous opinions circulating in his own time, not to mention conflicting assessments of medieval linguistic politics among modern scholars, it is important to consider Walsingham's opinions regarding any connection between vernacular language and nationhood on their own merits and their own terms, not simply as proof or disproof of a modern theoretical position of grand narrative. Walsingham's position as a monk and place within an established Latin-language chronicle tradition at St Albans explain his use of Latin rather than English or French for his chronicles, but we can still catch glimpses of his attitude toward the vernaculars of contemporary England within the *Chronica*. From these glimpses it would appear that Walsingham was indifferent to the vernacular as a vehicle of national identity and feeling, at times even exhibiting a sort of cultural-linguistic chauvinism in which English was presented as a medium for social upheaval, heresy and even Scottish raiding.

The most common occurrences of England's two vernaculars within the *Chronica* are the government documents copied into the chronicle as a record of political events, and then the primary vernacular usage is of French. It is well known that in this period French continued to be widely used in English governmental business and record, and recent work has stressed that the use of French also reached much deeper into English society, into day-to-day business, private devotion and local or urban governance.[134] With this in mind it should then come as no surprise that Walsingham appears to have been able to read and reproduce French documents with ease, and was clearly also willing to do so within his chronicle. For example, while six of the documents incorporated into the narrative of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt were written in Latin, two more were written in French - the two letters sent by Richard II to St

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[132] See above (pp. 51-3).

[133] For the Declaration see above (p. 54).

[134] See in particular Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy* and the essays by Lusignan, Britnell, Kowaleski and Deeming in eds. Wogan-Browne et al, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, but see also Ormrod, 'The Use of English' (pp. 772-7) and Swanson, '*Gens secundum cognationem*' (pp. 30-2).

Albans on 15th June.[135] These letters are included amidst the Latin ones and Walsingham made no explicit comments regarding their language, and nor did he edit, summarise or translate these documents, simply reproducing them and thereby reproducing governmental multilingualism. These letters were of course particularly important to the community of St Albans, in particular the second which orders all the king's subjects not to molest the abbey, but we know from other documents in the *Chronica* that Walsingham was not above translating, paraphrasing or 'amending' such documents when it suited him.[136] Thus Walsingham's lack of comment or intervention with these two French documents can be read as tacit acceptance of the status of French as an English official language.

When relating documentation in the English vernacular however the *Chronica* does comment on the language being used. In the copying of the *Record and Process* document distributed by Henry IV after the deposition of Richard II under 1399, the chronicler generally repeated the original almost verbatim.[137] The original document is mostly in Latin, but does make several references to the English vernacular: Richard's formal abdication is read aloud by the Archbishop of York 'first in Latin and then in English' (although the recorded version in both texts is in Latin); Henry's speeches to Parliament and 'ad populum' are recorded in English (as with the original record), and there is a comment that Henry spoke 'in lingua materna' or 'in the mother tongue'; and Richard's English-language exchange with justiciar William Thirning is likewise recorded in English in the *Chronica*, this time with a note that they spoke 'in vulgari' or 'in the vulgar tongue'.[138] The first of these references is a simple following of the original document as might be expected, and it seems likely that the only copy of Richard's abdication speech available to the chronicler was recorded in Latin.[139] While the use of 'lingua materna' in the second reference appears significant at first glance, casting the English vernacular as a 'mother tongue', in fact it too is simply a reproduction of the wording of the original document.[140] Referring to English as the 'mother tongue' of the king in a

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[135] For the Latin documents see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 440-2, 478, 510-2, 518-22, 556-8, 560). For the French documents see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 452-4, 466-8).

[136] For examples of Walsingham's interventions in documents incorporated into the chronicle see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 276-8, 378-82, 626-36).

[137] For the *Record and Process* and its inclusion into the *Chronica* see above (p. 42 and n. 159). The text of the *Record and Process* can be found at *Rot. Parl.* iii.415-24 and *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 158-216).

[138] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 168, 206-8, 212) respectively.

[139] Compare *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 168) and *Rot. Parl.* iii.417.15.

[140] Compare *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 206-8) and *Rot. Parl.* iii.422-3.53. There are slight differences in spelling and some minor wording changes around the speeches, but nothing to suggest deliberate alterations. Gwilym Dodd has recently argued that in fact the documentary record preserved the spoken English of the 1399 speeches without translation into Latin or French purely in order to record the king's precise words exactly as they were spoken (see his 'The Spread of English' (pp. 235-6)). Similar

Lancastrian propaganda document may of course have implications for interpreting Lancastrian propagandist use of the English vernacular, but it cannot be said to directly reflect the opinions of the chronicler.[141] The third example is different however; here the chronicler intervened more in the original text, stripping away a redundant sub-heading of French text and substituting a more precise Latin one, which includes the reference to 'in vulgari'.[142] Thus in this case the chronicler deliberately added a reference to the English vernacular as 'vulgar tongue', a phrasing which of course suggests a certain amount of distaste for the language and associates it with the 'vulgar', meaning lower, classes.[143] It is however possible, as discussed above, that this portion of the *Chronica* was not the work of Walsingham himself but of another, anonymous monk.[144] Thus, while the addition of the reference to 'the vulgar tongue' does speak to some degree of anti-vernacular sentiment among the monks of the St Albans scriptorium, caution should be exercised before labelling it an expression of anti-vernacular sentiment from Walsingham himself.

Outside of a royal or governmental context there is however evidence that Walsingham's view of the vernacular was in fact similar in tone to the 'vulgar tongue' reference under 1399. Under 1404 Walsingham told a rather vicious joke aimed at the vernacular and those who speak it, writing of an incident in which a Franco-Breton raiding force attacked Dartmouth only to be defeated by 'rustics'.[145] The account of this incident is dramatised through the use of tropes of the arrogant enemy, quotations from classical works regarding the fickleness of Fortune, dramatic battle description, and a lengthy listing of the noblemen captured, all geared toward ridiculing the French and Breton defeat by English commoners. While the enemy are 'noble young men, of France and Brittany' who come wearing 'glorious accoutrements' and fine armour, they are defeated and their arrogance

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desire for 'authenticity' has also been located by Mark Ormrod in parliamentary petitions (see his 'The Language of Complaint' (pp. 32-7)).

[141]   Some literary scholars have argued for a deliberate policy of fostering English linguistic nationalism through the English vernacular (see especially Fisher, 'A Language Policy for Lancastrian England' (pp. 1168-78)), although the degree of conscious planning and consistency within this agenda remain open to much interpretation. For a powerful counter-argument to this notion of a 'policy' see in particular Dodd, 'The Spread of English' (pp. 225-66).

[142]   Compare *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 212) and *Rot. Parl.* iii.424.59. The Roll includes the sub-heading 'Les paroles qe William Thirnyng parla a Monsire Richard nadgairs Roy d'Engleterre, a le toure de Loundres, en sa chambre, le mesqerdy prochein apres le fest de Seint Michell l'archaunchelle, s'ensuent', which is replaced in the chronicle with 'Responsio Ricardi, nuper regis, in vulgari'.

[143]   *Vulgus* and *vulgi* were among Walsingham's favoured terms for members of the lower orders, particularly at times when they were acting particularly turbulently (see for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 416, 418, 426, 428, 498, 502, 544, 546, 570)).

[144]   See above (pp. 42-3).

[145]   The full account covers *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 398-406).

(*arrogancia* and *superbia*) humbled by God and English rustics.[146] By contrast, the English fighters are described as 'rustics', 'commoners', 'plebs' and even women, fighting with slings and 'swords and cudgels, and other implements of rustics'.[147] The account explicitly wonders at the defeat of such great men by those of no rank, and describes how God had 'set servants to rule lords, and tie them, to lead them wherever they pleased, like cattle'.[148] Further mockery is made in the comment that when many of the enemy sought to surrender and offered sums of money as ransom, the 'rustics' 'who were ignorant of their language' did not understand and killed them.[149] While the language in question is not specified it surely must refer to French, casting the 'rustics' as speakers only of English. Although Walsingham targeted this account toward ridiculing the French, his comment that the 'rustics' knew only English similarly characterised the English language as the language of ignorant peasants and farm workers.

Similar low opinion of the vernacular is expressed even more forcefully and explicitly in Walsingham's coverage of a 1379 Scottish raid on northern England. After stressing the harm a plague had done to the North and the inhumanity of the Scots for attacking while their neighbours suffered so, Walsingham claimed that the Scots became fearful of contracting the plague themselves and collectively prayed for protection.[150] Walsingham first related the prayer in Latin, but then he wrote:

> This prayer sounds much more ridiculous in their language than in the
> Latin tongue, and therefore I believe it appropriate to record it in this
> place.[151]

This scorn in place, he then related the wording of the prayer in the vernacular:

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[146] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 400-4) - 'recollecta iuuentute nobilium, tam Gallorum quam Britonum'; the leader, 'the lord of Chastel' considers himself undefeatable; 'uires gloriosus apparatus hoscium, preciosus amictus, et fulgens armatura'; 'pessumdeditque Deus arroganciam superborum die illo, qui putabant nullas uires illis resistere potuisse'.

[147] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 400-6) - Walsingham variously uses *rustici*, *rurales*, *vulgares*, *communes*, *plebani*, *ignobiles*, and 'uirorum simplicium' or 'simple men' to describe the English fighters; 'cum gladiis et fustibus, et instrumentis aliis ruricolarum' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.). Similar mockery of the weaponry of the peasants, albeit in very different circumstances, can be found in Walsingham's coverage of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 412)).

[148] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 404) - 'fecitque seruos imperare dominis, et eos uinctos, quocunque liberet, abducere, uelut pecudes' (my trans.).

[149] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 402) - 'Plures a rusticis occidebantur, eo quod ignorabant eorum linguam, quanquam grandes pro redempcione summas optulissent. Sed rustici, alia pro aliis interpretantes, putabant eos comminari, qui pro uita sollicite supplicabant'.

[150] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 306-10). This account is discussed in more detail for its stereotyping of the Scots below (p. 162).

[151] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 310) - 'Que benediccio multo ridiculosius sonat in ipsorum ydiomate quam lingua Latina, et propterea illam in presenti loco scriber dignum puto' (my trans.).

> Gode and seynt Mango, seynt Romayne, and seynt Andreu, schild us this
> day fro Godes grace, and þe foule deþ þat English men dyen upon.[152]

Here then the use of the vernacular is both inherently more ridiculous than use of Latin, is associated with a harsh and cruel people acting particularly harshly and cruelly, and is recounted needlessly in order to mock its users.

Alongside this ridicule and belittling of the users of the vernacular is an awareness of what Anne Hudson has called 'the danger of English' for the vernacular's associations with social revolt and the Lollard heresy.[153] While the relationship between Lollardy and social revolt in this period remains under debate, the English vernacular is known to have enjoyed a prominent place in each individually, enough to stimulate distrust of the language among the English clergy and government.[154] Steven Justice has noted the particular bile contemporary writers attached to the act of *writing* in the vernacular, seeing such as 'acts of assertive literacy' from the *illiterati*, and has singled out Walsingham as a particular exemplar of this hostility.[155] However, it must also be noted that just as many of the following examples of the vernacular as a dangerous medium take place in the context of *spoken* language, suggesting that Walsingham's view of the dangers of English was in reality spread more widely than Justice concluded.

Walsingham himself wholeheartedly linked the Peasants' Revolt and Lollardy together, as well as stressing the use of the vernacular in both. According to his assessment, John Ball had taught Lollard doctrine for twenty years before the Revolt, had preached the now-famous 'When Adam delved and Eve span' sermon at Blackheath, and had also written a

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[152] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 310).

[153] For the importance of the vernacular in Lollard belief see A. Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?', in ed. S. Mews, *Religion and National Identity* (Oxford, 1982) [*Studies in Church History*, 18] (pp. 261-83) and J.C. Havens, '"As Englishe is Comoun Langage to Oure Puple": The Lollards and their Imagined "English" Community', in ed. K. Lavezzo, *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minnesota, 2004) (pp. 96-128). For contemporary distrust of the vernacular for these reasons see in particular: Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?' (pp. 261-83, quote at p. 266); N. Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', in *Speculum* 70 (1995) (pp. 822-64); and Ormrod, 'The Use of English' (pp. 782-6). See also the potential Lollard connections of many early instances of the English vernacular in official records (see Dodd, 'The Spread of English' (pp. 254-6, 261)).

[154] On the possible links between Lollardy and revolt see: M. Aston, 'Lollardy and Sedition 1381-1431', in ed. R.H. Hilton, *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History* (Cambridge, 1981) (pp. 273-318); Justice, *Writing and Rebellion* (esp. pp. 75-101); and idem 'Religious Dissent, Social Revolt and 'Ideology'', in ed. C. Dyer, *Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages: An Exploration of Historical Themes* (Oxford, 2007) [*Past and Present* Supplement, New Series 2] (pp. 205-16).

[155] See Justice, *Writing and Rebellion* (pp. 24-66, 198-201).

letter to the rebels of Essex written in English and supposedly filled with secret meanings.[156] Likewise in his explanations of the Revolt Walsingham explicitly tied it to the rise of Lollardy before any other cause, and the entire 1381 narrative is opened with a vociferous attack on the 'ravings' of Wyclif and the tale of a (presumably Lollard) knight who desecrated sacramental bread and was punished.[157] While the *Chronica* does not mention the 1407 Constitutions of Archbishop Arundel, which prohibited the translation of sacred texts into English as an anti-Lollard measure, it does approvingly cite several of Arundel's other efforts against heresy which would suggest that similar approval probably met the Constitutions.[158] Further connection between Lollardy, revolt and the English vernacular is made in the description of the discovery of several heretical works in a house at which the Lollard rebel John Oldcastle had stayed in 1417.[159] In this account Walsingham specifically noted that the books thus discovered were written in English ('libri in Anglicis scripti litteris'), as well as noting that some contained defaced images of saints and blasphemies against the Virgin.[160] Walsingham was also keen to stress the low status of those involved, terming the owner of the house a *rusticus* and Oldcastle's followers as *nebulones* or 'rascals'.[161] Although lacking the taint of Lollardy, the juxtaposition at the Battle of Shrewbury in 1403 of the *Chronica*'s rebels shouting "Henry Percy Kyng" in English and Henry IV shouting "Mortuus est Henricus Percy" or 'Henry Percy is dead' in Latin subtly casts the rebels as English-speaking and the king and loyalists as Latin-speaking.[162] That both sides' shouting is conveyed using the same verb (*clamare*) serves to underscore this supposed linguistic difference between Latin-speaking legitimacy and English-speaking illegitimacy.

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[156] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 544-8). For discussion see Justice, *Writing and Rebellion* (pp. 13-38).

[157] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 402-6, 500-2). The tale of the knight, very shortly before the Revolt narrative begins, ends with a note that the tale was included in the chronicle in order to demonstrate the evil Wyclif ('or Weakbelief') created on earth, clearly an attempt to preface the Revolt as a Lollard-inspired endeavour (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 406)).

[158] For Arundel's anti-Lollard activities in the chronicle see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 308-10, 580-90, 642-4). For the 1407 Constitutions see Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?' (pp. 266-70) and F. Somerset, 'Professionalising Translation at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century: Ullerston's *Determinacio*, Arundel's *Constitutiones*', in eds. F. Somerset & N. Watson, *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (Pennsylvania, 2003) (esp. pp. 152-4).

[159] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 722). For Oldcastle's rebellion see: *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 522, 600, 622-40, 662-4, 720-30); Allmand, *Henry V* (pp. 294-305); and J.A.F. Thomson, 'Oldcastle, John, Baron Cobham (d.1417)', in *ODNB*.

[160] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 722).

[161] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 722). Both of these are terms previously used to describe the peasants of 1381 (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 410-4, 416, 422-4, 436, 448, 458, 492).

[162] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 370-2).

We should however be wary of applying too rigid or significant an agenda onto Walsingham's rare references to the vernacular. While there are elements of contemporary distrust of the vernacular as a medium of heresy and rebellion, as well as ridicule and low opinion, the overall picture is largely one of indifference to the vernacular. In general the *Chronica* prefers to use Latin even for direct speech of actors who were almost certainly not speaking in Latin at the time,[163] and refers to non-English speech or words through expressions like 'as is said in their language' rather than displaying any real interest in linguistic variation or difference.[164] In the tale of a deaf and dumb Breton miraculously healed by the Aragonese preacher Vincent Ferrer in 1418 the Breton suddenly begins to speak 'in his vulgar tongue' ('in suo vulgari'), but the speech is rendered as "Ihesu mercy, mercy Ihesu" and "Ihesu, Maria, blyssid be they; Maria, Ihesu blyssid be the" rather than French or Breton.[165] Why the Breton would speak English is not addressed in the chronicle, suggesting that Walsingham's real aim was to demonstrate speech in *a* 'vulgar tongue' and simply used the closest to hand. Even a reference under 1390 to 'secret killers, called "murderers" in English' ('occultus iugulator, quales "mordrerers" appellant Anglici') is brief and tangential to the main focus, and if anything suggests distance between Walsingham and English-speakers rather than interest.[166] A similar sense of distance is conveyed in the tale of a Cornish cabin boy saved from Flemish pirates by his recognising 'their tongue' ('ydioma suorum') when entering port, rather than 'our tongue'.[167]

With these and the previous examples combined the overall picture of Walsingham's opinions on vernacular linguistic politics is that of, at best, large-scale indifference and, at worst, open hostility. The *Chronica* replicates contemporary concerns regarding the vernacular as a medium for heresy and rebellion, as well as reproducing governmental multilingualism, but displays no real interest in the vernacular in itself. Latin culture is what mattered to Walsingham and, although undoubtedly a patriotic writer in almost every sense, his England is a Latin England not an English one. In this Walsingham serves as something of a corrective or a cautionary note to much modern scholarship regarding late medieval English nationhood: while many contemporaries did attach great significance to the use of the English vernacular,

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[163] For just a few examples see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 10-2, 574-6, 762-4) and II (pp. 286, 662).

[164] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 676) which refers to 'Bastard Flandrie, quem Hasam lingua sua uocant' and II (p. 684) which refers to 'uocatum Suut eorum lingua'.

[165] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 732-4).

[166] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 898).

[167] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 290).

many others such as Walsingham and his ilk continued to describe and define their England using the traditional 'truth-language' of Latin.[168]

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[168] Latin as a 'truth-language', also a 'sacred language', is from Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (esp. pp. 12-19).

d) <u>The Ethnic Nation</u>

The final aspect of nation definition of our four, that of 'ethnic' identity, is familiar both in modern scholarship and in medieval definitions of nationhood and group identity. Modern scholars have, as discussed above, generally theorised that 'ethnically'-constructed communities or 'ethnies' (construed as subjective cultural group identity *imagined* as a genetic relationship rather than as a necessarily real genetic relationship) existed before the development of more 'national' forms of such community.[169] In terms of the Middle Ages perhaps the most influential advocate of this kind of developmental narrative has been Susan Reynolds, who has argued that European communities defined themselves chiefly as ethnically-distinct collectives before c.900-1300 but in that period, through origin myths and the formation of kingdoms, gradually developed into more territorially- and politically-defined communities.[170] While Reynolds does not use the label 'ethnic' to describe these earlier forms of communal identity the features she describes ('a natural, inherited community of tradition, custom, law, and descent') very closely mirror the kind of 'ethnies' posited by Anthony Smith and others, which preceded and developed into nations.[171] The process of development posited by Reynolds can perhaps best be seen in the change in regnal titles over time: Athelstan in the tenth century referred to himself as 'rex Anglorum' or 'king of the English', while the twelfth century saw this title decline in favour of 'rex Anglie' or 'king of England'.[172]

Medieval texts too suggest something of this conception, with earlier writers like Isidore of Seville describing national communities chiefly as *gens* or *natio*, while later writers prioritised either territorial or political terms like *patria* and *regnum* respectively.[173] The origin myths of nations known as *origines gentium* stories and the books of the Old Testament

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[169] For this discussion see above (pp. 17-9).

[170] See Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (pp. xlvi-xlvii, lix-lx, 250-330) and idem, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*' (esp. pp. 384-90).

[171] Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (p. 250). For Smith's 'ethnies' and their progression into 'nations' see Smith, 'National Identities: Modern and Medieval?' (p. 28) and idem, 'Were there Nations in Antiquity?' (pp. 38-9). For a slightly more theoretical formulation of much the same progression see also James, *Nation Formation* (esp. pp. 1-16).

[172] See Tsurushima, 'What do we Mean by 'Nations'' (pp. 12-3). John Gillingham has noted a similar change with references to the *gens Anglorum* being supplanted in some texts by *Anglici* and *regnum Anglie* during the twelfth century (in his 'Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation' (pp. 78-9)). Reynolds herself puts little stock in such terminological arguments (see her *Kingdoms and Communities* (pp. xliv, 254-6, 259)), but such evidence does support her argument and there is a difference of underlying assumption at work between reference to 'King of the English' and 'King of England'.

[173] Isidore wrote that: 'A *gens* is a number of people sharing a single origin, or distinguished from another *natio* in accordance with its own grouping...The word *gens* is also called on account of the generations (*generati*) of families, that is from begetting (*gignere*), as the term *natio* comes from 'being born' (*nasci*)' (*Etymologies* IX.ii.1) (see also IX.iv.4 and VIII.x.3).

provided models of past history based around ethnically-defined groups.[174] The composers of the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath, a statement of Scottish national identity in the face of English claims to overlordship, appear to have very much subscribed to this developmental narrative. In the Declaration the Scottish *natio* had their origins among the *nationes* of Scythia in the distant past and once lived among the *gentes* of Spain, but more recent history is told through the frame of the Scottish *regnum* ruled by an unbroken succession of 113 native kings and at war with England.[175]

Thus it would appear that Walsingham wrote his *Chronica* toward the end of a lengthy process in which ethnically-defined forms of community gradually and imperfectly gave way to more politically- and territorially-defined forms, but that ethnic definitions did continue to have some relevance and utility. In line with Isidore and other medieval writers the Latin terms *gens* and *natio* have been taken to be the chief indicators of an ethnically-defined community, with *populus* accorded lesser attention given its semi-political connotations. Studying how and where Walsingham deployed these terms in the *Chronica* gives an interesting picture regarding how he conceived ethnically-defined forms of community, namely that he appears to have accorded such forms some significance but only in certain settings. Ethnic forms of community appear to have been used chiefly in relation to lesser or 'barbarous' nations, to describe innate characteristics or stereotypes of national groups, and to make generalised references to 'other nations'. The first two of these uses do serve to somewhat imply that ethnic communities were part of an older phase of history given the emphasis on innate, transhistorical character traits and on societies of a lesser stage of development. The third use lacks such a chronological implication but does fit within some of Walsingham's wider glorificatory presentations of England which are the focus of chapter 5.

Lesser or more 'primitive' nations receive presentation as ethnically-based groups in the *Chronica*, particularly the people of the Canary Islands, Eastern Europeans, and the Irish. For example, describing the discovery of the Canary Islands under the 1404 narrative Walsingham deliberately portrayed the inhabitants as occupying a 'primitive' stage of development: he stressed the Islanders' nakedness, their lack of buildings and metalworking, and their primitive tools and weapons, all in conscious mimicry of Ovid's depiction of earlier

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[174] On *origines gentium* see Guenée, *States and Rulers* (pp. 58-63) and Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*' (esp. pp. 375-84). For the importance of biblical models of people-hood see in particular Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood* (pp. 2-4, 15-7) and L. Scales, 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide: Imagining the Destruction of Peoples in Medieval Western Europe', in *History* 92 (2007) (pp. 284-7, 294-6). Scales & Zimmer have also noted the role of classical ethnographic texts in creating a peoples-based view of the world (see their 'Introduction' (p. 7)).

[175] Declaration of Arbroath (1320), available at: http://www.nas.gov.uk/downloads/declarationArbroath.pdf [accessed 17/02/14].

Ages of mankind in the *Metamorphoses*.[176] Importantly however Walsingham referred to the Islanders as 'huic genti' or 'this *gens*', affiliating this 'primitive' stage of development with an ethnically-constructed form of nation.[177] Less positive and specific but most likely taking a similar tack is the reference during Henry Bolingbroke's 1390 expedition to Prussia to 'gente de Lettow' or 'the *gens* of Lithuania', eight of whom apparently converted to Christianity as a result of Bolingbroke's campaign.[178] The Irish receive similar treatment in places within the *Chronica*, in parallel with Walsingham's reproduction of twelfth-century discourses of Irish 'barbarism'.[179] While the Irish are not simply referred to as a *gens* as such, Richard II's 1395 stay in Ireland is described as the king being 'among the Irish' ('inter Hibernicos') rather than 'in Ireland', favouring a people-based construction of Ireland and the Irish over a territorial or political one.[180] Likewise the Irish origins of a Carmelite friar in 1384 and the corrupt justiciar William Rickhill in 1397 are expressed using 'Hibernicus genere' and Hibernicus nacione' respectively, drawing on terms derived from both of the ethnic community terms discussed above.[181]

Related to this use of ethnic community definitions for 'primitive' peoples is their use for the ethnic-national stereotyping of entire peoples. The nature and content of these stereotypes is the focus of Chapters 3, 4 and 5, but for the moment it is important to note that in the instances of the attribution of innate, timeless characteristics or traits to entire nations Walsingham uniformly drew upon ethnic terminology. For example, when describing the Scots as 'a rabid people' ('gentis rabide') Walsingham used *gens*, as he also did when terming them as 'an unquiet people' ('gentem inquietem'), as acting in accord with 'the custom of their

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[176] Compare *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 412-4) and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (ed. & trans. A.D. Melville) (Oxford, 1986, repr. 2008) [Oxford World Classics] (pp. 3-6). For the Canary Islands and responses to them in this period see D. Abulafia, 'Neolithic meets Medieval: First Encounters in the Canary Islands', in eds. D. Abulafia & N. Berend, *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot, 2002) (pp. 255-278) and idem, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (Yale, 2008) (pp. 33-89). I hope to discuss this particular case further in a future article.

[177] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 414) - 'Huic genti nulla domus, nullum edificium est, sed pro domibus antris utuntur et speluncis'.

[178] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 902) - 'Facti sunt Christiani de gente de Lettow octo'. For Henry's Eastern European adventures see F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'Henry of Derby's Expeditions to Prussia 1390-1 and 1392', in eds. F.R.H. Du Boulay & C.M. Barron, *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971) (pp. 153-72).

[179] For discussion of this presentation of the Irish see below (pp. 137-49).

[180] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 10) - 'qui iam exhauserat thesauri sui inter Hibernicos facultatem'.

[181] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 722) and II (p. 98) respectively. The allegation of specifically Irish origins does not seem attached to the stereotyping of the Irish as a people, merely as a judgmental statement of non-Englishness (see below (p. 262 (n. 15))).

people' ('more genti'), and when referring to 'the Scottish people' ('gente Scotorum').[182] Similarly negative stereotyping of various other national groups is conveyed using the label *gens*; for example the Picards are described as the most false *gens* among the French, Flemish innate treachery is claimed to date back to the very beginning of their *gens*, and the entire 'Lombard' *gens* is described as 'the greatest of lawbreakers' but as revering the sacraments.[183] Hated individuals too are described as acting in accordance with the manner of their *gens*, like the Count of St Pol for his supposed betrayal of the English in 1380.[184]

Self-glorifying stereotypes of the English are also conveyed using the notion of the English nation as a *gens*, such as the 1379 comment that the English were confident of military success in Brittany thanks to 'the pre-eminence of their people (*gens*) and their expert knowledge of warfare' ('pro generis preeminencia et in armis exercitata prudencia').[185] Similarly the rather ambiguous stereotyping of the English and the French as possessed of a brotherly kindness to one another while abroad is framed as a comment on the two nations as *gentes* ('utrique genti, Anglie scilicet atque Gallie').[186] Some of Walsingham's constructions of the English as a nation defined as a people or *gens* are also explicitly tied into notions of antiquity and past ages. For example, references to St Alban in the *Chronica* and the *Ypodigma* are exclusively framed not as 'the protomartyr of England' but as 'the protomartyr of the English' ('Anglorum prothomartiris') or 'the protomartyr of the Britons' ('protomartyris Britannorum').[187] St Alban was of course a figure of particular interest to Walsingham himself as the patron saint of his abbey, and the status as 'protomartyr' also has an element of national pride within it given the saint's role as the first English martyr for the faith.[188] Under 1379,

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[182] See for examples *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 265, 306-10, 370, 562-6, 790-2).

[183] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 172, 288) and II (p. 426) respectively. The Flemings of Ghent are also described as displaying the fickleness which was 'the innate manner of their people' ('innato more genti sue') (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 784-6)).

[184] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 398) - the Count is accused of going over to the French king as soon as he returned from captivity in England 'in the manner of his people' ('more gentis sue'). For more discussion of Walsingham's depiction of the Count see below (pp. 299-301).

[185] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 326).

[186] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 892). For discussion of this rare and ambiguous instance of national stereotyping see below (pp. 180-6).

[187] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 116, 122-4, 128, 472, 880), II (p. 476). In the Dedication of the *Ypodigma Neustriae* Walsingham referred to himself as 'monk of the Monastery of St Alban, protomartyr of the English' ('monachus Monasterii Sancti Albani, Anglorum Protomartyris') (Riley's trans.) (*Ypodigma Neustriae* (pp. viii, 3)).

[188] For Walsingham's attachment to St Alban, as evidenced by his production of a new Life of the Saint and his probable discussion of the Saint with a visiting Danish bishop in 1405, see above (pp. 26-7, 41). The nationalistic potential of such historical Christian figures is demonstrated by Polton's claims at the Council of Constance that English Christianity dated back to Joseph of Arimathea and Constantine the Great, trumping France's St Denis (see *Unity, Heresy and Reform* (pp. 118-20)).

shortly before referring to the English 'pre-eminence' and 'expert knowledge of warfare', Walsingham claimed that an English victory over French forces near Cherbourg brought 'great salvation to the English people' ('magna salus in gente Anglorum').[189] This battle narrative, replete with rhetorical speeches, dramatic tension and grand, violent description, ends with a nationalistic biblical reference which claims that the English victors deserved praise for having 'wrought salvation in Israel, and taken away reproach from the people' ('fecistis salutem in Israel, et abstulistis opprobrium de gente').[190] This is a reference to 1 Samuel 17, the story of David and Goliath, and of course has implications of the mighty and prideful French being defeated by the smaller and humble English. However, 1 Samuel 17:26 truly states 'taken away the reproach from *Israel*' ('tulerit obprobrium de *Israhel*') (my emphasis), meaning that Walsingham has in fact substituted the reference to Israel for a reference to 'the people', immediately after referring to the *gens Anglorum*. This affiliation of the English *gens* with the notion of a new Israel or new Chosen People through the Old Testament, as well as the people-based references to an ancient English martyr, are both indications that Walsingham tended to think about the nations of past ages through an ethnic lens.

Another, slightly different, aspect of Walsingham's use of ethnically-constructed nationhood is his tendency to use it to refer to a generalised sense of 'other nations', particularly in terms of generalising England's neighbours and in terms of non-Christian or non-Catholic nations. On this second count there are Walsingham's references to the 'gente pagana' led by 'Morettus' (likely Bayezid I) defeated at Constantinople in 1395, and the 'gente Sarracenica' defeated by an Anglo-German-Portuguese force at Ceuta in 1415.[191] Similarly, although in reference to fellow Christians, Walsingham described the subjects of King Leo V of Armenia, an individual he intensely distrusted, as 'gente sua' on his arrival in England in 1386.[192] There are more contemporary similarities to this usage too, as Butterfield has noted that seven of Chaucer's eight uses of the Middle English 'nacioun' are in reference to 'other' nations of this type: barbarians, Trojans and Saracens.[193] This usage bears similarities to patterns in Roman and early medieval usage in which ethnically-constructed 'nations' were the preserve of barbarians or non-Roman peoples, while the Romans described themselves as

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[189] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 288).

[190] For the full battle account see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 282-8, quote at p. 288) (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[191] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 32, 684) respectively.

[192] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 784). For Walsingham's mistrust of Leo see below (pp. 297-9).

[193] A. Butterfield, 'Nationhood', in ed. S. Ellis, *Chaucer: An Oxford Guide* (Oxford, 2005) (pp. 51, 60-1).

imperial and therefore above such forms of community.[194] Isidore of Seville preserved this distinction into the Middle Ages, writing that the title *imperator* was applied to Emperors from Augustus onwards in order that 'he would be distinguished by this title from other 'kings' of nations.[195]

On the first count above, that of ethnic nationhood as a generalised reference to other national groups, Walsingham also followed a clear pattern. For example, under 1376 Walsingham claims that the English possess greater affection for their kings than do 'other nations' ('aliis nationibus'), and that the king's hated mistress Alice Perrers caused great harm to Edward III's reputation among all the neighbouring peoples' ('omnium gentium uicinarum').[196] Patriotic praise of the English, rhetorically placed into the mouth of the Lord of Clisson in 1382, likewise praises English loyalty as superior to that of 'other nations' ('naciones alias').[197] There are similar examples across both fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts of the *Chronica*, usually found amid praise of the English or concerned with English international reputation.[198] Walsingham also at times directly contrasted the politically-defined nation of England with these ethnically-defined other nations, such as his quasi-imperialist comment, put into Philpot's grand speech of 1378, that England is 'the most noble realm, mistress of peoples' ('nobilissimo regno, domina quoque gencium').[199] At the beginning of his coverage of the Peasants' Revolt too Walsingham claimed that the Revolt made the English *regnum* a laughing stock among 'all peoples' ('cunctis gentibus').[200] Likewise at the 1418 surrender of Louviers Walsingham wrote that the terms of surrender required that all 'renegades of England, and those of the Welsh, Irish, Normans and Gascons' be handed over to Henry V, juxtaposing 'England' with the peoples of the king's other possessions.[201]

One of the clearest examples of this opposition of English *regnum* against other nations' *gens* is in Walsingham's description of the arrival of Joan of Navarre, previously

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[194] See W.R. Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (1971) (pp. 377, 379-81) and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 35-47).

[195] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* IX.iii.14.

[196] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 44-6); this description does also make reference to 'cunctis adiacentibus regnis' alongside these two ethnically-based constructions.

[197] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 574-6).

[198] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 304) and II (pp. 92, 278).

[199] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 226-8).

[200] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 410) - 'quod nisi Deus, misericordiarum Dominus, solito bonitatis intuitu cicius compressisset, et regnum omnino destructum, et factum fuisset cunctis gentibus in sibilum et derisum'.

[201] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 736) - 'renegatos Anglie, scilicet Wallicos, Hibernicos, Normannos...et Wascones'.

duchess of Brittany and soon-to-be wife of Henry IV in 1403.[202] Walsingham wrote that Joan came:

> from the minor Britain to the major, from a dukedom to a kingdom, from a ferocious people (*gens*) to a peaceful and quiet populace (*populus*).[203]

The distinctions drawn here between England and Brittany are significant on a number of levels for this thesis, including the reference to Brittany as 'minor Britain' which indicates the influence of the Geoffrey of Monmouth tradition, and the resonances of the comment that the Bretons were a 'gente feroci' to England's peaceful *populus* and *regnum*. For the present however, the significant factor is the distinction drawn between England as *regnum* and *populus*, both terms implying politically-defined community, and Brittany as *gens* and *ducatus*, the former of which refers to purely ethnically-defined community.

Overall then Walsingham's use of ethnically-defined forms of nationhood followed three main patterns. Firstly such forms of community were used to derogatively refer to communities considered more 'primitive' or lesser than the English, a usage which clearly worked to glorify the position of England. Secondly such forms were used to refer to the innate and transhistorical ethnic-national stereotypes which underpinned Walsingham's wider worldview. And thirdly they were used to make generalised reference to 'other nations', both in relation to England's neighbours and to non-Christian nations, which again serves to distinguish and elevate the English above other peoples. Two themes exist within these patterns: ethnically-constructed forms of national community were construed as either antique or transhistorical, and they were considered inferior to political forms, chiefly the *regnum*.

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[202] For Joan/Jeanne see M. Jones, 'Between England and France: Jeanne de Navarre, Duchess of Brittany and Queen of England (1368-1437)', in *Between France and England: Politics, Power and Society in Late Medieval Brittany* (Aldershot, 2003) (pp. 1-23) [orig. publ. in 1999].

[203] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 340) - 'de minori Britannia ad maiorem, de ducatu ad regnum, de gente feroci ad populum pacificum et quietum' (my trans.).

e)   Conclusion

Returning to the four main constructions of medieval nationhood discussed in this chapter - political units, territories, linguistic units, ethnic communities - we can now assess the relative importance of each to Walsingham specifically, as indicated by the *Chronica*. For Walsingham it seems the best and most important form of national community was one defined by political autonomy or political importance in English eyes. Chiefly this meant the *regnum*, but as is demonstrated by the treatment given to Brittany, Flanders and, latterly, Normandy smaller units such as duchies could also be counted. Secondary to this political form of nation, but still significant in its own way, was a more 'ethnic' form. This 'ethnic' form, based around the terms *gens* and *natio*, appears to have been chiefly used to represent 'other nations', both in terms of their lesser or more 'primitive' status and generalisations regarding the various other nations surrounding England. Both of these of course served to elevate and glorify England and the English as the pre-eminent nation of the world. Contrary to many assessments of late medieval nationhood and national sentiment, territorial and linguistic definitions or constructions of nationhood appear almost insignificant to Walsingham. Walsingham appears to have set little store by the definition of a nation through its *patria*, despite modern scholarly assessments that this was an increasingly important aspect of medieval nationhood. Beyond this indifference to *patria* there is Walsingham's attitude to linguistic difference and vernacular linguistic politics, which appears to have ranged between indifference and a distaste for the contemporary associations attached to the English vernacular. This presents something of a counter-view to the prevalent picture of English national feeling in this period which tends to revolve around the expansion of English vernacular identity. Walsingham, from his scholarly and monastic perspective, demonstrates a rather different vision of English nationhood than more secular, vernacular-minded writers like Chaucer.

Two further points deserve to be made: first, that Walsingham's constructions of nationhood, even and perhaps especially when focussed on other nations, are chiefly reflective of his views regarding *English* nationhood. Constructing or 'imagining' non-English nations as lesser 'ethnically'-based forms of nation compared with the English *regnum* implicitly exalted and legitimised English pre-eminence. That this conceptualisation of the English *regnum* as superior to other *gentes* is similar to Roman conceptualisations of their own imperial standing in relation to barbarian peoples was likely intentional given Walsingham's classical knowledge and the quasi-imperial cast to some of his presentation of England. The second point is that, in seeming to associate ethnic forms of nationhood with past ages and antique models, Walsingham appears to almost replicate the belief in a progression from ethnically-constructed to politically-constructed nation forms posited by modern scholars and theorists like Susan Reynolds, Anthony Smith and Paul James. While this is not to suggest that Walsingham was

'ahead of his time' in terms of theorising nationhood, it does seem likely that he, as a representative of the late medieval period, perhaps held a more sophisticated and thoughtful understanding of nations and nationhood than medieval writers are usually credited with possessing.

Chapter 2
Franci and *Gallici*

The previous chapter considered Walsingham's conception of nationhood as an abstract across all the national groups covered by the *Chronica Maiora*, particularly in relation to England, but there is one aspect of the definition of France in particular which deserves particular attention. Unlike most national groups that appeared in the *Chronica*, Walsingham consistently used a dual terminology to refer to 'France' and 'the French': *Franci* and *Francia*, as well as *Gallici* and *Gallia*. Interestingly these two terms do not, as they might at first appear, denote different regional, ethnic or political groups within 'the French' (i.e. *Gallici* does not appear to refer to all speakers of French or inhabitants of a wider 'France' while *Franci* refers only to supporters of the French king). Instead both terms appear to be used to refer to the same nation and people, as evidenced by the numerous occasions on which Walsingham switched between the two terms, occasionally even mid-sentence.

Among English Latin writers of Walsingham's day, both governmental and monastic, *Franci/a* was the standard and accepted form of use when referring to French individuals, the French as a people and France the nation, with *Gallici/Gallia* forms very much in the minority in all types of record. Walsingham's use of the *Gallici/Gallia* form was thus an oddity, a personal archaism and individual quirk of his chronicles which warrants detailed investigation. Such investigation demonstrates, as will be discussed, that Walsingham in fact appears to have observed rather strict patterns within his usage of the two terms, exclusively referring to political France (the kingdom, the king, the nobility) with *Franci/a*, and using *Gallici/Gallia* to refer to France and the French in a more cultural or 'ethnic' sense (ethnic-national stereotyping, the French language). Most interesting of all however is the way that Walsingham appears to have deployed *Franci* to refer to the French in militarily threatening situations and an aristocratic sense, and used *Gallici* to refer to the French in contexts in which they were weaker, less honourable and of lower social status.

While the Bretons, Normans, and on one occasion the English, periodically received similar dual labelling within the *Chronica*, the French stand apart for the consistency and ubiquity of their dual labelling. The significance of this uniqueness is twofold: first, this dual terminology is something of a demonstration of the ambiguous and conflicted position Walsingham accorded the French in his chronicle as a whole; and second, it reveals an underlying but significant influence upon Walsingham as a chronicler, that of the Geoffrey of Monmouth tradition. While the influence of contemporary governmental patterns of reference to the French on both Walsingham and other chroniclers of his day is clear, the influence of the Geoffrey of Monmouth tradition is otherwise invisible and only discerned via the detailed

analysis of Walsingham's patterns of terminological usage. In the case of the French, but also those of the Bretons and Normans, Walsingham can be seen to have, consciously or unconsciously, taken terminological inspiration from Geoffrey's text.

a)   The *Chronica Maiora*

The overall picture of the use of *Franci/a* and *Gallici/Gallia* within the *Chronica* is revealing of some general trends within Walsingham's patterns of usage (see Table 3). From this overall data it is plain that Walsingham exclusively used *Franci* and *Francia* to designate France as a political entity (king, kingdom). When referring to France as a more abstract territorial-political unit Walsingham's usage was more split, albeit still usually favouring *Francia*. It is in reference to Frenchmen (often soldiers given the subject matter favoured in the *Chronica*) that Walsingham predominantly deployed the term *Gallici*, almost three times more likely to use *Gallici* than *Franci* in both the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts.

Table 3 - Instances of *Franci/a* and *Gallici/Gallia* terms

	King (*Rex*)		Kingdom (*Regnum*)	
	First *Chronica*[1]	Second *Chronica*	First *Chronica*	Second *Chronica*
Franci/a[2]	141	23	15	6
Gallici/Gallia	0	0	0	0
	France (*Francia*, *Gallia*)		Frenchmen (*Franci*, *Gallici*)	
	First *Chronica*	Second *Chronica*	First *Chronica*	Second *Chronica*
Franci/a	32	11	50	18
Gallici/Gallia	14	2	149	52

At this point it is worth stressing the degree to which the prevalence of *Gallici/Gallia* terms within Walsingham's chronicle was highly unusual for his time. Contemporary monastic chroniclers like Henry Knighton, Adam Usk and the Westminster Chronicler either predominantly or exclusively used *Franci/a* terms to refer to France and the French,[3] as did

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[1]   As per the conclusions drawn above, here the first *Chronica* is taken to include: the Royal manuscript text, the continuation in CCCC MS 7 (2i) and (2ii), and the 1394-96 narrative in the Bodley manuscript. The second *Chronica* includes the remainder of the Bodley manuscript text, including its concluding entries edited by Taylor, Childs & Watkiss as Appendix 1.

[2]   For the purposes of this chapter I have not made a distinction between *Francie* and *Francorum* / *Gallie* and *Gallicorum* or 'of France' and 'of the French' as it is not the main focus of this chapter.

[3]   On the basis of my own searching: Knighton does not use *Gallici/Gallia* terminology at all in the portion of his chronicle covering c.1377-1396 (Henry Knighton (pp. 196-552)); the Westminster Chronicler uses *Gallici/Gallia* terms only 10 times in his coverage of 1381-94 (Westminster Chronicle (pp. 2-520)); and Usk uses *Gallici/Gallia* terms 8 times in his coverage of 1377-1421 (+3 in copied documents) (Adam Usk (pp. 2-270)).

English governmental documentation.[4] References to France and the French in contemporary English nationalistic polemics were also dominated by uses of *Franci/a*. For example, of the nineteen Latin 'political poems'[5] collected by Thomas Wright which date from the accession of Edward III to the death of Henry V and make reference to the French, eleven solely use *Franci/a* terms and another four feature *Gallici/Gallia* terms only in the text's incipit.[6] Only two of these nineteen poems exclusively use *Gallici/Gallia* terms (with another one in which *Franci/a* terms appear only in the explicit), and another one uses both *Franci/a* and *Gallici/Gallia* terms in around equal measure.[7] Thus, while the use of *Gallia* and *Gallici* was possible in Walsingham's England and did occasionally occur, by far the more common terminology for France and the French was *Francia* and *Franci*.

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[4] See below (pp. 105-9).

[5] This is a convenient but somewhat over-simplistic modern catch-all term for this body of material, and we must be careful not to lump these sources too closely together or to judge them a true measure of 'popular opinion' - see in particular Maddicott, 'Poems of Social Protest' (esp. pp. 130-1, 136-8), and the comments in Matthews, *Writing to the King* (pp. 16-7) and Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 36-7, 40-3).

[6] I have searched the poems found in *Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 1-462) and II (pp. 1-141). The poems exclusively using *Franci/a* terms are at I (pp. 26, 26-40, 40-1, 41-52, 53-8, 94-6, 219-24) and II (pp. 118-23, 127, 127-8, 129-30). The poems using *Gallici/Gallia* terms once only are: *On the Prince's Expedition into Spain and the Battle of Najera* (I (pp. 97-122)); Gower's Tripartite Chronicle (I (pp. 417-54)); *Memorial Verses on the Reigns of Edward III and Richard II* (I (pp. 454-63)); and *Epigram on the Assumption of the Arms of France 1422* (II (p. 130)).

[7] The poems exclusively using *Gallici/Gallia* terms are *On Crecy and Neville's Cross 1346* (I (pp. 52-3)) and *On the Expected Arrival of the Duke of Lancaster 1399* (I (pp. 366-8)). The poem in which *Franci/a* terms appear only in the explicit (and the main text uses only *Gallici/Gallia* terms) is *The Dispute Between the Englishman and the Frenchman* (I (pp. 91-3)). The only poem in which *Franci/a* and *Gallici/Gallia* terms appear equally is *The Council of London 1382* (I (pp. 253-63)), a poem focussed on entirely different subject matter.

b)   The Political 'French'

As Table 3 shows, when Walsingham referred to either the king or kingdom of France he drew on *Franci* and *Francia*, consistently across both the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronicles and regardless of the context of the reference itself: *Rex Francie* or *Rex Francorum*, and *Regnum Francie* or *Regnum Francorum*. The significance of this rather blunt and simple point cannot be overstated - unlike almost any other general rule regarding Walsingham's writing in the *Chronica Maiora* there are no exceptions to this rule and the specific context of each usage has little or no impact. A degree of inconsistency applies to almost every rule in Walsingham's chronicle-writing, an inevitable result of such a large-scale source composed over forty years, but it appears that there simply existed no other proper term for the king or kingdom of France within Walsingham's worldview.

This rule also extended to cover individuals or political roles and offices associated with the king and kingdom of France. Members of the French royal family or household, such as Richard II's child bride Isabella ('filia regis Francie'), are described using *Franci/a*.[8] Holders of French political office, such as the Marshal of France ('marescallus Francie') and the Chamberlain ('Francie Camberlano'), and high-ranking French military officers, such as Jean de Vienne ('admiralius et capitaneus Francie'), are all referred to using *Franci/a* terms.[9] Royal councillors similarly appear under descriptions derived from the *Franci/a* titles of their employer, for example the 'consilium domus regis Francie' which met with Henry V in 1419.[10] Many of these titles and descriptors were of course directly related to the king or kingdom of France and it is therefore not surprising to see them constructed using *Franci/a* terms, but that fact does serve to reinforce that *political* France was properly referred to using the *Franci/a* forms.

French diplomatic envoys appear similarly referred to in the chronicle, again perhaps unsurprisingly given their role as servants of the king and kingdom of France but also reinforcing the use of *Franci/a* forms for the political French. For example, the French envoys

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[8] See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 286, 300, 782). Whichever monk was responsible for the 1397-99 narrative also referred to Isabella as 'regis Francorum filiam' (see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 64)). The Duke of Bar is also described as 'descended from the royal family of France on his mother's side' ('ex genere regali de Francia ex parte matris') (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 550)).

[9] For the Marshal of France see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 700) and II (p. 618). For the Chamberlain of France see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 396, 904). For the Seneschal of France see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 920) and II (p. 464). For the Constable of France see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 658) and II (p. 680). For the Chancellor of France see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 734). Jean de Vienne appears as 'admiralius et capitaneus Francie' at *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 370), 'stipendiarius regis Francie' at I (p. 756), and 'magistroque balistariorum regis Francie' at II (p. 680). Similarly 'regni Francorum rectorem' appear at *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 382).

[10] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 782). See also the 'regis Francie provisoribus et ministris' at *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 920).

at the Anglo-French peace talks in 1387 and 1391 are described in the text as representatives of the *rex Francorum* and the *rex Francie* respectively, thus making their titles reflective of the form used for the French king.[11] In the fifteenth-century text Walsingham was more likely to refer to French envoys in relation to France itself rather than the king, but still the use of *Franci/a* terms persists much of the time.[12] There are two instances in the text in which Walsingham used *Gallici/Gallia* terms to refer to French envoys, but in each case this occurs directly alongside references to the same envoys using *Franci/a* terms. Under 1389 the text refers to envoys of the *Galli* ('Gallorum ergo nuncii') taking news of the Anglo-French truce to the Scots a few lines before terming the same party envoys of *Francia* ('nunciorum Francie'),[13] and in describing the meeting of Richard II and Charles VI at Ardres in 1396 Walsingham referred to the French tents using *Francia* and the French themselves using *Gallici* ('tentoria Francie ut Gallicorum personas', 'papilionem Francorum', 'papilionem consilii Gallicorum').[14] These examples of *Gallici/Gallia* terms run counter to Walsingham's usual pattern and appear significant, but it must be acknowledged that they represent exceptions to the rule and that they appear alongside references to exactly the same individuals which use *Franci/a* terms. Thus it may be more likely that Walsingham sought to vary the lexical makeup of his text rather than to express a particular meaning with regard to these particular envoys.

Members of or the entirety of the French nobility are likewise referred to in the *Chronica* using *Franci/a* forms ('Francie magnatibus', 'tota nobilitas Francie', 'proceres Francie potenciores').[15] That this was not just a social distinction between *Franci* and *Gallici* but also a fundamentally political one is underlined by instances in which Walsingham varied his terminology. For instance, in describing the peace negotiations of 1403 Walsingham referred to the Duke of Orleans and Count of St Pol as politically important men of *Francia* ('duo persone Francie'), while the French nation as a whole was referred to as *Gallici*.[16] In the

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[11] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 842, 904) - 'nuncius regis Francorum' and 'nuncio regis Francie' respectively.

[12] See for example the 'Franci legati' referred to under 1414 (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 644)) and the 'ambassiatores e Francia' referred to under 1415 (II (p. 656)).

[13] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 870).

[14] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 44-48).

[15] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 252, 362) and II (p. 598) respectively. See also the 'potentes Francorum' at *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 258), 'universa fere nobilitas regni Francie' at I (p. 390), the 'magnates Francorum' at I (p. 398), 'nobiles Francie' at II (p. 606), and 'tota nobilitate Francie' at II (p. 674). There are however a small number of exceptions (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 164, 610, 700)).

[16] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 378) - 'Excepte sunt tamen de hiis induciis due persone Francie, dux Aurelianorum et comes Sancti Pauli, pro quibus Gallici spondere noluerunt, quia indomabiles extiterunt'.

year summary of 1377 too Walsingham wrote that the year had been burdensome for the *Gallici* thanks to the huge expenditure on ships by the *Franci*, using *Franci* to refer to the political decision-makers and *Gallici* to refer to those they ruled.[17] Under 1385 too Walsingham wrote that 'rex Francie cum suis Gallicis' were preparing to invade England, and also that the Bishop of Hereford was sent to negotiate 'cum Francis' but was scorned by the *Gallici*.[18] Likewise under 1383 Bertrand Du Guesclin is described as 'Francie constabularium', with great authority 'in Francia', but it is *Gallici* that he places in charge of the captured Earl of Pembroke.[19] Thus from these examples it would appear that Walsingham deployed *Franci/a* terms to all of the French political and military leadership, not just for their links to the king and kingdom of *Francia* but in a wider sense of the political French and France as a political, regnal entity. In each case too, when referring to the French people these *Franci* ruled, Walsingham deployed *Gallici/Gallia* terms instead.

In this consistent use of *Franci/a* terms for France as a political body Walsingham's text closely resembles other writers of his time period. Henry Knighton, in his contemporary chronicle text covering 1377-96, never chose to use *Gallici/Gallia* terms for the French and therefore referred to the king, kingdom and royal officials of France using only *Franci/a* terms.[20] Even chroniclers who did draw on *Gallici/Gallia* terms elsewhere exclusively used *Franci/a* terms for the French king, kingdom and political leadership. For example, Adam Usk used *Franci/a* terms for the French king, the kingdom of France, the French royal family and French royal councillors,[21] as well as referring to ambassadors and nobles of *Francia*.[22] Usk's coverage of the 1383 Crusade to Flanders includes a distinction between the army led by *rex Francie* and that of the Flemings, described as 'supporters of the French schismatics' ('Gallicis scismaticis adherentes').[23] This is not as clear-cut a distinction between French

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[17] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 174). See also the year summary of 1383 which refers to the gathering of a huge army by 'rex Francie' and the frightening effect of Despenser's Crusade on the *Gallici* (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 716)).

[18] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 752). A similar effect can perhaps be seen under 1391 where discussions for peace are held with 'rex Francie' and the *Franci* but the *Gallici* admit to John of Gaunt the inability of either kingdom to conquer the other (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 904)).

[19] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 658-60).

[20] See Henry Knighton: king (pp. 198, 326, 328, 338, 348, 350, 388, 390, 404-6, 530, 544, 548, 550-2); kingdom (pp. 196, 198, 288, 348, 404, 544); and 'camerario regis Francie' (p. 432).

[21] See Adam Usk: king and kingdom (pp. 6, 14, 20, 42, 132, 148, 216, 252, 262); royal family (pp. 44, 102, 116, 118, 132, 268); and royal councillors (p. 142).

[22] Adam Usk (pp. 216, 244) - 'Ambassiatores solempnes Francie'; 'Pares Francie'. See also the reference to 'regis Francie ambassiatores' (Adam Usk (p. 254)).

[23] Adam Usk (p. 14).

rulers and ruled as some of the examples from Walsingham above, but it is perhaps suggestive of a similar line drawn between the king and the wider French population. The Westminster Chronicle demonstrates a very similar distinction at work, using *Franci/a* terms to refer to the king, kingdom, royal officers and diplomatic contacts,[24] but on occasion using *Gallici/Gallia* terms to refer to the ruled population. For example, the Chronicler wrote that *rex Francie* led 'innumera multitudo Gallorum' against the Flemings in 1382, and that the negotiations in the following year took place 'inter ipsos et Francigenas' but resulted in a truce 'inter nos et Gallos', using *Franci* to refer to the French delegations and *Galli* to refer to the wider population.[25]

These similarities suggest a common parlance and a shared view of what terminology to use when referring to the political agents and entity of France among contemporary English chroniclers. There is however no evidence that these particular chroniclers read one another's work and thus the origins of such a shared parlance likely lay outside a specifically monastic chronicle-writing setting, within wider contemporary English society. The most likely contemporary influence on such lexical practices was government documentation, much of which bears striking similarities to the patterns seen in monastic chronicles. Such an influence is of course not hard to credit given the evident access such chroniclers enjoyed to certain government documents and contemporary governmental efforts to use such documentation to shape popular opinion.[26] Here the main emphasis is given to three sets of governmental documents to which Walsingham likely had the most access: royal documents sent directly to the abbey of St Albans and copied into the chronicle; the rolls of Parliament; and diplomatic documents and formularies. The first of these needs little justification and reflects the most direct route by which governmental rhetoric might reach the chronicler, and the second is also easily justified on the grounds of Walsingham's evident access to information regarding Parliamentary proceedings, either through eyewitnesses, official newsletters, or even the occasional deliberate circulation of Parliamentary record to the abbey by the crown.[27] While

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[24] See Westminster Chronicle: king and kingdom (pp. 30, 44-8, 124-6, 134-6, 146, 150-2, 166, 178, 204, 320, 370, 406, 490, 500, 518); 'marescallus Francie'(p. 352); and diplomatic contacts (pp. 98, 100, 154, 164, 194, 374, 398-402).

[25] Westminster Chronicle (pp. 30, 58) respectively.

[26] Andrea Ruddick in particular has studied the English crown's efforts to use governmental documentation and rhetoric to shape popular conceptions and sentiments of national identity (see in particular her: 'Ethnic Identity and Political Language' (pp. 15-31); 'National and Political Identity in Anglo-Scottish Relations, c.1286-1377: A Governmental Perspective', in eds. A. King & M. Penman, *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007) (pp. 196-215; esp. pp. 200-1); and *English Identity and Political Culture*).

[27] For Walsingham's detailed accounts of contemporary parliaments see especially *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 2-52 (1376 Good Parliament), 824-52 (Appellant Crisis and Merciless Parliament)) and II (pp. 418-26 (1404 'Unlearned Parliament')). Sir Thomas Hoo, attendee of the Good Parliament, was almost certainly an eyewitness source for the chronicler (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. lxxiv-lxxv, cxii, 4-6)). An important study of newsletters reporting such events is C. Oliver, *Parliament and Political*

the third set of documents can be less securely linked to Walsingham specifically, contemporary diplomatic documents were often compiled into collections and formularies which other chroniclers certainly had access to, and it is possible that Walsingham himself did too.[28] The chronicler may also have had opportunity to observe some English diplomatic writing conventions in person, or to converse with those responsible for composing such, as Richard II is known to have issued at least one diplomatic letter while staying at the abbey in July 1381.[29] What emerges from a study of how these three classes of documents is a striking level of similarity in terms of references to the French, suggesting that such governmental rhetoric had in fact been mimicked, consciously or otherwise, in the production of the *Chronica*.

The best evidence when considering the role of governmental rhetoric and terminology on the chroniclers are those documents which were copied into the chronicle texts. Not only do these copied documents provide evidence for which documents definitely reached the chroniclers, they also demonstrate an active reproduction of the governmental language contained within them. There are very clear parallels between the ways in which the documents Walsingham copied into his chronicle use 'France' terminology and how he used that terminology in his own text. The Latin charters and letters copied into Walsingham's account of the Peasants' Revolt all refer to Richard II as 'rex Anglie et Francie', as does the copy of the *Record and Process* found under 1399 along with a reference to the crowns of England and France ('corone Anglie et Francie').[30] Later in the chronicle the copied document detailing the 1407 surrender of Aberystwyth and the copy of Henry V's 1412 letter to his father both repeat this formulation.[31] Papal letters of 1406 and 1407 concerning the Great Schism refer to the *rex Francie* and the *rex Francorum*, as does the copy of the Duke of

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Pamphleteering in Fourteenth-Century England (York, 2010), although Oliver devotes relatively little attention to Walsingham's chronicle. See also Henry IV's deliberate circulation of the *Record and Process* regarding Richard II's deposition to abbeys including St Albans (see above (p. 42 and n. 159)).

[28] The writer of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* is known to have extensively used a diplomatic collection or formulary known as the *Liber Recordorum* and several other such collections were in circulation in the period (see ed. E. Perroy, 'The Anglo-French Negotiations at Bruges, 1374-1377', in *Camden Miscellany*, 3rd Series, 80 (1952) (pp. vii-viii) and *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (pp. xxxix-xliii)).

[29] Richard wrote to Pedro IV of Aragon from St Albans on 18th July 1381 (see ed. E. Perroy, 'The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II', in *Camden Miscellany*, 3rd Series, 48 (1933) (pp. 17-8)).

[30] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 440, 510, 518, 556, 560) and II (pp. 162, 164). Under 1381 there is also a copy of a French-language letter of protection, in which Richard is referred to as "roy d'Engleterre et da France" (I (p. 466)). For the English royal style in this period see W.M. Ormrod, 'A Problem of Precedence: Edward III, the Double Monarchy, and the Royal Style', in ed. J.S. Bothwell, *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001) (pp. 133-53).

[31] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 520-8, 610-4).

Orleans' letter to Henry IV in 1412.[32] These latter examples of course demonstrate that *Franci/a* terms were the standard form in non-English official documents too, a fact which may have worked to reinforce Walsingham's belief that this was the correct form to refer to the political French.

It seems likely that, even aside from the propagandist circulation of the *Record and Process* after 1399, Walsingham enjoyed some level of access to records of events in the English Parliament. This suggestion appears reinforced when the patterns of 'French' terms found in the Parliament Rolls' Latin portions are examined: references to the king and kingdom of France are plentiful in the Rolls covering the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V, all framed using *Franci/a* terms;[33] and the confirmation of Henry V's treaty with Sigismund, whose visit is described in some detail in the *Chronica*, includes references to the French nobility and royal family using *Francia*.[34] There is one notable exception to this general rule in the Parliament of November 1384, where for whatever reason the scribe or scribes chose to make use of *Gallici/Gallia* terms in order to describe the wars and the treachery of the French.[35] That said, not only is this a singular case among the Parliaments of 1377-1422 but the scribe/s also continued to use *Franci/a* terms in relation to the king of France and to Edward III's title as king of France.[36] Why this Parliamentary record used *Gallici/Gallia* terminology is uncertain, but it was likely individual scribal choice rather than a deliberate policy, and the main core of the usual pattern was nevertheless maintained.

English diplomatic documents likewise demonstrate the same patterns of 'French' terminology, using *Franci/a* terms to refer to political France. References to the king of France, often phrased along the lines of 'our kinsman of *Francia*' ('consanguineum Francie') or 'our adversary of *Francia*' ('adversaria nostro de Francia'), were all made using *Franci/a*

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[32] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 486, 512, 604-6). Also the additions to a diplomatic letter sent from Richard II to Charles VI of France in May 1396 made by the French Chancery referred to Richard's new wife Isabella as 'domine Ysabelle Francie nunc Regine Anglie' (see ed. Perroy, 'Diplomatic Correspondence' (pp. 168-9)).

[33] For just a few examples see *Rot. Parl.* iii.194, iii.263.21, iii.332.13, iv.96.14, iv.44.26, iv.132.17, iv.135.18.

[34] *Rot. Parl.* iv.98: 'magnates Francie'; 'magnates domus Francie'; and 'familia regis Francie'. For Sigismund's visit see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 688-90, 692-6) and Allmand, *Henry V* (pp. 104-9).

[35] For the records of the full Parliament see *Rot. Parl.*iii.184-202; the references using *Gallici/Gallia* terms, chiefly to the French as enemies of the English, to French treachery, and to alien priories, are found at: iii.184.2, 4; iii.188; iii.189; iii.193; iii.196. Exactly why this Parliament (or its scribe/s) should have used a different term for France and the French is unknown, and nothing in this specific Parliament's agenda would seem to suggest a different attitude towards the French.

[36] *Rot. Parl.* iii.184.2, iii.188-9 - the king of France was termed 'adversarium suum Francie'; copies of earlier letters patent referred to Edward III as 'rex Anglie et Francie'; and there is a reference to 'heredes suos et illos de Francie'.

terms,[37] as were references to other members of the French royal family.[38] Similarly the kingdom of France was described using *regnum Francie* or *regnum Francorum* formulations.[39] *Franci/a* terms were also used to refer to French envoys ('nuncios pro parte Francie'), the Parlement of Paris ('parliamenti Francie'), and the French king's council ('magno consilio Francie').[40] Taking as an example the documentary records of the proceedings of the 1374-77 Anglo-French peace conference held at Bruges this same policy is apparent throughout.[41] Of fifty-two Latin references to France and the French in these proceedings only four are made using *Gallici/Gallia* terms, and references to the French king, kingdom and officials were exclusively written using *Franci/a* terms.[42] Those four references using *Gallici/Gallia* terms all appear in documents that mostly use *Franci/a* terms and, more specifically, three of them appear as phrasings which also appear as *Franci/a* phrasings ('pro parte Gallicorum' for example, in the same document as 'pro parte Francie').[43] This leaves the use of *Gallici/Gallia* terms almost completely overshadowed by the use of *Franci/a* terms.[44]

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[37] See for examples ed. Perroy, 'Diplomatic Correspondence' (pp. 3, 19-20, 65, 72-3, 82, 88, 91, 111-3, 116-8, 142, 148) and *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice. Part 1: Documents and Interpretation* (ed. P. Chaplais) (London, 1982) I (pp. 38, 40, 126-9, 140, 165, 166, 230) and II (pp. 528, 538, 540, 547-8, 607).

[38] For example: Richard II's bride Isabella appears in the ratification of the 1396 marriage treaty as 'filia nostra primogenita Ysabella Francie' (*English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* II (p. 530)); Henry V's bride Katherine as 'Katerinam, dicti consanguinei nostri Francie filiam' in the Anglo-Burgundian treaty of 1419 (II (p. 547)); and Henry himself as 'rex Anglie, heres Francie' in the treaty between himself and Charles VI in 1419 (II (p. 630)).

[39] See for example *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* I (pp. 38-9, 127, 229-30) and II (pp. 455-6, 463, 594, 609, 631-4, 656).

[40] *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* I (p. 177) and II (pp. 594, 631, 678). See also references to 'cancellario Francie' in a 1360 inventory of English diplomatic letters (*English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* II (p. 747)), and to 'Johanni Eustace valletto regis Francie' and 'Waltero de Wardelade, clerico regis Francie' in a record of diplomatic gifts made to French envoys in 1366 (II (p. 825)).

[41] The various documents relating to the 1375 negotiations, known as the *Liber Abreviatus*, are found in Oxford Bodl. MS Ashmole 789 (fols. 43r-119v) and are edited in ed. Perroy, 'The Anglo-French Negotiations' (pp. 1-68). Here discussion is limited to those documents written in Latin. One document (fols. 56r-58v) is also edited in *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* I (pp. 205-7).

[42] See ed. Perroy, 'The Anglo-French Negotiations': king and kingdom (pp. 1, 9-11, 12-3, 14-7, 24-6, 36-7, 43-4, 52, 52, 55-6, 60-3); 'magister balistariorum Francie' (p. 9); 'cancellario Francie' and 'cancellarius Francie' (pp. 24-6); and 'nuncii domini regis Francie' (p. 60).

[43] 'Pro parte Gallicorum' appears twice in a letter from the papal nuncios to Charles V of France, alongside 'pro parte Francie' (in ed. Perroy, 'The Anglo-French Negotiations' (pp. 14-7)); 'pars Gallicorum' appears in a short narrative of the negotiations (p. 25), alongside two references to 'pro parte Francie' (pp. 24, 26) and after another document which referred twice to 'pars Francie' (p. 15); and 'Responsio Gallicorum' is used as a heading in a longer narrative of the negotiations, which may be a reference to the language used. This last reference also appears at *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* I (p. 206).

[44] The same policy is evident in Richard II's diplomatic letters, where *Franci/a* terms are in the vast majority and *Gallici/Gallia* terms are used in only three letters, all of which were actually sent to

These various documents relating to the 1370s conference were later compiled together and incorporated into a fifteenth-century formulary of diplomatic documents, and other documents within the formulary use the same conventions, so it can be relatively confidently asserted that they reflect official policy.[45] While no direct connection between Walsingham and diplomatic documents or collections of such documents can be traced with certainty, the conventions apparent in both those documents and the *Chronica Maiora* appear to follow very similar patterns indeed.

Thus the English governmental line with regard to how 'France' and 'the French' were to be referred to in Latin is clear, and the chroniclers appear to have been following suit. There were perhaps few individuals not directly involved in crown documentary practices better placed to observe and absorb governmental rhetoric from such documents than the chroniclers of St Albans and Westminster Abbey, a canon of an Augustinian friary patronised by John of Gaunt (Henry Knighton), and a lawyer who in his time helped to write important government documents such as those surrounding the 1399 deposition (Adam Usk). These men all received, read and reproduced government documents which referred to the politically and diplomatically active French using *Franci/a* terms, and in their chronicles reproduced this usage almost exclusively.

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different Church authorities at the same time and to the same end (see ed. Perroy, 'Diplomatic Correspondence' (pp. 133-7)).

[45] For the MS and its use as a diplomatic formulary (including its containing the *Registrum Privatum* of Bishop Thomas Beckington from his time in diplomatic service to Henry VI) see *A Descriptive, Analytical, and Critical Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole, esq.* (ed. W.H. Black) (Oxford, 1845) (pp. 410-6) and ed. Perroy, 'The Anglo-French Negotiations' (pp. vii-viii). The record of the proceedings of the 1418 Alencon peace conference, also from Ashmole 789, refers to: 'Robertus de Braquemont admirallus Francie'; 'domini dalphini de Vienna, regentis Francie'; 'regnum Francie'; 'Francie ambaxatoribus'; 'maxima pars nobelium Francie'; 'regis Francie'; and never to *Gallia* or *Gallici* (see *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* I (pp. 207-23)).

c) <u>The Divided 'French'</u>

While Walsingham and other contemporary chroniclers appear to have exclusively used *Franci/a* terms to refer to the political French, the use of *Gallici/Gallia* terms in the *Chronica Maiora* tells a rather different story. On one level there are several occasions in which Walsingham appears to have used *Gallici/Gallia* terms to denote a more cultural or 'ethnic' kind of 'French'-ness, specifically in relation to the French language, French as an ethnic label for individuals, and cases of ethnic-national stereotyping of the French. All of these accord somewhat with the gulf between political nationhood and 'ethnic' nationhood observed in chapter 1, in which 'ethnic' nationhood was reserved for negative and archaicising portrayals of national groups. On the other hand, and most intriguingly, Walsingham appears to have deployed in his *Chronica* a framework in which *Franci* was used to refer to the French in militarily threatening and honourable contexts, while *Gallici* was used to refer to less threatening and less honourable contexts.

French laws and money receive *Franci/a* terms in the *Chronica* text, as is to be expected due to their association with the French state, but, despite his general blindness to the use of vernacular languages, Walsingham's references to the French language were made using *Gallici/Gallia* terms.[46] In his coverage of 1406 Walsingham described the capture of the heir of Scotland at sea while en-route to France, where he was to learn civility and the French language, and Henry IV's response to this intention. In Walsingham's telling the boy was to 'grow strong and be informed of manners and the French language in France' ('coalesceret et informaretur in Francia de facecia et lingua Gallia'), and Henry responded by saying that he himself could teach the boy the French tongue ('linguam Galliam').[47] This distinction between *Francia* and *lingua Gallia* reproduces the use of *Franci/a* terms for the political entity of France (i.e. the royal court at which the boy would be educated) but uses *Gallici/Gallia* terms for the language itself.

This usage of *Gallici/Gallia* terms in relation to the French language is also a pattern found in other Latin chronicles of the period and in English governmental documents. For example, the Westminster Chronicle refers to copies of a 1388 parliamentary article written 'in Gallico' and 'in Gallico ydiomate', and Adam Usk translated a petition he wrote in 1399 'ex gallico in latinum'.[48] As with the above convention regarding the use of *Franci/a* for the

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[46] For 'Francorum legem' see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 38) and for 'moneta Francie' see II (p. 592). For Walsingham's opinions regarding the vernacular see above (pp. 80-8).

[47] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 472).

[48] Westminster Chronicle (pp. 236, 278-80, 356) and Adam Usk (p. 74). Henry Knighton makes no reference to the French language in his Chronicle, leaving open the possibility that had he referred to it he would have also used *Gallici/Gallia* terms.

political French, this appears to be a usage taken from official governmental rhetoric of the day. For example, the English exemplar (in Latin) of the Treaty of Troyes 1420 specifies how Henry V's title was to be written 'in lingua Galliana' and that all men born 'in the kingdom of France or places of the dialect of French' ('in regno Francie seu de locis ydiomatis Galliani') should be loyal.[49] English diplomatic records and chroniclers also used *Gallici/Gallia* terms to refer to instances of French diplomats speaking at Anglo-French negotiations, for example the responses of the *Gallici* ('responsio Gallicorum') mentioned above at the 1375 Bruges negotiations, and the Westminster Chronicler's reporting of the requests of the *Gallici* ('petitionibus Gallicorum') at negotiations in 1392.[50] While both of these statements refer properly to the French envoys themselves, the occurrence of *Gallici/Gallia* terms only when associated with oral statements made by Frenchmen suggests its attachment to the French language.

A plausible explanation for this general rule of reference to the French language, which was of course spoken widely in England in this period, would be that English scribes and chroniclers chose to use *Gallici/Gallia* terms instead of *Franci/a* terms because the latter were firmly attached to the French state.[51] By referring to the French language, which was of course widely spoken in England in this period, using *Gallici/Gallia* terms Englishmen could avoid associating the language with the French crown and thus avoid positioning, however implicitly, its speakers as members of the French nation and subjects of the French king. This was especially significant during the Hundred Years War given the sensitive issue of whether the English king owed his French counterpart homage as Duke of Gascony. By deploying a clearly distinct term for the French language the English crown and its audience of chroniclers sidestepped any such implications. Walsingham's 1406 reference demonstrates much this process: in using the *Gallici/Gallia* form to refer to the French language Walsingham distanced that language from political France (*Francia*), and was able to assert separate and equal standing for England in the teaching of that language.

Walsingham also used *Gallici/Gallia* terms when referring to an 'ethnic' definition of the French. For example, in naming the ethnic origin of the French esquire serving the Prior of

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[49] *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* II (pp. 633-4). See also the references to translation 'de lingua Gallia ad latinam' in orders sent to Calais in preparation for diplomatic negotiations in 1419 (*English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* II (p. 607)).

[50] See above (p. 108 (n. 43)) and Westminster Chronicle (p. 490). The language spoken at such negotiations by the French had become a point of debate in itself by the reign of Henry V, and English envoys tended to prefer that such business be conducted in Latin as English representatives often struggled with French (see J.G. Russell, 'Language: A Barrier or a Gateway?', in J.G. Russell, *Diplomats at Work: Three Renaissance Studies* (Stroud, 1992) (pp. 30-3) and references therein).

[51] For the continued use and prestige of French in England see above (p. 11 (n. 15)).

Lewes in 1377 Walsingham used 'nacione Gallicus' not *nacione Francus*.[52] Significantly too those instances in which Walsingham stereotyped the French people as a whole, an approach which of course constructed them as a people rather than a political entity, he used *Gallici/Gallia* terms. When claiming under 1389 that the English and French peoples treat one another honourably when abroad he did so with 'and both the peoples of England and of course of France' ('utrique genti Anglie scilicet atque Gallie'), drawing on the Latin *gens* and *Gallici/Gallia* together.[53] Similarly Walsingham's stereotyping of the French as cruel and tyrannical masters over those in their power, stimulated by the French occupation of Flanders in the 1380s, was again constructed in terms of *Gallici/Gallia* terms. While the people of Damme had supposedly tired of the tyrannical rule of the French ('dominio Francorum') and wished to throw off the cruel lordship of the *Franci*, the sentence containing the actual stereotype of the French as an abstracted people refers to the *Gallici*:

> ...the cruel masters, that is, the French (*Franci*). And indeed the French (*Gallici*), when they have the upper hand and a chance to rule, they are accustomed to treat their subjects with great arrogance and intolerable injury.[54]

With the following sentence Walsingham returned to the narrative of contemporary events and the use of *Franci* to refer to the actions of the king of France and the other occupiers.[55] Thus the *Franci* of Walsingham's own day have cruelly occupied Flanders, which demonstrates an innate character flaw of the *Gallici* as a people.

Walsingham's later iterations of this stereotype continued to draw on *Gallici/Gallia* terms when referring to the French in an abstract, stereotyped manner. For example, when describing the French efforts to recapture Damme, the chronicle describes the 'rex Francie, cum suis magnatibus' and the *Franci* besieging the town, but it is the 'iugo importabili Gallicorum' or 'unbearable yoke of the French' that the townspeople are fighting to resist.[56] Elsewhere in his coverage of the French occupation of Flanders Walsingham continued to use *Gallici/Gallia* terms to refer to the French who were oppressing the townspeople and to refer

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[52] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 164) - 'Quidam autem armiger, qui diu fuerat in obsequio prioris de Lewes, nacione Gallicus'. This individual is discussed in more detail below (pp. 271-3).

[53] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 892) - 'Nempe mos est utrique genti, Anglie scilicet atque Gallie, licet sibimet in propriis sint infesti regionibus, in remotis partibus tanquam fratres sibimet subuenire, et fidem ad inuicem inuiolabilem obseruare'. This instance is discussed in more detail below (pp. 180-6).

[54] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 764) - 'crudelibus dominis, id est, Francis. Et revera Gallici, ubi eos superiors esse et dominari contigerit, cum summa superbia et intolerabili iniuria subditos suos tractare solent' (my trans.). This instance is discussed in more detail below (pp. 192-3).

[55] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 764-6).

[56] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 766).

to the oppressive French rule.[57] In consistently using *Gallici/Gallia* terms to refer to the cruelty of the French as an abstract people, as opposed to the specific occupiers of the Flemish towns who are usually referred to with *Franci/a* terms, Walsingham combined the convention of referring to the political French as *Franci* and the 'ethnic' French as *Gallici*, as well as feeding the value judgment made between the two sets of terms in a military context.

This martial value judgment is perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Walsingham's use of the dual terminology of 'French'-ness, with the *Gallici* presented as militarily inferior to the more aristocratic and threatening *Franci*. This of course forms part of a wider continuum with what has already been discussed regarding the use of *Franci* to refer to French elites and decision-makers, and the use of *Gallici* to refer to the French as a wider, tyrannical and cruel, people. That said, it is the specific usage patterns within contexts of Anglo-French warfare which demonstrate this distinction best. As becomes particularly clear through those accounts and passages in which Walsingham shifted between the two terms mid-narrative, even mid-sentence, there was a distinction between the *Franci* as commanders, looming invaders, and those able to defeat the English, and the *Gallici* as rank-and-file soldiers, the defeated or killed, and those incapable of defeating the English.

While there are numerous examples of this distinction at work in the *Chronica*'s battle narratives, it makes sense to discuss one specific instance in detail here and use its content to point to wider trends within the text. Under 1379 Walsingham included a lengthy battle narrative of what he called a 'Glorious victory of the English in Normandy near Cherbourg'.[58] This account is embroidered with detail and dramatic tension, and also comes from the earliest stage of Walsingham's chronicle-writing, when his energies and interest were at their peak. Despite Walsingham's grand and emotive narrative this battle was not a particularly large or significant one, with a maximum of 120 Frenchmen killed and around the same number taken captive.[59] Thus it appears that Walsingham intentionally exaggerated the importance and

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[57] See for example: the Battle of Roosebeke is won by the *Franci* but Bruges is occupied and oppressed by the *Gallici* (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 650-2)); and the people of Oudenaarde revolt against the 'Gallici crudele dominium' (I (pp. 710-2)).

[58] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 282) - 'Gloriosa uictoria Anglicorum in Normannia iuxta Cherbourgh'. The full narrative covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 282-8). The Otho and Harley MSS have a slightly different title, but one which produces much the same meaning: 'Of the miraculous battle and victory of the English near the town of Cherbourg in Normandy' ('De mirabili pugna et uictoria Anglicorum iuxta villam de Cherburg in Normannia') (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 282 (textual note *b*))).

[59] These are Walsingham's own figures (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 288)), but are likely exaggerated. The battle appears little in contemporary chronicles - while it does appear in the Anonimalle Chronicle (at *The Anonimalle Chronicle 1333-1381: from a Manuscript written at St Mary's Abbey, York* (ed. V.H. Galbraith) (Manchester, 1927) (pp. 129-30, 192)), neither Usk nor Knighton make any reference to it. Although John of Malvern's *Polychronicon* continuation 1348-81 (used by the Westminster Chronicler (see Westminster Chronicle (p. xv)) does refer to a battle in Normandy in October 1378 which could possibly be the same event, its account is much shorter and rather different to Walsingham's, in addition to the difference in dating (see *Polychronicon* VIII (p. 401)). Modern scholarship too has very

drama of this battle to suit his own agendas, be they general patriotism or simply to flatter the English commanders Sir John Harleston and Sir Geoffrey Worseley.

