

The Patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester - A re-evaluation.

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October, 1983

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Thesis Abstract

In this thesis I re-evaluate the patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, whose reputation as a patron is so venerated that it has gained a curiously uncritical acceptance. In the introduction, I examine the Duke's reputation as a patron and how this reputation developed. I also examine the concept of patronage, the tradition of patronage in England which Duke Humphrey inherited and compare Duke Humphrey's patronage with that of other patrons whom he would have been aware of. The body of the thesis is 'disintegrative', dealing piecemeal with different aspects of Duke Humphrey's patronage in order to demonstrate by close analysis of known and new material the inadequacy of the generally received ideas of the Duke's patronage. Chapter I is concerned with the Duke's patronage of English literature. Although the English literature connected with the Duke is limited in extent, the type of patronage relationship involved is varied, ranging from the Duke's close supervision of texts to his being merely associated with the author by a bare reference. Chapter II examines Duke Humphrey's patronage of Italians in England; the two major figures here are Tito Livio Frulovisi and Antonio Beccaria, who lived in the Duke's Household. Chapter III examines the Duke's patronage of Italian humanists in Italy and Chapter IV is concerned with the Duke's patronage of scholarship in England. Although much of the material with which the main body of the thesis is concerned has been published and discussed (in some cases, many times), the value of the present thesis is in examining the material together and solely from the point of view of an interest in the patronage. Through this concentrated examination of the aspects of Duke Humphrey's patronage, I hope to establish whether there is a clear pattern of development and whether the Duke's interest in the arts was confined to a particular

period of his life. The conclusion offers an exploration and definition of the cultural concept of patronage at a particular moment in its history in England.

Abbreviations

BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
EETS ES	Early English Text Society Extra Series.
EETS OS	Early English Text Society Ordinary Series.
JMH	Journal of Medieval History.
OHS	Oxford Historical Society.
MLA	Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America.
RS	Rolls Series
TCBS	Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society

INTRODUCTION

I : Foreword

Duke Humphrey's reputation as a patron is so venerated that it has gained a curiously uncritical acceptance. He is frequently referred to as the most prominent patron in England in the first half of the Fifteenth Century and the assumptions behind the references go unquestioned because of the apparent support supplied by a tradition four centuries old. Thus, for example, Joan Evans comments in her book on English Art, 1307-1461 :

Henry VI was only nine months old when his reign began. The leading men of his youth divided the patronage of the arts between them : Humphrey of Gloucester with his classical and Italianate literary tastes

(1)

E.P.Hammond, introducing her selection of poetry connected with Duke Humphrey in English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, describes him thus :

Gloucester's private life, indeed, was one of excess; but we can turn from such facts to a far finer side of Humphrey, his love of books and his patronage of men of letters. The man who first founded the library of the University of Oxford, the man who corresponded with Italian scholars and rewarded English writers, has a claim on the gratitude of students which outweighs many political errors But the afterworld has forgotten the politician, and forgiven the patron of letters.

(2)

The cumulative impression made by such references to the Duke's patronage of the arts (first made during his life-time and repeated continually ever since) and the absence of rival contenders for the accolade have had the effect of establishing

and confirming Duke Humphrey's reputation. The presence of 'Duke Humphrey's Library' within the Bodleian Library at Oxford gives the impression a physical form. Throughout the Twentieth Century much new material has come to light regarding various aspects of the Duke's interest in the arts. Unfortunately, because of the accumulated tradition, recent work and newly discovered evidence is seen only as corroboration or contradiction of the Duke's reputation as a patron. The nature and extent of the Duke's patronage deserves a fresh evaluation and this is the aim of the present thesis.

'Patronage' is a word used freely by political, literary and art historians (3). Sometimes the historians will define how they are using the term but this is generally made clear by implication, and because historians all have slightly different interpretations of the concept entailed, the reader must constantly shift and reappraise his own understanding of what is meant. For the most part this vagueness is acceptable as the concept of patronage is self-defining; each patron and each recipient of patronage and each seeker of patronage would have had his own sense of the undertaking. He would be prepared to devote a different amount of time, commitment and energy according to his own degree of interest and involvement and he would have had different expectations of the efforts and rewards to be incurred.

Thus, in examining Duke Humphrey's 'patronage', one needs to be conscious of the nebulosity of the concept and not

measure preconceived anachronistic notions of what patronage is against what one perceives to have taken place. Rather it is by looking at the results of how the patronage actually manifested itself that one can discern what the Duke would have understood by patronage of the arts and it is only against his own view of what he was doing, and the views of the men around him who were involved in his patronage, that one can evaluate his role as a patron. Because recent work has greatly expanded our knowledge of the manifestations of the patronage it is possible to penetrate behind the veneer that tradition has laid over Duke Humphrey's reputation as a patron to attain a more accurate impression of what was entailed.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, is a patron with whom various separate approaches to the ideas of patronage have been taken. His political, art, literary and scholastic patronage are thus dealt with in isolation. The fact of his other interests is rarely avoided but generally the attention given to his other activities is cursory. In accounts of his literary affairs, reference will commonly be made to his political activity particularly when this directly influences his literary involvement. In accounts of his political dealings, cursory reference will be made to his interest in literature - perhaps by way of explanation or excuse for his ineptitude. Thus, the two main impressions history retains of Duke Humphrey (that of the bumbling Machiavel, the mediocre statesman who, despite foolish quarrels and marriages, did the country qualified good by maintaining a degree of unity

during Henry VI's minority and that of the far-sighted thwarted humanist patron) tend to remain distinct. Unless an interdisciplinary approach is taken - and this is something that a concept like 'patronage' will permit - specialist studies of isolated facets of the Duke's activities tend to distort the picture. This inevitable distortion interestingly marries with the tradition of distortion connected with Duke Humphrey's reputation. Not only is a certain degree of distortion obviously involved in the inflated projection of a patron's image, but Duke Humphrey's reputation also underwent considerable manipulation and served various propaganda purposes during his lifetime and in the years immediately following his death. His 'reputation' was always an object of positive and conscious activity and was never left to the usual vagaries of fortune. The extraordinary measures taken by his enemies to defame him (such as the trial of his second wife, Eleanor Cobham, for witchcraft on trumped-up charges) may be seen as proof of the forcefulness of his image-building in creating so strong a reaction.

In Part II of this Introduction, I shall first examine the tradition of the Duke's reputation as a patron. Then, in Part III, I shall look at the tradition of patronage in England into which Duke Humphrey fitted and the way in which patronage had hitherto manifested itself, so as to gauge the way the established customs and formulae of patronage were used by the Duke. In Part IV, I shall look at other patrons in England and abroad whose

example would have been before the Duke and in the minds of the men seeking Duke Humphrey's patronage. A comparison of these patrons with the Duke will seek to determine how Duke Humphrey would have regarded what he was doing and how he would have been seen by his contemporaries. Finally, in Part V, I shall examine the problems connected with the subject matter of the thesis to which either I will endeavour to suggest solutions or will need to pay attention during the course of my discussion. I shall also demonstrate the importance of not confusing the chronology of the development of the patronage because this is one of the main ways in which our view of the Duke's activities has been distorted.

At this stage I should like to draw attention to the chronological table of the Duke's patronage in Appendix III, pp. 353-4. When the evidence of the Duke's activities as a patron is set within the context of the other events in the Duke's life, a strictly chronological analysis of his patronage and the military and administrative duties he had to perform contradicts fanciful notions about what his preoccupations and priorities were. For instance, if one looks at the year 1441, Duke Humphrey appears highly successful in his cultural ventures. The Duke of Milan's secretary, Pier Candido Decembrio, was sending him books from Milan, specially copied from texts in the Visconti library; seventeen books were donated to Oxford to join the Duke's gift of 129 books already lodged there in

1439; Pierc del Monte, a Papal official of some standing in Italian humanist circles, was writing letters to the Duke after having returned to Italy following a five year stay in England during which he had enjoyed the Duke's friendship; Antonio Beccaria was living in the Duke's Household as the resident humanist secretary executing translations and writing some of the Duke's correspondence. It is extraordinary to set beside this cultural activity the political catastrophe which would undoubtedly have dominated Duke Humphrey's attention at this time and completely overshadowed all the apparent success and excitement of the fruition of his patronage. For it was in March 1441 that the trumped-up charges of witchcraft were successfully brought against the Duchess of Gloucester, condemning her for treason. Their apparently happy marriage was then statutorily annulled and Eleanor banished to prison on the Isle of Man. Consequently, the triumph of the opposing factions was established and Humphrey's position with Henry VI wholly undermined. Thus it is clear that to look at the manifestations of patronage alone without any regard to the overall context must distort the picture one is trying to reconstruct. This is why I have compiled a chronological chart setting the Duke's patronage in the context of his other activities and commitments for easy reference (see Appendix III).

Having thus set out the background in the Introduction, I shall then proceed to examine the concept of patronage in early 15th Century England through a disintegrative and concentrated

exploration of the different aspects of Duke Humphrey's patronage. This includes Chapters on his patronage of English Literature, of Italians working in his Household in England, of Italians who corresponded and sent him work from Italy and of scholarship in England. Appendix II contains an account of Duke Humphrey's patronage of art. The concluding chapter will then seek to draw on this close examination of the evidence to reconstruct a more accurate definition of the Duke's patronage.

II : The Tradition of the Duke's Reputation as a Patron

Outside the sphere of Duke Humphrey's direct influence - that is, those writings which were clearly executed under his auspices - one looks in vain for contemporary references to the Duke's interest in the Arts. The Duke's leanings towards literature and scholarship were evidently not the predominant attribute which contemporary chroniclers felt obliged to comment on when referring to the Duke. But it is this absolute lack of any contemporary objective testimony to his patronage which one notes with interest.

When Duke Humphrey first appears in the accounts of Henry V's reign, it is by virtue of being one of the King's brothers, one of the large number of young men who surrounded the King; he was closer than most by birth, of course, but otherwise

undistinguished. After May 1414 - when he was created Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Gloucester - his activities as a statesman feature regularly in the chronicles and although one scans these references for comments which might indicate his interest in the arts, his importance, as far as the chroniclers were concerned, lay in his advocating or opposing policies, aligning himself with or against the Dukes of Clarence, York and Bedford and the Beauforts. Just before the outbreak of war in 1415, the discovery of a conspiracy against the House of Lancaster was ascribed to the 'prudence and careful circumspection' of Gloucester (4) who is atypically singled out for special praise.

Duke Humphrey's importance in the accounts of the first battles he engaged in is more to demonstrate the courage and valour of his brother, Henry V, than as any demonstration of Humphrey's own prowess. In fact his rashness is cleverly glossed over to the greater glorification of Henry V:

The duke of Glowcestre also that tyde
Manfully, with his mayne
wondes he wroght ther wonderous wyde....

(5)

The Duke had rashly advanced too far ahead of his men and having been struck down by the rallying French would have been left for dead had not Henry fended off the French until his wounded brother could be removed to safety. The chronicles are unanimous in lauding Duke Humphrey's prowess at Agincourt but as this was the only pitched battle Humphrey ever participated

in, the fact that so much capital was made out of his activity is in itself interesting. Had the English not won Agincourt Duke Humphrey might have been much blamed for his foolish tactics, but as the English did win, the apparent need for heroes meant that much was then made of the Duke's contribution. The good name he made for himself in subsequent sieges was probably somewhat more justified, though, and his great energy and resourcefulness are frequently remarked on. Thus, when Henry V made his brother 'guardian and lieutenant of England' at the end of 1419 and Humphrey became involved in English politics for the first time, Duke Humphrey began his career as Regent in a climate of popular good will towards him. In fact, the earliest piece of English literature associated with Duke Humphrey, Hoccleve's Complaint Series, dates from this period (6) and mentions '...my lord / þat now is lieutenant, My lord of Gloucestre' (7) and draws heavily on chronicled accounts of Duke Humphrey's valour in France. There is absolutely no evidence at this stage that Duke Humphrey had any literary interests and Hoccleve's looking to the Duke in the hope of patronage was more likely to be occasioned by the event that he actually mentions than any knowledge of the Duke's interests. For when Henry V placed the government of England in the Duke's hands, Duke Humphrey became the most important Englishman not preoccupied with the fighting in France and hence the obvious man to turn to in the hope of patronage. Thus one must look in the works written directly within the Duke's patronage to see how his

reputation as a man of literary and scholastic leanings grew and it is striking to notice how confined to his immediate circle this reputation in fact was. Outside those works there is not one single mention - even in the '40s when the Duke appears to have established himself as a prominent patron, nor in the '50s when the reputation of the 'Good Duke' was resurrected and all sorts of pleasant memories were revived and embellished for political ends. Not once does the epithet 'Good' explicitly carry with it the suggestion that part of that goodness entailed anything to do with patronage of the arts.

Twice after the Duke's death petitions were brought up in parliament under the auspices of the Duke of York to restore his good name - the chief motive being, it seems, to curry favour with the general populace (8). The reputation for good government which grew after the Duke's death was presumably augmented, not just by Yorkist propaganda, but by the contrasting chaos which ensued after his downfall. But by 1450, the myth of the 'Good Duke' had grown, and as it spread, so suspicion that the Duke had been murdered by the King's servants grew too. The aureate epitaph for the Duke which appears to have been attached to his tomb in St. Albans was probably written by someone close to the Duke or commissioned by the Abbey which had always strongly supported Duke Humphrey's cause (9). The eulogy is very general and the only reference to the Duke's learning is too vague for us to detect any indication that Duke Humphrey's reputation as a patron is being commemorated (10).

Whereas the epitaph was probably written by someone connected in some way with the Duke (11), several political poems written after his death indicate the popular view on the subject. The author of a poem on the arrest of the Duke of Suffolk had no doubts at all about the nature of Duke Humphrey's death - 'his fox at bury slowe oure grete gander' (12). There are two things one notices particularly about this line. The word 'bury' would immediately alert the reader to the fact that Duke Humphrey is being referred to. This indicates that between writer and reader a common understanding as to the significance had developed. Three years after the Duke's death the mysterious circumstances were still to the fore of the public consciousness. Obviously the image of a gander set beside the fox implies goodness and innocence, but from the 'oure' one gets a sense of the Duke's popularity (13). It was the responsibility for the Duke's death which proved to be one of the most damaging charges against Henry VI's régime (14). But there is no suggestion that any of the Duke's popularity after his death had anything whatsoever to do with his patronage of the arts. This facet of his activity is just never mentioned.

In the Sixteenth Century the tragedies of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, acquired something of a vogue. Samuel Daniel, in his account of the Wars of the Roses, describes how the Duke was murdered and then describes the Duke's character:

Seuere he was, and strictly did obserue
 Due forme of Iustice towards euery wight;
 Vnmoueable, and neuer won to swerue
 For any cause, in what he thought was right
 Wherein, although he did so well deserue;
 In the licentious, yet, it bred despight;
 So that euen Virtue seemes and Actor too,
 To ruine those, Fortune prepares t'vndoo
 (15)

It is the reputation of the 'Good Duke Humphrey' as a fair and just ruler which is referred to here. Michael Drayton in his series of England's Heroical Epistles imagines the letter which Eleanor may have written from the Isle of Man to Duke Humphrey lamenting their separation, discussing her witchcraft and asking for the Duke's forgiveness. She laments the loss of their life together:

Where's Greenwich now, thy El'nor's Court of late,
 Where she with Humphry held a Princely State?
 That pleasant Kent, when I abroad should ride,
 That to my pleasure laid forth all her pride?
 (16)

Drayton composed the Duke's reply. In neither letter is there a reference to the Duke's patronage of the Arts.

In The Mirror for Magistrates of 1578 the tragedies of Dame Elinor Cobham and Humphrey Plantagenet are added to the standard text of some twenty years earlier. Lily B. Campbell has demonstrated how the inclusion of the tragedies had been deliberately suppressed and not printed in the earlier editions of The Mirror for Magistrates because the lessons they were designed to teach were too politically sensitive (17).

Eleanor Cobham describes her trial for witchcraft and sufferings as a result of her excessive ambition. In the standard

'conversation' or series of comments which follow her monologue,
'one of the companye' makes these telling remarks:

.....but I meruayle much where she learned al this
Poetry touched in her tale, for in her dayes, learninge
was not common, but a rare thing, namely in women,
yes (quod Maister Ferrers) that might she very wel
learn of the Duke her Husbände, who was a Prince
excellently learned, as the like of his degree was no
where to be founde, and not onely so, but was
also a Patron of Poetes and orators muche lyke as
Mecenas was in the tyme of Augustus Cesar. This Duke
was founder of the Diuinite Schole in Oxforde, whereas
he caused Aristotles workes to be translated out of
Greeke into Latin, and caused many other things to
done for aduancement of lerning, hauing alwaies lerned
men near aboute him no meruaile therefore though the
Duchesse broughte som pece away.

(18)

Duke Humphrey's own monologue then follows but he is not made to refer in any way to his interest in scholarship. Thus Ferrers' comment is unique in indicating, about one hundred years after the Duke's death, how his reputation as a patron was still remembered. Several aspects of his patronage are referred to. The phrase 'poets and orators' recalls the act of denization granted to the humanist Tito Livio Frulovisi who came to work in Duke Humphrey's Household (on which see page 193); the fact that he is compared to Augustus Caesar as a patron possibly reflects on his humanist aspirations. His beneficence to Oxford and his liking for Latin translations from the Greek are also accurately recalled. Ironically perhaps there is no reference to the fact that The Mirror for Magistrates is itself a kind of sequel to Lydgate's Fall of Princes, written very conspicuously under Duke Humphrey's patronage.

In Henry VI Part 2, Shakespeare passed on the character of the Good Duke Humphrey exactly as he had found him in the pages of the chronicle of Edward Hall (who had died in 1547) and Shakespeare never mentions the Duke's interest in learning. After the Duke's murder there is plenty of opportunity for eulogy. Shakespeare's interest in the Duke, though, was confined to the dramatic element he could contribute to a play about Henry VI's reign. Shakespeare alters the story (so that Margaret is already in England in 1441 at the time of Eleanor's disgrace, and the Duke's summons to Bury follows immediately on from Eleanor's banishment) and there is no question but that Eleanor was set up as a witch by Suffolk's men and that Suffolk was directly responsible for Humphrey's murder. It is not impossible to determine whether the complete lack of any reference to Humphrey's interest in learning is because Shakespeare had not heard of the Duke's reputation or whether this was just irrelevant to his dramatic purposes. It could be that the author of The Mirror for Magistrates had been directly connected with Oxford, where the Divinity School physically reminded people of the Duke's patronage.

When the Bodleian Library was founded, based on Thomas Bodley's collection, it was natural to name the manuscript section and the retention of Duke Humphrey's name in the 'Duke Humfrey Library' ensured that the Duke's reputation as a patron was kept alive in scholastic circles. A representation of the Duke, taken from the stained glass window at Greenwich, which was destroyed in 1710, was used as a headpiece to the preface of the old catalogue of the Bodleian Library manuscripts of

1697. Throughout the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries antiquarians refer to the Duke in much the same way as the speaker in The Mirror for Magistrates. Modern assessments of the Duke's patronage build on this vague antiquarian approach.

K.H.Vickers's biography of Duke Humphrey, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester A Biography, (London, 1907), provides the first full-length account of the Duke's life followed by chapters analysing the Duke's character, discussing the Duke's role in the Italian Renaissance in England and then his part in the revival of English scholarship. Substantial appendices then detail his library, the extant portraits, the legend about his death and the Duke's heraldry. The work provides an authoritative historical account of the Duke's life and draws together a wide body of disparate material on the Duke's other interests. But Vickers sees the patronage of the Arts in terms of his preconceived ideas on the Renaissance. Thus he states:

Gloucester lived at a time when the mind of man was broadening into a new phase of intellectual development. Already Petrarch had lived and died, declaring that he stood on the confines of two eras, looking back and looking forward; already Italy had realised that the long sleep of the Middle Ages was over; already that movement, which for lack of a better name we call the Renaissance, had begun..... Humphrey felt the full force of this movement; his life was moulded thereby. His activity and many-sided energy found their origin in this new spirit. His fervid imagination, which led him into impossible projects, his love of display, above all his desire to stamp his individuality on the politics of his country, all sprang from the new realization of his own individuality. In England, the new spirit was more manifest politically than in isolated individuals.....Humphrey, with all his senses ready to receive the message of the Renaissance

movement, did not, however grasp its true significance in England.....he was cast far more in the Italian than in the English mould.....the Italian type was not suited to English methods of thought; England had not progressed far enough along the road of new ideas to welcome despotism as the salvation of the nation.....In Humphrey the Renaissance was manifested in its first youth, and even then incompletely; it was not till after his death that the new ideas began to be fully understood in England.

(Vickers, p. 340-2)

I quote so substantially because these remarks reflect the viewpoint which Vickers then proceeds to impose on his material. Although he covers the range of evidence regarding Duke Humphrey's patronage, it is never objectively analysed, but always seen to support his given view:

Never throughout his life was the scholar quite swamped by the politician; his scholarly instincts, nurtured in youth, survived to form a source of refreshment and interest in the days of political misfortune. Nevertheless this early training gives no clue to the originality of Humphrey's genius as a scholar.....He was a son of the Renaissance before ever that movement had sent its missionaries to the last outpost of mediaeval lore. There was no teacher to point the way for Humphrey, and we must fall back on his inherent originality to explain the phenomenon.

(Vickers, p. 348)

Thus, while the biography provides useful reference to authorities and the variety of material associated with the Duke, the analysis is far from helpful.

At the turn of the last century, at the time in which Vickers was working on the biography, a number of articles concerning Duke Humphrey's humanist interests were published. In 1895, Bishop Creighton wrote 'it is remarkable that more attention has not been paid to the progress of Humanism in England, and especially to the literary fame of the Duke of

Gloucester'. A considerable number of contributions have since reinforced Vickers's evidence and arguments.

E. P. Hammond's English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey established Duke Humphrey's position as the only dominant patron of English literature in the early 15th Century. Having lauded his patronage, she then says :

Our admiration of his patronage of literature has, however, to be qualified by the sort of literature which he patronised. Humphrey had no Virgil to encourage and reward, not even the Tasso of a Renaissance despot. Like an Este or a Medici, though, he dispensed his favors. There is, as Tout has said, 'something almost Italian about Gloucester, both in his literary and his political career.' His personal vices, his restless instability, his condottiere swagger, his real love of learning and generosity to learning are those of Ferrara or Florence.

(Hammond, p.143)

Hammond looks at the English patronage in isolation and draws on received opinion about the Duke's Italian patronage. Individual studies of the English literature have subsequently done the same. Weiss (1957) and Schirmer (1963) in their work on humanism do the reverse. Their extensive surveys of the development of humanism in England pay scant regard to the English context although Weiss's work particularly has greatly expanded our knowledge of the Duke's activities as a patron.

In 1970, the Bodleian Library at Oxford mounted an exhibition entitled 'Duke Humphrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century', the catalogue of which, compiled by A. G. de la Mare and Richard Hunt, draws together information on the extant manuscripts which had belonged to Duke Humphrey. Despite the title of the exhibition, only a small proportion of the exhibits are directly connected with Duke Humphrey. Of these -

twenty-three exhibits (out of a total of one hundred and ten), two are not manuscripts but associated documents. Evidently the purpose of the title was to make the exhibition directly relevant to the Bodleian Library, nevertheless, it is interesting to observe how the vested interest Oxford had in the Fifteenth Century in promoting the Duke's name finds a parallel in recent times.

In 1980, Alfonso Sammut published a collection of the evidence for Duke Humphrey's activities as a book collector and patron of the new learning, including correspondence, dedications, book lists and full descriptions and bibliographies of surviving manuscripts that Duke Humphrey once owned. But his book - Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani - deals very scantily with the Duke's patronage and again fails to set the Duke's activities within an English context. The value of the work is in bringing together these manifestations of the Duke's patronage, though one would wish that the collection were more comprehensive. In printing all the dedications of Pier Candido's Republic and all the letters either sent directly to or from the Duke, the omission of the letters sent to intermediaries depletes the full picture (which is described p.268 ff. in this thesis).

Apart from the major works described above, numerous studies have been made of individual aspects of the cultural activity connected with Duke Humphrey and these are referred to and evaluated within the thesis. It is because so much material has come to light during this century concerning the Duke's patronage that

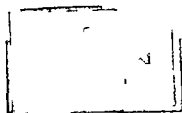
the time is now ripe for a fresh assessment of what his activities can tell us about the concept of patronage in the Fifteenth Century in England and what a revised concept of patronage then will tell us about the Duke.

III: The Tradition of Patronage in England before Duke Humphrey

Holzkecht, in 1923, showed the extent to which literary patronage had become an established and normal condition of literary production in the Middle Ages, existing as a widespread and well-defined system. Lucas, in 1982, built on from this work to examine the historical and social factors affecting

patronage, concentrating on the later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. One can have no illusions as to the novelty or originality of Duke Humphrey's patronage of the arts; what will be of critical interest then is the precise form that his patronage took.

Holzkecht demonstrated how 'If literary patronage in classical times be compared with medieval patronage, a continuous tradition is revealed which is modified only slightly by a difference in social and economic conditions' (19). He traces the development of the patronage of Ancient Greece where handsome rewards were decreed by the vote of the Athenian citizens, through the conditions which prevailed under the early Ptolemies at Alexandria and under Augustus at Rome and then in England under the Feudal system, where the patronage of the itinerant or retained minstrel, definitely connected with the court, developed naturally into the patronage of the man of letters. At no time was the system of patronage lost sight of. Holzkecht observes that 'Throughout the Greek and Roman world, the general opinion prevailed that wealth imposed the duty of fostering philanthropic and cultural enterprises' (20). This concept has become so embedded in Western thinking and civilisation that still today banks and tobacco companies assuage their embarrassment over their enormous profits by patronising and sponsoring the arts, and however critical people may be about the way the Arts Council functions, its necessity (as a source of patronage for the arts) is rarely seriously



questioned. Ultimately, though, it was the individual fondness for literature and not the pressure of tradition which prompted and directed the patronage. Thus when writers and artists turned to the men with money and power for financial and moral support, whether they actually received any money or encouragement depended entirely on the degree and nature of the interest of the hoped-for patron. Although one can discern a defined system of forms which patronage had taken, as I have already indicated, the concept of patronage is self-defining. Each patron adapted the system to suit his own requirements.

It is this complexity, rendering generalisations about patronage difficult to make, which Lucas is referring to when discussing the limitations of the terms he uses:

I have used Henning's terms attraction, selection and stipulation (1959-60, p.467) as an aid to describing a patron's influence on the content of a literary work. However, they should be strictly limited to this function, for at least three reasons. First, they do not exhaust the possibilities in regard to the production and dissemination of an author's works, as will become evident.....Secondly, there is difficulty in accommodating additional measures which a ruler could take to stifle initiative other than his own..... Thirdly, patronage could also exert an influence on form and style.....Or again, if it was the tradition for the court to maintain a school where poets were trained, so that expertise was regarded as 'more important than inspiration.....

(21)

The precise form which an act of patronage will take at any given time will reflect the particular needs and conditions of that individual circumstance. Thus patronage, although greatly moulded and influenced by the precedent of traditional and set forms, will be as variable as the factors which dictate

and influence its origin and motivation.

Wace, the 12th Century Anglo-Norman writer, observes that he was writing for the men who have incomes and money:

Ki unt les rentes e le argent
Kar eus sunt le liure fait.

(22)

Green's assessment of the difficult subject of financial rewards for writers at the English Medieval court is helpful in considering patronage:

If Johnson is right, and only blockheads write without thought of reward, there is nothing surprising about the attraction which the courts of kings and noblemen held for the late medieval author; widespread literacy, the mass-production of books, and the institution of copyright laws had yet to provide a practical alternative to private patronage, and literary men would naturally have turned for support and encouragement to the most conspicuous source of wealth and prestige which their society had to offer. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence that the enlightened attitude towards literature implied by the very word 'patronage' was commonly to be met with in medieval courts; the king might employ tailors, armourers, goldsmiths, tapestry-makers, and painters; he did not, on the face of it at least, employ poets. Literature was, to use Tout's phrase, 'an impossible profession.'

(23)

To the list of the king's employees which Green cites one could usefully add secretaries. These men obtained their jobs through the channels of political patronage, and so one can understand how men employed for their secretarial skills under this form of patronage could equally well be employed for another kind of writing and given literary patronage. The distinction in the forms of patronage is probably anachronistic, for within the Household such a distinction would have been blurred.

The relationship between patron and writer was essentially an economic relationship, yet payment was by no means either a prime or an only consideration, as Giraldus Cambrensis (cited here by Holzknrecht) points out:

Fame, says Giraldus Cambrensis, should be the first great object of authors, and the 'nobilium principum remuneratio' the second, and he quotes the classics to support his view.
(24)

The idea that poetry could confer fame was ancient but the interest in old texts ensured that this notion was not lost sight of. Green, however, denies that the idea was a particularly Renaissance phenomenon:

A readiness to suggest that poetry can confer immortal fame has been regarded as a Renaissance phenomenon (though, as Curtius shows, the idea was current amongst Latin poets from the twelfth century onwards), but it is clear that vernacular authors in the late middle ages were quite prepared to propagate such a view of their art, no doubt aware that its general acceptance would strengthen their hand enormously.
(25)

It is impossible to evaluate this abstract notion of fame as a factor to be set against the economic considerations inherent in the patronage relationship. Thus any discussion of the economics of patronage is confused by the impossibility of determining any scale of exchange.

Lucas observes how:

This imbalanced relationship is implied by the word 'patron' itself, which derives ultimately from Latin pater, 'father'. Patronage in the sense to be understood here comes about in a society where wealth is unevenly distributed.
(26)

Yet patronage cannot be gauged by purely economic considerations because of the consistent problem of discerning remuneration. If one could be sure that in soliciting for patronage the writer was primarily concerned with the 'nobilium principum remuneratio' then one would be justified in judging the success from his point of view by how much he was paid. But in view of the difficulty which writers appear to have had in obtaining rewards from their patrons, financial reciprocity was evidently not taken for granted. The fact that very few writers could live off the proceeds of patronage implies that the author had something other to gain from the patronage than merely financial reward. This is something one might loosely term the protection of the Household. Green outlines what protection would entail:

In theory, the household servant ministered to the physical and spiritual needs of his master - defending his body, protecting his interests, and fostering his reputation - with no guarantee of any reward beyond his living expenses and whatever security and protection his position was able to afford him; at a very early period, indeed, household wages seem to have been paid almost entirely in kind (food, lodging, and clothing), and even at the end of the fifteenth century, his 'bowge of courte' and the Christmas and Whitsun payments 'pro robis suis, yemale et estiuale' formed an important part of the household servant's income.

(27)

As literary patronage often extended beyond the Household and yet Household protection was the model for the reward of such services, one can understand how payments which one might expect, from a modern standpoint, to have been automatic, in fact posed consistent difficulties for writers and patrons alike.

Lucas says that 'in the patronage relationship the person with the money always performs the greater favour because he was higher in social hierarchy'. He then says that 'although patrons may have performed the greater favour they hardly did so without some thought of their own benefit. Surprisingly few previous writers have commented upon these benefits which the literary patron derived from his patronage.' (28). To say greater favour - when what each side is providing is difficult to compare - necessarily underestimates what the writer can provide the patron with. When a patron's resources and favours are in demand and he is in a position to bestow patronage as he pleases, his power is obviously the greater. But the moment the literature is valued for what it can give to the patron, an equalising of the status of patron and writer takes place. The conferring of 'fame' and immortality was a consideration of importance to author and patron alike, and was the interest in the patronage relationship which both sides shared and the mutual motivation behind the 'transaction'. This accounts for the strange ambivalence one detects in the attitude of both writer and patron as regards money. Duke Humphrey, whom Lucas describes as 'notoriously stingy' (29), is an interesting example of a patron who appears to have consistently ignored the fact that writers working for him had their hopes of financial reward uppermost in their minds; while they projected these hopes into flattering statements about the Duke's glory and generosity, he chose to conveniently overlook the hints and

accept the statements literally. But a writer disappointed of immediate financial gain could still hope to benefit from what patronage had to offer in other ways.

Holz knecht comments:

With such royal encouragement, patronage of arts became a fashion. Other wealthy nobles satisfied their own literary tastes by contracting with a poet for a work or two, and churchmen - cardinals, archbishops, bishops and abbots - likewise recognised the value of patronising letters, though when they did so individually, it was as temporal princes that they patronised, and not as ecclesiastics.

(30)

Lydgate is a good example of a professional writer who turned to a variety of patrons from different strata of society. Lydgate was able to benefit from being able to boast prestigious patrons, which created a vogue for his patronage rather in the way a dress designer patronised by Princess Diana will be able to command higher prices and extend his clientele and so perhaps be prepared to overlook the overall immediate loss he incurs from spending a disproportionate amount of time and materials on the prestigious outfit. Association by patronage encourages patronage.

In England the concept of writing works at the request of a patron - the most conspicuous form of literary patronage - was firmly established. Holz knecht comments:

...in early times it probably was a matter of obligation on the part of the poet, but as the literary man became more independent through a recognition of his worth, it is more probable that the lord solicited his protégé for favours.

(31)

In Caxton's edition of Higden's Polychronicon the 'Dialogue on Translation between a Lord and a Clerk' has a writer and patron discussing the business of translation with mutual respect for each other's point of view. Even Chaucer, who manages to elude any obvious form of patronage, appears to have written three works on request (32).

Aristides, writing in 400 B.C., comments that temples should be dedicated to gods and books to great men (33). Edmund Gosse remarked that 'to compose a dedication was one of the primitive instincts of scribbling man' (34). One also observes that two Books of the Bible were dedicated to a patron (35). It is in the dedications, prologues and epilogues of the literature that the relationship between patron and writer is boasted about and advertised. These trappings are the means by which a writer effects the mutually beneficial transaction of the patronage, conferring glory on the patron by his remarks and thence on his work and himself by association. But whereas sometimes the dedication could boast of the commission, sometimes it was written in the hope of favour. Gower's change of allegiance from Richard II to Henry IV is a blatant example of both sorts of dedication, where initially he boasts of a commission from Richard II but ultimately he states:

I sende unto myn oghne lord
which of Lancastre is Henri named
(36)

Where there are dedications and commissions and obvious

financial transactions, patronage is easy to discern.

What is less determinate is the preferment given to the literate where their literary contributions are not sought. Holz knecht comments on the problem :

.....the distinction between patronage and those relationships just in the indeterminate zone between it and the more definitely commercial relationship of employer and employee, such as that of the court retainer... .In the Middle Ages we find 'literati' at the courts of nobles serving as tutors, chaplains, clerks, secretaries, and what not, with duties which are often literary, but the relationship is essentially different from patronage. This was, however, one of the forms of medieval Maecenaship, as we shall see, for evidence shows that often a man was retained because he could write and his other duties, in many cases very light ones, were secondary.

(37)

When Duke Humphrey employed secretaries and writers to produce translations and works for him the patronage relationship is clear-cut. The relationship between the Duke and many of the men who appear to have produced work under his auspices is less easy to determine.

Richard Green, having commented that 'literature in the court occupied some kind of ill-defined no man's land somewhere between a job and a hobby', concludes his survey of the status of authors thus:

Authorship was therefore very much a spare-time occupation and its material rewards were largely incidental ones: the courtier who hoped by displaying his social accomplishments to catch his master's eye probably felt that a facility in composing polite verse gave him a certain advantage, and the official seeking promotion to a position of trust and responsibility probably increased his chances by demonstrating his familiarity with the revered authorities of the past. The writer's only hope of receiving an actual payment for his work lay either in writing to a specific commission or in preparing a suitably impressive presentation copy. Neither method could be regarded as entirely satisfactory from the author's point of view.

(38)

This thesis will examine Duke Humphrey's attitude towards the employment of authors.

Because of the nature of the extant evidence, the less distinct forms of patronage are harder to evaluate. These forms included the preferment of literati and also the sort of encouragement a patron will extend by creating an atmosphere of approval, a milieu where literary pursuits are appreciated and so encouraged. The sort of dissatisfaction Green outlines has much to do with imposed anachronistic expectations of patronage. By examining Duke Humphrey's patronage in detail, I hope to demonstrate the sort of expectations which he and his contemporaries would have had from the patronage relationships and just how far these were fulfilled.

IV: Contemporary Models for Duke Humphrey's Patronage

As it is my contention that each patron defines his own patronage, adapting the possibilities patronage affords to suit his own particular tastes, interests and needs, comparisons between Duke Humphrey and other patrons are extraneous to my thesis. Nevertheless, in examining Duke Humphrey's notion of the concept of patronage it is important to have an idea of the models of patronage with which he would have been familiar and which may have influenced him directly.

There is no shortage of patrons who may have had a direct effect on Duke Humphrey's patronage. Both his parents and his brothers had sufficiently strong literary interests for it to be possible to suggest that an interest in literature and music was taken for granted in the family. His mother, Mary Bohun, was a member of the Bohun family who had been important 14th Century patrons of writers and collectors of manuscripts. Humphrey's namesake, indeed, Humphrey Bohun, was an outstanding patron. There is however no reason to suppose that Humphrey inherited books from his mother, who died before his fourth birthday (39).

Despite scanty evidence it is possible to see how Duke Humphrey's father was a highly cultured man of many parts. Henry IV had designed a huge gun weighing four and a half tons; he had travelled widely in Europe and apparently impressed the men he met.

During his exile he had attended the University of Paris and had held conversations with Philip of Burgundy comparing English and French scholarship (40). He chose his confessors on account of their high reputation for learning and spoke French fluently and could understand Latin and Spanish and write a fluent hand. Oxford University put his name first in the list of special benefactors to the Common Library (41). His reputation for a love of music (42) is corroborated by a record of his having fluted on the *ricordo* (43). Humphrey's mother, Mary Bohun, is recorded as having purchased forty harp strings in one year and there are records of minstrels being paid to entertain the infant princes (44). An entry in the accounts for the ruling of a parchment skin to be stretched on Mary Bohun's canticum (45) further endorses the impression we have of the musical household in which Humphrey was brought up.

In 1406, it is recorded that Henry IV spent an afternoon reading at Bardney Abbey (46). He is also known to have given Richard II's queen, Isabella, a missal and in 1403 he gave a missal to each of his three sons and his daughter (47). Despite the turmoils of his reign, Henry IV appears to have found the time to take an interest in current literature. Gower addresses him and dedicates one redaction of the Confessio Amantis. Gower says to Henry:

O recolende, bone, pie rex, Henrice, patrone
Ad bona dispone quos eripis a pharona.

(48)

Henry granted Gower two pipes of wine annually. One of the first acts of his reign, four days after his recognition by parliament, was to grant an annuity on October 3rd 1399 of 40 marks per annum to Geoffrey Chaucer (49). A few days later, Thomas Hoccleve, then a younger clerk in the office of the Privy Seal, received £10 per annum for life or till such time as he could be promoted to a benefice yielding not less than £20 a year (50). Capgrave says that Henry IV spent his days solving knotty problems of moral philosophy (51). He invited the French poetess and historian Christine de Pisan to come to his court and although she did not come, when her son, who had been in suit of the Earl of Salisbury, found himself without an employer in England after the death of his patron, Henry kept him at his court for three years (52).

Henry IV saw that his sons received a highly literate education. He employed the poet Scogan as tutor for his sons and Scogan addressed a metrical exposition to his charges (53). One authority says that Humphrey 'was instructed in the fundamentals of good literature by Sir Lewis Clifford' (although Vickers says that there is no contemporary corroboration for this authority) (54). Seven books of Latin grammar bound in one volume were bought for Henry V in 1395 when he was eight years old (55) and there is no reason to suppose that his brothers were not also instructed in Latin.