In the initial portion of the narrative Harleston is, while blockaded in Cherbourg by the *Gallici*, prevailed upon by his men to attack a nearby mill in which enemy provisions are stored.[60] At the mill the English encounter a garrison of *Gallici* who they engage in battle, and these *Gallici* strive 'manfully' to resist. Eventually the English win, and Walsingham comments that the 'famished' English had defeated the 'well-fed' *Gallici*.[61] However, on the return journey the English encounter a force of *Gallici* who see through an attempted ambush by the English, and those *Gallici* make ready for battle. Beginning the battle proper the *Gallici*, who greatly outnumber the English, initially force the English back but then the English archers 'covered the *Franci* with a dense cloud of arrows, wounded many, and sent many to their deaths'.[62] This does not deter the *Gallici*, who continue to fight 'spiritedly' and 'bravely' amid the noise and chaos of battle.[63] Harleston is the only named English casualty, attacking the *Franci* personally but being surrounded as if by bees and knocked down 'half dead' to be crushed by the feet of the enemy.[64] As the tide of battle turns 'pro parte Francorum' Worseley attacks with the English reserve force, charging the *Gallici* and scattering them. While Worseley and his men slaughter the *Gallici* 'like cattle' (prompting Walsingham to wax lyrical regarding the strength of English blows shattering the enemy helmets and the skulls beneath) those in the English baggage train see the battle again turning in favour of the *Franci*, take up the arms of the fallen *Franci* and attack the *Gallici*.[65] This second wave of

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little to say about the battle (e.g. McKisack and Saul make no mention of it, and Sumption's account is very short and almost entirely based on Walsingham (*Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (p. 329))). Sumption does however cite Walsingham's account as an example of the physicality of battle accounts in the period (*Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 759-60))).

[60] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 282).

[61] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 284) - 'occupant famelici saturatos Anglici Gallicos, et captiuos accipiunt pro libito iure belli'.

[62] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 284) - 'dum denso sagittarum ymbre Francos obnubilant, dum plures vulnerant, et plurimos Plutoni commendant'.

[63] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 284-6) - 'Nec tamen cedunt Gallici, set instant animosius pugnant, alacrius percutiunt forcius, mortem, si contingat, subire pro gloriare putantes'.

[64] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 286). Taylor, Childs & Watkiss suggest that this reference to bees may be a reference to the fighting bees of Virgil's *Georgics*, although this remains conjecture. Harleston in fact survived the battle and continued in service to the Earl of Buckingham for several years as well as seeking to resolve the ransom of a 'William de Bordes, knight, taken prisoner in a conflict with the French near Chirbourg' (presumably a captive from this battle) into January 1381 (see: *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 342, 364, 516); *CPR 1377-81* (pp. 485, 495, 543, 586); and Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy* (pp. 99-100, 124-6).

[65] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 286) - 'eleuatis securibus Gallicos mactantut pecudes'; 'que uidens iam statum belli ex pro parte Francorum aliqualiter inclinatum, sumpta audacia, et assumptis instrumentis, uel que de propriis habere poterant uel que de cadentibus Francis extorserant, repente ex aduerso super Gallicos irruunt'.

reinforcements leads the enemy to despair and to surrender, leaving Walsingham to end his account with numbering the dead, the claim that the victory 'brought great salvation to the people of England', and a quote from the story of David and Goliath.[66]

This lengthy passage demonstrates several shifts between the two sets of terms without obvious social or political distinctions being at play. Initially the passage exclusively uses *Gallici*, quite typically of Walsingham's writing in general, but once the main battle is joined the usage shifts on certain occasions to *Franci*. Contexts in which Walsingham wished to portray the French as stronger and more capable than the English received *Franci* terms: for example both occasions in which Walsingham claims that the battle was turning to favour the French ('pro parte Francorum'). In this case Walsingham built dramatic tension with a sense of danger to the English soldiers (referred to as both *Anglici* and *nostrates*), then released that tension when the counterattacks by Worseley and the men of the baggage train rout the *Gallici*. The inferior strength of the *Gallici* is implied quite consistently in the passage too: it is well-fed *Gallici* who lose to the 'famished' English at the mill; it is *Gallici* who are slaughtered 'like cattle'; and it is implicitly the *Gallici* whose helmets and skulls are shattered by the strength of English blows. By contrast the physical superiority of the *Franci* is implied by the fact it is they, not the *Gallici*, who are able to kill Harleston.

Two points within this account may appear not to support this distinction at first, but on closer inspection may indeed do just that. First is the reference to the *Franci* dying beneath clouds of English arrows, which seemingly puts the *Franci* into a position of inferiority. This may at first appear a throwaway remark, but the phrasing of 'sent many to their deaths' is in fact a classicising reference: 'plurimos Plutoni commendant' (lit. 'they [the archers] committed many to Pluto').[67] This reference to the classical god of the underworld seems unlikely to be a casual remark and instead may reflect some attention being devoted to this sentence by the chronicler. When considering both the above discussion of the use of *Franci* to denote the French nobility and Walsingham's having grown up during the age of the English longbowman's greatest victories, at Crecy (1346) and Poitiers (1356) in particular, this passage may actually represent patriotic gloating. In the battles of Crecy and Poitiers the French nobility was famously slaughtered by English archers, making the image of French knights dying beneath hails of English arrows a potentially very resonant one for Englishmen of Walsingham's generation.[68] If this is the case here then Walsingham's use of *Franci*

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[66] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 286-8) - Walsingham claims 'first more than 120 were killed, and around the same number of prisoners were captured' ('occisis primitus plusquam centum uiginti, et captis pene prisonibus ad numerum supradictum'); 'magna salus in gente Anglorum'.

[67] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 284).

[68] See for example: Laurence Minot's gloating at how 'The Inglis men put tham to were // ful baldly with bow and spere' in a naval engagement off the coast of Brabant (*The Poems of Laurence Minot, 1333-1352* (ed. R.H. Osberg) (Kalamazoo, 1996) [TEAMS series] (p. 40)); Higden's, as well as his

becomes a paralleling of this minor but overblown skirmish with past glorious English victories in France. The second point is that in which the English 'retainers and others' take up the arms of the fallen *Franci* to attack the surviving *Gallici*.[69] The use of *Franci* here is harder to pin down to a specific meaning, but it is possible that this also reflects a degree of patriotic gloating in that these low-ranking Englishmen took up the arms of fallen French noblemen and knights. Elsewhere in the *Chronica* Walsingham did express (entirely feigned) incredulity at the defeat of the French by low-status Englishmen,[70] making it possible that in this instance the chronicler was in fact gloating at the indignity for the French.

The distinction between the militarily able and threatening *Franci* and the weaker and less threatening *Gallici*, whether a conscious policy of Walsingham as writer or an unconscious association in his mind, reappears elsewhere in the *Chronica* too. In line with the distinction between the *Franci* as political rulers and the *Gallici* as the ruled seen above, there are many instances in which the text refers to French military commanders using *Franci* while their men are referred to using *Gallici*. For example, in Walsingham's account of the 1383 Crusade to Flanders it is the *rex Francie* who commands the French army ('exercitus Gallicorum'), and after sitting in council with the nobles of France ('tota nobilitas Francie') the *rex Francie* decides to assemble 'suos Gallicos' to oppose the English forces.[71] In the same narrative there is evidence for the *Gallici* as those less militarily threatening French: the text refers to the presence of *Franci* and Bretons ('Franci igitur et Britones') but has the *Gallici* turn tail in fear of the English; it implies the inferiority of the *Gallici* by paralleling their numbers to the 'strength and spirit' of the Bretons; and throughout the narrative it is the

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fourteenth- and fifteenth-century translators, also exalting the role of the English archers at this naval battle (see Higden, *Polychronicon* VIII (pp. 336-7)); Minot's comments that the English went 'With bent bowes thai war ful bolde // for to fell of the Frankisch men' at Crecy (*The Poems of Laurence Minot* (p. 53)); Chandos Herald referred to 'archers fired volleys thicker than rain' at Poitiers (*The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince, from Contemporary Letters, Diaries and Chronicles, including Chandos Herald's* Life of the Black Prince (ed. & trans. R. Barber) (Woodbridge, 1997) (p. 100)); Knighton wrote specifically of archers' contribution to the victory at Poitiers, noting that they destroyed the French first wave and 'with keen heart, marvellous to say, defended themselves' ('corde sagaci mirabili dictu defenderunt') after running out of arrows (Henry Knighton (pp. 142-4)); and the Latin poem *On the Death of Edward III* mocked Philip VI of France fleeing the field of Crecy, making specific reference to the work of the archers (*Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 221)). See also Walsingham's stressing of the role of archers at the Battle of Agincourt, gloating that 'the flower of France' ('Francie … omne decus') had been killed or captured, and providing a lengthy list of those killed and captured (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 676-82)).

[69] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 286) - 'garcionum et aliorum'.

[70] See for example *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 398-406) in which Walsingham gloats at length regarding the destruction of a Breton raiding force led by the Lord of Chastel by 'rustics' and 'common people' (*rustici*, *plebs*, *ruricolae*), contrasting the fine armour and swords of the attackers with the slings and cudgels of the English, and pinning the blame for the defeat on the arrogance (*superbia*, *arrogantia*) of the attackers.

[71] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 682-4, 696).

Gallici who die, are wounded, or whose spirits are broken.[72] At the siege of Damme, after Walsingham's stereotyping discussed above, the text has the *Franci* fiercely attack the town but it is the *Gallici* who are driven off by the defenders.[73] Further examples of *Franci* commanding *Gallici* or being those in decision-making roles can be found throughout the *Chronica*, both in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts.[74]

Secondly, and in accordance with the 'ethnic' stereotyping of the French using *Gallici/Gallia* terms, it is often the *Gallici* who appear within the *Chronica* acting particularly cruelly or dishonourably. Walsingham's account of the Battle of Agincourt demonstrates some of the themes discussed above, including using *Franci* to refer to French commanders but *Gallici* to refer to their troops,[75] and using *Gallici* to refer to those militarily inferior French,[76] but it also has the *Gallici* as the crueller and more tyrannical French. In Walsingham's narrative it is the *Galli* who 'boast' that they will kill or horribly mutilate the limbs of any non-noble Englishmen taken prisoner.[77] This kind of cruelty towards those in their power conforms completely to Walsingham's stereotyping of the French and is constructed using *Gallici/Gallia* terms. Similarly under 1385 it is *Gallici* who mutilate Flemish prisoners, despite a reference to the knights and esquires of the *Franci* a few lines later, and under 1411 it is the *Franci* who are routed and taken back to Paris but it is *Gallici* who 'enjoy' ('gaudere') killing prisoners.[78] Piratical raiding is also more likely to be described

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[72] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 680, 698-702) - 'enumerantes multitudinem Gallicorum, fortitudinem et animositatem Britonum' is at (p. 700); it is *Gallici* whose spirits are broken ('animo fracti'), who experience despair ('diffiderent'), and who feel great sadness ('nimium Gallicos contristauit') (see pp. 698-702). Walsingham also claims that over 500 of the 'Gallicis' died with hardly any English casualties (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 698)).

[73] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 766).

[74] See for example: the attack on Rye in 1377 in which *Gallici* attack the town but the Abbot of Battle interrogates a prisoner regarding the plans of the *Franci* (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 132)); Jean de Vienne's time in Scotland in 1385 in which French troops are *Gallici* but the aid sent to the Scots and tactical decisions are made by the *Franci* (I (pp. 756, 760)); and the 1417 siege of Caen in which the *Gallici* are defeated but those who decide to violate the terms of the surrender are *Franci* (II (pp. 718-20)).

[75] See for example: the *Franci* occupy a forest with an army of 140,000 *Gallici* (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 672)); the *Franci* who destroy the bridges over the river (p. 674); the *Gallici* assembling for battle but the *Franci* who decide not to advance (pp. 674-6); and the use of *Franci* to describe the nobility and officials of the kingdom of France (pp. 674, 680-2).

[76] See for example: the well-fed *Gallici* against the exhausted and ill-provisioned English (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 674)); the hundreds of *Gallici* reportedly killed by the English archers (p. 678); the reference to the English attack on 'that opposing forest of screaming Frenchmen' ('oppositam illam silvam Francorum fremencium') which results in the death of *Gallici* and leaves the remaining *Gallici* paralysed with fear while the English slaughter them like animals (pp. 678-80).

[77] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 674) – 'Iactitauerunt nempe Galli se nemini uelle parcere preter quam dominis nominatis et regi ipsi; reliquos se perempturos uel membris horribiliter mutilaros.'

[78] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 738) and II (pp. 600-2) respectively.

using *Gallici* than *Franci* in the chronicle, for example the raids on the South coast of England in 1377 are almost universally described as the work of the *Gallici*, and the capture of a ship from Dover while peace talks were in progress 'in Francia' later in the same year, in which forty-six English people were killed, is attributed to the *Gallici*.[79] At the siege of Caen in 1417 too the Abbey of St Stephen is described as having been fortified by the *Franci* but its garrison of *Gallici* desert in fear of the English, robbing the Abbey in an act of 'manifest sacrilege' as they do so, demonstrating the distinction in both rank and conduct.[80]

Some of these terminological distinctions in terms of French rank, military conduct, language and innate 'ethnic' characteristics are of course closely interrelated. Attaching the term *Franci* to the French aristocracy and ruling classes, and attaching *Gallici* to their subjects and subordinates, is closely intertwined with distinctions between the *Franci* as militarily capable and the *Gallici* as less so. That said, only the former can truly be said to be an outgrowth or reproduction of contemporary governmental terminological usage, suggesting that the latter was perhaps Walsingham's own interpretation or interpolation. Likewise the use of *Gallici/Gallia* forms for French 'ethnic' attributes and characteristics appears to have been Walsingham's own personal distinction. What these distinctions demonstrate then is that, however influential governmental rhetoric may have been on certain aspects of Walsingham's terminological usage regarding the French, he then layered his own interpretation onto that foundation. Whether these patterns of distinction can be said to be an elaborate and deliberate terminological policy or instead be a reflection of Walsingham's unconscious or semi-conscious assumptions based on the textual needs of the moment is unknown. In either case, the distinction between the political, aristocratic, honourable and fearsome *Franci* and the lower-born, vulgar and less threatening *Gallici* within the text is clear.

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[79] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 114-6, 132, 158, 160-8). Raids in 1378 are also described as 'incursibus et latrociniis Gallicorum' (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 218)), and piratical activity in 1404 is likewise described as the work of the *Gallici* not the *Franci* (II (pp. 398-400)).

[80] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 714-6).

d)   <u>The Origins of the Distinction</u>

The degree to which Walsingham distinguished between *Franci* and *Gallici* in the *Chronica Maiora* is highly individual to him, but it is important to consider what texts, traditions and intellectual currents may have influenced him to draw so heavily upon the relatively unusual and archaic *Gallici/Gallia* form. While it may be the case that Walsingham simply deployed this archaic terminology as a result of his general classical and historical interests, there were several contemporary or near-contemporary currents of thought and usage regarding the *Gallici/Gallia* form which might have influenced or appealed to him. For example, there was a potential pun on the terms *Gallus* or Frenchman and *gallus*, meaning 'cock' or 'rooster', made famous by Petrarch in his *Invective Against a Detractor of Italy* (1373).[81] While this pun did appear on occasion in contemporary English writings,[82] no link can be found between the St Albans of Walsingham's time and the works of the Italian humanists and no usage of *Gallici/Gallia* terms within the *Chronica Maiora* appears to be making reference to such a comparison.[83] Other writers in contemporary Europe also sought to deploy a distinction between *Franci* and *Gallici* in an ethnic sense. German writers of the fourteenth century such as Lupold of Bebenburg (1297-1363) patriotically asserted that it was

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[81] The text of the *Invective* is in Petrarch, *Invectives* (ed. & trans. D. Marsh) (Harvard, 2003) (pp. 370-454) - Petrarch savaged the Frenchman Jean d'Hesdin as a rooster suffering from 'the pip', a disease of fowl (pp. 386-8); he asserted that learning came from Italian poets and historians 'not from Gauls/cocks, nor from hens' ('nec a Gallis, nec a gallinis') (p. 412); and he likened Hesdin's writings to the croaking and squawking of a rooster and referred to Hesdin as 'our cock' ('Gallus noster'), 'little cock' ('Galliculus') and 'our cock, or more truly our raven' ('Gallum, seu verius, corvum nostrum') (pp. 386, 398, 400, 412, 454). For the context of Petrarch's text see: G. Furr, 'France vs. Italy: French Literary Nationalism in 'Petrarch's Last Controversy' and a Humanist Dispute of ca.1395', in *Proceedings of the Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Conference* 4 (1979) (pp. 115-25); C. Taylor, 'The Ambivalent Influence of Italian Letters and the Rediscovery of the Classics in Late Medieval France', in ed. D. Rundle, *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2012) (pp. 214-20); and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 144-50).

[82] For example, the anonymous poem *Dispute between an Englishman and a Frenchman* (dated c.1347-67) refers to femininity having castrated the Gallic rooster, which now is a Gallic hen ('Si quia foemineos castravit Gallia Gallos // Gallinae Galle, nomen et omen habe') (my trans.) (*Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 93)), and Adam Usk copied a text entitled the 'Passio Francorum' into his chronicle which mostly uses *Franci/a* terms but refers to the king of France swearing to gather the Flemings to him like a hen ('gallina') does her chicks and later gloats over his failure with the comment 'no Frenchman crowed' ('nullus Gallicus cantavit') (Adam Usk (pp. 218-24, quotes at pp. 220, 224)).

[83] Classicist and 'humanist' scholarship at the abbey during Walsingham's lifetime focussed on the original texts of Roman writers not on more recent Italian works - the surviving library catalogues for St Albans include plenty of Roman classics but no Italian humanist works (see *English Benedictine Libraries* **B86-B87** (pp. 552-63)), and the classicist work done at the abbey likewise focussed on the Roman texts (see Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered' (esp. pp. 852-60) and idem, *A Monastic Renaissance* (esp. pp. 169-76, 190-238)). After Walsingham's death Abbot John Whethamstede does appear to have sought to engage with Italian humanist scholarship, associating with Duke Humphrey of Gloucester's circle and purchasing a book containing a gloss on Valerius Maximus by Petrarch's confessor Diogini da Borgo San Sepolcro (see: Weiss, 'Piero del Monte' (pp. 399-406); Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature* (pp. 49-53, 62-3, 81, 88); and *English Benedictine Libraries*, **B88.14** (p. 566)).

the German people who were the true descendants of Charlemagne and his *Franci*, while the French were the descendants of interbreeding between some of the *Franci* and the *Gallici* or 'Gauls' they had conquered.[84] Slightly later French writers employed similar ethnic distinctions in service to social hierarchy by asserting that the aristocracy were descendants of the *Franci* and the lower orders descendants of the lesser *Gallici*.[85] These myths of French ethnic origins, though deployed for specific political ends, possess some similarities to Walsingham's distinction between aristocratic and martial *Franci* and lesser *Gallici*, but again no direct link to St Albans can be traced and the *Chronica* never makes any such ethnic difference explicit. In fact, those instances in which Walsingham switched easily between the terms would seem to suggest that he did not envisage a specific ethnic divide between the two groups.

While either of these contemporary patterns of usage may have appealed to a patriotic Englishman like Walsingham, neither can be directly traced to him and neither adequately fits the model of *Franci* and *Gallici* Walsingham used. Nor does either explain Walsingham's occasional dual terminologies for Brittany (*Britannia*, *Armorica*) and Normandy (*Normannia*, *Neustria*). Instead Walsingham's usage was more likely influenced by the phenomenally-successful Latin tradition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Geoffrey's text not only used all of the archaic terms found in Walsingham's text, on occasion deploying much the same distinction between *Gallici* and *Franci* as Walsingham, but can also be directly connected to both St Albans in the period and even the Royal manuscript itself. This terminological connection to and perhaps intentional mimicry of Geoffrey's *Historia* reveals what would otherwise have been an invisible influence upon Walsingham's conceptualisation and construction of English history.

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[84] For Lupold of Bebenburg's *De iuribus regni et imperii* see Lupold von Bebenburg, *Politische Schriften des Lupold von Bebenburg*, J. Miethke & C. Flüeler (eds.) (Hannover, 2004) (pp. 233-409) - Lupold distinguished between 'German Franks' ('Francorum Germanie') and 'Frank-born Gauls' ('Francigenarum Gallie'), and argued that the French king was in fact 'king of Gaul' ('rex Gallie') or 'king of western Gaul' ('rex Gallie occidentalis') (pp. 236-7, 263-5, 301-3, 307-9); and he also wrote that 'they who are the Germans intermingled, the Franks by the proper name, but those who are the progeny of marriage with the Gauls, they are called the Frank-born' ('qui Theutonicis commixti sunt, proprio vocabulo Franci, qui vero per connubia a Gallis sunt progeniti, Francigene sunt appellati') (my trans.) (p. 245). Lupold was also explicit that he was motivated by 'fervent zeal for the country of Germany, and especially the *Francia* of the Germans' ('zelus tamen fervidus patrie Germanie ac precipue Germanice Francie') (my trans.) (*De iuribus regni et imperii* (p. 408)). For the wider context of Lupold's work and other writers putting forward the same arguments see: L. Scales, '*Germen Militiae*: War and German Identity in the Later Middle Ages', in *Past and Present* 180 (2003) (esp. pp. 48-82); idem, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245-1414* (Cambridge, 2012) (esp. pp. 244-7, 284-9, 363-75); and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 71-7, 174-7).

[85] See for examples: Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (pp. 198, 226-8, 231-3); N. Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1996) (pp. 115-6, 130); and Geary, *The Myth of Nations* (pp. 19-21).

Geoffrey's British version of the *origines gentium* tradition was written in the twelfth century amid a burst of historiographical activity and gave the Britons a providential history from the arrival of Trojan refugees in Britain, through various heroic kings, to the reign of Athelstan.[86] While John Gillingham has persuasively argued for Geoffrey's intention to write a national history for the Welsh rather than the English, and despite some doubts regarding Geoffrey's information, the text was later wholeheartedly appropriated by English writers as their own national prehistory.[87] Both the collection of histories known as the *Brut* tradition and the fourteenth-century *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden drew heavily upon Geoffrey for the earliest stages of British/English history, and various other writers mined the history for moral tales and descriptive passages.[88] There is perhaps no better indicator of the popularity of Geoffrey's *Historia* than the fact that some 219 manuscript copies survive today.[89]

While this general popularity is not in doubt, it is also possible to quite conclusively suggest that Walsingham himself had access to and was familiar with the *Historia*. The surviving booklists and library catalogues for St Albans in this period do not contain any copies of the *Historia* but they are far from complete,[90] and the Corpus of British Medieval

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[86] For Geoffrey and the composition of his history see: A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England I: c.500-c.1307* (London, 1974) (pp. 201-9); J.C. Crick, *The* Historia Regum Britanniae *of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Volume IV: Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991) (pp. 1-8); and Given-Wilson, *Chronicles* (pp. 3-6, 158-65). For the *origines gentium* or origins of peoples tradition see especially Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*' (pp. 375-90). I have used the edition of Geoffrey's text by Wright and Reeve (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the* De Gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae] (ed. M.D. Reeve & trans. N. Wright) (Woodbridge, 2007) [hereafter cited as Geoffrey of Monmouth]. For a brief discussion of the editorial history and challenges of the text see R.M. Thomson, 'Review: *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, tr. Neil Wright', in *English Historical Review* 125 (2010) (pp. 951-3).

[87] J. Gillingham, 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', in *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1990) (pp.99-118). For chroniclers' doubts regarding Geoffrey's trustworthiness see: L. Keeler, 'The *Historia Regum Britanniae* and 4 Mediaeval Chroniclers', in *Speculum* 21 (1946) (pp. 33-7); Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II* (pp. 49-50, 436-9, 461); and Given-Wilson, *Chronicles* (pp. 3-6, 137).

[88] See: Keeler, 'Four Mediaeval Chroniclers' (pp. 24-37); Taylor, *English Historical Literature* (pp. 93-7, 110-20, 136-8); and Given-Wilson, *Chronicles* (pp. 137-43, 165).

[89] Gransden was aware of 'nearly 200' MSS of the *Historia* in 1974 (*Historical Writing in England I* (p. 201)) and Julia Crick knew of 215 in 1991 (Crick, *Dissemination and Reception* (pp. 8-9)), but by 2007 Crick and Michael Reeve had collectively raised that figure to 219 distinct MSS (see Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. vii-viii)). Cf. the 45 extant MSS of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (see Henry of Huntingdon, *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon:* Historia Anglorum, *The History of the English People* (ed. & trans. D. Greenway) (Oxford, 1996, repr. 2007) [Oxford Medieval Texts] (pp. cxvii-cxliv)) and 7 MSS or Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History* (see Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (ed. & trans. M. Chibnall) (Oxford, 1980, repr. 2003) [Oxford Medieval Texts] I (pp. 118-23)), both Geoffrey's contemporaries. This would, based on Bernard Guenee's method of calculation, make Geoffrey's text the third most popular text in medieval Europe (see Crick, *Dissemination and Reception* (p. 9)).

[90] For the surviving booklists and partial library catalogues of St Albans see R.W. Hunt, 'The Library of St Albans', in eds. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson, *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker* (London, 1978) (pp. 251-77) and *English Benedictine Libraries* (pp. 544-

Library Catalogues shows full copies of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (as distinct from the anonymous derivative known as the *Historia Britonum*) at no less than six Benedictine houses during Walsingham's lifetime.[91] Evidence for St Albans itself is however provided by Julia Crick's work in tracing manuscripts of the *Historia*: two copies (Crick's manuscripts **22** and **113**) are traceable to the abbey itself in the thirteenth century; another (**65**) was copied at the cell at Wymondham c.1290; another copy (**162**) was held at Tynemouth at some point in this period; and a further two copies (**42** and **155**) were made at the abbey in the fifteenth century.[92] Thus the abbey itself owned multiple copies of the *Historia*, with several more circulating among the dependent cells. Textual evidence also demonstrates that these copies were being actively read and used at the abbey too, with William Rishanger (c.1249-1312) lifting passages almost verbatim from the *Historia* for his own chronicle and John Whethamstede condemning Geoffrey's history as fable around 1440.[93] Most importantly, such use is also demonstrated by the inclusion of lists of ancient British kings, all of whom appeared in Geoffrey's *Historia*, in the Royal manuscript before the beginning of Walsingham's chronicle.[94] While it cannot be proven that it was Walsingham himself who chose to include these lists of kings in the manuscript, the evidence cited above does make it almost certain that at least one copy of Geoffrey's history would have been readily available to hand for those monks working in the abbey scriptorium.

Thus we can be almost certain that Walsingham had every opportunity to become intimately familiar with Geoffrey's *Historia*, and there are some references within the *Chronica* which suggest that he had done so. Although there are in general very few

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85) (the lists from St Albans are numbered **B85-B91**). James Clark has noted that Abbot John Whethamstede managed to reacquire Matthew Paris' autograph copy of the *Historia*, but this took place after Walsingham's death (see his *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 93-5, 155, 180)).

[91] These houses are: Bermondsey Abbey, Ramsey Abbey, Dover Priory, Peterborough Abbey (which had 3 copies), St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury (2 copies), and the three-man cell of Thorney Abbey at Deeping, Lincolnshire (see: *English Benedictine Libraries* (nos. **B10.47**, **B68.354**, **B102.5**); *Dover Priory* (ed. W.P. Stoneman) (London, 1999) (no. **BM1.375**); *Peterborough Abbey* (eds. K. Friis-Jansen & J.M.W. Willoughby) (London, 2001) (nos. **BP21.65b**, **BP21.235c**, **BP21.322a**); and *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (ed. B.C. Barker-Benfield), 3 Vols. (London, 2008) (nos. **BA1.463d**, **BA1.895a**)). There are many other copies found in booklists and catalogues from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which were no doubt still extant c.1375-1425, and several in sixteenth-century lists which may have been made at earlier dates – by my count there are a total of 12 copies of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* just in the surviving Benedictine library catalogues and booklists.

[92] Crick, *Dissemination and Reception* (pp. 42, 134, 198, 202, 207, 214, 216). James Clark has also identified Crick's manuscripts **22**, **42** and **155** at St Albans in the period (in his *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 93-5, 155, 180)).

[93] See Keeler, 'Four Mediaeval Chroniclers' (pp. 27-31, 33-7).

[94] The Royal manuscript includes: some French verses on ancient British kings alongside a Latin listing of ancient British and Anglo-Saxon kings beginning with Brutus (fols. 3-3v); a short chronicle of kings from Brutus to Edward III and the Black Prince entitled *Gesta Regum Anglie Compendiose Compilata* (fols. 169v-176v); and some prophecies which include reference to those of 'Merlin Sylvester', likely the Merlin of Geoffrey's *Historia* (fols. 27-27v).

references to the English as 'Britons' in the *Chronica*, the narrative of 1381 does include references to St Alban as 'protomartyr of the Britons', rather than Walsingham's more usual 'protomartyr of the English' formulation, and a reference to the harm which will come to 'the whole sphere of Britain' as a result of the dispute between Gaunt and Percy in that year.[95] In the same year Walsingham praised John Cambridge, Prior of Bury St Edmunds murdered by the rebels, as 'equalling Thracian Orpheus, Rome's Nero and Britain's Beldgabred in the sweetness of his voice and his knowledge of singing'.[96] This rather obscure ancient British king appears in the *Historia*, praised in similar vein: 'He surpassed all singers of past ages in melody and in all musical instruments so that it was said he was the performers' god'.[97] Walsingham also refers twice in the 1381 narrative to *Loegria*, the portion of the British Isles inherited by Brutus' son Locrinus and which appears prominently in the *Historia*.[98] In Walsingham's account the rebelling peasants come from 'almost all of Loegria', and they are said to have briefly held the lives of 'the nobles of almost all of Loegria' in their hands.[99] Walsingham may simply have been using 'Loegria' as a synonym for the southern half of England (in the *Historia* it is said to consist of England south of the Humber), but equally he could have been inferring a parallel between the rebellious peasants and the treacherous, bestial Saxons of the *Historia* who came to rule Loegria.[100] From these references it seems abundantly clear that Walsingham was very familiar with the content of Geoffrey's *Historia* from the earliest stages of his chronicle-writing career. The limiting of these references to the 1381 Peasants' Revolt narrative is unusual, but if the *Chronica* was indeed begun at least

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[95] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 472, 570) – 'protomartyris Britonum'; 'universo orbi Britannie'. For Walsingham's usual form when referring to the saint see above (p. 92).

[96] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 480) – 'Orpheum Tracem, Neronem Romanum, Beldgabred Britannum, vocis dulcedine pariter et cantus sciencia'.

[97] Geoffrey of Monmouth (p. 67) – '...cui Bledgabred. Hic omnes cantores quos retro aetas habueratet in modulis et in omnibus musicis instrumentis excedebat ita ut deus ioculatorum diceretur' (my trans.). The short chronicle of ancient British kings earlier in the Royal manuscript includes much the same praise of Bledgabred.

[98] See Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 31, 47-9, 85, 89, 257-9). Geoffrey describes Loegria as 'mediam partem insulae' (Geoffrey of Monmouth (p. 31)) and 'maiorem partem' of Britain (pp. 257-9).

[99] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 422, 440) – 'pene tocius Loegrie' and 'nobilium pene tocius Loegrie' respectively.

[100] For the extent of Loegria see Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 31, 49, 89). The Saxons are vilified as barbarous and treacherous invaders in the *Historia* (see for example Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 133-7, 171, 201, 249-51, 257-9, 279)), and they receive Loegria specifically after aiding Gormundus 'King of the Africans' in his invasion of Britain (pp. 257-9), taking full possession after a plague killed almost all the Britons (pp. 279-81).

partially in response to the Revolt then it would make sense for Walsingham to have drawn on prior historiographical traditions most in the earliest portion of the *Chronica*.[101]

      That Walsingham was familiar with Geoffrey's *Historia* seems abundantly likely, and examination of how Geoffrey used *Franci/a* and *Gallici/Gallia* terms reveals some similarities between how he distinguished the two terms and how Walsingham would later distinguish them. However, there are also some key differences between the two writers usage of the two terms, differences which work to suggest that Walsingham drew inspiration from Geoffrey's text rather than seeking to deliberately copy it. For example, in the *Historia* Geoffrey used *Gallia* to refer to a larger, more hegemonic vision of 'France' in which multiple smaller political states existed, including *Francia* itself. Geoffrey often referred in the plural to 'the kingdoms of France' ('Gallia regna'), to the *provinciae* of *Gallia*, and to the multiple kings ('regibus') of *Gallia*.[102] Likewise smaller nations or kingdoms are described as parts of the wider *Gallia*: Armorica-Brittany is 'one of the mightiest kingdoms of France'; Brennius visits the 'principales Galliae' in turn until he comes to 'regnum Allobrogum'; and both Gascony and Aquitaine are *provinciae* of *Gallia*.[103] The *Franci* also appear as a constituent part of the *Gallici*, especially in reference to Lodewicus, king of the *Franci* ('Lodewici regis Francorum') who seeks to ally with Gormundus 'King of the Africans' and the Saxons in order to seize the entire 'regnum Galliae'.[104] King Leir's daughter Cordeilla marries 'Aganippus rex Francorum', who is said to rule 'a third part of France' ('terciam partem Galliae'), and she travels 'ad Galliam' to marry him.[105] While this is not the same overall distinction as in Walsingham's text, each writer used *Francia* to refer to a political unit and *Gallia* to refer to a different, more 'ethnic' unit.

      Geoffrey's use of the dual terminology to refer to Frenchmen is however somewhat closer to Walsingham's distinction between the militarily weak *Gallici* and the stronger, more aristocratic *Franci*. Throughout the *Historia* British kings and armies resoundingly defeat the *Galli* – Brutus, Ebraucus, Brennius and Belinus, Maximianus (whose British ancestry is

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[101] For this possibility see above (p. 35). Steven Justice has gone further, suggesting that the 1381 narrative was both written first and circulated separately (see his *Writing and Rebellion* (pp. 202-3)).

[102] Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 7, 21, 25, 57, 105-7) - 'ad Gallias nauigatur'; 'sub occasu solis trans Gallia regna'; 'cum regibus et principibus Galliae'; 'transfretauerunt ad Gallias'; 'unum ex potioribus Galliae regnis' and 'per ceteras Galliarum prouintias' respectively.

[103] See Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 53, 105-7, 209).

[104] Geoffrey of Monmouth (p. 257) - 'Vbi Isembardus nepos Lodewici regis Francorum uenit ad eum et cum eo foedus amiciciae iniuit et Christianitatem suam tali pacto et pro amore suo deseruit ut auxilio suo regnum Galliae auunculo eripere ualuisset'.

[105] Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 39-41). Leir later also travels 'ad Gallias' to his daughter, and Aganippus sends envoys 'per universam Galliam' to gather an army for his father-in-law (Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 41, 43)).

stressed), and of course Arthur, all achieve great victories and conquests over the *Galli*.[106] In its account of Brutus' battles in France for example, first against the Aquitanians and later against the assembled might of all the king and princes of *Gallia* ('regibus et principibus Galliae'), Geoffrey's text devotes considerable detail to the personal strength and courage of members of the Trojan (and future British) force, and claims that the French army outnumbered them thirty to one but was tricked, routed and slaughtered regardless.[107] References to the *Franci* are rarer in the *Historia*, but even so there are some indications of a militarily superior and aristocratic status being accorded them by Geoffrey. For example, when describing the conquest of *Gallia* by Brennius and Belinus Geoffrey wrote that 'all the chieftains of the French' ('omnes reguli Francorum') assembled for battle in which the *Franci* were defeated, but it is the *Galli* who were pursued and their kings captured.[108] Similarly it is the *rex Francorum* Aganippus who is worthy of marrying the virtuous Cordeilla and who supplies his father-in-law with military aid, and it is Suhardus, likewise the *rex Francorum*, who shelters and aids the exiled British king Ferreux against his treacherous brother Porrex.[109] While these are not numerous examples, they do suggest something of a more positive, more martial and more aristocratic image attached to the term *Franci*, which does resemble Walsingham's own.

Walsingham's use of dual terminologies for Normandy and Brittany also appear to have been inspired by his reading of Geoffrey's *Historia*.[110] The use of both *Normannia* and *Neustria* in the *Chronica* is unusual for a chronicle of its time, but both terms appear interchangeably in the *Historia* (alongside the even more archaic *Estrusia*).[111] Geoffrey in his text appears to have used *Normannia* in a quite contemporary sense and *Neustria* in a more ancient one: Beduerus, Arthur's 'butler', is made 'dux Normanniae' using the title current in the twelfth century; and *Estrusia* is defined as the region 'now called Normandy' ('nunc Normannia dicitur').[112] *Neustria* is also the term used in reference to the people of Normandy

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[106]   See for example Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 23-7, 35, 57-9, 105-9, 207-9).

[107]   Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 23-7).

[108]   Geoffrey of Monmouth (p. 57) - 'Emenso deinde anno, transfretauerunt ad Gallias patriamque uastare coeperunt. Quod cum per nationes diuulgatum esset, conuenerunt omnes reguli Francorum obuiamque uenientes contra eos dimicauerunt. At Belino et Brennio uictoria proueniente Franci uulneratis cateruis diffugierunt'.

[109]   Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 39-43, 45-7).

[110]   Galloway also reached this conclusion (in his 'Latin England' (pp. 82-3)), but overstates the extent to which Walsingham was 'aggressively antiquating' Normandy.

[111]   For 'Estrusia', a term so archaic even in Geoffrey's time that some copyists of the *Historia* replaced it with the better-known *Neustria*, see H.E. Keller, 'Two Toponymical Problems in Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace: *Estrusia* and *Siesia*', in *Speculum* 49 (1974) (pp. 687-92).

[112]   Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 209-11).

and in the so-called Prophecies of Merlin, thereby using it a more 'ethnic' sense and invoking the antiquity of the term.[113] Contrary to the use of *Loegria*, it is in the later stages of the *Chronica*'s composition that the term *Neustria* appears alongside the more standard *Normannia* - it is used only once in the fourteenth-century *Chronica* and only once again in the fifteenth-century *Chronica* before the accession of Henry V.[114] However, in those parts of the fifteenth-century text composed after Henry's accession (c.1412 onwards) *Neustri/a* terms appear more often.[115] Important too is Walsingham's final, most likely unfinished, work of chronicle-writing: the *Ypodigma Neustriae*, which enshrined *Neustri/a* terms in its title and to a lesser extent in its content.[116] This upsurge in use of *Neustria* broadly coincided with Henry V's campaigns in France and in Normandy in particular, and it seems likely that the term's increased usage by Walsingham was the result of the resurgence of English interest in Norman history those campaigns stimulated.[117] If Walsingham was indeed affected by this resurgence then it seems likely that he turned to Geoffrey's *Historia* for information and absorbed the terminology that way.

By contrast Walsingham's use of *Armorica* to refer to Brittany is, as with *Loegria*, most prevalent in the earliest stages of the chronicle's production. Although he used *Britones* and *Dux Britannie* to refer to the people and Duke of Brittany throughout the *Chronica*, Walsingham often used the composite *Armorica Britannia* or even simply *Armorica* to refer to the land or region of Brittany. Nine of the fifteen uses of this archaicising term occur in the narrative of 1376-82 before disappearing for the remainder of the fourteenth-century text and

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[113] See Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 149, 153, 243, 249).

[114] In the fourteenth-century *Chronica* text there are 8 references using *Normanni/a* terms (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 218, 282, 304, 716 (x3), 770 (x2))) and only 1 using *Neustri/a* terms (see I (p. 770)). In the fifteenth-century *Chronica* up to the end of the 1411 narrative there are 7 *Normanni/a* references (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 236, 406, 408 (x2), 438 (x2), 596)) and 1 *Neustri/a* reference (see II (p. 408)). It should be noted that both instances of *Neustri/a* terms occur in very close proximity to *Normanni/a* terms, which could suggest that they merely reflect a desire to vary the vocabulary being used in specific passages.

[115] In the fifteenth-century narrative of 1412-21 there are 6 uses of *Normanni/a* terms (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 666, 710, 722, 730, 732, 736)) and 4 uses of *Neustri/a* terms (see II (pp. 616, 720, 784, 786)). Importantly too these *Neustri/a* references are more likely to occur without the immediate presence of *Normanni/a* terms.

[116] The dedication to the *Ypodigma*, which was almost certainly Walsingham's work, gives *Neustri/a* and *Normanni/a* approximately equal weight, possibly attaching the former to the more distant past and the latter to more recent events (see *Ypodigma Neustriae* (pp. 3-5)). In the remainder of the text however, possibly the work of another monk, *Normanni/a* terms are used almost exclusively, although when *Neustri/a* terms are used they appear interchangeable (see for example *Ypodigma Neustriae* (pp. 482, 486)). For the *Ypodigma*'s composition and the likelihood that it was completed after Walsingham's death see Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 168, 266).

[117] See Matthew, 'Cultivation of Norman History' (pp. 1-5). It is perhaps significant that Thomas Elmham also used *Neustria* alongside *Normannia* in his poem *On the Death of Henry IV*, almost certainly written during the reign of Henry V (see *Political Poems and Songs* II (pp. 122-3)).

reappearing to a lesser extent in the fifteenth-century text.[118] This usage closely recalls that in the *Historia* in which Geoffrey was required to append the archaic *Armorica* to distinguish the Bretons from the Britons (both of whom are designated *Britones* in his Latin), and can be found on multiple occasions in the text.[119] That this was a deliberate archaism is evident from Geoffrey's noting that he referred to 'the kingdom of Armorica, that is now called Brittany'.[120] Given Walsingham's general lack of interest in 'British' history as opposed to English history it comes as no real surprise that the *Chronica* makes little reference to the Briton-Breton kinship so stressed by Geoffrey.[121] There are however some indications that Walsingham was aware of such a supposed kinship, for example the Earl of Arundel's 1387 expedition to Brittany includes the description of Brest as the key to 'minor Britain' ('Minoris Britannie').[122] There is also Walsingham's comment that in coming to England in 1403 Joan of Navarre, Duchess of Brittany had 'passed from the minor Britain to the major ('de minori Britannia ad maiorem'), from a dukedom to a kingdom, from a fierce people to a peaceful and quiet populace'.[123] The debt to Geoffrey's 'minor Britain' are clear and, as with the dual terminologies for France and the French, suggest Walsingham's absorption of terminology and knowledge from the *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

These similarities between Walsingham and Geoffrey's uses of dual terminologies for certain national or regional groups are, when combined with the evidence for the ease of access Walsingham almost certainly enjoyed to copies of Geoffrey's text, highly suggestive of

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[118]   See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 14, 212, 234, 270, 292, 294, 304, 400, 574) and II (pp. 340, 384, 386, 518, 538, 732). James Clark has stated that, in the later stages of the fifteenth-century *Chronica*, Walsingham 'transformed the English army into 'Britons' engaged in a heroic struggle against the 'Gauls' (Armorici) for repossession of their patrimony, the legendary 'Neustria' (i.e. Normandy), a terminology which recalls Geoffrey of Monmouth and, even earlier, Bede' (*A Monastic Renaissance* (p. 265)). This is correct in its general thrust regarding Walsingham's debts to the Geoffrey of Monmouth tradition, but somewhat illogically mistakes *Armorici* for 'Gauls' rather than 'Bretons' and is simply incorrect regarding any increase in the labelling of the English as 'Britons'.

[119]   See for example: 'Armorisque Britones' (Geoffrey of Monmouth (p. 107); 'Armoricana Britannia' (p. 163); distinguishing between 'Britones' (meaning Britons) and 'Armoricanis Britonibus' in battle (pp. 165-7); distinguishing between 'Armoricam' and 'Britanniae' (p. 195); distinguishing between the troops of 'insula Britanniae' and 'dux Armorice' (p. 221); and King Cadualadrus of the 'Britones' fleeing to 'Armoricam' (p. 277).

[120]   Geoffrey of Monmouth (p. 105) - 'Armoricum regnum, quod nunc Britannia dicitur'.

[121]   For Geoffrey's assertion of this kinship see: Maximianus' settlement of Britons in Armorica to make the region 'altera Britannia' and the Armorican-Bretons 'concives' of the Britons (Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 105-11)); Armorica-Brittany as 'minorem Britanniam' and the Armorican-Bretons the 'confratribus' of the Britons (pp. 115, 123); and King Salomon of Brittany gives a speech about the Britons and Bretons sharing the same ancestry (p. 267).The inhabitants of 'Armorican Brittany' also provide military aid to the Britons on several occasions (see Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 195, 265)).

[122]   *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 812).

[123]   *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 340) - 'migrauit hera prefata de minori Britannia ad maiorem, de ducatu ad regnum, de gente feroci ad populum pacificum et quietum'.

a degree of influence upon Walsingham's historical writings. It is of course not hugely surprising that Walsingham should have encountered Geoffrey's famous text during his studies and writing career, and from the concentrations of these dual terminological usages it appears that such an encounter likely took place either before or around the early 1380s, as Walsingham began the first iteration of the *Chronica*. The later resurgence of some of these dual terminologies around the time of Henry V's campaigns in Normandy suggests that these campaigns led the chronicler to some extent to return to Geoffrey's text. While there are similarities between Walsingham and Geoffrey's distinctions between *Franci* and *Gallici*, there is also enough divergence to suggest that the chronicler had absorbed some of Geoffrey's terminology through his historical interest rather than that he actively sought to replicate Geoffrey's terminology exactly.

e) <u>Conclusion</u>

The chief conclusions drawn by this chapter are twofold. First Walsingham, whether as deliberate terminological policy or unconscious reflection of his worldview and concerns, deployed a distinction between *Franci* and *Gallici* in his chronicle. While the former were associated with military danger, aristocratic social position and politics, the latter were the lower-status and militarily inferior French. This distinction was unique within the *Chronica*, although the Bretons and Normans periodically enjoyed similar if more limited dual terminology as well, and was seemingly unique among Latin chroniclers of his time. While the exact reasons or motivations behind Walsingham's use of dual terminology regarding the French are unclear, it is in itself an indicator of a degree of ambiguity and conflict within Walsingham's perception and presentation of the French as a nation. That no other national group, including the English, received such a committed dual terminological usage, and that the only national groups to come close to such (the Bretons and Normans) might also be considered 'French' to a degree, suggests that the French occupied a particularly significant and privileged, if conflicted and not always positive, place within Walsingham's worldview.

The second conclusion drawn from this analysis of Walsingham's dual terminology concerns the contemporary texts and earlier traditions which influenced his writing of the *Chronica*. That contemporary governmental patterns of referring to France and the French were absorbed or mimicked by chroniclers, including Walsingham, seems clear. The less visible influence of the Geoffrey of Monmouth however appears just as significant in the utilising of this dual terminology. While it is difficult to say whether Walsingham deliberately mimicked or unconsciously absorbed Geoffrey's patterns of terminological usage, the *Historia* does appear to have been a significant influence upon Walsingham in the writing of his own chronicle. This influence is largely invisible but for the patterns of terminological usage, and thus examining how Walsingham referred to the French has helped to reveal an otherwise invisible element within Walsingham's conceptualisation of national history. Also, if Walsingham's mimicking of the *Historia* was indeed deliberate, it could imply that Walsingham sought to reference and hark back to a period of English history in which British or English kings repeatedly triumphed over all comers, including the French. Such a harking back would fit with some of the other connotations of Walsingham's presentation of the French, forming part of a promise of future English victory.

Chapter 3
Ethnic-National Stereotyping and Othered Nations

a)   Introduction: Ethnic-National Stereotyping and Othering

In May 1411, as Walsingham wrote his *Chronica Maiora* at St Albans, a Welsh priest named Gwilym Gwyn of the diocese of St Davids received absolution and dispensation from the apostolic penitentiary for the killing of an English priest of Worcester diocese named Robert in a dispute over an English penny.[1] In his account of the deed Gwyn justified his actions by claiming that he was the rightful finder of the money, that it was Robert who first drew a knife, and that Robert in anger had insulted both Gwyn and his nation. Robert, driven Gwyn claimed by 'raging mind', called the Welshman a 'false rascal' and claimed that 'you and all of your nation are false and traitors'.[2] Despite Gwyn's efforts to reason with Robert, the Englishman drew his knife to attack the Welshman and was sufficiently wounded in the ensuing fight to die of his wounds two days later.

This short anecdote serves to demonstrate the important role ethnic-national stereotypes could play in late medieval thought and action. Gwyn's story highlights first and foremost the contemporary expression of ethnic-national tensions via stereotypes of national groups. Robert's line regarding the Welsh *natio* as 'false and traitors' was surely a reference to the ongoing rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr in Wales,[3] and the fact that previously cordial relations between the two churchmen could so quickly and easily break down into name-calling and violence testifies to the emotive force and importance of such sentiments.[4] Secondly, and just as importantly, that Gwyn thought to use Robert's alleged stereotyping of the Welsh to defend his own actions, and succeeded in doing so, suggests that such stereotyping was a known and accepted focus for potent feeling at the time. While Gwyn's

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[1] *Supplications from England and Wales in the Register of the Apostolic Penitentiary, 1410-1503. Vol. I: 1410-1464* (eds. P.D. Clarke & P.N.R. Zutschi) (Woodbridge, 2012) (pp. 33-4). I am grateful to Jessica Knowles for drawing my attention to this source.

[2] *Register of the Apostolic Penitentiary* (p. 33) - 'animo furibundo'; 'falsus ribaldus'; 'tu et omnes de natione tua sunt falsi et proditores' (my trans.).

[3] For the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr see Allmand, *Henry V* (pp. 16-38) and Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr* (Oxford, 1997). Walsingham himself provided substantial hostile coverage of the revolt (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 358, 380, 426-8, 440, 520-8)). For a perceptive study of English attitudes to the Welsh during Glyndŵr's revolt, which discusses Walsingham in some depth, see A. Marchant, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles* (York, 2014) (esp. pp. 152-211).

[4] Gwyn wrote that the dispute arose when the two men 'being at the same time in the house where they were accustomed to eating and drinking' ('simul existentes in quadam domo ubi solebant commedere et bibere') (my trans.) (*Register of the Apostolic Penitentiary* (p. 33)), implying that the two men lived and ate in close proximity to one another before the incident.

story is of course an isolated incident of the effects and effectiveness of ethnic-national stereotypes in contemporary England, it is certainly not the only one. For example, the 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny, intended to police the behaviour and cultural identity of the inhabitants of the English lordship in Ireland, explicitly sought to eradicate the use of insulting ethnic-national epithets such as 'Englishobbe' and 'Irishdogg' among the inhabitants of the lordship with a view to easing ethnic tensions.[5] This legislation, as well as Gwyn's claims that Robert had succumbed to irrational anger when he spoke,[6] reflect quite a negative attitude to such stereotyping but, by necessity, also testify to its existence and potential power in contemporary English society. For Walsingham, as for Gwyn and the lawmakers at Kilkenny, identifiable ethnic or national communities were assumed to possess, in general terms, specific innate character traits and patterns of behaviour which marked them apart from other communities.

Despite their demonstrable existence and emotive significance in the Middle Ages, ethnic-national stereotypes such as these have received relatively little modern scholarly attention. In recent years however some scholars, in particular Len Scales, have called for greater attention to be devoted to medieval writers' ethnic-national stereotyping, arguing that such stereotyping can be used as a window into larger contemporary discourses and trends than has often been assumed. Scales has argued that, far from being simple outpourings of bigotry and prejudice, ethnic-national stereotypes were an important part of how medieval writers constructed their larger worldview, fitting each identifiable nation or people into its proper place within a hierarchical system.[7] 'Far from being mere substitutes for thought', Scales writes, 'stereotypes can overlie and encode complex webs of ideas, assumptions and controversies'.[8] As well as forming an expression of a worldview in which peoples were fitted into the places allotted to them by God's plan for humanity, medieval ethnic-national stereotypes could also function as powerful tools in political and propagandistic agendas. Scales has demonstrated the role of such agendas in late medieval German ethnic-national

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[5] *Statutes and Ordinances, and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland. Volume I: King John to Henry V* (ed. & trans. H.F. Berry) (Dublin, 1907) (pp. 430-69; specifically at pp. 436-7). For the Statutes of Kilkenny see J. Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1973) (pp. 57-8, 88-124) and R. Frame, 'Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland, 1272-1377', in R. Frame, *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450* (London, 1998) (pp. 211-8).

[6] Gwyn claimed that Robert spoke and acted out of 'raging mind' ('animo furibundo') and 'impudent/violent mind' ('animo protervo'), and that he was 'intemperate' ('incontinener') (my trans.) (*Register of the Apostolic Penitentiary* (p. 33)).

[7] See Scales, '*Germen Militiae*' (pp. 41-3, 79-82) and idem, *The Shaping of German Identity* (pp. 356-63). For a similar perspective on what he calls 'ethnotypes' as the 'backbone' and 'root system' of nationalism, see J. Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam, 2006) (pp. 17, 20-2).

[8] Scales, '*Germen Militiae*' (p. 43).

stereotyping of the French as weak and effeminate, and their own people as the militarily capable descendants of Charlemagne, in order to justify German possession of the *imperium*.[9] This acknowledgment of such stereotypes as expressions of larger agendas, assumptions and hierarchies underpins much of this chapter and those following.

What scholarship has approached medieval ethnic-national stereotyping has tended to fall within one of two camps, each with its own attendant problems. First, there have been several important studies of specific, long-standing stereotypes - German rage, Sicilian tyranny, the English having tails - which have drawn attention to the resilience of such stereotypes, their origins in far older intellectual traditions, and the importance of contemporary political agendas in their (re)application.[10] These studies offer valuable insights into individual, long-running stereotypes or tropes but often lack appreciation of the wider arrays of stereotypes that existed alongside and interacted with the specific one under discussion. The second approach has been to survey those current in a particular time period, often focussing specifically on the Hundred Years War.[11] This approach has however tended to produce quite a generalised or superficial picture, devoting little time to the long-term origins or development of stereotypes, and to use stereotypes more as a metric for measuring increasing national sentiments.[12] The 2012 PhD thesis of Claire Weeda offered a more detailed approach to such a survey, attempting a much deeper analysis of the rise of ethnic-national stereotypes in Northern Europe in the twelfth century.[13] Weeda's combination of survey breadth with depth is a welcome addition to the field but still raises some of the difficulties involved in attempting to survey any such group-held belief, chiefly that the

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[9] See Scales, '*Germen Militiae*' (pp. 41-82) and idem, *The Shaping of German Identity* (pp. 353-75).

[10] See, respectively: Scales, '*Germen Militiae*' (pp. 41-82) who stresses the classical origins of the *furor Teutonicus* trope and its thirteenth-century resurgence in anti-German polemic and German self-definition as the *milites Christi*; H. Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily, *Rex Tyrannus*, in Twelfth-Century Political Thought', in *Speculum* 38 (1963) (pp. 46-78) who argues for the (re)application of ancient Greek traditions regarding the tyrants of Sicily to the divisive Roger II of Sicily (r.1130-54); and G. Neilson, *Caudatus Anglicus: A Mediaeval Slander* (Edinburgh, 1896) (esp. pp. 1-38) who traces the myth of the tailed Englishman from the *Brut* histories of Wace and Laȝamon onwards, especially its use by anti-English writers. Craig Taylor has also traced the fifteenth-century trope of the English killing their kings, similarly deployed by French writers as ethnic-national insult after the deposition of Richard II (in his '"Weep thou for me in France": French Views of the Deposition of Richard II', in ed. W.M. Ormrod, *Fourteenth-Century England III* (Woodbridge, 2004) (pp. 207-22)).

[11] See for example Menache, 'Symbols and National Stereotypes' (pp. 191-209) and A. Goodman, 'The British Isles Imagined', in ed. L. Clark, *The Fifteenth Century, Volume 6: Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006) (pp. 1-14).

[12] Perhaps the classic expression of this is that of Christopher Allmand, who identified stereotyping as an important part of nationalistic 'propaganda' in England and France in this period as national feeling distanced itself from the 'chivalric' ethos of writers such as Froissart (see his *The Hundred Years War* (pp. 140-1)).

[13] C. Weeda, *Images of Ethnicity in Later Medieval Europe* (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2012). See also her 'Ethnic Stereotyping in Twelfth-Century Paris', in eds. M. Cohen & J. Firnhaber-Baker, *Difference and Identity in Francia and Medieval France* (Surrey, 2010) (pp. 115-35).

flexibility and variability of such beliefs defy rigid categorisation. For example, just within the texts assembled by Weeda in her Appendix, there is an impressive range of stereotypes attached to the *Franci*, including 'ferocity', 'arrogance/pride', 'cruelty', 'avarice' and 'puffed up-edness'.[14]

It is hoped that this thesis can attempt a third approach, namely the detailed analysis of the schema of ethnic-national stereotypes within one text by one writer, related as far as possible to wider contemporary trends and beliefs, which may help to provide a different perspective on the use of such stereotypes in the period. By focussing on the stereotypes expressed by one individual this chapter and those following can combine the detailed study of each individual stereotype's content and origins with the study of their interrelation and thus the larger worldview or ethnic-national hierarchy they reveal. Far from being simple outpourings of contemporary prejudice or political agenda, or from being simple recitations of older tropes, Walsingham's stereotyping was an important part of how he conceptualised the wider world and how he expressed England's place within it.

While this study does not seek to directly apply any specific theoretical position as such, it and the work of Scales and Weeda mentioned above are somewhat underpinned by two closely-related schools of modern thought which stress the importance of stereotypes and 'Others' in the formation and defence of one's own group identity. Modern psychological and sociological theorists have stressed that stereotyping individuals, whether by ethnicity, nationality or other criteria, is not a sign of faulty cognition but a natural product of the innate human need to categorise and simplify the complexities of the world around us.[15] Where this cognitive view meets the larger, more social aspect of stereotyping is the belief that human groups and societies feel a similar need to simplify and categorise the social world into clear-cut groups based on specific criteria (race, nationality, economic status and so on), and that these 'social stereotypes' are then held in common among members of the in-group.[16] These commonly-held stereotypes serve to explain and legitimise existing power relations between

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[14] See Weeda, *Images of Ethnicity* (pp. 336-47) - the full list is: 'Ferocitas Francorum'; 'Elevatio Francorum'; 'Superbia vel ferocitas Francorum'; 'Crudelitas seu superbia Francorum'; 'Francorum fortitudo'; 'Francus fortis'; 'Avaritia Francorum'; and 'Franci tumidi'.

[15] Two excellent summaries of modern thinking on stereotyping are M. Cinnirella, 'Ethnic and National Stereotypes: A Social Identity Perspective', in ed. C.C. Barfoot, *Beyond Pug's Tour: National and Ethnic Stereotyping in Theory and Literary Practice* (Amsterdam, 1997) (pp. 37-51) and D. Operario & S.T. Fiske, 'Stereotypes: Content, Structures, Processes, and Context', in eds. R. Brown & S.L. Gaertner, *The Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Intergroup Processes* (Oxford, 2003) (pp. 22-44).

[16] The preeminent scholar of 'social stereotypes' was Henri Tajfel in his 'Social Stereotypes and Social Groups', in eds. J.C. Turner & H. Giles, *Intergroup Behaviour* (Chicago, 1981) (pp. 144-67), in which he concluded that stereotypes emerge from the in-built cognitive need 'to systematise and simplify' and that 'social stereotypes' (i.e. commonly-held stereotypes) develop from the meeting of this need with existing relationships between social groups (esp. pp. 147-8). For Tajfel and the importance of his approach see Cinnirella, 'Ethnic and National Stereotyping' (pp. 42-8).

social groups and to defend or police the boundaries between in-group and out-group, thus protecting the exclusivity of the in-group's identity.[17] The majority of this work has focussed on the use of stereotyping in modern societies and on the stereotyping of minority or disadvantaged groups in particular, but there seems no real barrier to such social interactions and processes having existed in the medieval period too.[18] Crucially, this modern thinking explains that we should not rush to condemn pre-modern stereotyping as simple prejudice but view it as a natural outgrowth of the human condition, and that we should view Walsingham's stereotyping (of national groups, of social groups, and more) as an integral part of how he mentally divided up his world.

A more familiar field of scholarly theorisation and study to medievalists is that of 'the Other', which bears close similarities to the above theories regarding stereotyping but is rarely linked explicitly.[19] The notion of 'the Other' as an ideological-cultural creation of a particular society or group, the demonisation and denigration of which allows for the separation and exaltation of 'the Self', has become something of a commonplace in some areas of medieval scholarship in recent decades. 'Othering' as a concept owes much to Edward Said's famous 1978 book *Orientalism*, which argued that the West had throughout its history constructed and maintained a binary division of the world between itself and 'the Orient', an ambiguous and largely imaginary construction which served as a vehicle for suppressed Western desires and as legitimisation for Western colonialism.[20] This image of 'the Orient', with its 'library or archive' of preconceived and generalised notions regarding the Orient and its inhabitants, even down to certain 'costumes' which determined how 'Orientals' were depicted in art and theatre, of course closely resembles the clusters and traditions of long-standing ethnic-national stereotypes which existed in the Middle Ages.[21] In essence Said wrote of stereotypes or, as he saw it, *the* stereotype which underlay the West's self-image. While many have since taken

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[17] See especially Tajfel, 'Social Stereotypes and Social Groups' (pp. 158-62) where he attributes the development of social stereotypes to three principal drives: the need to explain events; the need to justify existing power relations between groups; and the need to provide one's own group with a distinct position and identity.

[18] See for example the works discussed in Tajfel, 'Social Stereotypes and Social Groups' (pp. 158-62) and Operario & Fiske, 'Stereotypes' (pp. 23-7).

[19] The similarities in the processes being described and theorised are obvious, but thus far the only works found to directly link the two fields are M. Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation* (Basingstoke, 2001) (esp. pp. x-xii, 47-51) and Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe* (esp. pp. 17, 20-2)). Both works however remain almost entirely modern in focus.

[20] E. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978, repr. 2003). For the anthropological roots of Said's thinking see Said, *Orientalism* (esp. pp. 53-4) and M. Richardson, 'Enough Said', in *Anthropology Today* 6 (1990) (pp. 16-9).

[21] 'Library or archive' and 'costumes' are Said's phrasings (see *Orientalism* (pp. 41, 58-9, 72-3)).

issue with aspects of Said's conclusions on various grounds,[22] and some notes of caution have been sounded regarding overgeneralisation in the study of past Others,[23] Said's general approach has stimulated much work among scholars of literature, art and history.[24] Among medievalists the majority of work on 'Others' has focussed not on national or social 'Others' but on more clearly differentiated groups such as religious and racial minorities as well as geographically marginal peoples.[25] That said, and while national 'Others' remains a neglected field, Ruth Mellinkoff and Paul Freedman have respectively studied the artistic and literary 'Othering' of the peasantry by medieval elites, studies which will be discussed later in relation to Walsingham's own class-based stereotyping.[26]

Where the study of past 'Others' and modern theories regarding stereotyping become relevant to the present study is in their stress on the inverse nature of both acts: the act of stereotyping and of constructing an 'Other' is fundamentally one of self-definition and self-exaltation. By stereotyping another people as, for example, warlike a writer inversely depicts his own people as less warlike. Similarly by setting a particular people up as, say, a barbarous foil or 'Other' to his own a writer inversely makes his own people more civilised. Thus Walsingham's acts of stereotyping and 'Othering' other ethnic-national groups offer us a

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[22] Criticism of Said has clustered around too exclusive a focus on 'high literature', vague definitions of core concepts, and his application of Foucaultian discourse theory - see for example: D. Porter, '*Orientalism* and its Problems', in ed. P. Williams, *Edward Said. Volume I* (London, 2001) [orig. publ. in 1983] (pp. 350-66); J. Clifford, 'On Orientalism', in ed. P. Williams, *Edward Said. Volume II* (London, 2001) [orig. publ. in 1988] (pp. 20-38); and J.M. MacKenzie, 'Edward Said and the Historians', in ed. P. Williams, *Edward Said. Volume III* (London, 2001) [orig. publ. in 1994] (pp. 127-43).

[23] See for example: William Chester Jordan's concerns about 'presentism' and a tendency toward unintelligible jargon in Others scholarship (in his 'Why "Race"?, in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001) (pp. 170-1)); Paul Freedman's warning against overgeneralisation (in his 'The Medieval Other: The Middle Ages as Other', in eds. T.S. Jones & D.A. Sprunger, *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations* (Kalamazoo, 2002) (pp. 8-12)); and Nina Rowe's preference for the verb form 'Othering' over the noun or adjective form in order to better express the active and changeable nature of the 'Othering' process (in her 'Other', in *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012) (pp. 131-3, 141-2)).

[24] For discussions of 'Others' scholarship in general see in particular J. Cass, 'Interrogating Orientalism: Theories and Practices', in eds. D.L. Hoeveler & J. Cass, *Interrogating Orientalism: Contextual Approaches and Pedagogical Practices* (Ohio, 2006) (pp. 25-45) and Rowe, 'Other' (pp. 131-44). One medievalist who has sought to draw upon Said's formulation, while offering her own correctives to it, is Susanne Conklin Akbari - see in particular her *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Cornell, 2009) (pp. 1-19).

[25] The scholarly literature is vast, but for just a few illustrative examples see: J.J. Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England', in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001) (pp. 113-46); A. Bale, 'Fictions of Judaism before 1290', in ed. P. Skinner, *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2003) (pp. 129-44); S.C. Akbari, 'Placing the Jews in Late Medieval English Literature', in eds. I. Davidson Kalmar & D.J. Penslar, *Orientalism and the Jews* (Brandeis, 2005) (pp. 32-50); and idem, *Idols in the East*.

[26] See R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 Volumes (Berkeley, 1993) and P. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, 1999). See below (pp. 170-2).

potent glimpse into how he conceived not only of those other groups but also of the English themselves. Also many of the same tropes and traits which were applied to religious or racial 'Others' in medieval literature can be found in Walsingham's ethnic-national stereotyping - for example savagery, treachery and irrational rage are all traits associated in various literary works with Muslims and Jews. This goes some way to suggesting that Walsingham, and his contemporaries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were drawing on older toolboxes or 'archives' to use Said's phrasing of 'Othering' in their (self-)fashioning of the English as a nation.

While it is not possible here to survey how Walsingham depicted and stereotyped all other national groups in the *Chronica Maiora*, three of the most prominent cases can be discussed in some detail. First is the depiction of the Irish who, in line with earlier English medieval traditions, are depicted in the *Chronica* as 'barbarous' and in need of English conquest and civilising. Juxtaposed with this negative 'barbarism' is a less prominent but also significant positive depiction of a 'primitive' people in the Canary Islanders, depicted in the chronicle in a kind of Ovidian Golden Age state of innocence. Second are the Flemings, one of fourteenth-century England's closest neighbours geographically and in terms of politics and trade, whom Walsingham almost religiously stereotyped as treacherous and cruel. This stereotype can be shown to have been a consistent influence on Walsingham's chronicle-writing throughout his career and does appear to conform to some wider English trends of opinion regarding Flemings. Third, and perhaps most obviously for this period, are the Scots. In this regard the *Chronica* very much matches the official anti-Scottish propaganda of the English government and wider currents of anti-Scottish feeling, depicting the Scots as bestial and cruel raiders driven by irrationality and in particular possessed of *furor*, a loaded term carrying connotations of insane rage. Similarities between this stereotyping of the Scots and Walsingham's stereotyping and 'Othering' of certain social groups within 'the English', particularly the peasantry and Northerners, will also be raised here in terms of noting the divisions that existed within his seemingly neat national framework. Almost needless to say, each of these national stereotypical views of England's key neighbours plays into a clear (if often implicit) depiction of the English as more civilised, more trustworthy, and more rational than any other people.

b) <u>The Barbarous Irish & Welsh</u>

While, as mentioned above, the majority of studies of pre-modern Others have tended to focus on religious and racial Others, there has been a small cluster of works which have discussed the idea and construction of 'primitive' or 'barbarian' Others.[27] This cultural-ideological figure of the 'barbarian' of course functions much as any Other, allowing the Self to depict itself as more 'civilised' than the Othered group and to legitimise its political rule over that Othered group. The figure of 'the barbarian' is usually associated with primitive forms of life (i.e. non-urbanised, lacking law), irrationality, geographical marginality and bestial savagery. By contrast there has also existed a counter-discourse which might be termed that of a 'Golden Age' of Man or of the 'Noble Savage', in which primitive societies were held up as exemplars of simplistic and virtuous life or as survivals of an earlier, more virtuous stage of Man's existence.[28] Some scholars have in particular stressed the importance of the theories of human development and history put forward by Aristotle and Cicero on one hand, in which Mankind progressed from bestial savagery to civilisation by coming together in cities, and that of writers like Ovid on the other, in which Mankind had previously lived in a state of innocence but had declined over time.[29] These are of course ancient discourses found in pre-classical and classical cultures, and duly inherited by medieval Europe through the legacy of Rome, but they are also found prominently in several medieval discourses of ethnic-national relations.[30] Discourses of 'barbarism' and, using Lovejoy and Boas' term for the

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[27] Key surveys and theoretical works include: A.O. Lovejoy & G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Johns Hopkins, 1935, repr. 1965); G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages* (Johns Hopkins, 1948, repr. 1997); and E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford, 1989). For literary scholar Claude Rawson the figure of 'the barbarian' has been a constant obsession of Western culture and is 'a figure through whom we confront our own selves in anguished self-implication' (see his, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* (Oxford, 2001) (quote at p. vii)).

[28] For discussion and examples see Lovejoy & Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (pp. 7-11, 43-9, 287-90) and S. Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991) (pp. 122-8).

[29] On Aristotle, Cicero and Ovid see Lovejoy & Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (pp. 43-9, 176-80, 243-55). David Abulafia in particular has stressed the importance of these opposing philosophical viewpoints in later writings on the Canary Islands (see his 'Neolithic meets Medieval' (pp. 255-78) and *The Discovery of Mankind* (pp. 33-72)), and Stephen Ellis has stressed the influence of the Ciceronian viewpoint in English thinking about the Irish (see his 'Civilising the Natives: State Formation and the Tudor Monarchy, c.1400-1603', in eds. S.G. Ellis & L. Klusáková, *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities* (Pisa, 2007) (pp. 77-9)). James Dean has made the interesting suggestion that the biblical narrative of Genesis, and therefore medieval readings of it, reflects a similar progress narrative to Cicero's (see his 'The World Grown Old and Genesis in Middle English Historical Writings', in *Speculum* 57 (1982) (pp. 548-68)).

[30] The best attempt to survey medieval deployments of this Othering technique in the Middle Ages, and its classical and pre-classical antecedents, remains Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian' (pp. 376-407). Jones wrote too early to have absorbed later thinking about Others, but he did foreshadow it somewhat in his overall arguments and his comments that the figure of 'the barbarian' was 'the invention of civilised man' (Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian' (pp. 377, 405)).

more positive counter-discourse, 'primitivism' found rich expression in the Italian Renaissance,[31] the English twelfth century, and of course the later colonial period.[32]

Where this long-standing Othering strategy intersects with the writings of Thomas Walsingham is through his depiction and stereotyping of the Irish which can be demonstrated to have drawn upon pre-existing English historiographical traditions dating back to the twelfth century, which themselves drew upon this much older cultural-ideological strategy. English stereotyping and depiction of the Irish (as well as the Scots and Welsh) as barbarous and in need of civilising developed in the twelfth century in order to provide legitimacy for English efforts to conquer and dominate of the rest of the British Isles.[33] In this English chroniclers and ethnographers provided moral justification for the Anglo-Norman state's expansionism and provided an Other against which English national sentiment could be ranged.[34] While English efforts in this regard are the sole focus here, it must be noted that this was in fact part of a larger European revival and redeployment of ideas of barbarism for national ends in the twelfth century.[35]

The most able proponent, or perhaps propagandist, of this depiction of the barbarous 'Celtic Fringe' was Gerald of Wales (c.1146-1223), a Marcher cleric whose writings on Wales and Ireland present a clear and consistent picture of Celtic barbarism and contained many of the key themes continued by later writers.[36] For Gerald, while the Irish were skilled in

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[31] See for example D. Hay, 'Italy and Barbarian Europe', in ed. E.F. Jacob, *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady* (London, 1960) (pp. 48-68) and Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism* (pp. 119-52).

[32] See for example Rawson, *God, Gulliver and Genocide* (esp. pp. 1-14) and Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation* (pp. 47-71).

[33] The most important work in this regard has been done by Rees Davies and John Gillingham - see in particular: Gillingham, 'Contexts and Purposes' (pp. 105-10); R.R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identity in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000) (esp. pp. 113-41); and the essays collected in J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000). An earlier but similar example is W.R. Jones, 'England against the Celtic Fringe: A Study in Cultural Stereotypes', in *Journal of World History* 13 (1971) (pp. 155-71).

[34] Gillingham concludes that during the 1130s and 1140s any favourable depiction of the Celtic peoples faded from English writings, coinciding with the period in which the Norman elite appear to have absorbed themselves into a new 'Englishness' (see his 'Contexts and Purposes' (pp. 105-10) and 'Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation' (pp. 75-101) respectively).

[35] See: Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian' (pp. 376-92); R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982) (pp. 158-77); and R.C. Hoffmann, 'Outsiders by Birth and Blood: Racist Ideologies and Realities around the Periphery of European Culture', in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1983) (pp. 3-24).

[36] The classic account of Gerald's life and works is still Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, but see also Scott's comments in Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland* (ed. & trans. A.B. Scott & F.X. Martin) (Dublin, 1978) (pp. xiv-xxxi). For Gerald's significance in the development of the tradition and the popularity of his works see: Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian' (pp. 395-7); Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales* (pp. 213-21); and Davies, *The First English Empire* (p. 116). 'Celtic Fringe' was first

music,[37] they were without doubt a barbarous people in dress, customs, religion, weapons, economy and character: 'This people are a barbarous people, and truly barbarous'.[38] Gerald stereotyped the Irish as treacherous and deceitful as well as being a wild and ferocious people, the usual hallmark of 'barbarism' in the Western tradition. According to Gerald's telling: the Irish fight with frenzied rage (*furor*), clamour or noise (*clamor*), and cruelty (*crudelitas*); they are 'an unbridled and rebellious people'; they plot murder and revenge at every turn; and they execute prisoners rather than ransom them.[39] This is not merely a contemporary situation either, as Gerald's accounts of Irish history are of a series of bloody, cruel and sinful rulers, and of distant origins in the barbarian Scythians.[40] Throughout his narrative of the conquest of Ireland Gerald also referred to the Irish having been 'tamed' and 'pacified' by the English, for example claiming that his book concerned:

> the subjugation of the Irish people and the taming in our times of the
> ferocity of that barbarous nation.[41]

This notion of 'taming' the Irish often took on economic dimensions in twelfth-century English writings, arguing that the installation of English-style urbanised and arable economy would improve the Irish level of civilisation.[42] Other English imperialist writers asserted that the Irish and Welsh were unwilling to submit to the imposition of law and order, the *Gesta*

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employed by Frederic Maitland but does quite accurately reflect the lumping together of Scots, Welsh and Irish by twelfth-century English writers (see Jones, 'England against the Celtic Fringe' (p. 155, 164-5)).

[37] For the praise of Irish music see Gerald of Wales, *Opera* (ed. J.F. Dimock) (London, 1867) [Rolls Series, 21.5] V (pp. 153-5). A translation is available at Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland* (trans. J. O'Meara) (London, 1951, repr. 1982) (pp. 103-4). I have not yet seen this stereotype in fourteenth-century English texts, but it does appear in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (ed. & trans. D.E.R. Watt) (Aberdeen, 1987) VIII (p. 304), perhaps testament to the widespread popularity of Gerald's works.

[38] See in particular Gerald of Wales, *Opera* V (pp. 149-53, quote at p. 152) / *Topography of Ireland* (pp. 100-3) - 'Gens igitur haec gens Barbara, et vere Barbara'.

[39] See Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica* (pp. 35-9, 61-5, 141, 175, 247-9) - 'unbridled and rebellious people' is 'populus effrenis ac rebellis'.

[40] See Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica* (pp. 25-39) and *Opera* V (pp. 138-48) / *Topography of Ireland* (pp. 92-9).

[41] Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica* (p. 23) - 'Hibernice gentis expugnacionem et tam barbare nacionis feritatem his nostris temporibus edomitam' (my trans.). See also his comments that Hugh de Lacy had 'pacified' ('pacificato') Ireland and that Ireland required a firm hand in order to be brought to civilisation (*Expugnatio Hibernica* (pp. 191, 245-53). In the *Topographia* Gerald also wrote that the barbarous customs of the Irish were due to their distance from more civilised peoples (see *Opera* V (pp. 153) / *Topography of Ireland* (pp. 102-3)).

[42] See Davies, *The First English Empire* (esp. pp. 113-4, 121-7). The *Gesta Stephani* of the mid-twelfth century expressed this neatly, claiming that the Normans had first 'tamed' Wales ('edomitis') then had 'refined/civilised' it through the imposition of laws, castles and agriculture (see *Gesta Stephani* (eds. & trans. K.R. Potter & R.H.C. Davis) (Oxford, 1976) [Oxford Medieval Texts] (p. 14)).

Stephani describing in lurid detail the hatred of the Welsh for their Norman overlords and their subsequent bloody rebellion.[43]

The 'wildness' of the Celtic peoples was also often applied to the land itself, and some English writers directly linked the wildness of the land to that of the people.[44] In the *Gesta Stephani*, shortly before describing the 'taming' of the Welsh by the Normans, the chronicler termed Wales 'a land of forests and pasture' which is abundant in animal life but 'breeds men of a bestial type, naturally swift-footed, accustomed to war, always unstable in loyalty and residence'.[45] Similarly Gerald of Wales painted Ireland as similarly wild, stressing the prevalence of forests and marshlands as well as the inaccessibility of the land, and memorably terming it 'a hostile land and a March, a rebellious and rough land'.[46] This emphasis on the wildness of the natural environment of course reflects to a degree the response of English writers to the pastoral, uncleared Ireland compared with the more urbanised and arable situation of England, but it also drew on medieval connotations attached to the forest and the wilderness. In various medieval writings, literary, historical and theological, the forest was synonymous with the biblical 'desert', a liminal place of both spiritual enlightenment and demonic temptation, and was the home of the imaginary 'wild man of the woods'.[47] By caricaturing Ireland and Wales as such a wild and barbarous land, inhabited by a likewise wild and barbarous people, twelfth-century Englishmen provided an Other through which England and the English could be seen as civilised, and also worked to justify English conquests there as a moral enterprise that would improve Ireland and its people. This imperative was never in doubt in Gerald's writings and he foregrounded it by citing papal bulls granting lordship over Ireland to the English crown, listing historical justifications and precedents for that rule, and asserting the need for English-led reform of the Irish Church.[48]

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[43] See Davies, *The First English Empire* (pp. 133-6) and Jones, 'England Against the Celtic Fringe' (pp. 159, 161). *Gesta Stephani* (pp. 14-6).

[44] For discussion and examples see Davies, *The First English Empire* (pp. 120-2).

[45] *Gesta Stephani* (p. 14) - 'terra silvestris et pascuosa'; 'hominum nutrix bestialium, natura velocium, consuetudine bellantium, fide semper et locis instabilium' (I have slightly amended Potter & Davis' trans.).

[46] See in particular Gerald of Wales, *Opera* V (p. 26) / *Topography of Ireland* (p. 34) and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (pp. 35, 239, 247-9; quote at p. 239) - 'terra hostili et marcia, terra rebelli et aspera'.

[47] For this theme in medieval culture see in particular J. Le Goff, 'The Wilderness in the Medieval West' and 'Levi-Strauss in Broceliande: A Brief Analysis of a Courtly Romance', both in idem, *The Medieval Imagination* (trans. A. Goldhammer) (Chicago, 1988) (pp. 47-59 and 107-31 respectively) [orig. publ. in 1980 and 1974 respectively] and C. Saunders, *The Forest of Medieval Romance: Avernus, Broceliande, Arden* (Cambridge, 1993) (esp. pp. ix-xii, 1-34).