Henry V, described by a contemporary as a frequent reader,

left two borrowed volumes unreturned at his death and removed one hundred and four books from the town of Meaux after his successful siege there (56).

Henry V was the patron of both Lydgate's Siege of Troy and his Life of Our Lady (57). Lydgate repeats several times in the Troy Book that he was commissioned :

For to obeie with-oute variaunce
My lords byddyng fully and plesaunce
(58)

The Prologue further makes clear what Henry liked :

Which hath desires, sothly for to seyn
Of verray knythod to remembre ageyn
The worthynes, gif I schal nat lye
And the prowesse of olde chivalrie,
Bycause he hath loye and gret deynte
To rede in bokys of antiquite,
To fyn only, vertu for to see,
Be example of hem, and also for to eschewe
The cursyd vice of slouthe and ydelnesse
(59)

Lydgate says that the reason Henry was keen to have the translation was his desire to promote English:

By-cause he wolde that to hyge and lowe
The noble story openly wer knowe,
In oure tonge
(60)

Hoccleve wrote the Regiment of Princes for Henry V, a form of patronage literature which Holz knecht describes as common in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries among those 'who were known confidants of royalty' (61).

Duke Humphrey's admiration for his elder brother is a dominant influence on his later attitudes and activities, and

one is probably justified in suggesting that this extended beyond the obvious fact that Duke Humphrey followed his brother in commissioning extensive works from Lydgate and Hoccleve. His interest in being a patron may well have been influenced by the example set by his brother.

Perhaps the most interesting patron with whom to compare Duke Humphrey is his elder brother, John, Duke of Bedford (1389 - 1435). Almost the same age and in similar proximity to the Crown, the Duke of Bedford was also, despite his highly active political and military life, a very industrious patron of the arts. The extent of this interest in books and literature has been discussed by Carlton Williams, My Lord of Bedford and M.J.Barber, 'The Books and Patronage of a 15th-Century Prince'. Bedford, one year older than Duke Humphrey, died twelve years before him, and much of his comparatively short adult life was spent either in fighting or in administration in France. Had Duke Humphrey's life been curtailed in 1435, there would be just about the same to say on his patronage and the different aspects of the patronage would be roughly similar too. If anything, because of the contact Bedford had had with French culture by 1435, Bedford's patronage had a greater sophistication.

The sophistication of Bedford's patronage is evident in the illuminated manuscripts which he possessed. Apart from the usual smattering of rather humble devotional books which one

can regard as standard items in a man's list of personal possessions, the Duke of Bedford had commissioned a Book of Hours from one of the finest ateliers of Paris (62). The remarkable workmanship of the book, together with that of the equally splendid Sarum Breviary (63) have caused the work of that particular school of Parisian illumination to be identified as products of the Master of the Duke of Bedford (64). In 1423, the same year that he had commissioned the Book of Hours, the Duke turned his attention to the Royal library founded by Charles V and had an inventory made of the 853 volumes which, having been assessed as worth £2323 4s. he then purchased for only 1200 francs. In view of the amount of interest in Duke Humphrey's library (which contained about three hundred volumes of which we can be certain), it is extraordinary to consider how little is really known about Bedford's library. Little is known about the library during Bedford's life and after his death. After the books were removed from Paris in 1429 they were either taken to the Duke's castle at Rouen or were brought to England. In 1427 Bedford had sent a Livy to Duke Humphrey as a present (65) and one can suppose that other books were given away as presents. It is known that Bedford had a library at Rouen, for a record of 1433 is concerned with repair work done to the windows of the library there. In any case, the library was dispersed in France or England when Bedford died in 1435. Barber suggests that 'Perhaps he thought to use Charles V's books as a foundation library for the projected university of Caen' (66). That Bedford had the

acumen to buy up the library is of interest. That he kept a library at Rouen, even if it housed books other than Charles V's collection, is also of note. Barber's suggestion about the University of Caen is supported by Bedford's keen promotion of the founding of the University in Normandy to counterbalance the University of Paris, essentially as 'a training ground for the lawyers who were essential to the running of the administration, and to be securely within the field of patronage of the English king of France' (67).

Bedford's interest in the founding of the University of Caen occurred at about the same time as the University of Oxford was writing a series of letters to the Duke. These requested his patronage and support for their privileges as well as the implementation of his promise (which they had heard about from his chaplain, William Kynwolmersh) to endow a series of lectures. These letters were written between 1430 and 1433, and the fact that almost identical letters were sent on occasions to both Bedford and Gloucester (for instance the two letters dated 28 June 1433) asking for patronage suggests that these were rather in the nature of circulars requesting sponsorship. Bedford and Gloucester were two obvious men to apply to. Duke Humphrey responded to these solicitations later in the decade but Barber suggests that already, before Duke Humphrey bestowed his patronage on Oxford, Bedford had anticipated something rather grander but he was thwarted by his early death:

....it is clear from Bedford's contacts with Paris, Caen, and Oxford that the splendid vision of the peaceful patronage of letters and learning was to be, for him at least, a will o' the wisp and an added disillusionment in a disillusioning career.

(68)

But apart from commissioning splendid illuminated manuscripts and buying up a valuable collection of books and possibly being involved with the patronage of Universities, there are some other indications of the extent of the Duke's interest in patronage. He appears to have commissioned a Latin prose translation of the Pelerinage de l'Ame from his chaplain in France, Jean Galopes. The presentation copy (69) contains an illumination of the Duke seated beneath a canopy bearing the arms of England and France. It is interesting that the Duke employed a man as his chaplain who had already executed translations and adaptations of works for French patrons. Also in Bedford's Household in France was a doctor, Roland of Lisbon, whose works included studies in surgery, physiognomy and geomancy (70). He was commissioned by Bedford to write a Scientia de numero et virtute numeri, and a fulsome dedication describes the Duke 'sub cuius ducatu tota feliciter accrescit francia' and it anticipates a revival of true learning in time of peace and prosperity. This possibly reflects Bedford's own stated sentiments. Considering the degree and quality of his patronage under extremely difficult circumstances one can deduce that the avid patron in John, Duke of Bedford, felt very frustrated by the circumstances which prevented him from paying greater attention to his interests. The extent of Bedford's patronage in these years demonstrates how patronage was second nature to men of his - and Gloucester's - rank and particular upbringing. In

both Gloucester's and Bedford's cases, patronage had to be concomitant with the heavy demands of political and military activity. The actual difference in what the Dukes achieved was probably due more to the fact that Duke Humphrey lived longer and, as the younger brother, had an easier burden of responsibility than to any essential difference in outlook. Also, as will be seen, Duke Humphrey was highly skilled at maximising the publicity and posterior fame for his activities. The Duke of Bedford, however, let a magnificent collection of books slip away into obscurity, creating no lasting memorial to his name.

Attempts at contrasting English and French patronage always return to the essential differences of circumstances, the 'past historical development, the war and the entirely different position of the monarchy and the higher nobility in the two countries' (71). English patronage was less official and more dependent on the individuals concerned. Bedford evidently had more contact with the French traditions of patronage. Duke Humphrey, more involved in the administration in England, had his notions of patronage influenced more by the connections with Italian patronage which Papal envoys effected. It is as though Bedford and Gloucester, who achieved political symbiosis through the different demands of English administration in England and France, also maintained a careful separation of the patronage territory.

It is with Italian patrons that Duke Humphrey is usually

compared. Weiss, for example, concludes his discussion of

Duke Humphrey's patronage:

In all this his achievements were in many ways similar to those of such enlightened princes as Alphonso V of Sicily or Federico of Urbino, though with the difference that he was alone among his peers in England to encourage learning while the majority of the courts of fifteenth century Italy protected and patronised scholars.

(72)

To what extent Duke Humphrey was consciously modelling his patronage on his knowledge of the courts of Italian patrons is impossible to assess, but that he was highly aware of his contemporaries among the patrons in Italy is obvious. As Weiss uses Alphonso V as his example (though in many ways Pizzolpasso or Leonello d'Este would have offered more points of similarity) it seems pertinent to suggest the way in which Alphonso's reputation as a patron may have influenced Duke Humphrey. An obvious direct contact - although doubtless the Duke learnt much by hearsay and men like Piero del Monte and Castiglioni would have been familiar with Alphonso's fame - was through Tito Livio Frulovisi, who came to England in 1436 to work in Duke Humphrey's Household as a secretary (see p. 193). Frulovisi had been in Naples in 1433-4. In 1445, Duke Humphrey sent Alphonso V the Livy which Bedford had given him (74), accompanied by a letter of general salutation written by Beccaria (75). No one has suggested a reason or even questioned why the Duke felt moved to send the present to Alphonso or write to him, and one can only suppose that the gift was a form of tribute to Alphonso's reputation, rather in

the way people felt moved to give the Duke himself books. Book-giving as a mark of friendship and esteem between patrons appears a fairly common occurrence (see p.283). The institutionalisation of patronage at Alphonso's court worked as an attractive ideal for humanists looking elsewhere. A statement on the patronage of scholars, conventional in tone but presumably in harmony with Alphonso's thinking, occurs in the preamble to the privilege appointing Geronimo Guarino, son of the renowned educationalist Guarino Veronese, as secretary and counsellor:

Cum animo recensemus decursorum temporum spatia illa nobis quodadmodo beata fuisse videri solent in quibus virtutes atque optime artes a principibus culte illarumque professores in precium habiti gratis favoribus ad honores honestissimi studii sui consequentes ulterior ardentiores ad eas redderentur ceterq. illo quasi stimulo ad eiusdem studii incitationem incitarentur quod coli et in honorem haberi cernerent tempora sua sic certaturi unusquisque plurima laude et gloria illustrarent et propemeodum beata effecerent.

(76)

The various offices of the Household were equipped with secretaries who were employed in one of three basic capacities identified by Ryder, The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous. The type of secretary of interest here is the secretary who was given the title as a mark of honour and drew a salary without performing daily duties. Honorary appointments were bestowed on a few prominent literary figures and were intended to give the recipient a salary and standing in court. Valla joined Alphonso's court in 1435 and remained thirteen years :

.....as its mentor in all things classical and in particular as the king's Latin tutor, for although Alfonso had an adequate command of low Latin, he needed help with the classical literature that had caught his imagination in Italy. The combination of political secularism and Spanish religious fervour which he found in Alfonso's court stimulated Valla to produce his greatest work. Besides his attack on the Donation of Constantine - written in 1441 or 1442, at the height of the quarrel between Alfonso and Eugenius IV he completed De libero arbitrio and Dialecticae disputationes and began In Novum Testamentum adnotationes while enjoying his sinecure secretaryship.

(77)

Lorenzo Valla brought Alfonso's patronage immediate fame and in the relationship between patron and writer one can discern the ideal chemistry where the philosophy of the writer matches the practical outlook of the patron. Valla's scepticism about the temporal power of the papacy accorded very well with Alfonso's practical self-interested doubts on the subject.

Pier Candido Decembrio, writing to Duke Humphrey in 1437 to introduce himself and offer to translate and dedicate Plato's Republic, begins his letter :

Clarissima apud Italos omnes virtutis tue fama percrebuit,
princeps illustrissime, ita ut ignota facie tuam
excellentiā omnes litterati apud nos viri fama noverint...
(78)

Decembrio would have learned from the Duke's agent, Castiglioni, of the Duke's anxiety to be famed throughout Italy and tells him what he would like to hear. The Duke's correspondence with Italians and gift to Alfonso rather suggest that the Duke was aware of his counterparts among Italian patrons and wanted to be matched with them. It was precisely this awareness

of the activities of other patrons which Piero del Monte and Castiglione were able to advance and then effectively capitalize on when encouraging the Duke's interest in being a patron.

V : The problems of the thesis

Ignorance about the extent of our ignorance is not an unusual problem in the study of the 15th Century. Maintaining a high degree of awareness and caution about the limitations of the documentation is the only way to retain any validity in these circumstances. There are a number of areas in the present discussion where this is particularly important.

Throughout my discussion of Duke Humphrey's correspondence I refer to the letters which the Duke wrote or to his requests, reactions, replies and so on, and yet we know nothing about his actual involvement in the process of the receiving, reading and answering of the letters, and each time that I speak of what 'Duke Humphrey' did, I should probably qualify this. It is impossible to determine the precise extent of his involvement - or whether he was actually involved at all. Yet, it seems highly unlikely that the correspondence conducted in his name would have been undertaken wholly without his knowledge, and as he employed several secretaries and clerks it is also unlikely that he bothered to write the letters himself. Indeed we can positively identify the authors of some of the letters, and when this is the case, I mention the fact. But even in these latter instances (where the style of the content and the Latin is so distinctive that it is clearly the work of Bekynton or Beccaria), if the letter was written in

the Duke's name we can be sure that he either determined the subject matter or he agreed with his secretary's suggestion.

Letters which the Duke received were probably dealt with in a way which finds its counterpart today in the situation of a high-level executive employing competent secretarial assistance to receive, read and determine the implications of his correspondence. The letter is then handed to the executive who has it in front of him for scanning while the secretary gives a brief synopsis and points out any interesting detail for the boss to read for himself. The executive then suggests a framework for the reply, the degree of importance he attaches to the subject matter determining the amount of attention he will pay to detail. The secretary then executes this and submits it for approval and signature. Alternatively, the executive who employs secretarial assistance of a high calibre could delegate complete responsibility to the secretary and expect merely to be informed of developments. The latter is the sort of involvement that Duke Humphrey had in the correspondence I discuss. Some of the letters have such a distinctive style that they have been identified as the work of a particular secretary. This identification is only possible because of the degree of independence which the Duke allowed his secretaries in the work which they did for him. Thus it is to be understood that when I say 'the Duke' in relation to letter-writing, I am in truth referring to the man, men or office who, in conjunction with Duke Humphrey, were responsible for writing the letters.

Another major problem in our knowledge of Duke Humphrey's patronage is the fact that although superficially we have such a full knowledge of his collection of Latin books we are completely ignorant of the extent of our ignorance about his library (79). What we do know is based largely on the inventories of books given to Oxford. When Duke Humphrey died intestate, Oxford University tried unsuccessfully to obtain the books they had been promised - and it is always assumed that Henry VI gave the books in Humphrey's possession at the time of his death to King's College, Cambridge, which is why Sammut prints the inventory made in 1452 of King's College Library (80). Thus our knowledge of the Duke's Latin books is not complete and we know very little indeed about what English and French books he possessed, and it is a reasonable assumption that he would have owned a fair number. The English and French books we do know about would lead us to suppose that he possessed the same kind of library as most nobles, were it not for the extraordinary circumstances of the Oxford inventories and letters requesting books which so dramatically alter the picture. When the dispersal and disappearance of Bedford's library is also considered, we can only be struck by the inadequacy of our knowledge of libraries generally. Books were obviously far more common than is generally supposed. This in turn makes it difficult to assess the impact that a collection of books like Duke Humphrey's would have had. Richard de Bury's Philobiblion a century earlier demonstrates how established the

idea of collecting books had become. The collection of the humanist Andrew Holes (see page 288), who is reputed to have had so many books that when he returned to England from Italy he was obliged to travel by ship rather than overland, might well have matched Duke Humphrey's library in size. Clearly the fact that Duke Humphrey donated his books to Oxford, making them accessible to scholars, is the chief significance of his collection as far as his patronage is concerned.

I speak often of Duke Humphrey's "Household". By this I do not mean a physical location so much as the circle of employees and offices which surrounded the Duke. Green in Poets and Princepleasers prefers the word "familia" :

Of the various words used to describe the household ('curia', 'hospicium', 'domus', and 'familia') I have preferred the last (though it was not the most common) as being the richest in appropriate connotations for the modern reader.

(81)

It seems to me that the word "Household" - with a capital "H" to augment the meaning from its more mundane domestic use - is preferable, because although we lack the records which would clarify the components, structure and organisation of the Household, this distinct self-identifying organisation, which depended materially on the Duke, probably thought of itself using the word "Household" :

He is so clere in his corte, þe kyng þat al weldez
And honeste in his housholde and hagherlych served

(82)

Another problem to which I shall address myself in the conclusion is that of the rewards that the men received for their services.

In the absence of Household accounts we do not know whether Duke Humphrey paid at all, and we have no means of comparing his values and seeing whether he paid more to secretaries who could compose than to secretaries who merely wrote at his dictation. One would like to be able to compare how he valued literary services as opposed to other sorts of services.

Duke Humphrey's 'ex libris' which he wrote fairly consistently at the end of his books is written in French in his own hand. One assumes that he was fluent in French and English and his education (see p.37) would suggest that he had a fair knowledge of Latin. One must wonder then in which language most of the verbal communication behind the patronage took place. Presumably the Italians communicated with the Duke in Latin or French, but we have no way of knowing.

It is easy to distort an evaluation of Duke Humphrey's patronage by ignoring the fundamental chronology of its development and making anachronistic judgements about what he was doing. By the time of Henry V's death in 1422, Duke Humphrey had shown no evidence of any significant interest in the arts. Poggio's visit to England, 1418-22, heralded as an indication that a humanist took an interest in current English scholasticism, passed off without any contact between Poggio and Duke Humphrey. Likewise there is no evidence that Simone Lelli da Teramo, a papal collector who had been in England in 1420, had had anything to do with the Duke. Thus, when we find Simone writing a letter full of classical allusions in 1424, it is pure speculation to conclude that he included these because he

knew of the Duke's interest (83). Weiss comments that :

.....it seems very likely therefore that Humphrey's curiosity in polite letters dated from his relations with Papal officials whom he met in virtue of his position. Perhaps Simone da Teramo, Cesarini, and Gerardo Landriani, all of whom knew Humphrey, and certainly Del Monte, were partly responsible for developing his intellectual outlook. Some support to this conjecture is lent not only by Del Monte's activities in England, but also by a letter written by Simone da Teramo to Gloucester in 1424 to exculpate himself from some charges. The abundance of classical quotations throughout this letter hints that its writer was familiar with the Duke's tastes, and the circumstances suggest that he knew the right chord to strike to regain his favour.

(84)

This is exactly the way weiss often slides from positing a perfectly valid possibility or suggestion into concretely affirming a case by producing his initial suggestion as supportive evidence. Simone da Teramo's contribution to English humanism is thus established by half a dozen references which really amount to nothing. First Weiss tells us that Simone told Poggio that a great many books were preserved in some ancient monasteries (85). Next, Weiss says :

Simone's learning was that of the average curialist of his time, and although he was able to display when necessary a knowledge of ancient literature and adorn his letters with classical quotations, he could hardly have satisfied Poggio's high standards.

(86)

Weiss footnotes this comment 'Cf. for instance his letter to Humphrey of Gloucester' (87). A few pages later Weiss comments:

Papal officials sent to England during the fifteenth century were generally men of some learning and well disposed towards humanism. Simone da Teramo, whom Poggio met here, though not a professional scholar, possessed some classical learning and a fluent Latin style.

(88)

A footnote then refers us back to previous evidence cited.

By repetition, then, the case appears proven when Weiss asserts by way of summary :

It is in the amateurish classical pursuits of Simone da Teramo, in the teaching of Cesarini, in the studies of the friends of Poggio, and above all in the influence of Del Monte, in books brought from Italy and including examples of humanistic literature, that the beginnings of English humanism are to be sought.

(89)

Ten pages later occur the concluding remarks on Simone that I started with. Thus, Simone's tenuous connection with the Duke appears established. It is true that Simone's letter is full of classical allusions, but it seems to me that unless one can compare this with other examples of his epistolary style and establish whether he put on a deliberate exhibition of his learning especially for the Duke, one cannot see this very pretentious piece of writing as reflecting in any way on the recipient's taste. Another reasonable though tentative suggestion - that the presence of men like Simone in London could only have had a positive effect on English scholastic life - is rather overplayed, and the connection spuriously established with the Duke merely contributes to a pre-conceived image of Duke Humphrey.

Thus, it is important when examining Duke Humphrey's patronage not to distort the picture by losing sight of the chronological development.

Another aspect of the chronology of the Duke's patronage to be examined in the course of this thesis is whether there was a continuous development or whether one can discern particular years in which the Duke turned his attention to patronage of the arts. If the latter is shown to be the case, and if one can isolate the factors influencing him at this time, it would be possible to suggest the main motivation behind the patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

CHAPTER I : DUKE HUMPHREY'S PATRONAGE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

Part 1 : The Palladius Translation

Introduction

It is surprising that the Middle English translation of the unliterary agricultural treatise De re rustica by Palladius has received so little and such inadequate attention. As a work of literature it can at best be described as 'original' and 'interesting', and as a translation it is better regarded as a paraphrase in verse rather than as a literal rendering. Yet the whole execution is highly unusual and idiosyncratic and this, coupled with the unique and vivid detail in the descriptions of the way in which Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, acted as a patron, means that the work is of immense interest in the study of the workings of patronage. The few studies that have been made of the anonymous Palladius translation so far (1) have tended to concentrate on isolated aspects of particular interest to its individual critics, thus distorting and obscuring any view of the work as a whole.

Three manuscripts of the work survive, the Colchester Castle MS, the Fitzwilliam MS and the Hunterian MS in Glasgow. The Colchester Castle MS, now Add.A.369 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, was the first to come to light when edited singularly badly by the Rev. Barton Lodge for the EETS in 1873 (2). This manuscript omits the poet's Prohemium and the epilogues to

Books I, II and III. The text of November is faulty and breaks off half way through and there is no text for December. All the connection with Duke Humphrey is completely obliterated. In 1896 Mark Liddell published an edition of the Fitzwilliam MS which alone contains the translator's additional material and Duke Humphrey's coat of arms painted into the capital 'C' of 'Consideraunce' which commences the text of the translation. A colotype of the MS is kept in the Bodleian Library (Bodl.Engl.poet.d.27) and also some rather interesting correspondence regarding the production of this photocopy between the library and the Fitzwilliam family and the original notices of the MS (Arch.F.d.2.). The Liddell edition is very difficult to obtain - the British Library holds the only readily accessible copy - so in Appendix IV I have included all the epilogues and prologues from Liddell's edition because these are of vital importance to the present study. Although E.P.Hammond in English Verse from Chaucer to Surrey prints the Prohemium to the whole work and one stanza from each of the epilogues to January, February, April and May, all the matter extraneous to the translation is of such value as an entirety that this partial duplication is justified. No printed edition has hitherto paid any regard to the intricate colour scheme with which this extraneous matter is distinctively marked out from the translation. D.R.Howlett points this out in his thesis and underlines the whole of the Prohemium with the appropriate colours. This I have copied as a method and, having had the privilege of seeing the Fitzwilliam MS, the whole

of the material in Appendix has been submitted to this treatment.

The Hunterian MS. of the Palladius (formerly MS.T.5.6., now Hunt.104) is a vellum MS. which has been badly damaged. It contains a Tabula on ff. 1^r-6^v, an alphabetical index of contents somewhat impaired (it leaps from f to p). The main text begins:

Vete grasse and grayne is good. and aftir preef
Do sowe or graffe. And seedes newe eschewe.

This is in fact stanza 17 of the Introductory Book.

Because each page of the Hunterian MS has a set number of stanzas it is possible to work out from the number of pages missing, and where the text resumes, that this MS did once contain all the Prohemium and the epilogues but these were cut out, along with the text which happened to be on the same pages. Thus, while the Bodleian Library Add.A, 369 MS was transcribed with the connections with Duke Humphrey carefully omitted, the Hunterian MS had originally been identical to the Fitzwilliam MS but the obliteration of the connection with Duke Humphrey occurred later. The reason for the omissions and extractions could have been nothing more sinister than that the owner felt these parts were irrelevant to the treatise and merely got in the way. But it is curious how badly destroyed the Hunterian MS then became in the process. The work in any case has lost the end from November onwards.

The textual notes and commentary in the EETS volume are of a purely linguistic - and primitively so - nature and contain little of any interest to this study. Although Liddell promised notes and commentary in a Volume II, these were never published. M.Liddell died in 1936 and his work is still copyright. E.P.Hammond's annotations and texts are useful in so far as they go. Her volume draws attention to Duke Humphrey's patronage as a dominant factor in the early 15th Century literary scene by using a connection with Duke Humphrey as a criterion for her selection of some material - hence the inclusion of the stanzas from the Palladius translation; but as her main aim was to be representative of the period she does not print all the Middle English literature connected with the Duke. Her volume though is the nearest we have to a collection of the literature connected with Duke Humphrey.

An obsession with trying to remove the translator's anonymity has dominated the progress of research on the Palladius. This in itself is an interesting phenomenon. It is true that the translator does rather invite such speculation:

Yit Whethamstede and also Pers de Mounte
Titus and Anthony and y laste ofre
And leest Our newe is old in hym tacounte.
(Prohemium, 102-4)

This listing of the names of his fellow translators serves to highlight his own anonymity. In 1913, MacCracken published an article on English renderings of Vegetius's treatise

De re militaria. In his discussion of the second translation executed in 1458 for Viscount Beaumont he refers to the unknown author:

There is a chance that the poet who composed this stirring bit of verse has been rescued from the common oblivion of the fifteenth century. Internal evidence points strongly to the conclusion that he was also the author of Agriculture, a version of Palladius' De Re Rustica written about 1439 for Duke Humphrey.

(3)

MacCracken then goes on to identify the common author as one 'Robert Parker', solely on the ground of benefices conferred at appropriate dates and also the fact that the later benefices were at Calais, which is where the Vegetius writer describes himself as living. These benefices were to be regarded as the direct rewards for the writing of the two treatises. This is too simplistic and too conjectural; nevertheless the thesis of the common authorship is of vital importance to an examination of the Palladius. The latter is so accomplished and energetic that one feels it altogether likely that the author was responsible for other works.

D.R.Howlett pays no regard to MacCracken's contribution to work on the Palladius and comes up with an equally seductive case for an author also on scanty, and far from substantiated, evidence. Because of his vested interest in proving the author's connection with the Abbot of St.Albans and friend of Duke Humphrey, John Whethamstede, Howlett is far from objective and conclusive in his claim that one Thomas Norton

was the author. Because of the Palladius-translator's mention of Whethamstede as a fellow translator (already quoted), and because Whethamstede mentions Palladius in a poem designed to accompany stained glass at St.Albans, and because Whethamstede also seems to have possessed another English translation of the work, Howlett decides that the anonymous translator must have been connected with St.Albans. In fact, Whethamstede is only one of several translators mentioned; there is scarcely a contemporaneously popular writer who was not mentioned in the long poem for the stained glass, and in any case Palladius does not even appear in a prominent position in that poem. The other English translation of the Palladius has little to do with the verse translation (see p.62). Whethamstede and Duke Humphrey were friends and while, as Howlett presumes, it is highly probable that a poet attached to St.Albans would have come into contact with Duke Humphrey, it is equally the case that a poet in Duke Humphrey's retinue would have come into contact with St.Albans. Although Howlett pieces together his evidence with an initially convincing consistency, his results are not conclusive. He asks us to accept spurious statements and half-truths:

The translator was clearly not a minor servant in the duke's employ for he wrote of himself in stanza XIII as one of a most distinguished company.

(4)

It is convenient to Howlett's thesis to disregard other explanations of this stanza, such as the author's seeking to

enhance his own position and validity by including himself in a list of men who had already established themselves in Duke Humphrey's favour.

It is this obsession with the anonymity of the work which has obstructed any other approach to the poem. It is as though the finding of a name onto which to hinge the work were a prerequisite to looking at what else can be learned from the text. Thus I shall deal first with this obstruction before moving onto the detailed examination of the work which it has hitherto not been given.

This anonymous verse translation was not the only translation into English of Palladius's treatise on agriculture made in the Fifteenth Century. It is well known that one folio of an English text of the capitular tractatus Godfridi super Palladium is still attached to a MS of Whethamstede's Granarium (5) which led Howlett to suggest that the verse translator may have found the full translation. But there are other prose translations of Palladius which were common, notably the work of Nicholas Bollarde (6). These translations were very literal and tended to select elements like viticulture, arboriculture and agriculture and, because of the highly practical nature of the advice, they read rather like manuals. Although only one folio of the St. Albans MS survives, the extant prose translations suggest what Whethamstede's copy of the Palladius would have been like - sufficiently so to dismiss any possible

connection between it and the highly-worked literary verse translation. The anonymous translator would have derived no benefit whatsoever from seeing the prose as his whole enterprise was of an entirely different nature.

The Author

The first suggestion that was made concerning the identity of the Palladius translator was that of E.W.B.Nicholson, the Bodleian librarian responsible for negotiating the production of a collotype of the Fitzwilliam MS for his library. He suggested that it was the work of a translator of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae, who lived near Oxford at Osney, called John Walton. This supposition was based largely on the use of a similar stanzaic form. This proposal is impossible to substantiate.

MacCracken in an article on the English translations of Vegetius's De re Militaria demonstrates the strong similarities between the verse Palladius and Knyghthode and Bataile - a verse translation of Vegetius executed in 1458 'for John,

Viscount Beaumont'. MacCracken picks out the autobiographical details given by the poet in the Palladius, that he 'having been for ten years oppressed and still deprived of his church by his "double mortal foe" is now assured of better days through Humphrey's intercession and reward is promised him for literary service'. Assuming common authorship, MacCracken then draws biographical details from Knyghthode and Bataile where the poet describes himself as a 'person of Caleys' and later Lord Beaumont addresses him as 'Preste'. MacCracken says that the poet :

.....after some consideration selects John, Viscount Beaumont, as his patron to present his work to Henry VI. Beaumont addresses him "Preste vnto me," but the author adds cautiously next these words in the margin "After my master," thus indicating that he is a king's clerk, owing service next to Lord Beaumont, steward to the Prince of Wales and the king, and a prominent member of the Privy Council.

(7)

MacCracken then sees his task as simple. He needs only to find a priest who was rewarded around 1439 for the first translation and then again - now specifically a parson of Calais - rewarded in 1458 for the second. I am not sure why he imagines that "one in quest of the poet's name might hope to find some priest rewarded with a benefice in 1439, mentioned as a king's clerk" when patently the poet was in Duke Humphrey's employ at the time of the Palladius translation and the stated allegiance to the king over and above that to Lord Beaumont in the Vegetius need not be interpreted in anything other than very

general terms. MacCracken's proposal, however, on the surface at least, sounds very plausible:

It can hardly be laid to coincidence, therefore, that one Robert Parker, chaplain, should succeed a clerk of the king's closet as parson of Stanford Ryvers, in the very year 1439; that in 1450 Robert Parker, chaplain, the king's clerk, should be made parson of St. Nicholas, Calais; that in 1460 Robert Parker should be named, among others, on a commission with the master of the king's ordnance to oversee the manufacture of "cannons, bombards, culverin, serpentyns, crossbows," and other instruments of war described in detail in Knyghthode and Bataile, and finally, that in 1464, an early pardon of Edward IV should be issued to Robert Parker, clerk.

(8)

Such a string of coincidences does indeed appear to offer an attractive solution - especially as it would seem that the poet was capable of putting his own handbook to practical use. One's desire for a name to which to attach the works might lead one to accept this possibility as a probability. MacCracken's case, however, is unproven. His suppositions falter on many counts. He overlooks the bond between the Palladius translator and Duke Humphrey which was clearly too strong for him to have been a chaplain and King's clerk who merely came into contact with the Duke when he was advising his nephew. Thus in the year 1439, the poet was clearly in the Duke's employ and one would require the benefice, reputed to have been a reward for the translation, to be directly linked with Duke Humphrey to accept MacCracken's proposition. Also, MacCracken supposes that the Palladius translation was written in 1439 - and the gift of the benefice in that year is exactly the

crux on which the linking of the two works by this common name depends - but there is good evidence that the Palladius translation more properly belongs to 1440 (see page 94). The most substantial biographical detail concerning the poet of Knyghthode and Bataile is the fact that he is a 'person of Caleys' and is addressed as 'Preste'. It is possible that he was a priest of some place elsewhere and either originated from Calais or just lived in Calais. In such a case one would not expect to find his name amongst parish records and one is no closer to discerning the poet's identity. If one accepts, however, that this is an accurate self-description, an investigation of Bishops' records indicates that parsons of Calais in the 1450s were fairly numerous (9). John Bales in Index Britanniae Scriptorum records the following entry, possibly relating to some paraphrase of Vegetius:

Robertus Balsac, Anglus in scientiis eruditus scripsit,
De re militari, li. 1. et alia quedam. Claruit sub Henrico VI.
(10)

It is impossible to wholly accept or reject MacCracken's proposition concerning the writer's identity. One needs a 'person of Calais' in the 1450s and 60s whom one can link with Duke Humphrey some twenty years before. I am unable to posit my own 'person of Calais' but I notice, though, that Duke Humphrey received the custody of Calais on 29 October 1435 and the captaincy on 25 February 1435/6 to be held for nine years. He was succeeded by Humphrey, Earl of Stafford in 1442/3. It could be that the writer, resident in Calais, had known

the Duke during his terms of office there. The Palladius translator mentions Calais in the Prohemium:

Who kan comprise in werkis wise in right
In sadde avise as forto wise a londe
The duc periure who made assure in flight
Calise endure who made and sure in honde
The kyngis right who made vpright to stonde
Who hath insight to stynte vnright aduerse
Who hath be prest the chirche in rest to londe
As trewthe is best let feithfullest reherce
(Prohemium,41-48)

If McCracken is right, one can see the translator mentioning the Duke's championing of two things dear to him, Calais and the Church. Perhaps the preferment which was obtained as a result of the poem meant that the poet remained in Calais after his patron went back to England. This would make sense of such lines as:

Record hem sothe hit self the dede apperith
Wul he for bothe alyue and dede esploye
To saue vs here and hem in ffraunce hit cherith
His wit to here and Orliaunce ennoye
Wel myght a kyng of suche a flour enioye....
(Prohemium,57-61)

This would give the word 'here' the weight of a distinction being drawn between English Calais and the rest of French France. The poet is very well-informed about current affairs - especially those concerning Duke Humphrey - which might be explained by the Duke's frequent presence in Calais at the period in which the Palladius translation was executed. But putting aside such speculation, what is important is that Duke Humphrey was strongly connected with Calais at the time of the Palladius translation, which might link with the 'person of Caleys' who executed the Vegetius translation two decades later.

MacCracken lists the striking similarities between the two translations, and it will be noticed that I have not questioned this thesis of common authorship. This is because, while I regard MacCracken's analysis of the similarities in poetic technique as very convincing, yet open to argument, for techniques are liable to exert influence and exact imitation, it is the similar driving force behind the creativity, the highly idiosyncratic and individual approach and attitude towards the act of translation that quenches any doubt that the translations are the work of the same man. Both the original Latin works were highly popular in the Middle Ages in the Latin (Duke Humphrey also gave Latin versions of each to Oxford) and although there were French versions of each currently available, the poet appears to have adhered to the Latin sources. Both the texts, despite being somewhat archaic, were regarded in the Middle Ages as practical handbooks. Thus, behind the idea of translating them must have been the intention that they might be of practical use and that they would immediately be acceptable, gleaning some of the reflected popularity of their originals. I have already mentioned that the Palladius had already been translated into English (see p.62); the Vegetius, besides having been translated once earlier in the 15th Century (11), was one of the works considered by Hoccleve when casting around for something to translate for Duke Humphrey:

"ffor him I thoghte han translated Vegece
Which tretith of the art of Chiualrie,
But I see his Knyghthode so encrece,
pat no thyng my labour sholde edifie,
ffor he pat art / wel can for the maistrie.
Beyonde, he preeued hath his worthynesse,
And among othre / Chirburgh to witesse.

(Dialogue with a Friend, 561-7)

The poet of both works has the same attitude toward the act of translation - being a creative reworking in verse rather than a literal rendering. While retaining the form and structure of the original, the poet felt free to omit and insert at will.

Several copies of each work survive and it is a curious coincidence that in each case, only one manuscript survives intact, containing both the translation of the text and the poet's own personal additions, the dedications and descriptions of patronage. Thus the translations stand in their own right sufficiently to have been copied by scribes who were only interested in making a copy of the text. In translating both the Palladius and the Vegetius, the poet could just have executed the parts which some scribes later selected out but it is as though the translator entered too energetically into his work for his spirited interest in the task to be contained within the confines of merely translating a text. In the Palladius he writes a sixteen stanza Prohemium and epilogues which vary from five stanzas to one stanza to each of the thirteen books. In Knyghthode and Bataile there are eleven stanzas of Prohemium and at the beginnings and endings of each of the books the poet

allows himself to digress. The three principal concerns of these digressions are the praise of God, Jesus or Mary (principally the latter in the Vegetius and the former in the Palladius, but the term 'Jesse flour' recurs in both), references to patrons and the act of patronage and, thirdly, expositions on the progress of the work in hand. But the most striking aspect of the poet's enthusiastic involvement in his act of translation is his adoption of the idiom of the text into the rest of what he has to say. These similarities are so strong yet idiosyncratic that they can only persuade one of the common authorship of the translations.

The translator of the Vegetius twice refers to himself as a priest and in the Palladius he describes how an enemy has held him from 'my chirche and al my good me fro' and he obviously trusts in God and Duke Humphrey to redress his wrongs. Religious eulogy hotly contends with panegyric for Duke Humphrey, and the poet is always keen to set the Duke's patronage of the arts in its rightful place, subordinate to and the instrument of the divine patron:

Agriculture as in nature and art
 Tendure of creature A/Creatour
 List to provide; and duc H(umfrid)e his part
 Diuide of either side, a(dd)yng e honour
 So high that we of princis se the flour
 Hym be.....

(Prohemium, 1-6)

The second stanza opens with a prayer that is fairly typical

of the sort of eulogy that recurs throughout the epilogues:

His excellence O Trine and oon eterne
Almyghty lord Alsapyent al good
Thy Prouidence as sterismon and sterne.....
(Prohemium,9-11)

The poet is subtle in the way he balances the worship he owes God and that he owes Duke Humphrey, as the opening of the final stanza demonstrates:

My wit, my word, my werk The magnifieth,
O kyngis Kyng, O Lord of lordis hie,
Whos grace a princis flour honorifieth,
That in nature hym like is noon to trie.
(Book XIII,79-82)

The penultimate stanza of the whole work is written in columns, eight columns of eight words, giving a disjointed visual effect which curiously evokes incantatory prayer. The words not only recall devout epilogues throughout the work but have a pattern of strong repetition within the stanza. The prayer casts the whole subject of husbandry and the act of translating in a religious light. Likewise, in the Vegetius, the translating and the subject matter are constantly seen in relation to God. Similar prayer abounds:

Almyghti Maker of the firmament,
O mervailous in euery creature,
So singuler in this most excellent
Persone, our Souuerayn Lord! Of what stature
Is he, what visagyng, how fair feture,
How myghti mad, and how strong in travaile!
In oonly God & him it is tassure
As in a might, that noo wight dar assaile.
(Knyghthode and Bataile,65-72)

One notices how the Palladius translator also rather daringly

aligns his patron with God in this way (notably in the opening stanza). In Knyghthode and Bataile, the poet invokes the aid of Christ, Mary and the Saints in his task at the outset and at the beginning of the subsequent sections and at several critical points in the text. The editor of the EETS edition comments on the nature of the priest's religion:

....a real personal preference, however, in the range of theological thought seems clearly to manifest itself in the most enthusiastic references to the imagined ranks and orders of angels, introduced sometimes by way of comparison and analogy between knightly hosts in heaven and on earth, as in the explicit passage ll.138-65, or the startlingly unexpected stanza, ll.2007-13, - sometimes as an elaborate ornamental accompaniment to images of Christ and the Virgin (ll.10-16, 106-9). These speculations, popularised by the standard handbooks of theology, seem to have appealed with particular strength to the military vein in the parson's nature.
(Knyghthode and Bataile, pp XXXI-II)

What the EETS editor identifies as a 'military vein in the parson's nature' is extraordinarily matched by the agricultural vein in the Palladius translator's religion:

And hym that lord that wt his woundis wide
ffrom deth vs bought and hath our lif in cure
Thorgh al this werk so derk he be my gide.....
His princis flour good fruyt & fressh plesaunce
Vpgrowe on hit and in his Agriculture
Maad at his hest and his Consideraunce
(Prohemium, 121-3, 126-8)

Rather than being indicative of a particular religious bent, the imagery demonstrates the enthusiasm with which the poet enters into the task in hand, using agricultural imagery to express his religious zeal. In Knyghthode and

Bataile and in the Palladius translation, the poet engages with great energy and versatility in the imagery of the text.

The clearest similarity between the two works is the relationship between work, patron and poet. The stress laid on who the patron is, how the patronage arose, the connection and relation between poet and patron and an exposition of that patronage in action is prominent in the unusual additions to a work of translation. Knyghthode and Bataile was written to celebrate the triumphant entry of Henry VI into London on some festive occasion, and it seems likely that this refers to the 'love-day' or temporary reconciliation between the warring Yorkists and Lancastrians in 1458. The poet celebrates the occasion and into his praise of peace he introduces both his subject matter and his own handling of it:

Therof to the Vnitee "Deo gracias"
In Trinitee! The Clergys and Knyghthode
And Comynaltee better accorded nas
Neuer then now.....
(Knyghthode and Bataile, 25-8)

In the context of the achievement of peace, he switches from the achievement of the occasion to the achievement of his own work, neatly glossing over the irony of presenting a work about war at a celebration of peace:

Now, person of Caleys, pray euery Seynte
In hevenys & in erth of help Thavaile.
It is, That in this werk nothing ne feynte
But that befor good wynde it go ful sayle;
And that not oonly prayer But travaile
Heron be sette, Enserche & faste (in) quere
Thi litil book of knyghthode and bataile,
What Chiualer is best, on it bewere.
(Knyghthode and Bataile, 33-40)

Having then set his work in the context of the occasion he returns to Henry VI in a typically confused effusion:

Whil Te deum laudamus vp goth there
At Paulis^{vp} to Westmynster go thee ;
The Kyng comyng, Honor, Virtus the Quene
So glad goth vp that blisse it is to see.
Thi bille vnto the Kyng is red, and He
Content withal, and wil it not foryete.
(Knyghthode and Bataile,41-6)

A conversation then follows between 'my lord Beaumont' and the poet. It is a dramatic, but not altogether clear reconstruction of the work being presented. The 'bille' might be a petition to the kyng to accept the dedication of the Vegetius and 'and wil it not foryete' might imply that he is prepared to pay or reward for the work. It is hard to see how this connects with the conversation which follows between Lord Beaumont and the poet who offers Knyghthode and Bataile to him, explaining that it is a translation of Vegetius 'into Balade' and giving it to him to read. Lord Beaumont then decides that the work would please the king and permits the poet to present it to the king. It is as though, after the king has been informed that a work has been executed, he sends the Lord Beaumont to assess the subject matter and the quality of the workmanship to decide whether it would be suitable for his patronage. After the description of this event and a eulogy of the king, the poet's final stanza of the Prohemium envisages the king reading Knyghthode and Bataile:

He redeth, and fro poynt to poynt he secheth,
How hath be doon, and what is now to done;
His prouidence on aftirward he stretcheth,
By see & lond.....
(Knyghthode and Bataile,81-4)

If one is right in deducing that Knyghthode and Bataile is the work of the Palladius translator some two decades later, then one can detect the origin of this emphasis on the process of patronage in the unusual form of the dedication in the Palladius.

Clearly, as the Palladius translation appears to have been a direct commission from Duke Humphrey, there is no corresponding description of the petitioning for patronage. The poet is secure in his position in the Duke's Household as such lines as these show:

This kyngis dere vncul & sone and brother,
Hath God prouect His werkis to conclude
His werkis here or where is suche another.
(Prohemium, 70-2)

The security is shown by his identification with the Household 'here'. But he is also secure in his favoured position as a receiver of patronage:

Yit Whethamstede and also Pers de Mounte
Titus and Anthony and y laste ofre
And leest Our newe is old in hym tacounte.
(Prohemium, 102-4)

Having been in such a privileged position it would be natural for him to place so much emphasis on patronage when he found it again. Just as in the Vegetius he is keen to link military matters with his patron and demonstrate the appropriateness of the work, so too, Duke Humphrey's connections with husbandry are dwelt on many times:

For clergie or knyghthod or husbondrie,
That oratour poete or philosophre
Math tretid told or taught in memorie.....
(Prohemium,97-9)

I have already quoted the extraordinary opening of the Palladius where a daring comparison is drawn between the tending of God's creation - agriculture - and Duke Humphrey's tending of art. Perhaps the most striking and unusual comparison between the description of patronage in the two works is the depiction of the critical patron reading the work. The more lively and colourful picture in the Palladius is probably accounted for by its being a description of the reality of the situation, whereas in Knyghthode and Bataile the description rests on the imagination:

A(nd) now my lord biholdith on his book.
ffor sothe al nought, he gynnyth crossis make
With a plummet and y noot whow his look,
His cheer is straunge, eschaunge. Almeest y quake,
ffor ferd y shrynke away, no leue y take.
ffarwel, my lord! do forth for y am heer,
And metur muse out of this prosis blake.
And heer y wul sette on At ffeueryeer.
(Book II,480-487)

Apart from the vividness of the description, there is a cross in the Fitzwilliam MS which would support the impression that the translator is describing reality (though I discuss this in greater detail p.105).

Both Knyghthode and Bataile and the Palladius translation show similarities in the preparation of the MSS, as MacCracken pointed out:

Alone among fifteenth-century English translations, Vegetius and Palladius are provided with carefully prepared indexes, marginal and interlinear glosses, accurate running titles, and numbering of the stanzas of every folio (a-d recto, e-h verso) for ready reference. The glosses are of two types in both works. They offer the Latin equivalent of the English rimes and words liable to misconstruction or alternative English readings of the lines.

(12)

This similarity of presentation is reflected in the structures of the translations, which are very carefully and clearly ordered into prologues, parts and epilogues. The extraneous material is very easily omitted by scribes who choose to do so. In the Fitzwilliam MS of the Palladius the extraneous material is distinguished from that of the text by being written in a scheme of colours which highlights the rhyme schemes and verbal patterning (see plates 1.2 and 3). The indexing does rather imply that the poet regarded the texts as practical handbooks, or, considering that the works are paraphrases in verse, perhaps they were to be regarded as the aristocrat's 'bluff your way' in Vegetius or Palladius, an easy and pleasurable access to a standard work.

I mentioned that the most striking aspect of the poet's enthusiastic involvement in his act of translation is his adoption of the idiom of the text into his expression and imagery. Reading Knyghthode and Bataile in the light of its possibly having been written by the same author as the Palladius, one is disappointed to find that the poet who had been so immersed in the vocabulary of husbandry never once betrays any knowledge

of this. One notices also how the E.E.T.S. editor of Knyghthode and Bataile thought that there must be a 'military vein' in the Parson's religion. In fact the poet creatively extends the interest of the text into his other elements, thus creating a relationship between the patron, himself and the work. Examples are numerous. Sometimes he describes his own work in the appropriate idiom:

As myghti herte in ryngynge herneysinge,
So gentil wit wil in good metris springe.
(Knyghthode and Bataile, 633-4)

and in the Palladius, we find:

'Y wul assay hem vp to plowe & delue'.
A lord to plese, how swete is to laboure;
ffor that men heue and shoue and ouerwhelue.
Lo thus hit is, and thus y Crist honoure:
(Book I, 1174-7)

In the treatise on agriculture, the relationship between the poet and patron is portrayed in the terms of a labourer's relationship with his feudal lord, and in the Vegetius, the poet imagines himself as a soldier pressing on at the command of his military commander. I have already mentioned how the religious references in the work are also appropriate to the texts - and perhaps this is the most daring aspect of the poet's highly imaginative use of appropriate imagery.

A striking similarity between the Palladius translation and Knyghthode and Bataile is the topicality of the poet's concern - so much so that fairly accurate dating is possible for both texts. The poet appears to have been influenced in both poems by contemporary political verse. Despite the fact that so

much ephemera has been lost, and it would be impossible to pinpoint which particular verses the poet would have known, one can still detect areas of influence.

O siluer bere, o liliai lioun,
O goldon Eagle! where is your renoun!.....
(Knyghthode and Bataile, part IV, 2908-9)

These lines are reminiscent of the cryptic political verses which avoid using proper names by using heraldic emblems, as here in this poem about Suffolk's treatment of Duke Humphrey:

pis fox at bury slowe oure grete gandere;
perfore at tyborn mony mon on hym wondere
(13)

Thus MacCracken's thesis of common authorship not only stands up to his tests of metrical and technical similarities but also to a comparison of the spirit and underlying attitudes of the poet. The idiosyncratic exuberant character of the poet comes across forcefully in both works. What he lacks in accomplished artistry, he makes up for in enthusiastic technical virtuosity. Often he obscures his sense in his efforts - which are all too evident - to convey the complicated. But his exuberance generally results in a convolution of meaning; the best example of this is the opening of the *Palladius* translation, where he is falling over himself and his sense in his eagerness to balance - and yet to cram in - his various interests.

Having accepted this thesis of common authorship, one must hope that documentary evidence will eventually be forthcoming linking a man in Duke Humphrey's employ with a parson of Calais

up to two decades later. Meanwhile there is not enough evidence to accept MacCracken's proposition of Robert Parker. It is a major flaw in the thesis of D.R.Howlett, the other scholar who has concerned himself with the identity of the Palladius poet, for he appears to have been entirely ignorant of MacCracken's work and at no stage mentions the common authorship of the Palladius translation and Knyghthode and Bataile. It is this common authorship which provides the most extensive external evidence regarding the identity of the translator. If Howlett's thesis were to stand undisputed, he would need to have tied all his evidence concerning a certain "Thomas Norton" in with a parson of Calais - or at least indicate that this would be necessary to complete his case.

In my Introduction, I have already described what I see as the shortcomings of D.R.Howlett's thesis. If I dismissed his work too lightly it is only through irritation at his assumptions and assertions based on inconclusive evidence. It is interesting to reconstruct the process by which Howlett convinces himself of the poet's identity. I shall deal first with the argument in his article and then the additional material in his thesis. He quotes the opening stanza to show how 'The translator has provided clear indications that he undertook the work for Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester' and proves that the Fitzwilliam MS was the Duke's own copy. He does so by indicating that the description of the Duke making crosses beside mistakes with a "plummet" is

demonstrated in the margin against stanza VII, correcting the scribe who wrote unto for undo. This is hardly conclusive, as this could be a joke not out of keeping with the poet's sense of humour, which he displays elsewhere (see page 106), but Howlett does not mention the more decisive factors (such as the Duke's coat of arms painted within the initial 'C' of the text - see plate 1). Howlett then says:

The style of the patron's title mentioned in stanza IX, This kyngis dere vncul & sone and brother, agrees with that of registers from the Abbey of St. Alban and the University of Oxford.

But the description is an obvious one of the Duke, and Howlett, having cleverly introduced the connection between the poet and St. Albans and Oxford, continues to suggest this link. But the description pointing out the Duke's close connection with three kings was frequently used to flatter Duke Humphrey, and this method of ingratiating was not lost on the Italian humanists (14). Howlett continues to suggest this link between the translator and St. Albans by demonstrating how many of the topical references in the Prohemium are reported in Whethamstede's chronicle. These include the death of the notorious outlaw, William Wawe, in 1427 and Duke Humphrey's presence at the burning of a heretical priest at Smithfield and his prosecution of John Sharpe, who had attacked the endowed orders. In stanza VI there is an allusion to Duke Humphrey's tutelage of the infant Henry VI, his Protectorship of England and his Captaincy of Calais, all in the past tense. Stanza VIII may allude generally to Duke Humphrey's advocacy of Orleans' imprisonment or specifically to his affront to the prisoner on the day of his release, according to Howlett (15).

None of these details could be the exclusive preserve of the St. Albans chronicler and would have been common knowledge, and anyone living in the Duke's Household would have known all these facts. Howlett finds an interpretation for 'prest the chirche in rest to londe' (Prohemium, 47) - apparently John Whethamstede sought the Duke's help in renewing the charter of St. Albans' Liberties in 1440 and in settling a dispute in 1442 between him and his successor as abbot, John Stoke. But the phrase is too vague to be thus pinned down with any certainty. The parallel phrases in the stanza are also very general - such as 'Who hath insight to stynte vnright aduerse' - and a general championing of the Church rather than any specific incident is surely being referred to here.

After a discussion of the various translators listed by the Palladius translator, Howlett follows an extraordinary line of argument linking the translator with Whethamstede. Howlett deduces that the translator was not a minor servant of the Duke's because he wrote of himself as one of a most distinguished company and so "he was probably a good friend of Whethamstede". As the Duke belonged to the St. Albans Fraternitiy a servant of his would have come often to St. Albans and could have known Whethamstede well. The translator may have received help with his work from Whethamstede who admired Palladius enough to place his portrait with a verse in a stained glass window in the St. Albans Abbey. One folio of an English text of the capitular tractatus Godfridi super Palladium is still attached to a manuscript of Whethamstede's Granarium (16). Thus, Howlett creates a web of fallacious deduction and distortion

of evidence. In my Introduction, I dismissed the inference that the writer was not a minor servant (p.61); Howlett's assertion that he was "probably a good friend" should be changed to "possibly acquainted with". The Duke certainly was closely associated with St.Albans Abbey, but then, so were many other members of the Royal Family who also "belonged to the St.Albans Fraternity" and "frequented the house on holy days". It is likely that the poet living in Duke Humphrey's Household might have come into contact with Whethamstede on such an occasion - but that in itself need not amount to anything. The fact that Whethamstede mentions Palladius in his poem is irrelevant, as he was well-read and mentions a large number of widely current authors. The prose translation of the Palladius referred to by Howlett is by no means a complete rendering of the original, and the verse translation is a paraphrase of the complete original. Even if the poet had been loaned Whethamstede's tractatus Godfridi it would have been of little use to him. Besides, Duke Humphrey was in possession of the Latin original and the English is undoubtedly a translation of that.

It is from whethamstede's registers that Howlett finds three references to one Thomas Norton who is described variously as "Domini Ducis Gloucestrie Cancellario, suus totus inmo totissimus Johannes Albanensis, olim secum studens" and as "Capellano Domini Ducis Glowcestrie" and again elsewhere as "Capellanus". A few other references to "Thomas Norton" are cited. But this evidence

has little to do with the Palladius translation. It seems to me that Howlett, eager to include an account of the Palladius translation in his thesis on Whethamstede and inspired by the reference in the Prohemium to Whethamstede, builds his evidence into far too solid an edifice.

The piece of evidence with which Howlett concludes his article, however, is not so easy to dismiss. He observes that in the Bodleian facsimile, though not in the Fitzwilliam MS, there are two vertical lines in the margin against stanza XIV:

But that his vertu list vs exercise
And moe as fele as kan in vertu do
He sapient is diligent to wise
Alle ignoraunt and y am oon of the
He taught me metur make, and y soso
Hym counturfete and hope aftir my sorow
In god and hym to glade and aftir woo
To ioy and aftir nyght to sey good morow

It is in the fourth line of this stanza that Howlett perceives a signature in the form of an anagram:

AN ALLEGIAUND AM Y THIO. OF NORTOON

In fact, the two vertical lines in the margin against these lines in the Bodleian facsimile of the Fitzwilliam MS are proof of nothing. Perhaps Howlett is merely implying that someone else also may have spotted the anagram. There is no such word as 'allegiaund'. Although Howlett suggests that the Palladius was translated by one Thomas of Nortoon, he does not suggest where 'Nortoon' might be, nor does he state whether the spelling contained in the anagram is elsewhere attested.

Howlett makes no attempt to investigate the possibilities of a parson in Calais some twenty years later called Thomas Norton who might be responsible for Knyghthode and Bataile and indeed my investigations have produced none.

The question of who was responsible for the Palladius translation remains unanswered, and having reasserted the anonymity of the work, I shall now proceed to examine it.

The anonymous Middle English Translation of Palladius's De re rustica

The Palladius translation stands out from all the other translations made for Duke Humphrey because of its apparent practical rather than purely literary application. It seems likely that the choice of work was Duke Humphrey's rather than the poet's, because the Duke owned a Latin edition of the work, and because of the degree of supervision of the work described.

The poet describes how he was set to work:

He taught me metur make and y soso
 Hym counturfete and hope aftir my sorow
 In god and hym to glade and aftir woo
 To loy, and aftir nyght to sey good morow
 (Prohemium, 109-12)

The strongest suggestion that the task was in fact a commission occurs at the end of the Prohemium:

.....he[@] right my number and mesure @ = Jesus
 That first for hym and thenne his creature
 His princis flour good fruyt & fresh plesaunce
 Vpgrowe on hit in his Agriculture
 Maad at his hest and his Consideraunce.
 (Prohemium, 124-8)

These lines are so confused that it is impossible to be confident about the amount of weight the words carry on a literal and imagistic level. 'Maad at his hest' might just refer to a general request for a work of translation - such as Hoccleve describes in his Dialogue with a Friend. It seems likely that the translation was completed first and then this Prohemium was added on, and as the poet was in the habit of letting the first line of a stanza echo a phrase from the last line of the previous stanza, it is clear that the notion of 'Consideraunce' had to be brought into the final line. This might account for the direction of thinking behind the line and that we are not to take 'hest' too seriously. It would be of course more interesting to accept that a direct commission is being referred to and that Duke Humphrey specifically required an English translation of the Palladius, and perhaps there is a hint of this in the prominent position given to the word 'plesaunce'. The work dates from early 1440. Between 1432 and 1437, Duke Humphrey had expanded his possessions in the immediate neighbourhood of Plesaunce and had acquired some seventeen acres belonging to the Carthusian Monastery of Jesus of Bethlehem at Shene. Vickers's description of Plesaunce evokes an archetype of the 18th Century Country Gentleman's seat:

....he surrounded the manor with a wall, embattled the mansion itself, and built towers and turrets within the park, one of which stood on the spot on which Greenwich Observatory is now placed. The house was surrounded by a park of some two hundred acres, most of which had been enclosed and afforested by special permission of the king.

(Vickers, p.444-5)

One would like to suppose that the Duke noticed the subject of one of his Latin manuscripts and thought that a translation might be useful when he was engaged in planning the gardens at Plesauce. This might provide a slightly altered interpretation for such lines as:

This kyngis dere vncul & sone and brother
Hath god prouect His werkis to conclude
His werkis here or where is suche another
(Prohemium, 70-2)

One might have thought that 'werkis' referred solely to literary works and translations but this might in fact refer to the construction works at Plesauce. But that this is stretching scanty evidence too far is clear when one looks at the sole record on which Vickers's elaborate description of Plesauce is based - see page 86. One should however be cautious in attaching any weight to the inclusion of the word "plesauce" after Ethel Seaton's use of this as her major criterion for establishing connections between much anonymous 15th Century English verse and a circle of writers at Plesauce. The word is so common, because of the useful rhyme it affords, that if one attaches any significance to its inclusion one runs the risk of distortion.

Whether or not the Duke did commission the translation for his own or for more general use, one must ask just how useful a Latin work of the Fourth Century A.D. would have been in Fifteenth Century England. One would be wrong to dismiss the text as only of antiquarian interest. The sort of superstitions

in this advice were probably believed:

Yit for the mous, kest oken askes soo
Aboute her hooles in it that thai may trede;
The scabbe anoon will ryse and hem fordoo.
For eddres, spirites, monstres, thyng of drede,
To make a smoke and stynke is goode in dede.
Brent hertshorne, or gootes cleen, or rootes
Of lilie brente, or galbane all this bote is.
(Book 1,932-8)

Yet one only has to look at some of the practical treatises to realize how difficult the Palladius would have been to use (17), and indeed the poet is keen to cite sources and simulate authority by questioning his sources at times. But as a rough guide to what requires to be done each month on an estate, the Palladius would enable a nobleman to have some knowledge of what his underlings were supposed to be doing. Its range of concern is very wide, describing in detail how to castrate bulls, tame oxen, preserve figs, grow teasles, pomegranates and oranges, rue and cabbages, select horses and breed mules. All this in March alone. Sometimes Palladius is giving the reader detailed instructions in how to do things and sometimes he is describing how nature works. The verity of his observations may be demonstrated in his section on peacocks and peahens. Here his inspired use of English shows that he aimed to do more than merely translate a text:

The cok confesseth emynent cupide
When he his gemmy tail begynneth splay
About himself so faire on every side
That never foul was in so fresh array.
A shuddering, a flusshing, and affray
He maketh thenne, and turneth him aboute
All gold begoon his tail wynges stoute.
(Book 1,624-30)

On several occasions though the translator is moved to express incredulity at the original he is dealing with, as here:

Yf thou desirest that thi gees be tender;
When thai in age be passed XXX daies,
Of figges grounde and water tempered slender
Gobbettes yeve thi gees. But these arayes
To speke of here for nought but myrth and play is;
Yit as myne auctor spak, so wolde I speke,
Seth I translate, and loth am from him breke.

(Book 1,729-35)

It is as though half way through writing the stanza, he suddenly considered his subject matter and found the content so ridiculous that he covers himself against ridicule by passing the responsibility back to Palladius. The same thing occurs not much later :

But that (remedies against mildew) a man must doo full prively
That never a warkman wite, and this goode
For frost, and myst, and wormes sekirly.
But as I trust in Crist that shedde his bloode -
For us, whos tristeth this Y holde him wode.
Myne auctor eke, (who list in him travaile)
Seith this prophaned thyng may nought availe.

(Book 1,841-7)

It is interesting that these two references to Palladius occur near the beginning of the work. As the translation progresses, the poet seems to have had less heart for such extraneous interjections - perhaps he, having set out on his task with great spirit and energy, has reached the point where his chief concern is to reach the end.

It is clear that the Palladius translator could not have expected the work to be used like a manual. Some stanzas like this one concerning preventative measures against hail show this:

Yit efte for hail a crocaddilles hide,
A see calf skynne, or of a lyonesse
Bere uppe about thi lande on evry side,
And whenne thou dredest hail or hevynesse
Lete honge it in thi yates or ingress
Of hous or towne, or thus in thi right hande
A myres tortous bere aboute thi lande.

(Book 1,960-6)

Apart from a few such references to the impossibly exotic the only other subjects which would be unsuitable are possibly olives, peaches, pistaccio, pomegranates, oranges and other such soft fruits. Some of the superstitious advice would have been surpassed by technology. Much of the planting seems to be guided by phases of the moon. Vineyards, though more widespread in the Middle Ages, would not merit the amount of attention given to viticulture, where the vine is dealt with in nearly every month of the year and at or near the beginning of the chapter in every case.

The stanzas comprising the translation are surprisingly fluent considering the arid subject matter. In fact it was an incredible feat of versification just to keep going at all. Much of the versification is pedestrian, such as this typical stanza about the length of hours in July:

Oon gooth of XXII with XI,
And II with X on XII feet goth blyve.
Eke III with IX on VIII extendeth even,
And IIII as VIII abregged is to V.
To V and VII leveth III alyve.
And manly VI in myddes of the day
Stonde forth an houre, and uppon feet by tway.

(Book VIII,155-61)

Occasionally however, the dullest material can become interesting just because of the way it is expressed:

Er thenne this moones Ide in places cold
Beth vynes dolve, and hem that Marche hath lefte
Unsette, lette sette hem nowe. Nowe weeded wold
Thi semynaires be, and dolven efte.
Panyke and mylde in comyn drie is lefte.
To sowe and eree up feeldes fatte and weet,
And weedes tender yette out of hem geet.
(Book V, 51-7)

One can find internal rhyme schemes, alliteration, repetitions, attractive sound patternings such as 'dolve...lefte' followed by 'dolven efte....lefte' and 'lefte Unsette,lette sette'. It can make no claim to being great verse, but, considering the subject matter, it is executed with inspiration.

It is interesting to compare the versifying of the additional material and the actual Palladius translation. The versification is much simpler in the translated material, where the main aim is to preserve the rhythm and the rhyme scheme, which the poet does very competently. Occasionally there are attempts at other poetic devices, but without the somewhat excessive application of them that one finds in the Prohemium. The few interjections in the poet's own voice only slightly reflect the lively character of the additional material. Nevertheless he often manages to achieve the same effect of letting his own sense master the stanzaic form by extraordinary use of enjambement, as here in December:

The letuse in this moone is so to sowe
In ffeueryeer that hit translacioun
May haue. And garlec now in lond is throw;
Vlpike and oynouns in their stacioun
To growe. Ek senvey semynacioun,
And cunel bothe ha now, the disciplyne
Of whom is taught afor and craftis fyne.
(Book XIII, 15-21)

Only the last line is contrived purely to preserve the metre, adding nothing to the meaning. The sentences are not dictated by the line nor indeed is the rhyme scheme, as the internal rhyme of the second sentence - 'throw...growe' - shows.

The poet's references to his author and the translation of the author's references to his authorities - most frequently Columella - show that he saw himself as following the tradition of not merely translating the material before him but also of making small alterations to the text. Generally he does follow his original but the nature of his additions indicates an interesting attitude towards the idea of making a translation. The more common method of executing a commissioned translation was to append a dedication to the patron at the beginning of the work and possibly at the end too.

The Palladius translator felt at liberty to add and omit material and to break into the translating in his own voice and make comments about the text. I shall deal with this extraneous matter in the next section, but in the present context it is interesting to note that whereas the Colchester Castle MS scribe edited out the Prohemium and the epilogues to the

introductory chapter and to January and February, the epilogues to the remaining books are left in. The criterion behind this editing is unclear - the overt references to Duke Humphrey are extinguished. This makes slight nonsense in some of the other epilogues where there is reference to an unspecified duke, patron or prince, such as here at the end of April:

Honour be to The, fflour of flouris. Ay
Thy princis werk asay fro derk vpborn
So make, as heer y take ayeyn At May.
(Book V, 216-18)

The fact that the scribe did not edit out these stanzas shows that he was not so much concerned to present an unadulterated version of the Palladius as to eradicate the connection with Duke Humphrey. Possibly this was politically motivated as the references might have been embarrassing after Duke Humphrey's probable assassination and certain fall from grace. The fact that two manuscripts occur, one with the references to the Duke merely omitted in the transcription and the other with the references to Duke Humphrey cut out of the manuscript, implies that the text was considered to have a value in its own right. The combination of the literary presentation and the at times exotic and antiquarian interest of the content suggests that the Palladius translation was a practical manual designed for someone at a remove from day-to-day husbandry, yet nevertheless, keen to take an interest.

The Poet's Additions

It is a curious paradox that the closest and most vital of the relationships in which Duke Humphrey acted as a patron of English literature should have been with an anonymous poet. It is no wonder that this facet of the poem's curious nature has preoccupied its critics, for although we lack the poet's name, we glimpse more of the man's character, temperament, and his opinion of and relationship with Duke Humphrey than the internal evidence of any other of Duke Humphrey's commissions allows us to see. In addition, there is the deliberate heightening of the anonymity by the mention in the Prohemium of the names of four other men who also translated some works for the Duke.

The work is unusually easy to date with precision because of the highly topical content. It must have been written between Duke Humphrey's gift of books to the University of Oxford in 1439 and the termination of the controversy over the liberation of Charles, Duke of Orleans, in November 1440. When I stated in the section comparing the work with Knyghthode and Bataille that it seemed possible that the poet was influenced by contemporary political verse (see p.78), it is clear that when executing the Palladius translation he had other sources of information about Duke Humphrey. There is a marginal note beside the lines describing the Duke's gift of books to Oxford:

At Oxenford thys lord his bookis fele
Hath euery clerk at werk They of hem gete
(Prohemium, 89-90)

The note glosses 'bookis fele' with 'plures s.CXXX' written in the same hand as the text. Gloucester gave 129 books to Oxford in November 1439 and 135 volumes in 1443. It seems likely that the poet was somehow involved in the mechanics of the donation and wanted to emphasise both the size of it and his own personal knowledge on the subject. It is possible that - because of his assured position in the Duke's favour and the precision of the detail and range of his knowledge of the Duke's affairs and also the degree to which his own character impinges on the work - he did not feel he had to attach his own name to the Palladius as he was unmistakably its author. Perhaps he was so well known to Duke Humphrey that he did not feel the need to promote his own name.

This perhaps is borne out by the further heightening of the anonymity - or so at least it would seem to a reader frustrated by the tantalising inclusion of personal details in such an enigmatic way - by the introduction of autobiographical details preceding the circumstances of the translation and then the deliberate withdrawal of the poet:

And hym that held as doubil mortal foo
Ten yeer my self and myne in wrong oppresse
And yit my chirche and al my good me fro
Hath in effect yit treste y god redresse
But this matere as here is not texpresse
As y seide erst in hope y thynke abide
And to that princis werk my wit compresse
My wronge my woo my care y sette aside
(Prohemium, 113-20)

Duke Humphrey was clearly a patron to him in more than just the literary sense, having provided him with shelter and help against his enemies. As he lives 'in hope' of redress he obviously hopes to strengthen his position with the Duke and gain more help. The precise meaning of 'doubil mortal foo' is open to conjecture. Presumably it means that the enemy was an enemy on two counts darkly hinted at or possibly explained in the next two lines, an enemy to him and his church. If the parson of Calais was already in Orders at the time of writing the Palladius, perhaps this refers to his being held from preferment in some way. Imprisonment might be the implication here - it is known that Duke Humphrey caused much unease at his presumption in releasing from prison without authority and giving sanction to a certain Friar Randolphe who had been committed to the Tower on a charge of treason. This is probably the same Friar Randolphe responsible for the astrological tables 'Canones pro tabulis ejus (i.e. Duke Humphrey) astronomicis secundum Fratrem Randolfe' (18). I am not suggesting in any way that Friar Randolphe was responsible for the Palladius but it seems likely that the poet may have been released on the Duke's authority whilst he was still Lord Lieutenant in much the same way as the Friar. The vagueness of the cryptic details about himself are in direct contrast to the detailed picture we are given of the Duke, and although one might certainly expect the emphasis of the description to be *on the*

patron rather than the author, the deliberate introduction of these personal insights followed by the withdrawal from the limelight can only excite the reader's curiosity. It is the converse of the self advertisement that one might expect and which one finds in Knyghthode and Bataile.

The relationship between Duke Humphrey and the translator was not merely one of a poet and patron, for the poet clearly had much to be grateful to Duke Humphrey for. This would account for the unusually genuine ring of the panegyric, which is more than a mere string of superlatives.

The verse of the Prohemium and epilogues is extremely ambitious. E.P.Hammond speaks of the 'clarity of intention, a sureness of phrasing and manipulation of rhythm and a variety of breath length' but also of the 'difficulty in fitting speech to such a form' and how the poet is 'driven to twist syntax or force the senses of words' (19). This is exemplified in the opening stanza of the Prohemium. Here the confusion of idea which muddles Duke Humphrey with the 'AlCreatour' serves to point the parallel drawn between God and Duke Humphrey's tending of both agriculture and art. This parallel will be drawn again several times; in l.29 he describes the Duke as 'the Sapient secounde' - God's deputy - and in Book I,1194-5, Gloucester is thus compared:

But God, me semeth, best thou mayst resemble
ffor verite, Iustice, and mansuetude.....

Between the first and second stanza, the echo is used to strengthen this parallel, for in the first instance 'his excellence' refers to Duke Humphrey, and in the second, to God:

Hym be So sende he me sense and science
Of my balade away to rade errour
Pallade and do t(o gl)ade his excellence

His excellence O trine and oon eterne
Almyghty lord Alsapyent al good
Thy Prouidence as sterismon and sterne.....
(Prohemium,6-11)

Clever this may be, but the confusion hinders a reading; having struggled through the sense of the first stanza one is then confronted with the repetition of 'his excellence' which is now referring back to the 'AlGreatour', although this only becomes clear in the 'trine and oon', the other adjectives could just be excessive eulogy for Duke Humphrey.

I have already mentioned the continual use of agricultural imagery in this Prohemium to an agricultural treatise when discussing the use of military imagery in the extraneous material in the Vegetius translation. The poet is keen to clarify why Duke Humphrey and agriculture should be linked. At the start he links the tending of nature and the tending of art - that is, the supervising of the poet's own work and also the commissioning of a work which will promote the practice of husbandry - each being looked after by Duke Humphrey under the direction of the Divine Creator of both nature and art. Thus a treatise on good husbanding is an appropriate

commission from a patron who, in this relationship, is 'husbanding' art. If in the Prohemium one suspects that the translator equates the relationship of poet and patron with that of a feudal lord and his agricultural worker, in the epilogue to the First Book, such an equation is made explicit:

And heer an ende as of this firste book
Of husbondrie, and ther beth other twelue
Vntouchid yit that y not vndirtok
To do. But thus y seide vnto my selue
'Y wul assay hem vp to plowe & delue'.
A lord to plese, how swete is to laboure;
ffor that men heue and shoue and ouerwhelue.
Lo thus hit is, and thus y Crist honoure;
(Book I, 1170-7)

The deft mingling of words used of patronage and translating and also of agriculture - 'labour.....lord.....assay' - with specifically agricultural imagery is obvious but uncontrived. There is also perhaps the subtler suggestion that the twelve unploughed books are like an unploughed field which needs twelve months' work done on it to bring the cycle of a year's toil to completion. The feudal relationship whereby a serf honours Christ by pleasing his temporal lord is paralleled in the last line by the idea that the translator is honouring Christ by pleasing Duke Humphrey with his translation.

The translator does not confine his use of agricultural imagery to his discussion of his labour. It is present in his description of Duke Humphrey's learning:

In gramer ground of al growyng logic
ffor fruyt and rethoric to florifie
(Prohemium, 79-80)

There are four references to 'vertu' as a human quality in the Prohemium such as in stanza 5, which describes Duke Humphrey in general terms :

Whos vertu seyn and doon disport aright
Resort han summe ayeyn wt gret honour
And yiftis grete and summe vnder this flour
(Prohemium, 35-7)

After a recitation of Duke Humphrey's military prowess the translator comments:

Wel myght a kynge of suche a flour enjoye
To seen hit sprynge in fyn odour & huys
Strenght & savour hym oueral to ioy
In whos fauour science and al vertu is
(Prohemium, 61-4)

The next stanza picks up on 'vertu' as the link word and uses it solely in the sense of a human quality :

Uertu is fonde if goldon Sapience
Haue intellect and consel ffortitude
If pite stonde enaured wt science
(Prohemium, 65-7)

It is clear however that in the two previous instances where 'vertu' is being used in conjunction with the image of the Duke as a flower, that the word acquires the additional meaning explained most adequately by its most celebrated instance at the opening of the Canterbury Tales 'Of which vertu engendred is the flour'. But in fact one does not need to venture beyond the poem to prove that a double meaning is intended, for 'vertu' is here used solely in its agricultural sense:

To the doth yer & hour, persone & place,
Erthe, aier, fir, see, gresse, herbe, odour, vertu;
(Book II, 458-9)

The image of Duke Humphrey as a flower is a recurrent one I have already quoted the opening stanza where the image of the flower of princes is introduced at the very beginning of the work. This is the most conventional use of the image. In lines 61-4 of the Prohemium, Duke Humphrey is called a 'flour'. These images recur throughout the epilogues to the separate Books, as here in that to Book I, where the poet is exercising the possibilities of eulogy:

Serenous prince! or thus: O princis flour!
Or thus: O prince in pees and duc in werre.
Or nay: O Goddis knyght and Cristis tour!
(Book I, 1186-8)

The final stanza of the whole work picks up the recurrent image, directing its meanings together with a remarkable strength:

My wit, my word, my werk The magnifieth,
O kyngis Kynge, O Lord of lordis hie,
whos grace a princis flour honorifieth,
That in nature hym like is noon to trie.
Gramerci, Lord.....
(Book XIII, 79-83)

The author and his work are strongly present in the words 'My wit, my word, my werk' but 'The magnifieth' refers to God and not to the immediate patron, and the parallel phrases rhyming 'magnifieth...honorifieth' and the order of phrasing equate the patron, author and work in an act of glorifying God, thus giving the act of patronage a religious context.

The image of the 'princis flour' which has become established during the course of the poem as an epithet for Duke Humphrey strengthens both the contrasts and the comparisons between the author's earthly and heavenly patrons. That Christ sprung from the Tree of Jesse is alluded to in the epilogue to the First Book:

Laude, ymne, honour, empire & songe vnto
The flour of Iesse spronge in Bethleem
(Book I, 1178-9)

In the final stanza of the work, Duke Humphrey is merely a 'princis flour' - not the more elevated unique specimen that the very same words had singled him out as being in earlier uses in the poem - and this contrasts with Christ, who is unparalleled in the nature which the treatise is dealing with. But paradoxically, to denigrate Duke Humphrey by comparison to Christ is to elevate him by the unstated implication that comparison and contrast is possible.

The use of the image of Duke Humphrey as a flower of princes is a remarkably apt use of a conventional image or phrase. A spray of flowers was one of the heraldic badges of the Duke, still to be seen in St. Albans Abbey, carved around his tomb, and also in lead retainers' badges preserved in the Museum of London (20) - See Appendix II. In Knyghthode and Bataile the poet shows a marked interest in heraldic badges:

The golden Eagle and his briddys III
Her bellys ha they broke and jessys lorne;
The siluer Bere his lynkys al to fle
And bare is he behinde & eke before;
The lily whit lyoun alas, forsworne.....
(Knyghthode and Bataile, III, 992-6)

Thus the Palladius translator, who might otherwise be accused of a rather too frequent use of a conventional epithet which happens to fit rather neatly with the idea of husbandry, is fully justified in his excess, for the image strongly laces the work with the patron's heraldry.

The overcrowding thought produces confusion at times but the texture of the language is rich and one gains an impression of the enthusiastic and exuberant character of the poet. His relationship with Duke Humphrey was obviously close. The description of the Duke surpasses mere eulogy. The Duke evidently had a liking for the detail of his life to be recorded; Capgrave is alleged to have written a 'Life' of Duke Humphrey (see page 301) and the 'Titus' mentioned in l. 103 of the Prohemium wrote a celebration of the Duke's military exploits, the Humfroidos. Possibly the Prohemium was inspired by a reading of one of these, or perhaps the biographical details were part of the commission. Duke Humphrey evidently had a taste for being celebrated in verse. The Duke's success over Philip of Burgundy's taking of Calais in 1436, the Duke's hanging of the heretics Sharp and Wawe, his bid to keep the Duke of Orleans in custody, the Duke's gifts of books to Oxford and his patronage of Whethamstede, Pers de Monte, Tito Livio Frulovisi and Anthonio Beccaria are all crowded in so that the Prohemium is unusually precise in its detail for a piece of dedication eulogy. Hammond argues that the

Palladius translator was closely associated with the Duke because of his realization that Duke Humphrey wanted his piety commemorated.⁽²¹⁾ It is possible that these references could have been derived from common knowledge, but it is in the descriptions of the mechanisms of the poet-patron relationship that one can truly judge how closely associated writer and patron in fact were.