[48] For example: Gerald incorporated the papal bulls *Laudabiliter* and *Quoniam ea* in his account of the conquest of Ireland (*Expugnatio Hibernica* (pp. 143-7)); he discussed in detail five historical justifications for English rule over Ireland (*Expugnatio Hibernica* (p. 149)); and he stressed the

Almost every aspect of this twelfth-century characterisation of Ireland and the Irish can be seen to have survived into the fourteenth and fifteenth century among English writers, stimulated by the worsening situation of the Anglo-Irish lordship in Ireland during those centuries. Thanks partly to English preoccupation with continental affairs during the Hundred Years War and the gradual extinction of several great Anglo-Irish magnate families in the first half of the fourteenth century, English rule had by the end of the century receded significantly in the face of what has been called a 'Gaelic revival'. The native Irish intruded upon Anglo-Irish lands, Anglo-Irish notables rebelled against royal officials or reached their own agreements with native Irish chieftains, and many of the Anglo-Irish were seen as succumbing to 'degeneracy' and taking on Gaelic culture.[49] In response to this the English state despatched trusted lieutenants and military expeditions, including royal relatives and Richard II's own military expeditions in the 1390s.[50] Similarly there were attempts to crack down on the perceived 'Gaelicisation' of the Anglo-Irish, most famously through the 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny which prohibited English subjects from adopting Gaelic Irish dress and riding style as well as personal alliances or agreements with Gaelic Irish chieftains.[51] These efforts and the fears which drove them ensured that, in the words of Robin Frame, Irish affairs 'bulked larger in English minds' c.1360-1460 than they had for a generation before.[52]

This bulking larger is evident in various contemporary sources, often employing much the same stereotyped depiction of the Irish as found in the twelfth century. For example, the *Libel of English Policy*, composed around 1436 by the London mercantile elite, calls Ireland 'a boterasse and a poste // Undre England' both tactically and economically, and the poet laments 'That wylde Yrishe so muche of grounde have gotyne...That oure grounde there is a

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deficiencies of the faith in Ireland (*Opera* V (pp. 164-5, 170-81) / *Topography of Ireland* (pp. 106, 110-7)). For Gerald's having 'sexed up' *Laudabiliter* and possibly forged *Quoniam ea* entirely see A.J. Duggan, 'The Power of Documents: The Curious Case of *Laudabiliter*', in eds. B. Bolton & C. Meek, *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2007) (pp. 251-75).

[49] For this long process of decline in the lordship see in particular: Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (pp. 47-85); R. Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland, 1318-1361* (Oxford, 1982); and D. Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain: The Irish Campaigns of Richard II and the Usurpation of Henry IV, 1397-1399* (Leiden, 2006) (pp. 31-3). Robin Frame has elsewhere stressed the 'fragmented' nature of English rule in Ireland before this, but still notes that the fourteenth century saw an especial degree of disintegration and 'degeneracy' ('Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland' (pp. 191-220)).

[50] For English expeditions and attempts to restore control in general see Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (pp. 88-124). For Duke Lionel of Clarence's tenure in Ireland in the 1360s see Green, 'Lordship and Principality' (pp. 3-29), and for Richard II's 1390s expeditions see J.L. Gillespie, 'Richard II: King of Battles?', in ed. J.L. Gillespie, *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997) (pp. 146-58) and Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain* (pp. 31-57).

[51] For the Statutes of Kilkenny see above (p. 131 and n. 5). The fifteenth century too saw several similar anti-Gaelicisation statutes (see Ellis, 'Civilising the Natives' (p. 84)).

[52] See Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland* (pp. 336-9).

lytell cornere'.[53] Likewise the poet claimed that 'the wylde Yrishe' lack rudimentary economic skills, asserting their lack of civilisation similar to the twelfth-century writers, and expressed further fears for the future of the lordship with 'God forbede that a wylde Yrish wyrlynge // Shulde be chosene for to be there kynge'.[54] The poem *On the Deposition of Richard II* also refers to Richard's expedition against 'the wilde Yrisshe', and using the term 'wild Irish' could even be grounds for a suit of defamation in English courts in this period, testifying to the contemporary circulation of the phrase.[55] Popular concerns regarding the safety and economic costs of the Irish lordship are also visible behind Walsingham's claims that the situation there had deteriorated from a surplus of £30,000 per year under Edward III to an annual cost of 30,000 marks by 1394.[56] James Lydon has termed Walsingham's figures 'hopelessly inaccurate' but has estimated a fall in revenues from the lordship from c.£6000 per year to c.£2000 in the period, and Walsingham's exaggerations testify to grave popular fears regarding the lordship's survival.[57]

Chronicles were of course one of the key arenas in which these contemporary fears met older historiographical traditions of stereotyping, and various fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronicles continued to depict the Irish as barbarous, primitive and wild. For example, the early fourteenth-century *Vita Edwardi Secundi* claimed that 'the Irish are a woodland people and dwell in the mountains and forests of their country; they do not cultivate the land, but live on their flocks and the milk thereof'.[58] Adam Usk wrote frequently of Owain Glyndŵr's men hiding 'in mountains and forests' or 'in caves and woods', and described the Scots evading Henry IV's 1400 expedition by retreating to 'the depths of woods and thickets

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[53] In *Political Poems and Songs* II (pp. 185-91; quotes at pp. 187-91). For the poem's background and content see C.M. Meale, '*The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* and Mercantile Literary Culture in Late Medieval London', in eds. J. Boffey & P. King, *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1995) (pp. 181-227) and J. Scattergood, '*The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*: The Nation and its Place', in ed. H. Cooney, *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry* (Dublin, 2001) (pp. 28-49).

[54] *Political Poems and Songs* II (pp. 187-8). The Middle English Dictionary translates 'wirling(e)' as 'A deformed creature, monster - used as a term of abuse' (see http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?size=First+100&type=headword&q1=wirling%28e%29&rgxp=constrained [accessed 08/08/14]).

[55] For the poem see *Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 369). For defamation cases see Jones, 'England against the Celtic Fringe' (p. 167).

[56] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 6) - Walsingham terms this decline a 'disgrace' ('dedecus') and a very heavy cost to the treasury ('fisci gravissimum detrimentum').

[57] For Lydon's comments and figures see *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (pp. 62-5, 86).

[58] In *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* (ed. W. Stubbs) (London, 1883) II (p. 211) - 'habitant siquidem in montanis et nemoribus illius terrae Hibernienses silvestris, terras non colunt, sed de animalibus et eorum lacticiniis vivunt'. The translation here is from Jones, 'England against the Celtic Fringe' (pp. 163-4). See also Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 58-60).

and remote caverns'.[59] Usk also wrote of the *ferocitas* of Irish troops in his chronicle, evoking images of barbarous ferocity.[60] Continental chroniclers also took up these stock images of the Irish and Ireland itself, possibly through interaction with the English. For example Froissart's tale of the English squire Henry Crystede, told to him he claims by Crystede himself, describes Ireland as dangerous and 'a strange, wild place of tall forests, large bodies of water, bogs, and uninhabitable regions' in which the Irish hide, springing out of the ground to ambush knights.[61] Crystede is later put in charge of teaching manners to several captured Irish chieftains, a task which he struggled to achieve given their rough manners, dress and customs.[62] Jean Creton, who accompanied Richard II's 1399 Irish expedition, presented a similar picture in his chronicle: claiming that the Irish live in the depths of the forests; analogising those forests to quicksand; describing Irish chieftain Art MacMurrough as 'very stern and savage'; and writing of Irish anger that '[it] had long been cruel'.[63] Even the manuscript illustrations added to copies of Creton's text convey this image of wild and primitive Ireland, depicting Ireland as a landscape of dense, dark forests, jagged mountains and caves from which the Irish emerge.[64]

Walsingham in his *Chronica Maiora* sits squarely within this wider array of English stereotypical views of Ireland and the Irish with his depictions of Irish affairs in the 1390s. This decade naturally drew the chronicler's attention to Ireland given the 1392 expedition of the Duke of Gloucester, the expulsion of Irishmen from England in 1394, and Richard II's two expeditions in 1394-95 and 1399. In his coverage of particularly the first two of these events,

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[59]   Adam Usk (pp. 98, 134, 160-2, 176, 242) - 'in montanis et silvestribus'; 'in cavernis et nemoribus'; 'ac se delitentes ad frutices ac deuiarum cauernarum et nemorum'. See also Adam Usk (p. 172), where Owain emerges from 'caves and woods with his monsters' ('cum homunculis cauernas et nemora') to attack English-held territory before retreating to the mountains of Snowdonia, which Usk describes as 'source of all the evils in Wales' ('unde panditur omne malum Wallie') (Given-Wilson's trans.).

[60]   Adam Usk (p. 134) - 'mercenariorum Hybernicorum ferocitatem'.

[61]   Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart, publiées avec les variantes des divers manuscrits: Chroniques* (ed. K. Lettenhove), 25 Volumes (Brussels, 1867-77) XV (pp. 167-82) - 'car il est fourmé estrangement et sauvagement de haultes forests et de grosses yaues, de crolières et de lieux inhabitables' (p. 169). For this interesting tale see C. Sponsler, 'The Captivity of Henry Chrystede: Froissart's *Chroniques*, Ireland, and Fourteenth-Century Nationalism', in ed. K. Lavezzo, *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis, 2004) (pp. 304-39) (the translation used here is from p. 313).

[62]   Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* XV (pp. 173-82) and Sponsler, 'The Captivity of Henry Chrystede' (pp. 319-23).

[63]   See Jean Creton, 'Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second' (ed. & trans. J. Webb), in *Archaeologia* 20 (1824) (pp. 27-8, 34-5, 37, 39-41). For Creton and his text see Taylor, ''Weep Thou for me in France'' (pp. 207-9) and A.D. Hedeman, 'Advising France through the Example of England: Visual Narrative in the *Livre de la prinse et mort du roy Richart* (Harl. MS. 1319)', in *Electronic British Library Journal* (2011) [accessed 25/07/14].

[64]   See in particular the images of Richard II knighting Henry of Monmouth in Ireland and of the meeting between the Duke of Gloucester and Art MacMurrough (BL Harley MS 1319 fols. 5 and 9 respectively, also reproduced in Hedeman, 'Advising France' (pp. 14, 18)).

Walsingham retold the long-standing and contemporaneously popular tropes of Irish cruelty and fierceness, of the Irish needing to be 'tamed' and civilised by the English, and of the wild nature of Ireland itself.

The *Chronica* account of the expedition of the Duke of Gloucester, Richard II's uncle and new lieutenant of Ireland, in 1392 includes an interesting description of a meeting between the Irish chieftains. Walsingham claimed that 'cunctis reguli illius terre' or 'all the chieftains of that land' assembled, fearful at Gloucester's arrival, and discussed how they might surrender.[65] In Walsingham's telling the Irish spoke the following:

> "This invincible hero is coming, an intelligent, wise lord, a bold knight,
> who is energetic, fortunate, and of no common lineage, but the offspring of
> a king and the uncle of a king, and it is no disgrace for anyone to make an
> alliance with him. Let us meet him in peace, and offer ourselves and ours to
> him, and perhaps he will permit us to keep our possessions and our ancient
> customs, but if he does not do this, let us at least live in submission to him
> like the Welsh, who enjoy great peace whenever they are willing to be
> peaceable."[66]

Immediately after this discussion the chronicle claims that 'all the chieftains' ('cunctis regulis') who resided in 'the marshlands, the forests and the mountains' ('palustria...silvestria, vel montana') chose to accept Gloucester's rule. This occurred, Walsingham claims, despite there never having been any 'foreign lord' over these regions previously due to those regions' 'inaccessibility' ('inaccessibilitatem') and 'notorious difficulty' ('notoriam difficultatem').[67] These are of course the words of a patriotic and inventive Englishman and bear little resemblance to any such conversations actually had between Irish leaders, but they reveal much about how Walsingham perceived and wished to construct the Irish.

Firstly the term *reguli* is significant, translating as 'petty kings' or 'chieftains' in direct contrast to the *rex* used twice in this passage to refer to the English king.[68] This contrast very

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[65] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 932).

[66] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 932) - "Adest, inuictus heros, sapiens et prudens dominus, miles audax, strenuus, et fortunatus, non de uulgari progenie procreatus, set regis proles et regis auunculus, cui non dedecet quemquam confederari. Occurramus ei cum pace, offeramus nos et nostra, et forsitan indulgebit nobis bona nostra et consuetudines nostras antiquas; uel si hoc non fecerit, saltem uiuamus sub eo, more Wallicorum, qui satis alta pace gaudent quociens pacifici uolunt esse" (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[67] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 932).

[68] Lewis & Short translate *regulus* variously as 'ruler of a small country', 'petty king', 'prince', 'chieftain' and 'lord' (see http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=reguli&la=la [accessed 08/08/14]). I would suggest however that 'petty king' is perhaps the most literal translation given the etymological similarity between *rex* and *regulus*. Taylor, Childs & Watkiss translate *reguli* as 'rulers', which is largely correct but does not preserve the exact implications of the original (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 933)).

clearly places the Irish leaders on a significantly lower and subordinate level to that of the English king. In a context where, as seen above, the *regnum* constituted the highest form of nationhood, this demotion to 'petty kings' amounts to a demotion of the Irish as a national people.[69] *Reguli* as a term applied to Irish leaders or rulers reappears in Walsingham's description of the 'plures reguli illius terre' who submitted to Richard II in 1394, and it is also a term which Gerald of Wales had specifically used to refer to Irish chieftains.[70] The use of *terra* to label Ireland itself in these passages is likely in imitation of contemporary governmental terminology, but it too serves by default to elevate England over Ireland in status.[71] Secondly in this supposed speech the Irishmen are recognising the martial and lordly virtues of Gloucester as superior to their own and, importantly, pledge to live *beneath* his (i.e. English) rule - 'uiuamus *sub* eo' (my emphasis) - from which peace will be the result. This closely resembles twelfth-century constructions in which the Irish were to be 'tamed' from their previous barbarism by English rule, and is a sentiment which Walsingham repeated elsewhere in the *Chronica*: Ireland is 'led to peace' ('perduxisset ad pacem') by English rule; the Irish forced to 'submit' and 'surrender' by Richard II; and the Irish to be 'tamed' or 'domesticated' ('domare').[72] Thirdly the description of the Irish landscape contains much the same stereotyped caricature as twelfth- and other fourteenth-century texts, stressing the wildness and danger of the forests and mountains.

Walsingham's coverage of the 1394 expulsion of the Irish from England reveals two supposedly ethnic traits attached to the Irish, one of which originates in twelfth-century discourse but the other of which does not. In this passage Walsingham recounted the order that 'all those who originated in Ireland' ('omnes ex Hibernia oriundi') should return there as so many had migrated to England that 'the pure Irish, enemies of the English' ('mere Hibernici, Anglicorum adversarii') had been able to 'devastate' and subject English territory to 'their evil domination'.[73] This then is an, admittedly relatively restrained, repetition of the stereotyped image of the wild and ferocious barbarian Irishman, inveterate enemy of the English who attacks and devastates English lands. Elsewhere in the *Chronica* too this is the impression Walsingham chose to convey, describing the death of the Earl of March at the hands of the Irish in 1399 as the Earl's having been 'surrounded by the Irish and cruelly slain by them',

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[69] For the primacy of the *regnum* among Walsingham's views of nationhood see above (pp. 54-72).

[70] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 8). Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica* (p. 99).

[71] For the English use of *terra* to describe Ireland and other possessions see above (p. 63).

[72] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 580) and II (pp. 8, 116, 134).

[73] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 6) - 'unde contigit quod mere Hibernici, Anglicorum aduersarii, partem insule que regi Anglorum paruit fere uastauerunt, et suo infando dominio subiecerunt'.

prompting Richard II to plan an expedition to 'tame' ('domare') the Irish.[74] After this event Walsingham also had Richard II describe the Irish as 'most ferocious enemies', again drawing on stereotyped notions of Irish *ferocitas*.[75]

Walsingham followed this with another, newer stereotype of 'the Irish' by claiming that the expulsion was a ploy by the Chancellor to raise money through the sale of licences to remain in England, but that this ploy failed due to the innate avarice of the Irish. As well as claiming that many Irish had come to England to make money, Walsingham wrote that 'the Irish (*Hibernici*) are naturally avaricious, and endure physical troubles with greater equanimity than financial demands', and that many left England committing 'many thefts, many robberies' on their way.[76] This is rather distinct from the stereotyping of the 'wild', barbarous Irish, and in fact several twelfth-century writers had stereotyped the Irish as both lazy and economically disinterested.[77] However, upon further investigation it appears that this stereotype was likely targeted not at the 'pure Irish' who were devastating the English lordship but at the Anglo-Irish, those individuals who held lands within the Irish territory ruled by the English. Scholars have stressed that, politically at least, the fourteenth century saw a sharpening of ethnic-national identities in Ireland as the Anglo-Irish increasingly came to be seen as 'English', but this change does not appear to have impacted on Walsingham's view of Irish affairs.[78] While Walsingham did refer to the *Hibernici* (and its alternate form *Bernici*) being expelled from England in the passage's title and in the stereotype, those expelled are also labelled 'those who originated in Ireland' as distinct from the 'pure Irish' who have devastated the lordship. Thus it appears that Walsingham considered the Anglo-Irish (in modern parlance) to be a distinct ethnic-national group from the English, and a group whose avarice was their defining trait. The fifteenth-century writer of the *Libel of English Policy*

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[74] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 116) - 'circumuentus per Hibernicos, miserabiliter occiditur ab eisdem'; 'Hibernicosque domare' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[75] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 118, 132) - 'hostes ferocissimos' and 'hostes meos ferocissimos' respectively.

[76] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 6) - 'Hibernici sint avari naturaliter et equanimius tollerarent corporales molescias quam pecuniales enunciones'; 'multa furta, multa latrocinia' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[77] For examples and discussion see Gerald of Wales, *Opera* V (pp. 149-53, 186) / *Topography of Ireland* (pp. 100-3, 122) and Davies, *The First English Empire* (pp. 113-4, 124-7).

[78] On this sharpening of ethnic identities and conflicts see: Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland* (pp. 334-6); idem, ''Les Engleys nées en Irlande': The English Political Identity in Medieval Ireland', in *TRHS* 6th Series 3 (1993) (esp. pp. 89-97); Davies, *The First English Empire* (pp. 136-9); and M.T. Flanagan, 'Strategies of Distinction: Defining Nations in Medieval Ireland', in ed. H. Tsurushima, *Nations in Medieval Britain* (Donington, 2010) (esp. pp. 104-5, 113-5). The Statutes of Kilkenny had famously sought to integrate 'les Engleis nées in Irlande' and 'les Engleis nées en Engleterre' (*Statutes and Ordinances* (pp. 436-7)), and this new model can be seen in a letter of 5th February 1395 written by Richard II which refers to 'the wild Irish, the rebel Irish our enemies, and and the obedient English' ('Irrois savages, noz enemis Irroix rebelx, et Engleis obeissantz') (quoted in Jones, 'England against the Celtic Fringe' (pp. 170-1) and Lydon, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (p. 118)).

likewise distinguished between 'the wylde Yrishe' and 'The Yriche men [who] have like cause to oures', and the Westminster Chronicler wrote that 'all Irishmen born and begotten in that land' were expelled in 1394 which appears somewhat redundant unless 'that land' is taken to be the English lordship rather than all of Ireland.[79] This would then appear to be a case of English popular views on ethnic-national identities not keeping pace with governmental efforts to streamline or rearrange such identities.[80]

While Walsingham's stereotyping of the Irish is the most explicit and direct such stereotyping of a 'Celtic' people in the *Chronica*, his presentation of the Welsh, particularly during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in the fifteenth century, does share some interesting parallels with both that of the Irish and the twelfth-century anti-Celtic discourses discussed above. There is for example the above passage regarding the Irish chieftains' supposed plans to surrender to the Duke of Gloucester in 1392, in which Walsingham had those chieftains plan to 'live in submission to him like the Welsh, who enjoy great peace whenever they are willing to be peaceable'.[81] This passage, although primarily a comment on Walsingham's views of the proper place of the Irish, is rather suggestive of his opinions regarding the Welsh: they live *beneath* English rule, not equal to the English; this rule brings them 'peace', a sentiment which resonates with twelfth-century and later opinions regarding the 'taming' of the Celtic peoples; and there is a rather snide undertone regarding Welsh willingness to be ruled, as if they were often too simple or primitive to understand true civilisation.

Chief among the instances of anti-Welsh sentiments in Walsingham's coverage of Glyndŵr's revolt is his account of the Battle of Bryn Glas in 1402.[82] This account includes various negative tropes and images attached to the rebels, including the characterisation of them as 'a mob of Welsh' ('turba Cambrensium') whose raids into Herefordshire were seen as merely a continuation or extension of their 'customary attacks'.[83] The defeat of Edmund Mortimer's forces by 'the Welsh' (*Cambri*) is explained away as the result of the betrayal

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[79] *Political Poems and Songs* II (pp. 186-7). Westminster Chronicle (p. 520) - 'omnes Hibernici in terra illa procreati et nati'.

[80] An Irishman named Andrew Love, resident in St Albans, is recorded as having acquired one of the licences to remain in that year, although the fact that he had actually acquired the licence suggests that he was not a specific stimulus for Walsingham's comments (for Love see *CPR 1391-96* (p. 456) [EIDB]).

[81] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 932) - '...saltem uiuamus sub eo, more Wallicorum, qui satis alta pace gaudent quociens pacifici uolunt esse', quoted in greater length above (p. 144).

[82] For the battle and the 'anti-Welsh hysteria' it prompted see Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (pp. 106-7, 157, 231). Adam Usk attached great significance to the battle, claiming that some 8000 men died there and lamenting the 'dire blow' the defeat struck against English rule (see Adam Usk (pp. 158-60)).

[83] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 320) - 'Per idem tempus Howenus Gleyndor cum turba Cambrensium assuetis intendens irrupcionibus'.

committed by the archers in Mortimer's force, leaving some 1100 of 'ours' (*nostrates*) slain.[84] After the battle itself, the *Chronica* claims, Welsh women ('femine Wallencium') proceeded to mutilate the bodies of the dead, cutting off the dead men's genitalia and noses to place them in the dead men's mouths and anuses respectively.[85] Walsingham then ended his account with another excuse for the English defeat, insinuating that Mortimer had planned his defeat and capture in order to join Glyndŵr.[86] This account then attempts to paint 'the Welsh' as a wild people, given to treachery and the mutilation of the dead, who are accustomed to raiding the English, a presentation which seems rather similar to that of anti-Welsh writers of the twelfth century. This presentation is also reinforced by Walsingham's references to the *insania* of 'the Welsh' and their 'devastating' the lands of Lord Grey earlier in 1402.[87] Another passage which bears comparison to earlier anti-Welsh or anti-Celtic traditions is found close after that of Bryn Glas, where Walsingham described Henry IV's expedition into Wales in August 1402. The chronicle text claims that Henry, his son Prince Henry and the Earl of Arundel each led a force into Wales only for 'the Welshman' ('Wallicus') to withdraw to 'fresh hiding-places' rather than fight; this then prompts the text to wax lyrical regarding the terrible and almost deadly storms, rain and gales experienced by 'the English', weather which it claims was whipped up by 'magic' or the 'evil arts' of the mendicants who supported Glyndŵr.[88] This image of a wild and untamed Welsh environment, into which the Welsh could disappear to elude and entrap the English, may well have been influenced by English traditions regarding the Celtic lands as wild and untamed, traditions which were still very much alive in the works of Adam Usk and Froissart discussed above.[89]

Walsingham stopped short of any explicit stereotype of the Welsh as a *gens* in the *Chronica*, and many of his references to Glyndŵr's revolt are framed in terms of 'rebels' or

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[84] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 320-2).

[85] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 322). Mutilation of the dead was a particularly vicious piece of troping by Walsingham, previously used against the rebels of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 480)).

[86] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 322). This was, as Walsingham admitted in the chronicle, based on Mortimer's later support for Glyndŵr and marriage to the Welshman's daughter (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 336-8) and Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (pp. 108, 166-8, 179-80)).

[87] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 316) - 'Per hoc tempus Houenus Gleyndor, congregatis suis Wallicis, uastauit terras domini Reginaldi Grey...Quod infortunium Wallicos extulit in superbiam, et eorum auxit insaniam'.

[88] See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 324-6). Taylor, Childs & Watkiss translated 'hec mala arte Fratrum Minorum' as 'the magic arts of the Franciscan friars', but 'evils acts' is a more literal rendering. Walsingham even claimed that the friars consorted with demons to whip up such weather, and that sudden gales and torrential rain had nearly claimed the life of Henry IV while on the campaign.

[89] See above (pp. 140, 142-3). See also Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (pp. 20-34) for discussion of English and Welsh views of Wales itself.

'Glyndŵr and his confederates',[90] but it still seems clear that the events of the revolt led him to distinguish the Welsh people from the English on a national level. Glyndŵr's defeat of Lord Grey stirs the *insania* and *superbia* of 'the Welsh' (*Wallici*); the battle referred to under 1405 is fought 'between the Welsh and the English' ('inter Wallicos et Anglicos'); a thief falsely accuses English abbots of aiding 'the Welshman' ('Wallico'), meaning Glyndŵr, in 1405 and the *Anglici* engage the *Wallici* in battle again in 1406.[91] This distinction works to suggest that not only did the political fears provoked by Glyndŵr's Welsh revolt prompt Walsingham to draw a clearer line between his own people ('ours' or 'the English') and the people of Wales ('the Welsh'), but that in doing so he fell back upon older notions of Welsh wildness or barbarism which had otherwise not made an appearance in the text.

But why should Walsingham and his contemporaries have absorbed or redeployed aspects of a twelfth-century discourse of Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Welsh relations? The fact that, to their eyes, the situation of the English lordship in those regions may not have changed particularly since the twelfth century may have been enough to prompt such copycat stereotyping. That said, it is also likely that such views and depictions of the Celtic peoples and their lands had become accepted and normative views and depictions, perhaps even unconscious assumptions, among Englishmen by the fourteenth century. The image of the barbarous and wild Irish had become ingrained into English national self-fashioning and chronicle-writing, especially given its value for the (self-)glorification of the English. Similarly, when provoked by fears of a resurgent Welsh nationalistic revolt, similar images were brought to the fore regarding the Welsh. It should be noted too that this was not the only stereotyped or troped image of primitive societies upon which Walsingham could draw, as evidenced by his depiction of the inhabitants of the Canary Islands in 1404. This brief depiction drew on a much more positive 'primitivist' intellectual tradition and closely affiliated the Islanders with Ovid's description in the *Metamorphoses* of previous, more innocent, Ages of Man by stressing their lack of metalworking, clothing, weapons and buildings.[92] That Walsingham drew upon such 'primitivist' traditions for the Canary Islanders but upon traditions of the 'barbarian' for the Irish and Welsh suggests the extent to which the twelfth-century had enshrined the stereotypical image of the wild, barbarous Irishman into the late medieval English national psyche.

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[90] See for example *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 394, 444, 462, 602). This may be a reflection of how the English crown sought to portray the revolt - as a rebellion led by a single man not a national endeavour - given the phrasing used in the 1407 surrender of Aberystwyth which Walsingham included in the chronicle (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 520-8)).

[91] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 316, 434, 464-6, 470) respectively.

[92] For this see above (pp. 90-1 and n. 176).

c)   The Treacherous Flemings

While Walsingham's stereotyping of the Irish drew, however consciously or unconsciously, on older English textual traditions of Othering and self-glorification, his stereotyping of the Flemings appears to have reflected more of a personal opinion, perhaps grounded in some contemporary national hostility to the Flemings. Modern scholarship has generally stressed the close connections between England and Flanders in the fourteenth century, in trade, politics and even linguistic borrowings, as well as the existence of a vibrant and substantial Flemish immigrant population in the south of England.[93] Despite these connections there existed a rich vein of anti-Flemish feeling within contemporary English opinion. For example, Ranulf Higden in his *Polychronicon* (c.1340s) insinuated that the Flemings lacked martial ability and that they learned both bravery and commercial enterprise from the English, sentiments neither of his Middle English translators (c.1387 and c.1432-50) felt obliged to alter.[94] London-based writers appear to have stereotyped Flemings as drunks and gluttons, with both Chaucer and the author of the *Libel of English Policy* describing Flemish inebriation in gleeful detail.[95] The poem *Mockery of the Flemings*, dated 1436, attacked the 'grete pryde and bost' of the Flemings, mocked the loss of hundreds of Flemish troops, and traced the name Flemings to the Middle English word 'flemen' for outlawed or banished.[96]

By far the most common contemporary stereotype of the Flemings is however that of treachery and falseness. This stereotype was of course expressed particularly strongly after 1435-36 in which Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy dramatically shifted his alliance from the English to the French at the Congress of Arras and besieged Calais at the head of a Flemish-

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[93]   See in particular: Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (esp. pp. 217-31, 317-26); the contributions in eds. C.M. Barron & N. Saul, *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995); Ormrod, *Edward III* (esp. pp. 200-5, 214, 221-7, 267, 432-4, 509-10); and B. Lambert & M. Pajic, 'Drapery in Exile: Edward III, Colchester and the Flemings, 1351-1367', in *History* 99 (2014) (pp. 733-53). The England's Immigrants 1330-1550 database and the attached individual case studies (at www.englandsimmigrants.com) also demonstrate the extent of Flemish migration to England in the period, particularly in London and southern England. Chaucer also referred twice in *The Canterbury Tales* to Flemish expressions or proverbs in such a way as to suggest that they enjoyed common currency in contemporary England (see Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer* (ed. L. Benson et al) (Oxford, 3rd edn., 1987) (pp. 85, 286)).

[94]   Higden, *Polychronicon* II (pp. 164-5). This claim was included in the portion of the first book of the *Polychronicon* copied into the Royal manuscript before the beginning of the chronicle (fols. 165v-166).

[95]   Chaucer describes the riotous drinking and gambling of Flemish youths, 'Doing thereby the devil sacrifice // Within that devil's temple of cursed vice' (*The Riverside Chaucer* (pp. 196)), and the author of the *Libel* claimed that two Flemings will attempt to drink a barrel of beer in one sitting, urinating in their clothes as they do so (*Political Poems and Songs* II (pp. 169-70)).

[96]   *Historical Poems of XIVth and XVth Centuries* (ed. R.H. Robbins) (New York, 1959) (pp. 83-6). For the Middle English 'flemen' ('To expel, banish, exile, outlaw') and its derivative 'flemmed men' see http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED16263 [accessed 23/09/14].

Burgundian army.[97] An array of anonymous poems penned in response to this *volte face* levelled charges of treachery and falseness at Philip himself and the Flemings more generally: the poem *On the Duke of Burgundy* terms Philip 'capiteine of cowardise' for his 'falsnes'; the *Libel of English Policy* warns of 'Flemmyngis wyth here gyle'; and *Phillipe of Burgundy and James of Scotland* attacks Philip for his 'perjuri' and as 'falsus princeps' before then expanding to a national scale.[98] However, this stereotype of the Flemings was far from new in 1436 as chroniclers were relating it in the fourteenth century. For example, Henry Knighton demonstrated a sceptical or hostile attitude toward Flemings in his chronicle, referring to the towns' struggles against their Count with judgemental language such as 'sedition' ('sedicionem') and 'cruelly' or 'sharply' ('acriter'), as well as wildly exaggerating the number of Frenchmen put to death in Ghent, Ypres and Antwerp in 1388.[99] The Westminster Chronicler claimed that Philip van Artevelde fell victim to 'Flemish treachery' ('fraude Flandren'') at the Battle of Roosebeke in 1382 and poured scorn on the 1385 embassy to England which he claimed was pointless as 'they were all, or most of them, French at this time'.[100] English poets were also hostile and attributed treachery to the Flemings. For instance, the 1415 poem *On the Battle of Agincourt* singles out the small contingent of 'fals Flemyngys' in the French army for particular attack, claiming that the Flemings have never loved the English and never will.[101]

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[97] For these events and their importance to English contemporaries see: R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970) (pp. 72-85, 98-107); J.A. Doig, 'Propaganda, Public Opinion and the Siege of Calais in 1436', in ed. R.E. Archer, *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995) (pp. 79-106); and D. Grummit, *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England, 1436-1558* (Woodbridge, 2008) (pp. 20-43).

[98] *Political Poems and Songs* II (pp. 148-9, 150-1, 163). The poem *On the Duke of Burgundy* also appears as *Scorn of the Duke of Burgundy* in *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (pp. 86-9). For the wider array of poems stimulated by the events of 1435-36, many of which mocked Flemish pride in attempting to take Calais, see: *Political Poems and Songs* II (pp. 152-4); *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (pp. 78-86); Doig, 'Siege of Calais' (pp. 98-105); and Grummit, *The Calais Garrison* (pp. 32-45).

[99] Henry Knighton (pp. 12, 350-2, 452) - Knighton claimed that 16,000 Frenchmen were killed in a single day.

[100] Westminster Chronicle (pp. 30-2, 146) - 'scilicet Philippo Hartefeld', et ipsum fraude Flandren' circumventum devicit'; 'tunc omnes pro majori parte essent Francigene' (Hector & Harvey's trans.). A marginal note in the manuscript of the Chronicle points out that the Flemish delegation 'turned away from the king of England' of their own free will not under compulsion (Westminster Chronicle (p. 146 (textual note *))). The 1385 Flemish embassies were indeed undercut (as the chronicler claims) by the succession of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy to the County in 1384, but also by the pro-peace policies being pursued by the English government, see Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 135-9).

[101] *Political Poems and Songs* II (p. 127) and *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (p. 77) - 'The fals Flemyngys, God 3ef hem care, // Thei loved us never 3it, by the roode, // For alle here fals flateryng fare, // A3enst owre kyng that day thai stode. // Bot many of hem her hert-blode // Unblythly bledden upon that bent; // 3it schalle thai never wayt Inglond good, // I swere by God omnipotent.' See also the poem *The Follies of the Duke of Burgundy* (c.1419) which levels much the same criticisms as the 1436 poems at Duke Philip (*Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (pp. 50-3)).

It is this trait which Walsingham too attributed as a stereotype to the people of Flanders in the *Chronica Maiora*, beginning quite explicitly in the earliest stage of his chronicle-writing and continuing to deploy it consistently through much of the later text. In his narrative of 1379, part of the earliest and most complex portion of the chronicle composed in the early 1380s, Walsingham included an account of a minor incident in which Flemish sailors seized an English ship at sea, killed all but one of the crew, and then were caught out and executed when sailing into an English port.[102] As the chronicle tells it a Cornish barge out of Fowey was returning from patrolling the Channel when it encountered a Flemish vessel which, seeing the Cornish barge as vulnerable, attacked and killed all but one of the English crew. After sinking the barge the Flemings sailed into an unspecified English port, not realising that the sole survivor of the English barge had stowed away below decks, and this survivor, a cabin boy, raised a cry which drew the English to the ship and resulted in the Flemings' arrest and punishment. The content of the account itself was enough to straightforwardly blacken the presentation of the Flemings, but Walsingham added his own layers of criticism and accusation to reinforce this. Walsingham's spin on the narrative repeatedly asserts the treachery (*dolosus*, *perfidus*, *falsitas*, *fraudulentus*), cruelty (*crudelitas*) and wickedness or impiety (*malicia*, *impius*) of the Flemings' actions.[103] Several such references were composed into lists drawing on the rhetorical triplicate formula in order to hammer home the point.[104] The account also refers to 'a Flemish vessel, loaded with armed men, packed with treacherous men, full of cruel men, laden with men of evil intent' and asserts that the Flemings scuttled the barge to hide the evidence of their 'treacherous deceit and deceitful treachery'.[105]

However, where this anecdote becomes of greater significance is the ways in which Walsingham sought to elevate this criticism beyond the specific incident being described and into a more general moral regarding the innate treacherousness and cruelty of the Flemish people as a collective. Throughout the account Walsingham used a variety of terminology to refer to the English participants ('a Cornish barge', 'they', 'Cornishmen', 'a boy') but used only 'the Flemings' to refer to the Flemish participants. Similarly Walsingham at several points chose to refer to the Cornishmen as 'our men' (*nostri*) as opposed to the 'they' of the Flemings, and wrote that the stowaway boy raised his cry when he overheard the Flemings speaking with *Anglici* in 'their language' ('ydioma suorum'). By these choices of terminology

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[102] The full account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 288-92).

[103] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 288-90).

[104] See for example 'abandoning loyalty, banishing virtue, acting with audacity' ('fide profligata, pietate repulsa, sumpta audacia') (I have slightly amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.) and the description of the Flemings as 'men who are barbarous, savage, and cruel' ('hominibus inhumanis, trucibus, et cruentis') (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 290)).

[105] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 290) - 'navem Flandrensem, armatis onustam, perfidis repletam, crudelibus refertam, impiis oneratam'; 'fraudulenta dolositas et dolosa fraudulencia' (I have slightly amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. for a more literal rendering).

and reference Walsingham establishes a clear-cut and seemingly untransgressable boundary line between the English and the Flemish, with treachery on one side and fidelity and providential chance on the other. Most importantly too, Walsingham titled this entire account 'The treachery of the Flemings is shown' ('De falsitate Flandrensium manifestata').[106] This title clearly casts the anecdote not as a one-off incident of Flemings acting in a treacherous manner but as the *demonstration* of a pre-existing and larger rule in which the Flemish are treacherous. Following this title the first portion of Walsingham's account is taken up by a lengthy excursus on the innate treachery of the Flemish people: *malicia* and *dolosus* are used repeatedly; the Flemings as a whole are described as 'impious men, men who tell lies, fickle men, treacherous Flemings'; and the Flemings are paralleled to the Samaritans who were friends of the Jews when it suited them but turned on those friends when their fortunes changed.[107] This excursus ends with the claim that this treachery and turning on former friends has been apparent not once, twice or three times 'but on innumerable occasions I believe, if it is right to trace back to the beginnings of that people', and that the English are now learning this to 'our' (*nostris*) detriment.[108] Here then is a clearly-stated stereotype of innate Flemish treachery, a trait dated back to the very origins of their *gens* and still existing unchanged in contemporary Flemings. There is too an almost crowing edge to Walsingham's comments in the fact that *he believes* such an innate treacherousness can be traced back throughout Flemish history but that such treachery is only now being *demonstrated* to the rest of the English. It is almost as if Walsingham viewed (and sought to present) this anecdote as proof or vindication of his own prior prejudices.

With this stereotype in place in the earliest stage of the *Chronica*, Walsingham continued to maintain it throughout the bulk of the fourteenth-century text, although as events in Flanders receded from his coverage later in the chronicle so too did the assertions of Flemish treachery. The events of the 1380s, chiefly the 'Ghent War' of 1379-85 between the Count of Flanders and the town of Ghent, afforded Walsingham ample opportunity to discuss Flemish activities and to apply his stereotype onto those involved.[109] Nigel Saul has noted the impact of this conflict on English public opinion, in particular that it swayed English policy

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[106] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 288). The Harley 3634 MS instead has the title 'How the deceit and falsity of the Flemings is exposed' ('Qualiter detecta est fraus et falsitas Flandrensium') (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 288 (textual note *a*))), although this offers much the same meaning.

[107] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 288) - 'hominum impiorum, hominum ficte loquencium, hominum instabilum, perfidorum Flandrensium' (I have amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. for a more literal rendering).

[108] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 288) - 'Patuit hoc non semel aut iterum, siue tercio, set puto infinicies, si ab origine gentis eiusdem retexere cuncta fas sit. Patet in presenti tempore quod nostris dampnis sentimus, effectualiter cernimus' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[109] For this conflict see above (pp. 61-2 (n. 48)).

makers toward 'the way of Flanders' in the war against France.[110] In his coverage of 1382 Walsingham described the Flemish defeat at the Battle of Roosebeke as a betrayal of the men of Ghent by their supposed allies from Bruges, loading his account with accusations of treachery and judgemental language.[111] The account stresses the men of Ghent's trust in their allies, labels the men of Bruges as their 'concives' or 'fellow-citizens', and repeatedly refers to the men of Bruges' 'betrayal' or 'treachery' (*proditio*).[112] Walsingham followed this betrayal with the karmic punishment of the men of Bruges as the victorious French occupy Bruges and mete out harsh treatment to the citizens.[113] At the battle at Dunkirk during Bishop Despenser's 1383 Crusade to Flanders, Walsingham claims, the French commanders placed the Flemish contingent in the front line against the English as they distrusted the Flemings' loyalty and feared that the Flemings would flee the field.[114] When describing the peace made between the Count of Flanders and the towns at Tournai in 1386 Walsingham attacked the people of Ghent for submitting to the French without waiting for the aid Richard II was preparing for them, claiming that this demonstrated 'the innate character of their people, the use of fickle mind'.[115] According to Walsingham this demonstrated clearly ('manifeste monstrantes') that the Flemish were incapable of loyalty to any friend or lord.[116] As with the previous statement of the Flemish stereotype, Walsingham is clear that this is inherent in the Flemish people and that this general truth is *demonstrated* by events, rather than that event being a single episode of disloyalty from Flemings.

As with the poems written in response to Philip the Bold's diplomatic *volte face* of 1436, Walsingham also attached these general stereotypes specifically to the person of the Count of Flanders. That medieval writings used rulers in such emblematic ways, serving to

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[110] Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 99-102).

[111] The account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 650-2). For the Battle of Roosebeke see Nicholas, *The van Arteveldes of Ghent* (pp. 160-87).

[112] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 650-2) - Walsingham refers to the 'iniusticiam' of the men of Bruges' actions; 'maliciose suos prodiderant'; 'proditores'; 'Brugensium prodiciose uictorum'. This event is of course that which spurred the Westminster Chronicler to refer to van Artevelde's suffering because of the 'fraude Flandren'' (see above (p. 151)).

[113] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 652).

[114] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 680). For Despenser's Crusade see: M. Aston, 'The Impeachment of Bishop Despenser', in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 98 (1965) (pp. 127-48); DeVries, 'Bishop of Norwich's Attack' (pp. 155-65); and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 470-2, 493-510).

[115] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 784-6) - 'innato more gentis sue, usi levi consilio' (my trans.). Walsingham's claim that the Flemings submitted to the French is not entirely inaccurate as they submitted to Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy in his capacity as Count of Flanders, and Philip had used French military aid in his conflict with the towns (see Vaughan, *Philip the Bold* (pp. 29-38)).

[116] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 786) - 'se regi Francie dediderunt, manifeste monstrantes se non posse uni amico uel domino fidem diucius conseruare'.

reflect ethnic-national traits of the people they ruled in microcosm, has been noted by Peter Hoppenbrouwers.[117] Count Louis de Mâle (1346-84) appears often in the *Chronica* criticised for his treachery and cruelty, usually against his own people. For example, Walsingham condemned Mâle's actions in 1380 for gathering '*his* commons of Ypres and Ghent' (my emphasis) on the pretence of negotiation only to kill eight thousand of them, burn half of the town to the ground, execute forty of the leading citizens, and even execute women for disturbing him with loud mourning for their dead relatives.[118] All of this account is intended to paint Mâle as a vicious tyrant who betrays his own people to suit himself. This is not an exceptional occurrence and Walsingham explained the 1382 revolt of Ghent as the result of the realisation by the townsmen that their lord could not be trusted, claiming that they banished him for the 'multa mala' he had committed against his own people.[119] Walsingham himself added the comment that Mâle had demonstrated that he was 'more intent upon telling lies than the truth, on acting unjustly than justly', and concluded that their rebellion was God's punishment for this.[120]

In light of this negative stereotype it is possible that Walsingham also sought to apply or stress the Flemish blood possessed by certain non-Flemish individuals as a way to further attack particularly hated individuals. Under 1376, in part of the so-called Scandalous Chronicle, Walsingham made the rather incredible claim that John of Gaunt was not in fact the child of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault but that of an unnamed Flemish woman. As Walsingham's account tells it, the queen secretly replaced her newborn daughter with the son of a Flemish woman ('Flandrensis femine') but told the truth to her confessor William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester in order that Gaunt should never be allowed to succeed to the throne of England as he was a 'false heir' ('falsus heres').[121] Walsingham's aim in recounting this, likely entirely fictitious, tale was overtly political. Rather than the truth, that the confiscation of Wykeham's temporalities was part of a crown programme to undo the reforms of the Good Parliament, this tale provided a scurrilous and anti-Gaunt explanation for that confiscation as well as adding to Walsingham's insinuations that Gaunt was seeking the

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[117] P. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Medieval Peoples Imagined', in *Working Papers: European Studies, Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 2005) [available at: www.uva.nl/en/disciplines/european-studies/research/working-papers] (pp. 18-20). See also Susan Reynolds' comments that genealogies of kings and of their peoples were often interchangeable (in her, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*' (p. 390)).

[118] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 376-8) - 'communes suos de Ypres et de Gandavo' (my trans. and emphasis).

[119] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 604).

[120] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 604) - 'qui dum plus studet falsitati quam veritati, iniusticie quam equitati' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[121] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 60).

throne at the time.[122] While Gaunt's actions in the narrative of 1376-77 are not derided as treachery as such in the *Chronica*, that narrative does claim that Gaunt plotted the murder of Peter de la Mare, took bribes, and even planned to poison his own nephew Richard II.[123] Similarly, in his account of the beginnings of the Great Schism in 1378, Walsingham repeatedly stressed the Flemish blood of Robert of Geneva, later Antipope Clement VII, a figure he appears to have loathed almost as much as Gaunt.[124] Under 1378 Walsingham accused then-cardinal Robert of sending letters to and showing favouritism at the papal court toward 'his kinsman the Count of Flanders' ('suo consanguineo comiti Flandrie') and described him thus: 'He was without doubt the Antipope, as we have already said, a kinsman of the Count of Flanders'.[125] This repeated use of *consanguineus* specifically puts emphasis on the blood shared by the two men, possibly implying a sharing of traits or character too. Again treachery specifically is not prominent among Walsingham's tirades against Clement in the *Chronica*, although he does attribute the Clementist faction's breaking with the Papacy to Pope Urban's attempt to curb corruption in the Church.[126] That Walsingham meant a direct tie between the stereotype of the Flemings as treacherous in his linking of these two men to Flemish origins or blood is not certain, but it does appear at least that the assertion of Flemishness may have been intended to further blacken the names of both parties.

In the case of the Flemings then it appears that Walsingham possessed a clear and consistent stereotyped view of innate treacherousness, a view which he was only too happy to claim as vindicated by contemporary events. Specifically why the chronicler might have held this opinion is unclear and will likely remain so, but it is clear that others of his countrymen

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[122] For Gaunt's dispute with Wykeham see: *The Anonimalle Chronicle 1333-1381* (pp. 96-102); Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (pp. 178-9, 187-92); and A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (Abingdon, 1992) (pp. 58, 60).

[123] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 10-2 (Gaunt's sins, arrogance and adulteries), 28 (receiving bribes), 38-40 (seeking the throne and planning to poison Richard), 42 (corruption and avarice), 54 (controlling the government and overturning the Good Parliament), 58 (against de la Mare), 62 (against the Earl of March), 64 (seeking to oppress England)). Chris Given-Wilson has labelled these claims a 'malicious series of calumnies' and noted Walsingham's heavy use of the *ut fertur* or 'it was said' formula, commonly used by chroniclers to mask malicious rumour and/or personal invention (in his *Chronicles* (p. 9)).

[124] For Robert of Geneva (the future Clement VII) and the start of the Great Schism see W. Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (Hamden CT, 1948, repr. 1967) (esp. pp. 44-56, 161-4) and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 340-50).

[125] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 276) - 'Erat siquidem hic antipapa, ut premisimus, comitis Flandrie consanguineus' (I have amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. slightly); the Count is also referred to as 'consanguineo sui' in this account.

[126] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 222, 248-62, 274-8). Walsingham abuses Clement and his supporters for their haughtiness, fury, 'poison and malice', cunning, impiety and more, but not treachery specifically (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 250, 256-8, 274-8, 628-36)).

felt the same in his lifetime. It could plausibly be suggested that the increasingly French-leaning policies of Louis de Mâle were seen as a betrayal by some English observers given past Anglo-Flemish alliances, which might explain the more positive depictions of the pro-English faction around Ghent,[127] but this can only truly be conjecture. Likewise conjectural but perhaps equally likely is an element of personal antipathy or grudge given the attested presence of Low Countries migrants (who might easily have been generalised as 'Flemings') in the area around St Albans not too long after Walsingham's lifetime.[128] In either case, unlike those stereotypical depictions of the Irish and the Scots found in the *Chronica* that of the Flemings appears to have been rather more personal and internal to Walsingham himself rather than the result of outside influences such as historiographical tradition or government rhetoric.

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[127] See for example the positive depiction of the men of Ghent at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 604-8).

[128] For the significant recorded presence of Low Countries migrants in and around St Albans in 1436 and the 1440s see below (pp. 260-1). The lack of recorded Low Countries migrants in the area before 1436 is a reflection of the lack of source material not the lack of aliens themselves.

  d)   The Raging Scots

       While twelfth-century writers tended to lump the Scots into a single characterisation
of the barbarous Celtic peoples, by the fourteenth century the Scots appear to have possessed a
more individual niche within the English imagination. This greater individuality did not
however mean a more positive depiction by English writers, and if anything the decades of
warfare after 1296 seem to have intensified English hostility.[129] Aside from some thirteenth-
and early fourteenth-century depictions which reproduced the barbarian and untamed images
of the twelfth century,[130] fourteenth-century English writers depicted the Scots as bestial, cruel
and rage-filled raiders with little attempt to put forward any hope for the 'civilising' of the
Scots which had characterised the twelfth-century discourse.[131] This image of the Scots as
cruel, angry and irrational, even inhuman or animalistic, raiders is found across various genres
of text produced across fourteenth-century England, including the *Chronica Maiora*.[132] Unlike
the case of the Flemings, Walsingham's stereotyping of the Scots is repeated on multiple
occasions within the chronicle, and can be seen to underlie many other accounts of Anglo-
Scottish encounters too, which is suggestive of a consistently and deeply-held belief. The key
themes within this depiction and stereotyping of the Scots to be discussed here are: their
raiding; their 'impudence' or 'insolence'; their irrationality or bestiality; and their succumbing

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[129] For histories of Anglo-Scottish relations from 1296 to the fifteenth century see the works surveyed
in B. Webster, 'Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1296-1389: Some Recent Essays', in *Scottish Historical
Review* 74 (1995) (pp. 99-108) and A. King & M. Penman, 'Introduction: Anglo-Scottish Relations in
the Fourteenth Century - An Overview of Recent Research', in eds. A. King & M. Penman, *England
and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007) (pp. 1-13).

[130] For some remnants of the kind of discourse prevalent in the twelfth century see: the letter of
Frederick II in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris which refers to 'palustris Scotia' or 'marshy
Scotland' (1241) (in Matthew Paris, *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani. Chronica Majora*
(ed. H.R. Luard) (London, 1872-84) [Rolls Series, 57] IV (p. 118)); the reference to 'wild Scottes' in
Laurence Minot's poem on the Battle of Halidon Hill (c.1333-52) (*The Poems of Laurence Minot 1333-
1352* (ed. R.H. Osberg) (Michigan, 1996) [TEAMS series] (p. 34)); and the reference to 'Scotos sors
aspera rude' or 'many rough, rude Scots' in the poem *On Crecy and Neville's Cross* (c.1346) (*Political
Poems and Songs* I (p. 52-3)).

[131] Interestingly French and lowland Scottish writers continued to deploy more traditional tropes of
barbarism in relation to the Scots and the highlanders in particular - see for example P. Contamine,
'Froissart and Scotland', in ed. G.G. Simpson, *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994* (East
Linton, 1996) (pp. 43-58) and M. MacGregor, 'Gaelic Barbarity and Scottish Identity in the Later
Middle Ages', in eds. D. Broun & M. MacGregor, *Míorummór nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the
Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern* (Glasgow, 2009) (pp. 7-
48).

[132] For details see the discussion and references below, but for brief surveys of English depictions of
the Scots see: Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society* (pp. 49-52); Menache, 'Symbols and National
Stereotypes' (pp. 202-5); T. Beaumont-James, 'John of Eltham, History and Story: Abusive
International Discourse in Late Medieval England, France and Scotland', in ed. C. Given-Wilson,
Fourteenth-Century England II (Woodbridge, 2002) (pp. 63-5); and M. Penman, '*Anglici Caudati*:
Abuse of the English in Fourteenth-Century Scottish Chronicles, Literature and Records', in eds. A.
King & M. Penman, *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge,
2007) (pp. 216-9).

to the kind of mad rage denoted by the Latin *furor*. Many of these themes can be found in other contemporary depictions of the Scots, and it seems can be traced back to English governmental attempts to stimulate national feeling against the northern neighbour. While there are important classical and other influences detectable behind Walsingham's treatment of the Scots (such as his use of *furor*), the prime mover behind much of his opinions appear to be the crown's propagandist efforts.

Before discussing each of the key themes within Walsingham's depiction of the Scots, it is worth noting the multiple occasions in which he sought to explicitly elevate such depiction to the level of an ethnic-national stereotype or innate character trait. Although there is some variation within these instances as each situation being recorded prompted a slightly different response from the chronicler, they all coalesce within a relatively restricted and concrete field of irrational, raging Scots. For example, in his narrative of the seizure of Berwick Castle in 1378 by Scottish marcher raiders, Walsingham wrote of the Scots' reply to demands for the Castle's return: 'in the manner of their people (*gens*), they responded both tersely and impudently'.[133] Under the following year Walsingham emotively described the plague afflicting Northumbria and attacked the Scots, who had sought to take advantage by raiding the region, with 'the Scots, it is plain, are the enemies of the human race, without compassion for the deaths of so many of their neighbours'.[134] The use of 'it is plain' ('ut patet') here recalls Walsingham's comments regarding the demonstration of Flemish treachery discussed above, casting the Scots' actions as revealing a pre-existing trait rather than being a one-off action. Similar constructions follow in the account of 1380, including labelling the Scots as a 'rabid people' and 'so monstrous an enemy'.[135] These stereotypes continue beyond the *Chronica*'s initial phase of composition too, for example in 1386 in which Henry Hotspur Percy is praised for his having fought 'that utterly troublesome people (*gens*), that is the Scots' as captain of Berwick-on-Tweed.[136] Later comments on the national character of the Scots also appear calculated to refer back to the earlier stereotyping, with the writer of the 1399 narrative referring to the Scots acting 'with their usual malice, congenital arrogance, and treacherous work' and Walsingham in 1402 referring to the Scots' 'accustomed' or 'usual'

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[133] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 264-6, quote at p. 266) - 'Qui more gentis eorum, responderunt tam breviter quam procaciter' (I have amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' rendering of 'gentis' from 'race' to 'people').

[134] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 306-10, quote at p. 308) - 'Scoti, ut patet, humani generis inimicis, non compati tot proximorum mortibus'.

[135] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 370-2) - 'gentis rabide'; 'tam immanibus inimicis'.

[136] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 790-2) - 'gentem omnino inquietam, id est Scotos'.

pillaging, haughtiness and rampaging.[137] In each of these statements Walsingham made it clear that the Scots as a *gens* were inherently given to raiding and bestial behaviour, elevating such behaviour beyond singular instances and into the realm of ethnic-national stereotype.

Unsurprisingly given the period and the information Walsingham no doubt received from the St Albans cell at Tynemouth near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the primary picture of the Scots painted within the *Chronica* is that of predatory raiders. For example, Scottish raiding parties and armies are often name-called as 'rascals', 'robbers' and even 'pirates' rather than being described as soldiers engaged in legitimate military endeavours, and in 1402 defeated Scottish forces flee back to their 'hiding places' rather than to castles or towns.[138] Likewise Scottish raids are often described as using secretive or hidden tactics (using the Latin *furtivus*) and as taking place at night.[139] Scottish military motivations are also derided through the presentation of the Scots almost as a kind of predatory animal, biding their time until sensing weakness. For example: under 1383 the Scots are described as attacking England only when they have superior numbers 'as is their wont'; under 1402 the account claims that the Scots invaded only because they believed Henry IV and the English army to be occupied in Wales; and under 1417 John Oldcastle is described as enticing the Scots to attack with the promise of gold, only for them to flee 'womanishly' when they encounter resistance.[140] This sense of the Scots as predators waiting at the border also no doubt stands behind Walsingham's titling the Scottish raids of 1385 as 'Scoti predantur Angliam absente rege', using a verb which can be translated to mean 'plunder' but which can also mean 'prey upon' or 'hunt'.[141] Walsingham also chose to stress and hyperbolise the damage done by Scottish raids on the north of England, often producing lengthy and emotive accounts of the *iniuriae*, *mala* and *dampna*

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[137] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 278, 322, 328) - 'Scoti, quorum natura malicia, conceptus superbia, opus perfidia' (p. 278); 'Eo tempore Scoci, consuetis dantes operam latrociniis' (p. 322); 'Eodem tempore Scoti, solito fastu concitati, sumentes audaciam de regis absencia' and 'more solito debacchari' (p. 328).

[138] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 264 ('latrones', 'uespiliones', 'malefactores'), 366 ('piratarum'), 778 ('armatorum nebulonum')). For the 'hiding places' or 'latibula' see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 328).

[139] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 370 ('nocte iter ingress, furtive et repente super villam de Penreth'), 394 ('uersipelles et falsi' and 'nos non solum deceperunt set deriserunt'), 764 ('ingressu suo furtivo')).

[140] See *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 706) and II (pp. 328, 720-2) respectively. See also the 1399 claim, possibly not by Walsingham himself, that the Scots seized the opportunity presented by the absence of the northern English lords at Parliament in that year (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 278)).

[141] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 764). Lewis & Short define the verb *praedor* as to plunder, rob or take booty, but the derivative noun *praedator* can be translated as either plunderer or hunter (see http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=praedor&la=la [accessed 06/11/14] and http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=praedator&la=la#lexicon [accessed 06/11/14]). Lewis & Short cite references to *praedator* as a hunter in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Statius' *Thebaid*, both texts with which Walsingham was familiar.

done by Scottish raiders.[142] Taking only one example, Walsingham described a 1380 Scottish raid on Penrith in typical terms: the Scots wished to harm the people of Northumbria; they robbed and killed many people across Westmorland and Cumbria, capturing forty thousand animals as well as rampaging, killing and burning everywhere they went; they took Penrith by night, killing many of the inhabitants and plundering the town of all wealth; and returned home after declining to attack Carlisle as it had recently been reinforced.[143] This is also the picture of the Scots painted by other contemporaries such as the poet Laurence Minot who wrote of the Scots 'thai robbed and thai reved, and held that thai hent', bringing 'sorow and schame' to England, and claimed that the Scottish invasion of 1346 occurred only because the King of France told the King of Scotland that England was vulnerable, with only 'shepherds staves' left to defend it.[144] Chroniclers too presented this image of the Scots, with Henry Knighton and the Westminster Chronicler describing in detail the damage done to northern England by Scottish raids, including pillaging and devastating the land, burning towns and murdering innocents.[145]

Accounts of Scottish raiding, layered with criticism and hyperbole as they are, are however only the beginning of Walsingham's characterisation of the Scots and there exist several consistent attacks on the innate character of the Scots within the *Chronica*. Impudence and arrogance was one key area in which Walsingham attacked the Scots, often referring to their audacity or arrogance (*audacia*), insolence (*insolencia*) and haughtiness (*fastus*).[146] The 1378 seizure of Berwick Castle mentioned above included claims that the Scots 'in the manner of their people, they responded both tersely and impudently', and the same passage included a reference to the pride (*superbia*) of the Scots involved.[147] This particular characteristic of the Scots also appears in other contemporary chronicles, with Knighton gloating that the Scots suffered for their *superbia* in 1346 and the Westminster Chronicler

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[142] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 158-60, 706, 728, 854-6) and II (pp. 278-80).

[143] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 370-2).

[144] See *The Poems of Laurence Minot* (pp. 35, 59). Tony Edwards had sought to reassess the authorship and compilation of Minot's poems, although this does little to harm the view of the poems as expressions of national sentiment (see his 'The Authorship of the Poems of Laurence Minot: A Reconsideration', in *Florilegium* 23 (2006) (pp. 145-52)).

[145] See Knighton (68, 332-4, 504-6, 526) and Westminster Chronicle (pp. 40-2, 50, 86, 138, 344-50, 370, 382-4). The Westminster Chronicler's comments that the 1389 truce caused much 'heart-burning' among the English as the Scots refused to make reparations for their previous 'cruel violence and rapine' may not be trustworthy as a true assessment of public opinion but are an indication of the Chronicler's own opinions (see Westminster Chronicle (pp. 402-4)).

[146] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 232 ('audacia'), 562 ('audaciam'), 854 ('cum magnu fastu')) and II (pp. 278 ('conceptus superbia'), 306 ('insolencias Wallensium et Scotorum'), 328 ('solito fastu' and 'audaciam')).

[147] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 266) - 'Qui, more gentis eorum, responderunt tam breuiter quam procaciter' (I have slightly amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

referring to Scots raiding with 'their usual insolence'.[148] Accusations of cruelty and inhumanity are also levelled at the Scots in the *Chronica*, for example their treatment of the people of Northumbria in 1379 is described as 'inhumanly cruel' and they are labelled as both 'enemies of the human race' and 'so monstrous an enemy' in the examples discussed above.[149] As well as this the Scots are labelled as 'workers of iniquity' and accused of murdering the defenceless citizens of Roxburgh and Penrith on market days.[150] In one particularly memorable anecdote Walsingham described the Scots who invaded Northumbria in 1379 as having, after killing the able-bodied men of the region, hacked the heads from the bodies and proceeded to kick them around as if they were playing football.[151] Again these accusations are common to many contemporary sources, in particular Knighton and the Westminster Chronicler who lament the cruelty (*crudelitas*) of the Scots and claim that Scottish raiders killed women and children as well as trapping two hundred non-combatants in buildings to be burned alive.[152] These kinds of claims and stories may also have helped to inspire the labelling of the Scots as 'impia gens' or 'impious people' found in some poems of the fourteenth century.[153] Even the Luttrell Psalter, a religious rather than historical or political text, visually depicts Scots killing unarmed men and widows as well as executing and dismembering children, images which run alongside Psalm 93 which laments the damage done to the Lord's people by 'the workers of iniquity' who 'slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless'.[154] This affiliation of the Scots with the enemies of the Old Testament not only helps to affiliate the English with the notion of God's Chosen People but also lays claim to Psalm 93's assurances that God will step in to protect his Chosen People from their enemies.

Such impiety and cruelty aside, there was another, deeper layer to Walsingham's ethnic-national stereotyping of the Scots, namely their depiction as bestial and irrational,

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[148] Knighton (p. 74) and Westminster Chronicle (p. 86) - 'more solito...insolencias'. See also Westminster Chronicle (p. 58) which refers to the *audacia* of the Scots.

[149] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 306-10, 370-2).

[150] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 158, 266 ('operarii iniquitates'), 370).

[151] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 308). Walsingham also attributed mutilation of the dead to the rebels of the Peasants' Revolt (see below (p. 171)) and to Welsh women after the English defeat by Owain Glyndŵr at Bryn Glas in 1402 (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 322)).

[152] Westminster Chronicle (pp. 50, 382-4, 402-4) and Knighton (p. 526).

[153] See the poem *The Battle of Bannockburn* in which the 'impia gens Scotica' kill the Earl of Gloucester and *A Song on the Scottish Wars* in which the Scots are described as 'impiis' and possessed of only a small portion of grace (*Political Songs* (pp. 265 and 178-9 respectively)).

[154] M. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London, 1998) (pp. 284-6). The images appear in fol. 169r. of the Psalter itself. Psalm 93 in the Vulgate numbering is Psalm 94 in the King James numbering.

chiefly characterised by unreasoning rage denoted by the term *furor*. This conception of the irrational, impulsive, even insane, Scot of course forms an undercurrent beneath those instances and anecdotes discussed already, but it also appears explicitly elsewhere in the *Chronica*. Some instances of Scottish irrationality and instability are relatively tame, such as the indiscipline Walsingham recounted at the meeting of French envoys with Scottish troops in 1389, but others are more damning.[155] For example, the text claims that the Scots are driven by their 'agitated spirit' ('spiritu agitati') and describes them as '[the most] unquiet of all peoples' ('gentem omnem inquietam').[156] Something of a criminal note is struck by Walsingham's statement that Richard II's Scottish campaign was intended to curb the *ferocitas* of the Scots, the same term used to describe the villainous murder of Sir Ralph Stafford on that same campaign by Sir John Holand.[157] A classical scholar like Walsingham was no doubt fully aware of the connotations involved in his use of the rare term *bacchor* in relation to the Scots: Scottish rampaging in 1388 is described using the term 'bachabantur' and under 1402 the Scots are described as having 'rampaged in their usual way' ('more solito debacchari').[158] These terms appear to have been purposefully chosen to convey a sense of orgies of vice and destruction, and the most likely inspiration for Walsingham's usage is Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which *bacchor* terms are used to describe 'raging', 'raving' and 'rioting'.[159] A more animalistic note is struck elsewhere in the chronicle with the above labelling of the Scots as a 'rabid people' and 'enemies of the human race' as well as references to Scottish actions as bestial ('bestialiter') and the Scots themselves as 'inhuman brutes, savage beasts' ('inhumaniores brutis, efferaciores feris').[160] The comparison of Othered peoples to beasts, both in general and to specific animals, was of course a common

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[155] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 868-70).

[156] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 308, 790) - 'uesano spiritu agitati ipsa capita ad inuicem pede percutere et repercutere' and 'gentem omnino inquietam, id est Scotos' respectively. See also *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 160) where Walsingham wrote that the Scots paid the price for 'the offences of their thoughtless audacity' ('inconsulte temeritatis offensas') (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[157] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 756).

[158] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 856) and II (p. 328). For *bacchor* see Lewis & Short (at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=bacchor&la=la#lexicon [accessed 30/10/14]).

[159] See Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid* (ed. & trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G.P. Goold) (Harvard, 1916-18, rev. edn. 1999-2000) [Loeb Classical Library] I (pp. 442, 466, 538) and II (p. 174). It is possible that Walsingham encountered Livy's lurid descriptions of the crimes and sexual debauchery of the Bacchanalia, although there are no certain references to Livy's history within the *Chronica* (for Livy on the Bacchanalia see Livy, *History of Rome* (ed. & trans. E.T. Sage) (Harvard, 1936) [Loeb Classical Library] XI (pp. 240-72)).

[160] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 308-10, 370).

trope in the Middle Ages with precedents in biblical metaphors, and here Walsingham has drawn on this common theme for his depiction of the Scots.[161]

A crucial aspect of Walsingham's textual characterisation of the Scots is the use of *furor*, a Latin anger term which can be variously translated but best approximates to furious, maddened rage. *Furor* had a well-established tradition of particularly hostile comment among classical writers and philosophers who endorsed the control of emotions such as anger,[162] and was often associated with both frenzies of lust or desire and barbarians.[163] Again considering the *Aeneid*, *furor* may not be used to refer to barbarians but it is used to describe unreasoning frenzies of emotion, often self-damaging, and the inveterate hatred the goddess Juno felt for the Trojans.[164] This classical text-based 'emotional community', to use Barbara Rosenwein's phrase, was of course imitated by later writers such as St Augustine who characterised the barbarians who sacked Rome by their *furor*, *ferocitas*, and *rabies*, and Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) famously judged that God could not feel *furor* as His mind could not be 'disquieted' so.[165] In the high and later medieval period this negative view of *furor* continued and it was on occasion deployed within ethnic-national stereotyping, particularly regarding the Germans.[166] It is in this sense that Walsingham deployed the term *furor*, although targeted at

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[161] See Menache, 'Symbols and National Stereotypes' (pp. 193-4, 200-4) and Hoppenbrouwers, 'Medieval Peoples Imagined' (pp. 36-7).

[162] For classical thinking on the emotions and on anger specifically see W.V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Harvard, 2001) (esp. pp. 3-31, 63-4, 201-28) and B.H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Cornell, 2006) (pp. 32-56). For a cogent discussion of the study of past emotions from a methodological standpoint see B.H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', in *American Historical Review* 107 (2002) (pp. 821-45).

[163] For the application of *furor* to barbarians see especially Harris, *Restraining Rage* (pp. 210-26), but also Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian' (pp. 377-8, 388-9, 391-2) and Scales, '*Germen Militiae*' (pp. 67-71).

[164] Virgil used *furor* for the personified Rage (Virgil, *Aeneid* I (p. 282)), Aeneas' frenzy at the fall of Troy (I (p. 336)), the frenzied love of Dido (I (p. 428)), the suicidal grief of Lavinia's mother (II (p. 342)), and the rage of Juno against the Trojans (II (p. 358)).

[165] For emotional communities see Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History' (pp. 842-5) and *Emotional Communities* (pp. 1-31). For Augustine's use of *furor*, *ferocitas* and *rabies* see St Augustine of Hippo, *De Civitate Dei*, I.1, I.7, III.10, III.29 (Latin text in *De Civitate Dei* (eds. B. Dombart & A. Kalb) (Turnhout, 1955) [*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 47-8]; English translation in *The City of God against the Pagans* (ed. & trans. R.W. Dyson) (Cambridge, 1998, repr. 2011)). For Gregory the Great's comments see C. Peyroux, 'Gertrude's *Furor*: Reading Anger in an Early Medieval Saint's Life', in ed. B.H. Rosenwein, *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Cornell, 1998) (p. 46).

[166] For multiple examples of the negative use of *furor* see Peyroux, 'Gertrude's *Furor*' (pp. 44-9) and S.D. White, 'The Politics of Anger', in ed. B.H. Rosenwein, *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Cornell, 1998) (pp. 132-3). Peyroux argues that the seventh-century Life of Saint Gertrude includes a reference to a positively-construed *furor*, although she misses the significance of the phrasing '*quasi* furore repleta' (my emphasis) as 'as if filled with *furor*' ('Gertrude's *Furor*' (pp. 36-7)). For the attachment of this form of anger to the German people in particular see for example: Jacques de Vitry's comments regarding 'teutonicos furibundos' (in his *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition* (ed. J.F. Hinnebusch) (Fribourg, 1972) (p. 92)); the

the Scots rather than the Germans. Under 1377 Walsingham described how the Scots were incensed by the death of some of their countrymen in a fight in Roxburgh, for which they returned to the town 'in furorem', occupied it by night, murdered many of the citizens (presumably civilians) and gutted it with fire.[167] Similarly the account of the Scottish raid on Northumbria in 1379, which referred to the Scots as 'enemies of the human race' and accused them of playing football with severed heads, is entitled 'Of the distressing plague of the Northumbrians and the *furore Scotorum*'.[168] Both of these uses of *furor* occur in the 1376-81 stage of the *Chronica*, when Walsingham was at his peak in terms of planned narrative, and both occur amid other attacks on the Scots as a people, but in each he does appear to have deliberately drawn on a long-standing tradition of criticising *furor* anger as irrational, extreme and savage.

While modern scholarship has tended to focus on the polemical poetry and chronicles of this period, discussing them as expressions of contemporary national sentiment, it is worth noting the significant role of governmental rhetoric and (for want of a better term) propaganda in shaping these expressions. In recent years Andrea Ruddick has worked intensively on English governmental rhetoric in this period, noting the deployment of anti-Scottish and nationalistic themes by the crown in its attempts to strengthen national sentiment for its own ends.[169] For example, the crown's references to 'the innate wickedness of the Scots our enemies' and use of the phrase 'the Scots, our enemies and rebels' as its 'standard shorthand' in the documents comprising the Scottish Rolls constantly reasserted Anglo-Scottish hostility to anyone reading them.[170] The crown sought direct political advantage by these claims too, expressing its fear of the Scots' 'great pride, deceit and strength' in Parliament in order to secure tax revenues, and firing the starting pistol for accusations of Scottish war crimes in letters to the Papacy in 1298 which accused the Scots of murdering women and burning

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letter of Frederick II to England which refers to 'furens ac fervens ad arma Germania' (in Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* IV (p. 118)); Scales, '*Germen Militiae*' (pp. 67-71); and Weeda, 'Ethnic Stereotyping' (pp. 119-20, 122-6). See also the frequency with which *ferocitas* and similar terms appeared in twelfth-century ethnic-national stereotypes (see Weeda, *Images of Ethnicity* (pp. 336-47)).

[167] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 158).

[168] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 306-10, title at p. 306) - 'De peste miserabili Northumbrensium et furore Scotorum'. The Harley MS 3634 has the title 'Plague grows among the Northumbrians, and the Scots afflict them' ('Pestilencia invalescit inter Northumbrenses, et Scoti affligunt eos') (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 306 (textual note *b*))), but this title is less likely Walsingham's work than that of the Royal MS.

[169] See especially Ruddick, 'National and Political Identity' (pp. 196-215). This dynamic of medieval governments seeking to stimulate national feeling to justify and increase tax revenues has also been discussed by Ernst Kantorowicz in relation to Sicily and France (in his '*Pro Patria Mori*' (esp. pp. 477-9) and *The King's Two Bodies* (pp. 236, 249-58)).

[170] See Ruddick, 'National and Political Identity' (pp. 199-200).

schoolboys alive.[171] Such sentiments were, as Ruddick notes, readily absorbed by chroniclers through their practice of copying governmental documents into their works.[172]

Where governmental efforts coincide most clearly with chroniclers' depictions of the Scots however are the royal writs used in the fourteenth century to require of churchmen special prayers and services dedicated to the king and royal military endeavours. Alison McHardy and others have studied these writs, concluding that the crown sought thereby to harness the 'grass roots' reach and appeal of the Church in order to cultivate popular enthusiasm for its military objectives.[173] While D.S. Bachrach has emphasised the role of Edward I in developing the system of such writs around the beginning of the fourteenth century, both he and McHardy are in agreement that their use reached its peak in the reign of Edward III.[174] Many of these writs regarding the wars with Scotland have survived within the registers of contemporary bishops and there is a direct correlation between the presentation and attributes they contain and those contained in contemporary chronicles. The writs, originally composed by crown scribes and despatched to the clergy, present the Scots as savage raiders, committers of sacrilege and other crimes, impudent, and raging. For example, the writ *Ad hoc in terris* sent to Simon Montacute, Bishop of Worcester and Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1334 ordered prayers for king and kingdom against the 'pride, fury and criminal wickedness' ('superbiam furam et nequiciam sceleratam') of the Scots, stressing the *presumptio* of the Scottish invasion and the 'great many evils' the Scots had committed.[175] The royal letter to William Melton, Archbishop of York in 1333 instructing him and the clergy of his archdiocese to lead prayers for the success of the Halidon Hill campaign is likewise brimming with anti-Scottish rhetoric, including references to 'the furious

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[171] See *Rot. Parl.* iii.150.4 and Penman, '*Anglici Caudati*' (p. 217) respectively.

[172] In her words, 'governmental vocabulary represented a form of language and political outlook with which these writers and readers felt comfortable' (Ruddick, 'National and Political Identity' (pp. 200-1)).

[173] On this subject see: W.R. Jones, 'The English Church and Royal Propaganda during the Hundred Years War', in *Journal of British Studies* 19 (1979) (pp. 18-30); A. McHardy, 'Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln during the Hundred Years War', in ed. S. Mews, *Religion and National Identity* [*Studies in Church History* 18 (1982)] (pp. 215-27); idem, 'Some Reflections on Edward III's Use of Propaganda', in ed. J.S. Bothwell, *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001) (pp. 171-92); and D.S. Bachrach, 'The Ecclesia Anglicana Goes to War: Prayers, Propaganda, and Conquest during the Reign of Edward I of England, 1272-1307', in *Albion* 36 (2004) (pp. 393-406).

[174] See in particular McHardy, 'Edward III's Use of Propaganda' (pp. 171-92) and Bachrach, 'Ecclesia Anglicana Goes to War' (pp. 393-4).

[175] See *The Register of Simon Montacute* (ed. & trans. R.M. Haines) (Kendal, 1996) [Worcestershire Historical Society, new series, 15] (pp. 209-10) and *The Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury, 1329-63* (ed. T. Scott Holmes) (London, 1896) [Somerset Record Society, 9] I (pp. 231-2) - 'superbiam furam et nequiciam sceleratam Scotorum, qui violato fidelitatis et homagii sui debito contra nos et confederatos nostros de guerra jam perdicionaliter et hostiliter insurgere presumpserunt, mala quamplurima tam in Anglia quam in Scotia perpetrantes'.

attack of the Scots, and their frenzied [lit. rabid] presumption' ('furiosum impetum Scotorum, et ipsorum presumptuosam rabiem'), their having 'cruelly invaded, burned, devastated and other crimes', and accusations of murders, burnings and thefts.[176] Earlier writs from the reign of Edward I made many of the same claims, attacking the murders and burnings committed by Scottish raiders as well as their 'rabid presumption' ('praesumptuosam rabiem Scottorum').[177] Such writs appear to have become rarer occurrences from the reign of Richard II onwards, but there are still occasional examples of the format to be found, albeit containing rather less florid rhetoric regarding the Scots.[178]

Some questions can be raised regarding how far these written documents were ever translated into actual preaching, but what evidence there is does seem to suggest that the English Church played its expected part in disseminating such rhetoric. Chroniclers on occasion recorded the writs and their effects, testifying to the circulation and dissemination of such rhetoric, as the Annals of Worcester did in relation to a writ of 1294.[179] At St Albans too the chronicler William Rishanger not only copied a 1299 writ into his chronicle but also remarked that the said writ was despatched across the kingdom and prompted prayers from 'the entire populace'.[180] W.R. Jones too has noted that some bishops were keen to enforce the carrying out of such orders among their subordinates and that some contemporary sermon collections included model sermons for such occasions, which suggests that at least in some cases the crown's requests were indeed carried out.[181] If even a percentage of such requested

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[176] *Register of William Melton Archbishop of York 1317-1340* (ed. R.M.T. Hill) (York, 1988) [Canterbury and York Society, 76] III (pp. 118-9) - 'furiosum impetum Scotorum, et ipsorum presumptuosam rabiem' (my trans.); 'crudeliter invaserunt, combusserunt, devastarunt et alia enormia' (my trans.); 'homicidia, incendia et alia flagitiosa scelera pejora'; 'bona ecclesiastica et prophana dampnabiliter rapuerunt et etiam asportarunt'. See also the 1337 writ sent to Melton which refers to the Scots as 'inimicorum nostrorum maliciam' (*Register of William Melton* (pp. 157-9)).

[177] See the examples quoted in Bachrach, 'Ecclesia Anglicana Goes to War' (pp. 397-401).

[178] See for example the 1385 writ found in the register of Thomas Brantyngham,Bishop of Exeter which refers to the fact that 'the French as well as the Scots who unjustly strain wantonly/impudently to invade' ('tam Francorum quam Scotorum protervia nititur contra justiciam impugnare') (in *The Register of Thomas de Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1370-1394)* (ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph) (London, 1906) II (pp. 580-1)). A rather stranger example is found the register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury under 1419, ordering prayers to protect the king and his army from the nefarious plans of the enemy and from the spells of necromancers (in *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443* (ed. E.F. Jacob) (Oxford, 1947) [Canterbury and York Society, 47] (pp. 206-7)).

[179] Bachrach, 'Ecclesia Anglicana Goes to War' (pp. 402-3).

[180] William Rishanger, *Willelmi Rishanger, Quondam Monachi Sancti Albani, et Quorundam Anonymorum, Chronica et Annales, Regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo* (ed. H.T. Riley) (London, 1865) [Rolls Series, 28.2] (pp. 193-4) - 'Divulgata hac epistola per ecclesias, omnis populus sponte et cum gaudio pro Rege fecit orationes'.

[181] Jones, 'The English Church and Royal Propaganda' (p. 22) - in the 1340s the Bishop of Chichester obtained a commission of oyer and terminer against those who had hindered the publicising of a recent writ; Archbishop Chichele in the fifteenth century remonstrated with some of his subordinates for not

prayers and services were carried out by the clergy then the correlation of rhetoric between royal writs and later chronicles appears less as a coincidence and more as a success of governmental propagandist efforts. Not only were monastic chroniclers such as Walsingham, Knighton and the Westminster Chronicler likely of the generation which grew up with the particularly vocal writs of the mid-fourteenth century, they also later wrote within an ecclesiastical milieu and thus may conceivably have enjoyed some access to copies of the writs themselves, as Rishanger had previously. In essence then, chroniclers such as Walsingham appear to have presented in their chronicles a crystallisation and continuation of governmental anti-Scottish rhetoric and propaganda.[182]

While Walsingham's anti-Scottish rhetoric, fostered by governmental efforts, is clear and consistent, two caveats or qualifications must be noted when dealing with it. First, Walsingham appears almost untouched by the claims to overlordship over Scotland periodically asserted by the English crown. This claim was asserted by Edward I in the 1290s in his 'Great Cause' and the documents and historical materials used to justify it compiled into several collections for future use.[183] Government copies of this compilation of precedent and argument were called upon by Edward III in 1332 and Henry IV in 1401 for use in diplomatic negotiations involving Scotland,[184] and one version of the collection, the so-called *Annales Regni Scotiae*, is known to have been held at St Albans.[185] While the *Historia Regum*

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adequately performing the requested services; and Jones locates such model sermons in the collections of Thomas Brinton and Richard Fitzralph.

[182] This conclusion runs counter to the earlier conclusions of Antonia Gransden and Peter Lewis that the English government in this period was uninterested or unsuccessful in its propaganda efforts (see Gransden, 'Propaganda in English Medieval Historiography' (pp. 363-82) and P. Lewis, 'War, Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England', in *TRHS* 5th Series 15 (1965) (pp. 1-21)). However, both Gransden and Lewis focussed solely on rather narrow source bases for their definitions of 'propaganda' (chronicles and legal treatises respectively) and did not consider the writs studied by McHardy. See also the survey of propaganda channels available in the fifteenth century in Doig, 'Siege of Calais' (pp. 80-9).