At the end of Book I, the Palladius translator sends the work so far completed to the Duke:

To the these incorrectid versis rude,
Noot y not why ner how mys metrified,
Thus ofre y, praiyng thy celcitude
Do that my wrong and they be iustified.
(Book I, 1198-201)

He seems to be asking Duke Humphrey to correct his metre as earlier he had described how the Duke had taught him 'metur make'. It is impossible to know how to take these lines, as it is not impossible that Duke Humphrey had an interest in Latinate English verse (22), and yet this sort of self-deprecation where the patron's superiority in literary matters is asserted is a common element in the patronage relationship. In his chapter on "The Epilogue excusatory and the "Go Little Book" formula," Holzknecht describes the element:

.....which contain the author's address of humility in which he says his book is finished, and as it goes forth, he begs his reader or his patron to forgive his rudeness, to correct his work where it is erring or at least to overlook it, for he means well.
(23)

In the dedication of his translation of Boethius, John Walton addresses his patron:

Beseching to your noble excellence
pat be your help it may amended be
(24)

Chaucer employed the same formula in the address to Gower and Strode appended to Troilus and Criseyde :

To vouchen sauf, ther nede is, to correcte,
Of youre benignite~~s~~ and zeles goode.
(25)

The Palladius translator describes his work as 'incorrectid versis rude' and his next stanza refers again to the idea of correction:

My bone is graunt and to correctioun
That half is doon; that other half mot strnde
In hope as yit vndir protectioun.
(Book I, 1203-5)

However, the poet's confidence is shaken by the time he reaches the end of the next Book for he describes how his mistakes are corrected:

A(nd) now my lord biholdith on his book.
ffor sothe al nought, he gynnyth crossis make
With a plummet and y noot whow his look,
His cheer is straunge, eschaunge. Almeest y quake,
ffor ferd y shrynke away, no leue y take.
ffarwel, my lord! do forth for y am heer,
And metur muse out of this prosis blake.
And heer y wul sette on At ffeueryeer.
(Book II, 480-7)

The first three lines resemble accurate reporting but the tone changes abruptly and one can regard the rest of the stanza as a comic self-portrait, perhaps an already established

joke between master and pupil if Duke Humphrey really did teach the poet to 'metur make', or a joke between patron and poet which makes use of the formula identified by Holzknecht.

This curious self-parody directed at both himself and Duke Humphrey implies that the two were on very good terms. Of course the stanza is not pure fantasy because of the consistency with which the poet tells us that Duke Humphrey taught him to versify (whether or not we believe in the actual teaching, at the very least the poet is exaggerating, and the Duke merely encouraged the poet) but this is not the only instance where a humorous vein can be detected. In the epilogue to Book VIII, the poet says:

That sensis spille, or poynt disioynt be thrymne
Is not my wille, and yit in hit is she
Myn ignoraunce; and why, noot y; but he
That she myschaunce - he pricke or nicke hit theer -
Thy prince y mene; as mene or nought hit be
He rynce, yf Aust be faust Nygh Septembeer.
(Book VIII, 164-9)

Such a third person description of the man to whom the work is directed must be humorous. He blames his ignorance, making her female rather as Adam blamed Eve in the Garden of Eden when he had eaten the fruit and was confronted with his sin. There is an internal rhyme in every single line of the stanza, the effect of which is to echo the disjointing, the tussle between 'will' and 'ignorance', the 'pricke or nicke'. The use of the word 'mene' in two different senses has the same effect. At the beginning of the stanza it is clear that the month of July

has been dealt with and that August is to be dealt with next. Thus when he says 'yf Aust be faust Nygh Septembeer' to create an echo for the beginning of Book IX, 'Nygh Septembur Kalende, at Austis ende', he is deliberately incorporating something faulty into the verse to be corrected by the process the stanza describes. Thus, the cross beside the incorrect use of 'unto' for 'undo' in the Prohemium, 1.52 which Howlett took to be a demonstration of Duke Humphrey at work 'he gynneth crossis make', I suspect to be a deliberate device. An example of the humour with which the poet embraces his role in the patronage relationship. Rather than genuinely feeling his inadequacies as a versifier, he is so supremely confident of his use of language that he can parody his own situation. The work is so much the product of the system of patronage - displaying so energetically and enthusiastically all the prerequisite dedicatory eulogy and begging - that the author is deliberately embracing his situation and over-accomplishing the rules.

The Palladius translator was better acquainted with the Duke than anyone else who acquired his patronage, so closely associated, in fact, that he was able to introduce a highly unusual element into the relationship between poet and patron, the kind of humour that is a gently mocking parody. Lydgate's Epistle is also humorous (see page 146) but the humour is designed to gloss over the tricky question of money. The Palladius-translator is enjoying the role-playing. One notices

that the Palladius was written at a time when the Duke's patronage had become extensive (see page 308) and it seems that the translator, well aware that he was joining in with something of a cult, gently parodies and greatly enjoys what he is doing.

In D.R.Howlett's thesis, the text of the Prohemium is given with the colour-scheme in which it is written in the Fitzwilliam MS indicated by underlining. Howlett did not mention that all the other stanzas extraneous to the translation are also written in colour in the Fitzwilliam MS. It is this feature of the MS which clinches the suggestion that this was the copy presented to Duke Humphrey, for when he took it in his hands, all the stanzas addressed to him are readily discernible. Plate 1 shows the end of the Prohemium and the beginning of the text of the translation with the Duke's coat of arms painted into the 'C' of 'Consideraunce'. The text of the extraneous matter is written in dark reddish-purple, scarlet green, gold and blue. The hand is the same as that responsible for writing the text. The text itself is colourful but in a standard way, red is used for headings, blue and red initials like the 'I' commencing the third stanza of the text in Plate 1 are fairly common and the first letter of each line is generally marked in red. The first letter of each stanza, if not given the ornate scrolling bestowed on the 'I', is generally written large in red or blue. This sort of rubrication, where titles and odd words and initial letters are picked out

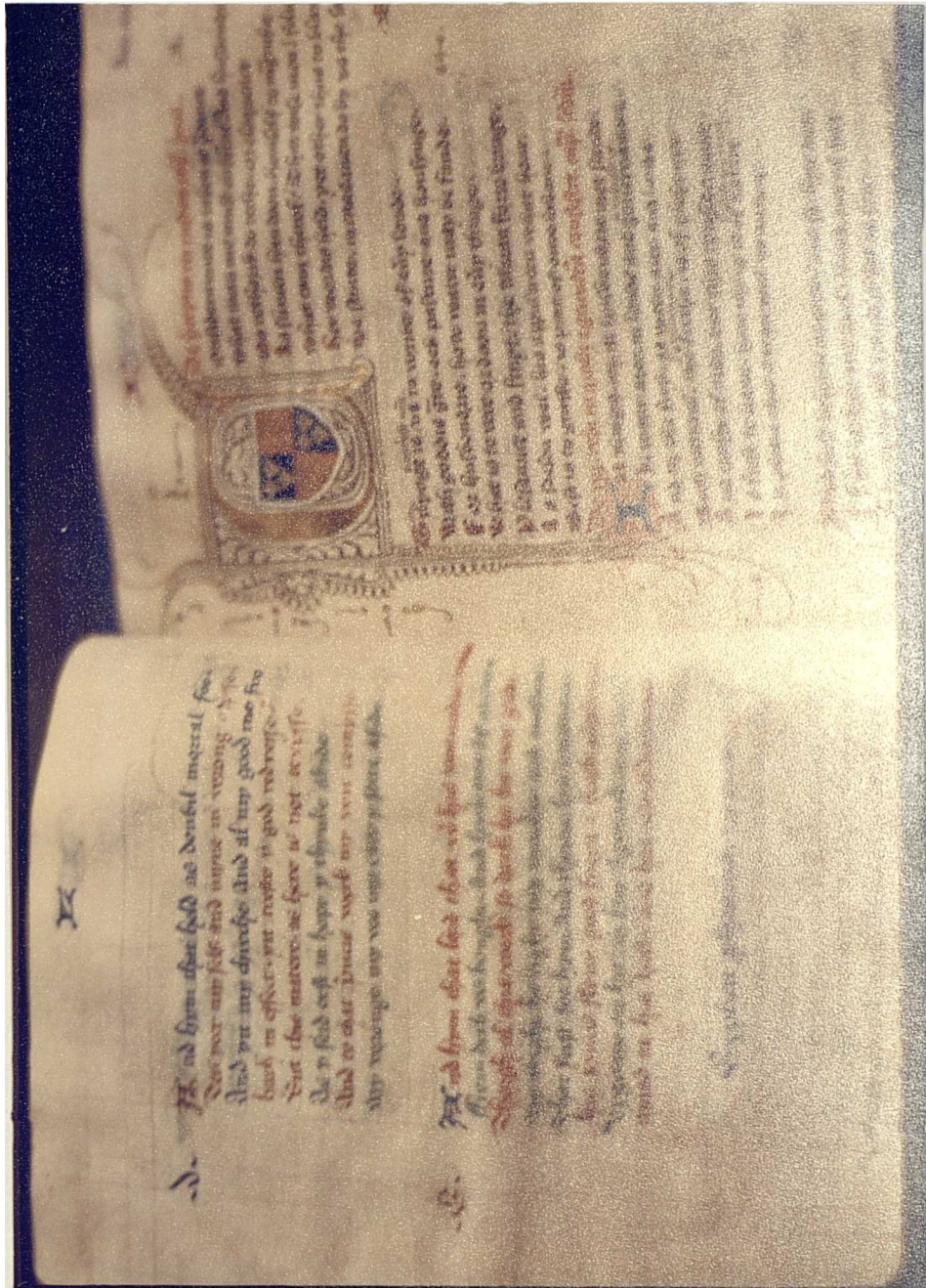


Plate 1 : Fitzwilliam MS ff.12^v-13^r

is not uncommon (26) and looking at Plate 1 one can discern how the scribe felt inspired to exaggerate the usual technique when writing the matter extraneous to the translation. I say the 'scribe' but from henceforth I shall return to calling him the poet because this method of presentation is so much in keeping with the technique of the writing, that I am convinced the same inspiration is at work.

Plate 2 shows the stanza written at the end of September and is an example of how the extraneous matter can be quickly detected. Plate 3 shows folio 1, the beginning of the Prohemium, which contains the only very large decorated initial in the manuscript (27). As the extraneous matter stands out so clearly from the text, the task of editing out or cutting out the material was made easy (as in Bod.Lib. Add.A. 369 and Hunterian MS. 104), and Duke Humphrey's association with the work was also accentuated.

The rhyme scheme is so complicated that I shall tabulate the first eight stanzas to demonstrate:

I	aaB	II	abC	III	abC	IV	aaB	V	abC	VI	aaB	VII	abB	VIII	abC
	aaC		deF		abD		ccD		baD		aaC		ccD		abD
	ddB		abC		efC		eeB		efC		ddB		eeB		efC
	ddC		deF		efD		ffD		feD		ddC		ffD		efD
	eeC		deF		ghD		ggD		ghD		eeC		ggD		ghD
	eeF		egH		ghI		hhI		hgI		eeF		hhI		ghI
	ggC		deF		jkD		jjD		jkD		ggI		jjD		jkD
	ggF		egH		jkI		kkI		kjI		ggF		kkI		jkI

The poet never mixes internal and end-rhyme. When you consider the feat involved in sustaining such incredible rhyme patterns in English, it is not surprising that the sense at times

De hantis dromis et hantibus

September ende is grey & xiij
And next creche ende is xij
And thirde is x and fith is xij
And fith is x. and none on in fith
As in tre hem first. and after
As in April in fith is fith the same.
In order speche. if y be not to blime.

Septemb is a veyde honore -- emperour
foure ymme & the astende vnto our eterne
Almightie lord - that wolde vs alle enspire
In wech his word to holde. of gylte wipynge
of synne in our curent - hym wolde we wite
of his flour. -- so beut and holde vs here
So fle - fro synne and derk fro stryffynge
So me - to pynne. a word - at charyte.

De aduocis et mris et ordo curiarum a d. p. d.

October is wher i aduocis fowre
Just puryng of hem in fire & halowin
Of nouembur until in ihus drom
Of december & thremon is fur or ende
This monis is dougt & mris out in drom
This monis of is some drom & mris
I end here of fast an drom is for his drom.

Plate 2 : Fitzwilliam MS. f.61^r

becomes confused, it would be more surprising if it did not.

The poet's interest in the epilogues appears to decline as the work proceeds. Five stanzas follow both the Introductory Book and Book II, January, then three follow February, two March and one follows each of the other Books until December when there are two stanzas. The epilogue to Book I is remarkable for its variety and ingenuity. It appears to set a pattern which is followed in the January epilogue and then condensed and compressed thereafter. The first stanza reviews the task in hand, the next praises God and then moves on to Duke Humphrey, praising him and commending the present work to him. I have already discussed the agricultural imagery of the first stanza. The phrase 'Vntouchid yit that y not vndirttook to do' is slightly worrying. As it stands, the phrase implies that the poet only promised to translate the first book of Palladius for Duke Humphrey and has decided to perform the much larger task of translating the whole work. But probably the poet's intended meaning is distorted and means only that he has not done the job yet. The poet then breaks into prayer at the beginning of the second stanza and the words of the prayer recur throughout the epilogues; culminating in their use in the strange incantatory prayer of the penultimate stanza of the December epilogue. In this first epilogue, the prayer is one of thanksgiving for the poet's fortunate liberation:

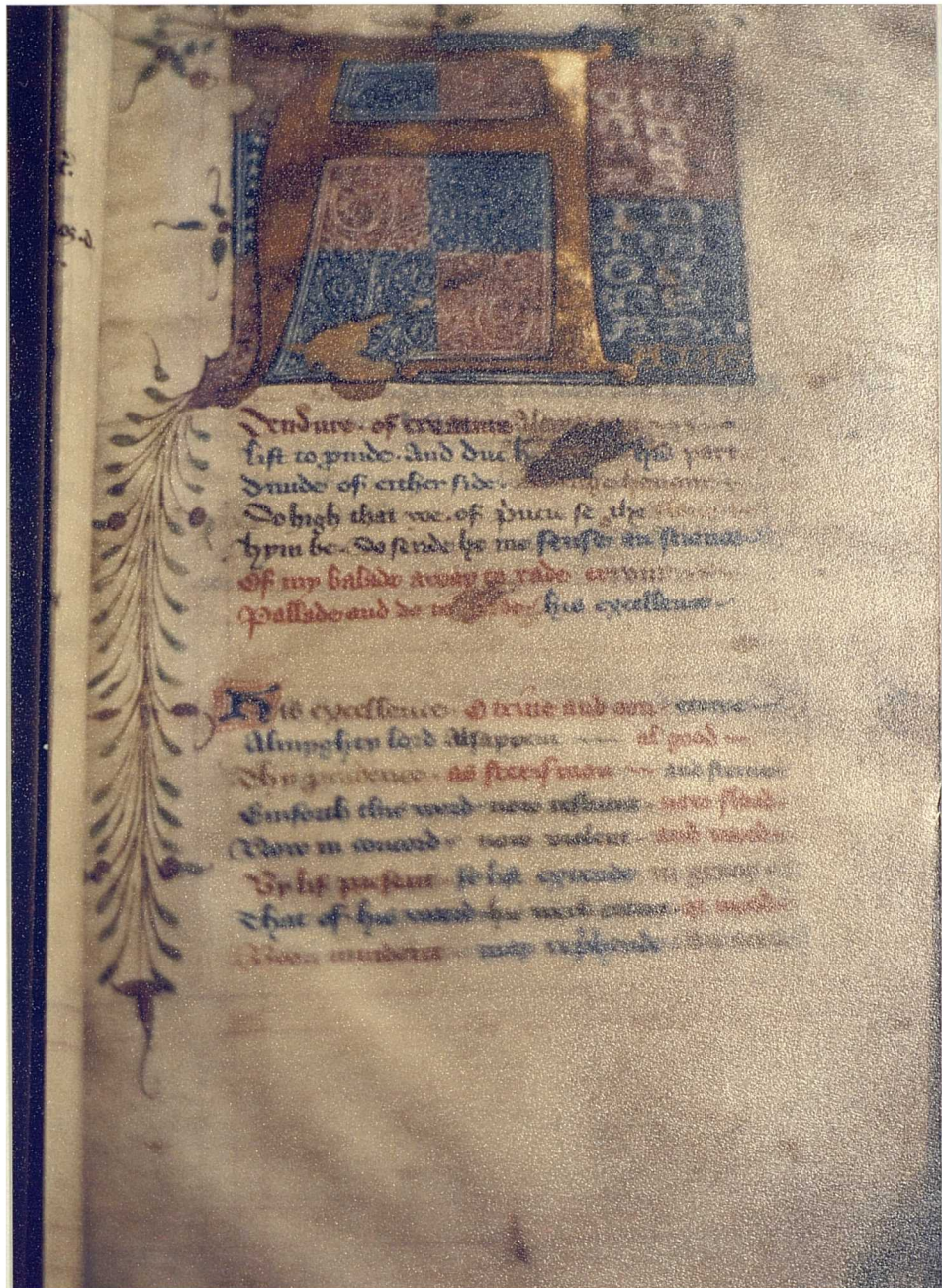


Plate 3 : Fitzwilliam MS, f.10^r

ffor now is goon, hope y, the werre of hem
 My foon, and y doon nerre His prince Humfrey.
 This incorrect, aferd lest fuke oi' wem
 Enfect, y to this duc direct, and sey
 (Book I, 1182-5)

The eulogy for Duke Humphrey which follows is thus to make up for any errors in his work. Not only is such blatant behaviour somewhat comic, but the eulogy that follows also reads like a parody of ingratiating eulogy. It is typical of the poet that he should experiment in the different ways of addressing his patron, but his attempts to outstrip himself in *praise for* his patron can either be regarded as designed for the Duke's amusement or as suffering from the poet's over-eagerness.

Serenous prince! or thus : O princis flour!
 Or thus : O prince in pees and duc in werre!
 Or nay : O Goddis knyght and Cristis tour!
 Or ellis thus: O londis lif and sterre
 Of light! Or ellis : Thynges of thyngis derre! -
 Or y noot what, excedyng so nature,
 That who thow art to saye my wittis erre.
 Not only god ner oonly creature.
 (Book I, 1186-93)

'Thynges of thyngis derre' perhaps has a banal ring only to the modern ear, but the way the poet resorts to the "inexpressibility topos" when he obviously has run out of inspiration and is exasperated (rather than because he finds his subject too great to be expressed) is rather comic.

The epilogue to Book II follows a similar pattern of referring back to the work accomplished and forward to the task yet to do, praising God and then Duke Humphrey and then submitting the work for examination and correction. At the

end of Book III, the poet contracts the same material into three stanzas. At the end of March, Book IV, Liddell prints two stanzas, though it is clear from the manuscript that there should only be one here, and one set as a prologue to April. Thus the stanza at the end of March compresses the usual epilogue material into one stanza with omissions:

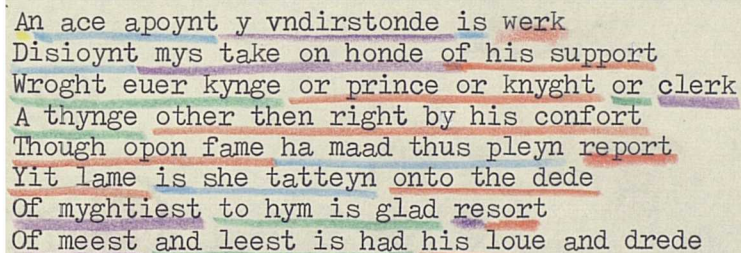
Now March is doon, and to correctioun
His booke is goon, as other dede afore,
Of hym that seid "y thy protectioun
ffrom al thy foon aduersaunt, lesse and more"
And his bihest stedfast is euermore.
Honour, empire, and iubilatioun
To Iesu Crist in special therefore -
My Lif. my Light. my right Sauacioun.

Epilogues thenceforward become perfunctory and references to Duke Humphrey increasingly oblique. Perhaps the poet became disillusioned with *his task* because Duke Humphrey lost interest or was not as grateful as the poet expected. He obviously did not fall out with the Duke, as there is an oblique reference to him in the final stanza - 'Whos grace a princis flour honorifieth' - but he clearly did not finish the work with the enthusiasm with which he set out. Perhaps the cause of this is inherent in the material itself, for although the poet does his best with some of the rather mundane material (see p. 91). it was the idea of executing the translation for Duke Humphrey and all that that entailed rather than the piece of work itself which appealed to the poet. This is borne out by the presentation of the MS destined for the Duke, where the enthusiasm behind the extraneous material is

very evident.

The colour-scheme in which the extraneous material is written in the presentation manuscript is an extraordinary accomplishment, supremely matching the extraordinary complexity of the writing. The colours highlight the verbal patterning, underpinning what the writer is doing in the verse so that the reader does not miss the extensive and complicated system. The system of colour matches the contrived intricacy of the complicated construction so well that it convinces one that the poet and the scribe are the same person - or, at any rate, if the scribe was not the poet then he was copying exactly a method originally executed by the poet. The scribe completely understood the structure of the verse writing and was consistently correct, despite the intricacy of what he was doing, which indicates that the poet was responsible for devising a colour-scheme to match his writing.

Any stanza will serve to demonstrate what the poet does - stanza 3 of the Prohemium for instance:



An ace apoynt y vndirstonde is werk
Disioynt mys take on honde of his support
Wroght euer kyng or prince or knyght or clerk
A thyng other then right by his confort
Though opon fame ha maad thus pleyn report
Yit lame is she tatteyn onto the dede
Of myghtiest to hym is glad resort
Of meest and leest is had his loue and drede

Differentiating the colour of the first letter of the stanza is

standard technique throughout the manuscript where the letter is differentiated in blue or gold in the extraneous material and in blue or red in the text. The colours break the stanza up into units of sense and there is generally another word or phrase in the same colour with which a unit of sense will rhyme. The exceptions are interesting; 'or clerk' 1.3 parallels the phrase in 1.1 'is werk'. Because 'is' is a different colour from 'werk', 'or' had to be a different colour from 'clerk' but 'is' and 'or' do not relate to each other and so could not be in the same colour. As the poet wanted to highlight the different sets of internal rhymes 'vndirstonde.....honde' and 'werk.....clerk' he (having decided to use purple because his colours were now fully employed) had to break up 'y vndirstonde' from 'werk' and so 'is' is in a different colour. Presumably when he started to write 'resort' in purple he managed to correct the ending in time so that the red accorded with 'confort'. This is one of his few errors - if indeed this is the error, for it seems likely that he intended to write 'report' to match 'resort' and that in fact was the error.

It is in the final epilogue to the Palladius translation that the poet's technique reaches its peak of cleverness. The penultimate stanza looks like this:

Laude,	ymne,	honour	be	to	the	fflour	Iesu
Ymne	vnto	the	our	right,	our	soulis	light
Honour	the	do	good	werk,	life,	light,	vertu
Be	our	good	Lord	gouernyng	al	our	myght;
To	right	werk	gouernyng	yef	vs	wit,	right;
The	our	lif	al,	vs	fosturing	right	thus
fflour,	soulis	light,	our,	wit	right	to the	dight
Iesu,	light,	vertu,	myght,	right	thus	dight	vs

The first line is identical to the first words of each line just as the last line is identical to the last words of each line. This is emphasised by the way the words are written in columns and the colours form columns and each column downwards matches a line across, and the fact that the first and last lines and the first and last columns are in gold highlights the completeness of the structure. The lines have the cryptic quality of the precise prayers contained in mottos or posie rings (28) and the stanza has a mystical self-containment, the endlessness of a ring or an incantatory chant.

The words of the stanza, and indeed of the final stanza, recall phrases which have occurred throughout the work and acquired by this stage a pattern of meaning which has built up during the course of the work. The references to 'vertu' and 'fflour' I have already discussed. The final stanza is restrained (by comparison with the business of the versification elsewhere) but there is a magnificent dignity in the alliteration and deliberateness of the repetition :

My wit, my word, my work The magnifieth,
O kyngis Kynge, O Lord of lordis hie

The simplicity of the colour-scheme - the final stanza is mainly alternate lines of gold and purple - reflects the somewhat grander, simpler writing.

The writer of the Fitzwilliam MS and the Palladius translation

took pains to execute for Duke Humphrey a work which was carefully designed to satisfy the patron. And indeed, as the autobiographical details betray, the writer's close knowledge of the Duke, the Duke's Household and other translators who worked for the Duke, would have made the writer highly aware of what would please. The Fitzwilliam MS is evidence that the Duke took particular delight in material written specially for him. The MS is designed so that the patron could rapidly identify the parts written for him. It is interesting that the writer chose this method of self-ingratiation rather than perhaps a more ornate production. Despite the quantity of written material dedicated to the Duke, there are scarcely any of the commonly found illustrations of the writer presenting his work to a patron (29). The Palladius translator neither included such a common device nor found it necessary to greatly embellish his MS. This corroborates the suggestion, based on extant volumes belonging to the Duke, that Duke Humphrey was not altogether particularly keen on illuminated manuscripts for the sake of the illuminations, and valued the content more than the illumination (30). From the Fitzwilliam MS we can deduce what would have pleased the Duke. A cleverness in the scribal activity - the colours, the way the first line of the Prohemium is written (see plate 3), the way the incantatory penultimate stanza is written out in columns - is made to underpin the verbal cleverness. The writer had

observed the Duke's fondness for being celebrated in verse and was careful to include autobiographical details and then incorporate a coat of arms at the beginning of the text. How far the work was really supervised is impossible to assess, but the writer obviously enjoyed implying the Duke's literary superiority, saying that he had learnt his trade from the Duke, to whom he submitted his work for correction. The collaboration over the work thus conjured up is designed to enhance both poet and patron alike. The writer does not feel the need to refer to himself by name, he assumes that his audience will know to whom 'and y laste ofre' (stanza 13, Prohemium) refers. The audience for the work would appear then to be members of the immediate Household for whom an illumination of patron and poet would be unnecessary. The manuscript was made for use and enjoyment. The humour I have described as evident in the extraneous material would have been appreciated by an intimate circle who knew each other and would have appreciated the jokes - including perhaps the fellow translators referred to specifically. All the features of the writing and the manuscript suggest that the Fitzwilliam MS was designed to be read and enjoyed by the patron and his circle.

CHAPTER I : Part 2

Duke Humphrey's Patronage of John Lydgate

John Lydgate has the distinction of being the only man who wrote for Duke Humphrey in English of whose work more than one such piece is still extant (31). Thus Lydgate, alone, enables one to observe how the relationship developed between Duke Humphrey and a man who wrote for him. For the purpose of the present study this is the prime interest of Lydgate's writing. Lydgate evidently had a clear notion of the concept of patronage; he saw that patronage could be beneficial to poet and patron alike, and he certainly perceived how to engineer such a system to his advantage. Holzknacht says that 'it is in Lydgate that we find the complete early fifteenth century court poet' (32). He then describes the range of Lydgate's works:

He not only wrote such ambitious works as Troy Book and the Life of Our Lady for his sovereign, saints' legends and interpretations of the mass for the good court ladies and monasteries, but he ministered also to the wants of the court by penning light mummings and to the general public as well in the verses for painted cloths, for the walls of guildhalls and even St.Pauls for verses to be put in the city chronicles or to be scattered as broadsides.

(33)

Pearsall indicates the extent of the patronage Lydgate received, mentioning the commissions for the Troy Book (by Henry V) and the Fall of Princes (by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester) and then listing his other noble patrons:

.....Lydgate could count Henry VI, Queen Katherine, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of warwick and the countess of Shrewsbury.

(34)

Lydgate wrote a large quantity of occasional verse for members of the court (both solicited and unsolicited) which he probably regarded as samples of his work. These he distributed in the hope of obtaining commissions for longer work (35). It has been suggested, though, that the Siege of Thebes is evidence that Lydgate wrote because he wanted to and not solely under the demands of the patronage system. The Siege of Thebes, as far as is known, was not written for a patron, yet it possesses the length and quality of his longer works which were commissioned.

Duke Humphrey did not 'discover' and was not responsible for 'promoting' Lydgate. The Epithalamium of 1422 was unsolicited and there is no evidence that the Duke took any interest in Lydgate until the commission of the Fall of Princes in 1431, by which time Lydgate had already executed all his other great commissions and much of his other writing. It evidently took the Duke ten years to perceive how the author of the Epithalamium on his marriage might be of use to him in the execution of a large work of translation which would contribute towards his reputation as a humanist and scholar. One cannot give Duke Humphrey any credit for nurturing the talent of a poet who - though not much valued now - was certainly highly acclaimed and very popular in his time and in the century after his death (36).

In his chapter on 'Laureate Lydgate', Pearsall suggests how Lydgate came into contact with Gloucester:

The Chaucer household provided Lydgate with a number of important contacts, probably, for instance, with Gloucester and certainly with the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, who both commissioned works from Lydgate.....

(37)

But even if the community at Ewelme did bring Gloucester into contact with Lydgate (38), a link had already been forged through Gloucester's brother, Henry V, and the Epithalamium for the marriage which took place shortly after Henry V's death signifies Lydgate's turning to a new patron (39). If Lydgate hoped that by writing the Epithalamium he would replace the patron he had lost in Henry V, he would have been disappointed by the immediate response he received, for it was not until 1431 that Duke Humphrey commissioned the Fall of Princes.

The Epithalamium is a conventional and unimaginative piece. It survives in three manuscripts: MS. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, R.3.20, written by John Shirley; MSS. Brit. Mus. Harley 2251 and Addit. 29729 which Hammond describes as 'both secondary in part to the Cambridge manuscript' (40). Hammond, in her article on 'Lydgate and the Duchess of Gloucester' (41) and in English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, prints a text from the Cambridge MS., ff. 158-64 where Shirley's rubric reads as follows:

And rowe here begynneþe a comendable balade by Lydegate
Daun Johan at þe reuerence of my lady of Holand and of
my lcrd of Gloucestre to fore þe day of þeyre maryage in
þe desyrous tyme of þeyre truwe lovyng.

(42)

Shirley's rubrics for Lydgate's occasional verse suggest the sort of appeal that his work had, where the celebration of the affairs of the great not only becomes common property but is a form of immediate history which is readily accessible.

The Epithalamium begins with seven stanzas of general reflection on the course of destiny and marriage alliances. These precede the first specific mention of the immediate subject of the poem:

pat Duchye of holand / by hool affeccoun
May beo allyed / with Brutus Albyoun
(11.55-6)

Lydgate was either unaware of, or he chose to ignore, just how politically unpropitious the marriage was. Pearsall says that 'he solves any problems by retreating into abstract generalities' (44). Following the death of her first husband, the Dauphin of France (who had instigated the murder of the Duke of Burgundy's father), Jacqueline of Hainault married John of Brabant, whose uncle then dispossessed her. Henry V's court encouraged her to come to England and welcomed her with a view to gaining more control over the Continental balance of power. Henry V deferred talks on a marriage between Jacqueline and Duke Humphrey because of the delicate political situation, but his death removed any check on his headstrong brother's behaviour. The antipathy between Jacqueline and Burgundy - England's principal ally - imposed an awkwardness on the international scene and could have been a major threat to national security. Lydgate however appears unaware of this as he blithely celebrates the alliance:

þat þey may beo / oon body and oon hert
 Rooted on feyth / devoyde of doublenesse
 And eeke to seen cleerly / and aduerte
 A nuwe sonne / to shynen of gladnesse
 In boope londes / texcluden al derknesse
 Of oolde hatred and of al rancour
 Brought in by meene / of oon þat is þe floure
 (ll.57-63)

This generalised hyperbole indicates that Lydgate wrote spontaneously and out of ignorance about the true predicament. Only Pearsall has regarded the work as commissioned, but there is no evidence for his supposition (45). It is possible that, because it was out of the question to describe the real implications of the marriage, such general eulogy was the only form of celebrating the occasion which would be acceptable. If Lydgate did understand the political situation, he would also have understood that such blind eulogy served as useful propaganda to Duke Humphrey.

The bridal pair are described, of course, in highly extravagant yet unimaginative terms. The work is addressed to the Duchess in the L'Envoye, and it is highly likely that Lydgate was hoping to take advantage of this new arrival at the London court. Perhaps his expectations were centred around the Duchess and not the Duke. Earlier in the poem, Lydgate had lavished many fine and conventional epithets upon the Duchess which related to her personal qualities - 'seemliness...goodnesse...trouthe...stedfastnesse...gouvernaunce...noblesse...', but in the dedicatory envoy, the emphasis of the equally fine and conventional epithets is on her generosity -

'Prynccesse of bountee / of fredam Emparessse' (l.190). Despite the stated reason for mentioning her generous nature (that she will be beneficent enough to forgive his 'rudenesse' and 'ignoraunce'), one senses that Lydgate is making use of the readily recognisable modesty topos to hint at his hopes for reward. Lydgate's careless phrasing betrays his true ignorance of his wished-for patroness: 'And wher so it be / pis bille pat yee reed' (l.194). Although Lydgate's pushy self-promotion appears a little comic, this line indicates how frustrating the often unrewarding task of soliciting for patronage could be. Perhaps the modesty topos, though conventional and designed to pre-empt any criticism of presumption, has the ring of a confession when used by a hack writer who would rather be engaged on more elevated writing. One can probably accept literally the poet's excuse that he is writing 'betwix hope and dreed' (l.196) and so this hinders his thinking. This suggests that Lydgate was aware that because he was concentrating his energy on pleasing a potential patron, the writing lacks any inspired vitality. Thus the final dedicatory envoy is very conventional in its apologies for shortcomings, flattery and hints for a reward, but at the same time it realistically reflects Lydgate's situation and his singular awareness of it. Unless the poet has an over-riding imagination and the energy to use it, the genre compels pedestrian and conventional work.

The verse is certainly designed to exhibit to a potential

patron the poet's ability at writing eulogy which could be put at a patron's disposal. This reinforces the impression the Epithalamium creates of being Lydgate's 'tradesman's sample'. Yet the work cannot be entirely dismissed as a completely soulless exercise in ingratiation. There are two stanzas out of the twenty-eight which are worthy of some attention in the present context.

The larger proportion of the poem describes the first Duchess of Gloucester, and the total absence of any distinguishing detail or fact indicates that Lydgate was as ignorant of her character as he was of the political repercussions of the marriage. It would in fact have been quite surprising if he had known much about Jacqueline of Hainault, but the political repercussions of the threat to the Burgundian alliance (caused by a marriage based on a flighty love match), should have been apparent to any moderately discerning citizen. One of the interesting stanzas occurs in the midst of the very banal description of Duke Humphrey, where he is likened to Troyllus, Hectour, Tedeus, Salamoun, Cesar Julius, Marcus Tullius, Hannibal, Pompey and Cypyoun, one line a-piece. Stanza 21, which immediately follows the catalogue of comparable heroes, is in an entirely different vein:

Whiche hath desire, sothly for to seyn,
 Of verray kny³thod to remembre ageyn
 The worthynes, ³if I schal nat lye,
 And the prowesse of olde chivalrie,
 Bycause he hath Ioye and gret deynte
 To rede in bokys of antiquite,
 To fyn only, vertu for to swe.
 Be example of hem and also for to eschewe
 The cursyd vice of slouthe and ydelnesse.
(46)

In the Epithalamium however, the poet asserts that the Duke is 'expert in poetrye' which perhaps finds an echo in the Palladius translator's claim that the Duke taught him to write poetry (see page 85). When Lydgate states that Duke Humphrey had a preference for moralistic writing, this is probably the wishful speculation on the part of a moralistic writer. Hammond comments on Duke Humphrey's special delight 'In hooly writt with þe Allegorye' (1.143) that his 'MSS presented to Oxford include many works of this sort'. One cannot, however, make deductions about Lydgate's familiarity with the Duke's inclinations, as such writing was particularly common. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Lydgate selects for special mention exactly those sorts of work that he could turn a hand to producing for Duke Humphrey, himself: moral, allegorical interpretations of holy writ, poetry and philosophy. Thus Lydgate manages to simultaneously eulogize about the Duke's learning and also to advertise his own wares. He is using this more casual form of patronage, where a writer executes a piece of work to bring himself to a patron's notice in the hope of obtaining a commission.

The other point of any interest to the present study in the Epithalamium is just as conventional but not altogether pedestrian. I refer to the two allusions Lydgate makes to the bridal pair's mottos. Stanza 16 incorporates this personalising detail into a piece of straightforward heraldic interpretation describing the significance of Jacqueline's colours:

þe whyte also / is taken of Glenesse
And eeke hir word / is in verray soope
Ce bien raysoun / al þat euer she dooþe
(Epithalamium, 110-2)

This is balanced in stanza 23 by a reference to Duke Humphrey's motto:

þe fresshe duchesse / of whome I speek now right
Sith he in hert is hir truwe knyght
ffor whome he wryteþe / in goode auenture
Sans plus vous belle perpetuelly tendure
(Epithalamium, 158-61)

I quote from a larger portion of the poem than I need to because the first two lines demonstrate by contrast with their unthinking use of terminology, how neatly Lydgate adapts Duke Humphrey's motto 'Loyale et belle' to the occasion and to the metre. Hammond indicates that 'in goode auenture' forms part of the motto too, and although it sounds as though it should, I have no extraneous evidence to prove that it does. Though the incorporation of these mottos into the work is neither original nor brilliantly executed, it does add a personalising touch to what otherwise would be an occasional piece, which - even with the inclusion of the stanza on Duke Humphrey's learning - would suit any royal marriage.

For a long time, a "Complaint" of the deserted Jacqueline

was ascribed to Lydgate; MS.Trin.Coll.Cambridge,R.3.20 (47)

contains the following rubric to the Complaint:

Here bygynneþe a complaynte of A solitarie persone /
compleyning þabsence of þe moste renommed and best
beloued pryncesse þat euer of hire estate in þeos
dayes came in to þis Reaume of logres by þe weye of mariage /
and sodeynly vnordynatly departed hens as hit is sayde
and spouken in many Regyouns by þe hegheste estates þer.

Hammond in her article on the two poems concerning Jacqueline of Hainault does not even consider whether the Complaint is Lydgate's or not. More recently scholars have decided that the Complaint can be rejected from the Canon (48) on the basis of a critical comparison with Lydgate's other work - but from the point of view of patronage, alone, this opinion must be correct. It would not be possible for a poet who has strongly criticised the marital behaviour of a man - however justified and generally held that criticism might be - to then receive that man's patronage. There is perhaps the possibility that the Epithalamium had so pleased Jacqueline of Hainault that she had become Lydgate's patroness and had commissioned works from him, so that her banishment was a disappointment to him and he hoped that his diatribe against Eleanor Cobham might hold sway with the Duke in his first wife's favour. If this is the case, then one must accept that a few years later Lydgate was receiving a major commission from a man he had severely and publicly criticised. This would have been impossible and so proves that the Complaint was certainly not by Lydgate.