[183] For the Great Cause see M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (Yale, 1997) [Yale English Monarchs series] (pp. 356-75, 469-95) and Given-Wilson, *Chronicles* (pp. 65-9). The documents produced by Edward's clerks and others in relation to the Great Cause are collected in *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296. An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause* (eds. E.L.G. Stones & G.G. Simpson), 2 Volumes (Oxford, 1978).

[184] For Edward III's having certain 'historical materials' and documents assembled for Parliament in 1332 with a view to making a legal case for his overlordship over Scotland see *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in the Public Record Office and the British Library. Volume V: Supplementary, A.D.1108-1516* (eds. G.G. Simpson & J.D. Galbraith) (Edinburgh, 1986) (pp. 259-60 / **nos. 727-8**) and Ormrod, *Edward III* (p. 148)). For Henry IV's order to Treasurer John Norbury to fetch a chest of documents including Andrew de Tange's account of the Great Cause for use in upcoming Anglo-Scottish negotiations see *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296* I (pp. 157-8) and Given-Wilson, *Chronicles* (p. 69 (n. 54)).

[185] The *Annales Regni Scotiae* is not as full an account as those of royal clerks John of Caen or Andrew de Tange, but it is unequivocal regarding Edward's position as 'superior or direct lord of the kingdom

Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth was not among those materials initially assembled by Edward I, its claims of English primacy from the sons of Brutus onwards had been added to the English argument by 1302 at the latest.[186] Despite the accessibility of such materials and the crown's position that the Scots were 'our enemies and rebels' Walsingham only once gave any sign of awareness of the English claim, and made no mention of its use by Henry IV in 1401. The one instance within the *Chronica* in which Walsingham gave any sign of awareness of the English claim is in reference to the 1389 Anglo-French negotiations at Leulinghem. Walsingham claimed that the French demand that any truce also include their allies the Scots met with English refusal on the grounds that the Scots were 'liegemen of the king of England' who, by fighting against their lord, were 'transgressors of the law' who would be punished accordingly.[187] According to the *Chronica* the English envoys used this as an opportunity to walk away from the negotiations until the French moderated their demand.[188] This one instance would seem to make it clear that Walsingham was aware of the English claim, although in this specific case it seems likely that he was simply recounting what he had heard regarding the negotiations at Leulinghem: this awareness does not surface anywhere else within the *Chronica*, and the Westminster Chronicle likewise makes reference to the English use of their overlordship claim as diplomatic leverage at Leulinghem.[189] That the English crown was willing to use its claims to Scotland and France as diplomatic bargaining chips in this way has been noted by several modern scholars.[190] If Walsingham (and the Westminster

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of Scotland' ('superior seu directus dominus predicti regni Scocie') (see *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296* II (esp. pp. 18, 20, 36-8, 42, 53, 90, 104, 106, 214-5, 230-4, 240-1, 257-8)). For the *Annales Regni Scotiae* (now BL Cotton MS Claudius D.vi) as a St Albans MS see *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296* I (pp. 61-5) and Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (pp. 36-41).

[186] Geoffrey's text held that after Brutus' death his eldest son Locrinus inherited England south of the Humber and with it overlordship over his brothers (see Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 31-3)). This claim based on Geoffrey's text was not included in the original Great Cause arguments but had been added to them by the time of Edward I's letters to Pope Boniface VIII 1299-1302 (see: *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296* I (pp. 154-7); Prestwich, *Edward I* (pp. 490-5); and Given-Wilson, *Chronicles* (pp. 67-9)).

[187] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 862) - 'quod nostri affirmabant Scotos esse ligeos homines regis Anglie, qui pacem regis sui enormiter conterbauerant, et ideo debere eos, ut transgressores legum, iuxta voluntatem regis et procerum regni puniri'. Later in the same account Walsingham referred again to the Scots as 'transgressoribus' and as 'subiectis' (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 862)). For these negotiations and the truce see *Foedera* VII.623-4 and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 674-7).

[188] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 866-8) - the French revise their demands to the condition that the Scots be asked separately whether they wish to be bound by the truce.

[189] See Westminster Chronicle (p. 398). The Chronicler is rather less strident than Walsingham, but the use of the overlordship claim is clear.

[190] Mark Ormrod has concluded that Edward III used the claims to both Scotland and France as 'expendable assets' in his diplomatic negotiations (see his *Edward III* (p. 322)), and Craig Taylor has also discussed the use of the claim to the French throne in this fashion (see his 'Edward III and the Plantagenet Claim' (pp. 155-69)).

Chronicler) was repeating what his source had told him regarding the 1389 negotiations rather than asserting English overlordship over Scotland then it would explain why such a claim appears only once within the forty-year chronicle. Why Walsingham, otherwise a recipient of governmental rhetoric regarding Scotland and a patriotic Englishman, should have shown so little interest in an ideologically useful claim such as this one remains something of a mystery, but the evidence of the *Chronica* is clear that he did not wish to put such a claim forward there.

The second qualification which must be borne in mind when dealing with Walsingham's ethnic-national depiction and stereotyping of the Scots is the similarities between that caricature and that Walsingham deploys of the English peasantry and the inhabitants of northern England. Monastic and aristocratic anti-peasant sentiment was nothing new by the fourteenth century and across medieval literature, chronicles and even artwork the peasantry was often stereotyped as boorish, drunken, irrational or stupid, prone to anger and so on.[191] In fact Paul Freedman has noted the marked worsening of depictions of the peasantry in the fourteenth century in the face of increasingly frequent peasant rebellions after the Black Death, a trend within which Walsingham definitely fits.[192] Beginning his chronicle in the shadow of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 Walsingham's depiction of both the rebels and the peasantry in general is uniformly negative, hyperbolic and at times somewhat hysterical. Alongside occasionally caricaturing the peasantry as fickle and gullible, standard tropes of medieval writings,[193] Walsingham also wrote of the rebels' 'crimes', plundering, killing and burning using terms similar to those used to describe Scottish raiding,[194] and even used the term *bacchor* to describe the rebels' wild rampaging.[195] Likewise 'impudence' and 'insolence'

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[191] The two key studies are Mellinkoff, *Signs of Otherness* (esp. pp. 137-40, 197-208, 231) and Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (both referenced above), but on the theme of peasant anger and irrationality see also P. Freedman, 'Peasant Anger in the Late Middle Ages', in ed. B.H. Rosenwein, *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Cornell, 1998) (esp. pp. 171-8).

[192] See Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (pp. 292-5) and idem, 'Peasant Anger in the Late Middle Ages' (pp. 187-8). For the peasant revolts of this period see in particular S.K. Cohn, *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425: Italy, France, and Flanders* (Cambridge, 2006) (esp. pp. 228-42) and the sources gathered together in *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France, and Flanders* (ed. & trans. S.K. Cohn) (Manchester, 2004).

[193] For these tropes within the chronicle see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 74-80, 104, 226, 320, 416-8, 502, 686, 880-2). For these tropes more widely see Mellinkoff, *Signs of Otherness* and Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*.

[194] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 414, 418-20, 424-30, 432-4, 476-8, 480, 486-8). Cf. the claim that the rebels stole nothing while in London (at *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 416)).

[195] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 428 (the murder of Archbishop Sudbury - 'irracionabilis uulgi undique debacchantis'), 504 (summarising the Revolt - 'debacchacione comunium'), 750 (1384 fears of a repeat of the Revolt - 'debachati')). This term is also used in the anonymous poem *On the Slaughter of*

are both attributed to the peasants using the same terms as were applied to the Scots, and there are several explicit statements of the irrationality of the peasants' actions: 'irracionabile uulgus'; 'insensati sine racione'.[196] The peasants' brutality and mistreatment of the dead is demonstrated within Walsingham's lengthy description of the killing of Archbishop Sudbury and the grisly tale of the rebels beheading the Chief Justice and Prior of Bury St Edmunds before mounting their heads on pikes and puppeteering the heads kissing.[197] *Furor* is also frequently applied to the peasants of the Revolt: the rebels are 'in furorem' on hearing Sir Robert Hales scorn of them; Wat Tyler speaks 'cum furore' to a royal messenger; the monks of St Albans fear the 'furore et iracundia' of the rebels; and the rebels' actions in Norfolk are termed 'Furia acta'.[198] The use of such a negative anger term for the peasantry fits within a medieval paradigm which held that peasant anger and violence was inherently illicit as they lacked the requisite honour to defend, and Walsingham notably used other, more legitimate anger terms to refer to royal and aristocratic anger in 1381.[199] All of these characterisations and descriptions of the peasantry were common among writers who lived through the Peasants' Revolt, including Latin chroniclers' descriptions of the peasants as ferocious and rabid, and the famous first book of John Gower's poem *Vox Clamantis* (c.1381) which repeatedly asserted that the peasants were driven by *furor* and *rabies* as well as having lost their 'innate racionis'.[200] Other writers tended to make heavier use of assertions of the

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Archhbishop Sudbury, also describing the 1381 Revolt - *Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 227 ('bacchantur'), 229 ('debacchando')).

[196] *Audacia* is particularly used, but also *insolencia* and *presumpcio* (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 414, 422, 470, 474, 492, 508, 516, 538, 560)). For peasant irrationality see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 418, 420-2, 428, 452, 468, 472, 504, 508, 514).

[197] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 428, 480-2).

[198] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 416, 432, 436, 454-8, 478, 480, 554). See also Walsingham's comment that the slanderous verses regarding John of Gaunt in 1377 were circulated to stir up the 'furor populi' (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 98).

[199] For the illegitimacy of peasant anger see: Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (pp. 274-6); White, 'The Politics of Anger' (esp. pp. 137-49) and Freedman, 'Peasant Anger in the Late Middle Ages' (pp. 171-9, 187-8). For other anger terms in the 1381 narrative see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 506 ('Indignatur rex, excandescit exercitus'), 528 ('Miles igitur commotus'), 538 (Richard II as 'commotus' at the rebels' 'insolencias')).

[200] See for examples: Adam Usk (pp. 2-4, 90) who stresses the *ferocitas* of the peasantry; Henry Knighton (pp. 208-30, 232-8) who also wrote of the peasants' *ferocitas* and labelled them 'rabid wolves' ('luporum rabiem'); and Westminster Chronicle (pp. 2-12) which repeatedly uses *furor* to refer to the rebels and labels them 'most rabid dogs' ('rabidissimi canes'). For Book 1 of the *Vox Clamantis* see John Gower, *The Complete Works of John Gower. Volume 4: The Latin Works* (ed. G.C. Macaulay) (Oxford, 1902) (pp. 20-81) (an English translation is available in John Gower, *The Major Latin Works of John Gower: The Voice of One Crying and The Tripartite Chronicle* (trans. E.W. Stockton) (Seattle, 1962) (pp. 49-288, specifically pp. 49-79)). For discussion of the poem see A.G. Rigg & E.S. Moore, 'The Latin Works: Politics, Lament and Praise', in ed. S. Echard, *A Companion to Gower* (Cambridge, 2004) (pp. 153-64).

peasants' bestial nature than Walsingham did, but in general all of the accounts share a similar tone and troping.

Walsingham's stereotyping and depiction of English Northerners likewise draws upon many of the same tropes and supposed character traits as that of the Scots. Throughout the *Chronica* Walsingham accorded the Northerners the status of a *gens*, although his conception of 'the North' appears to have been rather nebulous and was often somewhat lumped together under the label 'Northumbria', which was not uncommon among southern writers of the period.[201] Around the themes of Anglo-Scottish border fighting, Richard II's controversial Cheshire archers, and the 1403 Percy rebellion Walsingham had ample opportunity to criticise the Northerners and did so via a small set of themes: bestial nature, rage, insolence and rampaging.[202] The 'insolence', using the Latin *presumpcio*, *imprudencia* and *insolencia*, of the Northerners is referenced several times in the *Chronica* narrative of the 1370s and 1380s, and Walsingham described Lord Percy's rash abuse of John of Gaunt in 1381 as an act in accordance with 'more gentis sue' or 'his people's manner'.[203] In a passage dealing with the Northerners' salvaging of goods from a wrecked ship in 1380 Walsingham seized the opportunity to lambast the bestial and angry nature of the *Boreales*: they act 'like horses with breath in their nostrils', 'as is the habit of that people'; they speak loudly and angrily against Percy, their lord; they are driven by *furor* and turn on one another.[204] The *Chronica* coverage of Richard II's hated Cheshire bodyguard 1397-99 repeats almost verbatim the *Record and Process*, but the inclusion and similarity of such abuse to other anti-Northerner sentiments suggests that the writer agreed with it to some extent.[205] In the account the Cheshiremen are 'of

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[201] For Northerners/'Northumbrians' as a *gens* see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 308, 366, 370, 568) and II (p. 278). For medieval anti-northerner sentiment see H.M. Jewell, *The North-South Divide: The Origins of Northern Consciousness in England* (Manchester, 1994) (pp. 28-56) and A. King, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches and the Perception of 'the North' in Fifteenth-Century England', in *Northern History* 49 (2012) (pp. 37-50). King in particular has noted the tendency of southern chroniclers to lump together 'the North' under the label 'Northumbria' (see his 'Perception of 'the North'' (p. 40)).

[202] King has concluded that fourteenth-century writers, including Walsingham, were more sympathetic to Northerners than fifteenth-century writers (see his 'Perception of 'the North'' (pp. 38-9)), but such a view does not truly accord with a detailed reading of the *Chronica*.

[203] See for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 232 ('perniciosa presumpcione Northumbrorum', 'imprudencia et superbia Northumbrorum'), 660 ('insolcencius')). Percy's abuse of Gaunt comes amid the account of the two men's feud in 1381 (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 566-72, quote at p. 568)).

[204] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 366-8) - 'At Boreales mox spiritum habentes in naribus, prout moris est illius gentis, satis incomposite, ore distorto, naribus pre furore uento repletis, turgide responderunt, cum summa indignacione latrantes'; Walsingham also mocked that the men of Newcastle were 'ludicrously duped' ('ridiculose delusi') by the men of Hull in order to acquire all of the salvaged goods, perhaps insinuating their unintelligence.

[205] For the *Record and Process* and the 1397-99 narrative see above (p.42 and n. 159). Comparing the *Chronica* accusations against the Cheshire archers (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 176)) with that of the Parliament Roll (*Rot. Parl.* iii.418.22) shows just how closely the chronicler copied or borrowed from the document.

bestial nature', are possessed of great insolence and 'cruel audacity', and commit many crimes against the people including plundering, assaults and rape.[206] In addition they are named as 'a very wild mob' who cruelly ('inhumaniter') drive the Earl of Arundel to his execution, and their insolence is noted with the claim that they considered themselves the equals of lords despite being of lowly origins.[207] The coverage of the 1403 Percy rebels also includes similar anti-Northerner troping, including the stressing of Hotspur's *insolencia*, his 'importune' demands before the Battle of Shrewsbury, and the 'hot-headed rashness' which made him irrational.[208] In the account of the battle itself Walsingham described Hotspur's men having rampaged using *bacchor* ('bachabantur') and describes the rebels' attacks as 'furentibus', from *furo* which relates closely to *furor* and means raging or raving.[209] While the equation of Hotspur with the Scottish Earl of Douglas as 'men unequalled in their boldness' (*animositas*) may not specifically use *furor* or *ferocitas*, the implication of untamed energy and anger is clear given Walsingham's usual descriptions of both Hotspur and the Scots as a nation.[210]

There has not been room here for a full-length discussion of how Walsingham stereotyped and caricatured the English peasantry or the inhabitants of the north of England, but what is clear are the similarities between these and those he deployed with the Scots. While this could in the case of the Northerners reflect an ethnic viewpoint in which the 'Northumbrians' were ethnically closer to the Scots than those of the south of England,[211] this

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[206] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 76) - 'natura besciales, parati erant ad omnem nequiciam perpetrandam'; 'insolencia'; 'importuna superbia, fastus et crudelis audacia'; the entire chronicle entry is entitled 'The wickedness of the Cheshiremen' ('De nequicia Cestrensium'). For the Cheshire archers, whose numbers may have been as high as 240 and several of whom are known to have committed crimes similar to those the *Record and Process* accused them of, see: J.L. Gillespie, 'Richard II's Cheshire Archers', in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 125 (1974) (pp. 1-39); Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 393-4, 444-5); and Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain* (pp. 40-2, 46, 73-80).

[207] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 90-2) - 'satis feralis turba Cestrensium'; 'uiris insolentibus'; 'inhumaniter'.

[208] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 360-4) - 'plures laudabant ipsorum insolencias'; 'Sed effrenata temeritas nichil uoluit audire racionabile, nichil cogitare salubre'; 'importune exigens introitum a uillanis'. For Henry 'Hotspur' Percy's 1403 rebellion see K. Towson, *Henry Percy, First Earl of Northumberland: Ambition, Conflict and Cooperation in Late Mediaeval England* (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2004) (pp. 183-214).

[209] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 364, 370) - 'peruenit ad partes ubi rebelles bachabantur'; 'quia et eius signifer a furentibus est prostratus'. The comment that Hotspur's uncle Thomas Percy sought to 'stir up the young man's mind' ('exascerbans mentem iuvenis') in order to drive him to battle (*Chronica Maioria* II (p. 368)) could reflect either a stereotyped view of Hotspur as a Northerner and/or as a young man.

[210] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 368-70) - 'Ipse uero campiductor partis aduerse, comes quoque Dowglas, quibus animosiores nullus unquam reperisset'.

[211] Walsingham does briefly refer to *Loegria*, the region of England south of the Humber which Geoffrey of Monmouth described as the kingdom of Brutus' son Locrinus, and Geoffrey's text did have some degree of influence over Walsingham's view of the world (see above (pp. 119-28)), which could suggest that he viewed the 'Northumbrians' as ethnically different from Southerners. That said, this is the only reference to *Loegria* in the *Chronica* and such a sentiment is never explicitly expressed.

cannot be the case for the English peasantry. Therefore, rather than such a specific connection, it seems likely that the stereotypes of irrationality, anger, impudence and bestial nature were, among others, held in a common toolbox or 'archive' of tools of difference with which Others could be made. Such class-based and regional 'Othering' is not unexpected within medieval texts in particular and does not render Walsingham any less of a patriotic 'English' writer, but it does serve to remind us of the existence of conflicting layers within Walsingham's identity and his definitions of 'Englishness'. To use Gellner's modernist conceptualisation, 'vertical' constructions of collective identity (Englishness, as denoted by the Othering of the Scots) existed in a constant and self-contradictory relationship with 'horizontal' constructions (the class-based and regional solidarities expressed by Othering peasants and Northerners).[212] For all his writing of 'the English' it is important to remember that by the term Walsingham, knowingly or otherwise, actually meant a qualified, restricted group: southern English, aristocratic or ecclesiastical, educated, non-heretical, and virtuous.

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[212] For Gellner's 'vertical'-'horizontal' model see above (pp. 15-6).

e) <u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter has sought to demonstrate both the existence and consistency of a system of ethnic-national stereotypes encoded within the *Chronica Maiora*. Using supposedly innate traits and tropes such as barbarism, treachery and savagery writers like Walsingham organised the world into clearly-defined and distinguished groups, each with their own position within the larger hierarchy of nations. In this the *Chronica* can be read as something of a mirror for the cognitive and social processes of stereotyping, namely in the codification and simplification of the complex world around the one doing the stereotyping. Of course this process is also one of Othering in that, by constructing or imagining other national groups through traits such as these, Walsingham built a worldview in which, implicitly, the English were possessed of superior traits to those Othered nations. Traditions of Irish barbarism implicitly cast the English as more civilised, accusations of Flemish treachery implicitly exalted the English as more trustworthy, and so on. This runs somewhat counter to traditional formulations of 'Othering' which have stressed the Self-Other binary rather than wider systems of Self-Other-Other-Other. This is however a necessary corollary of a nationally-based worldview rather than one based on larger cultural or political blocs. Drawing on the theorising of Caspar Hirschi, in the 'multipolar' and competitive environment of a nationally-based worldview there will never be a single Other against which to measure one's own in-group but there will always be many such rivals and competitors.[213] For Hirschi it is this competition and multipolarity which is the fundamental characteristic of a nationally-based world as opposed to more binary imperial-, tribal- or faith-based ones. In a sense therefore the numerousness and variety of Walsingham's ethnic-national stereotyping is in itself evidence that, by the later fourteenth century, medieval Europeans viewed their world through a fundamentally 'national' lens.

Perhaps the most important question regarding this schematisation of the world through ethnic-national characteristics remains to be answered however: do these stereotypes reflect deeply-felt personal opinions in Walsingham, or are they signs of his active participation in intellectual and textual traditions? Unfortunately it seems impossible to say with certainty which might be the case. For example, while the presentation of the Irish as barbarous and wild could reflect participation in a long-standing textual tradition, it could also reflect Walsingham's having absorbed that tradition into his own implicit understanding of Irishness. Similarly depictions of the Scots as savage and brutal, even inhuman, raiders could represent Walsingham's having been taken in by governmental rhetoric, potentially while he was young, or it could represent a deliberate shaping of his chronicle to match such rhetoric.

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[213] Caspar Hirschi has recently stressed this 'multipolar' and competitive nature of a nationally-based world, as opposed to the larger monolithic binaries constructed by religiously- or imperially-based worldviews (see his *Origins of Nationalism* (esp. pp. 1-3, 13-5, 34-47)).

What is clear from the study of such stereotyping however is the variability of factors which exerted an influence over Walsingham's imagining of other nations (historiographical traditions, popular opinion of the day, governmental propaganda), and the understanding that, despite superficially being about other nations, such stereotyping in reality revolved around England.

Chapter 4
Othering the French

National stereotypes of the French were common and varied in the Middle Ages, and as Eugen Weber has noted they could and often did serve both as (self-)praise and criticism with little change in content, depending on who used them and for what purpose.[1] For example, French civility and courtliness could easily be turned around into allegations of femininity or a lack of manliness, and the love of honour said to characterise French knighthood could become pride and vanity.[2] In the later medieval period there was ample opportunity for German, Italian and English writers to do exactly this, turning supposedly praiseworthy innate French traits into vehicles of criticism of the French for their own patriotic or political ends. Len Scales has shown, for example, how German writers turned notions of French refinement into accusations of French military weakness, cowardice and effeminacy in attempts to justify the German place as *milites Christi* and possessors of the Holy Roman Empire.[3]

Late medieval English writers attacked the French on a number of grounds, including French pride, tyranny, cowardice and effeminacy, all of which had patriotic polemical utility in the era of the Hundred Years War. Accusations of cowardice and fearfulness, levelled both at the French people in general and at the French king as their representative, were particularly common in the mid-fourteenth century as Englishmen sought to mock French defeats at the hands of the English.[4] Laurence Minot for example, writing c.1333-52, called Philip VI of France a 'file' or coward who fled from battle with Edward III of England and exulted several times at the humbling of French 'boasts' and pride.[5] French 'guile' and 'Frankish fare',

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[1] E. Weber, 'Of Stereotypes and of the French', in *Journal of Contemporary History* 25 (1990) (pp. 169-202).

[2] For just some examples and discussion see Weber, 'Of Stereotype and of the French' (pp. 170-98).

[3] See Scales, '*Germen Militiae*' (esp. pp. 61-6) and idem, *The Shaping of German Identity* (esp. pp. 371-5). Several of the texts Scales discusses are edited in E. Lewis, *Medieval Political Ideas* (London, 1954) II (pp. 430-505).

[4] See for just some examples: the poem *An Invective Against France* (c.1346) which claims that fear 'softened' Philip in battle against the English and accuses him of both failing past French heroes and possessing the heart and feet of a hare (*Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 27, 29)); the poem *On the Battle of Neville's Cross* (c.1346) which claims that the English victory meant 'the Duke of Valois whinnies, France grunts, terror rings out' ('Dux Valeys hinnit, Francia grunnit, territa tinnit') (my trans.) (*Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 41)); the examples discussed in Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society* (pp. 46-8); and the examples in the following footnote. See also the mockery of the French defeat at the hands of 'þe webbes ant þe fullaris' in the English poem *The Flemish Insurrection* on the 1302 Franco-Flemish wars (in *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (pp. 9-13)).

[5] *The Poems of Laurence Minot* (pp. 43-4, 54-5, 57). For the humbling of French 'boasts', an implicit marker of French arrogance, see below (pp. 187-8).

meaning fine but deceiving speech, were also stressed in several fourteenth-century English texts, asserting the untrustworthiness of the French.[6] Effeminacy was another avenue of English attack, with anonymous poems such as the *An Invective Against France* (written c.1346) referring to 'feminine France' ('Francia foeminea') and comparing France to a siren, a female fox and wolf, and to Medea.[7]

While these expressions of anti-French sentiment appear to have been relatively common in the mid-fourteenth century, John Barnie has noted that the English military reverses of the later fourteenth century saw such mockery and belittling of the French replaced by more fearful depictions of French cruelty and military strength.[8] It is into this later, more fearful, trend that Walsingham's chief stereotype of the French may fit. The *Chronica* contains little characterisation of any of the French, let alone generalised comment regarding the French as a people, as effeminate or cowardly.[9] By contrast, the French were often depicted in the chronicle as capable fighters and militarily threatening, an attribute which of course helped to glorify the English who defeated them in battle or to explain away English defeats.[10] Walsingham's chief and remarkably consistent portrayal as the French as a people and of individual Frenchmen was however that of prideful tyrants. This characterisation of the French was of course narratively useful to Walsingham on several counts, perhaps chiefly in that it allowed him to gloat at French defeats, to express contemporary fears regarding the war with the French, and to offer individual moral exempla regarding God's humbling of the proud. This last was however not the limit of Walsingham's moralising purpose in depicting the French thus - by presenting the French as a people as inherently prideful and tyrannical Walsingham was able to associate them with a long-standing tradition in medieval thought regarding the inevitable fall or destruction of proud and tyrannical peoples. This kind of modelling of the French not only deployed the entire French people as a moral exemplar for

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[6] See in particular *The Poems of Laurence Minot* (pp. 48, 54-5) - 'Ful few find ye yowre frende, // for all yowre Frankis fare'; 'Franche man with all thi fare'; 'for all thaire treget and thaire gile'. For other examples of 'Freynshe fare' and deceptive French wit across literature and drama see Williams, *The French Fetish* (p. 11) and references therein.

[7] *Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 26-40, esp. pp. 26, 28) - 'Francia foeminea, pharisaea, vigoris idea, // Lynxea, viperea, vulpina, lupina, Medea, // Callida, syrena, crudelis, acerba, superba'; 'Ut mulier morde, vel scalpas, vir sine corde'. See also the poem *Dispute between and Englishman and a Frenchman* which characterises the French as feminine, even referring to the 'Gallic rooster' having been castrated (*Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 91-3)).

[8] Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society* (pp. 48-9).

[9] The closest Walsingham came to this were his references to French lords hiding 'timidly' and 'womanishly' in their castles from an English force riding through northern France in 1380 (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 364-6, 390-2)). These comments could reflect some engagement with ideas of French cowardice and effeminacy but were targeted specifically at French lords not the French as a people, and are very much the exception within the chronicle.

[10] See for just a few examples *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 284-8, 676-82) and II (pp. 672). Henry Knighton did very similar at times in his chronicle (see for example Henry Knighton ((pp. 326-8)).

the English as a nation, but also implicitly asserted, at least for Walsingham's educated monastic readership, the inevitability of their eventual defeat by the English. Thus Walsingham could sound an optimistic, patriotic note at a time when the English appeared unable to make significant headway in the war with France.

Walsingham did however also produce a less consistent but no less important stereotype of the French within the *Chronica* which is also worthy of attention for its implications regarding his wider view of the French and their relation to the English. In this stereotype, to be discussed first in this chapter, Walsingham asserted that the French and English *gentes* were inherently and always kind when encountering one another abroad, even treating one another 'like brothers'. This statement is unique within the *Chronica*, not reappearing elsewhere or appearing to underlie any other depictions of the French, and was made chiefly to further Walsingham's current agenda of describing John of Gaunt's repentance of his past sins. That said, no matter how transient its aim, the fact that Walsingham felt able and willing to make such a claim only for the French among all the nations that appeared within the chronicle speaks volumes regarding the potential for ambiguity and conflict within his vision of the French in relation to the English.

a) <u>Anglo-French Martial Brotherhood?</u>

At the end of his coverage of the year 1389 Walsingham included an account of John of Gaunt's failed 1386-89 expedition to Iberia, including a rather singular claim regarding a supposed 'brotherhood' that existed between the English and French *gentes* when they encountered one another abroad.[11] This claim is singular within the *Chronica Maiora* and, thus far, has not been encountered in any other English writings of this period. There are two exceptional aspects of this claim: first it is singular within the *Chronica* itself, not repeated or seeming to underpin any other instances or anecdotes in the text; and second it implies an interesting degree of, or at least the potential for, the relatively positive depiction of the French. While the first of these can be explained as a result of Walsingham's particular narrative agenda within the specific account itself, namely the depiction of Gaunt's supposed repentance of his previous sinful life, the second has some intriguing wider implications regarding Walsingham's attitude to the French in general.

Walsingham's account of the expedition opens by noting that Gaunt had recently returned to England, having experienced first 'misfortune' in Iberia followed by 'great fruitfulness' or 'great success', specifically not because of the size of his army but because of the manifest support of God.[12] The *Chronica*'s account which follows this beginning is short and brief, consisting of three main elements: the hardship endured by Gaunt's forces; Gaunt's repenting of his sins; and the marriage treaty negotiated between Gaunt and John I of Castile which ended the fighting. It is in the first of these parts that Walsingham makes his claim, framed as a generalised rule regarding the relations between the English and French *gentes*. The account claims that immediately upon arriving in Spain ('ad partes Hispanie') Gaunt's forces suffered from shortages of food and from dysentery, both of which began to kill many of the English troops; Walsingham claimed that some ninety 'milites famosi' or 'distinguished knights' died and it is implied that many more of the common soldiers (described as 'plebs

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[11] The full account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 890-4). Walsingham offered no explicit reason for why this account was retroactively included in the text but did open his account with reference to Gaunt's 1389 return, suggesting that he may have received his information from a member of the expedition on their return. Walsingham had noted Gaunt's leaving for Spain and his relief of the besieged castle of Brest in Brittany en-route (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 786-8)) but had included no information regarding events in Spain up to this point. For Gaunt's expedition in general see especially P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955) (pp. 400-525), but also Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (pp. 111-33) and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 594-623). The expedition appeared in multiple English chronicles, including the Westminster Chronicle (pp. 190-4, 322, 370), Adam Usk (p. 14) and Henry Knighton (pp. 338-46). See also Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* XI (pp. 338-56, 374-432) and XII (pp. 77-104, 124-7, 295-329).

[12] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 890) - 'qui in Hispania infortunia passus primo, postremo ad summam felicitatem perductus est, non uiribus hominum, nec in numero bellatorum, set manifesto diuino fauore'.

Anglicana') also perished.[13] This suffering, Walsingham claimed, drove 'the remainder' of Gaunt's forces by 'urgent necessity' to action: 'deserting the Duke in the field, they went over to the army of the French', but only after safe conduct had been given by the French.[14] Thus Walsingham had both stressed the scale of the disaster (the numbers lost, that *all* of Gaunt's force either died or deserted) and justified the soldiers' decision (the hardship endured, the 'urgent necessity', the safe conducts granted).

Immediately following these preparatory statements Walsingham wrote:

> [The French], moved by their sufferings, treated them most kindly, and restored them with their own foodstuffs. Indeed it is the way for each people (*gens*), namely the English and the French, for although they are hostile in their own regions, in remote parts they help one another like brothers, and observe an inviolable good faith with one another.[15]

This assertion fits the mould of an (multi)ethnic-(multi)national stereotype well: it is a generalised beyond the specific historical event which demonstrates it; it refers to the peoples involved as *gentes*; and it ties a type of behaviour into a national identity. Walsingham followed this with a speech from Gaunt's ally, King João I of Portugal, in which the king states his fear that the English deserters will return to fight for the French once refreshed, and to which Gaunt responds by explaining 'they did this only because beaten by necessity, and not out of treachery'.[16] The incredulous reaction by the foreigner and the acceptance of this circumstance by the Englishman of course serves to underline the stereotype itself; the English and French share a mutual respect or even a kinship that the outsider cannot truly understand.

This stereotype is constructed in as general terms as any other within the *Chronica*, although it appears to have been something of a one-off statement. Not only did Walsingham never again refer explicitly to this supposedly innate Anglo-French trait in the *Chronica*, his coverage of other Anglo-French conflicts in Iberia or elsewhere does not demonstrate it in practice. For example, Walsingham's coverage of the fighting between Anglo-Portuguese and

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[13] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 892) - 'deficientibus uictualibus, cepit plebs Anglicana, primo fame, postea disenteria, interire, ita ut nonaginta milites famosi de exercitu miserabiliter morerentur'.

[14] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 892) - 'Quapropter residui, urgente necessitate, ducem in campo deserentes, transierunt ad exercitum Gallicorum, qui ibi aderat in adiutorium regis Castelle, obtento prius conductu ab exercitu memorato'.

[15] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 892) - 'Qui, eorum condolentes miseriis, humanissime eos tractauerunt, et suis victualibus refecerunt. Nempe mos est utrique genti, Anglie scilicet atque Gallie, licet sibimet in propriis sint infesti regionibus, in remotis partibus tanquam fratres sibimet subuenire, et fidem ad inuicem inuiolabilem obseruare' (my trans.). 'Mos' is translated here as 'the way', although it can also be translated as 'custom' or 'usual'.

[16] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 892) - 'scio quod sola uictus necessitate, et non ex perfidia, hoc fecerunt' (my trans.).

Franco-Castilian forces before Gaunt's arrival in 1386 luridly describes French insolence, rampaging, burning and pillaging before meeting the English and Portuguese in battle at which they were all routed, captured or killed.[17] Here there is no sign of any Anglo-French friendship or kinship, there is no emphasis on good treatment of the French prisoners, and the description of French conduct is nothing less than damning. Similarly in his narration of Richard II's campaign in Scotland in 1385, during which French troops fought alongside the Scots, Walsingham offered no glimpse of any special Anglo-French connection - the French retreat with the Scots, mount guerrilla attacks with the Scots, and help the Scots to desolate the land.[18] Also in Flanders, Walsingham made likely exaggerated claims that the French occupying forces in Bruges in 1382 singled out English merchants for special confiscations of property and even murdered English apprentices, a far cry from any Anglo-French special relationship.[19]

Only two incidents recounted in the *Chronica* come close to presenting this stereotype in action on other occasions, and neither can be said to truly reflect a deployment of it. One example is the speech Walsingham put into the mouth of Bertrand Du Guesclin in 1379 regarding the bravery demonstrated by Hugh Calveley's defence of the Duke of Brittany's treasure from Franco-Spanish pirates.[20] In this supposed speech Du Guesclin declares that he would have preferred all of the French to die that day than for Calveley to have been killed, which could be read as a claim of particular respect for the English expressed by a senior French commander.[21] However, this 'speech' was of course nothing more than a chronicler's invention in order to praise Calveley, a particular hero and possibly friend of Walsingham, and

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[17] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 786) - the French are described as over-confident ('nimis confidunt') and their rampaging as 'bacchantur'; their activities in Portugal are described as 'plundering and burning, and committing many cruel murders' ('predas et incendia, ac cedes crudeles'); and Walsingham claimed that the entire French force were 'scattered, cast down, captured, or killed' ('quod totum predictum numerum dissipauerunt, prostrauerunt, cepereunt, uel occiderunt'). This conflict was not the high-profile campaign of 1385, which culminated in the Battle of Aljubarrota (for which see: *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 766-8); Westminster Chronicle (p. 132); and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 558-68)), but was likely a more minor skirmish between the Anglo-Portuguese and Franco-Castilian forces in the region.

[18] See *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 760). Walsingham also described the French participation in the Scots' retaliatory attack on England after Richard's expedition, plundering burning and taking captives (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 764)). For this expedition see Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 143-5) and Gillespie, 'King of Battles?' (pp. 141-6).

[19] For the occupation of Bruges see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 650-2, 710-2). Walsingham was likely exaggerating these anti-English attacks for effect given the relative leniency with which Bruges was treated when it was taken - at the Count of Flanders' urging the town was not sacked in return for a payment of 120,000 francs, much of which was remitted in the following year (see Vaughan, *Philip the Bold* (pp. 27, 30) and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (p. 486)). This is also suggested by the lack of reference to any such anti-English attacks in the Westminster Chronicler's version of events (see Westminster Chronicle (pp. 30-2)).

[20] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 298-304).

[21] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 302).

there is nothing else in the narrative to link it to the 1389 stereotype: no prisoners are taken; Calveley in fact urges his men to fight and die rather than be captured; and no distinction is made in the battle account between the French and Spanish soldiers. Likewise in his account of the Franco-Flemish warfare of 1385 Walsingham described how the French had 'greatly mutilated' their Flemish prisoners, cutting off their hands and putting out their eyes in revenge for a recent defeat, and how the men of Ghent wished to do the same to their French prisoners but were dissuaded by the Englishman John Bourchier (d.1400), then the English governor of Flanders.[22] According to Walsingham, Bourchier argued that the Flemings could not mutilate men who had surrendered themselves as prisoners to their captors' good faith but that he would permit them to mutilate any future prisoners, as in fact they did the next time they had such captives.[23] Bourchier's supposed references to the 'law of war' ('iure belli') under which the French had surrendered and the fact that these prisoners were apparently 'knights and esquires', whereas the future prisoners were simply *Gallici*, could suggest something of a chivalric code of conduct motivating Bourchier's actions.[24] Even if that were the case however, Bourchier's allowing the Flemings to mutilate future French prisoners, no matter how low-status, hardly accords with the generalised and non-class-specific claim in the 1389 account and there is no hint of any form of kinship.

If Walsingham's 1389 comments were not therefore a statement of a consistent and underlying ethnic-national stereotype, how might we explain them? Broadly speaking Walsingham's account does reflect the events of Gaunt's 1386-87 expedition to Spain, albeit in very compressed and somewhat inaccurate form. Initially, in late summer and autumn 1386, Gaunt's forces enjoyed success in taking much of Galicia with little resistance, but with the onset of winter food shortages and disease, probably dysentery, set in.[25] These devastated the

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[22] See *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 738) - 'Gallici proinde multipliciter exasperati cunctos captiuos, quos inter se tenebant, enormiter mutilantes, effossis oculis et amputatis manibus, et uariis modis lesi irrestaurabiliter, domum ad commouendum corda Gandauensium remiserunt'; Walsingham mistakenly refers to Bourchier as named Edward rather than John. For the Franco-Flemish wars of the 1380s see above (pp. 61-2 (n. 48)).

[23] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 738) - 'Quibus uisis, Gandauenses commoti, uoluerunt militibus et armigeris, quos de Francis, ut diximus, uiuos ceperant, eadem supplicia irrogasse'; 'si uero in futurum quoscunque Gallicos possent uiolenter intercipere, hos dixit se bene permissurum tali modo mutilatos ut Gallias mitterent, et simili sorte Gallicos salutarent. Quos paulo post factum est, ipsis sibimet obuiantibus, et Gandauensibus uictoriam reportantibus, ipso duce'.

[24] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 738) - the prisoners already held by the people of Ghent are termed 'militibus et armigeris, quos de Francis' while the future prisoners are twice termed *Gallici*.

[25] For this stage of the expedition see: Russell, *The English Intervention* (pp. 420-48); Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (pp. 120-2); and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 594-607).

army, with some estimates of the dead as high as 50%.[26] The Portuguese chronicler Fernão Lopes, writing in the 1430s from earlier Iberian chronicles, wrote that Gaunt lost many captains, archers and men-at-arms to the combination of disease, hunger and 'homesickness' (probably meaning desertion).[27] In March 1387 the remainder of Gaunt's forces joined up with the Portuguese and marched into Leon, enjoying far less success than the previous year and still struggling to maintain food supplies.[28] As the campaign dragged on the English troops began increasingly to 'fraternise' with the French garrisons they besieged, staging various jousts and sporting events, and the French garrison of Salamanca even shared cartloads of food with the English troops.[29] According to Lopes, Gaunt secretly used these links to begin negotiations with the Castilians through French intermediaries, and on the final march back to Portugal in May another bout of sickness spread through the English army, spurring Gaunt and various of his men to seek safe conducts from the Castilians.[30] One Englishman who sought such a safe conduct on his own initiative was Gaunt's Constable, Sir John Holand, who left the army near the campaign's end with the noblewomen accompanying the army and some fifty knights heading overland for Gascony.[31] Lopes claimed that the Portuguese king João was 'astonished' by both Gaunt's having opened negotiations and Holand's departure.[32]

Thus Walsingham's brief account appears to be a relatively accurate version of events, albeit one somewhat compressed and distorted.[33] In his account the chronicler neglected to mention Gaunt's initial successes, compressed both bouts of illness into one, and simplified

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[26] Russell estimated losses of up to two thirds of the men brought from England died (*The English Intervention* (p. 452)), while Sumption preferred an estimate of around 50% (*The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 606-7)).

[27] Fernão Lopes, *The English in Portugal, 1367-87. Extracts from the Chronicles of Dom Fernando and Dom João with an Introduction, Translation and Notes* (eds. & trans. D.W. Lomax & R.J. Oakley) (Warminster, 1989) (p. 243). For Lopes' chronicle-writing and sources see Fernão Lopes, *The English in Portugal* (pp. v-ix).

[28] See: Fernão Lopes, *The English in Portugal* (pp. 241-83); Russell, *The English Intervention* (pp. 449-94); Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (pp. 123-7); and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 606-17).

[29] See in particular Russell, *The English Intervention* (pp. 466-8) and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (p. 611).

[30] Lopes claimed that Gaunt was secretly negotiating with the enemy via some of 'the foreign troops of Castile' (see *The English in Portugal* (p. 271)), and modern scholars have tended to accept his claim (see Russell, *The English Intervention* (pp. 478-83) and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 615-6)).

[31] Russell, *The English Intervention* (pp. 485-6) and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 614-5).

[32] Fernao Lopes, *The English in Portugal* (pp. 271, 283).

[33] Unfortunately Walsingham's source cannot be identified - he may have received information from a member of the expedition as Henry Knighton did (p. 342) or from 'the wagging tongue of rumour' as the Westminster Chronicler did (p. 190).

the narrative by having Gaunt negotiate with the French rather than with the Castilians through the French as intermediaries. Any or all of these alterations could have been intentional, or could reflect the information Walsingham received regarding the expedition. On the one hand, the emphasis on the sickness that afflicted the army is not surprising given the significant comment it aroused among contemporary observers, including Froissart, Adam Usk and the Westminster Chronicler.[34] Likewise the extent of 'fraternisation' between the English force and French garrisons, as well as the fact that some wounded or sick English soldiers ended up recuperating in French-held towns,[35] could easily have served to distort the reception of events in England and overemphasise the extent of Anglo-French contact. On the other hand, Walsingham's claim that the French supplied the English from their own stores likely reflects his knowledge of the Salamanca food sharing, and his assertion that the Portuguese king struggled to comprehend the English 'desertions' similarly suggests a detailed knowledge of the campaign's events. Walsingham's account of the peace and marriage negotiations between Gaunt and John I of Castile is also reasonably accurate, suggesting a reliable source.[36]

In light of the quality of Walsingham's information regarding this expedition, it seems likely that his distortions may reflect his purposeful tampering with the narrative for his own ends, namely Gaunt's humiliation and repentance. In Walsingham's narrative the desertion of his troops prompts Gaunt to bow his head weeping, to recall all the previous times he had enjoyed good fortune and failed to thank God, and to pray to God for mercy promising to 'reform his life' and thank God as he should.[37] Seeing this contrition, God, 'who once accepted the sighs of Mary [Magdalene] the sinner', relents and grants Gaunt prosperity and joy in the future.[38] This sentiment chimes well with Walsingham's previous criticisms of Gaunt, in

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[34] Froissart, on the testimony of an eyewitness named Sir Thomas Quinnebery, attributed the disease outbreak to English incompatibility with the climate, food and wine of the peninsula, putting the dead in the hundreds (see Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* XII (pp. 321-6; for reference to Quinnebery as a source see p. 324)). See also Adam Usk (p. 14) and Westminster Chronicle (pp. 190-4). Knighton makes no reference to the disease, possibly wishing to cover up the scale of the disaster given his pro-Gaunt stance (see Knighton (pp. 338-46)).

[35] For wounded and sick English soldiers recuperating in French-held towns, including Villalpando which had been the site of fighting earlier in the campaign, see Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (p. 617).

[36] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 892-4). Henry Knighton (p. 342) and the Westminster Chronicle (pp. 190-4, 370) both give very similar accounts. Adam Usk attempted to set out Gaunt's gains from the negotiations but erroneously claimed that John I granted Gaunt a duchy for life (p. 14). For these negotiations and their outcome see: Russell, *The English Intervention* (pp. 495-525); Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (pp. 127-33); and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 618-23).

[37] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 892) - 'Tacitus ergo, subortis suspiriis, implorat pro gracia, precatur pro misericordia, spondens in posterum correccionis uite practicam, et apud cordis oculos futuram iugem Dei sui noticiam'.

[38] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 892) - 'cuius uidens lacrimas, qui Marie peccatricis quondam suscepit suspiria, dedit ex insperato a die illo et deinceps sibi cuncta prospera, cuncta leta' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

particular that he was arrogant regarding his power and wealth and that he partook of sexual vices (the Mary Magdalene parallel in particular).[39] Narratively then this anecdote serves to rehabilitate Gaunt within the *Chronica*, and was most likely written in the early-mid 1390s as Walsingham turned against Richard II and possibly as he began to edit anti-Gaunt polemic from the Royal manuscript.[40] In this light the distortions of the Iberian narrative make more sense: claiming the disease struck immediately on arriving in Spain and omitting Gaunt's initial successes, as well as casting 'fraternisation' as abject desertion, serve to enhance the extent of Gaunt's failure and humbling. Important too is the legitimising of the deserters' actions by stressing the 'necessity' that drove them to desert and Gaunt's acceptance and explanation of their desertion - by explaining and justifying the deserters' actions Walsingham avoided any blame being attached to the deserters themselves, keeping it entirely focussed on Gaunt. The assertion that this action was an accepted and normal act for the English and French peoples, rather than a one-off act, appears to have been part of this strategy of justifying the desertions.

With this narrative aim in mind, Walsingham's assertion of Anglo-French martial 'brotherhood' overseas appears less significant but not unimportant. As, it seems, part of a tactic of legitimising the deserters' actions in order to leave Gaunt more humbled and thereby enhance his repentance, this stereotype appears much less significant in itself, which is supported by the lack of reference to it or deployment of it elsewhere in the chronicle. That said, no matter how distracted or throwaway the intention behind the comment, the fact that Walsingham was willing to make it at all is important. As mentioned above no other national groups received anything like this comment in the *Chronica*, and it incontrovertibly implies a degree of both kinship and equality between the French and the English. The claim itself may not have reflected Walsingham's true opinions, but the fact he felt able to make it in such a way does reveal some ambiguity and changeability within his views of the French as a people.

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[39] Walsingham had previously accused Gaunt of many and various sins, including love of money, arrogance regarding his own wealth, plotting to poison his nephew Richard II, lust and adultery (see for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 8, 10-4, 18, 26, 38-40, 42, 50)). The chronicler had also claimed that Gaunt repented of his previous way of life, including his relationship with his mistress Katherine Swynford, in 1381 (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 566)). The term *suspirium* ('sighs') is used for both Gaunt's repentance and Mary Magdalene's in the account (see above (p. 185 (nn. 37, 38))).

[40] For the dating and editing of the Royal MS text see above (pp. 35-6).

b) <u>The Prideful and Tyrannical French</u>

The stereotyping of the French as a prideful or arrogant people was common in the Middle Ages, particularly from the twelfth century onwards, both by non-French writers with axes to grind and also by French writers themselves keen to criticise and reform their own people's *superbia*.[41] English writers of the Hundred Years War era seem to have availed themselves of this association of the French with pride on patriotic grounds, attacking the pride of the French in general and of the French king in particular across various genres of writing. Anonymous poetry such as the *An Invective Against France* described *Francia* as, among other things, cruel (*crudelis*) and proud (*superbus*), also speaking of the 'proud heart' ('corde superbimus') of the French.[42] A particularly rich vein within this kind of poetic criticism was the gloating at the proud words or 'boasts' of the French being proven hollow by their defeat by the English, appearing in the works of Laurence Minot and the anonymous *Agincourt Carol* among others.[43] The English romance *Richard Couer de Lion*, written c.1300 and popular throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, similarly claimed that the French spoke 'prowde words' and made 'grete yelpynge' while safely in a tavern, but once battle began they 'drawe in þaire hornes // Als dose a snyle amange roughe thornes'.[44] Governmental discourse

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[41] See for example: Jacques de Vitry's description of 'the proud, soft and womanishly composed French' ('francigenas superbos, molles et muliebriter compositos') (my trans.) (in his *Historia Occidentalis* (p. 92)); Buoncompagno of Siena (c.1170-1240) who put 'Francigenae per arrogantiam' in his list of ethnic stereotypes (cited in Weeda, 'Ethnic Stereotyping' (pp. 122-3)); and the stereotype handlists found in Weeda, *Images of Ethnicity* (pp. 336-8) which refer to 'Elevatio Francorum', 'Superbia vel ferocitas Francorum' and 'Crudelitas seu superbia Francorum'. See also the further examples discussed in Lewis, *Medieval Political Ideas* II (pp. 450-1) and Weber, 'Of Stereotypes and of the French' (pp. 169-70).

[42] *Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 26-7) - '[Francia] Callida, syrena, crudelis, acerba, superba'; 'Corde superbimus, praesumimus, ergo perimus'. See also: the poem *Dispute Between an Englishman and a Frenchman* in which the Englishman attacks the Frenchman's 'presumption' (*praesumo*) and *superbia* (*Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 93)); Laurence Minot's references to the 'mekil pride' of the Normans and French as well as gloating that 'the bare [i.e. 'the boar' - meaning Edward III] abated all thaire pride' (*The Poems of Laurence Minot* (pp. 46, 52)); and the English poem *The Flemish Insurrection* on the 1302 Franco-Flemish wars which refers to 'proude freinsshe eorles', the 'proude eorl of artoys', and 'þe freynsshe-men þat were so proude any bolde' (*Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (pp. 9-13)). Sir Thomas Gray may have been responding to a tradition surrounding the latter of these in his comments in the *Scalacronica* that in 1302 the Earl of Artois and many other French nobles were 'killed through their pride and arrogance' ('mortez par orgoil et lour suquydery') (King's trans.) (Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica, 1272-1363* (ed. & trans. A. King) (Woodbridge, 2005) [Surtees Society Publications, 209] (pp. 46-8)).

[43] Minot wrote 'Abated was than all his pride...his bost was broght all doune' (*The Poems of Laurence Minot* (p. 43)), and the writer of the *Agincourt Carol* described Henry V's invasion of France with 'Than went our kynge wit alle his oste // Thorwe fraunce, for alle þe frenshe boste' (*Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (pp. 91-2)). See also the anonymous poem *On the Death of Edward III* which claims that 'The Frensche men cunne bothe bost and blowe' but that their boasting came to nothing against Edward III (*Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 218)).

[44] *Richard Couer de Lion: An Edition from the London Thornton Manuscript* (ed. C. Figueredo) (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of York, 2009) (ll. 3868-84). For discussion of the importance of the nation and national sentiment in romances and vice versa see D. Speed, 'The Construction of the Nation

may too reflect this trope of French pride on occasion, such as the claim in the 1416 Parliament Roll that the French refused to make peace 'full of pride, and thinking nothing of their said defeat or weakness', and Archbishop Fitzralph's thanksgiving speech in London in 1346 that the English victory at Crecy in that year reflected God's disapproval of Philip VI's pride.[45]

This trope of French pride shaded easily and often into one of French tyranny or oppressiveness for English commentators, a presentation which of course accorded with the notion that the Valois monarchs of France were the usurpers of the legitimate claim laid to the French crown by the Plantagenet dynasty. For example, in addition to the aforesaid references to French *superbia*, the poem *An Invective Against France* paralleled Philip to Persian kings and 'that high Antiochus' of the Books of the Maccabees as well as claiming that he 'violated the kingdom with a heavy rod', while it paralleled Edward III with king David and the Maccabees themselves as well as depicting Edward as a paragon of justice and piety.[46] Claims made by the crown, poets and chroniclers that the French would seek to utterly destroy England and the English language upon conquering its speakers may also have formed part of and helped to reinforce the notion of the French as tyrannical.[47] A belief in a French predilection for tyranny may also stand behind the Westminster Chronicler's claim that the English king paying homage to the French king for Aquitaine would mean that 'every Englishman who is under the lordship of the King of England would come under the heel of the King of France and in future be kept under the yoke of servitude' ('servili jugo').[48] This claim expressed a concern regarding the legal status and position of the English king and

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in Medieval English Romance', in ed. C.M. Meale, *Readings in Medieval English Romance* (Cambridge, 1994) (pp. 135-57).

[45] *Rot. Parl.* iv.94.3 - 'les Fraunceis, pleins d'orguille, et riens pensantz de lour dit rebuc, ou fiblesse'. For Fitzralph's speech see A. Ruddick, 'National Sentiment and Religious Vocabulary in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009) (p. 11).

[46] *Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 27, 29-30, 33, 38) - 'Altus ut Antiochus'; 'Philippus gravius sceptrum regni temeravit'; Edward is described as the bearer of 'the sword of justice, piety, or honesty' ('ensem justiciae, pietatis, vel probitatis') (all my trans.).

[47] For example: Minot claimed that Philip of France sought 'to stroy Ingland and bring to noght' (*The Poems of Laurence Minot* (p. 39)); Knighton claimed that in 1383 Charles VI of France planned to eradicate the Flemish language in the conquered town of Damme and that in 1386 Charles and his nobles swore on a altar 'that they would invade England, given favourable winds, and that they would not quit it alive until it was either depopulated or conquered' (Henry Knighton (pp. 328, 348)) (Martin's trans.); and the English crown repeatedly made claims regarding French plans to destroy the English language upon conquering England (see above (p. 55 (n. 16))).

[48] Westminster Chronicle (p. 500) - 'sicque per hoc omnes Anglicos quotquot erant sub dominio regis Anglie rex Francorum suppeditaret ac sub servili jugo in posterum detineret' (my trans.). The idea of a 'yoke' or *iugum* as a metaphor for tyrannical rule was a common one in various texts with significance in the Middle Ages (see those examples cited below (pp. 199-201)). Possibly related is the claim that Charles VI of France began to exercise 'tyranny' ('tirannidem') over his subjects after 1392, although this may specifically relate to Charles' madness rather than an innate French trait (see Westminster Chronicle (p. 518)).

people, but it did so by hyperbolically referring to French rule as timelessly and assuredly oppressive. An interesting possible extra element to this perception of the French as oppressive or tyrannical rulers among the English is offered by the encoding of tyrannical figures as 'French' in both histories and plays. Deanne Williams has studied the use of French-language dialogue and French loan words for the character of Herod, a notorious tyrant famed for his rage, opulence, cruelty and murdering of innocents, in English Corpus Christi plays of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[49] Likewise Thea Summerfield has noted similar attachment of the French language to the Anglo-Norman king William Rufus, another famous tyrant, in the fourteenth-century English-language chronicle of Robert of Gloucester.[50] Encoding such figures as to some extent 'French' for the primarily English-speaking audiences of these works, perhaps the equivalent of a British accent in modern Hollywood villains, suggests a contemporary association between Frenchness and harsh, tyrannical rulership.

It is this particular cluster of stereotypes, of pride and tyranny, that Walsingham took up when writing his *Chronica*. While there is no direct, explicit stereotyping moment of the French as prideful in the *Chronica* the depiction of French *superbia* (and similar terms) is too consistent across the entire chronicle to represent anything but consistent belief or stereotype at work. There is an explicit statement of a stereotype of the French as tyrannical in the *Chronica* narrative of 1385, and again the depiction of the French more widely accords with the stereotype itself. As with some of the stereotyping of the Flemings discussed above, the French military involvement in Flanders during the 1380s provided Walsingham with rich material for his troping of the French. That said, and unlike the case of the Flemings, after the 1380s much the same picture of the French as prideful and tyrannical is continued throughout the rest of the chronicle's forty-year span.

References to French *superbia* and related terms are littered throughout the *Chronica Maiora* across both fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century texts, and are particularly concentrated around French exploits in war. In his account of the siege of Bourbourg in 1383 for example Walsingham described the French as 'presumptuous men' ('presumptuosi') in their attack on the walls, and under 1392 praised the visiting Duke William I of Guelders for

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[49] Williams, *The French Fetish* (pp. 50-86) - the plays from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had Herod speak entirely in French (pp. 68-9), while the fifteenth-century plays moved towards an English-speaking Herod who used and was described in loan words from French (pp. 69-74). Williams also notes the similar encoding of Lucifer as French-speaking in his temptation of Eve, which most likely spoke to a perception of French opulence and courtliness (*The French Fetish* (p. 77)).

[50] T. Summerfield, '"Fi a debles," quath the king': Language-mixing in England's Vernacular Historical Narratives, c.1290-c.1340', in eds. J. Wogan-Browne et al, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100-c.1500* (York, 2009) (pp. 72-6).

his resistance to the 'proud men of the French' ('Francorum superbos').[51] Walsingham's account of the Duke of Orleans' 1406-07 campaign in Gascony is also overflowing with accusations of pride and arrogance: the Duke came to Gascony 'superbus et arrogans'; he was 'ambitious beyond his fortune'; he is labelled as 'ducis superbi'; and Walsingham gloated that his siege ended in failure.[52] The account of this campaign is even entitled 'Of the Pride (*superbia*) of the Duke of Orleans and Disorder at Bourg'.[53] Henry V's 1417 siege of Falaise drew similar characterisation in that Walsingham accused the townspeople of being proud of their wealth ('superbam suis opibus'), of holding on to the castle 'with great haughtiness' ('cum magnu fastu'), and described their continued resistance to Henry as both 'obstinacy' ('obstinacione') and 'haughtiness' ('fastuose').[54]

The humbling of the French by the English in battle is also a theme within Walsingham's chronicle, similar to the texts discussed above that gloated at the failure of the French to make good on their 'boasting'. For example, Walsingham wrote of French raiders' haughtiness toward the Abbot of Battle at Winchelsea in 1377, claiming that they demanded the Abbot should buy the town's safety and pushed for battle despite the Abbot's entreaties, believing that the Englishman lacked the spirit to resist, only to be completely defeated.[55] In his rather short notice of the 1400 tournament at York too Walsingham described the defeat and humiliation of French and Italian knights who had come 'in pride and abuse' ('in superbia et abusione').[56] Similarly, the *Chronica* account of the battle of Agincourt included the famous

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[51] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 698, 922) respectively. For Duke William and his visit to England in that year see also Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* XV (pp. 269-72) and Sumption, *Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 649-51, 792).

[52] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 496) - 'ambitious beyond his fortune' is Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' translation of 'supra fortunam suam ambiciosus'; Walsingham also gloated that the Duke lost 6000 men to disease and claims that he insisted that a gold cloth be carried above his head to shield him from rain. Walsingham favoured the Duke of Burgundy against the Duke of Orleans at this point, as demonstrated by his coverage of Orleans' murder in the following year and the Anglo-Burgundian campaigns against Orleans 1411-12 (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 536, 598-606)).

[53] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 726) - The full title reads: 'De superbia ducis Aurelianensis et confusione apud Bourgh'.

[54] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 726). Shortly before this, at the siege of Caen, Walsingham had described how the 'ingrati Franci' or 'unpleasant/ungrateful French' had deceived Henry and destroyed the wealth of the town before surrendering (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 720)).

[55] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 162) - 'Et cognoscentes abbatem de Bello ad illam conuolasse causa custodie, missis nunciis, petunt ut uillam redimat'; 'Gallici eius responso exasperati, petunt, si bellum uelit, ut singuli ex utraque parte mittantur'; 'Hiis auditis, Gallici estimantes animum abbatis suorumque deesse'; 'pugnantes a nona ad uesperum; set abbatis, et eorum qui cum ipso erant, laudabili probitate minime profecerunt'.

[56] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 302-4) - 'occurrerunt ei quidam milites, quorum unus erat ex Gallia, alius de Ytalia, poscentes pugnam duelli contra Grenecornewayle et quemdam alium, in obsequio regis existentem, Ianico uocitatum. Commisso duello inter utrosque, afflicti sunt alienigene et humiliati summa confusione, qui huc aduenerant in superbia et abusione' (my trans.).

claim that before battle was joined the French had 'boasted' ('iactitauerunt') that they would 'horribly mutilate' any non-noble captives.[57] Needless to say, Agincourt was a great English victory and the French never had the chance to make good on their boasting.

Walsingham also levelled similar accusations of French pride or arrogance at French dealings with the Church, an emotive subject in Walsingham's lifetime given the Great Schism which began in 1378 and saw England and France supporting rival papal claimants. While Walsingham levelled some vitriolic criticism toward the French and their king at the beginning of the Schism, including attacking the king's support for Clement as 'detestable' and 'not ignorance, but malice' and accusing him of bribing the schismatic cardinals, this criticism was not specifically focussed on French pride or oppression.[58] Beyond these overtly Schism-related notices however Walsingham appears to have reverted to his usual patterns of reference to the French, for example criticising as *superbia* the assertions of French friars in 1389 that the Virgin Mary had been conceived in sin.[59] He also attributed the madness which afflicted Charles VI of France in 1392 to the king's having disdained to consult with the relics of St Benedict as his predecessors had done before embarking on military campaigns.[60] While this case in the chronicle did not refer specifically to *superbia*, Walsingham was still accusing the French king of the arrogant and highhanded treatment of a Church institution, for which the king was immediately punished. Similar to this is Walsingham's account of a speech given by a papal envoy in 1391, in which he reported that the envoy claimed that the French king had made a deal with Antipope Clement in order to 'usurp' (*usurpare*) control of the Church, the Empire, even 'the entire world' ('totum mundum') and England itself.[61] Walsingham's version of this speech is rather similar to, if shorter than, the one included in the Westminster Chronicle and thus suggests that Walsingham may have used a circulated document of the speech, but even so the fact that he chose to include the speech and its accusations of

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[57] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 674) - 'Iactitauerunt nempe Galli se nemini uelle parcere preter quam dominis nominatis et regi ipsi; reliquos se perempturos uel membris horribiliter mutilaros'.

[58] See in particular *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 274-6, 278) - 'O detestanda, profana, dampnanda, non ignorancia, set malicia huius regis, qui non ignorat quam iniustus, quam inualidus, quam uilis sit titulus huius pseudopape'; 'Fauebant nimirum regi Francorum, eius illecti muneribus'; Walsingham also paralleled the king to Baal several times.

[59] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 878) - 'Per idem tempus in Francia fratres predicatores, antequam suam opinionem reassumentes de conceptu beate Marie uirginis, et predicantes illam fuisse in originali peccato conceptam, in tantam efferati sunt superbiam ut episcopis, illis indicentibus huius rei silencium, noluerunt obedire'.

[60] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 932-4).

[61] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 908-10). The envoy is unnamed in the *Chronica* but was the Abbot of Nonantola, in England chiefly to attempt to convince Richard II to reverse the Statute of Provisors (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 906-12) and P. Heath, *Church and Realm, 1272-1461: Conflict and Collaboration in an Age of Crises* (London, 1988) (pp. 213-8)).

highhanded French use of the Church suggests that it fitted within his own views of the French.[62]

Walsingham was more overt in stereotyping the French as innately tyrannical and cruelly oppressive, itself often tied into notions of *superbia* and arrogance. When describing the capture of the French-occupied town of Damme in Flanders by the forces of Ghent in 1385 and its recapture by the French one month later, Walsingham took the opportunity to attack French tyranny. According to Walsingham the townspeople had become tired of the domination of the French ('dominio Francorum') who were greatly arrogant and demanding ('nimis superciliosum et importunum'), and resolved to dispose of their cruel French masters ('crudelibus dominis, id est, Francis') by handing the town to the men of Ghent.[63] Immediately following this Walsingham interjected the following generalised stereotype:

> In fact the French, when they have the upper hand and have dominion over others, they are accustomed to handle those subjected with great pride (*summa superbia*) and intolerable injustice (*intolerabili iniuria*).[64]

Here Walsingham stereotyped the French as arrogant and tyrannical, specifically when they have power or *dominium* over others. With this general rule established Walsingham's account returns to current events, describing with some satisfaction the capture of some 1800 tuns of the French king's wine and the 'duping' of the king when he retook the town only to find all the defenders had secretly escaped to Ghent.[65] Amid this gloating Walsingham referred again to the unwillingness of the townspeople to return to French rule, claiming that having 'shaken off the unbearable yoke of the French' ('iugo importabili Gallicorum') they were unwilling to

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[62] See Westminster Chronicle (pp. 458-72, esp. pp. 462-8 and p. 462 (n. 1)) - this version is considerably longer than Walsingham's and appears to reproduce much of the original document; the Chronicler also included a reference to 'the innate hatred between the English and the French' and 'the greed and pride (*superbia*) of the French' in his version. Similar sentiments to the envoy's speech had previously appeared in some Italian and German texts regarding the 'pride' of the French and their desire to control the Papacy (see for example the letter of Pope Boniface VIII (r.1294-1303) to Emperor-elect Albert I warning 'Let not that Gallic pride, which says it recognises no superior, rebel against [papal jurisdiction over the imperial title]. They lie, for by right they are and ought to be under the Roman King and Emperor' (cited in Lewis, *Medieval Political Ideas* II (pp. 450-1))).

[63] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 764) - 'habitatoribus illius uille tradentibus eam ipsis, quia iam fessi de dominio Francorum, quod erat eis nimis superciliosum et importunum, magis expedire credebant se submittere suis proximis quam crudelibus dominis, id est, Francis. ...'

[64] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 764) - '... Et reuera Gallici, ubi eos superiores esse et dominari contigerit, cum summa superbia et intolerabili iniuria subditos suos tractare solent' (my trans.). I have followed Taylor, Childs & Watkiss in rendering 'superiores esse' as 'have the upper hand' because the more literal 'are superior' does not have quite the same meaning.

[65] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 764-6).

again surrender their *libertas* under French rule.[66] Thus on this occasion Walsingham related a specific historical event and explicitly elevated one element within it to a generalised comment on the nature of the French people, akin to his stereotyping of the Flemings and others seen above.

The rest of Walsingham's coverage of the French occupation of Flanders in the 1380s continues and reuses the stereotype of the French, both before and after the explicit stereotype under 1385, suggesting that the association of oppressive rule or tyranny with the French was either a consistently-held belief of Walsingham's or a consistent narrative agenda of his. The description of the French occupation of Bruges in 1382 appears before the 1385 stereotype episode but was almost certainly written up into the chronicle around the same time, and fits neatly with the stereotype. In this account Walsingham described how the French troops plundered and garrisoned the town despite its people having aided them in battle, oppressing the people with 'dire servitude' ('diris serviciis oppresserunt').[67] Likewise the French occupation of Oudenaarde in 1383 is described as involving a 'cruel dominion' ('crudele dominium') over the townspeople, including oppression, plundering and rape, which eventually led to the town's rebellion.[68] On a slightly different but possibly related note, Walsingham's tale of the French mutilation of Flemish prisoners discussed above also appears within the 1385 narrative, shortly before the explicit expression of the stereotype.[69] After the stereotype itself in 1385 Walsingham appears to have continued to apply it in his depictions of the French. For example, describing the 1388 French campaign against Guelders Walsingham first gloated that the French, 'disdainful of peace' ('Gallici de pace fastidiosi'), invaded Guelders but were defeated in short order by the Duke and some English soldiers, another example of French arrogance or haughtiness being humbled.[70] At the same time the Flemings were able to inflict a 'great slaughter' on the French in battle, 'which was not undeserved as

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[66] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 766) - 'Flandrensibus contra certantibus conseruare libertatem quam iam receperant, excusso iugo importabili Gallicorum'.

[67] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 650-2, quote at p. 652). This comes alongside Walsingham's likely exaggerated claims that the French occupiers singled out English merchants and apprentices for special confiscations and even murder (see above (p. 182)).

[68] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 710-2, quote at p. 710) - Walsingham variously referred to the French actions as 'crimes' ('scelera'), 'injuries' or 'injustice' ('iniuria'), and 'evils' ('mala').

[69] See *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 738) and above (p. 183).

[70] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 854) - 'Gallici de pace fastidiosi'; Walsingham also stressed the numbers of the French army ('cum magno numero armatorum'), that Guelders was attacked for its friendship with England, and that the defeat was felt keenly by France ('sensitque in hoc conflictu dampnum Francia quantum non senserat a diebus antiquis').

before this the French had oppressed and vexed them with great pride and grave tyranny' ('summa superbia grauique tirannide').[71]

That this trope of French oppression and tyranny transcended the specific events of the 1380s is evidenced by its appearance elsewhere in the *Chronica*, both in terms of French oppressions of other peoples and in terms of the French nobility's oppression of their own subjects. On the former, Walsingham described French actions in various theatres along the lines of the stereotype, including: the French 'cruelly tearing to pieces' or 'cruelly lacerating' ('crudeliter lacerabat') Gascony in 1383; their being 'over-confident' ('nimis confidunt') and rampaging ('bacchantur') in Spain in 1386; and their 'harassing' ('infestaret') English-held Harfleur in 1416.[72] While each of these could be seen merely as descriptions of military attacks, the choice of language does produce undertones of oppression, high-handedness or excessive brutality. Similarly the King of France is described several times in the *Chronica* as seeking, autocratically and unlawfully, to assert his rule over Brittany. For example, under 1378 Walsingham described the King 'compelling' the Bretons to an oath to hand over towns and castles to him, and the King's efforts to 'wrest away' those castles and put 'his Frenchmen' into them as garrisons against the will of the Bretons, who promptly rebelled.[73] Similarly, the madness of Charles VI discussed above may have been chiefly caused by his failure to consult the relics of St Benedict in 1392, but Walsingham also described his projected campaign as one to 'harass' the Duke of Brittany 'without justice' ('minus iuste').[74] In the majority of these anecdotes of course the French are defeated or humiliated in their efforts to oppress and cruelly treat others, just as it was their oppressive rule which spurred the people of Flanders to rise up against the French in the examples above.

According to Walsingham, tyrannical rule by the French ruling classes also afflicted their own subjects. After his conquest of Bruges and Ghent in 1382 the King of France returned to Paris, Walsingham claims, 'arrogantly and proudly' ('arrogans et superbus') only

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[71] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 854) - 'Flandrenses per idem tempus et ipsi occurrentes Gallicis, magnam stragem fecerunt ex ipsis, nec immerito quia cum summa superbia grauique tirannide Galli eos perante oppresserant et uexerant' (my trans.).

[72] For Gascony in 1383 see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 658) - 'Wasconiam defendendam contra regis Francie populosum exercitum, qui tunc uniuersam terram illam crudeliter lacerabat'. For Spain in 1386 see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 786) - 'nimis confidunt in uirtute propria'; 'bacchantur in patria'; ' Gallicis insolentibus'; 'predas et incendia, ac cedes crudeles'. For Normandy in 1416 see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 690-2) - 'que uillam de Harefleu quoquomodo uel infesaret'.

[73] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 266-8) - Walsingham has the King 'compel' ('compulit') the oath; 'ad extorquendum prefatas municiones de manibus Britannorum, et imponendum Francos suos'. See also *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 324) in which Walsingham writes that the French had 'harassed' ('infestantibus') the Duke of Brittany since his return to the duchy.

[74] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 932) - 'incurrit frenesis, ut putatur, dum expedicionem moueret in Britanniam ad infestandum ducem, ut dicitur, minus iuste'.

for the citizens to close the gates to him.[75] The *Chronica* then narrates how the king spoke false words of reconciliation to the people in order to gain entry to the city, but once inside went back on his word: hanging or beheading many leading citizens; destroying the city gates; plundering the city's armaments; imposing new, heavy taxes; and cutting off the right arms of those who had opposed him, forcing them to wear those severed arms around their necks.[76] While there are some similarities between Walsingham's account and the closer and more detailed one given by the chronicler of St Denis, he had merged the king's destruction of the city gates of Rouen into the Paris narrative and may have invented the grisly physical punishments for effect.[77] This kind of characterisation of French rule no doubt also stands behind two comments Walsingham made during his coverage of the 1380 English invasion of France. Firstly, Walsingham asserted that the strife between the Dukes of Burgundy and Anjou continued as they were as afraid of one another's 'cruelty' (*crudelitas*) as they were of the English force.[78] And secondly, as will be discussed in more detail below, Walsingham also claimed that the French people would rather have lived under 'more peaceable' English rule than French.[79] A slightly different note is struck in Walsingham's account of the killing of the Count of Armagnac by the Burgundians in 1418, in which the Count was seized, butchered, flayed and rolled in feathers before being hung upside down to be plucked by the Burgundians and some of the citizens of Paris.[80] This act is described in the *Chronica* as 'cruel' ('crudeliter'), 'furious sedition' ('sediciosa furia'), and 'tyrannical madness' ('tyrannica rabies'), and is claimed to have led to the killing of various nobles, 14,000 men and 5000 women in the city.[81] While the involvement of the citizens of Paris in this separates it somewhat from the previous allegations of tyranny, Walsingham's insistence that it was 'the Burgundians' who drove the events does to an extent make it an attack by a political elite on

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[75] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 654).

[76] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 654). This incident appears to have stimulated relatively little interest in England, not appearing in either the Westminster Chronicle, the chronicle of Henry Knighton or that of Adam Usk.

[77] For the St Denis account see *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe* (pp. 275-85, esp. pp. 281-5) - the, admittedly partial, St Denis chronicler described the king as forced into violence by the citizens, made no reference to the hangings or de-armings of Walsingham's account, and even stated that the royal soldiers actually refrained from killing.

[78] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 382).

[79] See *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 392) and below (pp. 216-7).

[80] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 734). For the Burgundian capture of Paris in May 1418 and the resulting 'reign of terror' used to consolidate control see R. Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London, 1966) (pp. 221-7).

[81] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 734).

those within their power.[82] All of these examples are of course specific instances of French 'tyranny', but the repeated nature and consistency of Walsingham's allegations of such oppressive and cruel dominion suggests either a long-standing belief or a deliberate narrative strategy on the part of Walsingham.

Thus Walsingham's stereotyping of the French in the *Chronica* operated along two distinct but closely related lines: a predilection for pride or *superbia*, and the exercise of a cruel tyrannical rule over those within their power. Both of these were consistently applied throughout the chronicle, across both fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts, which is suggestive either of a genuinely-held belief on Walsingham's part or a conscious attempt to present a certain picture of the French. More likely perhaps is that both of these explanations existed together: Walsingham could have genuinely believed the French to be innately prideful and tyrannical, and therefore sought to actively colour his narrative to reveal that truth. Important too are the consequences of such actions, as presented by Walsingham, in that the occurrence of this pride and oppression almost uniformly ends badly for the French - the Flemings rebel against the occupiers, the French king's efforts fail or he is struck with madness, and so on. In this then it would appear that French pridefulness and tyranny acted not just as ethnic-national stereotype but also as moral exemplar or warning to the reader on the perils of such behaviour.

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[82] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 734) - the only description of the culprits is at the very beginning of the short account and reads 'In the month of June the Burgundians entered Paris at night and with the help of *some of the citizens* seized the Count of Armagnac' ('Mense Iunii Burgundiones nocte Parisium intrauerunt et auxilio *quorundam de ciuitate* ceperunt comitem de Armanak') (my trans. and emphasis). The CCCC MS 7 (3) version of the chronicle, compiled after Walsingham's death, omits the citizens of Paris from this sentence entirely (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 734 (textual note *a*))).

c) <u>The French as National-Moral Warning</u>

The significance of Walsingham's stereotyping and depiction of the French as a people especially given to *superbia* and oppression is threefold. First, such a characterisation of the French and the French nobility and king of course fed into and possibly resulted from larger notions of the French as a threat to the English and as the usurpers or illegitimate holders of the throne of France, which was legitimately the inheritance of the Plantagenet dynasty. Second, the description of French *superbia* and its humbling at the hands of the English or others served as that staple of the medieval chronicler, a moral exemplar for the reader. Depicting the pride, arrogance and oppressiveness of French lords and kings, along with their resultant failure and fall, provided a moral instruction for any reader of the chronicle to avoid such sins themselves. Third, characterising the French thus associated them with a long-standing tradition of pride and tyranny as vices which prompted the decline and fall of once-great nations. This depiction of the French as a people succumbing to the vices which had brought down previous great empires and nations served as both a moral warning on the national scale and an exaltation of the English nation.

That the *superbia* and oppressive rule of the English nobility was of concern to Walsingham and contemporary churchmen is abundantly clear from a variety of sources, giving weight to the notion that writers like Walsingham may have sought to use the French as a moral exemplar warning against such vices. For example, sermons against *superbia* often took pride of place in late medieval English sermon collections, appearing first of all the sins, being termed the 'cruel mother' of wrath and the 'evil mother' of other sins, and being described as 'the love of one's own superiority...it takes God away from man'.[83] A sermon text collected by the fifteenth-century priest and collector John Dygon instructed the preacher to speak of the virtues of faith, hope, love, chastity and humility for an audience of 'common people', but if any lords were present to 'condemn pride, avarice, robbery, and lionlike tyranny', demonstrating some contemporary concern that lordly pride could too easily become oppression.[84] In another sermon found in a fifteenth-century collection the preacher used the

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[83] See for example *Fasiculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (ed. & trans. S. Wenzel) (Pennsylvania, 1989) (pp. 36-8, 58, 92, 116, 470) - 'pride is the love of one's own superiority, and its most outstanding characteristic is that it takes God away from man'; pride is likened to a poisonous asp and smoke; 'that evil vice of pride' ('pessimum vicium superbie') is a 'poison' to be guarded against; wrath is the 'savage daughter' of pride, which is a 'cruel mother' ('mater crudelis'); pride is the 'evil mother' ('pessima mater') of vainglory, sloth and envy, all of which combined have 'destroyed almost the whole world' (Wenzel's trans.). See also *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation* (ed. & trans. S. Wenzel) (Washington D.C., 2008) (pp. 65, 138) - pride is described as 'spiritual misery'; is the first of the 7 sins that Christ's body defends against.

[84] See *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer* (p. 174) - the same sermon includes references to Deuteronomy 17:20 and Matthew 18:3 against pride, the claim that 'dominion' exists only to correct sin, and the exhortation 'Lords must also rule their servants with reason in the way of good behaviour

analogy of Satan's 'household' for the seven sins, with pride listed first personified as 'the steward of [Satan's] house, a great master over others', with its own livery and weapons for its followers.[85] In the fourteenth-century *Chronica* too Walsingham often sought to expound upon, criticise and thereby reform contemporary English lords' tyrannical actions. For example, the chronicler in part blamed the 1381 Peasants' Revolt upon the sins of the lords, including being 'tyrants to those beneath them, and puffed up among their equals'.[86] Under 1390 too Walsingham noted approvingly the appeals of the Commons to the crown to restrict or prohibit the wearing of livery badges, claiming that the men who had acquired such badges had become 'tyrants, evildoers and supporters of evildoers'.[87] The pride, arrogance and tyrannical behaviour of hated figures such as John of Gaunt, London mayor John of Northampton and others were also roundly condemned on many occasions within the *Chronica*.[88]

This concern among churchmen, including Walsingham himself, regarding the pride and oppressions of the English nobility in the late fourteenth century may help to explain Walsingham's descriptions of French pride and tyranny on an individual level. The chronicler may have chosen to include vivid and hyperbolic descriptions of the harsh rule meted out by the French in Flanders in the 1380s and the inevitable consequences of that harshness (i.e. the rebellion and victories of the Flemish townspeople) as a moral lesson directed at the English

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and compel them toward honourable things, not push them cruelly into misery but mercifully lift them out of it and love them as equals by nature'. For Dygon and his sermon collection see S. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 2005) (pp. 100-15).

[85]   *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer* (pp. 83-4). For this sermon collection see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections* (pp. 151-8).

[86]   *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 502) - 'Aliis peccatis dominorum ascribebant causam malorum, qui in Deum erant ficte fidei...Erant preterea in subditos tiranni, et in pares tumidi, inuicem suspecti, uiuendo incesti, uiolatores coniugii, ecclesie destructores' (my trans.). This claim was bound up with Walsingham's claim that Lollardy had helped to cause the Revolt, but the tyrannical and prideful elements are clear.

[87]   *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 896) - 'effecti fuere tiranni, malefactores, et malefactores sustentatores' (my trans.). This quite closely reproduces the commons' petition to Parliament, which complained about the 'great and unbearable oppressions and extortions on the common people', but with a slightly more monastic spin (see *Rot. Parl.* iii.265.27). These badges had become a politically contentious issue in the later fourteenth century, for which see C. Given-Wilson, 'Richard II and the Higher Nobility', in eds. A. Goodman & J. Gillespie, *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999) (pp. 123-7). See also *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 92) where Walsingham referred to the violent humbling of one of John of Gaunt's retainers and described the other holders of such badges as possessed of great *superbia*.

[88]   For example: Gaunt was depicted in the early years of the chronicle as prideful and vain regarding his wealth, as possessed of *superbia*, *arrogantia* and *audacia*, as scheming to control the governance of the realm, and repeatedly as the force behind 'unjust' measures (see in particular *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 10-2, 14, 28-30, 54, 60-2, 70-2, 98-100)); John of Northampton was attacked for his 'auctoritate superciliosa' and *superbia*, his excessive punishment of criminals, his oppression of outsiders, and his rabble-rousing attempts to regain office (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 612-6, 718, 728-30)); and Lord Latimer too was decried for his 'unjust' and oppressive actions in Brittany, his *superbia* and other sins, and his participation in the imprisonment of Peter de la Mare in 1376 (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 14, 26, 56-8)).

nobility and crown. Similarly the *superbia* of the French and Italian knights at the York tournament in 1400 can act as a moral tale regarding the inevitable humbling of those who succumb to pride and arrogance.

There was however also a larger level to Walsingham's stereotyping and characterising of the French as prideful and oppressive, namely that he may have sought to draw upon long-standing traditions and clusters of thought surrounding the pride, tyranny and inevitable fall of entire peoples, not just of individuals. In this way, instead of simply being moral tales to warn individual Englishmen away from pride and oppression, Walsingham's characterisation of the French acted as an illustration of the need for the English nation to avoid such pride and tyranny. This would explain the consistency with which it was the French who were depicted along these lines, often in situations where such an explicit association was not completely necessary to Walsingham's narrative. The prime example is that of the explicit stereotype itself: had Walsingham wished only to use the French occupation and oppression of Damme as a stand-alone moral warning regarding the fate of the proud and tyrannical he could have done so, but instead he purposefully chose to include a generalised statement of such behaviour as innate to the French as a people.

Models and traditions of national, not just individual, fall due to *superbia* and oppressive rulership were readily available to a writer such as Walsingham from a variety of sources, perhaps most prominently from the Old Testament and St Augustine of Hippo's *De Civitate Dei*. The Old Testament provided medieval Europeans with a framework for the rise and fall of nations as God's casting down those nations which succumbed to vices, in particular *superbia*.[89] In Ecclesiasticus 10 for example, God's role in raising up and casting down nations is stressed repeatedly and it is *superbia* which is 'hateful before God and men': 'God hath overturned the thrones of proud princes' and 'God hath made the roots of proud nations to wither'.[90] The second-century Book of Daniel is another case in which *superbia*, in this case that of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, led God to depose the king and even

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[89] Modern scholarship has often discussed how the Old Testament provided medieval Europeans with an ethnically- or nationally-based worldview, see for example: R.R. Davies, 'The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100-1400. I: Identities', in *TRHS* 4 (1994) (pp. 4-6); Scales, 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide' (pp. 286-7, 294-6); Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification' (pp. 32-8); and Afanasyev, 'Biblical Vocabulary and National Discourse' (p. 24).

[90] Ecclesiasticus 10:7, 17-8. See also Ecclesiasticus 10:8 ('A kingdom is translated from one people to another, because of injustices, and wrongs, and injuries, and divers deceits.') and 10:16 ('Therefore hath the Lord disgraced the assemblies of the wicked, and hath utterly destroyed them.'). Ernst Robert Curtius and Graeme Dunphy have both stressed the significance of this particular passage in theories of *translatio imperii*, the theory of the transfer of power and *imperium* from Rome to western Europe (see their *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (trans. W.R. Trask) (New York, 1953) (pp. 28-9) and 'Translatio imperii', in ed. G. Dunphy, *The Encyclopaedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden, 2010) II (p. 1438) respectively).

turn him into an animal.[91] *Superbia*, tyranny and inevitable, divinely-driven defeat is also found in the Books of the Maccabees, texts which were frequently mined by medieval writers and preachers for models of ideal and negative rulership.[92] The Maccabees' enemies, Antiochus Epiphanes and his cronies, are consistently characterised by their *superbia* and Antiochus is a 'cruel tyrant' ('crudelem tyrannum') who kills prisoners with great cruelty ('super omnes crudelius').[93] Antiochus is so far gone in his pride that he even thinks he can rob the Temple with impunity, sail across land and march across the sea.[94] Antiochus of course suffered for his pride and tyranny, defeated in battle by the Maccabees and punished by God with stomach pain, a fall from a chariot and worms crawling out of his eyes, a memorable fate later readers could see as the inevitable punishment of a prideful tyrant.[95] The notion of tyrannical or oppressive rule as a 'yoke' (*iugum*), found above in both the *Chronica* and the Westminster Chronicle specifically in relation to French rule, also originates from the Old Testament in relation to evil and unjust rulers such as Rehoboam and Nebuchadnezzar.[96]

St Augustine of Hippo's fifth-century *De Civitate Dei*, although primarily a defence of Christianity from its pagan accusers, also sought to explain the fall of the Roman Empire as

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[91] In Daniel 5 Belshazzar asked the prophet to interpret a divine sign, at which point Daniel stressed that God had apportioned rule and glory to the Babylonians but that when Belshazzar's father Nebuchadnezzar had succumbed to *superbia* God had deposed him and turned him into an animal (Daniel 5:18-21). After this Belshazzar's own kingdom is taken from him by God for his having failed to properly revere God (Daniel 5:22-31).

[92] See for example J. Dunbabin, 'The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in eds. K. Walsh & D. Wood, *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley* (Oxford, 1985) (pp. 31-41) and J. Nuttall, ''*Vostre Humble Matatyas*': Culture, Politics and the Percys', in ed. L. Clark, *The Fifteenth Century* V (Woodbridge, 2005) (pp. 69-83). Maccabeean parallels for the English can be found in various poems of the period, including *An Invective Against France* (c.1346), *On the Battle of Neville's Cross* (c.1346), and Walter of Peterborough's *Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain and the Battle of Nájera* (after 1367) (see *Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 29-30, 41-52, 106) respectively).

[93] See for example: Antiochus defiles the Temple 'cum superbia' and brags with 'superbia magna' afterward (1 Maccabees 1:23-5); Antiochus' army is 'multitudine contumaci et superbia' (1 Maccabees 3:20); Nicanor, Antiochus' subordinate, mocked and defiled Jews in his *superbia* (1 Maccabees 7:34); the Jews fight against those who do violence 'in superbia' (2 Maccabees 1:28); the Jews seek out those with *superbia* (1 Maccabees 2:47-9); 'crudelem tyrannum' and 'super omnes crudelius' (2 Maccabees 7:27, 36).

[94] See 2 Maccabees 5:21.

[95] For Antiochus' punishment by God, his despair and repentance of his past crimes against the Jews see 2 Maccabees 9:1-29. Elsewhere the Psalms ask for God's protection from 'the proud' and their oppression (see Psalms 17 and 118 (Vulgate numbering), 18 and 119 (King James numbering)), Proverbs promises that God will desroy 'the house of the proud' (Proverbs 15:25), and the Book of Isaiah predicts God's casting down of the proud (Isaiah 2:12, 13:11, 28:1-3).

[96] See for example Rehoboam in 1 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 10, Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah 27, and the 'iugum' imposed by the heathen nations of Psalms 2.

the result of the Romans' pride and 'love of mastery' (*libido dominandi*).[97] Augustine concluded that the Empire had arisen due to the virtues of the Roman people, as Roman writers such as Virgil and Sallust had argued, but that this success was only accomplished because God willed it.[98] In Augustine's formulation however the Roman people had later lost their virtues and thus lost the right to power and empire. Although he accorded some significance to the import of foreign luxury and the avarice prosperity brought, Augustine's chief explanation for Rome's fall was the *libido dominandi* of its people: this vice led the Romans into impious and frenzied wars ('bellorum rabies', 'inpietate belli') as they sought to subject others; it and the 'longing for rule' ('cupido regnandi') led them to impose 'the yoke of servitude' ('iugo servitutis') onto other peoples; and Nero was described as the pinnacle of this vice, 'surpassing even beasts in the vices of cruelty and luxury'.[99] That the *libido dominandi* led to the oppression of others and especially of the weak was also asserted in Augustine's appeals to Roman classical writers, particularly Sallust whose writings describing the oppression of the plebeians by the patricians as 'unjust', 'cruel' and akin to 'slavery' were quoted at length.[100] While Augustine lamented the presence of the *libido dominandi* in the human race as a whole, he also saw it as a particularly Roman vice: 'that lust for mastery which, among other vices of the human race, belongs in its purest form to the whole Roman people'.[101] As well as the lust for dominion over others, Augustine's Romans were especially beset by *superbia*: he attacked the hypocrisy of the Romans for their failure to 'subdue the proud' as Virgil had urged them to in the *Aeneid*; he quoted multiple times from the Bible regarding God's opposition to 'the proud'; he accused the Romans of taking excessive pride in their lives; and he wrote that the 'pride and luxuriousness' ('superbia deliciaque') of the Romans led them into cruelty and degraded morals.[102] Even the Romans' rejection of kings

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[97] The definitive work on St Augustine is still Peter Brown's *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (London, 1967) (esp. pp. 299-312), but see also his more recent work placing Augustine into the context of the religious men of his time in *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (rev. edn., Chichester, 2013) (pp. 72-92). For Augustine's political thought see R.A. Markus, 'The Latin Fathers', in ed. J.H. Burns, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988) (pp. 103-16).

[98] See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* I.31, .33, .36, II.18, IV.2, V.12.

[99] See in particular Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* I.30-1, III.10, .14, V.19. For foreign luxury and avarice see Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* III.21.

[100] See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* II.18, III.17.

[101] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* I.30. Cf. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* III.14.

[102] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* I.Preface ('deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat graciam', 'superbae quoque animae spiritus inflatus'), I.1, II.19. For Virgil's role in Roman self-fashioning and his exhortation to the Romans to 'subdue the proud' see below (pp. 239-41).

was a demonstration of Roman *superbia* in Augustine's telling: the Romans ejected Tarquin and labelled him 'the Proud' as 'in their own pride they could not bear the pride of another'.[103]

The books of the Old Testament and Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* both testify to a larger complex of ideas within medieval Christian thought, namely that pridefulness and tyranny or oppression were not just hateful to God in individuals but were also applicable on a national scale. Augustine's Romans, the Babylonian empire of the Book of Daniel and the generic 'proud nations' of Ecclesiasticus had all succumbed to *superbia* and tyranny, and their empires and nations had fallen as a result. That Walsingham was intimately familiar with the various relevant books of the Old Testament is evident from the quotations from and allusions to them within the *Chronica*, and it seems almost inconceivable that he was not also familiar with Augustine's arguments regarding the Romans.[104] Similarly, that Walsingham was capable and willing in the *Chronica* to think in terms of this process of national vices leading to the downfall of an entire nation or empire is evidenced by his explicit discussion of such regarding the Romans of his own time, a case which appears to have been a quite direct national-moral warning to the English.[105] Importantly too, Walsingham's claims of Roman decline feature, among other things, the claim that the Romans had become cruel and oppressive to those they had within their power.

But where did this leave the French? By so explicitly and consistently invoking such recognisable tropes of national-moral decline regarding the French Walsingham implicitly positioned the French as analogous to the sinful and fallen peoples of the Old Testament and to Augustine's Romans. Encoding the French as inherently given to *superbia* and to tyranny or oppression in the *Chronica* made them a national-moral example or warning for the English as a people, but also carried the implication that they would eventually be defeated or destroyed. The patriotic English corollary of this implication is rather obvious: if the French are, as a result of their sinfulness, destined to be defeated or humbled, then the English are destined to win the war with France. As mentioned above, writers of the mid-fourteenth century, when the English were winning great victories over the French, and those of the 1370s onwards, when this run of military success appeared to have dried up, depicted and stereotyped the French

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[103] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* III.15.

[104] Walsingham cited Ecclesiasticus 14 in the fifteenth-century text, Daniel 13 in both fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts, and 2 Maccabees 9 in the fourteenth-century text, as well as numerous references to other relevant books across both texts, including Psalms, Proverbs, Chronicles, Kings, Jeremiah and Isaiah (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 994) and II (p. 848)). The only known reference to Augustine's works within the *Chronica* is actually within the text of Wyclif's *Protestatio*, copied into the chronicle under 1378, and thus does not reflect Walsingham's own referencing of Augustine (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 204)) but it seems extremely unlikely that the chronicler had not encountered the *De Civitate Dei* either during his studies or his duties at St Albans.

[105] See below (pp. 232-41).

rather differently.[106] The gloating and exultation of the 1340s-50s had by the 1370s-90s become a more fearful and pessimistic presentation, and it is within this latter that the implications of Walsingham's presentation of the French might be found. Asserting the inevitable fall of powerful nations and empires that succumbed to pride and oppression, the same sins concretely attached to the French, Walsingham essentially promised an eventual English victory over the French.

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[106] See above (pp. 177-9).

d)   Similar Uses of the French as National-Moral Example

Walsingham was not the only contemporary English writer to deploy notions of the French as a once-great nation now declined or in decline in order to glorify the English. For example, several texts written by English churchmen in the 1340s-60s either insinuated or outright asserted that the French had been a powerful and virtuous nation but that the pre-eminence they had once enjoyed now belonged to the English. For example, the anonymous poem *On the Battle of Neville's Cross* (written 1346) addresses Philip VI of France with the line 'Mane techel fares, you are a hare, a lynx, not a match for a lion'.[107] Quite apart from the unflattering animal comparisons this line refers to the Book of Daniel 5, in which the prophet is called upon to interpret the miraculous appearance of the words 'Mane Techel Fares' on the wall of the banqueting hall of the Babylonian king Belshazzar.[108] Daniel then explains to Belshazzar that the words refer to weights, measures and divisions, constituting a prophecy that God had weighed and measured Belshazzar's reign and character only to find it wanting, the result being that his empire would be lost and divided between the Persians and the Medes.[109] As per Daniel's words, Belshazzar is murdered that very night and his empire conquered by Darius the Mede.[110] Using this biblical reference to refer directly to the French king, combined with the poem's topic of French defeats and its assertion of the English lion's superiority, constitutes something of a celebration or prophecy of the fall of Valois France.

Other English writers drew less upon explicitly biblical models in this regard and instead used more classicising ones. For example, Walter of Peterborough in his poem *Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain and the Battle of Nájera* (written after 1367) wrote:

I know of the Romans and of all the kings of Israel,
The French and the Greeks, no man lies hidden among them,
No Roman, no king of Israel,
More honest, nor pious, not Numa, nor David himself.[111]

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[107] *Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 40) - 'Mane techel fares, lepus es, lynx, non leo pares' (my trans.).

[108] Daniel 5:1-5 - Belshazzar had been hosting a feast at which he drank wine from the sacred vessels of the Temple in Jerusalem and praised 'the gods of gold and silver'.

[109] Daniel 5:11-28.

[110] Daniel 5:30-1.

[111] *Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 99) - 'Novi Romanos et reges Israel omnes, // Gallos et Graecos, nemo latens in eis, // Nullus Romanus, nullus rex Israel illo, // Plus probus, immo pius, Numa, nec ipse David' (my trans.). For discussion of Walter and his poem see Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (pp. 260-5) and D.J. Kagay & L.J.A. Villalon, 'Winning and Recalling Honor in Spain: Pro-English Poetry in Celebration of the Battle of Nájera', in eds. C.J. Rogers, K. DeVries & J. France, *Journal of Medieval Military History* 11 (2013) (pp. 146-63).

Here Walter compared the English to past glorious peoples, noting that the Black Prince surpassed them all in *probitas* and *pietas*. The Romans and Greeks to which Walter referred were of course ancient but now-declined peoples, and the inclusion of the French alongside them can be seen as implying that the French, while once great, had now faded and been eclipsed by the English. Richard of Bury (1287-1345), Bishop of Durham, close advisor to Edward III, and patron of a circle of likeminded scholars, in his *Philobiblon* or 'The Love of Books' (written 1344) was more explicit regarding prior French greatness and its loss.[112] Presenting his own Anglo-centric version of *translatio studii*, as will be discussed more below, Bury wrote:

> Alas! by the same disease which we are deploring, we see that the Palladium of Paris has been carried off in these sad times of ours, wherein the zeal of that noble university, whose rays once shed light into every corner of the world, has grown lukewarm, nay, is all but frozen...They wrap up their doctrines in unskilled discourse, and are losing all propriety of logic, except that our English subtleties, which they denounce in public, are the subject of their furtive vigils.

> Admirable Minerva seems to bend her course to all the nations of the earth, and reacheth from end to end mightily, that she may reveal herself to all mankind. We see that she has already visited the Indians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians and Greeks, the Arabs and the Romans. Now she has passed by Paris, and now is happily come to Britain, the most noble of islands, nay, rather a microcosm in itself, that she may show herself a debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. At which wondrous sight it is conceived by most men, that as philosophy is now lukewarm in France, so her soldiery are unmanned and languishing.[113]

This lengthy passage explicitly states that France, specifically the University of Paris, had once possessed the greatest of wisdom but that this had now been lost and supplanted by English learning and England itself. Bury also linked this learning or wisdom directly to the military strength of the peoples concerned with his comments that French fighting men had declined

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[112] For Bury's life and career see W.J. Courtenay, 'Bury [Aungerville], Richard (1287-1345)', in *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) and Ormrod, *Edward III* (pp. 78-80, 132-3, 162, 173, 175, 187, 205, 214-5, 237-8, 600). Bury and his text is also discussed below for its *translatio studii* schema and linking of England with ancient Rome (see below (p. 253)). For Bury's circle, many of whom would become prominent scholars or churchmen, see Courtenay, 'Bury [Aungerville], Richard (1287-1345)' and W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955) (pp. 111, 139-40, 144-5, 151, 161-2).

[113] *The Love of Books: The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury, newly translated into English by E.C. Thomas* (ed. & trans. E.C. Thomas) (London, 1902) (pp. 70-1).

alongside the decline of French learning, a connection which therefore asserts the superiority of English military prowess now that England was the highest seat of learning.[114]

Another example of contemporary Englishmen describing the decline of the French as a nation in order to discuss the English nation is a sermon of Thomas Brinton (d.1389), the Benedictine Bishop of Rochester.[115] Brinton left behind a collection of his sermons, at least one of which was given in May 1376 attacking Edward III's mistress Alice Perrers.[116] While, as will be discussed below, Brinton's twelfth and seventy-fifth sermons used the decline of the ancient Romans as a national-moral warning for the English, his sixteenth sermon instead used the French in the same place, and in relation to French *superbia* specifically.[117] Sermon sixteen in Brinton's collection was a critique of contemporary English society, possibly also delivered in 1376, which drew upon the Old Testament books of Daniel and the Maccabees to warn the English against their current sinful lives.[118] Part of Brinton's critique involved listing those powers brought low by 'the hand of God' for their *superbia*: Lucifer, Saul, Nebuchadnezzar (referencing Daniel 5), Antiochus (referencing 2 Maccabees 9), and lastly 'a more familiar example' the French.[119] The sermon then claims that 'Among all the Catholic nations the French nation ('nacio Galliana') was at one time graced with the greatest devotion to God, strong and warlike, merciful and inviting to exiles and the oppressed', but that this was no longer the case.[120] Asking how 'men of such strength and bellicosity' could be brought low by the English, the sermon quotes from the Psalms: 'Truly because of their injustices (*iniusticiae*)

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[114] Strictly speaking Bury referred to learning having come to rest in 'Britain' not England, although it seems likely that he (as a close associate of Edward III and thus likely a supporter of the king's claims to Scotland and Ireland) was equating the two.

[115] For Brinton's life and career see: *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-1389)* (ed. M.A. Devlin) (London, 1954) [Camden Society, 3rd Series, Volumes 85 & 86] I (pp. ix-xviii); Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (pp. 182-5); and H. Summerson, 'Brinton, Thomas (d.1389)', in *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

[116] This book, now BL Harley MS 3760, contains 103 sermons written in a fourteenth-century hand (see *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (p. xviii)). H.G. Richardson questioned whether some or all of these sermons were pre-existing ones that Brinton simply copied from elsewhere, but in either case the collection was his work (see his 'Review: *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-1389)*, by M.A. Devlin', in *Speculum* 30 (1955) (pp. 267-71)). For a brief discussion of Brinton's sermons see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections* (pp. 45-9). For the 1376 sermon see *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* II (pp. 316-21) and Ormrod, *Edward III* (p. 555).

[117] For sermons 12 and 73 see *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (pp. 43-8) and II (pp. 336-40). For discussion of these Roman models see below (pp. 256-7).

[118] For sermon 16 see *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (pp. 60-6).

[119] *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (p. 61) - this passage includes repeated references to the *superbia* of those listed and the *manus Dei* which brought them low; 'a more familiar example' is from 'Sed exempla magis domesticia videamus' (my trans.).

[120] *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (p. 61) - 'Inter omnes catholicas naciones nacio Galliana fuit aliquando magis Deo deuota, fortis, et bellicosa, erga exules et oppressos misericors et viscerosa' (my trans.).

they are brought low'.[121] After this the sermon warns the English against succumbing to the same fate, explaining recent English military defeats as the result of 'our pride, injustice, and foulness' ('superbias, iniusticias, et immundicias nostras') and goes on to discuss the various sins of the contemporary English in detail.[122] Brinton thus explicitly positioned the French as one of a series of peoples brought down by their own 'injustices' and pride, an example which the English risk following if they do not correct their behaviour.

While none of these cases precisely match Walsingham's use of the French in the *Chronica*, they do demonstrate that at least some contemporary English churchmen were experimenting with notions of French national-moral sins and decline in their construction and elevation of the English. Both the straightforward pro-English patriotic exultation of the poems and Bury's treatise, and the more anxious or self-conscious desire for English reform of Brinton's sermon and Walsingham's chronicle, reflect statements of English superiority over the French. A powerful implication of each of these cases, including Walsingham's, is also that the French were not just any run-of-the-mill nation but a significant and powerful one - placing the French alongside the Greeks and Romans, paralleling the French to Old Testament and the Roman Empire, terming the French as once famous for their virtues, all of these imply that the French had once possessed significant power. For each writer of course this implication helped to elevate and glorify the English as the victors (in reality or *in potentia*) over the French.

The differences between the use of the French as national-moral exemplar or model across these texts may perhaps be explained as either the result of differing perspectives from the different stages of the Hundred Years War in which they were composed, or the result of the differing genres and intended audiences of the texts themselves. In the first case, as mentioned previously, the more straightforwardly jingoistic poems and *Philobiblon* were composed in a period in which English armies were winning great victories against the French on the continent, while Brinton's sermon and Walsingham's chronicle were composed in a period when those victories had all but dried up. In the second case too, the genre and audience of the texts could explain the differences in the use of the French. For example, the poems were most likely intended to be relatively straightforward and accessible statements of patriotic fervour intended to partake in and further English enthusiasm for the war effort, and

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[121] *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (p. 61) - 'homines tam fortes et bellicosi'; 'Propter verum iniusticias suas humiliati sunt' (my trans.). This quotation is from Psalm 106:17 in the Vulgate numbering (Psalm 107:17 in the King James numbering).

[122] *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (p. 62-6, quote at p. 62).

therefore presented a relatively simple view of English superiority over the French.[123] Brinton's sermon was intended for a general English audience, aiming to criticise and reform *English* society, and thus he wrote using easily understandable frames of reference for his audience and framed his entire use of the French with a view toward reforming the English. By contrast Walsingham wrote for an educated monastic audience, able to see parallels and make connections between his text and other traditions that a more general readership may have missed, which allowed him to rely more on parallel and allusion than direct comment in his use of the French.

While the sources discussed here cannot be a full survey of such positioning of the French by late medieval English writers, it is still worthy of note that all of the cases discovered thus far came from churchmen. Bury was of course a priest, royal clerk and later Bishop of Durham who was educated at Oxford and who associated with a circle of scholars.[124] The writers of the poems, both the anonymous writer of *On the Battle of Neville's Cross* and Walter of Peterborough, were almost certainly either lower clergy or monks.[125] Thomas Brinton was a Benedictine monk of Norwich Cathedral Priory who attended both Cambridge and Oxford in the 1350s and 1360s before serving at the papal curia and in the royal administration as Bishop of Rochester.[126] Thus this group of texts which sought to utilise the French as a model of a now-declined power were produced by a group of writers from somewhat similar backgrounds and perspectives. While it would be precipitous to take this small initial group of texts as definitive evidence of any much larger cultural trend, it may be enough to suggest that several late medieval English churchmen were, in their own ways, experimenting with the expression of Englishness in relation and opposition to the French as a once-great but now prideful and oppressive people.

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[123] Bury's text appears somewhat odd in this respect - it was a scholarly treatise but presented quite a direct and obvious claim regarding the French position and decline - although it may simply reflect Bury's personal opinions or a desire to propagandise for his friend Edward III.

[124] For Bury's career see above (p. 205 (n. 112)).

[125] This is the conclusion of John Maddicott in his 'Poems of Social Protest' (pp. 130-44). Thomas Wright and A.G. Rigg believed Walter of Peterborough to be a monk of Revesby in Lincolnshire and a friend of John of Gaunt's treasurer John Marthon (see *Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 99 (n. 1)) and *Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (pp. 276-7) respectively).

[126] For Brinton's career see above (p. 206 (n. 115)).

e)   <u>Conclusion</u>

Thus Walsingham's stereotyping and generalised characterisation of the French operated on two fronts within the *Chronica Maiora*: first there was the one-off claim that the English and French *gentes* enjoyed a special relationship when abroad, a claim apparently not reflective of a consistent belief of the chronicler's; and second there was the consistent and more negative troping of the French as inherently prideful and tyrannical. While both of these have their own implications and significance, as discussed thus far, it is also important to note the degree of ambiguity they reveal within Walsingham's perception of the French as a nation. In the first case the fact that Walsingham was willing to state, even once, such a characterisation of the French as a people is significant as it is unique among his treatments of any other national group in the *Chronica*. While Walsingham's true aim in making that statement was of course to heighten the narrative drama of John of Gaunt's repentance, it seems rather unlikely that he would ever have made such a positive statement regarding the Scots, Flemings or others.

In the second case Walsingham's characterisation of the French was both more negative and more consistent, implying more of a consistently-held belief or long-standing narrative agenda. While the assertion of French pride and tyranny is far from a straightforwardly positive depiction of the French nation, it too carries a note of ambiguity in that it affiliates the French with notions of previous greatness. Augustine's Romans and others may have fallen due to the vices attached to the French in the *Chronica*, but their fall came only after they had enjoyed great power and possibly even divine favour. Positioning the French as such a once-great but now prideful and tyrannical nation, drawing on biblical and Augustinian traditions, as Walsingham and other churchmen did in this period served chiefly to glorify and elevate the English. Prior English victories over the French could thus be celebrated as victories over a powerful enemy and evidence of God's favouring the English, and in times lacking such victories this positioning was something of an optimistic promise of eventual English victory. In this way the French enjoyed an extremely prominent and important, albeit somewhat conflicted or ambiguous, place within these churchmen's construction of the English nation and its place in the world.

Chapter 5
England and the Idea of Rome

While the preceding chapters discussed Walsingham's stereotyping and characterisation of other ethnic-national groups, this one takes as its subject Walsingham's characterisation of the English themselves and focusses on two key areas: the stereotyping of the English themselves, and the use of Rome and its people as a model through which to construct the English. First this chapter discusses three ways in which Walsingham sought to characterise the English as a people, namely as a nation possessed of particular martial ability and pre-eminence, as a people partiularly given to merciful and just rule, and as a nation accustomed to the role of a 'mistress' or 'mother' over other, lesser, nations. Each of these supposed traits of the English was of course in part a straightforward patriotic agenda, but in each case too it can be seen that Walsingham was keen to turn such statements to a moralising purpose - while each trait was expressed as an innate English one, specific Englishmen were criticised for their failure to live up to such standards. The second characterisation of the English as a particularly loyal and trustworthy people is rather similar, expressed as a general trait of the English but also one up to which certain Englishmen failed to live, although in its case it appears that Walsingham may have been deliberately seeking to counter a common stereotype of the English as a particularly disloyal and fickle people. This attempted defence, while not the only case in which late medieval English writers sought to counter anti-English stereotypes, suggests a degree of anxiety regarding English national reputation.

The second key area within Walsingham's construction and characterisation of the English nation in the *Chronica* is his use of the Romans as both idealised model and national-moral warning for the English. First Walsingham, early in his contemporaneous narrative, explicitly established the Romans of his own time as a warning to the English: the Romans in the ancient past had possessed great virtue and great power, but by the fourteenth century these had been lost and the Romans reduced to a weak and vice-ridden people. Second the chronicler, throughout the text, repeatedly used quotations from classical Roman texts by Virgil, Lucan and Ovid to draw favourable and idealised parallels and connections between the ancient Romans and the English of his own time. In war in particular the English were compared to the heroic Romans of the *Aeneid*, and English society itself was occasionally paralleled to that of ancient Rome. In these ways Walsingham's classical scholarship directly influenced his imagining of medieval Englishness. While this emphasis on ancient Rome is not to deny the importance of similar parallels to the Israelites of the Old Testament, a common staple of medieval national self-fashioning by no means absent from Walsingham's England or the *Chronica* itself, the importance of Rome for writers like Walsingham has been

hugely underestimated by modern scholarship.[1] As the final section of the chapter demonstrates, Walsingham was not alone in attempting to construct and convey Englishness through the use of Roman parallels and models, as other English churchmen sought to do much the same.

[1] The parallel to the Israelites and the notion of one's nation being a new 'Chosen People', a staple of medieval national self-fashioning, is well-known to modern scholarship - for particular statements of how such constructions worked in theory see especially J.R. Strayer, 'France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King', in eds. T.K. Rabb & J.E. Seigel, *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E.H. Harbison* (Princeton, 1969) (pp. 3-16) and M. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in eds. Y.Hen & M. Innes, *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000) (pp. 114-61). Ilya Afanasyev has studied such constructions in England in the twelfth century (see his 'Biblical Vocabulary and National Discourse' (pp. 23-38)), and Andrea Ruddick has delved into fourteenth-century uses of such (see her 'National Sentiment and Religious Vocabulary' (pp. 1-18) and *English Identity and Political Culture* (pp. 257-307)). Sadly there is not space in this thesis to adequately discuss Walsingham's own use of these parallels, but the indexes of quotation from the Old Testament for the *Chronica* can provide the reader with many such examples.

a) <u>England</u>

i) <u>Stereotyping the English</u>

English (self-)stereotyping of the English nation as particularly militarily able and proficient was far from uncommon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a patriotic agenda driven by English wars with Scotland and France as well as seemingly supported by the spectacular English victories of the mid-fourteenth century. Laurence Minot for example wrote that 'since the time God was born, nay a hundred years before, there were never better men in fighting than Englishmen when they have might', and the anonymous poet of *A Song on the Scottish Wars* wrote that 'After all these warlike labours, the English like angels are always victors'.[2] Ranulf Higden in his *Polychronicon* too, despite his rather mixed views on English innate character in general, asserted that the English are a people skilled in all forms of arms and accustomed to victory whenever they were not betrayed by traitors, and that the Flemings settled in Wales had learned to be 'strong and stout, striking in war' from the English.[3]

These claims of martial superiority had obvious patriotic value to English writers in general and Higden's particular claims were in fact copied into the Royal manuscript which contained Walsingham's chronicle.[4] Thus it is not surprising that the same theme appears to an extent in the *Chronica*. Perhaps the chief expression of this theme within the *Chronica* comes under 1379, in the earliest and most vibrant stage of its composition, where Walsingham wrote of Sir John Arundel's expedition to Brittany in that year that the English felt great confidence due to their numbers and 'the pre-eminence and practised good sense in arms of their people/stock'.[5] Walsingham then claimed that, had the English army not angered God, then the French would rightly have been fearful 'of its glorious men, of its caution in

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[2] Laurence Minot (p. 41) - 'Bot sen the time that God was born // ne a hundreth yere beforn // war never men better in fight // than Inglis men whils thai had myght'. *Political Songs* (p. 179) - 'Post hos et huiusmodi bellicos labores // Angli velut angeli semper sunt victores' (I have slightly amended Wright's trans.).

[3] See Higden, *Polychronicon* II (pp. 164-9) - Higden asserted that the English were given to gluttony, curiosity, deception, inconstancy, and arms; 'Et quidem gens illa Flandrensis ad occidentem Walliae, quasi Anglica jam convictu est effecta; fortis est et robusta, bellico conflictu' (p. 164) (my trans.); 'Gens haec equo et pede expedita; ad omne genus armorum accommoda; in bellicis congressibus, ubi fraus abfuerit, solet lauream reportare' (pp. 166-8). Higden's translators, both Trevisa and the anonymous fifteenth-century translator, preserved these sentiments in their Middle English versions of the text.

[4] BL Royal MS 13 E ix fols. 165v-166.

[5] The full account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 324-38; quote at p. 326) – 'pro generis preeminencia et in armis exercitata prudencia' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss translate this phrase as 'The pre-eminence of their race, their expert knowledge of warfare', but I have amended this for a more literal rendering).

fighting, of its boldness in withstanding the enemy'.[6] This is clearly a statement of a generalised stereotype of English martial superiority, attaching such to the Latin *genus* or 'stock' or 'descent' which is related to *gens*, but it also reflects a contingent and moralising version of such a stereotype. According to Walsingham's telling, Arundel's expedition was a disaster thanks to the army's sinfulness and Arundel's inability to control his men - the army sacked a convent, raped nuns, pillaged the local area, abducted women and cast them into the sea, and succumbed to both arrogance and frenzied rage – and it was these sins which counteracted the army's usual innate 'pre-eminence and practised good sense in arms'.[7] While on one level a claim to an inherent English military pre-eminence, it is clear that Walsingham believed Arundel and his men had failed to live up to such a standard.

English martial superiority or pre-eminence is hinted at on several other occasions in the *Chronica*, although nowhere else does the narrative explicitly state that it was a simple innate English trait. For example, when describing the siege of Bourbourg in 1383, when the Crusade army of Bishop Despenser held the town against the besieging Franco-Breton army, Walsingham recounted an almost certainly invented exchange between the Duke of Brittany and the King of France. Describing the siege, Walsingham had the Duke caution the King against an attack, saying of the defenders:

> they were all brave men and experienced soldiers, who could not be
> defeated without serious loss of French lives. 'You are not going to be
> fighting against Flemings', he said, 'but against the English, who are
> certainly men of good sense, and who prefer to die than to be defeated.'[8]

Distrusting the Duke for these words, the King orders the Bretons to lead the attack but first they and then the 'presumptuous' French are ignominiously driven back by the defenders.[9] Meeting again after the battle, the King calls the English devils not men, and the Duke urges him to negotiate the town's surrender as the defenders were 'men of cleverness and courage'

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[6] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 326) – 'pro uirium gloria, pro proeliandi cautela, pro resistendi contra hostes audacia'. Walsingham followed this with a series of rhetorical questions regarding what use are worldly advantages if they are not used for honourable (*gloria*) but dishonourable (*ignominia*) purposes.

[7] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 326-38).

[8] The full account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 696-8; quote at p. 696) – 'quod omnes essent uiri fortes et scientes bellum, et sine graui Gallorum dispendio superare non posse. "Non", inquit, "contra Flandrenses pugnaturi estis, set contra Anglicos, uiros utique cordatos ualde, et qui malunt mori quam uinci' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[9] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 696-8) - in this detailed account the English defenders are 'brave men' ('uiri fortes') who drive off first 12,000 Bretons, fighting with long hooked weapons and killing the attackers 'like cattle' ('more pecudum'), then doing the same with the French troops who arrogantly ('presumptuosi') attack and are driven back by flaming arrows with 500 killed and hardly any English casualties.

('ingeniosi et fortes sunt uiri') who could continue to mount a costly resistance.[10] In this account Walsingham used a fictionalised exchange between two enemies of the English to praise the martial prowess of the English (written generically as *Anglici*), which is demonstrably superior to that of the Flemings, Bretons and French, and is recognised abroad by England's enemies. Similar, if more specific, international renown is claimed later in the chronicle in relation to Henry Hotspur Percy before he rebelled against Henry IV. Under 1388 Walsingham described Hotspur's outrage at Scottish raiding and praised his bravery and eagerness for 'military glory' ('glorie militaris'), claiming that Hotspur 'was greatly feared by the Scots because of his vigorous nature' ('pro sue strenuitate persone, a Scotis maxime timebatur').[11] After this Walsingham twisted the resulting Battle of Otterburn from an English defeat to a Scottish humiliation and thus a vindication of Hotspur's reputation, particularly through Hotspur's supposed single combat with 'the greatest of the Scots' William Douglas.[12] While both of these instances of claimed English martial prowess were technically made in relation to a specific group or individual within the English, the references to outside recognition by foreign enemies could suggest a belief in (or hope for) such a stereotype of the English as a people.

Also indicative of a belief in or desire for a particularly English martial strength are the criticisms Walsingham levelled at those Englishmen he perceived as failing to live up to that standard. These criticisms, while often harsh, were explicitly levelled at specific groups not the generality of the English. For example, in his famous comments under 1387 regarding the 'knights of Venus rather than of Bellona' at Richard II's court, Walsingham claimed that these knights, including Robert de Vere, Michael de la Pole, Richard Stury and Simon Burley, were jealous of the *probitas* of the Earl of Arundel.[13] Most important however are Walsingham's comments that these knights showed greater prowess in the bedroom than on

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[10] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 698). The surrender is then negotiated, with much consternation among the French (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 698-700)).

[11] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 854-6) (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss translate *strenuitas* as 'violent' but 'vigorous' is a better translation).

[12] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 856) – Douglas is described as 'Scotorum maximum', 'Dux Scotorum precipuus' and 'iuuenis ambiciosus; Walsingham's account is in essence an account of a single combat between Hotspur and Douglas, followed by a brief note regarding the Scots' victory when the Earl of Dunbar attacked with a great number of Scottish troops ('excessiuo Scotorum numero'), and a final note that although Hotspur and his brother were captured the Scots had suffered 'an irrevocable loss' ('dampnum irrecuperabile').

[13] The full account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 812-4; quote at p. 814) – 'milites plures errant Veneris quam Bellone'. Bellona was the sister of the Roman god of war, Mars. For discussion of this passage see Ormrod, 'Knights of Venus' (pp. 290-305). Walsingham later expressed similar sentiments regarding some members of Henry IV's retinue as 'knights and squires, devotees rather of Dione than of Mars, of Laverna rather than of Pallas' ('milites et scutiferi, magis Dione quam Martis, Lauerne quam Palladis') in response to their urging greater taxation of the Church (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 382)).

the battlefield and had failed to train the young king in the qualities of a good knight. In listing these qualities Walsingham did make reference to proper reverence and falconry, but it was 'the use of weapons' ('armorum usum') which was named first and given pride of place.[14] Here then the clear implication is that this specific court circle lacked the military expertise and focus that Walsingham expected of the English nobility. Similar is Walsingham's description of the soldiers who opened the Tower of London to the rebels during the Peasants' Revolt. This 1200-strong garrison are described in the *Chronica* narrative as 'brave and most experienced men' ('uiri fortes et expertissimi'), but who were so passive in the face of the rebels as to appear 'more dead than alive' and had completely forgotten the previous 'good martial deeds' and 'courage and glory'.[15] The temporary or time-specific nature of these men's failings is explicit in this statement, while under normal circumstances these English troops performed not just adequately but excellently. Later on in the Revolt narrative too Walsingham referred somewhat sarcastically to 'the noble and commendable order of knights of the realm' ('ipsum nobilem et approbatam regni miliciam') who have failed to resist the peasants, overtly measuring the knights against the standards they have failed to meet.[16] Similarly, under 1385 Walsingham described the panic among certain sections of English society at the prospect of French invasion, labelling the knights as 'previously trained soldiers, but now frightened women, previously courageous, but now fearful, previously prudent, but now stupid and weak'.[17] This was almost certainly intended to contrast unfavourably with the *virtus* and 'innate integrity' ('probitas innata') the *Chronica*'s very next entry claimed motivated the men of English coastal towns in their attacks on the French fleet.[18] While each of these instances criticises English martial insufficiency, they all do so in specific contexts without elevating the criticism to a more generalised level that applied to all of the English and even refer to the more usual English prowess. Crucially too, each one demonstrates a level of *expectation* of military ability from Englishmen which might, when combined with

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[14] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 812) – '…plus ualentes in thalamo quam in campo, plus lingua quam lancea premuniti, ad dicendum uigiles, ad faciendum acta marcia somnolenti. Hii igitur circa regem conuersantes nichil quod deceret tantum militem informare curabant; non dico tantum armorum usum, set nec ea que maxime reges generosus decent in pace, uidelicet, ueneracionem uel aucupacionem, aut his similia, quibus regius honor crescit' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss translated 'armorum usum' as 'skill in warfare' but 'use of weapons' is a more literal rendering).

[15] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 422) – 'Erant eo tempore in ipsa Turri sexcenti uiri bellici, armis instructi, uiri fortes et expertissimi, et sexcenti sagitarii, qui omnes, quod mirum est, animo ita conciderant ut eos magis similes mortuis quam uiuis reputares. Mortua enim erat in eis omnis memoria quondam bene geste milicie, extincta recordacio antehabiti uigoris et glorie'. Henry Knighton criticised the same soldiers, attacking their 'foolishness', their lack of 'audacity', and their 'womanish fear' (Henry Knighton (p. 212)).

[16] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 458).

[17] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 752).

[18] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 754).

Walsingham's more positive statements, suggest a particular attachment of the English to military ability and martial prowess.

Another interesting point within Walsingham's depiction and characterisation of the English is the seeming characterisation of English rule as inherently more just, merciful and peaceful than that of other peoples. This characterisation appears explicitly in the *Chronica* only once, but does fit neatly within some of the larger complexes of ideas which Walsingham put forward regarding national groups and the issues of loyalty and of tyrannical or oppressive rule. When describing a revolt of the citizens of Paris against their king in 1380, at the same time as an English army was riding across northern France, Walsingham claimed that the French people wished that they lived under English rule instead of French.[19] Placing blame for the revolt on high taxes and the inability of the nobility to defend the country, Walsingham claimed that 'the people' (*plebes*) would rather have abandoned 'their king and nobles', who sought only to impoverish them, and given themselves over to the English 'who they knew would rule over them more peaceably ('placide') than the French, their natural lords'.[20] Stressing the French nobility were '*their*' rulers and '*their natural* lords' of course worked to underscore the severity of the people's decision.[21] While Walsingham's sympathies in this case cannot truly be said to lie with the rebels - he referred to them as *plebes* and described their butchering of Genoese sailors - he was also evidently willing to seize upon the incident as part of his wider patriotic agendas.[22] This statement fits within the extravagant praise Walsingham heaped onto the English army marching across France in that year, claiming that they rode through and ravaged 'all of France' while the French nobility hid 'womanishly' in their castles.[23]

In specifically English contexts too Walsingham stressed the 'peaceful' nature of English rule, although again in terms of an ideal to which contemporary Englishmen had failed to live up. In relation to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 for example, Walsingham

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[19] The account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 390-4). For this uprising see *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe* (pp. 260-75). While Walsingham's claim was no doubt his own invention similar sentiments were occasionally expressed in France, such as in the case of one Benoît Taquet at Saint-Valéry in 1363 (see C. Taylor, 'Edward III and the Plantagenet Claim' (p. 167)).

[20] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 392) - 'quin pocius, relictis suo rege et proceribus, qui continue eorum apporiacioni studebant, ad Anglos se conferrent, quos sciuerunt magis placide dominaturos super eos quam Gallicos suos dominos naturales'.

[21] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 392) - '*suo* rege et proceribus'; '*suos* dominos *naturales*' (my emphasis).

[22] For the rebels' actions see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 392-4) and *Popular Protest in Late Medievl Europe* (pp. 260-75).

[23] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 364-6, 382-92) - within this account Walsingham also described an English victory over the Duke of Burgundy near Troyes and lamented English losses in aid of the Duke of Brittany, who he claimed 'betrayed' the English army.

lamented that it was a 'pitiful sight' to see a kingdom 'that had once enjoyed a tranquil peace ('pacis tranquillitate') that surpassed all other kingdoms' tossed about by strife.[24] While not specifying tyranny as such, this statement emphasised the *peaceful* nature of normal English rule while lamenting its temporary loss. Elsewhere too one of the chronicler's chief explanations for why the Revolt occurred was the tyrannical and oppressive behaviour of the English nobility, 'tyrants to their inferiors, proud amongst equals, suspicious of each other, impure in their living, violators of marriage, and destroyers of the Church'.[25] Here Walsingham spoke specifically of irreligious nobles, but the direct allegation of tyranny and of various activities associated with tyrannical rulers invokes a larger theme and pins the blame for the upsetting of the aforementioned 'tranquil peace' onto that tyranny.

While this topic of English peaceful and beneficent rule was not expounded at great length in the *Chronica*, its content does seem quite consistent and thus may reflect an opinion Walsingham personally held. It is also noteworthy how significant notions of tyranny or oppressive rule were within Walsingham's construction of national Others to the English. As discussed in the preceding chapter, Walsingham characterised the French as a people naturally given to pride and oppressive rule, a characterisation which implicitly framed the English as more humble and less oppressive.[26] As will be discussed below, harsh and cruel treatment of those within their power was also a key part of Walsingham's conceptualisation of the decline of the Roman people.[27] Thus, in terms of both explicit statements and implicit Otherings, the notion of peaceful and beneficent English rule does appear to have been an important element within Walsingham's desired vision of Englishness.

The notion of England as a 'mother' or 'mistress of nations' is an aspect of late medieval English self-fashioning to which Walsingham referred in the *Chronica*. One advantage of this particular conceptualisation was the assumed superiority and hegemonic power over other national groups that it gave to England and the English. This motif of England was found in several sources in late medieval England, including the anonymous poem *The Battle of Bannockburn* (written sometime during the reign of Edward III) which expounded the notion of 'England the mother of many regions, to whom tributary gifts were

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[24] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 570) - 'Erat interea cernere miserandum spectaculum, regnum, quod olim pacis tranquillitate pre cunctis regnis gauisum fuerat, undique uersa uice turbacionis fluctibus agitari' (I have slightly amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[25] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 502) - 'Erant preterea in subditos tiranni, et in pares tumidi, invicem suspecti, vivendo incesti, violatores coniugii, ecclesie destructores' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[26] See above (pp. 187-96).

[27] See below (pp. 232-41).

given'.[28] In this poem the motif is specifically targeted at the Scots for their supposed rebellion against their overlord Edward II, calling it a 'wonder' (*prodigium*) and 'marvellous' (*mirus*) when 'the daughter lords it over the mother' and analogising the English defeat at Bannockburn to the injury of England's 'maternal crown'.[29] At the end of the poem too, Scotland is described as a 'treacherous offspring' who has robbed England of her usual military success.[30] The usefulness of the motif in this context is its ability to assert English overlordship over Scotland. Similar motivations can be seen behind the less obviously national fifteenth-century carol *The Rose of Ryse*. This carol describes the rose as 'the fairest flower of all' and states that 'Therefore methinks the fleur-de-lys // Shoulde worship the rose of ryse // And be in his thrall; // And so should other flowers all'.[31] Here one of the established national symbols of France, the fleur-de-lys, and other flowers are to be subjected to the rose, a symbol often associated with the Virgin Mary.[32] This carol may not appear to relate to international politics or stereotyping, but on occasion contemporary poetry used the rose as a symbol of England, and Anthony Goodman has also noted that some late medieval Englishmen depicted England as enjoying a special relationship with the Virgin.[33] If the carol was written from within this complex of ideas then it can be read as a subtle statement of England's (aka. the Virgin's and the rose's) true place above other nations, especially France, to which the English kings of course had direct claim.

While these poems testify to some circulation of this motif within late medieval England, perhaps the closest usage and most likely source of such a motif for Walsingham

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[28] *Political Songs* (pp. 262-7, quote at p. 262) – 'Regionum Anglia pluriam matron // Cui tributaria jam dabantur dona' (my trans.). This poem also parallels the Earl of Gloucester to 'unconquered Acteus' (after Actaeus, ancient Greek king of Attica) ('Primitus prosiliit Acteus invictus') and a treacherous retainer of the Earl to the changeability of a Pharisee and a representative of Judas ('Domino quod varius fit ut Pharisaeus. // Hinc Judae vicarius fiet reus') (both at *Political Songs* (p. 263)).

[29] *Political Songs* (pp. 262) - 'Me cordia augustia cogit mira fari, // Scotiae quod Anglia caepit subjugari: // Nova jam prodigia dicitur patrari, // Quando matri filia sumit dominari'; 'Proth dolor! nunc cogitur nimis esse prona // Filiae, qua laeditur materna corona'.

[30] *Political Songs* (p. 267) - 'Anglia victoria frui consuevit, // Sed prolis perfidia mater inolevit'.

[31] *Ancient English Christmas Carols: 1400 to 1700. Collected and Arranged by Edith Rickert* (ed. E. Rickert) (London, 1910) (pp. 142-3).

[32] For the fleur-de-lys as national symbol of France see Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (pp. 201-25). The carols *There is no Rose of such Virtue*, *Of a Rose, a Lovely Rose* and *This Rose is Railed on a Ryse* all use the representation of a rose as the Virgin (see *Ancient English Christmas Carols* (pp. 8-11)).

[33] For example the anonymous *An Invective Against France* also uses rose imagery for England with 'The kingdom of England, rose of the world, flower without thorn' ('Anglia regna, mundi rosa, flos sine spina') (see *Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 35) (my trans.)) (Menache's translation as 'England, queen of the world, the rose, the thornless flower' is incorrect but does produce something of the underlying meaning ('Symbols and National Stereotypes' (p. 200)). For associations of England with the Virgin Mary see Goodman, 'British Isles Imagined' (p. 13).

was its use by Matthew Paris in his thirteenth-century *Chronica Majora*. In his account of 1237 Paris wrote:

> Alas England, once first among regions, mistress of peoples, mirror of the Church and a pattern of religion; now she is placed under tribute, low-born men have trodden her down, and she has been plundered by degenerates.[34]

In this formulation England, as well as being an exemplar of true faith and religion, is not only first or chief (*princeps*) among regions (*provincia*) but also *domina gentium*, mistress of peoples, implying direct precedence and superiority over all other nations or peoples.[35] Notably too, Paris made this statement as part of a lament regarding the sorry state of contemporary England compared to an earlier, idealised state of England, particularly that she was now the victim of *ignobiles* and *degeneres*. While Paris made his comments within a dynamic of his objections to foreign courtiers, papal exactions and the supposed tyranny of Henry III, Walsingham appears to have absorbed the motif and redeployed it for his own ends a century and half later.[36]

Walsingham's own use of the *domina gentium* motif appears under the year 1378, amid a lengthy and patriotic speech which he placed in the mouth of the London merchant and almost certainly close associate of Walsingham's, John Philpot. The narrative purpose of this speech in the chronicle text is to justify and defend Philpot's efforts in outfitting his own men and ships against the Scottish privateer Andrew Mercer after Mercer raided Scarborough earlier that year.[37] As Walsingham told it, such a defence was necessary after John of Gaunt and other nobles, who themselves had failed in their duty to defend the realm from Mercer, 'were pricked in their own consciences' and both plotted secretly against Philpot and criticised him in public.[38] The speech itself, as well as Walsingham's own narrative of

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[34] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* III (p. 390) - 'Vae Angliae, quae quondam princeps provinciarum, domina gentium, speculum ecclesiae, religionis exemplum, nunc facta est sub tributo. Conculcaverunt eam ignobiles, et facta est in praedam degeneribus' (this translation is from Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* (p. 1)).

[35] Other writers, including Paris' continuator and the writer of the twelfth-century *Gesta Stephani*, also used this motif of England as a 'mirror of religion' (see Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* (p. 4) and Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (p. 7) respectively), although Walsingham did not.

[36] For Paris' objections to these groups and Henry's 'tyranny' see the examples, discussion and references below (pp. 294-5).

[37] The account of Mercer's raid and Philpot's successful expedition is at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 222-6), and the account of Philpot's speech is at I (pp. 226-8). McKisack and Sumption both base their brief coverage of Philpot's expedition almost entirely on Walsingham (see *The Fourteenth Century* (p. 403) and *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (p. 316) respectively).

[38] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 226) - 'Proceres regni Anglie, scilicet barones et comites, uidentes tam laudabile factum Iohannis Philipot, consciencie proprie stimulis agitati' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.). See also *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 224) for Philpot's actions being motivated after considering the failings of Gaunt and the other lords - 'Iohannes Philipot, ciuis Londoniensis, uir et ingenio preditus et

Philpot's expedition, is explicitly and extravagantly patriotic in tone: Philpot acted because of his sympathy for the sufferings of people and land; he sought to save 'our people' and liberate the country; and his success brought great jubilation among the entire populace.[39] Within this, Walsingham had Philpot criticise the way in which the nobles' inaction or laziness (*desidia*) had exposed 'the noblest kingdom, mistress also of peoples' ('nobilissimo regno, domina quoque gencium') to the pillaging, plundering, even raping, of 'the vilest of peoples' ('uilissime gentis direpcione').[40] This speech, and the use of the *domina gentium* motif within it, forms part of a larger narrative agenda of criticising the perceived inaction of the English nobility, and John of Gaunt especially, in terms of defending the realm from French raids in the years 1377-78.[41] Its part in this agenda, combined with the extravagance of the patriotic sentiments within it and Walsingham's known connection to Philpot, serves to demonstrate the importance of the speech to Walsingham and make it rather unlikely that the use of this motif was simply a throwaway remark. Coming as it does in the earliest stage of the *Chronica*'s composition, at the time Walsingham was head of the abbey scriptorium and was first resurrecting the house's chronicle tradition, it seems likely that he had picked up the *domina gentium* motif by reading Paris' *Chronica Majora* and consciously repurposed it for his own chronicle, possibly as an homage to Paris. This repurposing does however reveal Walsingham's different priorities when compared with Paris', namely that while Paris was concerned with the threat posed to England by the depredations of outsiders and perhaps Henry III himself, for Walsingham the most dangerous threat to England in the 1370s and early 1380s was the inaction and self-interest of the English nobility.

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potentissimus opibus [ducis Lancastrie et ceterorum dominorum defectum, ne dicam falsitatem, qui regnum defensasse debuerant, attende considerans], et oppressionibus condolens incolarum' (the text in square brackets was marked for erasure during the editing of the Royal manuscript in the 1390s but not removed (see textual note *e*)).

[39] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 224-8) - 'oppressionibus condolens incolarum'; 'Fit ergo in plebe uniuersa tripudium, omnibus laudantibus et admirantibus tantam ipsius uiri erga regem beneuolenciam et caritatem'; 'pro proprie gentis saluacione et patrie liberacione'.

[40] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 226-8) - 'set condolens plebis patrieque miserie que iam uestra desidia de nobilissimo regno, domina quoque gencium, est in tantam deuoluta miseriam ut cuiuslibet uilissime gentis direpcione pateat'.

[41] See in particular *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 164-6) where Walsingham explicitly criticised Gaunt and the Earl of Arundel for their inaction, but see also: (pp. 132, 162) where Walsingham stressed the role of the Abbot of Battle in defending towns on the south coast; (p. 164) where Walsingham used the heroic actions and death of an unnamed French esquire defending Rottingdean against the French as a vehicle to shame the English (for discussion see below (pp. 271-3)); (pp. 170-2) where Walsingham described the ineffectual naval expedition of November 1377; (pp. 212-4) where Walsingham described the at best partial effectiveness of a 1378 naval expedition; and (pp. 218-22, 228) where Walsingham described Gaunt's reluctance to set sail for Castile in 1378. Sumption has dismissed much of Walsingham's specific claims but does see them as a display of the 'public anger' at the perceived inaction (see Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 287-90)).

ii)   The Faithless English

One striking aspect of medieval ethnic-national stereotypes of the English is the extent to which English writers appear to have taken up or sought to counter hostile stereotypes of their own nation. For example, in the later medieval period French and Scottish writers in particular often characterised the English as drunks and as possessing tails, and given the reports of French and Scottish soldiers mocking English troops for their supposed tails it seems likely that such stereotypes also circulated beyond the sphere of monastic writers.[42] Where these anti-English stereotypes become interesting however is in their being taken up by English writers; for example Ranulf Higden in his *Polychronicon* and several anonymous English-origin poems of the fourteenth century repeated the trope of the drunkard English.[43] Other English writers, including St Albans chronicler Matthew Paris and the writer of the popular romance *Richard Coeur de Lion* (c.1300), took up the stereotype of English tails and turned it back upon the French.[44] While Walsingham did not draw upon either of these stereotypes in the *Chronica*, he does appear to have been rather concerned to counter a belief that the English were inherently given to disloyalty or inconstancy. Accusations of such traits can be found in various French and Scottish texts of the period, including Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* which accused the English of always hiding their sneakiness behind a veil of courtesy.[45] According to Sophia Menache maxims like 'the loyalty of the English is not worth a pound from Poitou' enjoyed common currency in contemporary France, and French

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[42]   See: Neilson, *Caudatus Anglicus* (esp. pp. 1-21); Weeda, 'Ethnic Stereotyping' (pp. 121-5, 128-9); and idem, *Images of Ethnicity* (pp. 296-323, 345-7). Jacques de Vitry wrote that both stereotypes were common in twelfth-century Paris: 'anglicos potatores et caudatos affirmantes' (*Historia Occidentalis* (p. 92)). Neilson gives several examples of Scottish texts claiming that their troops abused English troops using this trope (see his *Caudatus Anglicus* (pp. 11-5)), and the 'Acts of War of Edward III' from the 1346 campaign in France claims that Norman soldiers 'had often exposed their backsides at the English', most likely in reference to the tails stereotype (in *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince* (pp. 34-5)).

[43]   For the beer-drinking Englishman see Higden, *Polychronicon* II (pp. 166-7, 170-3) and Beaumont-James, 'John of Eltham' (p. 64). See also the Anglo-Norman poem *Le Petit Plet* by Chardri (cited in Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (p. xx)).

[44]   Matthew Paris' account of a 1250 crusade expedition describes Robert of Artois mocking the English as 'timidorum caudatorum' but himself 'turning tail' to flee battle (and drown in the process) (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* V (pp. 134, 151-3); for discussion see Neilson, *Caudatus Anglicus* (pp. 9-10)). The writer of *Richard Couer de Lion* had the English king mocked as 'taylard' by a Frenchman but then had Richard defeat and pursue that Frenchman 'at his tail' (*Richard Coer de Lion*, in *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries* (ed. H. Weber) (Edinburgh, 1810) II (ll. 1989-2012); for discussion see Neilson, *Caudatus Anglicus* (pp. 7-8) and G. Heng, 'The Romance of England: *Richard Couer de Lyon*, Saracens, Jews, and the Politics of Race and Nation', ed. J.J. Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2000) (pp. 152-3)).

[45]   Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon* II (p. 95).

writers claimed that the English never fulfilled any of their promises in practice.[46] Related to this was the French claim that the English did not love and even killed their own kings, a trope which found particular purchase after the deposition and death of Richard II.[47] An awareness of such a stereotype may also have stood behind the words Adam Usk reported from the imprisoned Richard in 1399, lamenting England as 'a strange and fickle land, which has exiled, slain, destroyed, and ruined so many kings'.[48] However, there is no discernible link between Walsingham himself and such Scottish and French texts, suggesting that if the chronicler was aware of such an aspect of England's international reputation he had come across it another way.

Perhaps the most likely way through which Walsingham may have encountered stereotypes of the English as disloyal or given to treachery is through Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*. In the text Higden wrote that the English, as well as being given to gluttony, were described by Pope Eugenius as 'suited to any purpose, and preferable to any other people, but for the *levitas* that holds their minds'.[49] Higden himself wrote that the English were 'a people of great curiosity' who travelled widely in search of marvels and had become dispersed around the world - not exactly treachery or betrayal of their own, but certainly an indicator of inconstancy and fickleness.[50] Elsewhere too Higden attributed the various invasions of the British Isles by Danes, Normans and Scots to the fact that 'the English are given to treachery (*proditio*), drunkenness and the neglect of the house of God'.[51] Higden's fourteenth- and fifteenth-century translators reproduced these sentiments, as did later

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[46] See Menache, 'Symbols and National Stereotypes' (pp. 208-9). Also the twelfth-century continental handlists of ethnic-national stereotypes assembled by Claire Weeda included, among other traits, references to British and 'Saxon' treachery (*proditio*) and eagerness or impatience (*instantia*) (see her *Images of Ethnicity* (pp. 336-47)).

[47] See: P.S. Lewis, 'Two Pieces of Fifteenth-Century Political Iconography', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964) (pp. 319-20); Menache, 'Symbols and National Stereotypes' (p. 208); Taylor, ''Weep thou for me in France'' (pp. 207-22); and Goodman, 'The British Isles Imagined' (pp. 11-2).

[48] Adam Usk (p. 64) - The full statement, supposedly from Richard, reads: 'O God, this is a strange and fickle land, which has exiled, slain, destroyed, and ruined so many kings, so many rulers, so many great men, and which never ceases to be riven and worn down by dissensions and strife and internecine hatreds' ('O Deus, hec est mirabilis terra et inconstans, quia tot reges, tot presules, totque magnates exulauit, interfecit, destrucit et depredauit, semper discencionibus et discordiis mutuisque inuidiis continue infecta et laborans') (Given-Wilson's trans.).

[49] Higden, *Polychronicon* II (p. 168) - 'Proinde est quod Eugenius papa dixit, gentem Anglicam ad quaecunque vellet fore idoneam, et caeteris gentibus praeferendam, nisi levitas animi impediret' (my trans.).

[50] Higden, *Polychronicon* II (p. 168) - 'Gens ista curiosa satis, ut noscat et narret mirabilia quae viderit; regiones collustrat...Hinc est quod late per orbem dispergitur'.

[51] Higden, *Polychronicon* II (p. 172) - 'Angli quia proditioni, ebrietati, et negligentiae domus Dei dediti sunt, primo per Danos, deinde per Normannos, tertio per Scotos' (my trans.).

chroniclers who drew upon his text like Sir Thomas Gray in his *Scalacronica*.[52] The anonymous fifteenth-century translator even went further, altering Higden's original sentence that the English were 'a people given to all industry' into 'a peple apte moche to wylenes and decepcion'.[53] Walsingham is known to have encountered Higden's text, using its historical coverage in composing the retrospective portion of the *Chronica* and copying Higden's comments on the English character into the Royal manuscript's collection of other materials.[54]

That such a stereotype of English disloyalty was known to exist within Walsingham's England may help to explain several comments he made within the *Chronica Maiora*. Walsingham was harshly critical of individuals whose conduct appeared to give truth to this particular stereotype, occasionally in terms that suggest he was well aware of this element of English reputation. For example, under 1379 Walsingham lamented in hyperbolic terms the damage done to England's international reputation by the murder in London of a Genoese merchant named Janus Imperial.[55] Walsingham claimed that the crime 'gained us the enmity of our friends, namely the Genoese and other peoples who are around us; and the treachery of a few rendered the loyalty of all of us suspect'.[56] The murder is also labelled 'such infidelity (*infidelitas*) and inhuman cruelty', and is said to cause others to no longer trust the good faith or loyalty of the English (lit. 'our *fides*').[57] These exaggerated claims chiefly form part of criticism of those responsible for the murder itself, but in doing so betray a concern for how the English were perceived by others. Such a concern makes greater sense if we accept that

[52] Higden, *Polychronicon* II (pp. 169, 173). Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica* (pp. 94-6) - Gray wrote: 'Therefore some men like to argue that the diversity of temperaments in the English is the cause that provokes amongst them upheavals of society, which is more unstable in Great Britain than in other countries' (King's trans.).

[53] Higden, *Polychronicon* II (p. 168) - the original Latin reads 'Gens denique ad omnem idonea industriam'; Trevisa (Higden's fourteenth-century translator) had rendered this line as 'þe men beeþ able to al manere sleiþe and witte' (the Middle English Dictionary translates 'sleigh' as 'Wisdom, prudence; cunning, guile' (available at: www.quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med [accessed 13/09/15]) which has more mixed connotations.

[54] For Walsingham's use of the *Polychronicon* to fill the gap left by existing St Albans chronicles in the Royal MS see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. xvii). Walsingham, or another monk in the scriptorium, had Higden's comments on the English character copied into the Royal manuscript in fols. 165v-166.

[55] This incident appears at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 304-6) and will be discussed in more detail below regarding the presentation of foreigners in England (see below (pp. 285-9)).

[56] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 304-6) - 'nobis inimicicias peperit amicorum, Ianuensium uidelicet et aliarum nacionum qui in circuitu nostro sunt; et paucorum perfidia suspectam reddidit fidem omnium incolarum' (I have amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. for a more literal rendering) ('omnium incolarum' might more literally be rendered 'of all of the inhabitants', but it seems clear from the context that Walsingham was referring to the English community).

[57] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 306) - 'Quis enim externus in posterum audebit se fidei nostre committere, cui tanta infidelitas siue inhumana crudelitas nota erit? Quis non timebit nostras uersucias, et abhominabitur nomen nostrum?'.

Walsingham was aware of contemporary beliefs that the English were inherently untrustworthy. Such a belief regarding the English is in fact directly referred to under 1403, where Walsingham described Thomas Percy with:

> Thomas Percy, of whom there had never been any suspicion of treachery in his whole life, and among the English, who are especially marked for their fickleness (*levitas*) by outsiders, he alone acquired praise for his solid loyalty (*fidelitas*), so that the kings of France and Spain would trust only his word above the written treaties and agreements given by others.[58]

Why Walsingham offered such a positive assessment of Thomas Percy, who had joined his nephew Henry Hotspur Percy in rebellion in that year, is not clear but what is clear is the awareness of a stereotypical view, particularly among foreigners, of the English as inherently disloyal or fickle.[59]

It was perhaps these concerns which elsewhere in the chronicle led Walsingham to explicitly characterise the English as a particularly loyal people. For example, in the narrative of 1376, during the Good Parliament, Walsingham singled out Edward III's hated mistress Alice Perrers for special criticism. Particularly revealing is the comment:

> The English had tolerated her for many years because they dearly loved the king, and took care not to offend him. In fact they have a more natural affection for their king than other nations have for theirs, and they ever venerate the one whom they have admitted to royal eminence, even if deeply hurt by him.[60]

Here Walsingham explicitly asserted the loyalty of the English people (*Anglici*) to their king as superior to and stronger than that of other nations, using various synonyms for love or affection (*diligo*, *precordialis*, *affectio*) as well as 'venerate' or 'worship' (*veneror*) to strengthen his point. Later in the same chronicle entry too Walsingham referred to the 'abundant' *patientia* and *humilitas* possessed by the English, both qualities which dovetail

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[58] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 366) - 'dominus Thomas Percy, de quo nunquam perante surrepserat ulla suspicio in tota uita perfidie, et inter Anglos, qui de leuitate precipue notantur apud exteros, iste solus de fidelitatis soliditate laudem promeruit, ita ut reges Francie et Hispanie eius solo uerbo, plusquam ullius cirographo in tractatibus et conuencionibus fidem darent' (my trans.).

[59] For Thomas Percy, his previous diplomatic service to the crown and his role in Hotspur's revolt see Towson, *Henry Percy, First Earl of Northumberland* (pp. 206-14). Shortly after these comments Walsingham did in fact claim that Thomas Percy had distorted Henry IV's attempted peacemaking to Hotspur, causing battle to begin (see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 368)).

[60] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 44) – 'Hanc iam tolerauerant Anglici multis annis eo quod regem precordialiter diligerent, et eum offendere precauerent. Etenim inest eis erga regem suum, plus quam aliis nationibus, naturalis affectio, et quem semel admiserent ad regale fastigium semper, licet lesi grauiter, uenerantur' (I have slightly amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

with the stereotyping of the English as an especially loyal and faithful people.[61] This statement of English loyalty comes at the very beginning of Walsingham's contemporary narrative, in the portion of the *Chronica* on which he seems to have lavished the most time and attention, and is not truly necessary to the points being made regarding Edward III's court, suggesting that Walsingham added this interjection specifically in order to make a point and defend the English reputation.

The 1376 statement is the only point at which Walsingham explicitly stereotyped the English as particularly loyal or faithful, but there are several other occasions within the text in which Walsingham appears to have been alluding to or asserting such a trait by more oblique methods. For example, in the 1379 account of the Cornish barge which, as discussed above, demonstrated the innate *falsitas* of the Flemings, the Flemings as a people are derided repeatedly for their treachery, disloyalty and falseness.[62] By contrast, the English appear in the account as the trusting, deceived party, and once the survivor of the Flemings' attack hears English voices he calls out for 'the trust and judgment of the English' ('fidem et suffragium Anglorum').[63] This is an odd choice of phrasing, almost certainly intended to juxtapose Flemish *falsitas* and cruelty with English *fides*. The *Chronica* account of the year 1382 begins with Walsingham's description of the expulsion of Englishmen from the household of the Duke of Brittany after the Duke's subjects became consumed with jealousy.[64] Walsingham described the Bretons' insistence that the English be exiled as 'sedition' against their lord and 'imperious' or 'domineering' before putting a pro-English speech into the mouth of Olivier de Clisson, Constable of France.[65] As Walsingham told it, Clisson harangued the Breton nobility:

> He asked them on whose authority they had presumed to act in such a way
> as to remove from the duke, their lord, men who were most loyal to their
> lord, and what other nations they knew of to comply with and to please
> their lords more than [the English], and to devote all of their respect to
> them and to provide them benefit. 'None of you', he said, 'know how to

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[61] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 44) - 'Anglorum [hec] patientia habundauit atque humilitas'.

[62] The account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 288-92) and is discussed in more detail above (pp. 152-3).

[63] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 290-2) - 'dum audisset Flandrenses Anglicis colloquentes, et ydioma suorum agnouisset, repente surrexit ex profundo nauis, fidem et suffragium Anglorum inclamitans magna uoce'.

[64] The account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 574-6). For the Englishmen at the court of Duke John IV of Brittany and their expulsion in this year see Jones, *Ducal Brittany* (pp. 40-2, 93-6, 184-9).

[65] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 574) - 'uersi in sedicionem, conuenerunt aduersus dominum eorundem, imperiose mandarunt ut, dimissis a suo famulatu cunctis Anglicis'. For Clisson and his service to the French crown against both the Bretons and the English see J.B. Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France under Charles V and Charles VI* (Philadelphia, 1996) (esp. pp. 35-102).

show such honour to your lord, to esteem him with such affection, to
venerate him with such kind compliance as the English...'[66]

Here then Walsingham, again through the device of a planted speech, stressed and
hyperbolised English loyalty. In this 'speech' not only are the English loyal to their own lords
but to others as well, and it was no doubt for extra narrative effect that Walsingham described
Clisson, who had often fought against the English, giving the 'speech' in praise of English
loyalty.[67]

This stereotype of English loyalty and faithfulness was not however without its
caveats in Walsingham's chronicle - while the English were inherently loyal and trustworthy
in potentia, individual Englishmen could and did fail to live up to this standard, incurring at
times virulent criticism in the *Chronica* as a result. For example, when describing the siege of
Ypres during the 1383 Crusade of Bishop Despenser Walsingham wrote that the men of Ghent
'cursed the treachery of the English' ('falsitatem execrantibus Anglicorum') and that had 'the
leaders of the English' ('duces Anglicorum') displayed the same *fides* as the men of Ghent
then the siege would have succeeded.[68] This case is a neat mirror image of the above example
of Flemish *falsitas* and English *fides*, and of Walsingham's usual version of the two nations'
characters, but in this instance Walsingham's comments were directed not at the English as a
whole but specifically at the knights leading the Crusade expedition who he wholly blamed
for the failure of the Crusade, the 'duces Anglicorum'.[69]

Other groups within English society also received condemnation as fickle or disloyal,
especially those groups for whom Walsingham had particular antipathy, and especially when
they acted in ways of which Walsingham disapproved. The men of Cumberland for example
are described, under 1383 when illegally pillaging a Genoese shipwreck, as 'men of the
aforesaid county, being moveable of nature and light of mind', attaching fickleness and

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[66] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 574-6) - 'querit cuiusmodi auctoritate id efficere presumpserunt ut a duce,
suo domino, remouerent uiros domino suo fidelissimos, et qui ultra naciones alias suis dominis decenter
obsequi et placere sciuerunt, et eis reuerenciam omnem impendere et commodum prouidere. "Nullus",
inquit, "uestrum tanto honore dominum suum colere, affectu tanto diligere, tante humanitatis
obsecundacione uenerari, nouit, ut Anglici..."' (my trans.).

[67] Walsingham himself recorded several of Clisson's efforts against the English (see *Chronica Maiora*
I (pp. 396, 700, 754, 770)).

[68] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 694) - 'Gandauensibus cum merore discedentibus, et falsitatem execrantibus
Anglicorum, quia profecto, si fuisset tanta fides inter duces Anglicorum quanta fuit inter Gandauenses,
uilla de Ypres hodie non superesset'.

[69] Walsingham blamed Sir William Elmham, Sir Thomas Trivet and William Farringdon for
undermining Bishop Despenser's efforts (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 666, 686, 692-4)).

inconstancy to northerners, a group to which Walsingham felt little attachment.[70] Walsingham frequently characterised the English peasantry and urban poor as particularly fickle and disloyal to their rulers in the *Chronica* too. Particularly vehement is Walsingham's description of the *villani* of St Albans in 1381, as they sought to spread lies regarding Abbot de la Mare, as 'false mob, perfidious *gens*, deceitful *populus*, lying men, dishonest human beings'.[71] Walsingham also had the citizens of London admit under 1377 that they could not control the 'uulgi leuitates' or 'fickle commoners'.[72] Under 1379 the *plebes* are described as 'always greedy and eager for the new' as a result of the popular support given to Edmund Brounfeld, who Walsingham hated, in the disputed election at the abbey of Bury St Edmunds in that year.[73] Richard II is described as including the Londoners in his plot to murder the Lords Appellant in 1387 because he knew that 'they were as easily moved as reeds' and 'never constant but ever false'.[74] While many of these comments bear the hallmarks of stereotypes - the use of *gens* and similar terms, the implication or assumption of an attribute's permanence - each is in fact applied to a particular group within the English, in response to particular actions committed by that group. This of course says much regarding Walsingham's class-based and regional prejudices, but also about the contingent nature of his construction of the English as a whole.

Where Walsingham's criticism of English inconstancy is generalised across the entire nation, it is specifically directed towards moralistic reform of contemporary Englishmen, and predicated on prior English constancy. Again under 1379 Walsingham recounted a tale entitled 'The constancy of the Count of Denia', in which an Englishman John Shakell was detained in the Tower for refusing to hand over his Spanish prisoner to the crown, eventually agreeing to exchange his rights to the ransom for lands from the crown and his release.[75] At

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[70] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 660) - 'Homines ergo predicti comitatus, ut sunt ingenii mobilis et leui capite' (my trans.). See also the depiction of the men of Newcastle and Hull as 'acting like horses with breath in their nostrils, and typical of their *gens*' in pillaging another shipwreck in 1380, against the wishes and instructions of their lord (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 366-8)). For Walsingham's general antipathy toward Northerners see above (pp. 172-3).

[71] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 540) - 'fallax turba, gens perfida, populus dolosus, uiri mendaces, homines fraudulenti' (my trans.). Here Walsingham was claiming that the villeins made false claims to others in the area that the abbot had bribed the king to come to St Albans and do harm to the area and its people.

[72] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 104) - 'Verumtamen asserebant se nullo modo posse uulgi leuitates impedire'.

[73] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 320) - 'et ut fieri solet in talibus, plebs, auida semper ac cupida nouorum, suis credit assercionibus'.

[74] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 824) - 'Londonienses accersiuit quia mobiles erant ut arundo, et nunc cum dominis, nunc cum rege, senciebant nusquam stabiles set fallaces' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.). See also Walsingham's comments that the 'commune uulgus' are accustomed to using bitter language 'as their moods change' ('uario motu suo') (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 226)) (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[75] The full account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 310-4) - the title in the Royal MS is 'Constancia comitis de Dene'; the Harley 3634 MS has the title 'Of the miraculous loyalty of the son of the Count

the time of his release Shakell was, according to Walsingham's telling, required to supply the location of his prisoner, only for him to reveal that the prisoner was in fact the supposed servant who had remained loyally with Shakell throughout his imprisonment.[76] At this point Walsingham's narrative becomes a *paean* to the devotion and loyalty of the young hostage in enduring imprisonment with his captor rather than break his faith (*fides*, *fidelitas*) with that captor by seeking escape.[77] The Count himself is extravagantly praised for his *fides*, *fidelitas* and *constancia* on several occasions in this chronicle entry, with Walsingham describing the Count's loyalty as 'perfect, stable amidst hardship, sure amidst doubt, certain faith amidst adversity'.[78] This loyalty and constancy is described as creating much confusion among the English (*Angli*), none of whom possessed in peaceful times the same loyalty as the Count had in times of trouble.[79] Walsingham's account then specifically addresses the English (*Anglici*), urging that whenever they were being corrupted by money or plotting to betray their country they should consider the example of this 'foreigner', an 'enemy and alien' and 'not an Englishman, nor a native'.[80] The entry then ends with Walsingham addressing the reader, claiming that he had recorded this incident in order that 'Englishmen of the present and the future' would learn from the example of the Spaniard's *fides* that was 'not feigned but perfect', and that the English would learn how praise and glory came from *fides* and *probitas*, while only bad reputation came from *prodicio*.[81] Thus Walsingham sought to use this tale as a

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of Denia, a hostage for his father with John Shakell' ('De mirabili fidelitate filii comitis de Dene, obsidis pro patre suo apud Iohannem Shakle') (textual note *e*), but this title presents much the same picture. Walsingham explained that the prisoner was in fact the eldest son of the Count, but had inherited the title while a prisoner in England. Walsingham had previously described in great detail Shakell's arrest, which involved agents of the crown violating the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey and killing Shakell's associate Robert Hawley within the church itself (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 236-44)).

[76] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 312). Walsingham repeatedly stressed the Count's appearance as a 'servant' to Shakell while in the Tower: 'ministrum suum optulit', 'more ualecti seruierat in omni tribulacione sua', 'ministrauerat', 'seruat', 'seruus miserie magistrorum' (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 312-4)).

[77] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 312-4) - 'et seruus miserie magistrorum in fidelitate plus elegit effici quam in fidei lesione semetipsum prodendo'.

[78] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 312) - 'perfecta, stabilis inter aspera, secura inter dubia, fide certans inter aduersa' (my trans.); also 'de tanta uiri fide', 'respectu fidei quam magistris suis debuit', 'O constancia iuuenis predicanda', the quote in the preceding footnote, and the title of the entry itself (cited above).

[79] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 312) - 'Erat cernere inter Anglos ibidem confusionem magnam et uerecundiam de tanta uiri fide, dum quisque non haberet in summa tranquillitate quod ipsum in maxima perturbacione et regni tocius commocione habuisse conspiceret'.

[80] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 312) - 'Anglice, quisquis es qui, pecunia corruptus aut aliis donis illectus, prodicionem patrie tue moliris, respice speculum huius externi, fidem scilicet huius uiri, qui non Anglicus, non indegena, set quodam iure hostis et alienigena'. For Walsingham's doubling-up of 'alien' or 'foreigner' terms for effect see below (p. 262 (n. 16)).

[81] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 314) - 'Hec idcirco scripsi ut pudeat Anglos presentes et futuros prodicionis infamia, qui respectu huius Hispani in promptu habent fidei non ficte set perfecte speculum, et discant

pointed contrast between the loyalty and trustworthiness of a foreigner and the disloyalty and corruption of the English, a tactic he used on several counts elsewhere in the *Chronica* too, but also as a direct and explicit way to morally improve the English.[82] Perhaps the most important aspect of this reformist ideal however is its focus on 'Englishmen of the present and the future', which implies that in the past the English had not required such a lesson.