The relationship between the Epithalamium and the Fall of Princes in terms of the patronage is difficult to determine. Were one certain that the Epithalamium was written spontaneously in the hope of exciting Duke Humphrey's interest, one could say that Lydgate had been successful in achieving this. However, I have already suggested that Lydgate was perhaps interested in securing Jacqueline's favours - he eulogizes her first, he has more to say about her, although he must have known much less and found it more difficult to think of things to say, and most importantly, by addressing the envoy to her where he lays the emphasis on her 'bountee' and 'fredam'. Ten years elapsed between the Epithalamium being written and the Fall of Princes being commissioned. A glance at the chronology of Duke Humphrey's interest in being a patron suggests that when Lydgate wrote the Epithalamium, the Duke was both unaware of the advantage to be gained from being a patron and also too occupied by his active involvement in politics at home and abroad to take much notice. Ten years later, however, the Duke, more interested in the idea of acting as a patron, sought work from an established writer for patrons. At first sight, then, one would probably dismiss the Epithalamium as a poor piece of self-advertising versification, unsolicited by the bridal pair to whom it is directed and not eliciting any commission as a direct result of its being favourably received. If this is the case, then the work can only be regarded as belonging within the patronage system in the most oblique way. A greater claim can, however, be made for the

work. The Epithalamium probably contributed to the increased awareness of the importance and possibilities of patronage that Duke Humphrey acquired during the ten years before Lydgate was commissioned to write the Fall of Princes. This then is the true importance of the Epithalamium as regards Duke Humphrey's patronage.

It is interesting that Lydgate, commissioned to translate Laurent de Premierfait's translation of Boccaccio's De casibus illustrium virorum into English, felt free enough to render the work loosely with much additional and personal material. Laurent had inflated the De casibus, which was a history of Fortune's dealing with the most illustrious characters in history and mythology, into a universal encyclopaedia, and Lydgate amplifies his original in the same way. Laurent was translating at the command of John, duc de Berri, and it seems extremely probable that Duke Humphrey wanted to equate himself with the great French patron by having this work translated for him in the same way. Perhaps, therefore, it was not the translation that the Duke envisaged so much as the act of patronage. This is borne out by the change in title, where 'illustrium virorum' is simply rendered 'Princes', giving the work direct relevance to Duke Humphrey and at the same time showing that the work is not a close translation so much as a re-writing. The same can be said of the rendering of the Palladius translation which was made for the Duke a decade later. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that Duke Humphrey was consciously emulating the Duc de Berri.

The Fall of Princes as a commissioned work is conventional

in having intermittent eulogistic references to the patron, and conventional as a translation in having those references slotted into the prologues and epilogues which occur in the natural divisions of the translation and at the beginning and end of the whole composition. This method of linking the poet with the patron and the patron with the work gives the impression of a much closer working relationship than the alternative convention - to merely append a dedication at the beginning and at the end - conveys. Clearly this impression of close involvement appealed to Lydgate, as it would have enhanced his prestige as a court writer, but a comparison with the Palladius translation, where the poet was evidently on far more intimate terms with the Duke, not only relegates Lydgate's involvement to the realms of wishful speculation but also raises the possibility that Lydgate's allusions to such an involvement had a powerful effect on the Duke. The kind of intimate relationship between writer and patron which Lydgate portrays might have encouraged the Duke to become more actively involved in directing his commissions, and we can see the results of this in the Palladius translation.

The General Prologue to the Fall of Princes manages to run to some three hundred and seventy-one lines before Duke Humphrey is introduced, and to three hundred and eighty-five lines before he is actually mentioned by name. This ample introduction provides a wide-ranging historical background to the work. First, there is an account of Laurent de Premierfait's translation of Boccaccio, and then Lydgate discusses the general subject matter of the work in terms which prepare us for the suitability of the patron of the work

being a prince:

Off noble stories to make rehersaile,
Shewyng a merour how al the world shal faile,
And how Fortune, for al ther hih renoun,
Hath vpon pryncis iurediccioun.

(Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll. 158-61)

Lydgate then muses on the paucity of his eloquence and laments Chaucer's death and describes Chaucer's works. When Lydgate says that Chaucer 'The Fall of pryncus dede also compleyne' (l. 249), it is as though he is showing the worthiness of his subject through Chaucer's having dealt with it. He gives Chaucer's acts of translation prominence in his list of Chaucer's works, and then he refers to the lot of the poet:

And these poetis I make off mencion,
Were bi old tyme had in gret deynte,
With kyngis, pryncis in euery regioun,
Gretli preferrid afftir ther degre;
For lordis hadde plesance for to see,
To studie a-mong, and to caste ther lookis
At good(e) leiser vpon wise bookis.

(Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll. 358-64)

These lines give us an interesting insight into Lydgate's concept of a Golden Age of patronage, seeing the revival of the interest in classics and classical times as having the potential for the revival of the time when poets were held in great esteem; 'gretli preferrid' implying that ample rewards were forthcoming. If 'see' means oversee, then Lydgate describes three levels of the patron's involvement: the overseeing of the work, the studying of books and the glancing through of works.

Lydgate then cites the example of a patron from the Golden Age, Julius Caesar:

For in the tyme off Cesar Iulius,
Whan the tryumphe he wan in Rome toun,
He entre wolde the scoole off Tullius
And heere his lecture off gret affeccioun;
And natwithstandyng his conquest & renoun,
Vnto bookis he gaff gret attendaunce
And hadde in stories ioie and gret pleasunce.
(Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll. 365-71)

Lydgate undoubtedly chose Caesar as an example because of Caesar's mixture of military prowess and scholarly interests, which would serve as a good introduction to the description of Duke Humphrey which is to follow. He also knew that the comparison would appeal to the Duke, not only because of the mixing of scholastic and military interests, but because of the Duke's new-found interest in the classics. Duke Humphrey numbered Cicero's works among his books (49). It is of course extraneous but strikingly ironic that the analogy's aptness was heightened some sixteen years later by the way in which Duke Humphrey met his end. From this classical analogy, Lydgate then introduces his patron. The stanza on Caesar began 'ffor in the tyme...' but instead of beginning the stanza on Duke Humphrey with a reference to the present time, Lydgate parallels the phrase with a reference to the 'here' rather than the 'now', his reference to the present Caesar is introduced: 'Eek in this lond...' thus appealing to the patriotic pride that contemporary England contained a figure of Caesar's stature. Perhaps I overstate the case, but the comparison with Caesar was certainly designed to encourage Duke Humphrey's interest in being a patron.

The description of Duke Humphrey is interesting. Three full stanzas of description precede the disclosure of the Duke's name, but because Lydgate identifies the Duke so precisely in the description and deliberately delays mentioning a name, the three stanzas read like a riddle. A contemporary reader would have felt impelled to ask 'who?' by the 'Eek in this lond' and the line 'A kynges sone / vnclē to the kynge' has the distinctly enigmatic quality of a riddle. Lydgate probably thought that he was heightening the reader's interest in the contemporary Caesar by introducing Duke Humphrey in such an indirect way; the device certainly emphasises the Duke's activities by making the reader identify him through them. First, the line 'A kynges sone / vnclē to the kynge' narrows the field and then two and a half stanzas describe the Duke. The description is precise enough for the work to be dated from this description alone, so presumably the reader was not meant to be in any doubt as to who was being described. Thus Lydgate achieves this striking emphasis on the Duke's activities, and notably on the famous passage about Duke Humphrey's scholarship:

Off hih lettrure, I dar eek off hym telle,
 And treuli deeme that he doth excelle
 In vndirstondyng alle othir off his age,
 And hath gret ioie with clerkis to comune:
 And no man is mor expert off language,
 Stable in study alwey he doth contune,
 Settyng a-side alle chaungis of Fortune;
 And wher he loueth, yiff I shal nat tarie,
 Withoute cause ful loth he is to varie....
 His corage neuer doth appalle
 To studie in bookis off antiquite,
 Therin he hath so gret felicite
 Vertuously hymself to ocupie
 Off vicious slouthe to haue the maistrie.

(Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll. 384-92, 395-99)

The patronage of a Golden Age which Lydgate had described a few stanzas before pales beside this description of the Duke's literary activity. The 'lordis' of the earlier stanza look like dilettantes compared to a Duke whose understanding and versatility of language is superior to all others and who enjoys associating with scholars at their level. Lydgate's phrase 'hih letture' is interesting. He evidently had some differentiation in mind, a concept of serious elevated literature. The 'settyng a-side alle chaungis of Fortune' indicates the direct relevance of the commissioned work to the Duke, for Duke Humphrey's political fortunes had become increasingly precarious, and the stability he achieved in life through study was perhaps his own particular way of coping with the dangers of the 'fall of princes'. Certainly Lydgate would have perceived how the Duke either did or could console himself about his waning political influence by taking more interest in the Arts.

Lydgate sees Duke Humphrey's activities in terms of the Benedictine virtue of dominating 'vicious slouthe' and later he explains the value of the Duke's learning in terms of virtue and vice:

And to do plesaunce to our lord Iesu,
He studieth euere to haue intelligence;
Reedyng off bookis bryngith in vertu
Vices excludyng, slouthe and necligence,
Makith a prynce to haue experience,
To knowe hymself, in many sundri wise,
Wher he trespasith his error to chastise.

(Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll. 414-20)

The last two lines alone indicate a more enlightened view of the Duke's learning, seeing it as a process of self-discovery, but even here, Lydgate uses the idea of 'know thyself' in a very narrow sense, making it refer to the commissioning of 'the noble book off this John Bochas....To yive exauple how this world doth varie' (ll.423, 427).

In the famous passage describing Duke Humphrey's scholarship, cited above, p.134, the omitted lines, though less interesting from the point of view of the Duke's scholastic reputation, are interesting from the point of view of patronage in their context:

Settyng a-side alle chaungis of Fortune;
And wher he loueth, yiff I shal nat tarie,
Withoute cause ful loth he is to varie.
Duc off Gloucestre men this prynce calle,
And natwithstandyng his staat & dignite....
(Fall of Princes, Prologue, 390-94)

Lydgate contrasts the fickleness of fortune and the constancy of Duke Humphrey's patronage in three lines, which through their clumsiness betray a little of Lydgate's attitude towards patronage. The important material in lines 391-2 is that which asserts the Duke's constancy in patronage, 'And wher he loueth,...ful loth he is to varie', however, Lydgate had to pack the lines out and find a rhyme for 'varie' and coming across the likely 'tarie' he decided to qualify his statement on Duke Humphrey's loyalty to the men he patronises with his own personal fear of losing that favour through being slow. This clumsy slipping from the general to the personal in the line 'And wher he loueth yiff I schal nat tarie' is indicative of Lydgate's anxiety about his patron, which in terms of financial

reward appears to have been somewhat justified. Obviously Lydgate was seeking in these words to encourage Duke Humphrey not to renege on the agreement between them - and as the agreement was probably rather an undefined one it is not surprising that Lydgate should have been anxious about the Duke's intentions even at this early stage in the commitment.

Like Caesar, who 'not withstanding his conquest & renoun' was interested in books, Duke Humphrey 'natwithstandyng his staat & dignite' is not afraid to study classical books. One might go so far as to say that the parallel phrasing highlights the comparison Lydgate is keen to draw, but it is more likely that this is the result of Lydgate's laziness rather than deliberately contrived. Clearly Lydgate was amazed that men esteemed in arms should have any inclination towards book learning. One notes that in the two succeeding stanzas Lydgate emphasises the Duke's manliness, mentioning his 'manheed' and describing him as 'manly' to make sure perhaps that he is not giving an impression to the contrary by his stress on the Duke's learning.

In stanza 58, Lydgate, like the Palladius translator, mentions the Duke's activities against the Lollards. The latter refers to common knowledge, and because of his assumption that the reader will know what he is referring to, he is at once more specific and less descriptive:

Let feithfullest reherce y treste hym beste
Yf heretike ought kouthe pike him fro
Yf Sharpe or Wawe hadde of the lawe a feste
(Palladius, ll.49-51)

The Palladius translator was referring to events ten years previous to his writing; Lydgate's reference would have been highly topical:

That in this land no Lollard dar abide -
As verray support, vpholdere and eek guide
Sparith noon, but maketh hym siluen strong
To punysshē all tho that do the chirch(e) wrong.
(Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll. 403-6)

In 1431, while Henry VI was in France and Gloucester was Protector during his absence, John Scharpe distributed bills in London, Coventry, Oxford and other towns against the wealth of the clergy, suggesting a redistribution of the wealth to help the poor. Gloucester arrested Scharpe and his followers and hanged or beheaded the lot of them. Earlier, in 1427, he had tried and hanged William Wawe for attacking and robbing a nunnery (50). Lydgate links this holiness with the Duke's scholarship:

And to do plesaunce to our lord Iesu,
He studieth euere to haue intelligence;
Reedyng off bookis bryngith in vertu,
(Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll. 414-6)

Lydgate very neatly makes his panegyric on Duke Humphrey appropriate as an introduction not only to a moralistic work in general but to the Fall of Princes in particular. He says that he has been asked to translate the work 'To shewe the chaunge of worldli variaunce' and earlier he described how the Duke sets aside alle chaungis of fortune' and does not 'varie' in his patronage, finding stability 'in studie'. It is as though Lydgate is indicating a remedy to the subject of his work, the downfall of the great through fortune's wheel, that it is possible to achieve a more lasting renown through literature. Perhaps he is indicating that the

present text will set political fluctuations in a historical perspective or more properly show how they are reflected in the pattern of history, just as Gloucester finds his counterpart in Caesar.

Lydgate's description of the way he was commissioned to write the translation by the Duke is disappointingly vague. We learn nothing of the circumstances of the commission. Lydgate merely says 'He gaff to me in comaundement...that I shulde, afftir my cunnyng This book translate, hym to do plesaunce' (Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll.430,432-3). A commission - even if it had to be extracted from a reluctant or non-committal patron, or however off-hand and vague the request might have really been - was something to boast about and make the most of. Perhaps by extolling the patron's discriminating insight in selecting the poet and the work for the commission, enthusiasm for the project could be instilled into the patron. This is what Lydgate appears to be doing in the stanza which follows the tellingly scanty details of the commission:

And with support off his magnificence,
Vndir the wyngis off his correccioun,
Thouh that I haue lak off eloquence,
I shal procede in this translacioun,
Fro me auoidyng al presumpcioun,
Lowli submyttyng eueri hour & space
Mi reud language to my lordis grace.

(Fall of Princes, Prologue, ll.435-41)

Money changing hands is not mentioned directly, but while referring in general terms to the patronage, Lydgate uses images to imply his financial hopes and dependence. The first line may only refer to the prestige and reflected glory that a poet gains

by writing for the Duke, but the most obvious way that magnificence could 'support' a poet would be with gifts and payments. The second line appears to refer to the process of correction described in detail by the Palladius translator, but to be 'vndir the wyngis' also implies financial support. The imagery of the last two lines of this description casts the relationship between the poet and patron in a devotional light where the act of translation has become an act of worship.

Perhaps Lydgate was all too conscious of the vagueness with which he portrayed his relationship with the Duke, for he devoted the next stanza to trying to redeem the impression. He imputes a stipulation to the Duke that Lydgate should 'in especiall Folwyng myn auctour, writen as I fynd' and show no bias. Lydgate says that this was the Duke's special command, but the idea of singling out impartiality and retaining the 'sentence of my author' seems irrelevant in view of the task in hand. In the Prologue to Book II, Lydgate again imputes a directive to Duke Humphrey:

My lord cam forbi, and gan to taken heede;
This myhti prynce, riht manli and riht wis,
Gaff me charge in his prudent auys,
That I sholde in eueri tragedie,
Afftir the processe made mencion,
At the eende sette a remedie,
With a lenvoie conueied be resoun,
And afftir that, with humble affeccion,
To noble pryncis lowli it directe,
Bi othres fallyng (thei myht) themsilff correcte.
And I obeied his bidyng and plesaunce,
Vnder support off his magnyfidence.....
For it suffised,pleynli, onto me,
So that my lord my makyng took at gre.

(Fall of Princes, Bk. II, ll. 145-56, 159-60)

Lydgate had already been writing envoys at the end of every section in Book I, and this comment brings about no change in the structure of his work. Perhaps we are meant to think that the directive was given before Lydgate had started his translation and he only mentions it here, in which case there seems no particular reason for the location of the explanation for the envoys other than to remind us of the patron. It seems more likely that Lydgate wanted to do just that, and decided to impute to his patron a directive that explains the inclusion of Lydgate's main structural addition to the work, and so remind the reader, and more immediately Duke Humphrey himself, of the Duke's involvement with the work. It would also, of course, suit Lydgate to pretend that his relationship with the Duke was close enough for him to have come 'forbi' and proffered advice. Yet such a simulation should probably be regarded as part of the language of patronage, and as a convention, was likely to have been used by Lydgate.

The other instance where Lydgate states that Duke Humphrey took an active interest in the content has more substance and indicates a more deep-rooted interest than I have hitherto hinted at, Hammond, in her article on 'Lydgate and Coluccio Salutati' (51), proves that Duke Humphrey lent Lydgate his copy of Coluccio's declamation Lucretia and requested a translation of it to be included. Lydgate interrupts his translation of Bochas to obey this request:

But at Lucrece stynte I will a while,
 It were pite hir story for to hide....
 But for hir sake alle materis set a-side,
 Also my lord bad I sholde abide,
 By good auys at leiser to translate
 The doolful processe off hir pitous fate.
 Folwyng the traxis of Collucyus.....

(Fall of Princes, Bk.II, ll.1002-3, 1005-9)

When Lydgate reaches the natural context of the Lucretia story in Book III, he recalls how he has already 'be biddynge of my lord' retold the story from Colluccio's version but nevertheless he translates Bochas's version as well. The breaking off mid-stream to fulfil his lord's wish, and the second narration of the story, preceded as it is by Lydgate's statement that he is duplicating material because of Duke Humphrey's request, serves to highlight Duke Humphrey's involvement, and indicates Lydgate's enthusiasm to emphasise this involvement. Hammond also speculates that Duke Humphrey gave him the hint about Dante (used in Book IV, 134-40), and also that Lydgate learnt about Petrarch from the Duke's library.

What Hammond did not know is that the exact manuscript lent by Duke Humphrey to Lydgate can be identified because his copy of Coluccio Salutati's Lucretia has since come to light (52). This is Manchester, Chetham's Library, Mun. A.3.131 (27929) which contains the following:

ff.1^r - 89^v, De seculo et religione
 ff.91^r - 200^r, De fato et fortuna
 ff.200^v - 205^v, a) Coluccio Pyeri Salutati Declamatio quedam
 Lucretia Spurii Lucrecii filia et Golativi.....vetat pater et
 coniunx; b) Quod Lucretia non se interimat. Pars una c) Pars
 altera Lucrecie d) Eiusdem Colucii declamatio. Sententia prima
 reprobata Questio est coram decem viris quid iure civili statuendum
 sit de hiis qui fecerunt carmen famosum contra aliquem vel ipsum
 recitauerunt. Pars una e) Pars altera contra delacionem.

(53)

The manuscript has an erased inscription 'Mon bien mondain Gloucestre au duc' and also the Duke's ex libris 'Cest li(vre est a moy) Homfrey duc de Gloucestre' (54). The volume consists of two manuscripts which were bound together, and it is the second part, from f.91 which the Duke lent Lydgate.

As one might expect, the Fall of Princes has a lengthy epilogue addressed to Duke Humphrey, full of flattery, modest disclaimers, hints of expected rewards and reiterations of the themes of the work. The main envoy is entitled 'A lenvoye compyled vpon the boock wryten by the translatur specially direct to hym that causyd the translacioun & secundely to alle othir it shal seen' (55). This expresses the dual function of the personal comments found in appendages to patrons. They are at once both private and public, just like the relationship itself. The epilogue is divided into an envoy addressed to the Duke, a final envoy addressed to the Duke, words addressed to the book specifically by the translator in two stanzas ending 'Finis libri Amen' and some final words ending 'Finis totius libri' translated from Bochas. It is as though Lydgate cannot - and understandably perhaps after the vast exercise of translating - but extract maximum capital out of the licence of an epilogue. The opening stanza addresses the Duke with grandeur and pride:

Ryght reuerent Prynce, with support of your grace,
By your comaundement as I vndirtok
With dredful herte, pale of cheer and face,
I have a-complysshed translacioun of your boock;
(Fall of Princes, Bk. IX, 3303-6)

The Duke's commanding regality contrasts with the quaking insecurity of the writer. This compares most unfavourably with the description of the writer's trepidation before his patron which occurs in the Palladius translator's depiction of himself presenting his work to Duke Humphrey. Lydgate picks up and expands the idea of the poet being torn between hope and dread which evolved at the end of the Epithalamium, personifying Hope and Dread as encouragers and detractors rather as though they were courtiers close to the patron's ear:

Hope with glad chere gaff me greet counfort,
Off trust I shulde agreeen your noblesse;
But tho cam dreed, contraryous of repoort,
Gan manace and frowardly expresse,
Geyn me alleggyng vnkonnynge and dulnesse,-
Seyde for his part, by argumentys stronge,
I was not able for to vndirfonge

(Fall of Princes, Bk.IX, ll. 3317-23)

Lydgate reminds the Prince of the reward to be expected from such a work, emphasising that effort rather than skill should be the Duke's guide in estimating its worth. He then goes on to ascribe the praise for anything good to Duke Humphrey's 'royal noblesse' and the blame for all the faults to his own 'ignoraunce'. It is interesting that this criterion for judging an act of patronage still holds today; so that wherever an author produces good work this reflects favourably on the patron, whereas bad work cannot detract from the patron but only indicates that there was a dearth of talent around. After a brief description of himself, Lydgate addresses princes generally on the theme of the book, fortune, and he directs five stanzas of general moralising at Duke Humphrey. The 'woordis of the translatur vn to his book atte ende' constitute a two-stanza

conventional envoy commencing 'go litel book' of the genre identified and described by Holz knecht (56). Despite being highly conventional, there are some interesting details Lydgate says to his book:

Pray to þe Prince to haue on the pite,
Voide of picture & enlumyny(n)g,
(Fall of Princes, Bk.IX, ll.3590-1)

These 'woordis' must have been attached to the writer's copy sent to Duke Humphrey. 'Book' here refers to the actual volume sent, rather than to the work. In the next stanza, Lydgate says:

I do presente this book with hand shaking,
Of hool affeccioun knelyng on my kne,
Praying the Lord, the Lord oon, too & thre,
Whos magnificence no clerk can comprehende,
To sende you miht, grace and prosperite
Euer in vertu tencresen & ascende.
(Fall of Princes, Bk.IX, ll.3599-604)

Lydgate thus depicts himself and his patron in a dedicatory illumination (57), providing in words the picture whose omission he was lamenting in the lines quoted previously. A clever stroke.

Hammond (58) has described the financial aspects of Lydgate's relationship with Duke Humphrey. She shows how in some of the manuscripts (59) of the Fall of Princes the Prologue to Book III with the thanks to Gloucester for his gift of money is not present, and it seems likely that Lydgate sent a portion of his work to Gloucester and added this personal note begging for money, and that this envoy, Bk.III, Chapter 18, remaining in one copy, was preserved and incorporated with the poem in a few descendents. The Letter to Gloucester, a brilliant piece of begging, never appears in any manuscript of the poem without a colophon explaining that it was sent 'in tempore translacionis libri Bochas ii pro oportunitate pecunie'

(though this of course might be informed speculation on the part of the scribe who wrote the rubric). Of all Lydgate's work for the Duke this is the freshest and most imaginative piece, highly metaphorical, very clever and occasionally funny. It could be that it was sent along with the first two Books and Gloucester's response evoked the gratitude of the Prologue to Book III. But the gratitude did not last long; before the end of the same Book, Lydgate was again bewailing the lot of poets. Even if Hammond is right and the requests and thanks for money were detachable, they are very interesting links between the work, the poet and the patron. Money and financial reward were evidently difficult subjects to broach and embarrassing to both sides. But begging itself had become a literary convention, indeed Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes is a dramatisation of literary mendicancy.

One is tempted to presume that Lydgate's sole purpose in writing the Fall of Princes - such a long and taxing commission - was for financial reward, but these references must cast some doubt. Money was probably an attractive and possible extra, but the hope of preferment and currying favour was probably a far more important motivation. Perhaps protection when it was needed was the most valued reward, especially as there must have been easier ways for Lydgate to earn a living than by working so hard on translating Boccaccio on the off-chance that Duke Humphrey might feel inspired to give him some money. Thus the 'support' Lydgate so often refers to is not just a precious euphemism for plate and coinage begged in the Letter to Gloucester, but help in a more general sense. Thus 'and with support of his magnificence' - the phrase I discussed earlier - makes more

sense when interpreted more generally. The pleas for money cease with Book III, ll. 3837-71 until the final envoy, seven Books and many years' work later. One can only speculate about the financial arrangements of such an act of patronage, but the evidence seems to suggest that they were incidental rather than essential. Lydgate cites classical precedence for poets receiving financial support:

Daunt in Itaile, Virgile in Rome toun,
Petraak in Florence hadde al his plesaunce,
And prudent Chaucer in Brutis Albioun
Lik his desir fond vertuuous suffisance,
Fredam of lordshepe weied in ther ballaunce,
Because thei flourede in wisdam and science,
Support of princis fond hem ther dispence.

(Fall of Princes, Bk. III, ll. 3858-64)

The fact that Lydgate has to resort to showing how poets in the past received their livings indicates that the payment for poetry which he is advocating was not a generally accepted state of affairs. It is impossible to assess what benefits Lydgate received as a result of writing the Fall of Princes.

Part 3 :

Duke Humphrey's patronage of Thomas Hoccleve

D.Pearsall describes Hoccleve's reference to Duke Humphrey in the Complaint Series as the 'optimistic canvassing of Gloucester as patron' (60). It is however hard to be sure that the relationship between the poet and his putative patron is that slight, because it is difficult to gauge the exact nature of Hoccleve's highly idiosyncratic writing. Not only does Hoccleve reveal such an extraordinarily personal and peculiar autobiography, but he chooses an extraordinary method of doing so, and it is difficult to reconcile this technique with standard forms of quests for patronage. It is also interesting that Hoccleve should have approached the Duke at all in 1421, for at this date he was not an obvious known patron so far as the extant evidence enables us now to see. In fact, the strangeness of Hoccleve's references to patronage contribute to the highly unstraightforward and elusive overall impression of the Series.

The idea of a series of linked poems was obviously a very common device (Gower's Confessio Amantis and Chaucer's Canterbury Tales being the most well-known examples) but Hoccleve did not create an extraneous device - like a pilgrimage or a story setting - to link his sections, instead he uses his own situation and character and the immediate situation of sitting down and writing a Series, augmenting, intensifying, concentrating and exploring elements of himself to do this. The major interest of the work is in the persona Hoccleve created out of himself.

The Complaint Series comprises a Prologue, the Complaint, a Dialogue with a friend who had been knocking whilst Hoccleve was absorbed in writing the preceding Complaint, the Tale of Jereslaus Wife (a translation from the Gesta Romanorum) and How to Learn to Die. The three pieces preceding the translations can be regarded merely as preamble, justifying Hoccleve's mental condition to do the work which follows, but they are too interesting and lively just to be prologues of restricted relevance. They provide a dramatic context to the works of translation, giving the old texts immediate contemporary relevance through the personal and public ills which the monologist describes, as well as evoking the character and situation of the poet. The Regement of Princes, written in 1411-12, has a strong autobiographical element in the Prologue, in which Hoccleve bitterly complains about his own disappointments in life and about some of the more general abuses of the age to a beggar who offers general truths and advice as consolation. Hoccleve evidently enjoyed this method of self-revelation and self-exploration, and had no compunction about describing what appear to be his own predicament and obsessions in detail. The confessions about his own mental instability relate uncomfortably with any notion of 'canvassing of Gloucester as patron', but I will deal with this shortly.

The five-stanza Prologue to the Complaint Series sets the scene in the late autumn, after the harvest, a season that significantly contrasts with the spring opening of the Canterbury Tales, and reflects Hoccleve's state of mind, the loss of hope and anticipation

of death :

That grene had bene/and in lusty fressshesse,
and them in-to colowre of yelownesse
hadd dyen/and doune throwne vndar foote,
that chaunge sank/into myne herte roote.

(Complaint,4-7)

Later Hoccleve specifies that it is November five years after the return of his sanity. He says that he was lying awake thinking, and he describes the condition of his mind which has not altogether recovered from his illness; his description of that illness is simple but highly evocative of the confusion and loss of will caused by a nervous breakdown:

the sonne abatid/and the derke showre
hildyd doune right on me/and in langour
he made (me) swyme/so that my wite
to lyve/no lust hadd, ne (no) delyte

(Complaint,25-8)

The memory of this state of mind overwhelms him, and he says that he was forced to speak out; he says 'I brast oute on the morowe and thus began' at which point the Prologue ends and the Complaint begins. This violent emission of pent-up grief and the repressed self is strongly reminiscent of Browning's technique, where his monologuists possess some maddening experience which will not lie dormant and demands expression. It is a not uncommon form of psychiatric treatment to encourage a patient to commit the burdens of his mind to paper, for the effort involved in ordering them into literary form gives the patient control (61). That Hoccleve had suffered mental illness is evident from the reality of his insistence on it, so I am not dismissing this

as a pose so much as suggesting that Hoccleve intensifies his condition to create an interesting projection of himself. He seems fascinated by his madness and other people's reactions to it and he is particularly conscious of the latter. His infirmity was evidently well-known :

witnes vppon the wyld infirmytie
which that I had/as many a man well knewe,
and which me owt of my selfe/cast and threw.
(Complaint,40-2)

Some of his friends appear to have been sympathetic during the period of his madness, but when his wit returned he appears to have had great difficulty in being accepted again. They disdained his company, regarding him as a 'ryotous person'; he describes his association thus:

myn olde ffrindshipe /was all ovarshake;
no wyte withe me lyst make daliance;
the worlde me made a straunge continance,
whiche that myne herte/sore gan torment;
(Complaint,68-71)

He describes the painful experience of old friends and acquaintances shunning him when he meets them in London, and he reports their opinion that he will only go mad again, his paranoia exemplified in the comment 'Tho wordis, them vnwar / cam to myn ere'.

Hoccleve protests that men should not pretend to be able to know what will happen to him as it is impossible to tell what God will do, just as once, he himself never dreamt he would be taken ill. Hoccleve muses for a stanza on the world's mutability and then appears to break out of this diversion 'To my mater streit wole I me dresse' (l.119). The matter he returns to is

what people said about him. Here he mentions several of these opinions in which his behaviour is compared to a bull, a buck and a deer amongst other things. I find it impossible not to compare Hoccleve's description of the blackness and isolation with Edward Thomas's description at the end of Old Man :

No garden appears, no path, no hoar-green bush
Of lad's-love, or Old Man, no child beside,
Neither father nor mother, nor any playmate;
Only an avenue, dark, nameless, without end.
(62)

The loss of the key, the darkness are described by Hoccleve :

for why/as I hadd lost my tonges key,
Kept I me cloos/and trussyd me my wey,
drowpyng and hevye and all woo bystad;
smal cawse had I/me thoughte, to be glade.
(Complaint,144-7)

From this, his own description of the way he behaved, one can see why people thought he must have been mad. Hoccleve manages to project the impression the persona would have created externally by letting him describe other people's thoughts and reactions at the same time as he describes his own behaviour :

Another spake/and of me seide also,
my feete weren aye/wavyng to and fro
whane that I stonde shulde/and withe men talke,
and that myne eyne/sowghten every halke.
(Complaint,130-3)

And yet at the same time that we see Hoccleve through others eyes, he is painting the world from the point of view of the persona, so that the reader can understand the internalized logic of his perceptions and so sympathize with both sides.

The strength of Hoccleve's persona is the simple clarity with which he analyses and relates his extraordinary perspective in life. The incident of looking at himself in the mirror exemplifies this. He describes how often when he was alone at home he would go to the mirror and look at himself to see how he thought he looked and whether there was anything he ought to do to himself. Having expressed this concern, he then reiterates it in the first person, emphasising his consciousness of other people's reactions to him :

Many a sawte made I to this myrrowre,
thynkyng, "yf that I loke this manere
amongefolke/as I now do, none errowr
of suspecte loke/may in my face appere,
this countinace, I am svre, and this chere,
If I forthe vse/is no thing reprevable
to them

(Complaint, 162-68)

Having thus decided that his face gives nothing away, the next stanza finds him worrying that perhaps men are blind to their own condition, in which case he is unable to perceive the madness in his face, and he appears to have convinced himself that he is still ill, for he says that if he knew how to regain his peace of mind he would set about it. The way in which he evidently behaved to allay people's suspicions that he was still mad betrays why people should have thought that he was. His extreme self-awareness and self-criticism must have made his actions seem peculiar, and his obsession with outward appearance had become a neurosis. When he protests that a man ought not to be judged by his looks, he is acknowledging - despite former

assertions to the contrary - that he does in fact appear peculiar. Thus the very protests about his return to sanity themselves indicate that he is still sick. This would appear to be the pose in which Hoccleve is delighting.

This context enables Hoccleve to give the modesty topos a new force :

.....suche conceit as I had,
and vndarstondynge/all were it but small,
byfore that my wytt(e)s/wearen vnsad.....
suche have I now/but blowe is ny over all
the reverse/where-thorwghe is the mornynge
whiche cawsethe me/thus syghe in complaynynge.
(Complaint, 253-5,7-9)

He starts by saying that the gifts he had were small - in typical modesty topos phrasing - but now, since his illness they are even slighter; this device manages to achieve an even greater degree of 'modesty' through the context of his illness. Hoccleve enhances our impression of the instability of his mind by constantly changing his mind about what he thinks. At one point he says that he is ready to die now that good fortune has deserted him and since no one wants to have anything to do with him, but then he recalls the kindness of people:

yet for they/compleyned/the hevy plite
that they had sene me in/with tendernesse
of hertes cherte/my grefe was the lesse.
(Complaint,285-7)

He says that he only blames them for not believing that he is now well. His annoyance is demonstrated by his description of how friends enquired of his health from colleagues at the privy seal and took no notice of what they were told. He comments

"they mightnas well/have holden ther pes" (63).

Another incident that demonstrates how Hoccleve builds up his persona is when he has been describing a book he read in which a 'wofull man' despairs of life and 'Reason' tells him to wrestle with his troubles and repent his sins. He says that he would like to have read more from this book but the person who owned it took the book back. This version of the 'inexpressibility topos' contributes to the reality, but it also seems typical of Hoccleve's luck, and there is something endearingly human about the poet who cannot go on citing from a book because its owner has claimed it back. Hoccleve evidently enjoyed this banal streak in his work - just as he cultivates the colloquial in talking of elevated matters :

and he[@] me gave a bone/on for to knawe), @ God
me to correcte/and of hym to have awe.
(Complaint, 388-9)

The dramatic situation of the Complaint is heightened by the throwback at the beginning of the Dialogue, where a friend has been knocking at the door but Hoccleve was so absorbed in writing the Complaint that he had not heard. This adds a dimension of time to the Series. Our suspicions that Hoccleve's friends were not altogether unjustified in finding Hoccleve's behaviour curious is also seemingly unwittingly confirmed by this incident incorporated into the structure of the poem.

The Friend's appearance is a dramatic device by which Hoccleve creates an immediate testing of the Complaint against an external

reality. The Friend hears the Complaint and then enquires whether Hoccleve has written the work for publication. The problem of an audience for such a personal work might have struck the reader too. The Friend then advises Hoccleve not to publish it and resurrect the memory of his illness because he and everybody else has already forgotten about it. Hoccleve refuses - 'I wott what men have seyde and seyne of me' - and starts ranting. He says that his Friend has not heeded what he said in the Complaint about men still saying that he is ill in his hearing. His reply to the Friend's counsel that he should not touch on his 'wildhede' is that he has nothing to be ashamed of, the illness came from God who also cured him. This reply occupies twenty-three stanzas of ranting. He dwells at great length on the real vices of the age, especially coin-clipping, where he raves against the practice and then admits that there is now a statute against it, and so turns to raving against forgers of coinage whom he fears will not be punished. He finishes this ranting with a reference back to the Complaint:

"lo, frinde / nowe have I myne entent vnreke
of my longe tale / displesse yow nought."
(Dialogue, 197-8)

The lack of consistency and any cohesion in Hoccleve's thought furthers our impression of the turbulence of the persona's mind.

The Friend asks whether Hoccleve had anything else in mind to write when he had finished the Complaint, and he replies that he is thinking of translating a Latin treatise Learn to Die.

He mentions that he had been prompted to make this translation not by his conscience but 'at the exitynge and moncion of a devout man' (64). He says that when he has finished he will give up writing as he is fifty-three and 'ripenesse of dethe' approaches fast. He describes his worldweariness in high poetics which adds yet another variation to the constantly changing tempo of the Series. Stanza 40 exemplifies the conventional matter which achieves individuality from the context :

"Rial might and eerthely magestee,
Welthe of the world/and longe & faire dayes,
Passen/as dooth the shadwe of a tree;
Whan deeth is come/ther be no delayes;
The worldes trust is brotil at assayes;
The wyse men/wel knowen this is sooth,
They knowen/what deceit to man it dooth.
(Dialogue,274-80)

Having said that he wants to translate the Ars Moriendi, after which he will be too old to write again, Hoccleve falls into a contemplation of death, five stanzas of which could easily be excerpted from the text as a complete and separate poem. This poem should not be seen as a diversion so much as a composite entity, organically related to the text, reflecting as it does the preoccupation and state of mind of the speaking persona. The conventional generalizations are given a context even if the denotation of the significance is hard to pin down :

"The fool,thurgh loue of this lyf present,
Deceyued is/but the wys man woot weel
How ful this world of sorwe is, and torment;
Wherfore in it/he trustith nat a deel:
(Dialogue,260-3)

In the context one feels that Hoccleve would have identified the

'fool' with Hoccleve past and the 'wys man' with Hoccleve present, or perhaps the implication is that the 'fool' is the friend, but one cannot be certain about the relativity of a right and a wrong outlook after Hoccleve has undermined any objective truth by constantly shifting our response to his persona.

The Friend's response to these high poetics is dismissive - 'Yis, Thomas, yis, thow hast a good entent....' - demonstrating why Hoccleve should have felt so frustrated by his attempts to communicate. The Friend puts his mental imbalance down to 'bisy studie' which has rekindled his madness and advises him to leave his writing until he is more stable. He draws a cleverly graphic and appropriate analogy with a fire, which, although it has died down in the grate, the hearth is still hot for a long time afterwards.

The simulation of the dramatic dialogue, set as it is in contrast to the writing of the Complaint, makes it easy for the reader to forget that the Dialogue too is the creation of Hoccleve's mind and is an extraordinary feat of the imagination, so successful in fact that this is frequently overlooked. Hoccleve is all too often identified with the mad persona he has created in a way that would never happen with Chaucer. We recognize an element of self-caricature in the description:

.....lat this man have place!
He in the waast is shape as wel as I;
This were a popet in an arm t'enbrace
For any womman, smal and fair of face.
He semeth elvyssh by his contenance,
For unto no wight dooth he daliaunce.

(Canterbury Tales, B².1889-94)

But one is never in danger of accepting the description at its face-value and envisaging Chaucer thus. We are fully aware that Chaucer has put these words about himself into the mouth of the Host and that he has already been developing a humorously antagonistic relationship between himself and the Host from which these words derive. Perhaps Hoccleve's mistake is that he dramatises his self-persona so completely, giving him external and internal consistency, that the reader is deprived of any objective gauges. The dramatic situation of the Complaint Series is so vividly described that it is easy to forget that the drama is part of the creation.

The Friend and Hoccleve dispute whether Hoccleve should return to his writing. The discussion is made realistic by the simulated tact, misunderstandings, remonstrations and repetitions; then the Friend says:

Had I nat taasted thee/as þat I now
Doon haue/it had been hard, maad me to trowe
The good plyt/which I feele wel þat thow
Art in/I woot wel thow art wel ynow.....
(Dialogue,485-8)

It is clear from this that the Dialogue has been a test to demonstrate Hoccleve's revived powers of argument and reason. The Friend then gives Hoccleve his blessing to set to work:

Go now ther-to/in Ihesu Crystes name;
And as thow haast me seid/do thou þat same.
(Dialogue,517-8)

It is at this point in the Series that Duke Humphrey is mentioned

and it is the Friend who mentions him. It is as though the Complaint and the Dialogue are designed to prepare the reader and Hoccleve for the introduction of the patron's name. Hoccleve's fitness and readiness to start writing have been established (through the device of the Friend who has assured himself and us during the Dialogue that Hoccleve is in a fit condition to write) and it is only after this elaborate preparation that Duke Humphrey is mentioned. He is introduced via the Friend:

"And of o thyng/nou wel I me remembre,
 Why thou purposist in this book trauaill:
 I trowe þat in the monthe of Septembre
 Now last, or nat fer from/it is no faili, -
 No force of the time/it shal nat auaili
 To my mateer/ne it hyndre or lette, -
 Thou seidist/of a book thou wer in dette

"Vn-to my lord/þat now is lieutenant,
 My lord of Gloucestre/is it nat so?"
 (Dialogue, 526-34)

The Duke's connection with the work comes as a surprise. The 'book' he is connected with is the forthcoming translation about which there has been so much discussion. It is interesting that this highly unusual Complaint and Dialogue (poems in their own right evolving the character of the persona Hoccleve) constitute the regular preamble to a work within the patronage system, which is usually in the form of a detachable dedication or an integral Prologue (65). Hoccleve's self-dramatisation extends to dramatising the relationship between the persona and his patron.

One must determine the status of the reference to Duke Humphrey. Perhaps one should regard the whole of the Complaint and the

Dialogue as an extensive Prologue to the two translations, Jereslaus's Wife, translated for the Duke at the Friend's suggestion and Learn to Die, translated 'at the exitynge and monicion of a devout man' whom Hoccleve admits to be Duke Humphrey. It is only too easy to regard the words about the Duke as the most important matter in the work preceding the translations and dismiss the rest as padding. This would make the Complaint and Dialogue conform to the readily recognisable component of a patronage relationship: a eulogistic Prologue to a commissioned work. But that is not one's sense of the Series. All the parts are of equal value - and if anything, the translations were of less interest to Hoccleve than the process of self-exploration and projection in the Complaint and the Dialogue. This is why I have described the latter at such length.

The mention of Duke Humphrey is important to Hoccleve, as it was to Lydgate. Like Lydgate, he had been commissioned to translate something (though unlike Lydgate the text was not specified) and like Lydgate he is eager to boast about his patron. But the boasting about a patron is not the most important function of the Complaint and the Dialogue. Lydgate delays the mention of his patron to achieve maximum effect by the revelation (66). Hoccleve does not delay the reference so much as allow it to arise naturally and at a point where it is appropriate to the relationship evoked between Hoccleve and the Friend, and that point is appropriate to the reverence due to a patron, when the author's suitability to be associated with the patron has been

established.

Hoccleve allows the Friend to recall the patronage - thus using the dramatic situation of the Dialogue to deflect his pride - and makes it clear from his unsurprised response that he has had Duke Humphrey in mind, and that his former mention of the anonymous 'devout man' was an interesting variation on the modesty topos used within the framework of a patronage context. The specific mention of a date for the commission enhances the realism(67). The emphatic vagueness about whether it was the 'monthe of September' which succeeds this specific reference is possibly merely padding, but it could be a way of deliberately playing down the honour - thus demonstrating a curious inversion of Hoccleve's pride at being commissioned and yet entirely in keeping with a character that can augment and capitalize on the less elevating aspects of his nature.

The mention of September recalls the specific mention of November at the beginning of the Complaint. But Hoccleve describes how as soon as he heard of Duke Humphrey's return from France he 'penne and ynke gan to take'. But neither of the Duke's returns from France as Regent coincide with November (he served from December 1419 until February 1421 and from March to August 1422). It could be that we are to date the commission from September 1421 and when the Duke returned in August 1422 Hoccleve set about writing, for as he says:

.....and as by couenant
He sholde han had it many a day ago;
But seeknesse and vnlust/and othir mo
Han be the causes of impediment.'
(Dialogue, 535-8)

These few lines comprise Hoccleve's description of the commission. The phrase 'as by couenant' is significant in its mixture of binding legal terminology and vague agreement implied in 'as by'.

The rest of the Dialogue consists of Hoccleve's praise of Duke Humphrey and the discussion about what would be a suitable text to translate. The eulogy lasts an uninterrupted eleven stanzas; it is as though the mention of the Duke's name wakes Hoccleve's enthusiasms up, thus enacting his words about the Duke's return revivifying his interest:

As blyue as þat I herde of his comynge.....
And my spirit I made to awake,
þat longe lurkid hath in ydilnesse
ffor any swich labour or bisynesse.
(Dialogue, 542, 544-6)

Hoccleve says that he is Duke Humphrey's 'humble seruant and his man' and 'haath been swich yeeres ful many oon' but it could be that the allegiance Hoccleve feels he owes to the Duke is as impersonal and formal as that which any commoner would owe ~~the~~ king (especially if he was in an office like the Privy Seal) and one might deduce this from his words :

Next our lord lige, our kyng victorious,
In al this wyde world lord is ther noon
Vn-to me so good ne so gracious.....
(Dialogue, 554-6)

It is Duke Humphrey's military prowess that Hoccleve

concentrates on for praise, so it is difficult to determine the true significance of the lines about a translation of Vegetius:

"ffor him I thoghte han translated Vegece
Which tretith of the art of Chiualrie,
But I see his Knyghthode so encrece,
pat no thyng my labour sholde edifie.....
(Dialogue,561-3)

Hoccleve makes the transition from talking about working - i.e. translating - for the Duke to praising his military prowess by describing an obvious military text which he could translate, but decides that it would be unnecessary as the Duke could learn nothing new. But despite the fact that the reference is obviously a device to shift the subject, it is interesting that Hoccleve even considered making the translation in passing. Upton's De Studio Militari reveals that military texts were translated for the Duke. The presence of another English Vegetius may have discouraged Hoccleve (68) and it is curious that the Palladius translator executed a translation of the Vegetius after Duke Humphrey's death. Duke Humphrey gave a Latin text of the Vegetius to Oxford (69).

The early date of the Complaint Series suggests that Hoccleve's claim to have been commissioned by Duke Humphrey is authentic. Hoccleve praises what he knows to be praiseworthy in the Duke - his military prowess - and not his scholarship. If Hoccleve had mentioned the latter, one might suspect that the whole of the reference to Duke Humphrey was just another feat of

Hoccleve's imagination. But in 1421, Duke Humphrey was not an obvious patron of literature or an obvious target for 'optimistic canvassing'. Hoccleve's stanza about the Duke setting a good example appears deliberately worded to encourage the Duke to appreciate the benefits to be reaped from patronage of literature:

"To cronicle hise actes/wer a good deede
ffor the ensauple mighte, and encorage
fful many a man / for to taken hede
How for to gouerne hem in the vsage
Of armes / it is a greet auauntage
A man bifore him / to haue a mirour
Ther-in to see the path vn-to honour.
(Dialogue, 603-9)

It is striking how Duke Humphrey developed a liking for having 'hise actis' chronicled. In 1437, Duke Humphrey secured a grant of denization for Tito Livio Frulovisi, his 'poeta et orator' who sometime during his short stay in the Duke's Household composed the Humfroidos (see page 193). I have already noted the zeal with which the Palladius translator and Lydgate celebrated the Duke. John Capgrave also promised a Vita of the Duke (see page 301).

Hoccleve's play on Duke Humphrey's name was a piece of adulation calculated to please the sort of patron who commissioned the Humfroidos from Frulovisi and perhaps gave him a taste for such things. The play on 'homme ferai' is sufficiently contrived to necessitate clarification:

"ffor humfrey / as vn-to myn intellect,
'Man, make I shal' / in englissh is to seye;
And pat byheeste / hath taken treewe effect,
As the commune fame / can bywreie:
(Dialogue, 596-99)

Three times Hoccleve mentions Duke Humphrey's success at Cherbourg, and his recitation of the Duke's military prowess is so often expressed in the terms of an inexpressibility topos that one feels the lack of detail is due to Hoccleve's vagueness about detail rather than to an actual inability in the face of the task. Because of the dramatic context of the Dialogue, an informal conversation between friends, the reiteration and ecstatic vagueness enhances the realism which in turn enhances the impression of sincerity.

Hoccleve abruptly ends these stanzas of high-flown eulogy with a typical colloquialism :

"Now, good freend/shoue at the cart, I yow preye;
What thyng may I make vn-to his plesance?
Withouten your reed/noot I what to seye."
(Dialogue, 617-9)

Hoccleve simulates a lack of confidence in his ability to choose a text to please Duke Humphrey. By making the Friend encourage him to translate the Tale of Jereslaus' Wife Hoccleve manages to shift the ultimate responsibility for the decision. The Friend is keen for Hoccleve to rectify any offence he had caused by slandering women and to write something to make amends - but this conversation itself represents another variation in tone and theme within the Complaint Series. The context of the Dialogue enables Hoccleve to achieve an unusual variation on the anti-feminist conventions. This little exchange seems out of place yet highly Chaucerian:

'Thomas/how is it twixt thee & thy feere?
"Wel, wel, quod I/what list yow ther-of heere?
My wyf mighte haue hokir & greet desdeyn
If I sholde in swich cas/pleye a soleyn."
(Dialogue, 739-42)

I said that this exchange appears 'out of place' because it introduces a hitherto unmentioned wife who was completely omitted from the earlier descriptions of people's reactions to Hoccleve's illness and comes as something of a surprise, and yet the exchange is wholly in keeping with the diversity of subject matter and the individual use Hoccleve makes of conventions.

After the Friend has been advocating a translation which would make amends to women for past offences, Hoccleve objects that this can be of no interest to Duke Humphrey:

"Freend/thogh I do so/what lust or pleisir
Shal my lord haue in pat/noon thynkith me."
'Yis, Thomas, yis/his lust and his desir
Is/as it wel sit/to his hy degree,
ffor his desport/& mirthe in honestee,
With ladyes/to haue daliance:
And this book/wole he shewen hem par chance.

'And syn he thy good lord is/he be may
ffor thee swich mene/pat the lightlyere
Shuln they foryeue thee.....
(Dialogue, 701-10)

Here again Hoccleve uses the Friend as a device to shift the responsibility for the decision away from himself. In the Friend's protestation is yet more flattery for Duke Humphrey - and again, as this would probably have been a rather audacious comment on a patron, it is convenient that the Friend rather than Hoccleve says it, which in turn enhances the realism of the dramatic situation where the poet would naturally be wary of giving offence. As the date of the Complaint Series coincides

with the beginning of Duke Humphrey's attachment to Jacqueline of Hainault this reference may well contain a covert jest.

The Durham MS (70) contains the Complaint Series and follows the last item with a dedication to the Countess of Westmoreland. Thus Hoccleve was making use of several levels of patronage at the same time. The dedication of a particular manuscript was the simplest, least involved form of patronage here. But it is impossible to be sure about the nature of Hoccleve's relationship with Duke Humphrey. If we are to regard the patronage described in the Series as part of the imagined setting, then it was either coincidental or highly perceptive of Hoccleve to select Duke Humphrey as his imagined patron ten years before he showed any real sign of becoming one. And yet, as the political circumstances actually mentioned by Hoccleve had made Duke Humphrey the most influential man in England not absorbed with the war in France, the Duke had become an attractive prospective patron. How realistic the prospect of his patronage was is impossible to judge from the idiosyncratic Hoccleve.

Despite the possibility that Hoccleve may have been incorporating the patronage into his imaginative projection of himself writing, it seems unlikely that Hoccleve would have invented the commission altogether. It appears that the Duke asked Hoccleve to translate How to Learn to Die, but the commission must have been sufficiently vague to enable Hoccleve to expand his brief. The 'commission' was probably in the form of a casual suggestion, because Hoccleve was not sufficiently enthusiastic to rush off and execute it. The

other problem of reading Hoccleve within the context of patronage is the curious nature of the poetry he produced. Hoccleve is not abashed at delineating a persona derived from personal experience (71). He makes the Friend voice the problem of readership and the efficacy of publicising one's own problems - which shows his awareness of the problem he creates within the general dramatic context. The fullness of Hoccleve's dramatic conception engenders a realism which is impossible to penetrate. The Friend is anonymous - and significantly so perhaps, for he is the Universal Friend, a conscience, an alter ego. But the poet is called 'Thomas'. Hoccleve uses his own name - rather like Kafka's Joseph K in The Trial - the persona is a projection of himself, a clearly defined augmented self whom he explores.

Part 4 : Other writers who received Duke Humphrey's patronage.

Evidence regarding writers - apart from Lydgate, Hoccleve and the Palladius translator - who received Duke Humphrey's patronage is unsatisfactory. Lydgate was a professional patron-hunter and one would have been surprised if he had not eventually turned to Duke Humphrey. Hoccleve, too, had already received royal patronage by the time he wrote for Duke Humphrey and I have shown that the patronage relationship of the Complaint Series is far from straightforward. The Palladius translator was an unusual individual who had a strong sense of the requirements of patronage and without whose work we would now be unable to ascribe much interest in English literature to the Duke. Collectively, however, Lydgate, Hoccleve and the Palladius translator leave a striking impression of the Duke's active and lively patronage and one is prompted to look around for evidence regarding other writers who worked for the Duke.

Ethel Seaton's work Sir Richard Roos, c. 1450-1482, Lancastrian Poet, which seeks to recreate 'The Plesaunce Scene', centred on Duke Humphrey's home in Greenwich, is a measure of the natural dissatisfaction one can feel with the extant evidence. Seaton seeks to ascribe the vast body of anonymous Fifteenth Century verse to Richard Roos whose only fully authenticated work was 'La Belle Dame sans Merci' and her method of doing so involves detecting highly contrived acrostics and anagrams. The book is such a 'web of preposterous fantasy' (72) that

the material it deals with does not need to be discussed here, yet the determination with which Seaton endeavours to construct a picture of Country House patronage centred on the Duke is indicative of the frustration one feels at not knowing more about Duke Humphrey's Household :

We probably cannot estimate to the full the effect of contact with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and with the life at Plesance, on a young man brought up in a predominantly military family, himself a soldier, but obviously capable of literary interests, certainly sensitive to poetry, and perhaps intended earlier for a clerkly career. Duke Humphrey's brilliance is dimmed for us now.....but he was then the highest representative of culture in England, the Maecenas of poets, scholars and physicians, and he is the still-remembered patron of the University of Oxford. Eager for knowledge, a lover of books and fine manuscripts, gathering around him men of talent, feeling the first breath of the new learning from Italy, he added to all this the eclat of royal rank, and of power only just below the throne. Early dealings with such a man, his notice and favour, might well be intoxicating to a young aspirant.

(73)

It may well be that some of the anonymous courtly poetry of the Fifteenth Century was connected with Duke Humphrey's Household but sadly the connections have been lost.

Nicholas Upton - probably a fellow of New College, Oxford (74) - dedicated his work De Studio Militari on the rules and conduct of war to Duke Humphrey. He addresses it to 'Excellentissimo et illustrissimo Principi meo singulari' (75). Upton's association with the Duke is vague. The Holkam Hall MS of the work (76), said to have been in the Duke's possession, has no indication either that it did belong to the Duke or that

Upton really did have the Duke in mind while composing the work. I include Upton's work in this Chapter on English literature because it is something of an anomaly, neither being in English nor a work of scholarship. The De Studio Militari however is the sort of conventional work which a man might address to his Lord and falls in the blurred area between literary and scholastic writing that one might describe as utilitarian. Perhaps the Palladius translator was trying to satisfy the Duke's taste for the literary and for the utilitarian. Hoccleve considered translating Vegetius's De Re Militari, a work which Duke Humphrey is known to have owned in French (77). Upton describes Duke Humphrey's arms (78) but the description is not accurate nor is it distinguished from his many other descriptions of the arms of others. This is also true of his dealings with Duke Humphrey's insignia. Perhaps the dedication to the Duke was a formality or an afterthought for the work certainly bears no trace of inherent enthusiasm for the patron.

A loose form of the patronage relationship is patronage by association. The poet, George Ashby, says in his A Prisoner's Reflections, written in 1463 concerning his early history:

I gan remembre and revolve in mynde
My bryngyng vp from chyldhod hedyrto,
In the hyghest court that I coude fynd,
With the kyng, quene, and theyr vncle also,
The duk of Gloucetre, god hem rest do,
With whome I haue be cherysshyd ryght well,
In all that was to me nedefull euery dell.

(79)

Ashby's talents matured after the death of Duke Humphrey (he became clerk of the signet to Queen Margaret, and compiled a moral poem for the instruction of Prince Edward, The Active Policy of a Prince) who apparently died owing him money (80).

Slightly less loose a connection than this indirect patronage by historical association is patronage evidenced by acknowledged encouragement. At the beginning of his Boke of Nurture, John Russell describes himself :

an vsshare y Am / ye may beholde / to a prynce of highe degre,
þat enioyethe to enforme & teche / alle þo thatt wille thrive and thes
(81)

At the end of the Boke of Nurture we are told the identity of the 'prynce of high degre':

"Now, good son, thy self with other þat shalle þe succede,
whiche þus boke of nurture shalle note / lerne, & ouer rede
pray for the sowle of Iohn Russelle, þat god do hym mede,
Some tyme seruande with duke vmfrey, duc of Glowcetur in dede.
For þat prynce pereles prayethe / & for suche other mo,
þe sowle of my wife / my fadir and modir also.

(Boke of Nurture, 1227-32)

Like the Palladius translation, the content of the work is decidedly unliterary and, also like that translation, the treatment is very literary. The final envoy is a conventional literary envoy :

Go forthe lytelle boke, and lowly þow me commende
vnto alle yonge gentilmen.....

(Boke of Nurture, 1235-6)

The opening setting is ridiculously literary considering the pedestrian content to follow :

As y rose owt of my bed / in a mery sesoun of may,
to sporte me in a forest / where sightes were fresch & gay,
y met with þe forest / y prayed hym to say me not nay,
þat y myght walke in to his lawnde where þe deere lay.
as y wandered weldsomly / in-to þe lawnd þat was so grene...
(Boke of Nurture,13-17)

Although it is patently ludicrous to clothe a working treatise
in such literary weeds, John Russell's pointed insistence
that he worked in the Duke's Household combines with the presentation
to suggest that Russell's debt to the atmosphere of literary
encouragement in that Household was immense, if misplaced.

CHAPTER II : DUKE HUMPHREY'S PATRONAGE OF ITALIANS IN ENGLAND

In searching for the origins of interest in Italian humanism in Fifteenth Century England, many scholars have seen the visit of Poggio Bracciolini from 1418 to 1423 as highly significant (1). Little is known of what he actually did during his stay or the people with whom he came into contact, and it is difficult to assess the true impact of his presence. But as this was the first instance of an Italian humanist being invited to come to England and work in an important Household, and also be encouraged to combine the pursuit of his own independent researches with his secretarial employment, attempts have inevitably been made to establish connections with the way Duke Humphrey later employed Italians on exactly the same basis. Beaufort's invitation to Poggio appears to be an obvious model for the Duke's later invitations to Tito Livio Frulovisi (2) and Antonio Beccaria (3). Because Duke Humphrey was probably introduced to Poggio's works by Richard Petworth (4) - a man whom Poggio would have worked alongside in Beaufort's Household - a direct connection does superficially exist, but in terms of the development of the Duke's interest in scholarship, it is an anachronistic link. If Poggio's visit in 1418 - 23 exerted any influence on Duke Humphrey it would have been as an indirect and indeterminate result of the jealous rivalry which existed between the Duke and Poggio's employer, the Bishop of Winchester, Henry Beaufort.

The rivalry between Duke Humphrey and Beaufort surfaced

dramatically after the death of Henry V in 1422 (5). Beaufort evidently discerned the possible political and prestigious benefits to be gained by his Chancery from having the superior secretarial help of a humanist scholar who was keenly interested in writing a polished style of Latin and who was highly regarded in Italy in humanist circles. The visit to England had been proposed during Beaufort's attendance at the Council of Constance where he would have been surrounded by men full of enthusiasm for the current humanist scholarship (6). Poggio, attracted by the generous financial reward he had been offered and the possibilities he entertained of further discoveries of lost texts (7), joined Beaufort's Household in 1418.

During the period of Poggio's sojourn with Beaufort, Duke Humphrey's preoccupation with affairs of State would have prevented a close observation of Beaufort's secretary's activities. He was serving in France until November 1419, when Henry V decided to send him back to England as 'guardian and lieutenant in England' in place of Bedford (who changed places with him in France). Duke Humphrey filled this office until Henry's return at Christmas 1420. But Duke Humphrey was not unoccupied for long, because early in 1421 Jacqueline of Hainault applied to come to England, and from the moment that she set foot in England, the Duke became entangled with her affairs, for as Warden of the Cinque Ports it was his duty to meet her (8). From May 26 1421 he was again in France fighting, returning some time

after March 1422. Before May he was already Regent in England again. Henry V's death on August 31st generated a power struggle which would have engaged what energy the Duke was not expending on his courtship of Jacqueline of Hainault. When Parliament opened on November 9th, the political ambitions of Beaufort and Humphrey confronted each other in a rivalry which had not hitherto surfaced. Beaufort concentrated his efforts on limiting the powers Henry V had entrusted to Gloucester and he accomplished this very successfully. Humphrey married Jacqueline in January 1423 and occupied himself with establishing his rights in Hainault and he finally departed for this desired kingdom in 1424 (9). Thus, all through Poggio's period of employment in the Beaufort Household, Humphrey can have had little time to scrutinise the activities of the Florentine humanist; and yet, the intensity of his personal rivalry with Beaufort probably ensured that the political and prestige value of employing a man like Poggio did not go unnoticed. At any rate, it was Duke Humphrey, not Beaufort, who was eventually to exploit this idea further.

There is no positive evidence that Duke Humphrey had been aware of Poggio's presence in the Beaufort Household other than the circumstantial probability that he would have paid at least some attention to his rival's affairs. Another employee of Beaufort, Richard Petworth, who had been a secretary since 1415, kept in touch with Poggio when he went back to Italy and Petworth appears to have had some contact with the Duke (10).

This was the contact which Poggio, back in Italy, was not only aware of but attached value to, for he requested Petworth to show the Duke a copy of his De Varietate Fortunae, and it was probably through Petworth that Duke Humphrey possessed Poggio's De Avaritia. But Petworth's promotion of his Italian friend's works took place sometime after 1440 (11). It is impossible to evaluate with any exactitude the connection between Poggio's visit to England and Duke Humphrey's later interest in humanism, but it seems realistic to suggest that Duke Humphrey's competitive eye would not have missed the potential advantage his rival might have been gaining through employing Poggio. There is nothing to suggest that Petworth had any contact with Duke Humphrey much before 1440 - although his correspondence with Poggio had been kept up consistently since Poggio's return to Italy in 1424. Yet despite the lack of firm evidence that Humphrey had noticed the example set by Beaufort's patronage of Poggio, it is evidently significant that the precedent for one of the strongest ways in which the Duke's subsequent interest in humanist learning was to manifest itself (that is, in his employment of Italian secretaries), was set by his political rival Beaufort.

Having dismissed the role of Poggio Bracciolini in introducing Duke Humphrey to Italian humanism, Sammut attributes "il primo incontro di Unfredo con un umanista italiano" to his encounter with Simone Lelli da Teramo whom he describes as

"studioso mediocre e oscuro" (12) despite Poggio's description of him as a "vir doctissimus" (13). The importance Sammut places on Simone Lelli's relationship with the Duke is based on a single letter sent to Duke Humphrey in November 1424. This letter strenuously denies the suspicions the Duke had expressed a month earlier in a letter which he had sent to Pope Martin V concerning Simone's interference in the matter of the annulment of Jacqueline of Hainault's first marriage (14). Simone, a Papal Official who had spent some time in England, in his letter to the Duke makes an ostentatious display of his classical knowledge, pompously quoting with strained relevance Aristotle, Terence and Seneca in order to strengthen his case.⁽⁶⁵⁾ It is impossible to assess the significance of Simone's self-advertising. There is no evidence to suggest that, in alluding so profusely to classical literature, Simone da Teramo was providing what he had heard would please the Duke and that this was not his normal over-worked style. One would be wrong to deduce that Duke Humphrey already had a reputation amongst Italian humanists for looking favourably on men who took an interest in such things. If a collection of Simone's letters existed and one were able to demonstrate that he was doing something unusual in displaying his classical knowledge so prominently, it would perhaps be valid to attribute this to an already well-known interest on the part of the Duke. Yet, pretentious and contrived as the letter may now read, the enthusiasm - albeit an over-enthusiasm deriving from an eagerness to ingratiate - for the classics

is extraordinary. Although Sammut perhaps overstates the case for it by saying that it offers "una data approssimativa e illuminante dell'incipiente interessamento del duca alla nuova corrente umanistica" (16) one can however claim for the letter a significance in making the Duke aware of humanist trends.

Simone's letter to the Duke is not a completely isolated piece of extant evidence that Duke Humphrey had direct contact with the humanist group within the Papal Service. Giuliano Cesarini sent over to England in 1426 to procure the repeal of the "Statute of Provisors" (18), brought letters of recommendation from the Pope to the authorities of Oxford University and Duke Humphrey (19). While in England he spent part of his spare time explaining Justin to the chronicler George Hardyng at the request of Henry Beaufort (20), which suggests that in all probability he did other teaching. There is no evidence that Duke Humphrey gave Cesarini any particular help and it could be that the Pope merely wrote to the Duke because, as Protector, he was the obvious political authority to whom to send a letter of recommendation, and one should deduce nothing from this. Thus, instead of regarding the fact that the Duke was coupled with Oxford University in this way as being indicative of a reputation for humanist interest, we are safer in seeing one letter as having been sent to help Cesarini find friends in scholastic circles and the other to help him in the political world. Again, Sammut is probably overstating the case by saying that one can believe that

during Cesarini's stay in England he spoke with the Duke about his discovery of new classical texts in Italy and so continued to keep alive his enthusiasm for a subject which had already greatly interested him, as one can infer from Simone's letter (21). But here again Cesarini can at least be said to have contributed to the Duke's awareness of humanist interests if only by his presence, his connection with Oxford and possibly, like Poggio, by his association with the Household of the Duke's rival, Beaufort.

Weiss says that "Humphrey's curiosity in polite letters dated from his relations with Papal Officials..." and then he cites Simone da Teramo, Cesarini and Gerardo Landriani (22). But the difficulty with this assertion is that the Duke's dealings with Simone were in 1424 and with Cesarini in 1426 and were of the rather confined and slight extent which I have described. His connection with Gerardo Landriani, however, was considerably later. Landriani took part in the Council of Basle (1431-37) and was twice sent to England to invite the court to send a delegation to Basle (23). On the first occasion, 23rd June 1432, he immediately received help from Duke Humphrey and returned to Basle full of enthusiasm for the Duke (24), emphasising his intellectual standing and his taste for letters (25), and he returned in October 1433, apparently re-establishing his friendship with the Duke. Back in Basle he corresponded with the Duke, and Weiss comments that the Duke's replies "are interesting also because of their classical style. As Gloucester had no Italian scholar in his service at the time, they may possibly be the work of

Bekynton who was then his Chancellor".(26) Whereas, in detecting any humanist influence Simone or Cesarini may have exerted on the Duke, one is placing weight on the contact they had with him retrospectively in view of the interests he later developed, Duke Humphrey's contact with Gerardo Landriani is indicative of a more active involvement. His enthusiastic reception of Landriani shows the value he placed on what would be said of him on the Continent in humanist circles. It coincides with Duke Humphrey's developing friendship with Zenone da Castiglione (27) who, while attending the Council of Basle as one of Henry VI's envoys, was able also to promote the Duke's reputation. The fact that more than one man was singing the Duke's praises at Basle probably accounts for the degree of interest they managed to arouse.

In March 1434 (28) Leonardo Bruni wrote to Duke Humphrey declining his invitation to come to England but accepting a proposal to prepare and dedicate a Latin text of Aristotle's Politics for him (29). Unfortunately, Duke Humphrey's invitation, to which Bruni was evidently replying, is lost and although we can deduce the general content of his letter from Bruni's reply, any information about how the Duke had heard of Bruni and what had prompted him to approach the famous humanist which it might have contained is completely gone. What is definite is that the Duke, probably in the second half of 1433, (30) approached one of the most prominent humanists in Italy at the time with an invitation to come to England (31). Sammut

speculates that his translation of ^{the} ~~Nichomachean~~ ^{an} Ethics which he had finished in 1417 had made him famous in England (32) "e certamente attiro l'attenzione del duca" because of Vespasiano da Bisticci's remark that he had a great reputation in England and especially with the Duke of 'Volestri' (33). Vickers, Weiss and Schirmer debate about how the Duke obtained his copy of Bruni's Ethics, surmising that Zenone Castiglione, Whethamstede or the English delegation on its return from Constance had given it to him (34). All one can be sure of is that, whoever influenced the Duke and however he knew of Bruni, and whether or not he was attempting to keep up with or surpass his rival Beaufort, in 1433 he did have the wit to invite one of the most accomplished humanists in Italy to come to England. If a patron is to be judged by his discernment of talent worth patronising, one must credit the Duke for his interest in Bruni.

Although Bruni declined to come to England, he did, however, agree to start work immediately on a Latin text of Aristotle's Politics and to dedicate it to the Duke (35). This took him four years to complete and was ready by 1437. He also offered to send Duke Humphrey any texts which the Duke might care to possess (36). It is comic and a little sad to observe the actual outcome of the Duke's first major contact with an important humanist. Replying to enquiries from Frulovisi who was writing on the Duke's behalf in August 1437 about the delivery of the presentation copy, Bruni explained that difficulties had arisen over its transmission and he "observed rather pointedly that he had neither asked for, nor so far received

any financial benefits from the whole transaction".(37)

After the volume reached Duke Humphrey early in 1438, another letter arrived from Bruni saying that he was pleased the volume had reached him and also reproaching him for his suspicions and his conduct (38). Before dispatching the text, Bruni had despaired of receiving any reward from Duke Humphrey and had written to Flavio Biondo, a Papal Secretary, offering the translation to Pope Eugenius IV and at the same time sending a copy with a new preface addressed to the Pope, an offer Biondo accepted on the Pope's behalf (39). This behaviour of Bruni's provoked criticism from Pier Candido Decembrio (40) who by now was on friendly terms with Duke Humphrey, and both he and his employer, the Archbishop Pizzolpasso, were anxious to benefit as much as possible from their connection with the English patron (41). Doubtless their criticism of Bruni was provoked more by a desire to curry favour with the Duke than from any true sense of outrage. Bruni's alienation could only work to Decembrio's advantage. Yet the schism with Bruni had unfortunate implications and repercussions. Bruni, after all, had taken four years to complete the work - it is hardly surprising that he expected remuneration. Duke Humphrey apparently chose to ignore his unstated yet obvious obligation to pay for the work, however keen and gratified he might have been to obtain it. Ironically (42) Decembrio himself was to have exactly the same problem with the Duke. One can detect here in this encounter with Bruni a tendency which demonstrates the Duke's attitude towards the value of literature.

In 1433, the date of the Duke's initial approach to Bruni, the Duke's proposal had been two-fold, involving both an invitation to come to England and a request for a translation. I have separated my discussion of the Duke's contact with Italian humanists into his dealings with those who came to England and those whom he knew through correspondence. Bruni is unique in being important in both these categories. Even though he did not come to England, the fact that Duke Humphrey invited him is of utmost importance. Whether he was consciously copying Beaufort's invitation to Poggio in the hope of augmenting his own political standing and whether the Papal Officials whom he had hitherto met had exerted much influence on him, is open to speculation. Duke Humphrey's invitation to Bruni demonstrates a marked stage in how his ideas were developing. The fact that Bruni was working for the Duke would have established the Duke as a respectable patron amongst writers in Italy who held Bruni in awe, and those looking for possible patronage would seriously consider approaching the Duke. The fact that the Duke had invited Bruni to England - even though he had declined the invitation - created a climate of opinion that lent favour to the idea of going to work for the Duke in England, making it a prestigious worthwhile thing to do. By the time that the Duke fell out with Bruni in 1438, he had already greatly benefited from being associated with Bruni.

When Piero del Monte came to England as Papal Collector in 1435 (43), Duke Humphrey evidently already had a clear idea of what he wanted to obtain from the humanist Italians he

met. His relationship with del Monte was more fruitful than any acquaintance he had had with the other Papal Officials. Del Monte's activities were manifold; he not only produced writing himself for the Duke but he was also responsible for bringing first Tito Livio Frulovisi and then Antonio Beccaria to England to work for the Duke; he offered advice and encouragement to Englishmen interested in letters and he encouraged Italians to contact the Duke. One cannot claim that Piero del Monte was instrumental in forging the Duke's interests; he merely stepped in to provide what the Duke had already discovered he wanted. Del Monte's connection with so much of the Duke's patronage and his presence in England exactly during the years when the Duke was most active as a patron perhaps suggest that del Monte was instrumental in the development of Duke Humphrey's interest in patronage.

The Palladius translator (44) included del Monte in his list of the men who lived in the Duke's Household and produced translations for him:

Yit Whethamstede and also Pers de Mounte
Titus and Antony and y laste ofre.....
(45)

Del Monte had a strong relationship with each of the men mentioned as well as with the Duke; apart from being responsible in the first place for the presence of the other Italians, his letters to Whethamstede in 1437 (46), and 1439 (47), show how he had developed a friendship with him based on a mutual interest in books. In 1437, writing to Whethamstede at St. Albans he

sent a copy of Guarino's Plutarch translations (48) and promised to send him more books which were unknown in England. In 1439, he asked for a "Josephus" and again promised more books and sent with the letter a copy of the dialogue he had dedicated to the Duke. He speaks of the Duke thus:

Eum illustrissimo principi duci Gloucestrie inscripsi,
quoniam et vitiorum acerrimus vindex est et de hisce
humanitatis studiis quibus omnis philosophia continetur
erudite ac sapienter iudicare potest.

(49)

He also describes a meeting with whethamstede:

Veniam quoque aliquando fortis an ad te, ut de libris ac studiis
invicem colloquamur videamque libros omnes monasterii
tui, quos audio esse admodum multos.

(50)

The lines from the Palladius translation suggest that a coterie of learned men surrounded the Duke and this impression is certainly corroborated by the sense of a free interchange of books and ideas among these men which del Monte's letters convey. This drawing of other men into the Duke's circle created an atmosphere of exchange and mutual enthusiasm; in fact, it was what created the circle itself, centred on the Duke, and suggests perhaps that we should see del Monte as a dominant force behind the development of the Duke's reputation. A series of isolated incidents of patronage cannot create nearly as much impact as the establishment of a central inter-related corpus of activity which in time becomes self-generating.

Del Monte was appointed Papal Collector in England on 20 April 1435 and arrived in early August (51). Like Giuliano Cesarini, in 1426, del Monte brought a letter of recommendation from the

Pope to Duke Humphrey. But whereas (partly because nothing materialized from the relationship with Cesarini) it is more likely that the earlier letter had been sent to Duke Humphrey because he was the obvious political authority to address, the letter del Monte brought for the Duke instigated a productive and mutually advantageous friendship. Like the other Papal Officials, del Monte came into contact with the Duke by his chance appointment to England, but he was unique among them for being able to take advantage of the Duke's friendly interest. Generally very critical of the English (unable to find men of the same standard of learning as his own and finding the weather and customs strange (52), the length of his stay apparently belying the happiness of it) del Monte wrote enthusiastically of the Duke and not only when addressing him directly (53).

Weiss ascribes del Monte's encouragement of humanism in England to such motives as "opportunism", "petty private designs" and "ulterior motives" and he points out that whereas Poggio, though more gifted, had failed to arouse interest, del Monte had had the ground for his reception prepared for him (54). It is hard to assess whether del Monte's motives were any more selfish than those of anyone else, but if one measures how much he performed for the Duke against the amount he gained personally, he compares well with other patron hunters. As for the ground having been prepared, there is evidence that Duke Humphrey was already aware of the various different activities del Monte could undertake for him, but the fact that his activities and

influence were so multifarious indicates the amount of energy he was prepared to devote. He wrote works himself, he suggested Italian humanists who could come and work in the Household, he encouraged humanists to show the Duke their works, he encouraged Englishmen like Whethamstede, he conducted an enormous Latin correspondence and delivered Latin orations. Considering he was only in England for five years, the momentum of his activity is indicative not only of his enthusiastic reception by the Duke, but of the Duke's active involvement in the direction his energies took. Piero del Monte himself says:

si quid in me est ingenii, si quid virium, id omne tibi
me debere cognosco

(55)

Indeed, the treatise for which he writes these words addressed to Duke Humphrey was his only humanist work for a patron (56).

Apart from a controversial pamphlet against the Bishop of Palermo, and a short treatise on whether Scipio or Caesar had been the greatest general of antiquity (57), Del Monte wrote a Latin dialogue upon the intrinsic difference between virtues and vices which he dedicated to the Duke. The dedication, although couched in the standard superlative eulogistic language common to the form, is worthy of special attention because by 1438 the writer would have known Duke Humphrey for three years, possibly giving his observations more than the usual validity. The treatise was copied several times. One copy (58) surviving in the Bodleian also contains another work dedicated to Duke Humphrey, the Comparatio studiorum et rei militaris of Lapo da Castiglionchio

(59) as well as a translation from the Greek by Bruni and works by Guarino. A context like this demonstrates how works connected with the Duke were being read alongside other well-known humanist texts.

Del Monte's dedication (60) of the treatise to the Duke is highly appropriate, as the central theme of the work is the happiness of princes, which he says is not to be found in the nobility of blood but in virtue. Sammut suggests that in fact the dedication was written after his departure from England in 1440 (although the work was composed in 1438) because it reads like an expression of gratitude (61). But this surmise is unfounded as there is nothing to suggest that such eulogies were valedictory for their whole purpose was to flatter and ingratiate as much as possible; the author is more likely to write it in a situation where he is likely to benefit as much as possible. Del Monte starts by giving the standard reason for dedicating the work, that he wants to do something to ensure that the Duke's memory will endure:

Tuas eximias laudes virtutesque permaximas, illustrissime princeps, cogitati mihi ac persaepe, ut debeo, memoria repententi illa longe videtur esse praestantior caeterisque excellentior quae sicut superioris aetatis principibus te aequalem, sic nostrae iure ac merito excellentiorem constituit.

(62)

An intimate and genuine friendship is indicated - reflecting well on both patron and writer - and after this general praise of the Duke's merits he goes on to list them, emphasising the varied nature of the Duke's interests (implying the kind of

of versatile ability which was so highly valued in Renaissance Italy) and saying that the Duke has no real pleasure apart from the reading of books:

Ea sane est optimorum artium liberaliumque scientiarum peritia, cui omni conatu, omni ingenio atque studio incumbis, adeo ut nihil tibi sine librorum lectione iocundum, gratum aut certe delectabile videatur.