Thus it seems that notions of English loyalty or constancy were an issue of some concern to Walsingham while composing his chronicle. Possibly driven by an awareness of international stereotypes of English disloyalty and faithlessness, or by accusations of such within English monastic historiographical tradition, Walsingham seems to have at times sought to defend the English nation from this accusation. There are two notable points to be made regarding this defensive (self-)stereotyping however. Firstly, these statements are noticeably concentrated within the earlier period of the fourteenth-century, Royal manuscript text of the *Chronica*. As has been mentioned above this portion of the chronicle was that in which Walsingham's creative energies appear to have been at their fullest, making it inherently more likely that this portion of the chronicle would include any such pro-English textual agenda. That said, if Walsingham had indeed encountered the stereotype of the faithless or inconstant English from his reading of Higden, then it is also plausible that he had picked up this stereotype while compiling the retrospective portion of the Royal manuscript text in the early 1380s and felt obliged to defend his nation when composing his own contemporary narrative around the same time. Secondly, while Walsingham seems to have argued for and possibly subscribed to a belief in the English as a particularly loyal and faithful nation, this belief was very much tied to the decisions and actions of Englishmen as individuals and as collectives. Certain groups were criticised for their failing to live up to the required standard of loyalty, and the whole of contemporary English society could also be criticised for the same. This degree of moral agency is not present in Walsingham's stereotyping and troping of other ethnic-national groups, both marking out the English as special and betraying anxieties regarding the moral character of Walsingham's own nation.

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quanta laus et gloria fide et probitate perquiritur, et e contra quam pudenda recordacio, quam feda memoria, sequiter proditores'.

[82] For Walsingham's use of 'aliens' or 'foreigners' as contrasts to shame Englishmen, particularly in terms of military ability, see below (pp. 259-305).

b) Rome

        As mentioned above, an important aspect of how Walsingham constructed and depicted England and the English is the prominent role given to ancient Rome as both idealised model and moral warning for the English. On one count, Walsingham often sought to parallel and link the England and the Englishmen of the *Chronica* to the classical Romans using quotations from and allusions to classical authorities. By using such models and allusions in relation to contemporary English society and the exploits of contemporary Englishmen Walsingham drew an implicit connection between the two peoples in order to glorify the English. On another count, Walsingham very deliberately deployed the people of Rome as a cautionary moral exemplar within the *Chronica*, a warning which can only have been intended for an English readership and which has certain resonances with his more overt depiction of the English as a nation. Drawing upon the supposedly innate Roman ideal qualities of Virgil's *Aeneid* Walsingham set out a schema in which the Romans had lost both those ideal qualities and the world-spanning power those qualities had brought. Read within the context of an English national chronicle which was often concerned with the danger of English slippage into negative behaviour and character traits, this can be seen as a clear warning to the English of Walsingham's time not to fall into such negative behaviour and traits.

        The importance of the idea of Rome, particularly the ancient Roman empire, in late medieval English self-fashioning has been undeservedly neglected by modern scholars. While some scholars of early medieval England have noted the importance of the idea of Rome in the formation of new English religious and national identities, and others of early modern England and Europe have discussed the use of Roman imperial themes in the sixteenth century, late medieval uses of Rome have not attracted much attention.[83] Instead late medieval scholarship around the idea of Rome has tended to focus on formalised political doctrines of *translatio imperii*, in which the Roman *imperium* was passed first to the Popes and then to Charlemagne and his descendants, particularly this narrative's use by Italian and German

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[83] For the early medieval period see Peter Brown's work on the 'Rome of the mind' and 'little Romes' in the peripheries of Europe (in his *The Rise of Western Christendom* (pp. 13-17)), and Nicholas Brooks' discussion of the Canterbury mission's conscious appeal to Rome in order to elide 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'British' identities into a new 'English' one (in his 'Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity', in ed. J.M.H. Smith, *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Burrough* (Leiden, 2000) (pp. 221-46)). For the early modern period see for example: F.A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975) (esp. pp. 38-59); A. Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c.1500-c.1800* (Yale, 1995); J. Muldoon, *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800-1800* (Basingstoke, 1999) (esp. pp. 114-31); R. Helgerson, 'Writing Empire and Nation', in ed. A.F. Kinney, *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500-1600* (Cambridge, 2000) (pp. 310-29); and D. Armitage, 'The Elizabethan Idea of Empire', in *TRHS* Sixth Series 14 (2004) (pp. 269-77).

writers in the assertion of their own national pride and agendas.[84] The importance of French formulations of a political-cultural doctrine of *translatio studii*, in which the learning of the ancients had passed to Paris or France, has also been studied in depth.[85] Because England lacked such formalised claims to Rome's imperial legacy the importance of the idea of ancient Rome in English self-fashioning has been neglected, and where the 'imperialism' of medieval England has been discussed this has tended to reflect more of a modern definition of 'empire' in terms of territorial ambition and colonising efforts than medieval notions of *imperium* or Roman legacy.[86] As will be demonstrated however, this neglect is rather unwarranted and writers such as Walsingham can be seen to have prominently used ancient Rome as a national-moral exemplar for the English and as an idealised comparison and parallel for the English.

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[84] For good summaries of *translatio imperii* see J. Le Goff, *Medieval Civilisation, 400-1000* (trans. J. Barrow) (Oxford, 1988) [orig. publ. in 1964] (pp. 171-5) and G. Dunphy, 'Translatio imperii' (pp. 1438-40). For Italo-German debates regarding the exact course of this *translatio* see: Lewis, *Medieval Political Ideas*, II (pp. 430-66; and the sources edited at pp. 466-505); R. Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (trans. S. Ogilvie) (London, 1969) (pp. 16-35, 75-89, 98-118); J. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', in ed. J.H. Burns, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988) (pp. 211-51); Muldoon, *Empire and Order* (pp. 21-37, 66-100); Scales, '*Germen Militiae*' (pp. 51-3); and idem, *The Shaping of German Identity* (pp. 278-89).

[85] For *translatio studii* see in particular: Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (pp. 29, 384-5); Dunphy, 'Translatio imperii' (p. 1440); and S. Lusignan, '*Translatio Studii* and the Emergence of French as a Language of Letters in the Middle Ages', in *New Medieval Literatures* 14 (2012) (pp. 1-19). A German version of *translatio studii* would develop later (see Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity* (pp. 381-2) and the writings of the German humanist Conrad Celtis in *Selections from Conrad Celtis, 1459-1508* (ed. & trans. L. Forster) (Cambridge, 1948) (esp. pp. 20-1, 34-65)).

[86] See for example J. Gillingham, 'The Beginnings of English Imperialism', in Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (pp. 3-18) and P. Crooks, 'State of the Union: Perspectives on English Imperialism in the Late Middle Ages', in *Past and Present* 212 (2011) (pp. 3-42). Sylvia Federico has attempted to assert a 'Trojan empire' in late medieval English culture, although the attempt suffers from a rather airy and unspecific meaning of 'empire' and 'imperialism' (see her *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages* (Minnesota, 2003)).

i) <u>Rome, Fallen Empire</u>

On the basis of the *Chronica Maiora* Walsingham does not appear to have considered Italy or Italians to be a particularly cohesive ethnic or national community, but based on his use of the labels 'Lombard', 'Sicilian' and 'Roman' he does appear to have considered such to be distinct and identifiable ethnic-national groups.[87] While Walsingham appears to have subscribed to a long-standing and widespread medieval view of 'Lombards' as avaricious and deceitful, he also may have a rarer and more classicising tradition of Sicilian 'tyranny' which had been revived in the twelfth century.[88] On the other hand however, Walsingham's stereotyping and characterisation of the people of Rome was both overt and highly important for the reconstruction of his larger worldview. Within the *Chronica* Walsingham deliberately and explicitly described the Romans of his own time as having declined from their ancient prominence and from the virtues their ancestors had possessed. Where the ancient Romans had been militarily powerful, pious, clement and merciful, the Romans of the fourteenth century were militarily pathetic, prideful, irrational, cruel and tyrannical. Beyond the explicit statement of such a decline early in the *Chronica*, the same characterisation of the Romans can be seen on several later occasions in the chronicle's coverage, suggesting that it was a consistently-held belief of Walsingham's. The larger significance of this decline lies in its debt to the virtues that Virgil, one of Walsingham's most respected classical authorities, had envisaged as inherent in the Roman people as part of their imperial destiny. In short, Walsingham's declined Romans are almost the mirror image of Virgil's great ones.

The key passage for Walsingham's characterisation of the Romans as a people is found very early in the *Chronica*, in the portion of the narrative most likely written either in the year 1381 or shortly afterwards.[89] This portion of the narrative, as mentioned above, is the portion in which Walsingham wrote in the greatest depth, at the greatest length and with the most artful planning of all of the contemporary chronicle text. In this portion of the chronicle

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[87] At times 'Italy' does appear to represent an overarching territorial designation, but one which is composed of smaller ethnic-national communities (see for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 280 ('in Ytalie et Lumbardie partibus'), 612 ('in Ytaliam gentibus, que in Lumbardia et Tuscania')) and II (pp. 282 ('nobiles Romanorum et duces ac principes, et promiscuum uulgus tocius Ytalie'), 426 ("In Italia...ubi gens esse uidetur criminosissima, et Lombardia precipue")).

[88] For the 'Lombards' (most likely in reference to inhabitants of the northern Italian cities) see for example: *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 52, 64-8, 776-8, 792-4) and II (pp. 424-6); Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis* (p. 92) (thirteenth-century); the *Libel of English Policy* (fifteenth-century) in *Political Poems and Songs* II (p. 184); Weeda, 'Ethnic Stereotyping' (pp. 119-20, 124, 127-8); and idem, *Images of Ethnicity* (pp. 336-43). For Sicilian 'tyranny' see for example: *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 580-2) and II (pp. 516-8, 642); Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis* (p. 92); and Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily, *Rex-Tyrannus*' (pp. 46-78).

[89] For the dating of the *Chronica*'s composition see above (pp. 35-6).

Walsingham related at some length the taking of the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome by the followers of Pope Urban VI in late April 1379, which had previously been held by mercenary forces loyal to the rival or antipope Clement VII.[90] In terms of details Walsingham's account of the Castel's surrender closely resembles the account given by Froissart in his *Chroniques*, suggesting that both men had received similar information regarding the events.[91] Of greater interest however are the personal interpretations and commentary which Walsingham chose to add to the narrative of events.

Walsingham's account is entitled 'Of the capture of the Castel Sant'Angelo' and begins by stating that as a result of that capture a calmer breeze began to blow upon Pope Urban and the populace of Rome amid the military campaigns in Italy as God 'took away the reproach from Israel' and 'broke gates of brass and burst iron bars'.[92] The first of these phrases is a quotation from the Old Testament Book of Samuel, namely the story of David and Goliath, and the second is a quotation from Psalm 107, which concerns God's leading his chosen people out of the wilderness.[93] Both of these quotations have relevance to the story of the Castel, but may also serve to affiliate Urban and his followers with the divinely-favoured Israelites. Walsingham then recounted how the garrison of 'antipapals, namely Bretons' ('antipapales, Britanni uidelicet') had occupied the Castel, using it as a base to plunder the surrounding area and using its siege engines to destroy nearby buildings.[94] The dishonour or disgrace (*ignominia*) this brought upon the Roman populace ('Romani populi') led Walsingham to lament that:

> It was - I do not know whether to say more pitiful or more painful - a
> spectacle to see this populace, whose ancestors no city, no province, no
> kingdom, indeed, not even the whole world, could ever withstand, now
> being so confined to their own boundaries, so harassed, so ignominiously

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[90] The full account covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 278-82). These initial military campaigns in Italy resulting from the Schism are little-studied in English-language scholarship but a good account can be found in P. Partner, *The Lands of St Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (London, 1972) (pp. 367-75).

[91] See Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* IX (pp. 144-5, 148-50) - Froissart's narrative is very similar to Walsingham's, but he did not include any comments on the ancient virtues of the Romans nor on the contemporary state of the Roman people.

[92] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 278-80) - 'De capcione castri sancti Angeli'; 'arridere cepit aliqualis aura serenior domino Vrbano pape populoque Romano, Domino auferente obprobrium ex Israel, et conterente ereas, et uectes ferreos confringente' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[93] 1 Samuel 17 and Psalm 107 (Psalm 106 in the Vulgate numbering).

[94] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 280). Froissart and Palmer both concur that these men were Breton mercenaries in service to Clement, serving under Silvester Budes (see Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* IX (pp. 144-5, 148) and Partner, *The Lands of St Peter* (pp. 364-75)).

driven from the face of this mediocre castle, that they lost almost all hope of resisting.[95]

This passage then asserts the past martial glories of the Roman *populus* and their current weakness. After this Walsingham claimed that Urban, not confident that his own forces could dislodge the garrison, resolved to hire the English knight Sir John Hawkwood who was then campaigning in Italy with a large force.[96] It is supposedly when the Breton garrison hear of this plan that they resolve to surrender the Castel, a claim from Walsingham which insinuates that the Englishman was possessed of far greater military prowess than either the Roman supporters of Urban or the Bretons.

However, as Walsingham would have it, the Bretons planned to surrender secretly and directly to Urban as they did not trust the Roman people:

> They were sure that just as the military competence and prowess of the Romans had declined since the time of the ancient Romans, so had the clemency (*clemencia*) and piety (*pietas*) which also used to characterise the ancient Romans in victory. In fact the modern Romans are the cruellest of men, and lack any feelings of piety, especially towards those they manage to subdue by force of arms.[97]

Thus the Roman people, according to Walsingham's intervention in the narrative, had once been able to conquer the entire world through their martiality (*militia*) and goodness or uprightness (*probitas*), their piety or dutifulness (*pietas*), and their mercy or clemency (*clemencia*), especially toward those they conquered. By the fourteenth century however, these Romans had supposedly lost these virtues, becoming instead militarily weak, men of cruelty (*crudelitas*) and lacking in *pietas*, again especially toward those they defeated. Thus the Roman decline, as posited by Walsingham, is formed of both internal decline (loss of clemency, loss of piety, loss of goodness) and external decline (loss of military power), two elements which were clearly intertwined.

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[95] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 280) - 'Erat ibidem cernere, nescio utrum magis miserandum an dolendum spectaculum, populum, cuius patribus nulla civitas, nulla prouincia, nullum regnum, denique nec totus mundus quandoque resistere potuit, iam propriis finibus ita artari, ita uexari, adeo reprobabiliter deturbari a facie mediocris castri, ut pene omnem spem amitteret resistendi' (I have mostly followed Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' translation, but I have changed 'people' to 'populace' for a more specific rendering of the Latin *populus*).

[96] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 280) - 'Propriis utique diffidens uiribus quendam Anglicum militem, Iohannem Hawkwode, in Ytalie et Lumbardie partibus cum non parua manu militum et armatorum militantem'. For Hawkwood see K. Fowler, 'Hawkwood, Sir John (d.1394)', in *ODNB* (2004) and W. Caferro, *John Hawkwood: An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Baltimore, 2006).

[97] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 280) - 'Constabat namque eis Romanos, sicut a militia ueterum et probitate exciderant, sic a clemencia et pietate que semper antiquos Romanos uictores comitari solebant. Et reuera Romani moderni crudelissimi uiri sunt, et nulla pietate prediti, precipue penes eos quos armis subiugare contingit' (I have amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' translation slightly to give a more literal rendering).

This statement complete, Walsingham returned to the events at hand, repeating that the Bretons thus felt compelled to surrender the Castel secretly and at night to Urban himself out of fear of the Romans. Walsingham also claimed that Urban himself feared the hatred (*odio*) of the Romans would drive them to kill the Bretons, ignoring any pleas for mercy, a repetition of the previous claim regarding the lack of mercy among the contemporary Romans.[98] Urban, supposedly, also feared that if the Romans discovered that the Castel had been held by only seventy-five men then this fact would sting their pride (*superbia*) and lead them to even greater hatred (*odio*) of the Bretons.[99] Walsingham then ended his account by narrating how, upon discovering the Castel's surrender, the senate and populace of Rome gathered at the Castel with axes, mattocks and all kinds of tools attempting to destroy the fortress for the great shame or reproach (*obprobrium*) it had caused them.[100] This led, Walsingham claimed, to the destruction of the greater part of the Castel as 'the Romans took some sort of cruel revenge on the unfeeling fabric'.[101] These comments from Walsingham thus depicted the Romans as not just merciless to the defeated but also prideful, cruel, driven by hatred, and irrational, attacking the fabric of a fortress as 'revenge' for the damage done to their honour by the Bretons. It is worth noting too that throughout his account Walsingham did not describe the actions of the Romans as those of the lower orders, but as the actions of 'the Romans' (*Romani*), 'the populace' (*populus*) and 'the senate' (*senatus*), which serves to tie his comments not just to a specific sub-set of the Roman people but to the Romans as a whole. Not only this, but the use of the terms *populus* and *senatus* both have classical resonances which cannot have been lost on Walsingham, and may have been intended to emphasise the connection and contrast between the Romans' glorious ancestors and their ignominious present state.

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[98] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 280-2) - Walsingham did not explicitly refer to *clemencia* in this statement, merely stating that Urban believed that the Romans would not listen to any pleas or petitions (*peticiones*, *preces*), but the meaning seems a clear repetition of the preceding claims regarding the Romans' lack of mercy.

[99] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 282) - 'unde et eos maiori odio perstringebant, cum uidebant a tam paucis eorum posse retundi superbiam, et ipsos Romanos amplior rubor confusionis inuasit'.

[100] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 282) - 'Illucescente crastino senatus populusque Romanus, cum comperissent dedicionem castelli, occurit illico cum securibus, ligonibus, et omnis generis instrumentis, ad diruendum castellum, in ulcionem tanti obprobrii accepti per Britones castellanos'. This use of *obprobrium* of course mirrors the quotation from 1 Samuel 17 which opened the narrative. The use of workmen's tools in a military context may also be intended to parallel the use use of such tools and inadequate weapons by the rebels of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt, a group Walsingham also detested and depicted as unreasoning, cruel and unworthy (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 412) and Justice, *Writing and Rebellion* (p. 204)).

[101] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 282) - 'Confractum est itaque castellum in ipsa die, et dirutum pro magna parte; et ita Romani de insensibili materia crudelem quodammodo cepere uindictam' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

While the 1379 Castel account is the only instance in which Walsingham explicitly stated his narrative of Roman decline, the depiction of the Roman people elsewhere in the *Chronica* demonstrates a consistently low opinion of them. Under 1382 the *Chronica* includes an entry entitled 'The Romans rise up against the Pope and are miraculously pacified'.[102] According to this entry 'the Romans at that time were seditious and unquiet', rising up against the Pope and driving the cardinals to seek refuge from 'the cruel and undisciplined fury of the plebs'.[103] Pope Urban however was not afraid of the armed plebs with their 'clamor horribilis' or the disorderly *vulgi* and was able to placate them with words, leading the *Romani* to beg his forgiveness and in future to refrain from such 'tumults and seditions' and 'ferocious malice'.[104] This passage of course contains elements of Walsingham's usual hostility to the lower orders of medieval society, but in referring to the *Romani* at the entry's beginning and at its end serves to implicate not just the Roman poor but all of its inhabitants. Here the Romans are unruly and unstable, but also possess cruelty (*crudelitas*), raging fury (*furor*) and ferocity (*ferocitas*), all of which fit within the general outlines of the previous anti-Roman stereotyping.

While Walsingham was somewhat critical of Pope Urban's attempts to relocate to Naples in 1383 and 1388, claiming that these reflected Urban's changeable nature and his excessive love of his homeland, the people of Rome were emphatically not cast in virtuous mould in their efforts to keep Urban in Rome. Under 1383 Urban is described as having planned to leave Rome under the pretext of building a new fortress, but, Walsingham claimed, his real motivation was a distrust of the loyalty of the Romans ('fide Romanorum') and the belief that he could find greater loyalty among his countrymen than among the Romans.[105] When Urban left however, the Romans 'with great haughtiness' ('cum magno supercilio') demanded that he return and even threatened to support Urban's rival Clement if he did not.[106] Under 1388 Walsingham similarly described the Romans' attempting to keep Urban in Rome,

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[102] The entry covers *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 616-8, title at p. 616) - 'Romani insurgunt contra papem et mirabiliter pacificantur' (I have altered Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. for a more literal rendering).

[103] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 616) - 'Romani eo tempore sediciosi et inquieti'; 'furoris crudelis et indisciplinate plebis' (my trans.).

[104] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 618) - 'non plebis armata, non clamor horribilis, non discursus inordinatus uulgi perterruit quin confidenter'; 'a talibus tumultibus et sedicionibus in posterum temperare'; 'deposita sue ferocitatis malicia, ad propria sunt reuersi' (my trans.).

[105] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 706-8) - 'Eodem fere tempore papa de fide Romanorum'; 'in patriam suam ubi natus fuerat, scilicet in Neapolim, quia rebatur maiorem fidem inuenire inter suas patriotas quam Romanos'.

[106] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 708) - 'Audientes autem Romani papam repente fugisse, cum magno supercilio miserunt ad eum, mandantes ut reuertatur'. Henry Knighton told a similar story in his chronicle, narrating how the Romans were 'moved to wrath and rebellion' ('ira moti et in sedicionem') by the Pope's leaving and sacked a papal palace in the city (see Henry Knighton (p. 282)).

meeting him on the road and, seeing that his forces outnumbered them, abandoning 'haughty words' ('uerborum supercilio') and instead trying to dissemble and deceive Urban into returning to the city.[107] This is a rather more cynical and anti-Roman telling than that of the Westminster Chronicler, who wrote that the Romans had initially sought to welcome Urban back to the city but 'despised' him and returned to their homes when he refused to do so, leading to Urban's humiliating later return without fanfare.[108] In his fifteenth-century text too Walsingham put forward the same low opinion of the Romans, for example under 1407 where the treachery (*perfidia*) of the Romans is blamed for the entry of the villainous King Ladislaus of Naples into the city where he is only narrowly defeated by papal forces.[109] Although not specifically a characterisation of the Roman people as such, the inclusion of the story of Ladislaus' death by poisoning by the parents of a Roman girl he had raped (poison which the parents knew would also kill their daughter) hardly characterises the people of Rome positively.[110]

These characterisations of the people of Rome as unruly, haughty or arrogant, disloyal or untrustworthy, raging and even cruel, may not be exact replications of the 1379 Castel stereotyping but they do seem to reflect a common central theme regarding the Romans' character. It should also be noted that Walsingham could easily have characterised the Romans differently in each of these anecdotes, had he so desired, without detracting from his other narrative agendas - the turbulence of 1382 could easily have been attributed solely to the poor not to all of the Romans, and it could have been the Romans who persuaded Urban to return to the city in 1388. That Walsingham deliberately chose to consistently characterise the people of Rome in such a negative and broadly consistent light suggests that this either reflects his own deeply-held opinions regarding the Romans or a deliberate agenda within the text.

As mentioned above, perhaps the most significant aspect of Walsingham's portrayal of Roman decline is the influence of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The virtues which Virgil had claimed for

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[107] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 858-60) - 'deposito uerborum supercilio'; 'qui mox finxerunt se uenisse in eius obsequium'; 'illi autem, artem arte deludentes, accepta licencia regressi sunt'. According to Walsingham's telling Urban was eventually turned back to Rome by the remonstrations of the Abbot of Monte Cassino.

[108] Westminster Chronicle (pp. 344-6) - 'despised' is my translation of 'spreuerunt'.

[109] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 516-8) - 'non sine conniuencia, ut putatur, quorundam Romanorum interius existencium perfidorum'; Ladislaus (1386-1414) is perhaps the chief embodiment of Sicilian 'tyranny' in the *Chronica*, and is referred to in this passage as 'proud king' ('superbi regis') and 'accursed king' ('rex maledictus').

[110] See *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 642) - here too Ladislaus is cast as a tyrant who oppressed various parts of Italy, destroyed the right of the Church, committed 'multa mala', and indulged in fornication and lust; the story itself is rather odd at best, claiming that the parents gave the girl a poison-laced washcloth to use after sex in order to have revenge against Ladislaus.

the Romans in his poem, virtues which foreshadowed and legitimised Roman imperial dreams, are those which Walsingham claimed the Romans of his day had lost. Thus, in his depiction of the Romans as a declined people, no longer possessing the imperial virtues of Virgil, Walsingham was not just abusing the Romans but explaining and justifying their fall from power. Virgil's text was extremely popular in the Middle Ages, as historical work, exemplar of Latin style and model for later origin stories, and there is plentiful evidence that Walsingham himself was intimately familiar with Virgil and his poem.[111] For example, of the seventeen identified quotations from Virgil's works within the *Chronica* fifteen originate from the *Aeneid*, a degree of quotation matched only by those from Ovid's works and surpassed only by those from the Bible.[112] Virgil also appears prominently in Walsingham's catalogue of important ancient writers, the *Prohemia Poetarum*, which includes a discussion of the text as well as biographical information regarding the poet.[113] While the surviving evidence for the St Albans library is partial at best, various contemporary Benedictine libraries are known to have possessed copies of Virgil's works, and fifteenth-century English humanist scholars paid great attention to the *Aeneid*.[114] Walsingham's evident grasp of Virgil's life and text, combined with the very strong likelihood that St Albans possessed at least one copy of the *Aeneid*, is enough to suggest that Walsingham was intimately familiar with the poem, likely having encountered

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[111] For Virgil in the Middle Ages see for example D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (trans. E.F.M. Benecke) (Princeton, 1997) and C. Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the* Aeneid *from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge, 1995). Lee Patterson has accorded the *Aeneid* a huge impact on medieval history-writing from the twelfth-century onwards, providing new, more secular models of historical thought (see his *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Wisconsin, 1987) (pp. 157-95)). Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* was clearly influenced by and even based upon Virgil's Aeneas myth, borrowing Virgil's base narrative and stressing the kinship between Aeneas' Trojans and those of his own hero Brutus (see Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 7-9, 31, 69) and Lavezzo, *Angels of the Edge* (p. 22)).

[112] The fourteenth-century text includes 2 references to the *Georgics* and 7 references to the *Aeneid*, and the fifteenth-century text includes 8 references to the *Aeneid* (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 996) and II (p. 849)). These figures of course reflect only the instances of citation or allusion which have been identified. Walsingham was of course particularly devoted to Ovid, including him prominently in the *Prohemia Poetarum* and producing his own version of Ovid's mythographic poem the *Metamorphoses* in the *Archana Deorum* (see *Prohemia Poetarum* (pp. 75-83, 127-30, 168-71)).

[113] See *Prohemia Poetarum* (pp. 22-4, 93-114, 135-55).

[114] Counting only the surviving library catalogues from the fourteenth century or earlier there are some 9 identifiable copies of the *Aeneid*, often alongside copies of Virgil's other works - see *English Benedictine Libraries* (nos. **B13.107** (Bury St Edmunds, 2 copies), **B39.328** & **B39.329** (Glastonbury), **B68.332** (Ramsey Abbey), **B79.181** (Rochester, 2 copies)) and *Dover Priory* (nos. **BM1.396a**, **BM1.400b**)); St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury had no less than 7 recorded copies of the *Aeneid* c.1375-1420 (see *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (nos. **BA1.1471c**, **BA1.1472c**, **BA1.1474**, **BA1.1475**, **BA1.1476**, **BA1.1477a**)). For English humanist reading of Virgil see Weiss, *Humanism in England* (pp. 2-3, 96, 104, 134-5) and Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature* (pp. 60, 66, 88, 127, 147-8).

it during his years of study at Oxford and in the cloister before taking charge of the *scriptorium*.[115]

In his epic poem Publius Virgilius Maro (70-19BC), better known as Virgil, told the tale of the band of Trojan exiles led by Aeneas, fleeing the fall of Troy and coming eventually, via Carthage and the Underworld, to Latium where they founded the city of Alba Longa, the precursor to Rome. The *Aeneid* was written shortly after the Roman civil war, under the aegis of the Emperor-in-all-but-name Augustus (ruled 27BC-14AD) in order to provide a Roman origin or foundation myth which legitimised Rome's imperial dominance over other nations and the new political order under Augustus.[116] That this propagandist aim was known to Walsingham is suggested by his references in the *Prohemia Poetarum* to Virgil's having written his works at the behest of Augustus and his propaganda master Maecenas.[117] In order to achieve these aims the poem devotes much space to repeated prophetic statements of innate Roman virtues and the imperial destiny which resulted from them. Prophecies of Roman greatness and *imperium* abound in the poem, for example the promise made by Jupiter in Book 1 that for the people of Romulus, who would be named Romans, 'I set no limits in space or time, but give empire without end'.[118] Jupiter likewise pledges that there will be a Caesar of the Julii (meaning Augustus) who will extend that *imperium* to Ocean itself, and later in the poem an oracle tells Latinus, king of Latium, that outsiders would soon come to Italy who would likewise achieve great fame and place the whole world beneath their feet.[119]

Throughout the poem this world-spanning *imperium* is tied into Roman martial ability and Roman virtues, particularly *pietas* and lawful, merciful rule. For example, again within

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[115]   James Clark has remarked upon Walsingham's 'complete command' of the poet's work, arguing that this demonstrates that the chronicler worked from the full original texts rather than from *florilegia* (see Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 170, 182-5, 197-9, 224)).

[116]   For an introduction to Virgil's life and writings see the introduction to *Aeneid*, I (pp. 1-9). The *Aeneid*'s relationship to Augustan propaganda and moral reform programmes is well-known, but for an introduction see in particular: D. Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton, 1993) (pp. 21-32, 45-6); S. Grebe, 'Augustus' Divine Authority and Vergil's *Aeneid*', in *Vergilius* 50 (2004) (pp. 35-62); and K.K. Bell, '*Translatio* and the Constructs of a Roman Nation in Virgil's *Aeneid*', in *Rocky Mountain Review* 62 (2008) (pp. 15-9). See also the comments in J. Henderson, *Fighting for Rome: Poets and Caesars, History and Civil War* (Cambridge, 1998) (pp. 3-4).

[117]   *Prohemia Poetarum* (pp. 93-5, 109-113, 135-6, 150-4). The copying of Martinus Polonus' *De Gestis Imperatorum Romanorum*, which began by discussing Augustus, into the Royal manuscript may also demonstrate Walsingham's interest in Augustus' reign (see BL Royal MS 13 E ix fol. 102).

[118]   Virgil, *Aeneid* I (p. 280) - 'his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono // imperium sine fine dedi'.

[119]   Virgil, *Aeneid* I (pp. 280-2) - 'nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar // imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris // Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo', and II (p. 8) - 'externi venient generi, qui sanguine nostrum // nomen in astra ferant, quorumque a stirpe nepotes // omnia sub pedibus, qua sol utrumque recurrens // aspicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt'. See also *Aeneid* I (pp. 278 ('Romanos...hinc fore ductores...qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent'), 280 ('Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam')) and those examples below.

Jupiter's promises in Book 1, the poem claims that Aeneas' line 'shall carry out a great war in Italy and subdue ferocious peoples, and establish laws and walls for his people'.[120] Book 1, and thus the entire poem, in fact begins with Juno's fears that from the Trojans would come 'a people, kings of broad realms and proud in war' who would destroy her beloved Carthage.[121] This contrasts with the description of Carthage, Rome's great enemy and the city Juno hoped would eventually rule other peoples, as 'rich in wealth and the harshest in pursuit of war' - Roman pride, admittedly not always a positive characteristic, is opposed to Carthaginian harshness or cruelty.[122] Later, in Book 4, Jupiter sends Mercury to remind Aeneas of his destiny, that it was he who would rule Italy 'a land filled with empire and resounding with war' and would leave a bloodline that would 'bring all the world beneath his laws'.[123] That this success is due not just to Roman military prowess but also to Roman *pietas* is stated on several occasions within the text: Venus, Aeneas' patron goddess, harangues Jupiter to make good on his promises, noting that *pietas* should be rewarded with success not endless journeying; and at the poem's end Jupiter dissuades Juno from her hostility with the promise that the Romans will 'surpass men, surpass the gods in *pietas*' and worship her above all other peoples.[124]

Some of the clearest expressions of Roman virtues and destiny however appear in Book 6 of the poem, as Aeneas travels through the Underworld led by his father Anchises past a procession of famous future Romans. These include Aeneas Silvius, king of Alba Longa, 'equally distinguished in *pietas* and arms' and Romulus, 'son of Mars' who will extend Rome's *imperium* to the ends of the earth and produce a race or progeny of fortunate men.[125] Of special prominence in this list is Augustus himself, who the poem claims would usher in a golden age, advance the empire beyond India and beyond the ends of the earth, and cause

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[120] Virgil, *Aeneid* I (p. 280) - 'bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces // contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet' (my trans.).

[121] Virgil, *Aeneid* I (pp. 262-4, quote at p. 264) - 'hinc populum late regem belloque superbum // venturum excidio Libyae'.

[122] Virgil, *Aeneid* I (p. 262) - 'dives opum studiisque asperrima belli' (Fairclough translated *asperrimus* as 'stern' but 'harshest', 'roughest' or even 'cruellest' is a better translation).

[123] Virgil, *Aeneid* I (p. 436) - 'sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem // Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri // proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem' (I have slightly amended Fairclough's trans. for a more literal rendering).

[124] Virgil, *Aeneid* I (p. 278) - 'ammissis unius ob iram // prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris. // hic pietatis honos?', and II (p. 358) - 'hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget // supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis // nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores'.

[125] Virgil, *Aeneid* II (pp. 586-8) - 'Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis'; 'son of Mars' uses the unusual form *Mavors* but this still refers to the Roman god of war; 'incluta Roma // imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo, // septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces, // felix prole virum'.

foreign lands to tremble in fear.[126] Toward the end of his monologue Anchises urges his son to

avoid civil war and 'you be the first to show leniency, cast the weapon from your hand, child

of my blood!'.[127] After this, rounding out his speech, Anchises describes the Roman character:

> Others, I doubt not, shall with softer mould beat out the breathing bronze,
> coax from the marble features to the life, plead cases with greater
> eloquence and with pointer trace heaven's motions and predict the risings
> of the stars: you, Roman, remember to rule the peoples with your power
> (these are your arts), and to impose the ways of peace, to be lenient to the
> subjected and to vanquish the proud.[128]

Overall then Virgil's schema of Roman national character and destiny is quite clear: the

Romans are to vanquish the proud and the ferocious through their martial prowess, then to

rule over the entire world through their laws, clemency and *pietas*. The *Aeneid* was of course

intended as a specifically Roman origin myth in justification of Augustan Rome, but for later

readers such as Walsingham it presented almost a blueprint for the character of powerful

nations.

There is a noticeable resonance with Virgil's blueprint in Walsingham's presentation

of the Romans of his day. Walsingham's contemporary Romans had lost the military prowess

and world-spanning rule which they had previously held and which Virgil had claimed as their

national destiny, no longer able to defeat even some Bretons. Likewise they had lost the *pietas*

which Virgil had claimed as their innate virtue, and no longer abided by the poem's injunction

to show kindness and leniency to those they conquered, ruling by cruelty and anger rather than

by laws and clemency. Rather than defeating the prideful and the ferocious, Walsingham's

contemporary Romans themselves succumbed to *superbia* and irrational rage against

inanimate objects. For a classicist like Walsingham this resonance was unlikely to be

accidental, and his educated monastic readership would likewise have picked up on it. The

purpose of this presentation of the Romans was likely twofold: to provide another negatively-

characterised national Other for the English; and to provide a national-moral warning tale for

the chronicle's English readership, of what would befall any powerful nation that succumbed

to the vices of the Romans.

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[126] Virgil, *Aeneid* II (p. 588).

[127] Virgil, *Aeneid* II (p. 592) - 'ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella // neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires; // tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo // proice tela manu' (Fairclough translated 'parce' as 'show mercy' while 'act sparingly' would be a more literal rendering, although given the military context 'show leniency' seems an adequate interpretation).

[128] Virgil, *Aeneid* I (p. 592) - 'excudent alii spirantia mollius aera // (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus, // orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus // describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: // tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento // (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, // parcere subiectis et debellare superbos' (I have amended Fairclough's trans. for a more literal rendering).

ii) <u>Roman Parallels</u>

Walsingham, as a committed classical scholar, littered his chronicle with quotations from and allusions to classical authors and texts. Many of these can be seen as simply intended to add colour to dramatic episodes within the narrative, but others may have had more contrived or subversive purposes. Specifically of interest here is Walsingham's use of classical Roman sources and allusions to describe and depict the English, a usage which often serves, to some degree, to affiliate and compare contemporary Englishmen with the ancient Romans. The degree to which many of these instances were an intentional linking or comparing of Englishmen and Romans is perhaps debatable, but there are some cases where an intentional linkage seems very likely, and even those cases in which a definite linkage may not have been intended still speak to a more general sense of comparability between the two peoples. In most of these instances, the people of ancient Rome act as an idealised model for the English, particularly a model of military conduct and success, which Walsingham used to glorify the contemporary English nation. As discussed in the preceding section, Walsingham was very much aware of the kind of classical Roman self-fashioning presented by Virgil - characterised by martial prowess, lawful and clement rulership, *pietas* - and this ideal model of Roman society and national character were no doubt appealing to him and to writers like him.

Uses of classical references, allusions and language in the description and depiction of England and English society in the *Chronica* work to suggest a level of similarity and comparability (or at least a *desired* comparability and similarity) between the ancient Roman Empire and Walsingham's England. Some of these could take the form of direct comparisons, such as those found in Walsingham's account of Richard II's coronation in 1377. Walsingham's reference to the Bishop of Rochester terming Richard *pater patriae*, using the Roman honorific made famous by Cicero, has already been discussed in chapter 1 and was something of a unique occurrence of this phrasing and its connotations of *patria* in the chronicle.[129] That said, the Roman connotations of the phrasing gains extra meaning when considered alongside Walsingham's earlier description of Richard's processional entry to London. Here Walsingham claimed that the city was bedecked with gold, silver and silk banners and other devices intended to impress the public, to the extent that 'you would think that you saw there some Caesarian triumph, or Rome, as it was, in surpassing splendour'.[130]

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[129] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 154) - 'asserens hoc omnino patri patrie opportunum'. For the discussion of this instance in terms of the concept of *patria* in chapter 1 see above (p. 77).

[130] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 136) - 'que nimirum ciuitas tot pannis aureis et argenteis, tot olosericis, aliisque adinuentionibus que animos intuencium oblectarent, ornata fuerat, ut putares te ibidem uel

The term 'decore', translated by Taylor, Childs and Watkiss as 'splendour', is difficult to render exactly in English and could carry connotations of beauty, glory and grace.[131] Here then Walsingham again stated the decline of Rome from its past glories under the Caesars and directly compared contemporary London to those past glories.

On occasion too this glorifying use of classical quotation could also operate on somewhat more critical levels too, while still asserting comparisons and connections between the English and the ancient Romans. For example, in describing the Southampton Plot conspirators of 1415, Walsingham quoted at some length from Claudian's *In Rufinum* regarding Sir Henry Scrope's having 'learned to feign loyalty, and to hide a menacing face'.[132] Walsingham's account is vitriolic in its accusations against Scrope, claiming that he had abused Henry V's trust and become a 'secret enemy of his own king' by secretly supporting the French in exchange for money, and of course planning to murder Henry.[133] The chronicler also claimed that there was no man among the English *gens* more trusted by the king, except for the king's own brothers, but that Scrope betrayed this trust.[134] In Claudian's original poem the quoted lines come from Megaera, one of the Furies, patroness of jealousy and instigator of various murders and crimes, who claims that she had raised Rufinus, the target of Claudian's poetic attack, to be a paragon of such disloyalty, greed and hatred.[135] Walsingham's use of this passage can hardly be said to be an exaltation of the English, but his decision to quote at length a Roman writer's virulent attack on a hated and supposedly self-interested political opponent in order to repeat that attack on a contemporary Englishman involved in a plot against the king invokes a similarity between the two men, and implicitly also between their

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Cesarianos triumphos cernere, uel Romam, ut quondam fuerat, in precellente decore' (I have altered Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. for a more literal rendering).

[131] See the Lewis & Short entry for *decus* (available at: www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=decus&la=la#lexicon [accessed 18/09/15]).

[132] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 658), quoting *In Rufinum*, in Claudian, *Claudian* I (p. 32) - the full quoted passage reads: 'He had learned to feign loyalty, and hide a menacing face, concealing treachery with a flattering smile; utterly cruel and burning with greed for gain, he knew how to stir up his comrades, likeminded in hate' ('Edidicit simulare fidem, uultusque minaces protegere et blando fraudem protexere risu plenus seuicie lucrique cupidine feruens, // doctus et unamines odiis turbare sodales') (I have slightly amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. for a more literal rendering, my break). Here Walsingham had somewhat reordered the lines of Claudian's original, quoting lines 98-100 followed by line 105 (at the break above). Walsingham had also altered 'sensusque' in the original to 'uultusque' in his usage, changing from 'to hide a menacing feeling' to 'to hide a menacing face', but this did not alter the meaning of the quoted text.

[133] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 658-60) - 'Tractabat cum hostibus ipse domino regi suo hostis occultus'; 'fronte fauens suis, mente uero Gallis'; 'Spoponderat ista Francis, ut dicitur, pacta sibi pro prodicione pecunia'.

[134] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 660) - 'Non erat in Anglicana gente pene tam carus, preter fratres suos, sicut iste Henricus Scrop: quod palam probauit exhibicio dilectionis quam sibi frequenter ostendit'.

[135] For Megaera's speech see Book 1, lines 65-115 of *In Rufinum*, in Claudian, *Claudian* I (pp. 30-4); the rest of book 1 describes and criticises in great depth Rufinus' personality and career, particularly his greed, corruption and feud with the virtuous general Stilicho (see I (pp. 24-54)).

two societies. After describing the punishment of the Southampton Plot conspirators, including the trial and execution of Scrope, Walsingham also used quotation from Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* in praise of Henry V's mercy. Walsingham first added a specific rubric saying 'Note this verse', then quoted 'He is a prince slow to punish and swift to reward, who grieves whenever he is forced to be harsh'.[136] What is more, Walsingham had prefaced the rubric and quotation with the claim that, in tearfully regretting the necessity of Scrope's execution, the king 'gives truth to the words written by the poet of Caesar's *pietas*'.[137] Not only does this parallel Henry to Caesar, it and the rubric directly and deliberately spell out the use of Roman models. The quotation itself is rather simple and clear praise of Henry's clemency and reluctance to harshly punish even traitors, drawn from one of Ovid's letters asking his friends to intercede with Augustus to secure his return from exile. Although Ovid's text possessed its own political agenda and sought to ingratiate its writer with Augustus, the image of ideal Roman rulership Ovid presented closely accords with the Augustan models of Virgil: he is juxtaposed to 'bloody' rulers, cruel in their punishments; he is reluctant and slow to punish wrongdoers; he has banned civil war; and 'he always conquers, only to spare the conquered'.[138] Thus, not only was Scrope affiliated with the villainous Rufinus, Henry V was praised for his mercy and affiliated with idealised, Augustan Roman rulership; both the ideal and the target for criticism were contemporary Englishmen but were described and characterised using explicitly ancient Roman models. Elsewhere too other critiques of Englishmen were framed through classical quotations, such as the use of Claudian's maxim 'The fickle mob always changes with its leader' to refer to the English lower orders,[139] and the

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[136] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 662) - the rubric states 'Nota hunc uersum'; 'Est piger ad penas princeps ad premia uelox, // Quique dolet quociens cogitur esse ferox' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[137] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 662) - 'Quo responso rex audito, flendo gemendoque recessit ut uerificari posset in persona regia quod quondam scriptum fuerat de pietate Cesaris a poeta'.

[138] See Book 1, Letter 2, lines 119-26 of *Ex Ponto*, in Ovid, *Tristia. Ex Ponto* (ed. & trans. A.L. Wheeler, rev. G.P. Goold) (Harvard, 1924, rev. edn. 1988) [Loeb Classical Library] (p. 278) - 'non tibi Theromedon crudusque rogabitur Atreus, // quique suis homines pabula fecit equis, // sed piger ad poenas princeps, ad praemia velox, // quique dolet, quotiens cogitur esse ferox, // qui vicit semper, victis ut parcere posset, // clausit et aeterna civica bella sera // multa metu poenae, poena qui pauca coercet, // et iacit invita fulmina rara manu'.

[139] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 502, 614). Walsingham uses the phrasing 'Mobile uersatur semper cum principe uulgus' rather than Claudian's original 'Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus' (from *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, in Claudian, *Claudian* (ed. & trans. M. Platnauer) (Harvard, 1922, repr. 1963) [Loeb Classical Library] I (p. 308)), although this may reflect the copy of Claudian's works which Walsingham possessed. This text may have been written for the Late Antique emperor Honorius (ruled 384-423), but it was written within a very Roman frame of reference and Claudian featured in Walsingham's list of important ancient writers (see *Prohemia Poetarum* (pp. 33-4)).

quoting of 'cursed hunger for gold' from Virgil's tale of the betrayal of Polydorus of Troy by the king of Thrace to refer to English squires in Iberia.[140]

Where Walsingham's use of parallels to the ancient Romans is clearest is in a military context, namely the use of quotation from classical texts to parallel contemporary English troops to heroic Roman figures. This usage is particularly noticeable in the coverage of Henry V's campaigns in the later 1410s, most likely because this decade saw something of a resurgence of English military successes on the continent.[141] One good example is Walsingham's use of two quotations from Ovid to glorify the death of the English Sir Edward Sprenghose when scaling the walls of Caen in 1417.[142] Walsingham described Sprenghose's actions as those of a 'noble man', scaling the walls of the town to 'destroy many walls, slay many men' only to be knocked down and 'inhumanely' burned alive by the 'ruffians' defending the town.[143] Within this narrative Walsingham quoted from Ovid's *Amores*, referring to the entire English army with 'Each fighter equips his breast against the darts, the soldier buys eternity by his blood'.[144] This quotation, while from one of Ovid's love poems, originates from Ovid's listing of where it is best for specific groups of, Roman, men to die: lovers die in bed, merchants at sea, and soldiers in battle. Shortly after this, referring specifically to Sprenghose fighting atop the walls before he was knocked down, Walsingham quoted from Ovid's *Fasti*:

> Striking alternately with each hand he gave and took wounds,
> Like a wild boar, driven far into the woods by barking dogs,

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[140] See *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 776) - Walsingham claimed that two English esquires were bribed by the Castilians to betray their ally the king of Portugal, accepting his money out of this 'cursed hunger for gold', but that one virtuous Englishman warned the Portuguese king. The quoted phrase is 'auri sacra fames' (from Virgil, *Aeneid* I (p. 352)), in which Polydorus was betrayed by his host the Thracian king for the gold Polydorus had brought with him from Troy. This incident may also have been intended to resonate with the trope of English treachery that Walsingham exploited and sought to counter elsewhere in the chronicle.

[141] This level of classical reference and quotation later in the fifteenth-century *Chronica* led Galbraith to suggest that Walsingham turned increasingly toward his classical studies later in his life, but this has been questioned recently by Clark (see: *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (pp. xxv, xli-xlv); Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 163-6); and above (pp. 29-30)).

[142] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 718). For the siege of Caen see Allmand, *Henry V* (pp. 116-8) and for a short biography of Sprenghose see L.S. Woodger, 'SPRENGHOSE, Edward (d. 1417)' at www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/sprenghose-edward-1417 [accessed 18/09/15].

[143] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 718) - 'Sic est iste uir nobilis dum multos muros deicit, dum plures ense perimit, dum Martis acta peragit'; 'Quem mox inhumaniter ut erat armatus, adhuc spirantem, ganeones, circumiectis ignibus, cremauerunt'.

[144] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 718), quoting from *Amores* II.x.31-2 (in Ovid, *Heroides, Amores* (ed. & trans. G. Showerman, rev. G.P. Goold) (Harvard, 1914, rev. edn. 1986) [Loeb Classical Library] (p. 412)) - 'Induit aduersis contraria pectora telis, // Miles ut eternum sanguine nomen emat' (my trans.).

He scatters them swiftly with his flashing tusks,
Though he himself soon perishes.[145]

This quotation originates from Ovid's poem praising the defence of Rome by the heroic Fabii family, specifically the death of three hundred and six of the Fabii who had volunteered to defend the city in a treacherous ambush by the enemy.[146] The poem praises the bravery and skill of the Fabii, comparing them to lions in their first battle against the enemy, claiming that it was their *nobilitas* which prevented them from perceiving the treacherous (*perfidia*) ambush, and lamenting that in their defeat 'fraud destroyed virtue'.[147] Here then Sprenghose's death is paralleled to the deaths of the Fabii, loyal men who fought and died in defence of Rome at the hands of a dishonourable enemy tactic, akin to the *inhumanitas* with which Sprenghose was burned alive by the French.

Nowhere within the *Chronica* however is Walsingham's use of Roman parallels for English military heroism more apparent than his account of the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. Walsingham's Agincourt narrative includes far more classical quotation and allusion than any other account of the battle, suggesting that the classical elements of his narrative are his own personal additions and interpretations.[148] Counting only those quotations found within the battle itself and only those added by Walsingham himself, there are some fourteen quotations from Roman texts, often quite lengthy.[149] Of these five apiece came from Virgil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *De Bello Civile*, two epic poems which covered two pivotal parts of Roman history, two from Statius' retelling of the Greek epic the *Thebaid*, one from Balbus Italicus' Latin *Iliad*, and one from Persius' *Satires*. All of these quotations come from Latin epic poetry,

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[145] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 718), quoting from *Fasti* II.234, 231-3 (in Ovid, *Fasti* (ed. & trans. J.G. Frazer, rev. G.P. Goold) (Harvard, 1931, rev. edn. 1989) [Loeb Classical Library] (p. 74)) - 'Vulnera alterna datque capitque manu, // sicut aper, longe siluis latrantibus actus, // Fulmineo celeres dissipat ore canes // Mox tamen ipse perit' (my trans.). Here Walsingham has re-ordered Ovid's original text, placing line 234 before lines 231-3, and he also used 'capitque' in place of Ovid's 'feruntque'.

[146] See Ovid, *Fasti* (pp. 70-4).

[147] See especially lines 197-9, 209, 225-7, in Ovid, *Fasti* (pp. 70, 72) - 'una domus vires et onus susceperat urbis: // sumunt gentiles arma professa manus, // egreditur castris miles generosus ab isdem'; 'non aliter quam cum Libyca de gente leones'; 'quo ruitis, generosa domus? male creditis hosti: // simplex nobilitas, perfida tela cave! // fraude perit virtus'.

[148] The London Chronicle versions covering the battle have no discernible classicising elements (see *Chronicles of London* (ed. C.L. Kingsford) (Oxford, 1905, repr. 1977) (pp. 70-1, 119-23)); nor do the *Brut* continuations covering the battle (see *The Brut, or The Chronicles of England* (ed. F.W.D. Brie) (London, 1908, repr. 1971) [Early English Texts Society, Original Series 136] II (pp. 378-80, 554-7, 596-8)); and the account of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, while grand and including several possible biblical references, includes no identifiable classical references (see *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (pp. 81-99)).

[149] Walsingham also included quotations from Claudian and Ovid within the 1415 narrative, in relation to the treachery of Sir Henry Scrope (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 658, 662)). The anonymous writer of the later CCCC MS 7 (3) continuation seems to have shared Walsingham's predilection for classical quotation in relation to 1415, adding his own quotation from Persius' *Satires* in the Scrope narrative (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 658)) and a reference to Atropos, one of the Fates of Greek mythology, to note the early death of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (II (p. 672)).

apart from the single reference to Persius' work which appears to simply represent a memorable phrase which Walsingham had encountered and reused in his own text.[150] While Walsingham may have plundered the Latin epic tradition simply for its lengthy battle descriptions and grand speeches, the degree to which he intervened in and altered the quotations and the resonances behind many of them instead suggest a rather deliberate approach at work, designed to affiliate the English army in the present with heroic Roman forces and heroes of the past.[151]

The quotations from Statius' *Thebaid* both originate from lengthy descriptions of the valour and success of ancient heroes wielding bows, used very closely together in Walsingham's account to praise the ability of the English archers in countering the French cavalry. The first, from Statius' description of Parthenopaeus' archery, runs 'no hand shot in vain, no missile flew without wounding' and the second, from the account of Menoeceus' archery, runs 'every missile settles, no blow falls without killing'.[152] In each case the context of Statius' original line is the hero's display of extreme archery skill in battle, Parthenopaeus killing many of the enemy and requiring the intervention of Mars before he can be killed, and Menoeceus likewise fighting gloriously with his bow before voluntarily sacrificing his own life to protect his city.[153] Both of these were suitably heroic models for English archers at Agincourt, and the quotations appear amidst Walsingham's praise for firing so many arrows that it was akin to a hailstorm, slaughtering the French cavalry, and killing hundreds upon

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[150] The quote from Persius is simply 'glassy bile rises within him' ('turgescit vitrea bilis') and originates from a satire on the value of learning, making it likely that this was just a handy phrase Walsingham had absorbed from his reading of classical texts (see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 678) and Persius, *Satires* III (in *Juvenal and Persius* (ed. & trans. G.G. Ramsay) (Harvard, 1918, rev. edn. 1961) [Loeb Classical Library] (pp. 344-54, quote at p. 344))). Persius also appeared as one of the classical authorities in Walsingham's *Prohemia Poetarum* for his satires (pp. 25-6, 114-7, 155-7).

[151] Walsingham's use of classical quotations in the Agincourt narrative has previously been studied by Chris Guyol, who concluded that they reflect Walsingham's recording contemporary criticisms of war from Lollards and proponents of ecclesiastical disendowment (see his 'Self-Censorhip and Allusion' (esp. pp. 34-47, 58-65)). While Guyol makes an at times convincing case for anti-war resonances to some of Walsingham's quotations, he does not provide any solution to the problem of why Walsingham would have so carefully and subtly recorded anti-war sentiments that he did not actually agree with. The heavy degree of quotation in the Agincourt narrative has also been noted by Andrew Galloway but he did not study it in great depth, merely noting that 'Typology and historical parallel enrich the scope and the violence of the event' (see his 'Latin England' (pp. 83-5)).

[152] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 678) - 'Nam "nunquam cassa manus, nullum sine uulnere fugit missile", nullaque fuit requies mittentis dextre, sed et "omne sedet telum", quia fuere "nulli sine cedibus ictus"' (my trans.). Statius also appeared as one of the classical authorities in Walsingham's *Prohemia Poetarum*, including a detailed breakdown of the content of the *Thebaid* (pp. 27-9, 70-5).

[153] For the first quote see Statius, *Thebaid* (ed. & trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey) (Harvard, 2003) [Loeb Classical Library] III (pp. 112-24, quote at p. 114). Walsingham appears to have sought to remove the pagan element of this line, replacing Statius' 'no missile flew without divine aid' ('nullum sine numine fugit') with 'no missile flew without wounding' ('nullum sine vulnere fugit'). For the second quote see Statius, *Thebaid* III (pp. 172-82, quote at p. 174).

hundreds of Frenchmen.[154] In quoting Statius Walsingham thus paralleled and compared the English archers at Agincourt to heroic ancient archers.

Several of the quotations from the *Aeneid* likewise glorify the English via paralleling them to the ancient Romans. For example, the very beginning of Walsingham's account of the battle itself is the quotation:

> Scarcely had the next day's dawn broken on the mountain tops
> With its light //
> when the trumpet sounded from afar its terrifying blare [155]

The first portion of this quotation comes from Book 12 of the *Aeneid*, describing the dawn on the day in which Aeneas and his chief antagonist Turnus have agreed to meet in combat to decide the fate of the Trojans in Italy and thus the fate of the future Roman people.[156] Likewise the second portion comes from Book 9 and again describes the beginning of a pivotal battle in which Turnus and the Latins attack the Trojan camp, a battle in which arrows and darts are prominent.[157] In both cases Walsingham pruned away wording from the original text which added nothing to his own account and the lines are combined seamlessly, demonstrating that he was very comfortable with the text.[158] Both of these Virgilian battles are pivotal victories for the Trojans in which their survival and future empire are at stake, and one of which was won primarily through skill at archery. The third Virgilian quotation relates to the grandness of the French cavalry, described as noble steeds that, 'as one might say, "golden are the chains that hang low on their breasts", and more, "covered with yellow gold they champ gold between their teeth"'.[159] This quotation comes from Virgil's description of the horses King Latinus intended to give to Aeneas as dowry for his daughter, but which were

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[154] See *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 678) - esp. 'Quia architenentes hinc inde obuiantes equitibus, tot simul emisere iacula ut illa tempestate grandinea primitus equites dissiparent' (before the quotations); 'Tunc iterato uolat undique telorum nubes, et ferrum ferro sonat dum iaculaconstanter emissa cassides feriunt, laminas et loricas. Cadunt proinde plurimi e Gallis sagittis terebrati, hinc quinquageni, hinc pariter sexageni' (after the quotations).

[155] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 674) - 'postea uix summos spargebat lumine montes, orta dies cum // tuba terribilem sonitum procul ere canoro increpuit' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.) (my break).

[156] See Virgil, *Aeneid* II (pp. 304-66; Walsingham's quote at p. 308).

[157] See Virgil, *Aeneid* II (pp. 146-70; Walsingham's quote at p. 146).

[158] Walsingham removed a poetic reference to dawn as the rise of the Sun's steeds from the sea from the first quotation (Virgil, *Aeneid* II (p. 308)), and removed both 'But...' from the beginning of the next quoted line and '...a shout follows and the sky re-echoes' from the end (II (p. 148)) as neither particularly suited the meaning of his newly combined lines.

[159] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 674-6) - 'ut ita dicam, "aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent", qui insuper, "tecti auro fuluum mandunt sub dentibus aurum"' (I have amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' translation). This may appear to be two distinct quotations but in actual fact Walsingham had simply added his own 'qui insuper' between two lines from Virgil's poem.

never given to Aeneas.[160] As with the previous archery-related quotations, this one forms a part of Walsingham's own description of the battle, specifically the grand equipment of the French.[161] Thus, via these quotations, Walsingham managed to parallel a pivotal and heroic English victory over a powerful enemy at Agincourt, won in large part through English skill at archery, to similarly pivotal and heroic Roman victories over a powerful enemy. That Aeneas' victories led to the establishment of the future Roman Empire and Henry V's victory at Agincourt looked to contemporary observers as if it would vindicate Henry's claim to the French throne may add another layer to this paralleling.

While Walsingham was clearly very familiar with Virgil's text, he was just as familiar with Lucan's *De Bello Civile*. Described as 'next to the *Aeneid*, the most popular classical epic in the Middle Ages' by one modern scholar, Lucan's poem also enjoyed significant readership in the medieval period.[162] With Virgil, Lucan appeared prominently among Walsingham's classical quotations in the *Chronica* and in the *Prohemia Poetarum*, and copies of the poem are attested at several contemporary English Benedictine houses.[163] Lucan's text was also known to Chaucer in the fourteenth century, who praised Lucan as (with Virgil) one of the five greatest poets who ever lived, and was studied by fifteenth-century English humanists.[164] Given this popularity, the high degree of quotation from the poem in the

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[160] See Virgil, *Aeneid* II (pp. 20-2).

[161] Immediately before the quotation Walsingham had written of the advancing French forces as 'strong men in line, equipped with shining arms' and on 'fine, noble steeds' (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 674) - 'Nec segnius summo mane Galli in eundem campum aciem primam emittunt, uiris instructam fortibus, armis ornatam fulgentibus, equitibus hinc inde precedentibus in equis generosis et nobilibus quibus ut ita dicam').

[162] Lucan's significance in the Middle Ages does seem somewhat understudied in recent decades, but for some work on the subject see: E.F. Shannon, 'Chaucer and Lucan's *Pharsalia*', in *Modern Philology* 16 (1919) (pp. 609-14); J. Crosland, 'Lucan in the Middle Ages', in *The Modern Language Review* 25 (1930) (pp. 32-51); E.M. Sanford, 'Quotations from Lucan in Mediaeval Latin Authors', in *The American Journal of Philology* 55 (1934) (pp. 1-19, quote at p. 1); and E. D'Angelo, 'Lucan in Medieval Latin: A Survey of the Bibliography', in ed. P. Asso, *Brill's Companion to Lucan* (Leiden, 2011) (pp. 465-78).

[163] Walsingham cited Lucan's text twice in the fourteenth-century text (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 995)) and 8 times in the fifteenth-century text (II (p. 849)). Lucan and his text appear in *Prohemia Poetarum* (pp. 63-7, 121-6, 162-8). James Clark has suggested that Walsingham's *accessus* on Lucan enjoyed an independent circulation and that, as with Virgil's *Aeneid*, Walsingham's clear command of the text suggests familiarity with the full original not just *florilegia* (in his *A Monastic Renaissance* (pp. 170, 182-3, 197, 199, 224)). Counting only library catalogues and booklists dating from the fourteenth century or earlier there are some 10 copies of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* recorded in Benedictine monastic collections (see: *English Benedictine Libraries* (nos. **B29.10** (Evesham), **B68.317** (Ramsey Abbey), **B79.186** (Rochester, 3 copies), **B115.13** (Worcester)); *Dover Priory* (no. **BM1.416**); and *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (nos. **BA1.1447**, **BA1.1448**, **BA1.1480f**)). Of these houses, Ramsey Abbey, Rochester, Dover Priory and St Augustine's Canterbury all also possessed copies of the *Aeneid*.

[164] See: Shannon, 'Chaucer and Lucan's *Pharsalia*' (pp. 609-11); Weiss, *Humanism in England* (pp. 2-3, 94, 142-3); and Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature* (pp. 38-9, 63, 94, 123 (89), 127, 166 (n. 20)).

Chronica, and the skilful manipulation of those quotes, it seems safe to assume that Walsingham was intimately familiar with Lucan's text.

Three of Walsingham's five quotes from Lucan's poem are found within his account of Henry V's supposed speech before the battle.[165] The first two of these are in fact a doubling of lines from separate parts of the poem, similar to the quotation of Virgil discussed above, and come as Henry rides his horse along the front line encouraging his men (the action itself actually conveyed by the quotation from Balbus Italicus' text).[166] In Walsingham's telling Henry begins, 'Most loyal comrades':

> For a great work of virtue and great work
> We move into the field //
> Behold, the very day your virtue has often demanded is here
> Therefore pour out all your strength[167]

The first portion of this quotation originates from Lucan's speech by Cato on his march across Africa in Book 9 of the poem, but Walsingham pruned away the latter half of the second line as it referred to 'barren fields and the burned world', inappropriate for a battle in Normandy.[168] Walsingham intervened even more in the second part of the quotation, removing a reference to 'the end of civil war' from its middle and patching up the Latin, again as it was not relevant to Agincourt.[169] Both this second quotation and the third, that 'God has placed all in the middle of the field', originate from Lucan's version of Pompey's speech

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[165] For discussion of what, if any, speech Henry actually made see Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud, 2005, repr. 2010) (pp. 166-7, 236-7, 242-3) and idem, 'The Battle Speeches of Henry V', in *Reading Medieval Studies* 34 (2008) (pp. 77-97). Aside from the heavy classical quotation Walsingham's speech for Henry V very much fits within the medieval chronicle traditions discussed in J.R.E. Bliese, 'Rhetoric and Morale: A Study of Battle Orations from the Central Middle Ages', in *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989) (pp. 201-26) and M.H. Hansen, 'The Battle Exhortation in Ancient Historiography. Fact or Fiction?', in *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 42 (1993) (pp. 161-80; pp. 173-9 for discussion of Hundred Years War examples).

[166] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 676) - 'carried on his lofty steed he flies around the battle lines, inciting his commanders and strengthening their resolve for battle' ('sublimis equo subuectus uolat agmina circum // hortaturque duces et animos ad prelia firmat') (my trans.). Walsingham made two minor changes to the lines, which may indicate he acquired it from a secondary source - he dropped the reference to 'Rex Danaum' at the start, and added 'subuectus' (for the original see *Poetae Latini Minores. Volume III* (ed. A. Baehrens) (Leipzig, 1881) (p. 32)).

[167] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 676) - 'O fidissimi sociis, inquit, "Ad magnum uirtutis opus summosque labores // uadimus in campum. // En ipsam diem quem flagitauit sepius uestra uirtus. // Totas igitur uestras effundite uires"' (my trans.).

[168] Lucan, *The Civil War (Pharsalia)* (ed. & trans. J.D. Duff) (Harvard, 1928) [Loeb Classical Library] (p. 532) [hereafter referenced as Lucan, *Pharsalia*] - 'Ad magnum virtutis opus summosque labores. // Vadimus in campos steriles exustaque mundi' (my trans.).

[169] Lucan, *Pharsalia* (p. 394) - 'Quem flagitat, inquit, // Vestra diem virtus, finis civilibus armis, // Quem quaesistis, adest. Totas effundite vires' (my trans.).

before the pivotal Battle of Pharsalus (48BC) was joined.[170] While it may seem odd at first for Walsingham to have sought to associate Henry and the English with Cato and Pompey, who of course lost the civil war to Caesar, in actual fact this choice may have been based on detailed knowledge of Lucan's text and on intentional resonances with Walsingham's depiction of the French and the English elsewhere in the *Chronica*. While modern classicists have stressed Lucan's text as a poem of civil war, containing themes of bodily dismemberment to mirror the dismembering of the body politic and presenting no true epic heroes, siding with Cato and Pompey would have been much more palatable to Walsingham than with Caesar.[171] For example, Cato has been suggested as the closest to a hero of the poem for his embodiment of Stoic values and his defence of the Roman *leges* and *patria*, particularly expressed in the Book 9 speech from which Walsingham quoted.[172] Much the same holds true for Pompey too, especially in his speech before the Battle of Pharsalus. In his speech Pompey urges his men to fight for their country and their families, and to fight for 'freedom' (*libera*) against Caesar's desire to subject them to slavery (*servio*).[173] This speech is said to have roused 'Roman *virtus*' as Pompey's men resolve to fight and die for Rome.[174] By contrast Caesar is depicted as a 'wicked conqueror' who fights with *furor* and *rabies*, and his own pre-battle speech is self-centred and urges his men into what he acknowledges is an attack on their own people, even urging them to take credit for killing their kinsmen.[175]

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[170] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 676) - 'Medio posuit Deus omnia campo' (I have slightly amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' translation for a more literal rendering). This is an exact quote of a line very closely following the previous quote in Lucan's text (see Lucan, *Pharsalia* (p. 394)).

[171] See in particular: D.C. Feeney, '*Stat Magni Nominis Umbra*: Lucan on the Greatness of Pompeius Magnus', in *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1986) (pp. 239-43); J. Masters, *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's* Bellum Civile (Cambridge, 1992) (pp. 1-42); and V.B. Gorman, 'Lucan's Epic *Aristeia* and the Hero of the *Bellum Civile*', in *The Classical Journal* 96 (2001) (pp. 263-90).

[172] The full text of Cato's speech, including its glorying in physical hardship and comment that 'Hard is the path to freedom (lit. 'laws'), and hard to win the love of our country in her fall' ('Durum iter ad leges patriaeque ruentis amorem') (Duff's trans. with my addition), is at Lucan, *Pharsalia* (pp. 532-4). After the speech Cato's men are fired up with 'virtuous spirit and love of labour' ('Sic ille paventes // Incendit virtute animos et amore labores') (my trans.) (Lucan, *Pharsalia* (p. 534)). For Cato as the closest thing to a 'hero' in the text see Gorman, 'Lucan's Epic *Aristeia*' (pp. 284-8).

[173] Lucan, *Pharsalia* (pp. 394-6) - Pompey urges his men that 'If any man yearns for his country (*patria*) and home, for wife and children and dear ones left behind, he must strike to gain them'; he claims that 'Our better cause' ('Causa iubet melior') brings the gods' favour and that the gods will aid them in battle; he stresses the unity of many nations and famous men in his army; he urges his men to imagine that the women of Rome, the senators, and the city herself beseech them to fight; and he claims that Romans of both past and future urged the army to defend their 'freedom' from Caesar's 'slavery'.

[174] Lucan, *Pharsalia* (p. 396) - 'Voce ducis flagrant animi, Romanaque virtus // Erigitur, placuitque mori, si vera timeret'.

[175] Lucan, *Pharsalia* (pp. 386-94) - in his speech Caesar speaks of the 'guilt' already attached to his men for their war on their own *patria*; he speaks of the 'rivers of blood' and carnage which battle will produce; he speaks of *his* 'destiny' and *his* will; and he urges his men to kill their kinsmen in the opposing force and take credit for it. Caesar as 'wicked conqueror' ('victoris iniqui') is in Lucan's preamble to the battle (*Pharsalia* (p. 370)), along with a lament on the evils of civil war (*Pharsalia* (pp.

According to Lucan's telling, Caesar went to the battle 'sick of delay and passionately lusting for kingly rule', a desire directly opposed to Pompey's defence of Roman 'freedom'.[176] Perhaps most significantly, before Caesar's speech Lucan's own poetic voice overtly claims that later readers will side with Pompey.[177] Thus by associating Henry V with Pompey and, by extension, the French with Caesar Walsingham not only fitted the English army to the more positive Roman side but also furthered an association of the English with just rule and the French with tyranny or domination expressed elsewhere in the *Chronica*.

In the case of these quotations Walsingham appears to have sought to parallel the contemporary English to the ancient Romans, using them as a model of a past glorious and virtuous people to which the English could be compared. Both in terms of English society and English military endeavours Walsingham held up the ancient Romans as an idealised national exemplar alongside which the English could stand. Classical quotations were thus a vehicle for Walsingham's own national pride and glorification. This is not to say that the classics were the only such vehicles which Walsingham availed himself, for example citing the early medieval writer Venantius Fortunatus in praise of England's fecundity and comparing the Black Prince to Alexander the Great,[178] but Roman classical texts do appear to have enjoyed particular prominence in this narrative tactic.

370-84)). In the battle itself one side is said to fight for 'kingly rule' (*regnum*) and the other against it (Lucan, *Pharsalia* (p. 398)), and Caesar attacks Pompey's centre with *furor* ('fury' or mad rage) and *rabies* ('frenzy' or 'madness'), stimulating the same in his men (*Pharsalia* (p. 410)).

[176] Lucan, *Pharsalia* (p. 386) - 'Aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni'.

[177] Lucan, *Pharsalia* (p. 384) - 'And all men will be spell-bound as they read the tragedy, as if it were still to come and not past; and all will take sides with Magnus' ('Attonitique omnes veluti venientia fata, // Non transmissa, legent et adhuc tibi, Magne, favebunt') (Duff's trans.).

[178] For the comparison of the Black Prince to Alexander the Great see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 36) - Walsingham claimed that, like Alexander, no city or people could withstand the Prince. Walsingham of course completed his own researches on Alexander for his *Historia Alexandri Magni Principis* (see above (p. 29)). For the use of Venantius Fortunatus see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 914) - Walsingham used the quotation to praise the fertility of England as metaphor for the foresight of then-Mayor of London in using city funds to import grain during a food shortage.

iii) The Idea of Rome in Late Medieval England

While a full survey of references to Rome and the Romans in late medieval English culture is far beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting that Walsingham fitted within wider currents of English clerical and monastic nationalising uses of ancient Rome, similar to what was discussed regarding the French in the preceding chapter. Broadly speaking, contemporary English uses of ancient Rome for English self-fashioning followed three chief avenues: theories, however generalised, of a form of *translatio* from Rome to England; using the Romans as idealised models or comparisons for the English; and using the decline of the Roman people as a national-moral warning to the English.

As mentioned above, explicit English theories of *translatio imperii* or *studii* were rare. The only outright example encountered thus far is that of Richard of Bury discussed above, in which Bury argued that 'admirable Minerva', representing learning but also bringing with her military power or 'soldiery', had travelled from the East, through Rome and France, to England.[179] Bury was of course a patron of learning in England, possibly even influencing Edward III's policies on educational institutions, and in his text displayed a clear fondness for and familiarity with classical authorities.[180] While Bury's schema is the only explicit statement of England as successor to ancient Rome encountered so far, Kathy Lavezzo has argued that late medieval English mapmakers and Ranulf Higden in his *Polychronicon* put forward a more generalised and less formal narrative of English inheritance of Roman greatness.[181] Lavezzo argues, on the basis of the positioning and relative size of items on English *mappaemundi* such as the fourteenth-century Ramsey Abbey map and the map found in the earliest copies of Gerald of Wales' works, that these mapmakers displayed a schema of cultural and historical progression from Rome to England.[182] Similarly, Lavezzo argues, in the

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[179] Bury's *translatio studii* schema is at Richard of Bury, *Philobiblon* (pp. 70-1) and the full passage is quoted in full above (at p. 205).

[180] For Bury and his life see above (p. 205 and n. 112). For Bury's potential influence on Edward III on the subject of education and scholarship see Ormrod, *Edward III* (pp. 11-2, 309-10). For examples of Bury's use of classical authorities see Richard of Bury, *Philobiblon* (pp. 1, 9-10, 20-1, 65-70); Bury also noted that he deliberately chose to give the treatise a Greek title 'after the fashion of the ancient Romans' (p. 6).

[181] In Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge* (esp. pp. 1-26, 71-92). Lavezzo also studied the work of Gerald of Wales and Chaucer's Man of Law's Tale in the same light, although it must be said that her conclusions on these sources are more qualified and less convincing (see her *Angels on the Edge* (pp. 46-70, 93-113)). For a perceptive discussion of this book see H. Magennis, 'Geography and English Identity in the Middle Ages', in *College Literature* 35 (2008) (pp. 185-8).

[182] For the Gerald of Wales map (in National Library of Ireland MS 700) see: T. O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin: A Window into the World of Giraldus Cambrensis', in *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999) (pp. 24-6, 28); P. Barber, 'Medieval Maps of the World', in ed. P.D.A. Harvey, *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London, 2006) (pp. 14-6); and

Polychronicon Higden presented a narrative of world history which progressed from Old Testament history (Books 2-3), through the classical world and Christian empire (Books 3-5), to an almost exclusive focus on British and English history (Books 5-7).[183] Notably too Higden came to Britain last of all in his geographical description of the world in Book 1, describing Britain as *specialissimam* or 'the most special' to God and *novissimam* or either 'the last' region or 'the newest' region, which also presents Britain as somewhat the end result of the progression of world history.[184] While Lavezzo's arguments raise some tantalising possibilities regarding medieval English visions of the relationship of England to ancient Rome, it must be said that they are rather subjective and perhaps require further detailed study before they can be truly confirmed.

Whether or not certain English writers may have subscribed to notions of an Anglo-centric *translatio*, the use of the ancient Romans as a model of past military prowess and greatness which the English could and should emulate was more common. For example, Walter of Peterborough's poem *Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain and the Battle of Nájera*, discussed in the previous chapter, says of the Black Prince:

> I know of the Romans and of all the kings of Israel,
> The French and the Greeks, no man lies hidden among them,
> No Roman, no king of Israel,
> More honest, more pious, not Numa, nor David himself.[185]

Here Walter paralleled the Prince to various militarily-successful peoples, including the Romans and the Israelites, but elsewhere in the poem he also went beyond this in seeking to depict the English forces in Iberia in a semi-Roman vein. The poem describes the Prince as

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Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge* (pp. 65-70, Plate 2). The MS was likely owned by Gerald himself (see Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica* (pp. xxxvii, xliv-xlvii, lii-lvii)). The map depicts Rome, England and Ireland in a direct East-West line, hugely amplifying the size of both Rome and the British Isles. For the Ramsey Abbey map (in BL Royal MS 14.C.IX) see Barber, 'Medieval Maps of the World' (pp. 32-5) and Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge* (p. 71, Plate 3). The mapmaker coloured three areas in red, namely the Red Sea, Jerusalem and England, and the icon of Rome lies directly beneath a line joining these three.

[183] See Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge* (esp. pp. 25, 72-3, 87-90). Lavezzo somewhat overstates the precision of the shifts in focus across the books of the *Polychronicon*, but the general progression of the narrative does reflect that which she describes. Cf. Peter Brown who finds Higden more ambiguous regarding national identity (in his 'Higden's Britain' (pp. 103-18)).

[184] See Higden, *Polychronicon* I (pp. 328-430) and II (pp. 2-174). The special status of Britain is at Higden, *Polychronicon* I (p. 26) - 'provincia quaeque partialis percurritur, donec perveniatur ad omnium novissimam Britanniam, tanquam ad speciem specialissimam, cuius gratia tota praesens lucubrata est historia' (my trans.). For *novus* and its superlative see Lewis & Short's definition, at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=novus&la=la#lexicon [accessed 27/06/15].

[185] *Political Poems and Songs* I (p. 99) - 'Novi Romanos et reges Israel omnes, // Gallos et Graecos, nemo latens in eis, // Nullus Romanus, nullus rex Israel illo, // Plus probus, immo pius, Numa, nec ipse David' (my trans.). For discussion of Walter and his poem see Kagay & Villalon, 'Winning and Recalling Honor in Spain' (pp. 146-63).

taking up the same position in battle as Caesar, describes the English army using purposefully classicising terms ('praetor', 'legiones'), and populates the opposing forces with likewise classicising enemies ('Numidians', 'Carthaginians' and so on).[186] Dealing specifically with models of rulership John Gower in his address to Henry IV urged the king to emulate the *pité* and *charité* of the Roman emperor Constantine.[187] According to Gower the reign of Constantine, known in medieval English historiography for his British ancestry and efforts against tyranny, was characterised by its 'pité' which led him to convert the empire to Christianity, and in the very next verse Gower proclaimed Henry's own 'pité' as visible to all men and pleasing to God.[188] Similar parallels are found in the *Versus Rhythmici de Henrico Quinti* penned sometime c.1414-18 by an anonymous monk of Westminster Abbey, a poem which sought to praise Henry V's treatment of the abbey and thus may have been intended for the king himself.[189] This poem explicitly parallels Henry's 'sweet-smelling' household to that of Augustus in ancient Rome, and in discussing the king's youth writes 'You were born in August, revered infant, God willing you will be considered our just Caesar'.[190] If this poem and Gower's were truly intended for royal readership then it suggests that, in addition to being an appealing parallel for learned writers, ancient Rome was thought to be an appealing parallel for secular rulers too. Both Walter's martial paralleling and the poets' political one sought to use the ancient Romans as models for contemporary Englishmen to be measured against, similar to Walsingham's use of classical quotation regarding English society and military exploits.

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[186] See *Political Poems and Songs* I (pp. 106, 108, 116). See also Kagay & Villalon, 'Winning and Recalling Honor' (pp. 151, 154).

[187] The full address covers *Political Poems and Songs* II (pp. 4-15), and the reference to Constantine is at (p. 14). Gower also referred to the Nine Worthies (Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Hector, Judas Maccabeus, David, Joshua, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Arthur) but it is Constantine who appears closest to the end of the poem and therefore closest to the direct address to 'My worthi liege lord, Henri'.

[188] See *Political Poems and Songs* II (p. 14). For Constantine's importance in English historiography in the Middle Ages, particularly his reputation as a scion of Britain, a man of 'pite' and a striver against tyranny, see for example: Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 96-8, 116, 218); Higden, *Polychronicon* V (pp. 114-32; esp. pp. 124-6); *The Brut, or Chronicles of England* I (pp. 40-1); and Adam Usk (pp. 158, 172, 182, 198-200, 226). Tudor writers would also use the example of Constantine in their efforts to draw imperial glory into their nation-building efforts (see Helgerson, 'Writing Empire and Nation' (p. 316) and S.J. Mottram, *Reforming Nationhood: England in the Literature of the Tudor Imperial Age, 1509-1553* (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2005) (pp. 4-6, 63-71, 83-8)).

[189] For this poem see *Memorials of Henry the Fifth, King of England* (ed. C.A. Cole) (London, 1858, Kraus repr. 1964) [Rolls Series, 11] (pp. 63-75) and Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (p. 299).

[190] *Memorials of Henry the Fifth* (pp. 64, 68) - 'Tota domus redolet regis nunc tempore sani, // Ut redolere solet quondam laus Octaviani'; 'Natus in Augusto fuerus, infans reverendus, // Velle Dei justo tu Caesar noster habendus' (my trans.). The poet also compared Henry to Old Testament figures including David, Moses and Solomon, as well as Hector and Gawain (see *Memorials of Henry the Fifth* (p. 70)).