(63)

Del Monte remarks that one very rarely sees a prince able to rule a kingdom effectively and also find the leisure to read books. After a general discussion of generals who were also able to combine military and state interests with scholastic study (in which the Duke is compared to Julius Caesar and Augustus and Theodosius (64)), del Monte returns to address the Duke, again stressing the versatility of his interests:

Delectaris autem non una tantum arte aut scientia, quamquam et id quidem esset satis, verum fere omnibus eorumque codices magna quadam aviditate legisti

(65)

Del Monte comments on the Duke's amazing powers of retaining what he read and heard and on his ability to quote authorities accurately to support his statements. Del Monte reiterates at length his gratitude for the Duke's kindness to him and states that this was why he was hopefully and hesitatingly dedicating the work to him.

In view of the fact that it was in the time del Monte spent in England in close association with Duke Humphrey that he composed his one humanist work, it seems that the encouragement

worked both ways. It is as though, asked by the Duke to do what he could by way of inviting humanist friends to send works and come to England, del Monte tried his hand at producing something for the eager patron himself.

Del Monte wrote to his friend Ambrogio Traversari in 1438 to ask him to send the Duke some of his works and to correspond with him (66). But no copy of Traversari's work appears in the extant evidence of the Duke's library and there is nothing to suggest that Traversari obliged his friend. If this is the case, perhaps he did not think it worth his while, which suggests the limited esteem accorded to the English patron abroad.

Del Monte's attempts to bring Italian humanists into the Duke's Household met with greater success. He was personally responsible for the presence of Tito Livio Frulovisi (an old schoolfriend, being a fellow pupil of Guarino's (67)) and his successor, Antonio Beccaria, in the Duke's Household - though the extent to which the Duke benefitted from this is questionable and will be the subject of the rest of the chapter. Less easy to determine precisely is the result of the voluminous correspondence del Monte conducted with Englishmen and Italians both while he was in England and after he had returned to Italy. After 1440, he still wrote back to England to Andrew Holes, Nicholas Bildestone, Kymer, John Whethamstede, Thomas Bekynton, Adam de Moleyns and Vincent Clement as well as the Duke (68). While

he was in England he had kept in constant touch with humanists back at home. This meant that the English humanists were drawn into immediate contact with Italian humanist trends and their names became known in Italy and associated through Del Monte with the Italians who knew of his affairs.

The date at which Tito Livio Frulovisi entered the service of the Duke is assigned to the end of 1436 or the beginning of 1437, about a year and a half after del Monte came to the country. Duke Humphrey had obtained a grant of denization four years earlier for his Italian physician (69) and did the same for Frulovisi on 7 March 1437. The grant proudly proclaims the Italian as the Duke's "poeta et orator" (70), an altogether different office from that of secretary or clerk, and as Weiss says "suggests at once that the conditions of his employment were very much like those of a scholar in the service of an Italian court." (71)

While in England, Frulovisi wrote two of his Latin comedies, Peregrinatio and Eugenius, the Vita Henrici Quinti and a poem celebrating the achievements of Duke Humphrey in France in the summer of 1436, the Humfroidos. His output then seems remarkable considering the short time he was with the Duke - he appeared again in Venice in 1439, having probably left England in 1438. He evidently enjoyed his stay in England, for he not only sought to prolong it after he had fallen out with Duke Humphrey by appealing to Chancellor John Stafford (a well-known enemy of

the Duke's) for employment, but once he reached Italy he asked his friend Piero del Monte to try and secure a new appointment for him (72) back in England. That he had fallen out with the Duke is hardly surprising, as his biography consists of a series of feuds, contretemps, arrests and banishments. He found it very easy to alienate people he came into contact with. He clearly had an inflated view of himself and his work and he appears to have caused controversy wherever he went. It appears that he came to England in the first place to escape the scandals surrounding the productions of his Latin comedies which received scathing criticism and accusations of plagiarism. Frulovisi evidently worked extremely hard at being the humanist writer (73) and obviously was determined to succeed in his chosen field despite the uphill struggle. His passionate, even vehement temper appears to have clashed with the obsequious humility demanded of his calling and in his early years in Venice, unable to grovel to the men with whom he should have been sidling into favour, he appears to have deliberately attacked and alienated them. It is not surprising that when he dedicated his De Republica to Leonello d'Este - evidently aiming at securing a post in his native city of Ferrara (74), Leonello, despite also having been a pupil of Guarino's, ignored the appeal for patronage. Frustrated by his continual lack of success and the bitter rivalry he encountered, it is not surprising that the prospect of secure employment with

Duke Humphrey attracted him to come to England.

It is not precisely known how Frulovisi and Duke Humphrey first made contact. Del Monte and Frulovisi were both pupils of Guarino da Verona in Venice and had both been lawyers (75), and the Duke's physician, Giovanni dei Signorelli, was a Ferrarese (76). It is likely that having made life unpleasant for himself in Italy, Frulovisi made enquiries of his contacts in England and this fortunately coincided with the Duke's willingness to employ resident Italian writers. Possibly Frulovisi had heard of Bruni's declining the Duke's invitation and consciously sought to occupy the vacant post. Frulovisi himself states that he was drawn to England by the fame of the dead Henry V in battle and that of Duke Humphrey in letters, but as this occurs in the introduction to his Vita Henrici Quinti (77) the statement has to be read on the level of a fine appropriate remark which has an accepted fictional truth, standard to this sort of writing, not to be understood literally. The dedication of the De Republica to Leonello d'Este (around 1433-4) indicates how desirous Frulovisi was to find patronage, and the quantity of literature which he produced once in England to please Duke Humphrey is indicative of how much he valued patronage when he found it. Duke Humphrey possessed a copy of Frulovisi's De Republica (78), presumably given to him by Frulovisi as a sample of the sort of work he could furnish a patron with.

The two Latin plays which Frulovisi wrote while in England

are extremely difficult to assess in terms of any impact they created with the Duke or in his Household, because we only have the plays themselves as evidence and no external comment. The plays are typical of Frulovisi's comedies in being quasi-biographical, tempting the reader not merely to identify the characters and situations with those known in Frulovisi's life, but also to recreate Frulovisi's biography in terms of the content of the plays. Thus Previte-Orton dates Peregrinatio to around the date of Frulovisi's naturalisation on 7 March 1437 because in the Prologue he speaks as one newly arrived, and Eugenius is dated not much later, because he fervently praises his new employer, he appears himself as Synetus and insinuates his desire for a permanent pension "securim ociurq" (79). Considering that Frulovisi had his plays acted in Venice it is likely that he attempted to do the same in England, and one wonders if he would have written a second play had the first not met with a measure of success. Previte-Orton comments :

Frulovisi's dramatic talent shows a decline after his departure from Venice. The lack of a fit stage to act his plays on in England, the constraint of writing for an orthodox patron, and the absence of personal satire to point his pen may have chilled him.

(80)

The comment on the "orthodox patron" seems unfounded as Frulovisi could hardly have known his patron well enough to feel any constraint of orthodoxy when he wrote Peregrinatio and as Duke Humphrey could have had no developed ideas about drama in view of his total lack of experience, it is hard to see how

the Duke could have exerted any influence on the content of Peregrinatio. The play has a confused, extended, rather forced plot - hardly likely to mould a developing patron's interests in that direction. Eugenius is hardly better.

Previte-Orton describes Eugenius:

.....in intent a kind of morality play. The plot is straightforward and well worked out. Eugenius, who in a vague way represents the Duke of Gloucester, is devoted to literature and high thinking, which he pursues with his servant, Synetus, a watered-down and idealized Frulovisi. His father, Endoxus, a Sir Anthony Absolute, ardently desires him to marry, and after long discourse on the disadvantages of the married state Eugenius gives way and promises to marry after his father's return from a journey to fetch his orphan ward Stephanus. During his father's absence he marries Macrothyma (Patience) daughter of Eunus (Goodness) and Penia (Poverty). On his return Endoxus insists on a divorce and on Eugenius's re-marriage to Erichia (Wealth), daughter of Mataeus (Vanity) and Hyperiphania (Pride). Macrothymia endures the trials of the patient Griselda, but Erichia and her parents prove so intolerable to Endoxus, that he entreats Eugenius with Synetus's counsel to arrange a second divorce and to re-marry the gentle Macrothyma. Her mother Penia is, however, to be kept at a respectful distance.

(81)

Previte-Orton's description of the play is at first sight convincing. He appears justified in his identification of the character of Eugenius as Duke Humphrey, and Synetus as Frulovisi himself in view of the writer's method of drawing without inhibition on his immediate experiences. But to say that Eugenius 'in a vague way represents' calls into question what one thinks Frulovisi was doing by writing the comedy at all. If he was flattering his master by depicting him in this way, the description of his various marriages was decidedly tactless in view of the controversy

there had been over the Duke's marriage to Eleanor Cobham in 1428 (82) and apart from the problem of tact (a word one would barely associate with Frulovisi), the allegory of the father and the marriages seems ridiculously inappropriate. If Duke Humphrey was meant to feel gratified that he was seen to have espoused goodness and patience as opposed to wealth, vanity and pride (and the exclusion of poverty is to be seen as a joke) the mere suggestion that he had ever espoused wealth, vanity and pride would have seemed insulting. The characters as in many forced allegories are flat, and if as Previte-Orton says 'the flighty wanton steward Aphron.. .perhaps parodies a real person' the play would have made Frulovisi enemies rather than friends. In any case, one finds no hint that the dramatic performances, if they did take place, created any impression on the Duke's circle or on England at the time or afterwards.

The two plays remain puzzling; they give us no indication of what Frulovisi's position in Duke Humphrey's Household was like. We do not even know whether the plays were performed at all let alone what sort of reception they received. It could be that they were regarded as a variation on the mummings which were popular at court. In view of the description that Wickham gives in Early English Stages 1300 to 1660 of mummings one can speculate that Frulovisi's works appeared dry in the extreme:

Yet both the environment - street and hall - and the descriptive tone of both mummings place them just as firmly within a context of social revelry where religious meditation is clearly secondary to popular recreation in dancing, dicing, charade and carousal. This delicate balance is preserved in at least one other Christmas mumming which Lydgate prepared for the young King Henry VI when spending Christmas at Eltham. This allegorises the presentation of gifts of wine, wheat and oil in terms of Bacchus, Ceres and Juno. In four other entertainments, however, described variously by Lydgate as mummings or disguisings, the liturgical festival provides little more than an excuse for secular revels.

(83)

It seems likely that Frulovisi's plays were unappreciated by his English audience and this may have contributed to the untoward circumstances of his departure from England.

Five months after the grant of denization there is a letter written by Frulovisi in his own name to Leonardo Bruni regarding the translation of Aristotle's Politics (84). Letters written by Bekynton and Beccaria on the Duke's business to humanists are hard to identify as they were written in the Duke's name (and may well have been the work of another accomplished secretary) so it is interesting that the Duke did employ Frulovisi to write letters for him and to do so in his own name. The distinction is important as it indicates the status accorded to Frulovisi. He was regarded as an employed writer rather than a writer merely invited to work attached to the Household; the comedies were in keeping with the work Frulovisi had hitherto occupied himself with but his other tasks were directly commissioned and the evidence indicates that Frulovisi produced the comedies soon after his arrival in England, after which the

Duke took it upon himself to control the direction of his employee's creativity. Frulovisi offered himself as a writer prepared to turn his hand to whatever was required and this threw the onus back on the patron to determine what work would be done for him. The two main pieces of writing which Frulovisi undertook for Duke Humphrey during his stay in England were both pieces of historiography.

In 1437 - 9, Duke Humphrey was leading the unpopular (among the nobility that is) faction advocating war with Burgundy, and it would be too ingenuous not to see Frulovisi's production of a work glorifying Henry V's heroism as specifically commissioned to enhance Gloucester's cause. Weiss describes it :

In all but name it was a pamphlet to glorify Gloucester in his loyalty to his dead brother's cause, and an attempt on behalf of Gloucester's policy to inspire enthusiasm for a war that was turning inevitably to defeat.

(85)

Weiss follows this description by saying that it was the first "official" life of an English king and remarking that as such his work "could not fail to exercise a remarkable influence upon English historiography andanticipates Polydore Virgil in the combining of national feeling with foreign culture..."

(86). The difficulty here is determining what is meant by "official". The Vita Henrici Quinti was by no means the first biography of Henry V, nor was it written for a different audience than the other Lives. Gransden describes the different Fifteenth Century biographies of Henry V thus:

Unlike Elmham's metrical Life, the three Lives still to be considered, that by Titus Livius, the Pseudo-Elmham and the English translation of Titus Livius, were not intended primarily for a clerical audience. They were written, as was the Gesta, for the nobility and for those closely connected with the royal court. Moreover, the first two Lives can be further distinguished from both the Gesta and Elmham's metrical Life : the latter were, in their different ways, typically medieval works but Titus Livius' Life and, to a lesser extent, the Pseudo-Elmham were products of renaissance humanism.

(87)

The idea of writing a chronicle in terms of biography was novel; Rossi goes so far as to state that :

l'opera di Tito Livio Frulovisi segno il punto di rottura con la tradizione cronachistica medioevale inglese... .

(88)

But to regard the idea of writing a Life as thoroughly Italian and Renaissance is somewhat misleading. For the Vita Henrici Quinti represents an interesting fusion of two distinct and strong traditions which meant that the form would be familiar to both the patron and writer although their familiarity with it derived from quite different traditions. In England, Duke Humphrey would have been familiar with the tradition of Saints' Lives (and many of the Saints were also kings); in Italy, Frulovisi would have been well-acquainted with the Petrarchan Vita.

The responsibility for resurrecting the method of writing history through biography and example is generally ascribed to Petrarch. This was a resurrection of a method popular with Cicero, Pliny, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus and Plutarch as opposed to the chronological methods of Caesar, Livy, Justin and Sallust.

Petrarch's two enormous compilations De viris illustribus and Rerum memorandarum libri IV had a strong influence on his humanist successors (90). The collections of De viris illustribus proved highly popular with patron-hunting humanists because they could dedicate those relatively short works either to prospective patrons in the hope of further commissions or to patrons whom they were working for already in the hope of immediate reward. Lapda Castiglionchio, encouraged by Zano da Castiglione (the Bishop of Bayeux who acted as the Duke's agent when he moved around in humanist circles) (91), dedicated a Vita Artaxerxes to the Duke in December 1437 (92); Antonio Beccaria dedicated a Vita Romolo probably while working in the Duke's Household (93); Antonio Pacini dedicated a Vita Mario - also inspired by Castiglione to approach the Duke (94). Such short works, affording as they do the easy opportunity to flatter the man to whom they are dedicated by drawing an analogy between that man and the heroic subject of the Vita, were the ideal form for a patron-hunter who did not want to run the risk of investing a great deal of time and energy in producing a volume for an unresponsive prospective patron. The sort of response expected was obviously financial reward. The unpleasantness which had surrounded the production and eventual delivery of Bruni's Ethics described earlier in this chapter was exactly the sort of situation they were anxious to avoid. Such considerations enhanced the popularity of the genre.

Frulovisi's teacher (and the dominant influence on the generation of humanist writers working during the period of Duke Humphrey's interest in humanism) Guarino Veronese held passionate views on the nature of history (95). He himself had written biographies of Plato and St Ambrogio and translated many of Plutarch's Lives and set his pupils to translate some of the Lives too (96). Guarino emphasised the utilitarian nature of history (as opposed to fiction, which was for pleasure)-that it should teach men by example (97).

Whether or not Gloucester was responsible for the original idea of writing a life of his brother, the work represents an interesting fusion of the traditions Frulovisi and Gloucester were familiar with. Thus one can see patron and writer in successful and unusual collaboration; Frulovisi producing work in keeping with popular humanist trends which he would have inclined towards and been keen to try out for himself, and yet providing his patron with exactly the sort of work which would enhance his designs. Perhaps one can see the commissioning of the Humfroidos as indicative of the patron's pleasure in the Vita Henrici Quinti.

The Vita Henrici Quinti interprets the life of Henry V in a light which enhanced the viewpoint of Duke Humphrey's own political designs:

Titus Livius wrote both works primarily as propaganda in favour of Duke Humphrey. The duke, whose position in the regency was strengthened by the death of the duke of Bedford in 1435, wanted to consolidate his position and renew the war with France by leading an expedition against the duke of Burgundy. The purpose of the Life was to rehearse Henry V's triumphs, in order to spur his son to emulation. (98)

Gransden thus confirms the impression that the work was written for the benefit of Henry VI who would thus be influenced to follow the example set by his father, an example that Duke Humphrey, who still adhered to his brother's policies, was particularly anxious his nephew should follow. This is borne out by the emphasis on, and rather too many references with obvious admiration to the contributions of Duke Humphrey, who would obviously want his nephew to think well of his past exploits. The Vita begins with a panegyric on Duke Humphrey:

qui te summa pietate fideque nutriebat, ita ut alter a
Lycurgo Lacedaemoniorum regis pollibite fratre versus
regem nepotem nutriendum integritate et fide per universarium
orbem praedicetur. Hunc et Hunfredum ducem in litera et
omnium humanorum divinarumque rerum studiis ceteros
principes quantum est qui vivant superant/um

(99)

The work is addressed to Henry VI who was committed as a child to the care of the 'most noble duke who watched over his education and religious development, as Lycurgus had looked after his nephew, the son of the Lacedaemonians!' Tito Livio then comments on the Duke's study of letters 'both divine and human', his patronage of Tito Livio and his commission of the Life.

The account of Henry V does not merely relate the course of events of the king's life, but provides the sort of interpretation and character analysis one finds in Plutarch's Lives. The King's virtues, religious integrity, interests and physique are all scrutinised and admired; a portrait of

mythic proportions is gradually compiled:

erat princeps ultra median staturam, facie decora,
oblongo collo, corpore gracili, membris subtilibus,
miris tamen uiribus, cursu velocissimus, ita ut nullis
canibus, nullis missilibus, duobus saepe comitibus clamam
velocissimum animal ipse prehenent. Musicis delectabatur,
veneria et martialia mediocriter secutus, et alia quae
militaribus licentia praebere solit quoad rex illius
pater vixit.

(100)

The exploits at Agincourt are given special prominence, which is not surprising in view of Duke Humphrey's active involvement in that battle and the way it represented the triumph of Henry V's foreign policy.

It seems likely that Frulovisi was furnished with the Duke's first-hand experience. Kingsford states:

For his material Tito states expressly that Humphrey supplied him with all the monuments of his hero's exploits that could be found. Part of his information was no doubt obtained from Humphrey himself and his associates. The statement is, however, obviously intended to cover written sources, and one such source we are able to identify.....

(101)

Gransden concurs with Kingsford that:

The most graphic passages in Livius's Life describe the sieges and battles in which Duke Humphrey participated. Perhaps the best is the description of the siege of Cherbourg which the duke commanded in the spring and summer of 1417.

(102)

The concentration in the account of the battle on the figure of the king is particularly reminiscent of classical historiographical techniques, so too is this kind of idealisation of the central hero. Everything which Frulovisi narrates contributes to the picture of a hero. As Rossi remarks, Shakespeare's Henry V

has clouded later judgement, shadowing the originality of Frulovisi's approach (103).

Because the Vita Henrici quinti is written in Latin rather than English, and was commissioned from Frulovisi rather than Lydgate, Humphrey would be able to disseminate the myth of his brother's glory in Europe. Because it was cast in the popular form of the Vita it was likely to be attractive to the humanists who were eagerly working with the genre and catch the attention of their masters, whom Humphrey was anxious to be respected by. Indeed, the evidence indicates that the work was known about abroad. From two letters assigned to 1440 (104) written by Frulovisi to Pier Candido Decembrio, the secretary to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti in Milan (105), it appears that Frulovisi went to visit Decembrio in Milan after he had been in England and had there shown him the Vita Henrici Quinti. From Milan (where he says he had had enough of princes (106)) he went straight to Toulouse and while there he got a copy of his book made and tried on several occasions to send it to his friend. But later, when he arrived at Barcelona, he arranged to have it transmitted by the Borrromei (107), who seem to have been the means by which manuscripts were passed around Europe by the humanists. He describes the text as "historiam illam clarissimi regis Anglorum" (108). Decembrio's reply confirms that he received the manuscript. In November 1463, Decembrio dedicated his Italian translation

of Frulovisi's Vita to Francesco Sforza. This does not necessarily mean that he waited some twenty years to translate the work. It is more likely that he had executed the task earlier, but due to the political situation (whereby the Visconti Dukes died out in Milan and the unemployed Decembrio withdrew to Rome), Decembrio did not make immediate use of the work. When he decided to dedicate something to Francesco Sforza after his return to Milan in 1462, he drew on the translation of Frulovisi's Vita which he had already executed. It is interesting that Decembrio considered that the work would please Sforza. Whereas Frulovisi could expect Duke Humphrey to be pleased to have a biography of his brother and also grateful for the propaganda value of the work which could be used to influence his nephew, Henry VI, Decembrio would have expected Sforza to take a more general historical interest in the text. This would have been the same kind of interest he might have taken in any exemplary Vita from the past. The Italian version proved popular - as is demonstrated by the number of extant versions (109). The fact that Frulovisi had the Latin text copied (so that the existence of the Vita was known amongst humanists) would have furthered Duke Humphrey's reputation in humanist circles abroad; and at home it served to remind the country of its former aspirations and to found the heroic mythology surrounding Henry V (which Shakespeare was to enhance) and to teach Henry VI the version of the past which most served Duke Humphrey's ends.

Frulovisi's Vita Henrici Quinti is in prose. Yet in his

grant of denization Frulovisi is described as Duke Humphrey's 'poeta et orator' (110). One finds other examples in England of men employed under the title of 'orator' (111) and it is possible that the Duke was merely extending this office. The principal poem which Frulovisi wrote for the Duke in his capacity of 'poeta' is the Humfroidos, a celebration in 1140 Latin hexameters of the Duke's campaign in Flanders against Burgundy, from the Congress of Arras in 1435 to his triumphant homecoming in August 1436. It is impossible to determine whether the Vita or the Humfroidos was written first. Both are standard humanist genres (112) which Frulovisi would have been familiar with when he arrived and able to suggest to his patron. Both works would have involved a high degree of consultation if not collaboration, probably with the Duke having to provide subject matter. Weiss states the case for the composition of the Humfroidos taking place after that of the Vita :

The role of Duke Humphrey in the poem is ultimately that of a continuer of the glories of his own dead brother Henry V. He is meant to appear here as a new Henry V, as invincible as he, even against a more formidable coalition of enemies, since in Humphrey's case it was not only France that had been fought but Burgundy as well.
(113)

This does not prove that the Humfroidos is a kind of sequel, for Frulovisi could have written it first in his enthusiasm for his new-found patron and then the Duke, realising the propaganda value of such eulogy, commissioned the work about his brother. However, if the Humfroidos had been written first, why did Frulovisi concentrate on the 1435/6 campaign and not mention

the Duke's involvement at Agincourt? Presumably Frulovisi felt that he had already celebrated the Duke's earlier military successes and did not want to repeat himself, which supports Weiss's theory that the Humfroidos was a later work. We can then probably date the Humfroidos to shortly before Frulovisi left England, in 1438. This means that the poem is commemorating events which took place two or three years before it was written. The Vita in so far as it was designed to be useful propaganda for Humphrey was a somewhat more subtle instance of the use of historical writing as propaganda.

There is no evidence as to the reception of the Humfroidos. Only one manuscript (114) containing the work survives, and this was hidden in a Southern Spanish library undetected until Weiss's article in 1957 (115). The manuscript also contains Frulovisi's De Republica, dedicated to Leonello d'Este, and it is written in a Fifteenth Century hand - but not Frulovisi's own (116). As it is known from the letters sent to Pier Candido Decembrio that Frulovisi was in Barcelona in 1442 (117) it is possible that Frulovisi took the work to Spain with him, but the founder of the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville, Fernando Colon, was a merchant who purchased books on his travels. The fact that the manuscript is at best a copy of Frulovisi's original, shows that copies were made and the work disseminated, at least to some extent. Weiss suggests that the manuscript Duke Humphrey gave to Oxford in 1444, recorded as 'Item Titum Livium De republica secundo folio optime' (118)

though not the identical volume (for 'optime' is not the first word of f.2 of the Colombina MS) would probably have contained the same works. If this is correct, the Humfroidos may well have been part of the 1444 donation, unrecorded because it had been placed with the De Republica. The connection with the De Republica may perhaps have been deliberately made by Frulovisi as a compliment to his master which was designed to work on several levels. As a patron of work attached in the same volume, Humphrey is placed alongside Leonello d'Este. Also, the De Republica can be seen as a precursor of Machiavelli's The Prince in that it examines how a state can be run the most wisely and efficiently with a happy disregard for the method. He declares that the ideal kind of Governor is a monarch with an advisory senate, omnipotent and paternalistic. He dwells at some length on the ideal character for a prince and perhaps in coupling the work with the description of Duke Humphrey's valour there is a flattering implication that the Duke aspired to these ideals. It could be that Frulovisi had the two works copied in a manuscript together, which the unhappy man could then use as samples of his work to demonstrate to his putative patrons the sort of writing he could put at their disposal. Leonello d'Este and Duke Humphrey were the sort of respectable patrons he could boast of having worked for. This interpretation reflects well on Duke Humphrey's reputation.

Hardyng, the chronicler, who it must be recalled, was connected

with Beaufort, writes dismissively of the events described in the Humfroidos :

The protectour with his flete at Calys then
Did lande, and rode in Flaunders a little waye,
And little did to counte a manly man
(119)

Although Hardyng is too dismissive and exaggerates the slightness of Duke Humphrey's campaign, for Humphrey 'had struck a heavy blow at the prosperity of the Burgundian territories' (120), the Humfroidos certainly goes to the opposite extreme in overstating the importance and prowess displayed in the events of Summer 1436. It could be that Hardyng and his master knew of the Humfroidos and a conscious effort was being made to redress the balance and counteract the propaganda.

Weiss prints the first twenty-five and the last twenty-five lines of the work and points to the negligible literary value. He adds 'Yet notwithstanding its poor quality, it is highly desirable that it should be published in its entirety. The sources of Fifteenth Century English history are not so plentiful that we can afford to overlook a document like Frulovisi's Humfroidos.' (121) A complete text, transcribed from the Colombina MS is given in Appendix I.

Weiss is not the only one who has commented on the poor literary execution of the poem. Butler heads some notes on the Latin :

Some reflexions on the work of a certain Tito Livio di Forli by one who is of the opinion that either the aforesaid Tito or he himself should never have been born.

(122)

Butler's comments on the quality of the Latin justify his comic statement. One tends to assume that the Vita Henrici quinti survived in more than one manuscript because Henry V was a subject matter with greater popular appeal, but in view of the terribly bad standard of the composition - although the Colombina is full of scribal errors, it is errors in the Latin writing that Butler is referring to - it was more likely to have been the unreadability of the work which discouraged interest. It rather suggests too, although Frulovisi's work was only ever pedestrian at best, that the Humfroidos was a work of great haste, and considering the quantity of Frulovisi's output during his two-year stay in England, this is not surprising. He evidently fell from favour (123), and as the evidence suggests that the animosity was not on his side, the Humfroidos may have been written in haste to try and regain the favour he had lost. One notes that the Encomium to the Duke of Stafford, the only other piece of Frulovisi's poetry which is similar, was written at this time to try to secure a new post in England.

The Humfroidos begins in the manner of the standard dedication which humanists attached to their works; but Frulovisi, by raising our expectations so that we are prepared for a dedication which then eludes us when we are thrown immediately into the subject of the work, emphasises the fact that it is his patron who is himself the subject matter:

(M)agnanimum humfredum, vires magnosque tropheos
magnanime gentis britonum fraudesque philipi,
hic canere incipiam atque ducis periuria sui
burgondi.....

Frulovisi thus states at the beginning that it is his intention to celebrate the great deeds of Humphrey and the English and expose the treachery of Philip of Burgundy. The parallel "(M)agnanimum humfredum...magnanime gentis britonum" both works to emphasise the Duke's promotion of English interests and his role as England's champion, but also serves Frulovisi's ends, for he would have been conscious as an Italian of the national pride which he is both appealing to and enhancing.

Frulovisi, apparently drawing on a poem of the Civil War in Petronius (125), has an Assembly of the Underworld discussing the deplorable decline in the death rate and deciding to send an agent, Alecto, to visit the Duke of Burgundy to stir up war. Pluto speaks at great length; in better writing his viewpoint would have provided comedy, but the partisan nature of the writing, combined with the confusion of meaning, detracts too much from any comedy one might otherwise have enjoyed. As here:

Sentiat infelix britones non sanguine letos
Nec feritate trahi. Juste sed ad arma uocatos.
Quodque metu mittent minime quae jura tuentur
Regna sibi, metuet. suplex pacemque reposcet
Et ueniam gallus : quae haud aspernata petenti
Continuo nobis haec reddet inania regna.

(126)

"If the wretched man realises that the Britons do not

rejoice in bloodshed and are not led on by ferocity, but are called to arms justly, and that they are not likely to give up to him out of fear realms which their rights demand, the Frenchman will be a suppliant in fear and beg for peace and pardon; and if this is not ⁿⁱ ~~de~~ded to the suppliant, it will soon empty our realms." This use of the Virgilian device by which historical events are shown as manipulated by the Gods would have been a familiar literary device in England (as Chaucer's The Knight's Tale shows) but perhaps its application to the recent past was somewhat more unusual. In a writer of greater ability it might have been very effective. In the Humfroidos it is merely pretentious and confusing.

Alecto is sent by the Assembly of the Underworld to disguise himself as "CruX", the Lord of Croy, who was believed to have been among those who had advised Philip of Burgundy to attack Calais. The poem then takes on more of the appearance of a poetic history than an epic as the unsuccessful attempts at arbitration are described, the Council of Arras and the Pope's interference. It is after Philip's return attack against Calais that Duke Humphrey is introduced into the poem, a dramatically delayed entrance. The remainder of the poem describes his relief of Calais and the victorious raid into Flanders and the rout of the Burgundian armies. The work ends with Duke Humphrey's triumphant return to London. By occupying the first three hundred and sixty lines with an epic and historical setting,

Frulovisi attempts to build up the hero's stature before he comes onto the scene, and he is compared favourably with Philip and his fighting is justified as the defence of liberty and freedom.

It is not surprising that Duke Humphrey wanted his exploits in 1436 chronicled in order to capitalize to the fullest extent possible on the successful outcome of a rather messy skirmish in which luck and circumstances had been more instrumental on his side than any skill on his part. Later Duke Humphrey was to be attacked for having led the nation to war (127), but beforehand Chancellor John Stafford and both the Council and Parliament were outraged by Burgundian behaviour and united in deciding to continue the war with France and in regarding Burgundy also as an enemy of the King. Up to this time Bedford had been responsible for English policy in France but his death in 1435 brought foreign policy into the scope of the Beaufort/Gloucester rivalry. At the same time, Burgundy's defection became definite and the reality of being at war was brought home to the Council in England. Anti-Burgundian feeling rose in the country and Council and Parliament were united in opposition to Burgundy. When in June 1436 it was known in London that Burgundy was advancing on Calais, preparations were begun to muster an army and munitions to serve under Gloucester. Duke Humphrey embarked for France on 2 August 1436. Everything was over by 24 August when he triumphantly recrossed

the Channel. During the intervening three weeks Gloucester had arrived at Calais and then, finding Burgundy gone, he launched a punitive expedition into Flanders, raping, pillaging and generally devastating everything in his army's erratic path. But Burgundy had been routed and even though the siege at Calais had already been raised before Gloucester arrived, he took all the credit for the success of the venture. The popularity Duke Humphrey roused through his victory remained constant amongst the general populace, but as the King's advisors turned increasingly to think in terms of peace to ease the economic problems both of the King and of the country, Gloucester's advocacy of war with France became more and more irksome.

Vickers comments :

He, almost alone of those who stood at the head of the nation, could remember the fleeting glories of the reign of Henry V., and he naturally could not bring himself to agree to the surrender of that which he had helped to acquire.

(128)

It is in the light of this unbiased assessment of the historical background that the importance to Duke Humphrey of the Humfroidos (and the Vita Henrici Quinti) can be detected. It was just unfortunate that Frulovisi's skill did not match his will to write

It is interesting to set the Humfroidos beside other contemporary political verse written about the events of 1436 - and the fact that there is a large quantity is in itself interesting, indicating that contemporary writers were well aware of the

crucial importance of the breakdown of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. National feeling against the Flemings and the Duke of Burgundy is evidenced by the number of poems written denouncing them. The author of the Ballade in Despyte of the Flemynge denounces Philip of Burgundy's "fraudulent falsnesse" and "fals decepcioun" and "fals Collusioun", a spirit Frulovise was quick to portray in the second line of the Humfroidos "fraudesque philipi". Frulovise would have been able to draw on such poems as the Scorn of the Duke of Burgundy which describes Philip's treacherous vacillations after a vituperative opening:

O thou Phelippe, fonder of new falshede,
 Distourber of pees, Capitaine of cowardise,
 Sower of discorde, Repref of al knyghthode,
 Whiche of al burgoigne (that is so grete of pryse)
 Thou clepist thiself duke.....
 (129)

Burgundy's Flemish army is commented on widely with its failure constantly compared to English success, and its cruelty used as justification for English reaction. The fact that the Flemings left their siege of Calais when they heard the Duke of Gloucester was coming is described with delight :

ffor they had verray knowyng
 Of the duc of Gloucester comyng
 Calais to rescowe
 (130)

The Mockery of the Flemings describes the Flemings as 'lyons of Cotteswold' (that is, sheep) saying that they were so 'bold' that by the end of the fight three hundred Flemings had been killed but the English had not lost a single man. The poem

mocks the stupidity by which a small party of English landed one night and was mistaken for the full English relief force under Gloucester's command and caused the Flemings to leave the siege :

& ye that same night
Ffled ouer Grauenyng watir, but go þat go myght;
And youre lord with you, for dreed and for fere
Of the duk of Gloucester - & yette was he not þer
(131)

The quantity of verse about an event which barely lasted a month demonstrates how important the siege of Calais seemed at the time and how the 'victory' caught the popular imagination and temporarily at least left Duke Humphrey a national hero. At the end of the poem entitled the Siege of Calais the scribe has added a four-line tag which sounds as though it may have had wide proverbial currency:

Lytelle wote the fool,
Who my 3th ches
What harm yt were
God caleys to lese
(132)

Scattergood (133) points out how another poem The Libelle of Englysshe Policy incorporates these lines only slightly changed along with other injunctions to 'cherishe ye Caleise better than it is.' Calais had come to symbolise English aspirations in France and Duke Humphrey, even though the raising of the siege of Calais had been effected without him, was anxious to be seen as the champion of Calais, and this the Humfroidos certainly promotes.

Frulovisi would have had no difficulty in amassing material.

Apart from Duke Humphrey's own account which one can probably assume with some confidence that Frulovisi would have been treated to, the popular political verse was also written from the particular standpoint he would have wanted. G.A.Holmes says that The Libelle of Englysshe Policy 'expresses very much the discontents, especially about Calais and naval defence, which were represented in the parliament of January 1437..... it stands roughly for the point of view of the Duke of Gloucester, the staplers and the cloth exporters against the opposite policy pursued by the Council' (134). Obviously the Humfroidos was designed for an audience familiar with Latin. Perhaps Duke Humphrey wanted his Continental acquaintances to be told of the heroism which had made him so popular at home. On taking heed of the humanists' constant reiteration that literature would preserve a reputation, the Duke wanted an historical record of the events of 1436 (which would outlast the less formal compositions) and this he duly deposited at Oxford.

All the claims which are made for the Vita Henrici Quinti as a piece of historiography could equally well be applied to the Humfroidos; both are written in a poor style yet represent completely new ways of writing about historical events in England. The Humfroidos, like the Vita, centres the narration around one man. In that it celebrated recent events it must be related to popular verse of the time. To Humphrey, it would have seemed like a glorified version of a popular ballad like the Siege of Calais with all its Virgilian and other classical

echoes. How much he valued it is impossible to say and also to whom it was shown and what use he managed to make of it other than including it in his 1444 donation to Oxford to ensure the fame of his deeds for posterity. Not long after it was written, some time in 1438, Frulovisi left the Duke's employ and looked for another post.

In 1440, the Palladius translator describes the literary coterie of which he was a part thus :

Yit Whethamstede and also Pers de Mounte
Titus and Antony and y laste ofre.....
(135)

By 1440, however, Frulovisi would have been away from Duke Humphrey's Household for about two years, and yet in this stanza, the Palladius translator suggests that Frulovisi and Beccaria knew each other. He calls Titus and Antonio by their Christian names, and the other two are referred to more formally. This would bear out the impression that the Palladius translator worked in some clerical capacity in the Duke's Household and that he, Frulovisi and Beccaria were living and working as Household employees on an equal footing with each other. He would have known the Abbot of St. Albans, Whethamstede, and the Papal Collector, Piero del Monte, from when they visited the Duke and so he treats them with greater deference. From the fact that the translator evidently felt that he did not need to qualify 'Titus' one senses that Frulovisi's memory was still fresh in the Household circle and as familiar as Beccaria, who was still working there. Whether Beccaria and Frulovisi ever met is uncertain.

Beccaria was not given a grant of denization so we do not know whether he too would have been styled "poeta et orator". In an ex libris Duke Humphrey describes Beccaria as "un de mes secretaires" but this reveals nothing as it may be a form of false modesty whereby the Duke, who obviously would have had many secretaries working for him at any one time, is implying that any one of them could have executed a translation of St. Athanasius from Greek into Latin :

Cest liure est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre le quel
Jay fait translater de grec en latyn par un de mes secretaires
Antoyne de Beccara

(136)

The emphasis on "lequel Jay fait" highlights the commissioning of the book rather than the accomplishing of it, and reflects well on the Duke who was seen to have employees who could be set this sort of task as a matter of course.

Unfortunately and especially with the absence of a grant of denization we have no dates to which to assign either Beccaria's arrival in nor his departure from England. Weiss assumes that Beccaria was Frulovisi's replacement. He says "the vacancy created by the departure or dismissal of the Ferrarese was soon filled by another Italian of more or less similar distinction" (137) There are no grounds for the assumption that the Duke had a sense of a vacant post which had to be filled. Weiss's comment that "the departure of Frulovisi did not induce Duke Humphrey to give up his intention of having a resident Italian humanist in his Household" (138) is unsupported by the evidence. Weiss is working on the assumption that in employing Frulovisi, Duke

Humphrey created a post which then had to be filled when Frulovisi left. But the evidence for this does not exist other than that the earliest definite date (139) that establishes a connection between Beccaria and the Duke is after the date accepted for Frulovisi being back in Italy, and so it looks superficially as though Beccaria did take over Frulovisi's duties. This would only be so understood by people accustomed to the notion of jobs or posts which exist in their own right and from which people come and go. In fact the Duke had a group of secretaries working for him, presumably with their own defined areas, although there could not have been any very rigid demarcation. Bekynton left the Duke's employ in 1438 to become Henry VI's secretary (140) and the Duke also had a French secretary named Maufurnay (141). References to other men described as 'secretaries' are scattered throughout contemporary documents (142). Weiss's evidence that Beccaria could not have been in England in 1438 is as spurious as his assumptions about Beccaria replacing Frulovisi:

l'arrivo dell'umanista veronese sara da anticipare fin verso il principio dell'anno o alla fine del 1438; non pero oltre l'ottobre 1438, per che e di quel mese una lettera di Piero del Monte al Traversari, in cui il dotto collettore papale lamenta di non trovare alcuno in Inghilterra mediocrementemente erudito di lettere greche e latine; e il del Monte, legato al Gloucester abbastanza strettamente e con lui in continuo contatto, non avrebbe potuto ignorare la presenza del Beccaria, se questi fosse stato in Inghilterra, ne esprimersi come aveva fatto col Traversari dopo l'arrivo dell'umanista veronese (143)

Sammut demolishes Weiss's assertion that the St. Athanasius was

part of the 1439 donation and proves conclusively that it was in fact given in 1444 (144). The accuracy of del Monte's complaint to Traversari should not be accepted so unquestioningly because he may have had his own reasons for disregarding Beccaria if indeed he was consciously doing so. In the letter in question (145) del Monte is trying to persuade Ambrogio Traversari to establish links with Duke Humphrey, and his praise for Traversari is fulsome (146). Del Monte is unlikely to mention the fact that the Duke already has a secretary who executes translations for him in this context, when he is trying to make Traversari feel that the Duke had vital need of him.