The third avenue by which late medieval English writers used the idea of Rome for their own national ends was by using the fall of the Roman empire as a moral warning or exemplar for contemporary English society. Walsingham did this through explicitly describing the decline of Roman virtue and power based on his reading of Virgil, but contemporary preachers drew on much the same theme to lament and warn against the sins of their flock. For example, Thomas Brinton (d.1389), a Benedictine monk and later Bishop of Rochester, left behind a sermon collection which includes some uses of the Roman empire as an explicit moral warning to the English.[191] In his twelfth sermon Brinton attacked the sins of the English, particularly their *superbia*, avarice, anger and love of luxury, and compared them with the ancient Romans whose sins had cost them their empire.[192] According to Brinton, Rome had flourished when 'milicia et clerimonia' (broadly 'military service and priestly knowledge') flourished there and as a result the entire world had submitted to Roman rule, but when the people devoted themselves to 'vices and sins' ('viciis et peccatis') the city was destroyed according to an anagrammatic formula.[193] Each stage of Brinton's anagrammatic formula, 'Pater Patrie Periit Sapiencia Sancta Subiit Regna Regnorum Runt Ferro Flamma Fame', which he claimed explained the fall of the Romans, was then explained in relation to fourteenth-century England: the king had lost power; sacred wisdom was lost for earthly knowledge; and the fire of sin burned the realm.[194] This anagram and the use of Roman decline as moral warning was a relatively common tool in this kind of sermon, also appearing in Brinton's seventy-third sermon and the fourteenth-century preacher's handbook the *Fasciculus Morum*.[195] In the twelfth sermon however Brinton went further, stating:

> In the time of our king the kingdom of England has, in the manner or
> Rome, been called the kingdom of kingdoms, because it has had so many
> victories, has captured so many kings, and has seized so many dominions,
> as is said in scripture: *Blessed is the land whose king is noble*
> (Ecclesiasticus 9). But I fear that because of all of our sins our kingdom has
> decayed and collapsed, and God, who used to be an Englishman, has

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[191] For Brinton's life, career and sermons see: *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (pp. ix-xviii); Pantin, *The English Church* (pp. 182-5); and Summerson, 'Brinton, Thomas (d.1389)'.

[192] Sermon 12 covers *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (pp. 43-8).

[193] *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (p. 47) - Dum in civitate Romana milicia et clerimonia floruerunt, Romani quasi totum mundum sue subdiderant dictioni, sed postquam vacarunt viciis et peccatis sub hac forma monstrata est destructio civitatis'.

[194] *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (pp. 47-8).

[195] See *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* II (pp. 338-40) and *Fasciculus Morum* (pp. 316-22). The writer of the *Fasciculus Morum* quoted from various classical authorities, including quoting prominently from Virgil's *Aeneid* (see *Fasciculus Morum* (pp. 174, 204, 598, 614)), leading to the possibility that he too had felt some form of connection between Virgil's Roman virtues and the contemporary English.

> withdrawn from us, as is said in scripture: *The eyes of the Lord are upon the sinful kingdom* (Hosea/Amos 9).[196]

Here then Brinton produced the most explicit statement of Rome's decline and fall as a national-moral exemplar for the English, in a medium intended to arrest any such decline among the English. While Walsingham's discussion of Roman decline was by no means as explicit as these, there are clear similarities in his use of Rome as example. The difference in genre and intended audience for these examples of Rome as moral warning likely explains the differences - sermons were intended to be read to a general audience and thus relied upon clear explanation and recognisable historical topics, while Walsingham's chronicle was intended for a monastic readership, likely containing many scholar monks like Walsingham himself. Thus Walsingham could be more subtle and assume that his readers would infer more when reading his text than perhaps Brinton felt able to.

As seen above, Walsingham's use of the idea of Rome in terms of contemporary England and the English followed the latter two of these three avenues. Based on his reading of classical texts which glorified the Romans as the pinnacle of virtue and power he constructed the ancient Romans as such a paragon, first as a moral example of a declined people as warning to the English, and second as paragons to whom the English could be compared and paralleled when acting particularly admirably. What is also clear is that Walsingham's uses of the idea of Rome in this way should not be viewed in isolation - there was in fact a small but significant number of other contemporary English writers experimenting with similar ideas of Rome in the formation and addressing of English nationhood.

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[196] *Sermons of Thomas Brinton* I (p. 47) - 'Tempore regis nostri regnum regnorum ad modum Rome regnum Anglie est vocatum, quia tot victorias habuit, tot reges captiuauit, et tot dominie occupauit dicente scriptura, Ecclesiastici 9: *Beata terra cuius rex est nobilis.* Sed timeo quod propter peccata nostra omne nostrum deficit regnum et ruit, et Deus qui solebat esse Anglicus a nobis recedit, dicente scriptura Osee 9: *Oculi Domini super regnum peccans.*' (Devlin notes that the second quotation is actually from Amos 9:8 not Hosea). This passage appears translated in Ruddick, 'National Sentiment and Religious Vocabulary' (pp. 1-2), but I have amended Ruddick's translation to include the biblical quotations and rendered 'Anglicus' as 'Englishman' rather than 'English'. Ruddick does not note the significance of the use of Roman rather than Israelite models.

c) <u>Conclusion</u>

Walsingham's characterisation of the English as an ethnic-national community was largely constructed through the setting up of Others, the characterisation of other ethnic-national groups as less civilised, more savage or more prideful than the English. There were some occasional generalised characterisations of the English in the *Chronica*, including the depiction of England as 'mistress of nations' and the English as inherently just and pre-eminent in war, but in general Walsingham's approach to the English was more to assume their innate qualities *in potentia*. Potentially the English, for Walsingham at least, were inherently capable of being paragons of virtue and power, if they acted correctly. It was this contingency or agency regarding the qualities of the English, the kinds of qualities which were generalised and taken for granted in other peoples, which set Walsingham's own people apart from others in his chronicle. Walsingham's chief focus when describing the English as a people was not to generalise them as a nation but to praise, question and critique their morality.

This concern for English morality and action over the assertion of generalised ethnic-national traits is also evident in Walsingham's apparent attempts to defend the English people from charges of their innate treacherousness or inconstancy. Possibly having encountered this stereotype of the English through his reading of Higden's *Polychronicon* or from more general reports of English international reputation, the chronicler appears to have sought to actively deny the truth of such a characterisation and to forcefully assert that in actual fact the English were a particularly loyal and constant people.

Lastly, an important part of Walsingham's presentation of the English nation was his use of ancient Roman models, acquired through his reading of classical Roman texts, which he used as both a moral warning to the English people and as (self-)glorifying parallels or comparisons to contemporary English society and action. The Romans served in the *Chronica* as an explicit example of a once-great but now declined nation, providing the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century English reader of the chronicle with a framework of how their own nation might avoid such a fate. Also, the Romans served, in their ancient and glorious state, as positive comparisons with which to praise and elevate contemporary Englishmen. This use of the idea of ancient Rome in late medieval England is not much studied in modern scholarship but can actually be shown to have been a significant interpretative and polemical tool for monastic and clerical writers of the period.

Chapter 6
The Depiction of Aliens in the *Chronica Maiora*

Late medieval England has long been known to have possessed a considerable population of immigrants or aliens, meaning those individuals born outside of England who chose to reside within England. This alien population had significant impact not just numerically within English society but also in the sphere of English culture. Large-scale studies of the alien population have tended to focus on the fifteenth century thanks to the abundant source materials available for such a task, including the records of the 1436 oath of fealty required of Flemish immigrants, letters of denization granted to individual aliens, the views of hosts recording the lodging of alien merchants in English households, and of course the alien subsidy poll taxes levied on resident aliens from 1440 onwards.[1] Generally too, studies have tended to focus on specific high-profile groups, occupations, and urban centres. The *England's Immigrants 1330-1550* project at the University of York has sought to expand knowledge of the alien population by building an online database of recorded resident aliens, and has been able to demonstrate that England's immigrant population was more socially and economically diverse and more geographically widespread across the entirety of this period than has been previously understood.[2] While high-profile immigrant groups such as goldsmiths, textile workers and members of the nobility continue to be prominent in the record, the England's Immigrants project has also been able to demonstrate the existence of considerably lower-profile immigrants such as the Janyn Frenssheman 'keeper of the pigs' for Harringworth in Northamptonshire in 1440, possible Icelandic slave boys in Bristol, and many others.[3]

Despite the scale and diversity of this alien population within England, such aliens are conspicuous by their absence from contemporary chronicles. Virtually no foreigners of any kind appear in the London Chronicle version closest in date to Walsingham (the Julius B II version); the same is true of Adam Usk's chronicle; and there are more references to foreigners in the documents copied into Henry Knighton's chronicle than there are in the text

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[1] For introductions to these sources see: S. Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440', in *Speculum* 32 (1957) (pp. 262-73); J.L. Bolton, *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483-4* (Stamford, 1998); *The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants, 1440-1444* (ed. H. Bradley) (London, 2012) [London Record Society, 46]; and B. Lambert & W.M. Ormrod, 'Friendly Foreigners: International Warfare, Resident Aliens and the Early History of Denization in England, c.1250-c.1400', in *English Historical Review* 130 (2015) (pp. 1-24).

[2] See the England's Immigrants 1330-1550 website and online database, available at: https://www.englandsimmigrants.com, and the two forthcoming books resulting from the project.

[3] For Janyn Frenssheman see https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/person/51064 [accessed 19/05/15]. For the possible Icelandic slave trade in Bristol see the work of Peter Fleming on Bristol for the England's Immigrants 1330-1550 book (forthcoming).

itself.[4] Nor does any fourteenth-century chronicle yet discovered devote space to the kind of generalised anti-immigrant diatribes found in some more modern discourses. By comparison to these the *Chronica Maiora* presents perhaps the most extensive and detailed picture of the alien population, but does so thanks more to its greater length and detail than any demonstrable interest in or desire to engage with the alien population. But how might this lack of interest in England's immigrant and foreign-born population be explained?

Although impossible to say with certainty, it seems almost inconceivable that a chronicler such as Walsingham was not aware of and had no contact with the alien population. The data assembled by the England's Immigrants project, while by no means a full census of the alien population before the 1440s, does demonstrate the presence of aliens in those areas of significance to Walsingham. While the chronicler's hometown of Walsingham and the area around Wymondham, both in Norfolk, display little in terms of alien presence, this is not the case for the area around St Albans itself.[5] An Irishman named Andrew Love, dwelling in St Albans, is recorded as having purchased a licence to remain in England in 1394; one of the very licences which Walsingham complained about in the *Chronica* for that year, discussed above.[6] In 1436 eight men took oaths of fealty to the English crown in St Albans itself and another ten in the wider hundred, all Low Countries natives given the nature of the 1436 oath programme.[7] Three of these St Albans residents were still present in the town four years later, suggestive of long-term residence, when the first assessment of the 1440 alien subsidy counted some thirty-seven aliens living in St Albans and another forty-nine across the rest of the hundred.[8] Sadly the scribes responsible for the Hertfordshire subsidy assessment neglected to record the nationalities of most of these aliens, but whatever their origins this was a not inconsiderable alien presence in the area around Walsingham's chief residence. At Oxford, the other location at which Walsingham is known to have spent substantial time, there was a small but significant alien population. While T.H. Aston has termed the contemporary Oxford

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[4] See Julius B II in *Chronicles of London* (pp. 1-116); Adam Usk; and Henry Knighton (the documents which contain the majority of Knighton's references to aliens are at pp. 372-88, 482).

[5] The records assembled for the England's Immigrants database include only one alien resident in Walsingham 1300-1440, a Walter Grove from 'Werde, Myffold' who took the 1436 oath of fealty (and was thus likely a Low Countries native) (*CPR 1429-36* (p. 547) [EIDB]). No records at all refer to aliens resident in Wymondham specifically before 1483, and only 5 aliens are recorded in the wider hundred (North Greenhoe hundred) in the 1440 alien subsidy (TNA E179/149/126, m. 4 [EIDB]).

[6] *CPR 1391-96* (p. 456) [EIDB]. For Walsingham's coverage of such licences see above (pp. 146-7).

[7] For the St Albans oath records see *CPR 1429-36* (pp. 550, 558, 569, 575, 584) [EIDB], and for those of the wider Cashio hundred (dwelling in Watford, Barnet and Abbot's Langley, all of which are relatively close to St Albans itself) see *CPR 1429-36* (pp. 554-5, 558-9, 563, 568) [EIDB]. The 1436 oath was a targeted measure aimed at Low Countries natives in England after Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy and Flanders abandoned his English allegiance and attacked Calais in that year.

[8] For the 1440 alien subsidy assessment for the town of St Albans and the rest of the hundred see TNA E179/120/83 [EIDB]. The individuals appearing in both the oath of fealty records and the 1440 assessment are a Reginald Derrikson or Ducheman, a Simon Scarlet and a John Scarlet.

University a 'homespun' place with rather insular student recruitment, on average some two percent of the students came from the continent and another four percent from Ireland, Scotland and Wales.[9] In 1369 too, around the time Walsingham may have been in attendance, one French and two Breton Franciscans received letters of protection while teaching at the university.[10] Elsewhere in the town eight Irishmen received licences to remain in 1394, as did another four in 1413, and a Brabanter named James Peterson took the 1436 oath of fealty.[11] Sadly the 1440 alien subsidy records for Oxfordshire do not survive, but from what partial documentation does exist it appears that both university and town possessed small but consistent alien populations.

While their everyday contact with the alien population may have come more through news reported by others, monastic chroniclers should not be considered as entirely divorced from that population given the proximity of aliens living within the immediate local community and in other communities in which the chroniclers had lived. Given this proximity that Walsingham, and his contemporaries, enjoyed to England's alien population it seems unlikely that the lack of interest demonstrated by their chronicles reflects outright hostility, spite or distaste. Instead it seems more likely that the alien population was an accepted part of everyday life in late medieval England, so ubiquitous as to not warrant special attention in the chronicles.

Where Walsingham did choose to depict the presence and experiences of non-English individuals in England in the *Chronica*, his treatment of those people and the way they appear are significant on two levels. Firstly, there appears to be little mapping of the abstracted ethnic-national stereotypes of certain nationalities discussed in the preceding chapters onto such individuals. For example, a squire who Walsingham claimed fought for the English in defence of Lewes in 1377 is specifically noted as French in origin, but without any evident association with pridefulness or harsh rule.[12] In places the *Chronica* narrative seems almost to subvert these stereotypes for narrative effect. For example, in praising the loyalty of the Scottish Earl of Dunbar in his fighting for Henry IV in 1404-06, an attribute rather unlike the usual stereotypical depiction of Scots in the chronicle, the Earl is used as a pointed contrast to

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[9] T.H. Aston, 'Oxford's Medieval Alumni', in *Past and Present* 74 (1977) (pp. 21-2).

[10] *CPR 1367-70* (p. 287) [EIDB] - all three are recorded as 'engaged in scholastic acts', presumably teaching.

[11] For the 1394 licences see *CPR 1391-96* (pp. 454, 451, 459, 463) [EIDB]. For the 1413 licences see *CPR 1413-16* (p. 122) [EIDB]. For James Peterson see *CPR 1429-36* (p. 570) [EIDB].

[12] For French pride and oppressive rule see above (pp. 187-96). For further discussion of this unnamed squire see below (pp. 271-3).

the rebellious Percies who are themselves depicted as more savage than the Scot.[13] Such examples work to suggest that Walsingham's labelling of such individuals by their nationality while in England or in English service was not as much a specific marker of supposedly innate ethnic-national character as a marker of a more generic 'foreign'-ness.[14] Those instances of misattributed nationality within the chronicle also suggest that specific nationality was often not Walsingham's chief concern and that instead he sought chiefly to mark particular individuals as non-English or 'foreign' rather than 'German' or 'Irish' specifically.[15] Walsingham's almost entirely interchangeable use of Latin 'alien' terminology (chiefly *externus*, *forinsecus* and *alienigenus*), especially those instances in which two of these terms appear alongside one another, likewise suggests this quite generic notion of difference rather than any attempt to tie general ethnic-national stereotypes to specific individuals within England.[16]

The second and chief area of interest within Walsingham's treatment of foreigners in the *Chronica* is that of his desire to use those individuals for his own textual and polemical

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[13] For Scottish savagery see above (pp. 158-74). For further discussion of the Earl of Dunbar see below (pp. 275-9).

[14] The term 'foreign' is used in this chapter to reflect this generalised sense of non-Englishness. While 'alien' could also have been used, this tends to have a more legalistic meaning for this period (see for example its use in the Parliamentary record and the documents of the alien subsidies) and Walsingham's conception appears based on more intrinsic and nebulous ideas of ethnic-national difference than on any strict legal definition.

[15] Both Jean de Jauche (a Hainaulter) and Janico Dartasso (either a Gascon or a Navarrese) are described in the *Chronica* as 'German' ('Alemanno' and 'Almannicus nacione' respectively at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 166) and II (p. 134)). For more on Jauche and Dartasso's nationalities see below (pp. 268-9 and 274 (n. 58) respectively). There is a very slight possibility that 'German' was a synonym for 'mercenary' in this period as 'Fleming' had been previously (see K. DeVries, 'Medieval Mercenaries: Methodology, Definitions, and Problems', in ed. J. France, *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008) (pp. 43-60)). However, this seems to be contradicted by Walsingham's own reference to 'Alemanni regis stipendiarii' (which would be a tautology if 'German' were synonymous with 'mercenary') (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 136)) and by Anne Curry's work on English garrisons in France which demonstrate only very small proportions of soldiers designated as 'Allmand' (see her 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms' (pp. 151-4)). Both the Carmelite friar who abused John of Gaunt in 1384 and Richard II's hated justice William Rickhill are described as 'Irish' in the *Chronica* ('Hibernicus genere' and 'Hibernicum natione' respectively at *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 722) and II (p. 98)). In both cases this is likely spurious (for the friar see: Westminster Chronicle (pp. 68-80); Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (p. 100); and Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 131-2)) (for Rickhill see: Adam Usk (p. 32); *Chronicles of London* (p. 61); and A. Tuck, 'Rickhill, Sir William (d. 1407)', in *ODNB*).

[16] There may be a layer of nuance to the use of *forinsecus* and *externus*/*extraneus* as opposed to *alienigenus* with the latter appearing in slightly more emotive contexts, although it is also the most common term used in the *Chronica* (compare *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 304-6 (*externus*/*extraneus*), 384-6 (*alienigenus*), 576 (*externus*/*extraneus*), 620 (*forinsecus*), 690 (*alienigenus*), 784 (*alienigenus*)) and II (pp. 302-4 (*alienigenus*), 392 (*alienigenus*), 474 (*alienigenus*)). Derek Pearsall has attempted to distinguish different connotations from the 'alien' lexical sets in Chaucer's English and London official Latin, with some success (see his 'Strangers in Late Fourteenth-Century London', in eds. F.R.P. Akehurst & S.C. Van'Elden, *The Stranger in Medieval Society* (Minnesota, 1997) (pp. 46-62)). For instances in which two such terms were used for extra effect see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 312 ('externi' and 'alienigena'), 348 ('externus et alienigena'), 614-6 ('extraneus' and 'forinsecum'))).

ends, usually to criticise his fellow Englishmen. Particularly with regard to foreign soldiers and merchants Walsingham did not truly seek to depict the individuals as they were but sought to use the figure or image of the foreigner as an example or proof of one of his wider agendas of political and social criticism. For example, the bravery and loyalty of foreign soldiers is used in pointed contrast to the military failings of contemporary Englishmen, and foreign merchants on the receiving end of anti-alien violence are cast as persecuted innocents in order to attack the avarice and sinfulness of the people of London. While there are occasions in which Walsingham retailed hostile stereotypes or tropes of the foreigner, such as treacherous foreign soldiers, deceiving foreign merchants, and grasping foreign courtiers, often even these are themselves geared around commenting on contemporary Englishmen rather than on the foreigners themselves. For example, the trope of the treacherous foreign soldier is used in the *Chronica*, as elsewhere, as a convenient vehicle by which English commanders could avoid blame for military defeats, and that of conniving foreign merchants is used to attack a hated English chancellor.

In several cases Walsingham's treatment of England's alien population somewhat fits the model put forward by Paul Strohm in relation to the 1379 murder of Genoese merchant Janus Imperial, discussed below.[17] Strohm argues that:

> As an outsider, a foreigner, he remains a kind of "blind spot" in the record,
> an effectively unaffiliated individual without rights or standing, and hence
> a symbolic dumping ground for virtually any sort of signification any
> commentator wishes to place on him.[18]

Several of the more detailed accounts of resident aliens in the *Chronica* very much accord with this view of the alien as 'symbolic dumping ground' in contemporary English texts, allowing Walsingham to put forward his own narrative agendas by writing the values and criticisms he needs for those agendas onto what is in effect a blank slate. As will be shown, Walsingham often cared little for the individual identity, agency and suffering of the foreigners he described but instead sought to use them as examples to suit his own agenda. That said, Strohm's viewpoint does require some amendment in order to truly apply. While Strohm pictures the figure of 'the foreigner' as a blank slate, devoid of meaning or values of its own, a detailed consideration of Walsingham's treatment of such individuals suggests otherwise. If the figure of the foreigner carried no pre-existing connotations of its own then why should Walsingham have used foreigners to act as pointed contrasts with the English at all? We have seen above that Walsingham believed the English to be militarily superior to other peoples, which by extension means that foreigners were supposed to possess lesser

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[17] For further discussion of Janus Imperial see below (pp. 285-9).

[18] P. Strohm, 'Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial', in *Journal of British Studies* 35 (1996) (p. 20 (n. 52)).

martial abilities and thus gives the contrast of foreign soldier to Englishman its force. Similarly on several occasions Walsingham drew, either implicitly or very explicitly, on the biblical imperative to protect the 'stranger' and the spiritual benefits which such kindness could bring. As will be seen throughout the following examples, the figure of the foreigner was far from devoid of connotation or value and in fact carried several different such connotations. It was in fact these connotations, of 'foreign'-ness as inferiority and vulnerability, that gave Walsingham's use of such figures their force.

This chapter considers Walsingham's usage of the figure of the foreigner divided by three social groupings in which foreigners chiefly appear in the *Chronica*: foreign soldiers, foreign merchants and artisans, and foreign courtiers. In each of the first two groupings the negative and superficial stereotypes are considered alongside the more complex and positive, if still tactical, presentations. With regard to foreign courtiers however, Walsingham is shown to be far more hostile to foreigners on principle, a perspective which owes much to his predecessor Matthew Paris.

a) <u>Foreign Soldiers</u>[19]

Foreign soldiers serving in the armies of nations other than that of their birth were a commonplace of the Hundred Years War era, appearing in virtually every theatre of war and serving virtually every state involved in military activity.[20] The contemporary military career contained the potential for a striking degree of fluidity and flexibility in terms of inter-national service, and even the patriotic Walsingham appears to have accepted such overseas service by Englishmen without pause.[21] For example, Walsingham praised the exploits of the famous English *condotierre* John Hawkwood in the *Chronica*, notably in the same breath as his criticisms of the contemporary low standing of the people of Rome, and the chronicler's personal hero Sir Hugh Calveley, much praised in the *Chronica*, had previously enjoyed a very successful freelance military career in Iberia.[22] That said, this positive opinion could have owed much to the tendency for such men to preserve close ties and loyalties to their home nation; Calveley for example abandoned his Castilian employer at the Black Prince's request and Hawkwood played a part in English diplomacy in Italy.[23] Aside from Englishmen serving

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[19] The label 'mercenary' has been consciously avoided here given the problems of definition and later moralising attached to the label. An insightful discussion of the difficulties of the 'mercenary' label for this period is DeVries, 'Medieval Mercenaries' (pp. 43-60).

[20] See in particular Curry, 'Nationality of Men-at-Arms' (pp. 135-63) and A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King & D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013) (pp. 241-59). The records behind both of these are included in the online database assembled by the *The Soldier in Medieval England* project (at www.medievalsoldier.org [accessed 25/08/15]), but unfortunately the database does not record nationality separately from standardised surnames, making it difficult to say with any certainty which individuals were in fact non-English.

[21] Adrian Bell has found that around 10% of the Englishmen serving in the campaigns of 1387 and 1388 had previously served either in the White Company or the Free Companies, or would later take part in Henry of Derby's crusading expedition to Prussia (see his 'The Fourteenth-Century Soldier: More Chaucer's Knight or Medieval Career?', in ed. J. France, *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008) (pp. 301-15, esp. pp. 308-10)).

[22] For John Hawkwood see: *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 280) and II (p. 4) and Caferro, *John Hawkwood*. For Calveley as patriotic Englishman in the *Chronica* see for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 114-6, 172, 216, 228-30, 270, 288-92, 298-304, 340, 664-6, 672, 678, 696). For Calveley's earlier freelance career see L.J.A. Villalon, '"Seeking Castles in Spain": Sir Hugh Calveley and the Free Companies' Intervention in Iberian Warfare (1366-1369)', in eds. D.J. Kagay & L.J.A. Villalon, *Crusaders, Condotierri, and Cannon: Medieval Warfare in Societies around the Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2003) (pp. 305-28). There are similarities in Walsingham's coverage of the Earl of Arundel's 1411 expedition to France in that the expedition was almost entirely privately motivated and organised (see A. Tuck, 'The Earl of Arundel's Expedition to France, 1411', in eds. G. Dodd & D. Biggs, *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403-1413* (York, 2008) (pp. 228-39, esp. pp. 233-5)) but is presented as a patriotic, state-endorsed expedition by Walsingham (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 600-2)).

[23] See: ed. Perroy, 'Diplomatic Correspondence' (p. 16); Villalon, '"Seeking Castles in Spain"' (pp. 318-9, 325-6); and Caferro, *John Hawkwood* (pp. 4, 25-6, 196-203, 223, 234-5, 257). Caferro and Bart Lambert have also stressed Hawkwood's acquisition of properties in his native Essex and probable desire to retire there (see Caferro, *John Hawkwood* (pp. 215-6, 227, 312-3, 321-4) and B. Lambert, 'The Only Way is Essex: The Belated Return of the Hawkwoods to England', at https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/page/individual-studies/the-only-way-is-essex [accessed 20/05/15]).

abroad however, foreigners serving in English armies were commonplace in Walsingham's period, from the level of high-profile individuals like the Hainault-born Garter knight Louis Robessart who abandoned their former allegiance to join the English cause to that of men-at-arms serving for pay in English garrisons in fifteenth-century Normandy.[24] The presence of these men, not born within or particularly bound to the nation of England, no doubt caused some anxieties among contemporary Englishmen, especially when combined with the aforementioned tendency of some such inter-national fighters not to entirely lose their ties to their home nation. This anxiety is in evidence in the increasing restrictions on the proportion of English garrisons which could be made up of non-Englishmen in the fifteenth century and was no doubt closely tied to contemporary fears of spies and spying.[25]

In his *Chronica Maiora* Walsingham took two distinct, diametrically opposed approaches to the depiction of foreign soldiers serving the English. First, and particularly earlier in his chronicle-writing career, Walsingham drew wholeheartedly on what appears to have been a common trope or device in English writing which pinned the blame for English defeats on the treachery of foreign soldiers as a way to avoid that blame being attached to particularly high-profile or favoured English commanders. Second, Walsingham used the figure of the loyal, capable and vigorous foreign soldier as a pointed contrast to the disloyalty, failures and inaction of Englishmen. Both of these approaches, whether of blaming or of shaming, demonstrate Walsingham's true aim and interest when depicting foreign soldiers: the depiction of English soldiers. Pinning blame for a defeat on a treacherous foreign soldier allowed paragons of English military vigour to be defended, and praising foreign soldiers for the virtues lacking in certain Englishmen allowed the chronicler to shame those Englishmen into reforming themselves.

The figure of the treacherous foreign soldier, who was to blame for a military defeat or setback while the Englishmen involved remained above reproach, enjoyed common currency in the later fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries. As an explanatory tool this had obvious benefits in that foreign soldiers were present at almost every major military engagement of the time, certain nations were believed to be innately treacherous, and it

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[24] For Louis Robessart see: C. Linsley, 'Louis Robessart - A Border-Crossing Knight?', at https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/page/individual-studies/louis-robessart-a-border-crossing-knight [accessed 20/05/15]. For the presence foreign-born soldiers in English garrisons, lending them a 'cosmopolitan feel', see Curry, 'Nationality of Men-at-Arms' (pp. 135-63).

[25] For these restrictions see Curry, 'Nationality of Men-at-Arms' (pp. 143-50). For contemporary fears of spying see: J.R. Alban & C.T. Allmand, 'Spies and Spying in the Fourteenth Century', in ed. C.T. Allmand, *War, Literature, and Politics in the Late Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1976) (pp. 73-101); R.A. Griffiths, 'A Breton Spy in London, 1425-29', in R.A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991) (pp. 221-5) [orig. publ. in French 1979]; and J. Barker, 'The Foe Within: Treason in Lancastrian Normandy', in eds. P. Coss & C. Tyerman, *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen* (Woodbridge, 2009) (pp. 305-20).

allowed writers and readers to avoid questioning the superiority of the English. For example, the Westminster Chronicler attributed the loss of a fortress known as 'the Poil' near Calais in 1388 to the 'trickery' ('dolo') of some unnamed 'Picards' in the garrison, a loss which the Chronicler claimed did great harm to the English king.[26] This claim is not restricted to monastic chroniclers either, as evidenced by Chandos Herald's *Life of the Black Prince* gleefully recounting the foiled attempt by a Lombard named Aimeric de Pavia to betray Calais to the French 1349-50.[27] While the loss of 'the Poil' may or may not have truly been the result of Picard soldiers' treachery, Aimeric de Pavia was certainly a real individual, but his treatment by the chroniclers demonstrates the workings of the trope of the treacherous foreign soldier. Aimeric was an Italian ship captain in service to the English in Calais at this time and was approached by the French commander Geoffroi de Charny to betray the town in exchange for payment, but then Aimeric reported this plan to Edward III and thus directly helped to foil the planned attack (depriving himself of the 20,000 *ecús* bribe Charny had offered in the process).[28] Thus the Herald, while not strictly seeking to explain away a defeat, chose to place the blame for the near fall of the town on a treacherous foreign soldier, failing to mention that foreigner's real role in foiling the plot, in order to glorify Edward III, the Black Prince and 'all the best knights of England' for their defence of the town.[29]

The ultimate expression of this trope however is probably that found in John Strecche's chronicle, in which the catastrophic English defeat at Baugé in 1421 was blamed exclusively on the treachery of a most likely fictional 'Lombard'.[30] As John Milner has shown, while French and Scottish chroniclers crowed over the English defeat, English

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[26] Westminster Chronicle (pp. 320-2). The English captain of the castle, John Atherston, received a pardon for surrendering the castle but still lost his lands and tenements to the crown (see *CPR 1385-89* (pp. 495, 522)).

[27] See *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince* (pp. 90-1). This figure also appears in Geoffrey le Baker's chronicle of the same events (in *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince* (pp. 45-8)).

[28] For Aimeric de Pavia and his role at Calais see: Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume II: Trial by Fire* (London, 1999) (pp. 60-2); Ormrod, *Edward III* (pp. 325-7); and G. Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea: The English Navy, 1327-1377* (Woodbridge, 2011) (pp. 131, 134-5). Froissart wrote in his chronicles that Aimeric had confessed the plot to Edward III and aided the king in setting up the ambush of Charny (see his *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques*, V (pp. 229-42)). A few years later in 1352 Charny would capture and gruesomely execute the Italian for his role in the trap at Calais (Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume II: Trial by Fire* (p. 93)).

[29] The Chandos Herald account is explicit in its praise of Edward III, the English knights and especially the Black Prince for the defence of the town (see *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince* (pp. 90-1)). Geoffrey le Baker on the other hand claimed that Aimeric *had* truly planned to betray the town but was able to wheedle his way out of punishment (see *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince* (pp. 45-8)).

[30] For the battle and its disastrous effects see: 'The Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V' (p. 142); Allmand, *Henry V* (pp. 158-60); and J.D. Milner, 'The Battle of Baugé, March 1421: Impact and Memory', in *History* 91 (2006) (pp. 484-507). Gerald Harriss accords less significance to the battle, but does note that the French went on the offensive again only a few months later (see his *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461* (Oxford, 2005) (p. 550)).

officials and chroniclers did their utmost to downplay the defeat and to obscure the negligence of the English commander, the Duke of Clarence.[31] By contrast Strecche portrayed the entire defeat as the result of a treacherous ambush by an 'Andrew Lombard', previously a soldier of the Duke's but who had betrayed him because of a personal grudge over plunder from the capture of Pontoise.[32] Strecche's editor, Frank Taylor, concluded that this 'Andrew Lombard' was fictional as he appeared only in Strecche's account and, had Clarence's defeat actually been the work of a treacherous Italian, then other writers would have retold the same story.[33] While Taylor was incorrect in that the same story is found in a brief account written by ex-soldiers Peter Basset and Christopher Hanson, now College of Arms MS 9, the story's absence from the other major accounts of the battle suggests that it was in fact no more than one of several tales being told by the English to explain away the defeat.[34] Whether a creation of popular sentiment or of zealous chronicler, the figure of 'Andrew Lombard' appears to be little more than a fictional, troped invention intended to remove the stain of blame for a disastrous military defeat from the king's brother.

On two occasions near the start of his contemporary narrative, and thus in the earliest stages of his chronicle-writing career, Walsingham drew upon this figure or trope of the treacherous foreign soldiers as a means of explaining away an English defeat. The first of these occasions is the account of the surrender of the castle of Ardres, besieged by the French, by the custodian of the castle 'a certain German, named the lord of Gunny' in September 1377.[35] As Walsingham tells it, this German's surrender of the castle occurred without any notable resistance and constituted an act of 'treachery' or 'betrayal' ('prodicione'), the kind of betrayal Walsingham claims the townspeople had become accustomed to, but the German

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[31] Milner, 'The Battle of Baugé' (pp. 487-507). Adam Usk stressed the strength of the enemy forces and the subsequent revenge taken by the English (Adam Usk (pp. 268-70)), and the London Chronicles described the battle with as much brevity as possible (*Chronicles of London* (pp. 73-4, 127)). The *Brut* (version D) is unusual for not seeking to downplay the defeat and exonerate Clarence, although its account is not truly that critical of the Duke (see Milner, 'The Battle of Baugé' (p. 501) and *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England* II (p. 427)). Walsingham himself had ceased to compose *Chronica* material by the time of the battle but his anonymous continuator in the CCCC MS 7 (3) text composed a scathing account of the battle which placed all of the blame on Clarence's foolhardiness (see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 760-2)).

[32] 'The Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V' (pp. 184-5) - The passage reads, in full: 'Quod considerans quidam miles, Andreas nomine de Lumbardia, qui cum Clarencie quondam stipendarius fuit, a quo milite dominus dux antedictus predam quamdam abstulerat ad villam de Pounteys, ut predicitur in tercio capitulo precedente, in ipsum ducem cum manu valida subdole dolose et subito irruit et invasit omni carentem auxilio.'

[33] 'The Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V' (p. 142).

[34] For this account see B.J.H. Rowe, 'A Contemporary Account of the Hundred Years War from 1415-1429', in *English Historical Review* 41 (1926) (pp. 504-13) (the 'Andrew Lombard' story is discussed at p. 510).

[35] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 166) - 'quodam Alemanno, scilicet domino de Gunny'.

received his just deserts when captured by Hugh Calveley and dispatched to prison in England.[36] As has been discussed previously, Calveley was a soldier of some fame in this period and is most likely Walsingham's source for this particular story.[37] This story then appears to retail the narrative of the treacherous foreigner being single-handedly responsible for an English military setback, and in this case being justly punished for it by a patriotic Englishman.

In reality however, the events surrounding the surrender of Ardres are somewhat different to the narrative as peddled by Walsingham. Firstly the 'German' 'lord of Gunny' was in fact Jean de Jauche, a Hainaulter and lord of Gommegnies who had been in English service for some years and Captain of Ardres since 1369.[38] While Walsingham's claim that the castle was surrendered with little resistance appears accurate, his insinuation that Jauche had a record of previous treachery would seem to be belied by the leniency granted him when the Lords ordered him brought before Parliament in October 1377. The Lords specifically granted the relative leniency of commuting Jauche's sentence of hanging and drawing to the quicker beheading due to Jauche's status as a 'gentleman and banneret', his not being a liege man of the English king, and his having served Edward III in his wars previously.[39] Has Jauche truly had a history of treachery then it seems unlikely that the sentence would have been commuted or that these reasons would have been given. The loss of Ardres and a number of other strategic fortresses around Calais to the Duke of Burgundy's offensive in September 1377 appears to have 'profoundly shocked English opinion', as evidenced by the Commons' desire to punish de Jauche and William Weston (an Englishman who had surrendered the castle of Audruicq four days after de Jauche surrendered Ardres) 'to avoid the evil example they have set for others who are keepers of towns or castles'.[40] To this end de Jauche and Weston appear to have been made scapegoats for the loss of the castles and examples for future commanders. By contrast Walsingham in his *Chronica* did the same, but placed all of

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[36] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 166).

[37] See above (pp. 183, 265).

[38] See: *Foedera* III (p. 165); *Rot. Parl.*iii.10.38-iii.12.40; and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 292-4).

[39] *Rot. Parl.* iii.12.40 - 'Wherefore the aforesaid lords, here in full parliament, adjudge you to death. And because you are a gentleman and banneret, and have served the said grandfather [of Richard II - meaning Edward III] in his wars, and are not a liege man of our lord the king, you shall be beheaded without suffering other pains'.

[40] For Burgundy's offensive and the simultaneous offensive against Gascony by the Duke of Anjou see Sumption, *Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 291-303, quote at p. 294). For the Commons' petition see *Rot. Parl.* iii.10.38.

his opprobrium onto the foreigner and neglected to even mention Weston's almost identical actions at Audruicq.[41]

Later in the narrative of 1377, and again to glorify the exploits of Hugh Calveley as Captain of Calais in that year, Walsingham told the tale mentioned above regarding the treacherous Picards at the castle of Marck. In his account Walsingham claimed that some Picard paid soldiers (*stipendiarii*) opened the castle to the French while the lax English garrison played games and practised archery.[42] This act is described in the chronicle as a 'trick' (*ingenium*) and 'treachery' (*prodicio*), and is used as a spur for the stereotyping of the Picards as 'the most false race of men among the French'.[43] Walsingham then described how Calveley assaulted the castle, took the French soldiers prisoner and executed the Picards 'as guilty of treachery' (*prodicio*).[44] While some of the blame in Walsingham's account clearly lies with the English garrison, who had after all neglected their duties, the lion's share falls on the Picards and the castle's commander Sir Robert Salle avoids blame entirely. Salle is in fact described in this tale as 'a knight who was not of the common herd but among the famous for his vigour', and Walsingham explicitly noted that he was away from the castle for 'certain reasons' (which went unspecified) at the time.[45] Salle, in all probability a close associate of Calveley, appears elsewhere in the *Chronica*, praised for his loyalty even unto death during the Peasants' Revolt and supposedly able to defeat a thousand rebels had he been allowed to meet them in open combat.[46] Thus, in his narrative, Walsingham purposefully exonerated the English commander of all blame for the loss of the castle and pinned it all on treacherous Picard soldiers, whose designation as *stipendiarii* emphasises that they served for pay not out of loyalty. This exoneration was not however the course taken by the authorities - in reality the crown seized Salle's lands and possessions in England and those he had left in Marck as

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[41] It is perhaps significant that Walsingham makes no reference to English losses to the 1377 French offensive other than that of Ardres, the capture of Thomas Felton in Aquitaine, and the swiftly remedied loss of Marck, thus minimising the damage done to the English (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 166-8, 172)).

[42] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 172).

[43] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 172) - 'genus hominum apud Gallicos falsissimum'.

[44] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 172). This tale occupies the same chronicle entry as a description of Calveley's raid on Boulogne, hailed as 'Gesta … memorabilia' and as bringing great benefit to the people of Calais.

[45] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 172) - 'Siquidem dominus Robertus de Salle, miles non gregarius set inter famosiores strenuus, predicti castelli capitaneus, in Angliam concesserat certis causis'.

[46] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 488-90). This portion of narrative was of course almost certainly written in the same stage of composition as the narrative of 1377 (see above (pp. 35-6)). For Salle's successful military career in the 1360s and 1370s and his death in 1381 see S. Mitchell, 'The Armour of Robert Salle: An Indication of Social Status?', in ed. J.S. Hamilton, *Fourteenth-Century England VIII* (Woodbridge, 2014) (esp. pp. 83-5).

punishment for his having left his post.[47] This discrepancy suggests that Walsingham, or the source of the story (most likely Calveley or Salle himself), had sought to redirect the blame for the castle's temporary loss away from Salle and onto some anonymous foreign-born soldiers.

While a Hainaulter certainly surrendered Ardres and it is possible that Picard soldiers were involved in the loss of Marck, the way in which Walsingham chose to record the two incidents parallels more suspect uses of this device such as Strecche's 'Andrew Lombard'. Blame is redirected away from Englishmen, some of whom Walsingham personally admired, and placed squarely onto non-English soldiers. In both cases the foreigners actions are explicitly attributed not to accident, legitimate action or even negligence but to deliberate treachery. This could suggest that Walsingham was simply inherently distrustful of foreign soldiers, or that he also knowingly used their supposed treachery as a device to prevent embarrassment for English commanders. The similarities between Walsingham's narratives and the dubious 'Andrew Lombard' story, combined with his categorical denial of Salle's culpability and ignoring of Weston's actions and punishment, suggest the latter. It should be noted however that both instances of this device or trope within the *Chronica* occur in close succession and in the earliest stage of Walsingham's chronicle-writing; we could suggest therefore that it represents either a relatively transient opinion or a device which he would later tire of.

As noteworthy as Walsingham's use of a common negative depiction of foreign soldiers is however, it is his more positive depictions elsewhere that display the greater textual artistry and implications for his attitudes to foreigners in general. In his depictions of 'good' foreign soldiers Walsingham often praised both directly and indirectly their loyal service and ascribed to them significant roles in major events, but his main purpose was always to offer a pointed contrast to Englishmen as part of a larger moralising or polemical agenda. Particularly good examples are his treatment of an unnamed French squire who died fighting near Lewes in 1377, a king's squire named Janico Dartasso, and the Scottish Earl of Dunbar who declared his allegiance in 1402-03.

Under 1377, not far from the account of the Ardres incident, the *Chronica* tells the tale of an unnamed squire, 'nacione Gallicus', who had apparently long served the Prior of Lewes and fought with the Prior against the French forces raiding the south coast of England in that year.[48] According to Walsingham the squire fought at the village of Rottingdean near

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[47] See Mitchell, 'The Armour of Robert Salle' (pp. 85-7) - Salle was later pardoned in May of the following year.

[48] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 164). For this naval raiding campaign see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 132, 160-166) and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 281-90).

Lewes with 'great vigour and great spirit' until wounded and, in grisly detail, carried on fighting as his entrails spilled out, and even pursued the retreating enemy 'for a great distance' dragging his entrails with him.[49] This grand and grisly death - prefaced with a possible quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*: 'horrible to relate'[50] - is somewhat out of kilter with the rest of the account which opens with a reserved and ineloquent notice of the Prior's defeat and capture along with three of his English squires, and ends with an even shorter notice that almost a hundred Englishmen died in the battle.[51]

The figure of the heroic French squire in this account serves to critique the behaviour and abilities of Englishmen on several levels. Firstly, he is explicitly noted as a squire not a knight which contrasts with the English knights named as captured alongside the Prior, insinuating that he, though of lesser rank, fought harder and more successfully than the English knights had.[52] The imagery of a single, mortally wounded French squire chasing off the enemy was almost certainly intended to shame the Englishmen who allowed themselves to be captured and to insinuate that the battle could have been an English victory had they fought as the squire did (a sentiment expressed explicitly elsewhere in the chronicle).[53] A further dimension is added by considering the following two entries in the chronicle, which describe the refusals of the Earl of Arundel and John of Gaunt to come to the aid of the south coast, attacking their inaction as monetary greed and uncaring arrogance.[54] A French squire thus did more to defend England than two of the realm's most powerful lords combined. This tale then

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[49] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 164) - 'tam viriliter, tam animose' and 'per grande spacium'. Sumption's account of this battle (*The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (p. 282-3)) appears to be based almost entirely on Walsingham.

[50] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 164) - 'Quod est dictum horribile'. Taylor, Childs & Watkiss identified this as a quotation from *Aeneid* I (p. 292), although Virgil's text reads 'mirabile dictu' (which also appears at I (pp. 328, 434) and II (pp. 6, 76)). 'Horrendum dictu', which is perhaps a more likely source, appears twice in the *Aeneid* I (p. 452) and II (p. 100).

[51] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 164) - around the first half of the chronicle entry consists of the notice of the Prior's defeat, then around two sixths is the story of the French squire, and the final sentence is the notice of nearly 100 dead Englishmen. How Walsingham squared the claims of the Prior's defeat and capture with that of the squire having chased off the retreating French is not explained in the text.

[52] Walsingham names Sir John Fawsley and Sir Thomas Cheyne as captured with the Prior, as well as the esquire John Brocas (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 164) and (n. 204)).

[53] For explicit expressions of this sentiment see: the comments on the Count of Denia's son in 1379 (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 310-4) and above (pp. 227-9)); the comments on the failings of English knights on the 1383 Crusade as opposed to their Flemish counterparts (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 692-4)); and the comments on the 'animositatem et constanciam' of the Earl of Douglas at the Battle of Shrewsbury (*Chronica Maiora* II (p. 372)).

[54] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 164-6) - Walsingham accused Arundel of insisting that the men of the south coast pay for his military aid, and Gaunt of both enjoying himself in luxury in the north and arrogantly dismissing the possible loss of his possessions in the region with 'Let them destroy it utterly, for I have the power to rebuild it'. Sumption identifies these accusations as 'scurrilous and almost certainly untrue', but puts them within widespread 'public anger' aroused by the nobility's inaction (*The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (pp. 287-90)).

serves to criticise and attack both the Englishmen involved in the battle and the powerful noblemen who did nothing to aid their countrymen.

Walsingham was not alone in such use of loyal foreigners' deaths to shame and criticise English military failures, although he did it with more subtlety than the Westminster Chronicler. Relating the grisly death of a Scot loyal to the English at the surrender of the castle of Lochmaben near Dumfries in 1384, the monk explicitly seized on the opportunity to criticise the Englishmen involved in the surrender. The monk described the Scot's 'conversion', his offer to hold the castle against the enemy which was 'cravenly' refused by the English commander who thus demonstrated his 'faithlessness and ingratitude', and the Scot's grisly death by being ripped limb from limb when the castle was surrendered.[55] This account shares many similarities with Walsingham's account of the squire at Lewes: the foreigner serves loyally (the Scot's 'conversion'; the squire's long service); the English are to blame for the defeats (overtly at Lochmaben; more subtly in Walsingham); and the loyal foreigner suffers a grisly death at the hands of his own countrymen ('compatriotem' in the Westminster Chronicle; *Gallici* for both the enemy and the squire in Walsingham). In this particular device the foreign soldier served as both an exemplar to the English and a martyr to those exemplary qualities.

King's squire Janico Dartasso appears in a simpler but no less tactical a fashion in the fifteenth-century *Chronica*, first in the account of Richard's 1399 Irish expedition and again at a tournament in 1400. Dartasso's highly successful military career is barely alluded to in the *Chronica* but included service to the English crown since 1380 at the latest, retainership for several prominent English lords including Richard II and Henry IV, and at least five diplomatic missions abroad.[56] While he was steadfastly loyal to Richard II up to his deposition, even to the point of being briefly imprisoned by the future Henry IV in August 1399 for refusing to remove his badge of Richard's livery, he was soon able to come to terms with the Lancastrian regime and resume his place of prominence.[57] Dartasso was then a high-profile and trusted knight, close to the royal circle and admired for his military abilities, and it should thus come as little surprise that he appears in the *Chronica Maiora*.

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[55] Westminster Chronicle (p. 58) - 'Scoticus ad fidem Anglorum conversus', 'vecors', 'infidelis et ingratus'. Sumption makes no reference to the fate of any such Scot and instead stresses that the garrison's surrender was inevitable (*The Hundred Years War. Volume III: Divided Houses* (p. 518)).

[56] For Dartasso's life and career see C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (Yale, 1986) (pp. 169, 174, 225) and S. Walker, 'Janico Dartasso: Chivalry, Nationality and the Man-at-Arms', in *History* 84 (1999) (pp. 31-51).

[57] See: Jean Creton, 'Metrical History' (p. 369); Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household* (pp. 174, 225); and Walker, 'Janico Dartasso' (esp. pp. 31-41). The grant of 100l.per year from January 1400 either demonstrates his acceptance by the Lancastrian regime or an attempt by Henry IV to acquire his loyalty (see *CPR 1399-1401* (p. 354)).

Dartasso's first appearance in the *Chronica* comes in the context of criticism of Richard II and, as with the French squire at Lewes, it appears that Walsingham used his foreign-ness to add an extra layer to that criticism. Under 1399 Walsingham, or an anonymous monk of St Albans, described the 'many successes' achieved by Thomas Holand, Duke of Surrey in Ireland before referring to 'a certain German, named Janico' who defeated and captured many Irish before Richard's arrival in Ireland.[58] The chronicler rhetorically stressed Dartasso's victories with the repetition 'he cast many down, took many captive, drove many to surrender' ('multos prostrauit, multos cepit, multos ad dedicionem coegit').[59] This repetition was then followed in the next sentence with triplicate ridicule of Richard's own efforts after his arrival: 'he terrified those already terrified, cast down the already cast down, afflicted the already afflicted' ('prius territos magis terruit, prostratos protiuit, afflictos afflixit'). This passage comes amid the virulently anti-Richard narrative of 1399, doubtless written after the deposition and with Lancastrian propaganda readily to hand, and comes immediately before criticisms of Richard's taking of young hostages, his paranoia regarding the crown jewels, and his plotting to put the nobles of England to death in order to seize their lands.[60] In this account Walsingham could of course have used the Duke of Surrey as his vehicle for such a contrast of military vigour and success, but instead chose to use Dartasso, whose foreign-ness he had carefully established beforehand. The unfavourable comparison to such a foreigner appears then to have appealed to the chronicler as it carried more critical connotations than a comparison to an English nobleman.

Dartasso's second appearance in the *Chronica* was used for considerably different ends and the depiction of him differs accordingly. Under 1400 Walsingham told a moralising tale of two foreign knights, a Frenchman and an Italian, who came to England to challenge John Cornwall 'and another [knight] in service to the king, named Janico' to a duel at the tournament at York.[61] The challengers, referred to as *alienigenus*, are then summarily defeated,

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[58] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 134) - 'Quidam eciam Almannicus nacione, nomine Ianicho'. There is still some debate regarding Dartasso's nationality but the most likely suggestions are either Navarrese or Gascon (see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 134 (n. 184)); E. Curtis, 'Janico Dartas, Richard the Second's "Gascon Squire": His Career in Ireland, 1394-1426', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 3 (1933) (pp. 182-5); and Walker, 'Janico Dartasso' (pp. 31-3)). Thomas Holand, Duke of Surrey had been Richard's lieutenant in Ireland from July 1398 and would remain a Ricardian loyalist during the events of 1399 (see *CPR 1396-99* (pp. 402, 438, 476, 501) and J.L. Gillespie, 'Holland, [Holand] Thomas, sixth earl of Kent and duke of Surrey (c.1374-1400)', in *ODNB*. Holand was Dartasso's current patron at the time (Walker, 'Janico Dartasso' (p. 40)).

[59] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 134).

[60] For the dating of the 1397-99 narrative see above (pp. 42-3). For these criticisms of Richard see *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 134-6).

[61] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 302-4) - 'et quemdam alium, in obsequio regis existentem, Ianico uocitatum'. See also Walker, 'Janico Dartasso' (pp. 41-2). For John Cornwall, later Baron Fanhope and Knight of the Garter (called John Greencornwall in the *Chronica*) see S.J. Payling, 'Cornewall, John, Baron Fanhope (d. 1443)', in *ODNB*.

wounded and humiliated, which is presented as a moral lesson against the 'superbia et abusione' with which they came.[62] Walsingham distorted events in several ways in order to present these events to suit his moral agenda, including presenting a large-scale tournament as a single duel, but the crucial distortion is the presentation of Dartasso as not being a foreigner.[63] The undercurrent of patriotic English self-praise in Walsingham's account, based on the notion of superior English humility and martial skill, would have been undermined had Walsingham admitted Dartasso's non-English origins as he had in 1399. Instead he chose to refer to Dartasso simply by his place in service to the English king, while the foreign challengers are labelled as 'ex Gallia', 'de Ytalia' and *alienigeni*.[64] While Dartasso's 'foreign'-ness had provided additional ammunition to attack Richard under 1399, it was a potential distraction and weakening influence under 1400 and was thus left out of the account.

The Scottish George IX Earl of Dunbar was another foreign soldier whose fighting for the English provided Walsingham with a vehicle with which to criticise and attack domestic enemies, this time the rebellious Percy family 1402-03.[65] Dunbar came from a noble family based in the marches on the Scottish side of the border, a family which had successfully exploited the potential for cross-border allegiances and power-brokering since the eleventh century.[66] Following a dispute with Robert III of Scotland and his arch-rivals the Douglas family over the choice of a Douglas bride for the king's son instead of Dunbar's own daughter, Dunbar fled to England in 1402, declared his allegiance to Henry IV and advocated an invasion of Scotland.[67] Walsingham was reticent regarding the true reasons for Dunbar's joining the English, simply stating that 'the Earl of Dunbar, who had abandoned the Scots, had sworn fealty to the king of England', although this most likely stemmed from public ignorance of the specifics of Dunbar's dispute rather than any deliberate aim on Walsingham's part.[68] For

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[62] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 304).

[63] For the 1400 York tournament see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 304 (n. 425)) and Walker, 'Janico Dartasso' (pp. 41-2).

[64] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 302-4).

[65] For the Percy rebellion of 1403 see Towson, *Henry Percy, First Earl of Northumberland* (pp. 183-214).

[66] For the Dunbar family see A.J. Macdonald, 'Kings of the Wild Frontier? The Earls of Dunbar or March, c.1070-1435', in eds. S. Boardman & A. Ross, *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500* (Dublin, 2003) (pp. 139-58). For George IX Dunbar in particular see idem, 'Dunbar, George, ninth Earl of Dunbar or of March (c. 1336-1416x23)', in *ODNB*.

[67] See: Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon* VIII (pp. 31-3); R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974) (pp. 218-9); and Macdonald, 'Kings of the Wild Frontier?' (pp. 148, 155-6, 158).

[68] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 328) - 'comitemque de Dunbarre, qui dudum relictis Scotis, fidem regi iurarat Anglie'.

example, although Dunbar wrote in his letters to Henry IV that he was 'gretly wrangit' by the decision to abandon his daughter for a Douglas bride, the letters of safe conduct issued for him and his family made no reference to it, and nor did his petition to Parliament for an invasion of Scotland in 1402.[69] As with Walsingham, Adam Usk simply stated in his chronicle that Dunbar became 'liegeman of the king of England' with no explanation of the reasons why.[70] However, turning to Walsingham's presentation of Dunbar's conduct in the battles of Homildon Hill in 1402 and Shrewsbury in 1403 does reveal some clever textual tactics at work designed to denigrate and criticise the Percy family.

In the narrative of the Battle of Homildon Hill Dunbar is placed alongside the Earl of Northumberland and Henry Hotspur as the commanders of the English force, affiliating him with a loyalist English position from the beginning despite his nationality.[71] Throughout the battle too Walsingham referred to the English side, and by extension Dunbar, with 'our men' or 'ours' (*nostri*), and only twice as 'the English' (*Angli*) despite the enemy being constantly referred to as 'the Scots' (*Scoti*).[72] Dunbar was fighting on the English side against the Scots in this instance, alongside loyal Englishmen, so there was little by way of polemical agenda at work. At Shrewsbury the following year Dunbar's role is larger and more pivotal, and his nationality is stressed more clearly as 'comite de Dunbar, Scoto' as opposed to the comment of his having 'abandoned the Scots' in the Homildon Hill account.[73]

In the Shrewsbury account Dunbar plays a pivotal role, seeming to serve almost as a mouthpiece for destiny, wisdom or God's will. Walsingham claimed that Dunbar quoted from Lucan's *De Bello Civile* before the battle, urging Henry to attack the rebels: 'Away with delay, it always harms those who are prepared'.[74] The importance of Lucan's text both in the Middle Ages generally and for Walsingham in particular has been discussed above,[75] but it is worth noting that this line was the most widely cited line from Lucan's text in the medieval period, appearing in the works of, among others, Matthew Paris, Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury.[76] As such a well-known aphorism it is no surprise that it appears twice in the

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[69] Macdonald, 'Kings of the Wild Frontier?' (p. 158); *CPR 1399-1401* (p. 352); *Rot.Parl.* iii, 492.

[70] Adam Usk (pp. 134-6).

[71] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 328) - 'uidelicet comitem et Henricum Percy, eius filium, comitemque de Dunbarre'.

[72] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 328-34).

[73] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 362). The full account of the battle covers *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 362-76).

[74] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 362). The line is 'Tolle moras, nocuit semper differre paratis' and is from *De Bello Civile* (p. 22).

[75] See above (pp. 249-50).

[76] Sanford, 'Quotations from Lucan' (pp. 5-6).

Chronica, supposedly spoken by Bishop Despenser during his 1383 crusade in Flanders.[77] Walsingham was fully in support of the 1383 crusade, terming it a 'great benediction' for the English and attributing its beginning to sudden miraculous unanimity in Parliament, and the line from Lucan is cited approvingly with regard to Despenser's decision to embark for Flanders despite Richard II's orders to return to the court.[78] This advice, reinforced by Dunbar's rationale that delay might result in more men joining the rebels, proves to be divinely favoured when Henry's army of 14,000 men unanimously chose the same field for battle, an event which Walsingham describes as 'Mira res!' or 'Miraculous thing!'.[79] Likewise the rebel commander Henry Hotspur Percy, upon hearing that the nearest town was known as Berwick, remembers a prophecy that he would die at Berwick and regrets his assumption that it referred to Berwick-on-Tweed.[80] When the rebels then attempt to negotiate a delay, Dunbar once again urges the king to battle and is again reflecting the common will of the king's army.[81] Thus Dunbar's advice, conveyed as it is by a popular saying from a much-admired classical author elsewhere in the chronicle associated with an English churchman defending the realm, clearly reflects both wise counsel and even a preordained course of action.

Walsingham's account of Dunbar's conduct during the battle is also significant in that he, perceiving the threat to Henry's life, removed the king from danger before the enemy could reach and kill him. The *Chronica* text emphasises the danger to the king by describing the deaths of Henry's standard-bearer and bodyguards, including the Earl of Stafford (described as a 'most illustrious youth') and king's knight Walter Blount.[82] The importance of Dunbar in the

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[77] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 672). Walsingham also uses a shortened version of the quotation ("Semper nocuit differre paratis" only) to describe the thinking of Edmund Brounfeld with regard to the disputed election at Bury St Edmunds in 1379 (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 320)). This duplication of quotation of course adds further evidence to the suggestion that the fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century texts share an author (see above (pp. 40-1)).

[78] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 662-6, 670-88, 690-704). Walsingham writes approvingly of the militant Bishop's career elsewhere too, notably in relation to the Peasants' Revolt and his stance on Lollardy (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 490-4, 882)).

[79] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 364). For other examples of divine will as manifested through spontaneous mass decision-making in the *Chronica* see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 4-8, 662).

[80] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 364-6). For the retrospective or 'recursive' use of prophecy to legitimise current events in Lancastrian writers see P. Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (Yale, 1998) (pp. 6-19).

[81] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 368) - 'Comes autem uero de Dunbar omnino restitit ne darentur eis induciae, sed regem monuit, ut ex quo racioni recusarent adquiescere, daret signum bello. Sed non erat opus signo bellare cupientibus'.

[82] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 370). Both of these men were closely associated with Henry IV, perhaps reinforcing that the notices of their deaths are intended to build up a sense of danger to the king (for Walter Blount, Lancastrian retainer and 'mainstay of the new regime', see C. Rawcliffe, 'Blount, Sir Walter (*d.* 1403)', ODNB (2004); for Edmund Earl of Stafford, husband of Henry IV's cousin and Knight of the Garter see N.H. Nicholas, *The Historic Peerage of England: Exhibiting, Under*

events of the Battle of Shrewsbury is not unique to Walsingham's account, and thus could possibly just reflect information the chronicler had received. For example Adam Usk referred to 'the counsel of the Earl of Dunbar of Scotland' urging Henry to attack, but included nothing beyond that, and Walter Bower's *Scotichonicon*, in keeping with its more hostile attitude toward Dunbar, has him urge Henry to use messengers to deceive Hotspur and steal a march on the rebels.[83] That said, the subtlety and allusion of Walsingham's account surpasses that of other contemporaries, making it very likely that Walsingham had layered his own feelings and agendas onto his version of events.

But why should Walsingham have sought to present these events thus, giving such prominence to a foreign turncoat lord, and a Scot at that, when he could have simply ignored or minimised Dunbar's presence? It seems that Dunbar was in fact being used as part of a larger strategy of criticising and belittling the rebel Percies and their supporters. Aside from the simple contrast of the recent turncoat Scottish lord being more loyal to the English king than the Percies themselves, having that foreigner serve almost as a mouthpiece for the preordained loyalist victory adds insult to injury. Likewise, under 1402 Walsingham described the Commons' request that Henry commend Dunbar for his loyalty (*fides*) to the king and realm, when in reality Henry was urged to honour those nobles, and Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland in particular, for their recent defeat of the Scots.[84] Here Walsingham, writing we can be sure with at least one year's hindsight, stripped away a royal honour from Percy for the defence of the realm against the Scots and handed it to a Scot. There are also two pointed contrasts made within Walsingham's account of Shrewsbury, both intended to compare the Percies and their rebels to the Scots, with the rebels coming off worst. First, Walsingham positively depicted the conduct of the Scottish Earl of Douglas in the battle despite his fighting for the Percies not Henry. It is Douglas' attack which Dunbar is required to save Henry from, and, importantly, Walsingham explicitly states that had the rebels fought with the same 'animositatem et constanciam' or 'courage and constancy' as Douglas then they could have won the day.[85] Thus the rebels are, in Walsingham's depiction, of lesser martial vigour and valour than a Scot. Second, before battle begins the rebels are described as 'bachabantur', a

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Alphabetical Arrangement, the Origin, Descent, and Present State of Every Title of Peerage which Has Existed in this Country Since the Conquest (London, 1857) (p. 442))

[83] Adam Usk (pp. 168-70) - 'consilium comitis Dunbar de Scotia'. Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon* (pp. 57-9).

[84] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 338) - 'communes orauerunt regem ut haberet recommendatam personam Georgii de Dunbarre, comitis marchie Scocie, qui se monstrauerat regi regnoque fidelem in multis argumentis'. *Rot. Parl.* iii.486.12-iii.487.12.

[85] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 368-70, 372) - 'ibique captus est comes Dowglas, Scoticus, cuius animositatem et constanciam si reliqui rebelles imitati fuissent, non dubium quin plaga insanabilis facta fuisset ipso die in populo Anglicano'.

term loosely translatable to 'revelling' or 'rampaging' but with connotations of Bacchic drunkenness and excess.[86] This rare and specific term, with all of its negative connotations of wildness and ill-discipline, had previously appeared in the *Chronica* to describe the Scots Hotspur had fought at Otterburn in 1388.[87] Thus the rebels are not only lesser in martial vigour to a Scot, in this instance they have taken up the mantle of uncivility and wild rampaging usually reserved for the Scots. Walsingham's overall depiction of Dunbar at Shrewsbury therefore would appear to represent a tool or vehicle by which the chronicler could express disapproval of and gloat about the Percies' ill-fated rebellion by comparing them unfavourably with the Scots. By inverting his usual anti-Scottish prejudice and placing the rebels beneath even the hated Scots, Walsingham was able to layer condemnation on condemnation.

In all, then, foreign soldiers appear in the *Chronica Maiora* only when it suited Walsingham's interests to thus depict them. In both the trope of treacherous foreign soldier used to exonerate English commanders and the image of the loyal and valorous foreign soldier used to shame Englishmen Walsingham was choosing to deploy the foreign soldier in his text in order to further his own agendas. When these agendas ceased to require the use of the figure of the foreign soldier, that individual was simply dropped. For example, Janico Dartasso ceased to be marked out as 'foreign' when such 'foreign'-ness would not serve Walsingham's agenda. Likewise both Dartasso, who would enjoy great prominence in Ireland after 1401 and would serve Henry V in France 1415-21, and Dunbar, who would remain in England until 1409 before returning to Scotland, do not reappear in the *Chronica* after their textual-polemical usefulness has passed.[88]

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[86] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 364) - 'Fecit rex ut Scotus monuit, et inopinate peruenit ad partes ubi rebelles bachabantur'.

[87] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 856). For discussion of this term see above (pp. 43, 163). A variation, 'bacchantur', also appears in relation to the arrogant predations of the French in Spain in 1386 (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 786)).

[88] For Dartasso in Ireland and France see Curtis, 'Janico Dartas' (pp. 192-8) and Walker, 'Janico Dartasso' (pp. 42-8). For Dunbar's years in England return to Scotland see Nicholson, *Scotland* (pp. 230-1). Dunbar's son Gawyn was also retained for life by Henry IV in 1402 (see Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household* (pp. 236, 288)).

b)   Foreign Merchants & Artisans

As with foreign soldiers, foreign merchants were both a simple reality of late medieval England and a group little covered by the *Chronica Maiora*. However, while immigrant merchants and artisans may have been a significant presence in real England, spread across the country and undertaking a huge variety of occupations, their presence is little attested by contemporary chroniclers. In addition to chroniclers' disinterest, foreign merchants and artisans were the group most likely to be victims of anti-alien violence in late medieval England. Modern scholars have noted the particularly precarious and liminal position of foreign-born traders, craftsmen and merchants, and Kathryn Reyerson has concluded that such individuals, standing outside the traditional tripartite ideal order of medieval society and seeming to serve only their own prosperity, were easily regarded as dangerous and parasitical by members of the host society.[89] As will be seen, trade or craft rivalries along with the protectionist desires of English merchants could add to this problem, occasionally with violent and even deadly consequences.

Walsingham's *Chronica* at times conveyed a distrust of the mercantile classes, both English and foreign, plausibly growing from the perception of such people seeking only their own advantage and providing little benefit to the rest of society. This distrust is evident in Walsingham's criticisms of Michael de la Pole, derided as more a merchant (*mercator*) than a knight, and his treatment of the people of London, England's commercial hub.[90] The 1376 Good Parliament's attacks on certain merchants and bankers are likewise recounted with evident satisfaction by Walsingham, especially the punishment of Richard Lyons and Adam Bury.[91] As with foreign soldiers however, Walsingham's treatment of foreign merchants and artisans follows two distinct approaches: first there is a quite simple and negative approach, in which foreign merchants are to be distrusted; and second there is a more complex but positive approach, in which foreign merchants could be cast as persecuted innocents in order to further Walsingham's criticisms of Englishmen.

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[89] See K.L. Reyerson, 'The Merchants of the Mediterranean: Merchants as Strangers', in eds. F.R.P. Akehurst & S.C. Van'Elden, *The Stranger in Medieval Society* (Minnesota, 1997) (esp. pp. 1-3). See also the comments of Paul Strohm regarding the foreigner (speaking specifically of an Italian merchant) as 'symbolic dumping ground' discussed above ('Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial' (esp. pp. 15-21)).

[90] For de la Pole see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 794): 'qui fuerat a puericia magis mercimoniis, utpote mercator, mercatoris filius, quam milicia, occupatus'. For Walsingham's much-repeated attacks on the London merchant elite see for example *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 246, 792, 824) and the cases of Janus Imperial in 1379 and the 'Lombard' in 1392 covered below.

[91] See *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 18-20, 28-30, 40-2). For the Good Parliament's campaign against these men see Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (esp. pp. 5-6, 100-23) and Ormrod, *Edward III* (pp. 453-4, 542, 559).

A degree of inherent distrust of foreign merchants is made clear throughout the *Chronica*, casting them as deceivers and selfish individuals concerned only for their own profit not for the good of England. One particular example is that of the 'Lombards of the city of Florence' who arrived in England in 1376 and who came, according to Walsingham, in an attempt to 'deceive' or 'entrap' (*decipio*) Edward III into an alliance with their city against the Pope.[92] These 'Lombards', presumably a designation of their perceived occupation given the simultaneous labelling as 'Florentini', lie to Edward about the justice of their cause but are found out and expelled the following year. In his account of this discovery Walsingham recounted in detail the 'great many crimes' the Florentines had committed against their lord the Pope, as told by a papal bull received in that year, including the cruel (*crudeliter*) murder of a monk by burning and then burial alive.[93] As the *Chronica* tells it, the Bishop of London William Courtenay, on receiving the papal bull, excommunicated the Florentines and they were forced to become the 'serfs' of the King of England.[94] Walsingham's narrative is however somewhat distorted, as in reality these envoys were briefly arrested after some rabble-rousing by the Bishop of London but the crown was able to at first ignore and later sidestep the papal decree.[95] By implying, or simply assuming, that the Florentine envoys were merchants Walsingham expressed his usual distrust of foreign merchants, and by exaggerating the extent and success of the English response Walsingham managed to turn this brief account into a moral tale against the Florentines' cruelty and rebellion.

In some cases Walsingham's true target appears to have been Englishmen rather than the foreign merchants themselves, although these cases do still demonstrate some inherent distrust of those foreigners too. For example, in describing Michael de la Pole's intervention to secure the release of several captured 'Genoese' ships in 1386, Walsingham would have his reader believe that Pole secured the release of the ships to the great detriment of the realm and the aid of 'the most savage, most hostile, most cruel enemy'.[96] Walsingham bemoaned Pole as the son of a merchant and more a merchant than a knight, giving no real explanation for his decision to release the ships, claiming that the 'Genoese' knew exactly who to approach, and repeatedly referring to the act as 'trickery' and even 'treachery', which all appears designed to

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[92] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 52) - they are termed 'Florentini, Longobardi videlicet de civitate Florencia, que una est de Ytalie civitatibus et est iuris domini nostri pape'. The dispute in which the Florentines sought Edward's aid was the War of the Eight Saints, for which see: Partner, *The Lands of St Peter* (pp. 361-7); Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (pp. 124-6) and Caferro, *John Hawkwood* (pp. 175-90).

[93] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 64-8).

[94] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 68).

[95] Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (pp. 179-80).

[96] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 792-4) - 'hostes seuissimi, infestissimi, crudelissimi'.

insinuate corruption on Pole's part.[97] This again is a distortion of events in order to better
make a polemical point: a thorough and cautious investigation was conducted regarding the
ownership of the captured ships which lasted from late 1386 to early 1387; the records of this
investigation demonstrate that two of the six ships and their owners were Piacenzan not
Genoese; and securities were offered by several merchants from various Italian cities as well
as the Bishop of London.[98] Walsingham's distortions of this case seem intended to paint Pole
as corrupt, re-casting a months-long investigation into a short intervention, labelling the
merchants only as Genoese (a city allied with France), and neglecting to mention the clear
level of support the merchants enjoyed.

By contrast to this incident, Walsingham's coverage of the arrests of John Prendergast
and William Longe in 1411 as part of a similar dispute over captured shipping is rather
different.[99] On this occasion Walsingham was much more ambivalent regarding the entire
episode and the innocence of the Englishmen involved, concluding that *some* of the
allegations against the two were false but conceding that others were true.[100] Walsingham's
account also makes no mention of the foreign-ness of the pair's accusers, simply referring to
the accusations of 'arrogant ill-wishers' ('supercilium malivorum'), despite the fact that
Flemish merchants were prominent among the accusers and that some Flemish towns made
formal complaints to the crown about the issue.[101] In this case, when Walsingham had no

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[97] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 792-4) - the entry is entitled 'Ships are captured but set free by treachery'
('De trieribus captis set prodicione liberatis'); de la Pole had been 'since boyhood more involved in
trade, as a merchant, the son of a merchant, than in knighthood' ('qui fuerat a puericia magis
mercimoniis, utpote Mercator, mercatoris filius, quam milicia, occupatus'); the king is supposedly
'deluded, undermined, led astray on all sides' ('circumquaque delusus, supplantus, seductus est') and
the realm's treasury 'emptied' ('uacuatum').

[98] The records of the investigation can be found at *CPR 1385-89* (pp. 255, 263) and *CCR 1385-89* (pp.
164, 165-6, 184-5, 187-8, 199-200, 209-10, 219, 227-8). For those offering sureties for these
merchants, including Robert Braybrooke Bishop of London, a 'Gauter de Bardes' of unspecified
nationality and a 'Matthew Chenyn' most likely English, see in particular *CCR 1385-89* (pp. 187-8).
For other Italians petitioning the crown on behalf of the shipowners see *CCR 1385-89* (pp. 164, 184-5,
187-8, 199-200, 227-8).

[99] *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 596-8). This incident appears little in both contemporary accounts (even
Walsingham lumps the passage under the title of the previous entry in the *Chronica*) and in modern
scholarship, although there is a brief reference in G.L. Harriss, 'Beaufort, Thomas, duke of Exeter
(1377?–1426)', in *ODNB* (2004) and an even briefer reference in idem, *Shaping the Nation* (p. 504).

[100] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 596) - Walsingham states that 'Even if there was perhaps some truth in the
charges made against the men, not all the accusations contrived against them were supported by truthful
evidence' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[101] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 596). In the official record the crown stated that it was taking action against
the pair 'upon petition of the burgesses of Gaunt, Brugges and Iper' for the violation of treaties and safe
conducts (*CCR 1409-13* (pp. 133-4, 210) and *CPR 1408-13* (p. 316)). One record also refers to
complaints made by 'Henry Chaumbre and John Baldok, merchants of London', suggesting that not all
of the pairs accusers were non-English (see *CPR 1408-13* (p. 227)).

particular polemical target in sight, it seems that he was prepared to let the release of foreign merchant ships pass without real comment.

In similar vein to the treatment of foreign soldiers in the *Chronica*, Walsingham's most intricate and substantial coverage of foreign merchants came when he depicted them in a positive light in order to build up polemic and criticism of other, usually English, factions or groups. While the use of foreign soldiers in this capacity relied upon presenting them as paragons of loyalty and military ability in order to shame the English, the ways in which foreign merchants were used centred on notions of the economic benefits they could bring and the biblical imperative to protect and be kind to 'the stranger'.

By far the best-known outbreak of anti-alien violence in late medieval England is the attack on London Flemings by the rebels during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and the *Chronica*'s coverage of this event demonstrates Walsingham's policy of using the treatment of foreign merchants or artisans to criticise certain groups within the English. The main incident of anti-Fleming violence during the Revolt came on Friday 14th June as around forty Flemings were dragged from their homes and churches around St Martin's Vintry in London and beheaded by the mob, although other, smaller-scale attacks are also recorded from London, Southwark and Norfolk in June.[102] While Nigel Saul labelled this as 'a general assault on the aliens', Spindler has pointed out that the only such aliens recorded as attacked are described as 'Flemings'.[103] The motives ascribed to the attacks on Flemings by modern scholars have varied, but the most likely explanation seems to be a combination of xenophobia and craft rivalries between immigrants from the Low Countries and London clothworkers.[104]

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[102] For the other attacks on Flemings see E. Spindler, 'Flemings in the Peasants' Revolt, 1381', in eds. H. Skoda, P. Lantschner & R.L.J. Shaw, *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale* (Woodbridge, 2012) (pp. 61-3) and R. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London, 1973, repr. 1995) (pp. 195-8).

[103] Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 169-70) and Spindler, 'Flemings in the Peasants' Revolt, 1381' (pp. 63-7). 'Fleming' was of course used as a generic term for those from anywhere in the Low Countries in this period (see Bolton, *The Alien Communities of London* (pp. 1, 29-30); Spindler, 'Flemings in the Peasants' Revolt' (pp. 60, 70); and the presence of Hollanders, Brabanters, Zeelanders, Germans and others in the records of the oath of fealty required of Flemings living in England 1436 (see the entries under document type: oath of fealty in EIDB)).

[104] Caroline Barron traces the attacks to English resentment of the establishment of specifically Flemish and Brabanter trade guilds (in her 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries 1327-1477', in eds. C. Barron & N. Saul, *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (New York, 1998) (p. 13)). Hilton and Pearsall attribute them to the 'hijacking' of the Revolt by the London poor who resented the Flemish clothworkers (in their *Bond Men Made Free* (pp. 186-98) and 'Strangers in Late Fourteenth-Century London' (pp. 56-9) respectively). Erik Spindler has argued that by attacking the Flemings the rebels sought to create and assert their own version of Englishness through attacking a visible 'Other' (see his 'Flemings in the Peasants' Revolt' (pp. 68-77)). On a similar front Len Scales has aligned the attacks within medieval conceptions of 'genocide' or the eradication of peoples (in his 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide' (pp. 284-300)).

What has been more concretely appreciated however is the desire of contemporary chroniclers, usually churchmen who feared the radical social and political changes proposed by the rebels and whose institutions had suffered at the rebels' hands, to ridicule and denigrate the rebels in order to 'depoliticise' and dismiss their actions.[105] By depicting and rationalising the rebels' actions as an outpouring of the peasantry's innate irrationality, savagery and bestial natures contemporary writers sought to contain and delegitimise the rebels' grievances and actions, turning a serious threat to the social order into nothing more than the savagery of the peasants unleashed. Walsingham's account is a particularly potent example of exactly this textual tactic, and as such he appears prominently in modern works on the subject. In the *Chronica* narrative of the Revolt the rebels are ridiculed for their ancient weaponry, denigrated for their savagery, rage and clamorous noise, and belittled as unruly for their drunkenness and their insolence to their betters.[106]

Walsingham's account of the attack on 14th June is in actual fact rather short and displays no real interest in who the Flemings actually were. Instead their massacre is played out in order to further Walsingham's agenda of criticising the behaviour of the rebels, specifically as proof of his statements that the rebels showed no respect for churches or for God and to further their characterisation as wild and unruly. On this second theme Walsingham was explicit:

> Many were beheaded on the same day, both Flemings and Englishmen, for no reason but to satisfy the cruel dominion of the peasants at that time.[107]

Here the massacre of the Flemings occurs not for any rational purpose but merely to sate the bloodlust of the domineering peasants, itself of course a marker of the upturned social order. Walsingham does not follow this statement with an account of the Flemings' murder but with that of a 'solemn game' ('solempnis ludus') played by the rebels in which they, on finding an enemy of their cause, would strip that man of his hood and, 'with their customary clamour' ('cum clamore consueto'), race one another along the highways to kill him.[108] This again

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[105] See P. Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, 1992) (pp. 33-51); Justice, *Writing and Rebellion* (pp. 203-13); and Spindler, 'Flemings in the Peasants' Revolt' (p. 67).

[106] See in particular *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 410, 412, 418, 422-8, 434-6, 450-4, 502, 554).

[107] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 430) - 'Decapitati sunt eodem die quamplures, tam Flandrenses quam Anglici, ob nullam quidem causam, set ad explendum crudelitatem tunc dominancium rusticorum' (I have amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. for a more literal rendering).

[108] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 430). 'Solempnis' is translated by Taylor, Childs and Watkiss as 'grim' and is an interesting choice of term by Walsingham given its connotations of established religious ceremony (see Lewis & Short's definition, found at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=sollemnis&la=la#lexicon [accessed 25/05/15]. It is possible that Walsingham meant this term ironically or sarcastically - the rebels had abandoned churches and God to place their reverence in 'games' and killing.

stresses the killing done by the rebels and their unruliness, but also contributes to the sense of the 'carnivalesque' around chroniclers depiction of the Revolt in terms of 'games' mixed with the upheaval of the usual social order.[109]

This description of the 'game' is followed immediately by an explicit statement of Walsingham's key point regarding the rebels here, namely that 'they showed no reverence for the holy places', murdering men they hated even in the sanctuary of churches.[110] At this point the *Chronica* describes the murder of thirteen Flemings dragged from the church of the Austin Friars and beheaded, and another seventeen from another unnamed church in London, ending with the repeated claim that 'the peasants had no respect for sanctuaries, or fear of God, as the evil mob at that time feared no man'.[111] This is surely Walsingham's argument here, that the rebels disrespected the sanctuary of churches and thereby disrespected God himself - the killing of the Flemings is simply an illustration of that larger point. Also important is the fact that this account of the murder of the Flemings comes immediately after (and in the same chronicle entry as) the much longer and more detailed account of the murder of Archbishop Simon Sudbury. In this account Walsingham had used many of the tools in his arsenal to attack the rebels: they were the agents of the devil; they constantly shout and clamour ('cum clamore terrifico', 'clamauerunt'), their noise akin to the wailing of souls in Hell; they drag the Archbishop from the chapel of the Tower 'showing no respect for the place or its holy altars'; and they behead him in the street.[112] The parallels to the account of the Flemings' murder are clear, and it appears that the Flemings feature in the *Chronica* narrative not in their own right but as further proof of Walsingham's wider point, that the rebels are wild and commit sacrilege.

While Walsingham's coverage of the Flemings attacked in 1381 was almost incidental to his main purpose, simply another proof of his arguments against the rebels, in the next examples the incidents of anti-alien violence were absolutely central to Walsingham's arguments and agendas, although the foreigner himself appears only to further that agenda. Specifically Walsingham turned anti-alien attacks on Italians resident in London into vehicles with which to mount his own attacks on one of his favourite targets, the people of London.

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[109] See Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow* (pp. 45-56), who concludes similar sentiments can be found in the Westminster Chronicle, the Anonimalle Chronicle, Knighton and Froissart.

[110] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 430) - 'nec ullam reuerenciam impendebant sacris locis' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[111] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 430) - 'spreta reverencia sanctuarii, Dei que timore, quia tunc temporis ipsa turba maledicta hominem non reverebatur' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[112] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 424-30).

In 1379 a Genoese merchant and ambassador named 'John' or 'Janus' Imperial was murdered outside of his London lodgings by two men, possibly apprentices, in service to important members of the London merchant elite heavily invested in the wool trade and the Calais Staple.[113] Over the course of the drawn-out legal proceedings which followed, as the crown pursued the case in the face of the indifference or collusion of the London justice system, various members of the city's mercantile elite were implicated in, at the very least, having incited the murder. Initially in the London investigation into the murder the jurors were unwilling to convict the accused, a John Kirkby servant to John More and John Algor servant to Richard Preston, but the crown pressed and was able eventually to convert the crime to one of treason on the grounds of Imperial's letters of safe conduct and status as an ambassador.[114]Algor then turned approver and, in exchange for a pardon, pinned the lion's share of the blame on Kirkby while also claiming to have 'frequently heard from rumour and gossip' in the houses of various of the London merchant elite that Imperial 'would destroy and ruin all the wool merchants in London and elsewhere within the realm of England'.[115] These fears were based on the fact that the crown had previously granted Imperial licence to export wool using his own ship from Southampton, paying customs direct to the crown and avoiding the lucrative Calais Staple controlled by the London merchants.[116] According to both the 'rumour and gossip' Algor referred to and the records of the King's Bench case Imperial was in England to negotiate a 'treaty of alliance' between England and Genoa, most likely an

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[113] The record of this case is edited in *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V* (ed. & trans. G.O. Sayles) (London, 1971) [Selden Society, 88] (pp. 14-21, 40-1), and the most extensive and thorough modern study is Strohm, 'Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial' (pp. 1-23). The original document is TNA, KB27, no. 476 (m. 31(front) - m. 32(front)) and images are available via the Anglo-American Legal Tradition website at http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT2/R2/KB27no476/ [accessed 10/06/15] [images 0543 & 0544 (front), 0740 & 0741 (dorse), and 0545 & 0546 (front)]. I am indebted to Dr Paul Dryburgh for his help in locating these originals. It should be noted that the original document refers to Imperial as 'Johannes', as it does with both Kirkby and Algor, but the standard modern rendering of 'Janus' (as established by Sayles and Strohm) has been followed here for the sake of clarity.

[114] *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench* (pp. 14-20) and Strohm, 'Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial' (pp. 1-8).

[115] *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench* (pp. 20-1, 40-1; quotes at p. 41) and Strohm, 'Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial' (pp. 5-10). Algor's pardon was either granted in 1384 or sometime between 1380 and 1384 as it, and his confession, appears in the King's Bench roll for Michaelmas term 1384 (*Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench* (pp. 40-1)).

[116] For the previous grant see *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench* (pp. 17-8). Although the crown produced a transcript of the licence supposedly from the Patent Rolls, Sayles notes that the original does not appear in the Patent Rolls (*Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench* (p. 17 (n. 2)). Strohm has discussed in detail the connections between the London merchants named by Algor and their heavy involvement in the wool trade (see 'Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial' (pp. 10-13)). For increased xenophobia and protectionist tendencies in London after 1350 due to fears of the increasing alien role in the import-export trade and the crown's sale of licences to avoid the Staple, resulting in restrictive measures by the city authorities and even violent attacks on alien merchants see P. Nightingale, 'Capitalists, Crafts and Constitutional Change in Late Fourteenth-Century London', in *Past and Present* 124 (1989) (pp. 8-15, 22-4).

extension of Imperial's licence to other Italian merchants.[117] Thus this murder is a prime example of anti-alien violence stimulated by English trade protectionism, and given its high-profile nature its inclusion in the *Chronica* was almost inevitable.

Walsingham's account of the murder is lengthy and emotive, and although he did not refer to the court proceedings directly until Kirkby's execution at the 1380 Northampton Parliament, he was clearly aware of the planned extension of Imperial's licence and believed that it was the London elite who were to blame.[118] Walsingham did not in fact refer to the use of Kirkby and Algor as proxies at all - his account simply states that 'mercatoribus Anglicanis' killed the Genoan.[119] The emotive and polemical denouncement of the murder which follows this statement is built around three key themes: the benefit Imperial would have brought to the realm; the harm his murder did to English international reputation; and the sinful, sacrilegious nature of the Londoners' actions. Walsingham claimed that Imperial promised to bring 'many goods to the king and realm', and that his plans would have elevated Southampton to preeminent status among the ports of Western Europe, drawing in foreign merchants who would buy English goods.[120] 'Great harm to the people and the realm' is done by Imperial's murder, and the cost of spices in particular would have been hugely reduced.[121] The *Chronica* also laments the damage done to English international reputation, claiming that the 'odious malice' of the Londoners had 'gained us the enmity of our friends, the Genoese and other peoples near us' and that no foreigner would ever trust the word of the English again after such a display of 'great infidelity or inhuman cruelty'.[122]

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[117] *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench* (pp. 19-20). This is Strohm's conclusion too (see 'Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial' (p. 7)). This may be the treaty that appears (damaged) at *Rot. Parl.* iii.48.76 and (complete) at *Statutes of the Realm* 2 Richard II, Stat. 1, c. 3 (in *Statutes of the Realm* II (p. 8)) from October 1378, granting free export of Staple goods (including wool) from Southampton by all Genoese, Venetian, Catalan and Aragonese merchants.

[118] The full account is at *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 304-6). Kirkby's execution at the Northampton Parliament is at *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 400).

[119] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 304). It is very unlikely that Walsingham is referring to Kirkby and Algor themselves here as both are described as 'seruiens' of two London merchants in the court records (see *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench* (p. 15) and Strohm, 'Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial' (p. 9)). The title of the entry in both the Royal and Harley 3634 MSS claims that Imperial was murdered by 'the Londoners' ('Londonienses', 'Londoniensium').

[120] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 304) - 'plura commoda regi regnoque'. Walsingham claimed that Southampton and England would thus have removed continental middlemen such as the Flemings, Normans and, oddly, the Genoese.

[121] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 304-6) - 'magno detrimento plebis et regni'.

[122] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 304-6) - 'Sic que nostrorum detestanda malicia, nec minus execrabilis auaricia, nobis inimicicias peperit amicorum, Ianuensium uidelicet et aliarum nacionumque in circuitu nostro sunt'; 'tanta infidelitas siue inhumana crudelitas'. Walsingham also labels the murder an act of 'perfidia' and 'uersucias'.

It is in the spiritual nature of the crime that Walsingham's account becomes the most interesting however. Strohm has argued that Walsingham 'partially assimilate[d] this Genoese merchant to the model of the crucifixion itself' in his casting of the Genoan as an 'innocent man' ('uirum innocentem') killed by sinners, an act which offends God.[123] This notion of assimilation with Christ is to go a little too far, but Walsingham did go to great effort to present the murder as an act contrary to scripture, natural law and Christian brotherhood. After lamenting the harm done to England's reputation, Walsingham described the murder as a wilful crime against God and against both 'divine mandate' and 'natural law', a crime motivated by worldly greed and ambition.[124] Invoking 'natural law', a form of law which was held to be innate within every human being direct from God and to stand above any human law, served to elevate the crime above everyday human law.[125] Given the circumstances of this specific case the reference to 'natural law' may also have been intended as an oblique reference to the inevitability of the criminals' punishment despite the initial failure of the regular legal system to punish them.

A biblical quotation mixed in with Walsingham's invoking of natural law and the threat of God's wrath sheds more light on his views regarding foreigners and anti-alien violence, as well as his desire to criticise the Londoners. Walsingham quoted from Exodus 23:7, in which Moses relates God's commandments to the Israelites: 'Thou shalt not kill the innocent and the just'.[126] The resonance of this commandment with the murder is obvious, especially given Walsingham's insistence on the Genoan as 'an innocent man', but Exodus 23 also includes the instruction 'Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil', several commands not to make false legal judgments, and, most importantly perhaps, 'Thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt'.[127] Each of these divine orders, especially the last, resonate with aspects of the murder case and would likely have been very familiar to Walsingham's monastic readership.

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[123] Strohm, 'Trade, Treason, and the Murder of Janus Imperial' (p. 20).

[124] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 306) - the full quotation reads: 'set nichili pendit mandata diuina auara cupiditas, et legis naturalis scita refugit ambicio mundialis'.

[125] For natural law in the Middle Ages see: Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica* (trans. by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province) (London, 1947) (II.i.91 arts. 2-3, II.i.94 arts. 2-6, II.i.95 art. 2)); G. Koziol, 'Lord's Law and Natural Law', in ed. H.J. Johnson, *The Medieval Tradition of Natural Law* (Kalamazoo, 1987) (pp. 103-17); and E. Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989) (pp. 23-39). Gratian wrote that 'Natural law has primacy in all things, both in time and dignity. For it began with the beginning of the rational creature and does not vary with time. It stands immutable' (Gratian, *Distinctions* 5, cited in Koziol, 'Lord's Law and Natural Law' (p. 105)).

[126] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 306) and Exodus 23:7.

[127] Exodus 23:2, 23:1-2 and 23:9 respectively.

Walsingham's final theological-spiritual theme in this passage is that of Christian brotherhood. The account claims that 'inhuman men' who lust after worldly things do not value the life of the community, 'which makes us all brothers'.[128] This theme is then laboured for the remainder of the account: a second biblical quotation refers twice to 'the blood of your brother' ('sanguinem fratris tui') and is drawn from the story of Cain and Abel, the definitive archetype of fratricide in the Christian canon; and Walsingham asks what 'natural brother' ('frater carnalis') ever did more for 'his brothers' ('fratribus suis') than the Genoan planned to do for the English.[129] In merely seven lines of modern edition Walsingham uses the word *fratris* no less than six times. Quite apart from the emotive power of the Cain and Abel story here, the line quoted, from God's curse on Cain to wander the earth shunned by all other men, likely meant to parallel the harm that the murder had done to England's international reputation.

Thus in his account of the murder of Janus Imperial Walsingham produced a curious mixture of practicality and spirituality in relation to the figure of the foreign merchant, as well as providing a valuable contemporary account of an incident of anti-alien violence. The crucial factor however is the way in which Walsingham shaped his account purely to attack and criticise the Londoners, specifically the London merchant elite, rather than to truly depict or express sympathy with the foreigner himself. Every strand of Walsingham's lamenting of the man's death is targeted at the citizens of London and remarkably little interest is taken with regard to the murdered man himself - his plans and the evil results of his murder are expounded in great depth, but the murder itself is never fully described and, crucially, he is never named in the *Chronica* account. While Walsingham cannot have been ignorant of Imperial's name given his detailed knowledge of the case, this information was not deemed important or necessary enough to include and instead Imperial is simply referred to as 'a noble and wealthy merchant of Genoa' ('nobiles et predives mercator Ianuensis').[130] This is an indication of what mattered to Walsingham in his retelling of this incident: the 'foreign'-ness of the victim, and the villainy it revealed among the Londoners.

Walsingham's narration of a violent attack on another Italian by the Londoners in 1392 bears many similarities to that of Imperial's murder. In Walsingham's account the London merchants refused to lend Richard II the £1000 he had requested, and then when an

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[128] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 306) - 'plus ualet apud inhumanos homines lucrum temporalis substancie quam caritas uel affeccio socialis uite, que nos generaliter fratres efficit'. Taylor, Childs & Watkiss render 'efficit' as 'affects' but 'to bring about' or 'to make' is a better translation of *efficio*.

[129] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 306). The quotation is from Genesis 4:10-11, God's curse on Cain for the murder of Abel.

[130] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 304). For the remainder of the account Imperial is referred to using only the unspecific 'him' and 'innocent man' (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 304-6)).

unnamed 'Lombard' offered to lend the money they proceeded to 'ill-treat, beat, and almost kill him'.[131] This, Walsingham claimed, made Richard extremely angry and led directly to his dispute with the Londoners which would last until 1397.[132] This passage, although shorter and less detailed than that of Imperial's murder in 1379, bears many of the same hallmarks and is entirely geared towards the criticising of the Londoners rather than lamenting the victim's suffering. The entry is entitled 'The transgressions of the Londoners and the anger of the king', and the Londoners' actions are described repeatedly as 'arrogant' and 'insolent'.[133] The citizens are then stereotyped as 'the most haughty, most arrogant, and most avaricious people among all the nations', and described as 'supporters of the Lollards, detractors of the religious, withholders of tithes, and impoverishers of the common people'.[134] The spiritual theme is continued with the claim that the 'pride' ('supercilium') of the Londoners had reached such heights that they, 'against all human reason, God and justice', passed laws which 'harassed, oppressed and exhausted' visitors from other towns and districts.[135] Walsingham then ended his account with a pledge, entirely redundant by this point, not to speak of the Londoners' 'inhumanity', their 'greed', their 'disloyalty', and their 'malice'.[136]

This passage re-treads many of the same themes as the account of Imperial's murder in 1379, including the labouring of the sins of the Londoners (pride especially but also material greed), the spiritual dimension to the condemnation of the attack (the references to Lollardy and heresy, and to actions against God), and the oppression of the outsider or 'stranger'. The reference here to the Londoners' actions 'against all human reason, God and justice' may also be intended to resonate with the claim made regarding the violation of natural law and God's commands in the 1379 passage. As with Imperial, Walsingham does not display any particular concern for the individual alien attacked and instead writes only of the

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[131] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 924) - 'set et quemdam Lumbardum uolentem accomodare regi dictam summam male tractauerunt, uerberauerunt, et paulo minus occiderunt'.

[132] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 924-6). For this dispute see C. Barron, 'The Quarrel of Richard II with London 1392-7', in eds. F.R.H. Du Boulay & C. Barron, *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971) (pp. 173-201) and Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 259).

[133] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 924) - 'De transgressionibus Londinensium et ira regis'; 'procaciter', 'proteruiam', 'presumpcione', 'insolencia' and 'superbia'.

[134] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 924) - 'inter omnes fere naciones gencium elatissimi, arrogantissimi, et auarissimi' (my trans.); 'Lollardorum sustentatores, religiosorum detractores, decimarium detentores, et comunis uulgi depauperatores' (Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans.).

[135] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 924) - 'In tantum que excreuit eorum supercilium ut auderent leges condere, quibus aduentantes de circumiacentibus uillis et provinciis contra racionem omnem humanam, Deum, et iusticiam, molestarent, grauarent, et fatigarent'.

[136] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 924) - 'inhumanitatem', 'rapacitatem', 'infidelitatem' and 'malignitatem' respectively.

figure of the foreigner, constructed only using the generic nationality label of 'Lombard'.[137] There is another potential factor to consider in relation to the 1392 incident in that the *Chronica* and the Westminster Chronicle are the only sources to make any mention of such a 'Lombard' in relation to Richard II's dispute with London, and Caroline Barron has characterised the dispute as a well-planned 'campaign' by Richard to extort money from the city not a response to an incident of anti-alien violence.[138] It is possible therefore that Walsingham (and the anonymous Westminster Chronicler) was in fact either inventing the 'Lombard' as a vehicle to attack the citizens of London or, more likely, that he was manipulating either a real event or a contemporary rumour in order to achieve such a vehicle.

In all then, Walsingham's treatment of foreign merchants and artisans in the *Chronica* is split between two poles. On one hand Walsingham appears to have had a healthy distrust of foreign merchants, claiming that they came to deceive and partook of corruption, but on the other he was able to recognise and praise the potential economic benefits they could bring to England. Beneath both of these approaches however is a common thread in that foreign merchants appear in the *Chronica* only when they are useful to Walsingham's textual-polemical agendas. Whether they serve as helpless victims to further criticisms of the Londoners or the rebels in 1381, or as villains colluding with hated royal councillors, foreign merchants are almost always made to serve Walsingham's current critical agenda targeted at Englishmen.

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[137] John Leland in particular has noted the use of 'Lombard' as a catch-all term for Italians in this period (in his 'Aliens in the Pardons of Richard II', in ed. J.S. Hamilton, *Fourteenth-Century England* IV (Woodbridge, 2006) (p. 143)).

[138] See Westminster Chronicle (p. 496) and Barron, 'The Quarrel of Richard II with London' (esp. pp. 178-9).

c)   <u>Foreign Courtiers</u>[139]

One area in which Walsingham's treatment of foreigners was somewhat different from the above cases is that of foreign courtiers around the English king. In this capacity Walsingham was much more categorically hostile to foreigners, presenting no examples of positive or beneficial foreigners and criticising the foreigners themselves not the Englishmen around them. Instead of well-meaning or victimised individuals the foreign courtiers appearing in the *Chronica* are greedy individuals who seek to leech off the wealth of England for their own selfish gain. This difference suggests that Walsingham possessed more clear-cut and definitive negative opinions of foreigners within a specifically court context, quite possibly as a result of concerns regarding the influence those foreigners might enjoy over the English king. These opinions bear similarities to other medieval concerns regarding the presence of foreigners around the king and, most importantly, owe a great deal to the vocal criticisms levelled by his predecessor Matthew Paris at foreign courtiers in the thirteenth century, making it also plausible that Walsingham's opinions and portrayal was influenced by historiographical trends. Best known of Walsingham's criticisms of foreign courtiers are his treatment of the Bohemians brought to Richard II's court by the marriage to Anne of Bohemia in 1382, but similar sentiments are expressed regarding Leo V of Armenia and Count Waleran of St Pol. After the 1380s however this outspoken criticism of foreign courtiers fades from the *Chronica*, most likely due to the upheavals in the chronicle's composition process during the 1390s and the desire not to offend the Lancastrian regime after 1399.

Many scholars have argued that during his reign Richard II made strides toward the development of a royal court, including instituting more elaborate ceremonial, doubling the size of the royal household, and conducting some forms of artistic and literary patronage.[140]

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[139]   There is lively scholarly debate regarding the applicability and definition of the terms 'court' and 'courtier' to this period (see for example the essays in ed. D. Starkey, *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987) and G.L. Harriss, 'The Court of the Lancastrian Kings', in ed. J. Stratford, *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2003) (pp. 1-18)), but here the definition offered by Rosemary Horrox of 'the environment in which the king existed' has been preferred (see her 'Caterpillars of the Commonwealth? Courtiers in Late Medieval England', in eds. R. Archer & S. Walker, *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995) (pp. 1-15, quote at pp. 2-3)).

[140]   See for example: G. Mathew, *The Court of Richard II* (London, 1968) (esp. pp. 1-31); J.A. Tuck, 'Richard II's System of Patronage', in eds. F.R.H. DuBoulay & C.M. Barron, *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971) (pp. 5-7, 17-19); C. Given-Wilson, 'Purveyance for the Royal Household, 1362-1413', in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983) (pp. 160-2, 163); idem, *The Royal Household* (esp. pp. 39-41, 133-4, 160-7, 263); Butterfield, 'French Culture and the Ricardian Court' (pp. 82-120); Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 330-6, 340-60); and Harriss, 'The Court of the Lancastrian Kings' (pp. 2-4, 7-10). Cf. J.W. Sherborne, 'Aspects of English Court Culture in the Later Fourteenth Century', in eds. V.J. Scattergood & J.W. Sherborne, *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983) (esp. pp. 1, 6, 19-26).

Whether or not we as modern observers classify such an environment as a true court, contemporary observers, including Walsingham, recognised and criticised an identifiable group or circle around Richard for its perceived military failings, sexual licence and expense.[141] It is likely no coincidence that the only surviving manuscript of the twelfth-century *De Nugis Curialium* or 'Courtiers' Trifles' of Walter Map, which paralleled the court to Hell and claimed that it rewarded only the unworthy, was produced by a copyist at Ramsey Abbey in the later fourteenth century.[142] Within such wider anti-court and anti-courtier sentiments, the place of the foreign-born courtier was a particularly dangerous one in the Middle Ages as the presence of foreigners with their own interests and culture so close to the throne stimulated great concern among both political actors and commentators. The potential for the injection of foreign culture to the king's immediate circle and family, thereby potentially distancing the ruler from his own people and nobility, made the court what Robert Bartlett has termed a 'focal point for ethnic antagonisms'.[143] This is evident from the concerns expressed in the fourteenth-century Czech *Dalimil Chronicle*, which claimed that a German queen would inculcate German culture and language among the royal children, divorcing them from their subjects.[144] Weaker bonds of loyalty to the monarch were doubtless also a concern, one likely reinforced for English writers by the tale of the British king Vortigern in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, who showed great favour to the Saxons Hengist and Horsa only for them to betray him and murder many of the British nobility.[145] In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England the presence of foreigners close to the throne served, according to Chris Given-Wilson and Michael Prestwich, as a clearly visible and distinctive focal point for more general political complaint and dissent, likely spurred by fears regarding the threat to the native elite's political position and influence.[146]

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[141] For criticism of Richard II's court see for example: *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 780-2, 796-802, 812-4, 824, 828, 848-52, 878, 934-6); Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household* (pp. 23-7, 41, 110-38, 188-99); Horrox, 'Caterpillars of the Commonwealth?' (pp. 4-5); and Ormrod, 'Knights of Venus' (pp. 290-305). Contemporary criticism was in fact one of the criteria used by D.A.L. Morgan to argue for the very existence of a royal court (see his 'The House of Policy: the Political Role of the Late Plantagenet Household, 1422-1485', in ed. D. Starkey, *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987) (pp. 68-70)).

[142] See Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (eds. & trans. M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooks & R.A.B. Mynors) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) [Oxford Medieval Texts] (pp. xlv-l, 2-8).

[143] See R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London, 1993) (pp. 230-2). See also Scales, 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide' (pp. 297-9).

[144] Discussed in Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (pp. 230-1).

[145] See Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 123-37). The connection between the Geoffrey of Monmouth tradition and Walsingham has been explored above (pp. 119-28).

[146] See: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household* (pp. 74-5); M. Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1990) (pp. 79-94, esp. pp. 79-80 and 93-4); and Horrox, 'Caterpillars of the Commonwealth?' (pp. 7-9). This kind of concern regarding the power of proximity to the

The most obvious model for or influence upon Walsingham's particular treatment of foreign courtiers is however the chronicles of his thirteenth-century predecessor Matthew Paris. Famous for his general antipathy toward foreigners, Paris particularly viewed foreign-born courtiers as grasping and greedy individuals, leeching off the wealth of England.[147] In his *Chronica Majora* Paris directed much ire at Italian merchant bankers and alien clergy appointed by the Papacy, but he also inveighed at length against the Poitevins and Savoyards who accumulated at Henry III's court.[148] These foreigners are accused in the *Chronica Majora* of: consuming the wealth of the realm or transporting it abroad; using 'cunning devices' to persuade Henry to make extravagant grants to them, to the exclusion of the English; and tyrannically oppressing the English people as well as fornicating and murdering without restraint.[149] Paris lamented that 'Our inheritance is given over to others and our house to strangers', and even claimed that the Poitevins sought to take all that was English to Poitou and bring all of Poitou to England in order to 'destroy the memory of the English from the face of the earth'.[150] Peter of Savoy, Queen Eleanor of Provence's uncle, receives particular opprobrium in the chronicle, described as coming to England in search of money, participating in a tournament his son-in-law Henry tried to rig in favour of the foreigners, and bringing foreign ladies to court to exclude the daughters of the English nobility.[151] While

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monarch as a source of purely domestic political problems is also discussed in Tuck, 'Richard II's System of Patronage' (pp. 1-20).

[147] Matthew Paris' xenophobia and dislike of foreigners is well-known and for discussion see in particular: Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (pp. 141-3); Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (pp. 84-6); and B. Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History', in *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009) (pp. 269-70). Antonia Gransden has noted that Paris later attempted to tone down some of his anti-alien comments around 1250, concerned they might offend Henry III (see her *Historical Writing in England I* (pp. 370-1)). If the number and frequency of anti-alien violence in thirteenth-century England is any indicator then Paris' attitudes were quite widespread (see Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (pp. 79-94) and S.K. Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval English Towns* (Cambridge, 2014) (pp. 283-4)).

[148] For Paris' abuse of Italian bankers and papal appointees see for example Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III (pp. 622-3), IV (pp. 84-5, 87), and V (pp. 184-5, 329-30). These were common targets for contemporary anti-alien attacks too (see Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (pp. 82, 91-3) and Cohn, *Popular Protest* (pp. 283-4)). For foreigners at the court of king Henry III see especially H.W. Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the 'Aliens', 1236-1272', in eds. P.R. Coss & S.D. Lloyd, *Thirteenth-Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1987* (Woodbridge, 1988) (pp. 81-92) and idem, 'Foreign Favourites and Henry III's Problems of Patronage, 1247-1258', in *English Historical Review* 104 (1989) (pp. 590-610).

[149] For just a few examples see Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* III (pp. 387-8), IV (p. 254), V (pp. 204-5, 283, 316-7, 514-5, 530-1).

[150] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* V (pp. 183, 205). The translation used here is from *Matthew Paris's English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273* (ed. & trans. J.A. Giles), 3 Vols. (London, 1852) II (p. 417, 398).

[151] See Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* IV (pp. 85, 88, 598). For Henry III's generosity to Savoy and the latter's influence at court see Ridgeway, 'Henry III and the 'Aliens'' (pp. 85, 87, 89) and idem, 'Foreign Favourites' (esp. pp. 597, 599-600).

Walsingham's criticism of foreign courtiers in the 1380s did not achieve the heights of Paris'
vitriol or paranoia, his repeated emphasis on the untrustworthiness and greed of foreigners at
the royal court seems likely to have been influenced by the earlier chronicler.

The foremost thread within Walsingham's coverage of foreign couriers in the
Chronica is that of the Bohemians at the court of Richard II during the 1380s.[152] While many
contemporary English chroniclers, including Walsingham, criticised the cost of the marriage
to Anne in 1382, the response of most English writers to Anne herself was at least more
lukewarm than overtly hostile.[153] This criticism of the marriage was not entirely misplaced as
Richard had agreed to loan Anne's brother Wenceslas 80,000 florins in exchange for the
marriage, half of which would be remitted if Anne reached England before Michaelmas
1381.[154] While these costs may have coloured English perceptions of the Bohemians who
joined Anne in England, other events would soon supply ample other reasons for hostility.
First the Exchequer was obliged to reimburse Anne's escorts to the tune of £166 13s. 4d. and
Richard himself for another £40 spent on entertaining those escorts at Calais.[155] Several
Bohemians remained in England with Anne after this and were to receive substantial grants,
including annuities in the hundreds of marks, grants of property in London, and prebends for
Anne's confessors.[156] Court scandals also helped to turn opinion against the Bohemians, in
particular the involvement of a Bohemian knight in the murder of Sir Ralph Stafford in 1385

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[152] For modern discussion of the Bohemians see in particular: A. Simpson, *The Connections between
English and Bohemian Painting during the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1984)
(esp. pp. 37-54); Saul, *Richard II* (esp. pp. 88-93); and W.M. Ormrod, 'Agnes Lancecrona: A
Bohemian at Richard II's Court', at https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/page/individual-
studies/agnes-lancecrona-a-bohemian-at-richard-iis-court [accessed 13/05/15].

[153] Walsingham wrote of the superiority of a Milanese match and complained that the marriage had
cost 'a considerable sum of money and many difficult labours' (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 572-4)). Adam
Usk wrote that Anne had been 'purchased' rather than given (Adam Usk (pp. 4-6)). The Westminster
Chronicler labelled Anne a 'tiny scrap of humanity' unworthy of the huge costs (Westminster Chronicle
(pp. 22-4)). Henry Knighton paid little attention to Anne's arrival but did claim that Richard paid the
costs himself (Henry Knighton (pp. 240-2)). The London Chronicle is probably the kindest, describing
Anne as 'a ffull blessed Quene and a gracious' (*Chronicles of London* (pp. 16-7)).

[154] For the marriage negotiations see Simpson, *English and Bohemian Painting* (pp. 37-41) and Saul,
Richard II (pp. 84-95). For the loan's payment see *Issues of the Exchequer, being A Collection of
Payments made out of His Majesty's Revenue, from King Henry III to King Henry VI Inclusive* (ed. F.
Devon) (London, 1837) (p. 218) and *Foedera* VII (pp. 295-6, 301, 302). There were further,
unanticipated costs from the marriage negotiations in that both Sir John Burley and Anne herself were
taken prisoner and ransomed on their journeys between England and Bohemia, expenses which the
Exchequer repaid in 1383-4 (see *Issues of the Exchequer* (pp. 224, 225)).

[155] *Issues of the Exchequer* (pp. 219, 223).

[156] For a comprehensive list see Simpson, *English and Bohemian Painting* (pp. 38-9, 45-9). Saul
reproduces much of Simpson's list (see *Richard II* (pp. 92-3, esp. n. 36)). The largest single grant was
of annuities worth 1050 marks and 900 florins to seven individuals, all Bohemian, described as retained
for life by the king on 1st May 1381 (*CPR 1381-85* (p. 4)).

and Robert de Vere's infamous abandonment of his wife for the Bohemian lady-in-waiting Agnes Lancecrona.[157] Anti-Bohemian feeling had reached such levels by the later 1380s that in 1388 the Commons would request the expulsion of 'les beaumeres' from the realm and the charges brought against Simon Burley by the Appellants would include having maliciously surrounded the king with 'aliens, Bohemians, and others' who impoverished the crown.[158] While Simpson has argued that, in reality, the Bohemians were a relatively small group not inordinately favoured by Richard, the English *perception* of them was that they were 'foreign and fashionable, rapacious and altogether too much in evidence'.[159]

Aside from a passing reference to some noblemen of 'her land' accompanying Anne to England in 1381, Walsingham first targeted the Bohemians in 1383 when describing the royal household's travels around English abbeys.[160] Initially the chronicle entry makes no reference to the Bohemians, lamenting the costs of the royal visits, claiming that Bury St Edmunds was required to pay 800 marks sustaining the royal entourage, and attacking Richard's *inconstancia* in changing his mind to support John Timworth, the papal nominee in Bury's disputed election.[161] This change of heart, Walsingham claimed, led the papacy to act high-handedly in future and was attributable to Richard's youth as the king 'had childishly changed his mind'.[162] With these criticisms complete however, Walsingham turned to the Bohemians: as the king travelled he received extravagant gifts from his subjects but insisted that gifts of the same value be similarly given to the queen; whatever their 'greedy hands' ('manus avida') touched was however then bestowed 'extravagantly' or 'wastefully' ('prodigaliter') upon 'the aliens of the queen's people, namely the Bohemians' ('alienigenis

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[157] For these events see Simpson, *English and Bohemian Painting* (pp. 42-3); Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 120-1, 183); and Ormrod, 'Agnes Lancecrona: A Bohemian at Richard II's Court'. Walsingham recorded both events with indignation, although he did not note explicitly the involvement of a Bohemian knight in Stafford's murder (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 756-8, 822)).

[158] See *Rot. Parl.* iii.247.28 and iii.242.7 respectively. Simpson concludes that the Bohemians served as 'scapegoats' in 1388 for the removal of Richard's advisors (*English and Bohemian Painting* (p. 44)). The Westminster Chronicle records both of these parliamentary claims (see pp. 274, 290). Walsingham himself did not refer to either claim specifically, although his account of 1388 is rather brief and compressed (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 844-52)).

[159] Simpson, *English and Bohemian Painting* (pp. 38-49; quote at p. 45). Saul too has concluded that Richard showed 'extraordinary generosity' to the Bohemians but that this was a calculated demonstration of power and wealth not the 'reckless extravagance' the chroniclers claimed (see Saul, *Richard II* (p. 92-3)).

[160] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 572) - 'comitantibus eam multis nobilibus, tam sue patrie quam istius terre'.

[161] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 688-90). Walsingham also noted Bury St Edmunds' recent financial hardships, incurred due to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

[162] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 690) - 'pueriliter mutato proposito'. Taylor, Childs & Watkiss translate this as 'had foolishly changed his intention', but 'childishly' is a more literal translation of 'pueriliter'.

de gente regine, scilicet Boemiis').[163] The passage then ends by returning to the king's 'youth', citing Ecclesiastes 10:16, 'woe to the land, when the king is a child'.[164] In this passage then the Bohemians are the recipients of extravagant favour but not necessarily at their own instigation; instead it is Richard's youthful exuberance and inconstancy that results in their conspicuous favour. There may also be an undercurrent of criticism at the size and cost of the royal court at work in the comments regarding the expense incurred by those hosting the royal party.

The Bohemians' next appearance in the *Chronica* presents a somewhat different, and rather more cynical, picture of the foreigners. The Christmas notice of 1385 describes how 'the Bohemians, countrymen of the queen' ('Boemi, patriote regine') were present with the royal couple for Christmas.[165] Walsingham then accuses them of having 'tasted the sweetness of the land, forgotten their own country, and though only guests were shamelessly unwilling to return home'.[166] The Christmas notice of 1387 lacks this overt criticism but likewise refers to Richard's spending the holiday 'with Queen Anne and her Bohemians' ('cum Anna regina et Boemiis suis').[167] Thus in both of these cases the Bohemians are described in two ways: first they are marked out by their nationality, and given no names or designations other than that nationality; and second they are explicitly tied to Anne herself not to Richard. Both of these serve to stress the 'foreign'-ness of the courtiers, and to put some distance between the courtiers and Richard himself. Walsingham's complaints that the Bohemians have overstayed their welcome and live by feeding on England's wealth both blames the Bohemians themselves for their situation, allowing them considerably more agency than their first appearance, and also very closely mirrors some of Matthew Paris' complaints regarding foreign courtiers.

Similar sentiments appear in the *Chronica* in relation to King Leo V of Armenia in 1385-6 and Waleran de Luxembourg, Count of St Pol in 1380, both of whom dwelled in and around the royal court during their time in England. Leo V came to England came to England 1385-86 attempting to negotiate an Anglo-French peace, and while in England was recipient

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[163] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 690). Taylor, Childs and Watkiss translate 'manus avida' as 'grasping hands' and 'prodigaliter' as 'in great abundance', but 'greedy hands' and 'extravagantly' or 'wastefully' are more literal renderings (based on Lewis & Short's definitions as found at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?lang=la) [accessed 22/05/15].

[164] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 690) - 'Veterre, cuius rex puerest'. Ecclesiastes 10 is a larger warning against folly, laziness and gluttony in rulers (see Ecclesiastes 10:1-20).

[165] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 736).

[166] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 736) - 'gustata dulcedine terre, proprie regionis obliti, inuerecundi et illeti hospites repatriare nolebant' (my trans.).

[167] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 808).

of significant generosity from Richard.[168] For example Leo received a £1000 annuity 'until he recovers his lost kingdom', which he was still claiming at least part of in 1391, and his requests for letters of safe conduct to and from England were still being granted until 1388.[169] While Leo's attempts to negotiate a peace were unsuccessful in 1385-86 due to the sticking point of John of Gaunt's expedition to Castile, the Westminster Chronicler had faith in his intentions and partly attributed the peace of 1389 to his efforts.[170]

Walsingham however took a much more hostile view of Leo's presence in England. In the Christmas notice of 1386 Walsingham wrote that the, unnamed, king of Armenia had come to England on the 'pretext' (*pretextus*) of negotiating a peace and had received innumerable gifts including a £1000 annuity for life.[171] Walsingham then claimed that this king, 'so he said' ('ut asseruit'), had been driven from his kingdom by the Tartars but had 'extorted' (*extorqueo*) so much wealth from western monarchs that he had become richer in exile than he had been in his own kingdom.[172] Leo's second appearance in the *Chronica* is much the same in tone: later in 1386 Walsingham wrote that 'the king of Armenia', again unnamed, having long enjoyed the generosity (*liberalitas*) of the English, asked for safe conduct but was refused when the nobles objected, thinking him a 'charlatan' (*illusor*).[173] In this passage first Walsingham heaped sarcasm on Leo's aims, writing that he sought 'to restore peace between the kingdoms of England and France, one of which was now wholly prepared to invade the other', and second claimed that Leo 'desired gifts more than peace, loved money more than the people, the gold of the kingdom more than the king'.[174] There is a heavy dose of cynicism and hostility in Walsingham's presentation of Leo, casting doubt on

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[168] For Leo and his time in England see: McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (p. 441), who terms Richard's generosity 'recklessness'; Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 152, 167, 336); and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War III: Divided Houses* (pp. 575-6, 590-4). Froissart wrote of Leo's presence in western Europe and his efforts to negotiate an Anglo-French peace in some depth in his chronicles (see his *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* XI (pp. 229-49) and XII (pp. 12-8)).

[169] For Leo's annuity see *CPR 1385-89* (p. 110) and *Issues of the Exchequer* (pp. 229, 245-6). For the pro-war Duke of Gloucester's rejection of Leo's efforts in 1388 see *CPR 1385-89* (p. 502-3) and Saul, *Richard II* (p. 167).

[170] Saul, *Richard II* (p. 152); Westminster Chronicle (pp. 154, 158, 398).

[171] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 784) - 'Nam preter innumera dona que de rege regnique percepit proceribus, rex concessit et dedit eidem cartam de mille libris ad uitam suam percipiendum annuatim'.

[172] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 784) - 'Fuerat nempe, ut asseruit, fugatus a regno suo per Tartaros, et ob hanc causam multa a regibus Christianis extorsit munera, in tantum ut felicior fuit illi fuga sua in aliena patria quam dominium regni sui cum gente sua'.

[173] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 804).

[174] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 804) - 'pacis reformande inter regna Anglie et Francie, quorum unum iam omnino paratum fuerat ad reliquum inuadendum', 'reuera plus desiderauit dona quam pacem, plus pecuniam adamuit quam plebem, plus aurum regni quam regem' (I have slightly amended Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' trans. for a more literal rendering).

his intentions and even his claims regarding his lost kingdom, the overriding impression being that of a greedy foreigner desiring to enrich himself on the wealth of England. As with the previous cases Leo's name is not used in the *Chronica* and instead he is referred to only by his title, in itself a marker of his nationality.

Waleran of Luxembourg, or the unnamed Count of St Pol as he appears in the *Chronica*, came to England as a prisoner of war in 1379-80 but was allowed considerable trust and access to the royal circle, travelling between England and Calais arranging his ransom and even being permitted to marry Richard II's half-sister Mathilda (or Maud) Holland.[175] Richard and his advisers trusted Waleran sufficiently to waive part of his ransom and allow him to lead an, ultimately unsuccessful, attempt to conquer the town of Guise for the English in 1380.[176] Similar trust and closeness are attested in Froissart's description of a grand wedding at which John of Gaunt, the king's uncle, gave the couple lavish gifts and Richard himself bestowed a manor on the bride.[177] According to Froissart too the Count was in fact detained on his return to the continent by the French king on suspicion of compromised loyalties.[178] Such was Waleran's affection for Richard that he would have an effigy of Duke Edmund of York hung from the walls of his castle in 1399 for the Duke's betrayal of Richard.[179]

Walsingham's version of events is however rather different. In the *Chronica* 'Lord Waleran, Count of St Pol, an outsider and an alien' ('externus et alienigena') enjoyed the affections of the king's half-sister 'Johanna Courtenay' to the extent that she refused to countenance marriage to any Englishman.[180] This marriage took place supposedly 'to the delight of few, to the benefit of none, but to the ill-will and hatred of many', and Walsingham claims that 'Johanna' was disowned by the majority of her family save Richard who bestowed on her the manor of Byfleet out of sympathy.[181] Outside of the royal circle 'Johanna'

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[175] Modern scholarly work on the Count seems very limited, but see the works cited below and *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (p. 181 (n. 65)) and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War III: Divided Houses* (pp. 366-8). Froissart appears to be the best contemporary source for the Count's incarceration (see his *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* VIII (pp. 329-37, 402) and IX (p. 73)).

[176] See: *Issues of the Exchequer* (pp. 210-2); *Foedera* VII (pp. 224-6); and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War III: Divided Houses* (pp. 366-8).

[177] Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* IX (pp. 131-3). See also Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (pp. 75, 182).

[178] Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart: Chroniques* IX (pp. 131-3).

[179] See Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain* (pp. 59-60).

[180] *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 348) - 'dominus Walerannus, comes sancti Pauli, externus et alienigena'. Walsingham's error of 'Johanna' for Matilda-Maud is as yet unexplained, but was rectified when the Count reappeared under 1389 (*Chronica Maiora* I (p. 868)).

[181] *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 348-50) - 'paucorum gaudio, nullius comodo, set liuore et odio plurimorum'. 'Livore' has proven difficult to render exactly into English, deriving from *livor* and *liveo* which can mean 'bruised' or 'envy'/'malice', and here Taylor, Childs & Watkiss' translation as 'ill will'

supposedly received 'the reproach of her own people' ('gente sua obprobrium'), a statement which clearly reflects Walsingham's own opinions of the match.[182] Later in the same year Walsingham rather gloatingly described Waleran's 'banishment' or 'ejection' from the realm for his misdeeds. According to Walsingham the Count left with his new wife but, 'as is more truly asserted' ('ut verius asseritur'), he was 'banished' and the banishment hushed up to preserve Richard's reputation.[183] Then, the *Chronica* claims, the Count showed his true colours by approaching Charles V saying he had associated with the English only to scheme against them, after which he became Charles' chamberlain and the English branded him a 'public enemy'.[184] In his *Chronica* account then Walsingham deliberately chose to portray Waleran as 'foreign' in several ways: 'externus et alienigena' together; stressing his 'foreign'-ness through comments that 'Johanna' refused to marry any Englishman (*Anglicus*); and writing of 'gentis sue' or 'his people'. Similarly events were distorted with the benefit of hindsight to present Waleran as unworthy and distrusted from the beginning. While Waleran's later service to the king of France and his prior military career against the English may have supplied ample reason for the chronicler's dislike of the man, it is also possible that this arose from concerns regarding the presence of a foreigner in a position of influence at court.[185] For example, Walsingham may have had the opportunity to observe Waleran's position at court when the Count was admitted to the confraternity of St Albans in 1379-80, and John Leland has noted that of the six royal pardons granted by Richard II at the request of foreign noblemen three were granted at the request of the Count of St Pol.[186] The evident degree of proximity, trust and influence the Count enjoyed at the English royal court was no doubt

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has been used. The *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* reproduces Walsingham's wording almost exactly (see *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (p. 58)).

[182]   *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 348-50). This marriage appears to have offended Walsingham so much that he would retrospectively gloat at the destruction of the Count's property by rebelling Flemish peasants in 1379 (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 314-6)).

[183]   *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 398). The Royal manuscript text entitles the passage 'The Count of St Pol is banished' ('Comes Sancti Pauli eiicitur'), but the Harley 3634 manuscript text opts for the more neutral 'The Count of St Pol leaves England with his wife' ('Comes Sancti Pauli deserit Angliam cum uxore') (see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 398 (textual note *b*))).

[184]   *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 398). Walsingham claims that the Count's change of side was 'after the fashion of his people' ('more gentis sue').

[185]   For the prior career explanation see *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (p. 181 (n. 65)) and *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422* (ed. J.G. Clark & trans. D. Preest) (Woodbridge, 2005) (p. 104 (n. 1)).

[186]   James Clark has pointed out the Count's presence in the confraternity, as demonstrated by BL Cotton MS Nero D.vii fol. 80r (see *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham* (p. 104 (n. 1))). For the pardons, at least one of which was for a suspected murderer, see Leland, 'Aliens in the Pardons of Richard II' (pp. 141, 143-4).

rather unpalatable to a patriotic chronicler like Walsingham and may be the cause of his hostility to the Count.

        As noted above, Walsingham's criticism of foreign courtiers peaked in the 1380s under Richard II but then declined from the early 1390s and into the fifteenth century. References to the Bohemians cease after 1387, the role of Leo of Armenia in later diplomacy is not mentioned, and the Count of St Pol's later appearances in the *Chronica* are devoid of any particular hostility.[187] Likewise the coverage of Richard's second wife Isabella says nothing whatsoever of her French household.[188] This lack is revealing given that several of Isabella's French attendants, especially the Courcy family, would receive some substantial grants of money and privileges,[189] and given that Richard dismissed many of Isabella's French household (including her governess Lady Courcy) in response to criticism of their 'extravagance and lack of discretion' in 1399.[190] Another parallel can be found in Richard's allegedly spoiling the young Isabella like a daughter, including handing an expensive Christmas gift from the Bishop of Durham straight to her as a toy.[191] Yet Walsingham had nothing to say about these grants, the scandal and expulsion, or the passing of royal gifts on to the young queen, all of which had served to provoke his hostility against the Bohemians in the previous decade. In this case the most plausible explanation of this reticence is that of the disturbed nature of the *Chronica*'s production in the 1390s - thanks to his time at Wymondham Walsingham's composition process was uprooted in the mid-1390s, and the diminishing scale and quality of the chronicle text would suggest that this hampered his willingness and ability to enter into detailed criticism of the royal household and court.[192]

        The early fifteenth-century *Chronica* text displays the same reticence regarding the household of Henry IV's queen, Joan of Navarre, possibly due to a reluctance to criticise the

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[187]   Queen Anne appears in the Christmas notices of 1389-92, but the Bohemian courtiers do not reappear (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 862, 896, 904, 916)). For the Count of St Pol's later appearances in the *Chronica* see *Chronica Maiora* I (p. 868) and *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 42, 378, 436, 602). For the Count's involvement in later diplomacy see Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 351, 400-2).

[188]   See *Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 48-50, 286, 300, 312).

[189]   For example: Sir William Courcy and his wife Margaret were granted a lifetime annuity of £100 in January 1397 'for their good service to the king and Isabel, queen of England' (*CPR 1396-99* (p. 46)); the same William was given licence to import 2000 bushels of corn into England in April 1399 (*CPR 1396-99* (p. 519)); Master Richard Courcy, the queen's secretary, was granted a lifetime annuity of 40 marks in March 1397 (*CPR 1396-99* (p. 103)); and a Richard de Courcy was presented to the church of Cantley in Norwich diocese in December 1397, although this was revoked in March 1398 in favour of a pre-existing claimant (*CPR 1396-99* (pp. 268, 330)).

[190]   See *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400* (pp. 30-1 and n. 41) and Saul, *Richard II* (pp. 407, 457).

[191]   Saul, *Richard II* (p. 457-8).

[192]   For the *Chronica*'s production during the 1390s see above (pp. 34-44).

new regime. Joan was treated rather positively by the *Chronica* on her arrival in England in 1403, but the French and Breton members of her household would become a target of Parliamentary attack in 1404-06 as part of a wider campaign to reduce the cost of the royal household.[193] In 1404 the Commons and Lords requested that all adherents of the Antipope be expelled from the realm and that all aliens save Joan's daughters, a 'Marie Sainte', and two named men and their wives be expelled from the royal household.[194] Henry agreed to this after adding another eleven named aliens to the list of those exempt,[195] but was able to delay acting on the request until forced to do so by the Commons in 1406 when a list of forty-three named aliens were sent to Southampton for travel across the Channel.[196] Walsingham's accounts in the *Chronica* of these events are rather different.

Under 1404 Walsingham described the Commons' expulsion of many 'superfluous or invidious individuals' ('superflui uel nocivi') from the royal household alongside the expulsion of 'all aliens' ('omnes alienigene') except men of Brittany from the realm.[197] While the Commons' initial petition to the crown did seek the expulsion of all aliens from the realm, Walsingham skirted around the fact that the Lords revised this to cover only the supporters of the Antipope and that Henry was able to prevaricate and delay on the agreed expulsions for

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[193] For Joan's arrival see *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 340). For Joan herself see above (pp. 94-5). For this parliamentary campaign see Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household* (pp. 114, 115-7, 128-31, 188-99). According to Chris Given-Wilson the total staff of the royal household had actually risen since the years of Richard II, from 598 people in 1395-6 to 644 people in 1405-6 (see his *The Royal Household* (pp. 39-41)), but Harriss has argued that Henry IV managed the costs of his court better than Richard and even reduced expenditure on certain areas (see his 'Court of the Lancastrian Kings' (pp. 4-6, 7-8)).

[194] *Rot. Parl.* iii.527.26-528.28. The Commons requested that 'all those who take the part of the antipope, whether they be French, or others of their allies and adherents' be expelled from the realm for fear of spies, and that 'all French, Bretons, Lombards, Italians and Navarrese' should be removed from the royal households in order to reduce the cost of those households.

[195] *Rot. Parl.* iii.528.29-31. The full list of exempted individuals in 1404 is: Joan's daughters; 'Marie Sainte', Nicholas Alderwich and wife; John Puryan and wife; Sir Charles de Navarre Montferant; Sir Guillem Arnaud; Damoiselle Peronelle; 'two ladies in waiting'; 'one mistress'; 'two esquires'; 'a nurse'; 'a lady in waiting of the daughters of the said queen'; and Antoigne Rys. Rys was a long-serving 'confidential agent' of Joan who had helped to negotiate the marriage and may have been a Welshman (see Jones, 'Between France and England' (p. 10)).

[196] *Rot. Parl.* iii.571.29-572.The list in the Parliament Roll has 44 individuals, but I believe the entries for 'Robynet' and 'Robynet, secretary' are probably a duplication. Nationalities are either given or can be adduced from surnames for 7 of the named individuals: 3 Bretons ('Janyn Bryton'; 'Alan Briton'; 'Nicholas de Brittany, cook'); 3 Italians/Lombards ('Christopher Lombard'; 'Gaweyn Trent, Lombard'; 'Bartholomew Lombard'); and 1 Navarrese ('Petrigo de Nauerne'). While none of the 1404 list of exemptions were included in the 1406 list, several of the names appear to indicate family relationships to exempt individuals: 'Jane de Sante' could feasibly be related to 'Marie Sainte'; Christopher de Ryz could be a relation of Antoigne Rys; and William Alderwich is almost certainly a relation of Nicholas Alderwich.

[197] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 392). Walsingham also claims that 'Lombards' were required to lodge with Englishmen while in England, although this is in fact only one of several measures passed against 'all the Merchants Strangers, of what Estate or Condition that they be' trading in England (see *Statutes of the Realm* 5 Henry IV c.7-9, in *Statutes of the Realm* II (pp. 145-6)).

another two years. Under 1406 Walsingham described the actual expulsion of aliens from the royal household under the title 'Aliens are ejected', claiming that 'Britones familiares regine' were expelled including two of the queen's daughters.[198] In both of these cases Walsingham has distorted events in order to present the anti-alien measures as clear-cut *fait accompli* and to overstate the extent of the expulsions. While neither of these two entries are overtly hostile to or critical of Henry, Joan or their foreign courtiers, the exaggeration found in Walsingham's version of events suggests that his anti-foreigner and anti-foreign courtier opinions were in fact intact, just not being permitted the free rein they had in the 1380s. It is difficult to say for certain why Walsingham might have restrained or repressed his desire to criticise foreign courtiers under Henry IV, especially given Parliament's evident willingness to do so, but the most likely explanation is that the chronicler felt unable or unwilling to attack the Lancastrian court and crown as vociferously as he had the Ricardian. Whether or not there was a government-sponsored policy of 'censorship' under the Lancastrian kings is uncertain, but there is good evidence to suggest that chroniclers like Walsingham felt the need to *self*-censor their work after the accession of Henry IV in 1399.[199] It must be remembered too that Walsingham and his fellow monks felt the need to attempt wide-ranging editing on the anti-Gaunt Royal text of the *Chronica* in the 1390s and to abandon that entire manuscript after 1399 in favour of a new *Chronica*.[200] While Walsingham's hostility to foreigners in close proximity to the king may not have fundamentally changed, he was no longer willing to vociferously attack them as he had previously.

Walsingham's treatment of foreign courtiers was then rather more one-sided and hostile than his treatment of foreign soldiers or merchants. While foreign soldiers and merchants could be and were depicted positively and used as an anonymous vehicle for the criticism of the English, the attitude displayed in the *Chronica* towards foreign courtiers is both more specific and humanised, and more hostile. Nationality labels and 'alien' terminology are both used in relation to foreign courtiers as markers of generic 'foreign'-ness, but the criticisms are directed more at identifiable individuals and allow more (harmful and greedy) agency to those individuals than was the case with foreign soldiers and merchants. While Matthew Paris was undoubtedly the origin of much of Walsingham's attitudes to

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[198] *Chronica Maiora* II (p. 474) - the entire title reads 'Alienigene sunt eiecti'; 'Medio tempore, durante parliamento, eliminati sunt Britones familiares regine cum duabus filiabus eiusdem a regno ex ipsius parliamenti decreto'.

[199] Paul Strohm has argued for an official policy of censorship (in his *England's Empty Throne* (esp. pp. 1-31)), but Chris Given-Wilson has concluded that chroniclers exercised self-censorship in this period (in his *Chronicles* (pp. 202-12).For another brief, if possibly overstated, assessment of the fear of late medieval English writers might have had of antagonising powerful individuals see Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society* (pp. 142-5).

[200] See above (pp. 37-43).

foreign courtiers, Paris in fact used such individuals in ways more closely parallel to Walsingham's use of foreign soldiers and merchants than Walsingham's own treatment of foreign courtiers. Paris in his *Chronica Majora* frequently deployed the figure of the foreign courtier and the favour they received as a marker of Henry III's 'tyranny'; for example, under 1252 Henry is described as having 'coerced his natural subjects' in order to squander England's wealth on foreign favourites, and under 1255 Henry displays 'unspeakable cunning' in using foreigners to bring about 'the ruin of the English community'.[201] Not only does this speak of the kinds of ethnic-national tensions provoked by the presence of foreigners so close to the ruler discussed by Bartlett and Scales,[202] but it also closely resembles Walsingham's use of relatively agency-less foreigners to criticise English fighters and London merchants. While Walsingham's presentation of the Bohemians came close to this presentation at times, with Richard himself the target of some criticism, overall it is the courtiers themselves who were attacked in the *Chronica Maiora*.[203] Instead of being a symptom or indicator of the problem, for Walsingham foreign courtiers were themselves the problem.

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[201] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* V (pp. 283, 514-5). See also Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* III (pp. 622-3), IV (pp. 86-8), and V (pp. 204-5).

[202] See above (p. 293). Scales has even termed the image of the ruler who favoured foreigners over his own people as a 'well-established type for the tyrant' in the Middle Ages (see his 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide' (p. 288)).

[203] There is a possible agenda of criticising Richard's supposed 'youth' visible in some of the 1380s criticisms of foreign courtiers, which was one of the tools used in political attacks on Richard's rulership (see for example in 1388: *Rot. Parl.* iii.230-236, 241-243 and Westminster Chronicle (pp. 240-2, 250, 270, 274); and in 1399: *Rot. Parl.* iii.415.1-5, 423.54-56).

d) <u>Conclusion</u>

To say that Thomas Walsingham, in his *Chronica Maiora*, was not possessed of a finely-developed schema of ethnic-national traits and characteristics would be incorrect. However, what a detailed consideration of Walsingham's treatment of foreigners in his chronicle shows is that there existed a significant disjunction between this overarching schema and his responses to individuals. This kind of disjunction is perhaps a commonplace of later nationalist and racist mindsets, but the *Chronica Maiora* demonstrates its existence as early as the later fourteenth century.

By and large Walsingham, along with many of his contemporaries, was unconcerned with the alien population of England and it should be noted that the mundane, day-to-day experiences and challenges of aliens living in England (such as legal status, denization, integration and language divides) make no impression on the chronicles. Instead it is only in relation to extreme, newsworthy events and Walsingham's own textual-polemical agendas that aliens ever make their way into the *Chronica*. On one level this could be read as a callous disregard for the alien population, but on another it can be read as a far more accepting attitude in which the presence of 'the foreigner' was relatively unremarkable. While Walsingham was of course capable of openly hostile attitudes to foreigners living in England (for example the Italian merchants who sought Pole's aid in restoring their ships), and he clearly subscribed to some of the anti-alien beliefs of his age (such as the treacherous foreign soldier and the grasping foreign courtier), he was also capable of overtly positive comment (such as Janus Imperial's promised benefits for England and praise of the Earl of Dunbar's conduct at Shrewsbury).

Fundamental to Walsingham's textual treatment of foreigners was however his desire to use them as anonymised figures with which to criticise the conduct of his fellow Englishmen. Unlike Strohm's 'symbolic dumping ground' however, this use of the image of 'the foreigner' required pre-existing connotations attached to the notion of 'foreign'-ness in the minds of writer-composer and reader. Some of these connotations were negative, for example in shaming Gaunt and Arundel by comparison to a French squire and comparing Richard II's military failings to Janico Dartasso's successes Walsingham drew upon pre-existing notions that 'the foreigner' was inherently militarily inferior to an Englishman. On the other hand, some of these connotations could be more positive, for example in drawing on ideas of the vulnerable and potentially beneficial 'foreigner' in Walsingham's use of the Flemings attacked in 1381 and the 'Lombard' attacked in 1392. What these two different sides to the same image do both share however is the fact that, even when discussing the presence of foreigners, Walsingham's most critical eyes were usually directed at his fellow Englishmen.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This thesis has sought to address how Walsingham conceived of and wrote about nation in the *Chronica Maiora* by answering three key questions. In section one chapters 1 and 2 asked how Walsingham appears to have defined and delineated his conceptions of nationhood, both in terms of his unconscious assumptions and his deliberate terminological choices. In the *Chronica* Walsingham seems to have chiefly attached 'national' treatment (i.e. a distinct name, identity and even stereotyped character traits) to those communities which possessed political independence or autonomy, or political significance from an English perspective. Because of this Walsingham accorded equivalent treatment to the Bretons, Flemings and, in the later 1410s, the Normans as he accorded to nations such as the English and the French. While these political criteria appear to have been the chief defining features of nationhood for Walsingham, there was also an evident 'ethnic' or people-based element within his definition and depiction of national communities. Such 'ethnic' forms of community, usually expressed by Walsingham as *gentes*, were used to describe national groups Walsingham considered to be lesser than the English, such as the Irish and Canary Islanders, and to describe supposedly timeless and innate traits of national communities. In this these notions of people-hood appear, to an extent, to underlie notions of nationhood in a similar way to the role accorded to 'ethnic' forms of community in modern nation theory, representing an earlier or more primitive form of community than national or political community. Contrary to much modern theorising however, for Walsingham at least, the supposedly important notions of *patria* and linguistic community appear to have been rather unimportant.

Chapter 2 took up a more specific issue relating to how Walsingham conceived of the French as a national community. In his chronicle Walsingham appears to have created a distinction between the aristocratic and political, militarily threatening *Franci* and the lower-status, less threatening *Gallici*. Part of this distinction or dual terminological usage originated in contemporary government-led patterns of usage, with English official documents referring consistently to the king, nobility and government of France with *Franci/a* terms and to the French language with *Gallici/Gallia* terms. Aside from this Walsingham also went further with his dual terminology, actively characterising the *Gallici* as less militarily capable than the *Franci* in battle with the English and deploying consciously archaic dual terminologies for the Breton and Norman nations too. In this he appears to have been drawing upon the terminology used in the Geoffrey of Monmouth tradition, a text which was of great significance in medieval English national self-fashioning but was an otherwise hidden influence upon Walsingham's thinking and writing.

Section two approached how Walsingham depicted, stereotyped and characterised the various national communities of his world, and what this reveals of his larger worldview and priorities. Taking its cue from modern theories of stereotyping and Othering, this section sought to demonstrate the ways in which by negatively characterising non-English national groups Walsingham inversely characterised, praised and elevated the English nation. Chapter 3 considered three significant but relatively straightforward such efforts at stereotyping, as well as seeking to discover what may have influenced Walsingham in using such stereotypes. In the *Chronica* the Irish received similar characterisation as barbarous or primitive as they had received from English writers since the twelfth century, an ideological legitimisation of English rule over Ireland. The Flemings were stereotyped as a people innately given to treachery and falseness, which may reflect Walsingham's participation in contemporary trends of thought regarding the people of Flanders. The presentation and stereotyping of the Scots, troped as savage, bestial and rage-filled in the chronicle, appears to owe much to fourteenth-century efforts by the English crown to win support for its wars. Of course, in each of these cases the English are implicitly superior - more civilised, more trustworthy, less savage.

Chapter 4 took up the place of the French within Walsingham's depiction of nations, particularly the ambiguity and subtext of that place. Stereotyped positively the French were, albeit on only one occasion, admitted to a 'brotherhood' with the English when fighting abroad, a claim which asserted a connection and bond between the two nations which is unique in the chronicle. The more common stereotypical presentation of the French in the *Chronica* however, while much more negative, was no less complex or ambiguous. Presenting the French as a people inherently given to pride (*superbia*) and tyrannical or oppressive rule did not simply serve to imply the English were less prideful and more merciful in their rule, it also carried some important subtext for an Englishman of Walsingham's time. Positioning the French as unjust and illegitimate rulers played into English notions of the Valois French monarchy as the usurpers of the rightful throne of Edward III and his descendants, but also affiliated the French with well-known models and traditions of the inevitable fall of mighty peoples who succumbed to *superbia* and tyranny. The associations between these traits and those found in Old Testament history and in St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* would have been readily apparent to Walsingham's educated monastic audience and thus would have implied that the French too were destined to fall. This implication gains extra significance from the perspective of later fourteenth-century England, as the previous grand English victories over the French faded into the past and the war effort became a costly burden. In this context Walsingham's stereotyping of the French can even be seen as something of an implied promise of future victory and supremacy for the English.

The English themselves were the main focus of chapter 5, both in terms of explicit generalisations Walsingham made regarding the English as a people and in terms of the parallels he sought to draw between the English and the ancient Romans. Clearly pro-English

stereotypes of the English nation as particularly skilled in war and as particularly just and merciful rulers, as well as England itself being a 'mistress of nations', are all relatively straightforward assertions by a patriotic English writer seeking to glorify his own nation. Similarly Walsingham seems to have been aware of a stereotype of the English as a faithless or disloyal people, most likely from his reading of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, and there are several occasions within the *Chronica* in which he appears to have sought to defend his nation against such a charge. These characterisations of the English as a national community, whether praise or defence, were however only one aspect of Walsingham's presentation of the English and Englishness. While, like many other writers, Walsingham did on occasion parallel the English to the Israelites as God's Chosen People, he also deployed the idea of the ancient Romans in a similar way. The people of Rome of his own time were explicitly described as having lost their ancient virtues and thus lost their power. This national-moral example can only have been directed at the *Chronica*'s English readership and sought to use the Romans as a lesson, urging the English to avoid such vices as had destroyed the Romans. The English were also repeatedly paralleled to the Romans before their decline, particularly in a military context but also in more general settings, parallels which implied a comparability or similarity (whether real or desired) between England and the glory of ancient Rome. The importance of these ideas regarding Rome in medieval English self-fashioning has been generally underestimated by modern scholarship, but can be shown to have been significant for at least some clerical and monastic circles.

Section three, consisting of chapter 6, considered how Walsingham dealt with and presented those individuals who had crossed the neatly-divided lines and boundaries implied by his usual treatment of national communities. In terms of non-English individuals serving in English armies or dwelling in England Walsingham's general approach was to simply not address them as a particular issue - the presence of 'aliens' was not lamented in general, there was no blanket distrust or suspicion expressed in the chronicle, and the day-to-day lives of those 'aliens' made no impression on the text. Instead the only occasions on which Walsingham made particular reference to the presence of such foreigners were those in which he sought to use them as textual tools for his own narrative agendas, usually to criticise the English. Non-English soldiers and merchants were used in the chronicle narrative as vehicles by which to criticise or shame Englishmen, either for their persecution of innocent 'strangers' or for failing to demonstrate the same bravery or loyalty as the foreigner. These comparisons and contrasts of course drew their force from implicit assumptions regarding the inherent lesser martial ability and loyalty of the non-English, but they cannot be said to reflect real hostility to the non-English population. Where Walsingham was categorically hostile to such aliens was in relation to non-English individuals at the English court, a tendency no doubt influenced by concerns regarding those individuals' proximity to the English king but also by

the vitriolic attacks on foreign courtiers made by Walsingham's predecessor at St Albans Matthew Paris.

Overall this thesis has sought to argue that, despite his background and participation in a rather 'traditional' monastic Latin-language chronicle genre, nationhood and Englishness were of great concern to Thomas Walsingham and underlay much of his *Chronica Maiora*. Despite much modern scholarly emphasis on the importance of the increased use and prestige of the English vernacular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as both marker and driver of strengthening English national identity, this thesis has hopefully demonstrated that writers of and texts written in Latin were no less concerned with issues of Englishness. In Benedict Anderson's terms, Latin may have been a universal 'truth language' or 'sacred language' in late medieval Europe but that did not prevent it from being very much a 'national language' too, operating alongside the vernacular not just being superseded by it.[1] Nor was the Englishness presented in the chronicle a simplistic or straightforward one, instead writers like Walsingham demonstrated a distinct, vibrant and complex understanding of nationhood and national identity possessed of its own priorities and implicit assumptions.

An important part of this thesis has been the attempt to unpick the various influences upon Walsingham's conception of nationhood and national communities, and it is perhaps many of these which help to make any contemporary learned, clerical and monastic conception of Englishness and English national identity distinctive. In addition to contemporary popular opinion (i.e. regarding Flemish treachery), popular contemporary histories (i.e. Higden's claims of English disloyalty), and contemporary governmental rhetoric (i.e. regarding the use of *Franci/a* terms, regarding the presentation of the Scots) which might have influenced any contemporary writer's conception of national identity and communities, writers like Walsingham also drew upon and were influenced by more rarefied and learned traditions. For example the example of Matthew Paris was clearly of importance to Walsingham not just in terms of the practicalities of the St Albans chronicle-writing tradition but also in terms of his notion of England as 'mistress of nations' and his criticisms of foreign-born courtiers, both of which Walsingham mimicked, intentionally or otherwise, in his own *Chronica*. The Latin tradition of Geoffrey of Monmouth, rather than the more popularised vernacular *Brut* tradition, also influenced several of Walsingham's Latin terminological usages in the *Chronica*. Significant too were Walsingham's scholarly classical interests, the Roman texts of which provided him with both apt quotations and national-moral exemplars, and his theological-historical knowledge, which likewise provided models of national-moral misbehaviour and its consequences from the Old Testament and Augustine's explanation of the fall of the Roman Empire. Walsingham's immersion in these textual

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[1] For Anderson's formulation of nationhood and Latin as a stumbling block to the development of nations see above (pp. 13-4) and Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (esp. pp. 1-46).

traditions and influences, an immersion shared by the primary readership of his chronicle, provided him with strategies and allusions with which to convey his meaning in the text but also helped to set his vision of nationhood and national identity apart from other, more secular visions of such that existed in contemporary England.

While it would be wrong to suggest that Walsingham's opinions and claims were truly representative of a single and monolithic learned, clerical and monastic vision of England and the English in this period, his *Chronica Maiora* does serve to demonstrate that writers from such a background were experimenting with and crafting their own versions of nationhood and Englishness. Chapters 4 and 5 in particular discussed the similar, and different, approaches to English nationhood in the works of various other churchmen of the period, in particular their manipulation of France and Rome as key elements within such Englishness. While Walsingham's use of ancient Roman models and positioning of the French in service to a pro-English textual agenda has its differences to that of Richard of Bury, Walter of Peterborough or Thomas Brinton, each of these clerical and monastic writers was attempting a similar project of nation-portrayal. These men may not have formed a close circle or network which shared ideas regarding English nationhood, indeed there is no traceable link to connect Walsingham to any one of the individuals discussed in chapters 4 or 5, but each one sought to address and constitute English nationhood in traditional Latin-language genres, and did so by drawing on similar themes and models.[2] Likewise, although sadly beyond the scope of this thesis, it seems eminently likely that other contemporary sermonisers, poets and chroniclers from the period conceptualised and wrote about English nationhood in similar ways and using similar models. It is hoped that future work might be able to expand upon this kind of learned, clerical and monastic understanding and conceptualisation of Englishness in order to truly integrate it into our assessment of late medieval English national feeling alongside that of more secular and literary sources.

Another aspect of Walsingham's imagining of English nationhood and national identity, and that of other contemporaries, which warrants more detailed study is the interrelation of what Gellner called 'horizontal' identities and solidarities with the 'vertical'

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[2] Richard of Bury of course died before Walsingham became a monk (in 1345), the writers of the poems considered were either anonymous (thus making connection with Walsingham impossible) or like Walter of Peterborough have little confirmed biographical information. Thomas Brinton, as a Norfolk native, a Benedictine monk and Oxford scholar has perhaps the closest connections to Walsingham, but the references to Brinton within the *Chronica Maiora* are sparse and minimal, suggesting no close connection between the two men (see *Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 2, 154-6, 864)). Similarly Siegfried Wenzel has also noted discrepancies between Walsingham's recounting of Brinton's coronation 1377 sermon and the text in Brinton's sermon collection, again suggesting the two men were not close (see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections* (p. 46 (n. 6))).

national one.[3] While Walsingham's chronicle without a doubt expresses a very 'national' form of identity and the chronicler's concerns were very 'national' in tone, it has also been noted how important class-based and regional distinctions and identities were within the writer's text and imagination. For example, as noted in chapter 3, Walsingham stereotyped and troped the inhabitants of northern England (in terms of 'Northumbrians' or 'Cheshiremen' as well as the more generic 'Northerners') and the lower orders of English society in similar ways to how he stereotyped and troped other national communities. Both the troping of northerners as short-tempered and rough and the peasantry as savage and irrational were relatively common tendencies among southern English writers, but the distinction they thus drew between themselves and these groups has some potentially difficult implications for the assessment of their 'Englishness'. Such regional and class-based identities would appear to cut across and potentially weaken any national identity which would require cross-class and cross-regional solidarity.

That said, Gellner's zero sum game of a society being either 'national' with purely 'vertical' (i.e. cross-class and cross-regional) solidarities among its members or 'agro-literate' with purely 'horizontal' solidarities must not be accepted wholesale. Human beings in modern nation-states are of course capable of class-based and regional identities in tandem with national ones - for example it is entirely possible for an individual to identify themselves as British, English, northern, working class, and indeed various other things, without necessary contradiction - and we should be very wary of doing as Gellner did and assuming that medieval people were not capable of the same. While Walsingham clearly identified himself more with a southern English regional identity and a middling or higher social identity, this does not preclude him from simultaneously possessing a strong sense of English national identity. Sadly this thesis has not been able to provide as detailed an analysis of this interrelation of identities as may be possible but it is hoped that future work may be able to fill this lacuna, so long as no one form of identity or solidarity is *a priori* excluded from the equation.

A final note should be made regarding the importance of giving detailed attention to the French in considerations of late medieval English self-fashioning and national identity. France undoubtedly enjoyed significant cultural, linguistic, political, diplomatic and military relationships with England in this period, relationships which found expression in various kinds of text of the period. For example, Ardis Butterfield has stressed the interconnectivity of the late medieval 'English' and 'French' literary worlds, Deanne Williams the assertion of a distinctive 'English' sensibility opposed to the 'French' equivalent in the literary works of Chaucer and others, and Michael Bennett the closeness of Anglo-French diplomatic and

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[3] For Gellner's 'horizontal' and 'vertical' formulations argument see above (pp. 15-7) and Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (esp. pp. 1-18).

marriage ties.[4] As simultaneously bitter enemy, fellow subject and cultural cousin the French nation existed in an extremely significant but rather conflicted position for the English. What this thesis has attempted to demonstrate is that this ambiguous position also translated into ambiguous presentation in contemporary texts like the *Chronica Maiora*.

Chapter 2 discussed the restricted use of dual terminological usages for not just the French themselves (*Franci*, *Gallici*) but also for the Normans (*Normanni*, *Neustri*) and the Bretons (*Britones*, *Armorici*), both of which could of course also be considered 'French' to an extent. These dual usages, not repeated for any other national group in the *Chronica*, not even the English themselves, work to set the French (and the inhabitants of 'French' duchies) apart from any other national group. Similarly the stereotyping of the French discussed in chapter 4 is rather different from the stereotyping of other national groups. Firstly Walsingham was willing to make the claim that the English and French *gentes* always treated one another like brothers abroad, a claim which cast the French in a really rather positive light and even claimed a degree of kinship between the two peoples. Secondly even the negative stereotyping of the French, as prideful and oppressive and thus destined to fall as other prideful and tyrannical peoples had fallen, presupposed a degree of French power and previous pre-eminence not found in any other of Walsingham's national stereotypes. While Walsingham's depiction of the French in the *Chronica Maiora* was by no means entirely positive, it did admit more potential for positive assessment than the treatment of any other national group in the chronicle and was one of only two national groups held up as national-moral exemplars for the English. In particular both the stereotyping as prideful, tyrannical and destined to fail and the mimicry of Geoffrey's *Historia*, a text in which English kings and armies frequently triumphed over the French, also offered implicit promises of English victory to Walsingham's readers. These promises, made at a time when the great English victories seemed a thing of the past, show how central France and the French were to contemporary patriotic English self-fashioning.

In its own ways then the treatment Walsingham gave to the French in the *Chronica Maiora* somewhat reflected the ambiguous and conflicted position of the French nation in contemporary England - akin to the English yet an enemy, powerful yet inferior to the English. While Ardis Butterfield's reference to the French as late medieval England's 'familiar enemy' is apt to an extent, for writers like Walsingham the French stood in a more complex position as a crucial and conflicted Other to the English - their Englishness was at least in part created alongside and in opposition to the French.

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[4] For these references and further discussion see above (pp. 9, 11-2) and references therein.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - The *Chronica Maiora*

[Square Brackets denote sections likely not composed by Walsingham and used only cautiously and sparingly in this thesis.]

The Fourteenth-Century *Chronica*:   (the Royal and Corpus manuscript texts)

1376-77 (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 2-124))
> - The so-called Scandalous Chronicle reassembled from BL Cotton MS Otho C ii, BL MS Harley 3634 and Bodl. MS Bodley 316 by Taylor, Childs and Watkiss.

1377-81 (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 124-574))
> - The portion of the text written first and in response to the 1381 Peasants' Revolt as found in the Royal manuscript.

1382-92 (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 574-936))
> - The portion of the text written over the course of the 1380s and early 1390s, found in the Royal manuscript.

1392-93 (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 936-944))
> - The detached quire from the Royal manuscript now CCCC MS 7 (2i).

[1393-94 (*Chronica Maiora* I (pp. 944-962))
> - The Anonymous Latinist's continuation found in CCCC MS 7 (2ii) dating to the years 1394-6 and not the work of Walsingham personally, although possibly using material collected by him.]

1394-96 (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 2-52))
> - The section written c.1396 on Walsingham's return to St Albans intended to conclude the Royal manuscript text at the death of Abbot Thomas de la Mare, then later incorporated into the Bodley text.

The Fifteenth-Century *Chronica*:   (the Bodley manuscript text)

[1397-99 (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 52-282))
        - The section of narrative written after the deposition of Richard II in 1399
        and the publication of the *Record and Process*. Possibly not the work of
        Walsingham himself.]

1400-18 (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 282-738))
        - The bulk of the Bodley manuscript text, written within a small number of
        years of the events being described and likely Walsingham's work.

1419-20 (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 738-742 & 782-788))
        - The jumbled and incomplete notices assembled at the end of the Bodley
        manuscript text on the death of Walsingham. These notices offer little
        information but likely represent the material collected by Walsingham before
        his death.

[1419-22 (*Chronica Maiora* II (pp. 742-778))
        - The anonymous continuation of the Bodley manuscript text found in CCCC
        MS 7 (3), in all probability written after the deaths of both Henry V and
        Walsingham himself.]

Appendix 2 – The Manuscripts of the *Chronica Maiora* and Short Chronicle

1380s-90s Scriptorium Period

BL Royal MS 13 E ix
(Dating: 1380s-90s)
(Covers: 1376-94)
(Revised 1396-1400)

BL Cotton MS Otho C ii
(Badly fire damaged)

Bodl. MS Bodley 316
(*Chronicon Angliae*)

BL Harley MS 3634
(*Chronicon Angliae*)

CCCC MS 7 (2i)
(Detached quire from Royal)
(Dating: c.1394)
(Covers: 1392-93)

Wymondham Period 1394-96

CCCC MS 7 (2ii)
(Anonymous Latinist's continuation)
(Dating: 1394-96)
(Covers: 1393-94)

Fifteenth Century

CCCC MS 195

College of Arms MS Arundel 7
(*Historia Anglicana*)

Galbraith's Hypothetical 'Fuller Original'

Bodl. MS Rawlinson B 152

Bodl. MS Bodley 462
(Dating: c.1400-1420)
(Covers: 1394-1420)

BL Cotton MS Faustina B ix

CCCC MS 7 (2iii)
(Partial copy of the Bodley MS text)

CCCC MS 7 (3)
(Anonymous continuation of the Bodley MS text)

Appendix 3 - John of Gaunt in
the *Liber Benefactorum*

BL Cotton MS Nero D vii version (c.1380)

Johannes dux Lancastriae pro anima Dominae Blanchae uxoris suae cuius corpus hic pernoctavit contulit huic ecclesiae duos pannos aureos. Hic speciat amator [humiliati] abbatu multociens dedit vina et celle [uir] de Tynemuth contulit centum libras.[5]

CCCC MS 7 version (possibly c. 1388-96) (also edited in Riley's *Trokelowe* (p. 434))

Johannes Dux Lancastrie pro anima Dominae Blanchae uxoris suae cuius corpus his pernoctavit contulit huic ecclesiae duos pannos aureos et contulit insuper ad reparationem portae cellae nostrae de Tynemutha centum libras. Hic huius monasterii et abbatis memorati amator praecipuus eidem multotiens vina contulit negotia promovit et ecclesiam suis magnificis et frequentibus oblationibus plurimum locupletavit.

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[5] The words in square brackets are not certain transcriptions but reflect what I believe to be the most likely wording.

List of Abbreviations

Adam Usk

Adam Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421* (ed. & trans. C. Given-Wilson) (Oxford, 1997) [Oxford Medieval Texts series]

CCR

Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1272-1509, 47 Volumes (London, 1869-1963)

CPR

Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1232-1509, 53 Volumes (London, 1891-1971)

Chronica Maiora I

Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: The* Chronica Maiora *of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1394* (eds. & trans. J. Taylor, W. Childs & L. Watkiss) (Oxford, 2003) [Oxford Medieval Texts series]

Chronica Maiora II

Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: The* Chronica Maiora *of Thomas Walsingham, 1394-1422* (eds. & trans. J. Taylor, W. Childs & L. Watkiss) (Oxford, 2011) [Oxford Medieval Texts series]

EIDB

England's Immigrants 1330-1550 online database (available at: www.englandsimmigrants.com)

English Benedictine Libraries

English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues (eds. R. Sharpe, J.P. Carley, R.M. Thomson & A.G. Watson), (London, 1996) [Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues series]

Foedera

Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica (ed. T. Rymer), 10 Volumes (The Hague, 3rd edn.,1739-45)

Geoffrey of Monmouth,

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the* De Gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae] (ed. M.D. Reeve & trans. N. Wright) (Woodbridge, 2007)

Henry Knighton

Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396* (ed. & trans. G.H. Martin) (Oxford, 1995) [Oxford Medieval Texts series]

Higden, *Polychronicon*

Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis; together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, (eds. C. Babington & J.R. Lumby), 9 Volumes (London, 1865-86) [Rolls Series 41.1-9]

ODNB   *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004),
                                (available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com)

Political Poems and Songs I   *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History
                                Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward
                                III to that of Richard III* (ed. T. Wright), Volume 1,
                                (London, 1859, repr. 1965) [Rolls Series, 14]

Political Poems and Songs II *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History
                                Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward
                                III to that of Richard III* (ed. T. Wright), Volume 2,
                                (London, 1861, repr. 1965) [Rolls Series, 14]

Political Songs   *The Political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to
                                that of Edward II* (ed. & trans. T. Wright) (London, 1839,
                                repr. 1968)

Rot. Parl.   *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, via the Parliament Rolls of Medieval
                                England (eds. C. Given-Wilson et al), at:
                                http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME/home

The St Albans Chronicle   The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420 (ed. V.H. Galbraith),
1406-1420   (Oxford, 1937)

TRHS   Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

Westminster Chronicle   *The Westminster Chronicle 1381-1394* (eds. & trans. L.C.
                                Hector & B.F. Harvey) (Oxford, 1982) [Oxford Medieval
                                Texts series]

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Claudian, *Claudian* (ed. & trans. M. Platnauer), 2 Volumes (Harvard, 1922, repr. 1963) [Loeb Classical Library]

Conrad Celtis, *Selections from Conrad Celtis, 1459-1508* (ed. & trans. L. Forster) (Cambridge, 1948)

Jean Creton, 'Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second' (ed. & trans. J. Webb), in *Archaeologia* 20 (1824) (pp. 1-423)

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