Thus it is clear that the date of Beccaria's arrival in England is completely uncertain. It is also uncertain how he came. Weiss cajoles his readers into accepting that del Monte, having successfully brought Frulovise to England, was then asked to find his replacement. Weiss's evidence for this is totally circumstantial. His reasons for the assertion are that "mi sembra lecito supporre che..." when Frulovise withdrew from the Duke's service, Duke Humphrey would expect del Monte, who found him in the first place, to find a replacement. He supports this hypothesis by saying that del Monte had shown an active interest in the Duke's humanistic activity, and that Beccaria had been in Verona, a city where del Monte had personal friends and an ecclesiastical benefice in the vicinity; he also alludes to Beccaria's friendship with del Monte (147). Of these, the latter point is the only one of any substance and

worth debating.

Beccaria's friendship with del Monte is deduced by Weiss from a letter sent by del Monte to Beccaria (148) and Beccaria's dedication of a Latin version of Plutarch's Life of Pelipodes (149) to del Monte. As del Monte's letter was written to Beccaria when he was already in England and del Monte clearly wrote copiously to people whom he had recently encountered (150) and as the Vita is undated, there is no firm evidence that the friendship existed between the two men before Beccaria's arrival in England. Del Monte was certain to have met Beccaria once he was working for the Duke

For Weiss then to assert in his book that the vacancy created by Frulovisi's departure was filled by Beccaria after the 'advice of the obliging del Monte had been sought and followed, and an appointment been made accordingly' and then confirm this by a footnote referring us to the evidence presented in his own article which I have been criticising above as too circumstantial, is misleading (151). This fabrication of solid evidence, where a suggestion alone would be valid, creates an artificially solid impression of the humanist activity around Duke Humphrey. Beccaria could have heard that the Duke was interested in employing Italian humanist secretaries from a variety of sources - and came to England, not necessarily with the intention of filling the gap left by Frulovisi.

Beccaria's work for the Duke was of a slightly different

nature from that performed by Frulovisi. We have no evidence that Frulovisi conducted the Duke's correspondence other than a letter he wrote in his own name to Bruni, and which is described on page 183. Beccaria on the other hand worked more as a regular secretary - it is practically certain that the Duke's letters to Pier Candido Decembrio came from Beccaria's pen (152) as did Gloucester's letter to Alfonso of Aragon (153). Whereas Frulovisi wrote his own compositions for the Duke, Beccaria's work was scholastic rather than creative. He translated some Greek treatises of St. Athanasius into Latin and the Italian Il Corbaccio of Boccaccio also into Latin. He wrote a version of Plutarch's Vita Romuli. All these he dedicated to Duke Humphrey. While still in England in 1444 he is also known to have composed two orations. One was written for the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou (154) and the other to the King of France suing for peace (155). Weiss concludes that these orations "suggest that Beccaria was also employed by the Crown 1444-5" (156). This was not necessarily the case, as the orations, especially the one for the marriage, could have been commissioned by the Duke. It was he after all who welcomed Margaret to this country and presided over the marriage celebrations (157). These orations are interesting in that they provide a clue as to what was meant by the ascription "poeta et orator" in Frulovisi's grant of denization. Presumably then, Frulovisi wrote or was going to be expected to write orations of this kind. None are extant, however, yet Beccaria's orations suggest that we

should take Frulovisi's title literally. If then Duke Humphrey's secretary - or former secretary now employed by the Crown, if Weiss is right - was publicly delivering orations (if he did not deliver them himself, the fact that he was known to have written them still makes the point) at State occasions, this would have drawn the attention of the Court, if not of the nation, to the Duke's humanist activities.

Beccaria's dedications to Duke Humphrey are interesting because, as there are five of them (158) in all, they form the largest body of dedications by a single man to the Duke (159). The humanist dedication had taken on something of a standard form by the early Fifteenth Century, and it had almost developed into a language of patronage where recognisable formulae recur, and one senses a correctness of form where omissions and inclusions are strictly governed by evolved rules. The general pattern of Beccaria's dedications can be described in the following way.

The dedication is always preceded by an explanation, probably scribal, but so consistent in form and in the fact of its presence that perhaps we should just regard it as a title. The title states the name of the work, by whom it was executed and to whom it is dedicated. Thus Beccaria's works are headed:

In Romuli Vitam per Antonium Bechariam Veronensem ex
Plutarcho in latinum traductam ad illustrem Principem
Hunfredum ducem Cloucestriae prohemium feliciter incipit.
(160)

Proemium in Bocacii librum cognomento Corvacium adversum mulieres ex sermone Tusco in Latinum conversum per Antonium Becarium Veronensem mandato domini illustrissimi Principis Humfredi Glocestriae Ducis et Domini sui singularissimi.

(161)

The importance of this sort of title becomes clear when one looks at the large humanist compilations which were produced in workshops in Italy (162). Volumes consisting of many Vitae and other short works were produced in superabundance and the titles were usually differentiated from the text either by an illuminated capital or by being written in coloured ink, and they acted as an index to the tome. The fact that the dedications were rarely omitted indicates that they were regarded as being of vital importance to the whole idea of the creation. The patronage provided the work with a contemporary context and this accounts for the mixture of the personal and the formal in the tone of the dedications. The dedication itself generally began with a direct address offering the book to the patron. A relationship between poet and patron is thus immediately evoked :

Platonum legimus, princeps humanissime, eam dicere consuevisse perbeatam rem publicam. quam aut sapientes regerent aut a studiosis sapientiae regeretur.

(163)

Postquam, Serenissime Princeps, ex peregrinatione mea redii, quam in visenda hac tua clarissima patria susceperam, nihil mihi antiquius fuit, quam ut iniunctum mihi abs te officium prosequerer... . . .

(164)

Habes nunc, Serenissime Princeps, opus de Trinitate..

(165)

Multa sunt, illustrissime princeps, quibus excellentia tua maximis extolli laudibus, maximisque praedicari praeconiis posset.

(166)

The superlatives are standard, meaningless but expected. After a few words of praise for the patron the suitability of the text for the patron is then discussed. This leads into a more general discussion of the text and affirms the worth of the subject matter. Often there is a reference to the role of the work in immortalising the patron rather in the way that the text is itself immortalising its subject. The dedication returns, towards the end, to address the patron directly again. These separate components are capable of expansion and contraction.

Given that these are the elements one expects to find in a dedication one immediately notices something very interesting about Beccaria's use of the dedication. The dedication of the Vita Romuli (167) is more than twice the length of the others. It is also the most impersonal. Only the first sentence and the last paragraph address the Duke directly. In between there is an extensive discussion of the subject matter. It has already been suggested that the Vita was a popular form amongst humanist writers because of its relative brevity which ensured that when work was sent out to putative patrons not too much effort would be lost if there was no response. It seems possible that this was the function of Beccaria's Vita Romuli. This is borne out by the greater liveliness and directness of the other dedications. The St. Athanasius, Matthew XII is the best example of this, where Beccaria addresses the Duke directly for most of the dedication, which reads more like a personal letter. Is one at fault in detecting a slight self-parody

or at any rate humour in his closing remark ?

Tu igitur serena fronte hoc munusculum meum suscipies,
et Antonium servulum tuum habens commendatissimum
(168)

If this is the case, then Vickers is probably right in taking the phrase in the opening lines "ex peregrinatione mea redii" to refer to Beccaria's return to Italy (169). Thus, it does seem that he parted with the Duke on good terms if he was then still translating and sending works to the Duke. This would date this St. Athanasius text as 1445-7, after the orations, but before the Duke's death.

Considering the amount of time Beccaria spent in England when compared with Frulovisi's extraordinarily active visit, the later secretary produced proportionately little. There was not the same impetus. He was a less controversial humanist scholar than Frulovisi, and there is nothing of the dynamism that existed in Frulovisi and Duke Humphrey's relationship which produced the Vita Henrici Quinti and the Humfroidos. We do not know why Frulovisi left Duke Humphrey's employ; his character permits us to speculate that he may have been temperamental about the employment of Beccaria but it may be that he felt he was not being sufficiently well rewarded. An epigram written by Beccaria to the Duke suggests that Duke Humphrey was less than generous not only to men working at some distance like Bruni (170) and Decembrio (171). The epigram is addressed to the Duke:

Saepe mihi dicis "Si quid, Beccaria, voles, me
 Mane petas, quoniam mane petita dabo"
 Mane peto, sed me capis, optime princeps.
 Ast ego nil capio ac vespere deinde petam
 Vespere cumque peto, te dicis mane daturum:
 Mane venit: nihil est quod mihi mane datur
 Quid modo vis faciam, si vespere, si quoque mane
 Nil mihi das, princeps, id nisi "mane dabo?"
 Verum ego te deinceps repetam quamcumque per horam,
 Vespere cum princeps sisque mane mihi

(172)

If Beccaria did not enjoy the dynamic collaborative relationship with the Duke which Frulovisi had enjoyed, neither did he go to Frulovisi's opposite extreme of falling out with the Duke. There is a humour in this epigram (and also perhaps in the dedications as suggested above). This is not perhaps unlike the humour of the Palladius translator (see page 108) who is able to joke about the process of patronage. When one recalls that Beccaria alone of the Italians working in England was writing at the same time as the Palladius translator, it would seem that the Duke was on easy terms with the writers in his Household around 1440. The rapport should not blind us to the seriousness of Beccaria's request for money, however. One is reminded of Lydgate's equally comic yet serious poem on the same theme(173). It was easy for Bruni and Decembrio to state outright that they felt meanly treated by their patron. This would have been more difficult for men who knew him better and were paradoxically on good terms with him. This sort of poetic approach tactfully deflects the embarrassment they felt in mentioning money.

Del Monte returned to Italy in 1440, Frulovisi had already departed. Beccaria appears to have lingered on but producing little. Thus when the phenomenon of the Italian humanists who came and worked in the Duke's Household is examined for what it actually consisted of and looked at chronologically, a pattern emerges which contradicts the impression the Palladius translator creates. The energy and interest which gathered momentum after the Duke's various early contacts with Italian humanists and was dramatically established by his invitation in 1433 to Bruni to come to England, was fed so long as Piero del Monte was present. However, the Duke's interest appears to have dwindled after first Frulovisi and then del Monte returned home, and Beccaria, who obviously stayed in England, produced some work but created little impact.

CHAPTER III : DUKE HUMPHREY'S PATRONAGE OF ITALIAN HUMANISTS IN ITALY

Because Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was closely associated with the English government of Northern France there is nothing surprising about his acquaintance with the Bishop of Lisieux and Bayeux. It is the nature of that relationship which is of interest here. Zenone da Castiglione had become Bishop of Lisieux in 1424, when his uncle had resigned in his favour, and eight years later, in 1432, he was translated to the more important bishopric at Bayeux. By reason of these offices Castiglione would have come into contact with Duke Humphrey whom (judging from the fact that Castiglione was a student in Parma in 1415) one can suppose to have been a man some ten years the Bishop's senior. Castiglione performed for the Duke abroad what Piero del Monte effected for Duke Humphrey in England. There is no evidence that Castiglione wrote works himself. He appears to have taken on the task of spreading the Duke's reputation as a man interested in receiving works, to have collected books for the Duke and to have persuaded men to send and dedicate material to Duke Humphrey. One can see him working as a kind of 'agent' for the Duke's patronage.

There has been much conjecture (1) as to when and how Castiglione met Duke Humphrey. However, as every conjecture involves different speculation, it is clear, from the number of occasions which present themselves as possible dates for this meeting, that there is nothing remarkable about the two men being acquainted.

Also, in view of the fact that Castiglione had received a humanist education in Italy and kept a humanist secretary and was in contact with scholars in Italy, it is hardly likely that the Duke, who wrote to Bruni in 1433 inviting him to come to England, would then have ignored a man like Castiglione working rather more 'on his own doorstep'. Castiglione was described as 'uomo dottissimo' (a 'very learned man') by the biographer Vespasiano da Bisticci (2). It is unfortunate that we know surprisingly little about him in proportion to the influence he exerted on Duke Humphrey's reputation as a patron. Before Castiglione entered public life, there was already an interesting connection between him and the English court.

Castiglione's uncle, Cardinal Branda Castiglione, had participated in the Council of Constance, 1414-18, at which, it will be recalled (see page 176), Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, had invited Poggio Bracciolini to come to England to pursue his humanist interests. Branda Castiglione was one of the most active and influential personalities there. He was a member of the Papal Chancery and faithful to the Emperor Sigismond who successfully treated with the English delegation (3). Branda Castiglione would have worked closely with Beaufort over the negotiations that took place there. Foffano speculated (4) that he managed to further his political ambitions and interests through this and also to arrange his nephew Zenone's future career in the English dukedom (5). When

his uncle died in 1443, Castiglione wrote a letter (6) to Beaufort announcing the death, which suggests perhaps that Beaufort and Branda Castiglione had had more than a merely formal acquaintance. This might then account for Duke Humphrey's careful cultivation of the nephew to counteract his uncle Beaufort's interest and any possible advantage he might thereby have had from the support of a bishop of Normandy.

Zenone da Castiglione had become bishop in Lisieux in 1424 but there are no grounds for suggesting that he and the Duke had developed any understanding between them until 1434. This matches the pattern of the Duke's humanist interest in England, which, although one can detect earlier influences, was not particularly evident until his invitation to Bruni in 1433.

One can probably add to those influences, which acted as encouragements to the Duke to take an interest in humanist learning, the proximity of Castiglione during these formative years.

By the time Zenone da Castiglione was in Basle in March 1434, attending the Council as one of Henry VI's envoys, the relationship between him and Duke Humphrey was already established. Weiss says that in Basle 'he was doubtless commissioned by Gloucester to acquire books and asked to encourage Italian humanists to send him works, more especially versions from the Greek' (7). The letter to which Weiss directs us in the accompanying footnote was sent by Duke Humphrey to Castiglione

at Bologna, where he went on leaving Basle in 1437 to join the Papal Court. This later date is more in keeping with the interest demonstrated by Duke Humphrey at the instigation of Piero del Monte 1435-40, and to assume and categorically state that this request received at Bologna was a reiteration of an earlier one received at Basle rather distorts the picture. Castiglione's experiences at Basle probably should be regarded as belonging more to the period of the germination of the Duke's interests when Castiglione was more likely to have been feeding stimulus back to England than actually at this stage receiving commissions. I think Weiss is wrong to use the word 'doubtless' and overstate the case, when a suggestion rather than a statement may perhaps be more valid.

There is a close similarity between the Duke's relationship with Castiglione and Whethamstede. Both were prominent Churchmen, both highly educated (Castiglione had attended the school of the Barzizzas (8)), both collected books for themselves and encouraged Duke Humphrey's book collecting and both gave books as presents to the Duke. Presumably, therefore, the motivation behind this activity was also similar, suggesting perhaps that we can identify a recognisable role in relation to the patron that these men - and Piero del Monte too in so far as his activities were similar - saw themselves as performing. It is highly likely that they regarded instruction as one of their functions, because not only were both men scholars of some repute, but also they had far greater leisure

for books and learning than the Duke with all his affairs of state could possibly have found the time for; Duke Humphrey would have found himself embarrassingly out of his depth in this company, unacceptably so perhaps unless there was a mutual recognition that it was a part of their function to instruct him.

Because I divided the material on the Duke's interest in Italian humanism into the two chapters into which most of it naturally falls, it is necessary at this point to clarify the overall picture of what was taking place both in England and on the Continent. In 1433, Bruni had been invited to England, and although he did not come, he undertook to execute a much publicised translation of Aristotle's Politics which occupied him for the next four years. In 1435, Del Monte arrived in England, importing first Tito Livio in 1437 and then Beccaria, perhaps around 1439. All three men were occupied with producing works for the Duke. Thus, Castiglione at Basle 1434-7 would not have been ignorant of what was going on in the Duke's Household (either having direct knowledge through letters or from other Englishmen or from the Italian scholars he encountered) even if his commission from the Duke came later while he was at Bologna. It is difficult to assess whether Castiglione's role as 'agent' was self-imposed and the Duke's request for translations from Greek authors to be procured was in fact a polite affirmative response on the part of the Duke, or whether in fact the

initiative rested with Duke Humphrey. Encouraged by Del Monte he realised that this particular King's envoy (educated at one of the great humanist schools and an Italian himself) was the ideal man to act for him. The distinction would be important to our view of the spirit behind the patronage.

There is only one extant manuscript to testify to the exchange of books between the Duke and Castiglione, although others have been speculated upon (9). This is the copy of Cicero's Epistolae ad Brutum, ad Quintum et ad Atricum, now Bibliotheque Nationale, MS Lat, 8537, written in 1415 (10). The ex libris reads 'Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Cloucestre du don reverend pier en Dieu Zenon evesque de Bayeux.' This volume was included in the Duke's 1439 donation to Oxford. Presumably, then, Castiglione's gift dates from 1432-4 between his translation to Bayeux and his departure for Basle. This may confirm that Castiglione and Duke Humphrey had consulted over such things before he went to Basle, although Weiss (11) thinks it highly probable that Castiglione had it sent from Italy. It may even have been on Castiglione's suggestion that the Duke had approached Bruni (for the Bishop possessed a number of Bruni's works(12)), or perhaps, at least, he had brought Bruni to the Duke's attention. Thus, it is quite impossible to determine whether Castiglione instigated the Duke's interests or merely complied with his wishes after they had been developed, or perhaps a combination of both was involved. The evidence is not precise enough to be more certain.

Castiglione was instrumental in actually bringing three humanist writers into direct contact with the Duke and this should probably be regarded as the visible part of the iceberg, testifying to the energy with which he undertook his commission. One only has to look at the dedications of Castiglionchio, Pacini and Decembrio - men who never met the Duke - to see the sort of magnificent reputation which Castiglione had spread about the Duke. After his post-Basle travels in Italy, when he effected these connections, Castiglione came to England bearing warm praises of Pier Candido Decembrio:

Dominus episcopus Baiocensis proximis his diebus ad nos venit: multique de tuo in nos animo ac singulari virtute tua praedicavit, pro quibus tibi gratias habemus non modicas.

(13)

The relationship between Castiglione and Pier Candido Decembrio is not clear but when one regards the part of intermediary played by Castiglione's secretary, Rolando Talenti, over the translation of the Republic it is obvious that the two men would have had dealings with each other. At Basle Castiglione had met Francesco II, Pizzolpasso, Archbishop of Milan, and through him Decembrio, the secretary to the Duke of Milan. In forging the contact between Decembrio and Duke Humphrey, he was ingratiating himself with men from whom he could benefit on both sides. Pizzolpasso had a much greater international reputation than did Duke Humphrey, though. Weiss (14) is probably right in concluding that:

He appears to have acted mainly as a 'publicity agent' for Gloucester in Italy, and as such he made known the Duke's name and tastes among Italian humanists. What he did for Humphrey in Italy forms a counterpart to what Del Monte performed in England, for while he advertised his name among the Italian humanists, the latter made their names known to the Duke.

It is difficult to assess the motivation behind Castiglione's behaviour. Altruism is an irrelevant concept in this context. One must also wonder why, after the enthusiastic efforts he had been making over the period 1434-39, Castiglione then did nothing more for the Duke. Weiss does not question this and is prepared to round off his chapter covering Castiglione as above. The 'latter' whom he refers to amount to three Italian humanists, two of whom were very second rate, the other, Decembrio, not among the greatest.

In 1432, the same year in which Castiglione had become Bishop of Bayeux, Henry VI founded the University of Caen; Caen fell under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bayeux and so Castiglione naturally became the first Chancellor of the University. This explains why the Italian with his humanist education and contacts should have been content to work in a place so remote from the centres of learning as Bayeux. Because of the opposition of the University of Paris, the difficulties caused by being in a state of war, and the difficulties connected with the foundation (15), the commencement of teaching was greatly delayed. It was not in fact until May 1437 that Eugenius IV of Bologna arranged the Papal Bull approving the education

provided at Caen and designating the Bishop of Bayeux as Chancellor. The negotiator between Henry VI and Eugenius was Cardinal Branda, Castiglione's uncle. In 1440, there is a letter written by Henry VI to Castiglione declaring:

Tanta in nobis crevit de integritate dilectionis vestrae fiducia tam altas quoque in imo pectoris nostri radices fixit, quod quotiens in Curia arduum quiddam agendum nobis sit, nullo pacto industriam paternitatis vestrae praetereundam nobis fore censeamus.

(16)

Zenone da Castiglione then turned his attentions to the affairs of Normandy and the University after his return from Italy and visit to the Duke. He played an important part in the peace negotiations which then took place with the King of France.

In this period, after Castiglione's return from Italy and the visit he paid to Duke Humphrey immediately after, there appears to have been little contact between the Bishop and the Duke. Castiglione's dealings on affairs of State were with Henry VI - the same capacity after all in which he had encountered Duke Humphrey in the first place. In 1442-3, though, Castiglione wrote a letter to the Duke (17) about the disastrous state of the Duchy of Normandy; it does not read as though it was part of a continuous dialogue. It is forthright in the way a letter would be to someone one has worked with and encountered personally but it is long and self-contained and does not refer back or forward. He proves a point with a reference to Cicero:

'Videte, videte ergo, ut est apud Cicerone.....' (18); the emphasis of the repeated imperative being a compliment, a reference to the fact that the Duke could indeed look in his Cicero (the volume referred to, however, Pro Lege Manilia is not one of Cicero's works which Castiglione gave the Duke). He addresses the Duke constantly throughout the letter, calling him 'Princeps illustrissime,' 'princeps humanissime', 'princeps doctissime', all formal standard addresses, perhaps, but enforcing the impression that Castiglione was anxious to reaffirm the friendly yet respectful relationship he had previously enjoyed. In any case, we have no evidence of a reply or any subsequent letters or contact directly between the two men. It is interesting though that the subsequent letter we do have was written by Castiglione's secretary Talenti and was addressed to Duke Humphrey's Italian secretary, Beccaria. Foffano (19) estimates the letter to have been written sometime between 1443 and 1445, some time then after Castiglione's own letter to the Duke, estimated by Sammut (20) to have been written in 1442-3. Talenti mentions the difficulties Castiglione was having from his adversaries in Bayeux, whose wish to oust him had been given new impetus by the death of Cardinal Branda. Talenti asks his counterpart in the Gloucester Household to use his influence. He speaks of the Duke thus:

Nam cum idem reverendus pater precipuam et singularem spem reposuerit in dignitate excellentissimi et doctissimi principis domini nostri ducis Cloucestrie eundemque delegerit patronum et defensorem rerum suarum sibi que indubie persuaserit celsitudinem suam nullatenus in rebus suis defecturam, ad quem potius confugiemus auxilium petituri, tu vero satis agnosti eiusdem fidem et puritatem et quam devotissime affectus sit dignitati et honori principis optimi, quare superfluum videretur ea que tibi notissima sunt longa oratione persuadere, hoc solum superest ut seriem molestiarum nostrarum intelligas. (21)

And then, with the familiarity of a man to a colleague, he addresses Beccaria:

Quapropter, carissime Anthoni, rogamus te omnes et obsecramus per omnem mansuetudinem tuam, per illam caritatem et singularem affectionem, quam pluries litteris tuis antistiti nostro pollicitus es, ut hic te verum amicum et benivolum ostendas..... (22)

When one recalls the high probability that it was Castiglione who recommended Beccaria to the Duke in the first place (23), one can sense the emotional pressure being applied by these words. These two letters pose an interesting set of questions. Evidently Castiglione let his secretary write in his own name to the Duke's secretary because he himself had lost confidence in obtaining what he wanted by making a direct approach. Castiglione evidently considered it would be more effective to put emotional pressure on someone in closer proximity to the Duke, and by getting Talenti to do this in his own name there could be no question that the letter was so directed because his own former letter had gone unheeded. This sort of influence suggests perhaps the kind of benefit which an 'agent' like Castiglione could hope to reap from his efforts within the patronage system.

Thus, after what appears to have been a promising beginning

to the relationship between Castiglione and Duke Humphrey, in which the former achieved much by way of building up the Duke's Continental reputation for his patronage and scholastic interest, the apex of this relationship - Castiglione's return from Italy and visit to the Duke in England - also appears to have been the end of it effectively. The most likely reason for this will become evident in my discussion of Pier Candido Decembrio's relationship with Duke Humphrey. We know of Castiglione's visit to England only through Duke Humphrey's letter to Decembrio in which he mentions that 'Dominus episcopus Baiocensis proximis his diebus ad nos venit'. He then says : 'multaque de tuo in nos animo ac singulari virtute tua praedicavit pro quibus tibi gratias habemus non modicas' (24).

In effecting the introduction between Duke Humphrey and Decembrio it is too easy to conclude that Castiglione's main purpose was the usual blend of doing his patron a favour and thereby augmenting his own standing. The favour done to men like Lapo da Castiglioncho would be a happy by-product. However, with Decembrio, it should be taken into account that Castiglione's ambitions and friendship connected with Decembrio and Pizzolpasso in Milan were probably a greater consideration to him; doing Duke Humphrey a favour in this instance was more likely to have been the by-product, the secondary consideration. Thus when Decembrio and Duke Humphrey fell out there would naturally have been a cooling of relations between him and Castiglione, who would have felt let down by Duke Humphrey's shabby treatment

of his friend. This certainly accounts for the facts as we know them and rather suggests that Castiglione's whole attitude towards the Duke should be regarded in this light. His role as 'publicity agent' then may be more akin to the modern implications of the term than Weiss intended when applying it to Castiglione - you inflate the product into what you want to sell rather than publicize what is actually there. To make himself into a worthwhile contact, whom his scholarly acquaintances in Italy would be keen to know and make use of, he needed to have worthwhile connections to offer them and, as Duke Humphrey was the best connection he could proffer, it was necessary for him to build the Duke up into what he wanted him to be. This then accounts for the course of the friendship between Castiglione and Duke Humphrey, the burst of enthusiasm which, when it had failed to receive sufficient reciprocation, petered out.

Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger was a noted translator of Greek works when Castiglione encountered him in Bologna in 1437 and persuaded him to send Duke Humphrey some of his works and translations and dedicate them to him. Castiglionchio sent two works in 1437 but then he died of plague in Ferrara in 1438 which means that as the relationship was thus artificially curtailed, there is little to help one evaluate either what Lapo hoped to gain or how his approaches were received.

The first work which Lapo sent was the Comparatio studiorum

et rei militari, a Latin treatise which compares scholarship with the art of war. This is too common a subject perhaps to suggest that it was written specially after a report on Duke Humphrey's character from Castiglione, although perhaps one can claim for the subject a special appropriateness which made it popular within the pattern of the Duke's patronage (25).

In the dedication Castiglionchio says:

Rebus autem bellicis ac disciplina militari ita excelles,
ut res tue geste non in Britannia modo, verum etiam in
Gallia, Germania, Hispania, Mesia, Italia ceterisque
remotissimis regionibus summa cum gloria celebrentur,
ut tuum nomen omnes gentes et nationes stupefacte admirentur.
(26)

Evidently he thought that the best way to flatter the Duke was to speak of the Duke's wide reputation and this in turn would please Castiglione on whom it reflected well as he had undertaken to spread this reputation and would thus be known to be successfully doing so. Castiglionchio included his translation of some of Isocrates' orations with the Comparatio to demonstrate his skill as a translator.

Before the end of the same year, Castiglionchio dedicated a Latin version of Plutarch's Life of Artaxerxes to the Duke, and sent this together with some of the other Lives which he had Latinized (27). Amongst the manuscripts given by the Duke to Oxford in 1444 were two of Castiglionchio's Lives not included in the 1437 gift, so how the Duke acquired these is not known. Possibly, in fact, Lapo sent material to the Duke more often than the two extant dedications suggest. These two

alone, sent within the space of one year, demonstrate Castiglionchio's eagerness to ingratiate himself with the Duke and also how Castiglione's praises of the Duke had caught the humanist's imagination. In fact, Castiglionchio begins his dedication of the Life of Artaxerxes by mentioning Castiglione:

Zanonus episcopus Baiucensis, vir cum summa doctrina, integritate ac religione peditus, tum unus preter ceteros quos quidem viderim tui nominis tueque laudis et amplitudinis studiosus, mecum in colloquium veniens multa mihi ac preclara de te narrare solitus est.

(28)

This certainly demonstrates, by the clear emphasis given to what Castiglione had said, just how anxious the humanist was to curry favour with the agent as well as the patron. It is an unusual opening to a dedication and this in itself would have been seen as giving special significance to the reference to Castiglione. But the Duke would not have had great experience of the formal layout of such dedications, and may not necessarily have noticed this, yet Castiglione, the man for whom the compliment was intended, was more likely to have done. Castiglionchio relates his material to the Duke in a clear and direct way :

Et nunc Artaxerxis illustrissimi Persarum regis vitam latine tibi interpretatus sum, que quidem mihi et quia regis et quia optimi regis erat tue maxime convenire visa est : siquidem tu ut ille regio genere ortus, regis filius esses, et fratrem regem habuisses, et nepotem haberes, et regnum maximum regeres. Quare haud scio an tibi quicquam aptius, accomodatiusve fieri, aut excogitari potuerit. Verum ne Artaxerxes talis ac tantus rex ad te talem principem et tantum quasi.

(29)

This form of flattery, whereby the classical heroic subject matter is related to the patron, is a standard part of patronage literature to which such Lives lent themselves so well (see page 22).

The end of the penultimate paragraph of this dedication provides some interesting insight:

adiunxi illi perfectionis comites maximos et sapientissimos viros: Theseum, Romulum Solonem, Publicolam, Periclem, Fabium Maximum, Themistoclem, Camillum atque Aratum; qui quidem ut erant a Plutarco eruditissimo viro comparati invicem atque collati, ita ordine coniuntimque eorum res gestas interpretatione mea prosecutus sum, quas ad te idem pater optimus Zanonus unum in volumen quam fieri potuit ornatissimum redactas et exscriptas mittit.
(30)

Thus the dedication was written last - but not appended, for it formed part of the volume designed to be sent to the Duke. It was written after the book was envisaged and then discussed between Castiglione and Castiglionchio (and seemingly paid for by the former) but the dedication was then incorporated into the 'volumen.....ornatissimum ~~redactas et exscriptas~~' (presumably again at the request of Castiglione). This indicates that although Castiglione wanted to project the idea of humanists spontaneously dedicating their works to the Duke, the reality entailed rather more monetary involvement on his part than the picture painted might initially suggest.

In the Vatican Library the run of manuscripts Vat.Lat.1875-86 consists of twelve large highly decorated volumes of similar appearance containing different selections of Vitae. The list of

the contents of Vat.Lat 1880 is :

Vita Alexandri	Per Guarinum Veronensem traducte
Vita Celeris	
Vita cimensis	Per Leonardum iustinianum venetum traducte Ad Henricum Lusignanum illustr gallie
Vita Lucullii	
Vita Aristidis	Per Francium Barbarum traducte Ad signem atque ornatissimum fratrem suum
Vita Catonis	
Vita Demosthensis	Per Leonardum Aretinum traducte
Vita Ciceronis	
Vita Pyrri	Per Leonardum Aretinum traducte
Vita Merii	Per Antonium traducte Ad reuerendissimum in patrem et diuina aloysium florentine archiepiscopum dignissimum
Vita Catonis	Per leonardum iustiniarum ventum traducta ad clementissimum patrem iulianum cesarini sacro sancte romane ecclesie presbiterum Cardinalum
Vita Arati	Per Lapum Castelliunculum florentini traducte
Vita Artaxerxis	Ad illustrissimum Principem enfridum Gloucestris ducem et pembrochie comitem. Lapi Chastelliuncu prohemium in Artaxerxis regis Persaum Vitam incipit.
Vita Solonus	Per Lapum eundem traducte ad patrem eugenium
Vita Publicole	Per Lapum eundem traducte ad D.Iordanum ursinum sancte Romanum
Vita Pericli	Per eundem Lapum traducte ad patrem D.Iohanum Vitellem patriarchum Alexandrinum
Vita Fabii maximi	Per Antonium traducte ad reverencissimum in Christo patrem cardinalem marinensem
Vita Themistocles	Per Guarinus Veronensem traducte
Vita Camilli	Per Antonii traducte
Vita Lizandri	Per Antonium traducte as Laucentem Medici

It is interesting then to compare this list with that of the content of Vat. Lat. 1876 which are as follows:

In isto volumine continentur infrascripte int plutarci indelicet:

Vita demetri	per donatu ad carolum florentinum traducte ad vium petrum medicem
Vita marci antonii	per leonardum arentinum traducte ad colutium salutatem
Vita alcibiades	per donatu ad carolum florentinum traducte ad clarissimum ac prestantissimum virum petrum medicem

Vita martii coriolanii	per Guarinem ueronensem traducte
Vita arati sicioni	per lapum florentium traducte ad clementissimū patrem iulianum cesarinum sacrosancte romane presbiterum cardinalem
Vita artaxerxis regis persarum	per eundem traducte ad patrem zenonem
Vita aristides	Per franciscum barbarum traducte ad Zachariam Barbaram
Vita catonis censorini	
Vita philopomenis	Per guarinum veronensem ad iuris consulto C.Mandium veronensem
Vita tito quinti flaminii	per eundem ad Robertum Ruffum florentinum
Vita Solonis	Per lapum florentinum traducte ad sanctissimum ad beatissimum patrem Eugenio divina providentia
Vita Publicole	Per eundem
Vita perculis atheniensis	Per guearinum veronensem
Vita themistocles	Per Lapum castelliunculum florentini traduct
Vita furii camilli	Per antonium ad cosimam medicem

These volumes of translations from Plutarch were mass-produced by the same atelier, combining different selections of Vitae and adding different coats of arms for decoration once the books were sold. Most of the Vitae have the authors carefully tabulated. Many of the separate works are dedicated to patrons. In Vat.Lat. 1876, the Vita Artaxerxis regis persarum is dedicated:

Ad reverendissimum patrem zenonem Episcopem Baivcensem Lapi Florentini Prefatio invitam Artaxerxis regis persarum ex plutarco per eum traducta.

In Vat.Lat.1880 the same work bears the following dedication:

Ad illustrissimum Principem enfridum Gloucestris ducem et pembrochie comitem. Lapi Chastelliunculi prohemium in Artaxerxis Regis Persaum Vitam incipit.

Possibly Lapo decided to dedicate a Vita he had already dedicated to Zenone da Castiglione to the Duke after he had learnt from that source of the benefits to be reaped from an

association with the Duke. The identical dedication is used though 'Vale Jesus' has been added at the end of that to the Bishop and instead of 'Zanonus Episcopus Baivensis' being described as the man who recommended Lapo to make the dedication 'Panonus Episcopus' is cited. The change of dedication could have been a scribal error (just as the Vita Themistocles is attributed to Guarinus Veronese in Vat.Lat.1880 but to Lapo da Castellionchio in Vat.Lat.1876). As the text shows by its reference to Britain that Lapo wrote the work with Duke Humphrey in mind a likely explanation is that the scribe did not recognize the Duke's name and made some intelligent alterations. In any case the fact that the dedication, which is a long one, could be redirected so easily possibly suggests that -in the scribe's mind at least - it formed a standard gesture rather than a specific message.

Collections of humanist works like the two Vatican manuscripts described above, containing dedications to the Duke, ensured his place among the contemporary patrons and account for what little fame he had abroad not totally engendered by Castiglione and such direct contacts. The unusual fact that Duke Humphrey was English would have ensured that he was noticed and helps account for the reputation he had with men such as Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (on which see p.290).

Lapo da Castiglionchio, then, was the only humanist Castiglione managed to influence during his stay at Bologna and unfortunately

the humanist's death rendered Castiglione's efforts on the Duke's behalf comparatively unproductive. When Castiglione moved on to Florence in 1439, he was still trying to encourage humanists to send their works to the Duke but with very limited success.

As Sammut comments:

fra tanti umanisti residenti a Firenze in quel periodo, soltanto Antonio Pacini da Todi accolse l'appello del vescovo di Bayeux.

(31)

Like Lapo da Castiglionchio, Pacini also sent a Latin translation of a 'Life' by Plutarch to the Duke. This also contained a lengthy dedication, full of grandiose panegyric and fulsome praise for the Duke's military and scholastic prowess. This enhances the impression one gains of humanist writers speculating on obtaining a patron by sending such short works which were intended as samples of the sort of thing they could produce if the patron were to reciprocate adequately.

Pacini's Latin translations of Plutarch were highly popular in Italy 'and were frequently reproduced by the early Italian printers, there being at least seven complete editions of them between 1470 and 1558.' (32) Little is known of the relations between Pacini and Duke Humphrey and just as the picture of Castiglionchio's dedication of the Life of Artaxerxes to the Duke is confused by the fact that it is also dedicated to Castiglione, so too Pacini's Marius is also dedicated to the Archbishop of Florence. Weiss (Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.52, note 8) comments that this suggests

that Gloucester did not respond to Pacino's expectations' but then he says that 'it is of course possible that Pacino sent to England a work already dedicated to another patron, a practice far from uncommon amongst humanists.' Assuming then that this is not a scribal error, the hollowness of Pacini's stated intentions is evident. But so too is the reality of the writer's precarious situation. One should bear this in mind, for this is always behind the glowing image of the patron which a writer like Pacini would have been hopefully fostering. The basic psychology is one whereby first you flatter men into thinking that they are what you say they are and then you must add to the disappointment you feel when they do not fulfil the role you cast for them the resentment that you have already praised them and thanked them and so immortalised them for something which they have not in fact done.

Apart from the Marius dedicated to him, Duke Humphrey possessed others of Pacini's Latin translations - Plutarch's Pelopides, Plutarch's Agis et Cleomenes and Gregory of Nazianzus's De Virtute (33). We have no details concerning his receipt of these works except that Duke Humphrey gave them to Oxford in 1439, which indicates that they were sent from Italy probably by Castiglione in the same way that he had commissioned the volume of Castiglionchio's Vitae.

Like Castiglionchio's dedication of Plutarch's Artaxerxes,

Pacini mentions near the beginning of the dedication how he had heard of the Duke through Castiglione:

Zanonus quoque episcopus Baiocensis, praestantissimus vir ac singularibus virtutibus, praeco tuarum laudum tantum tibi tribuit, atque ita nomen tuum ad sidera tollit, ut numquam conquiescere posse videatur, quousque ostenderit sua dicendi facundia omnibus his clarissimis viris, animi nobilitate parem te esse.

(34)

The praise for the Duke is extremely fulsome. Vickers writes '... there is a servility and a lack of genuine feeling which shines through the flattering words. Of all the Italians, Pacini wrote most obviously for lucre and not for love.' But Pacini was following in Castiglione's footsteps - and consciously so:

Et admiratione virtutum tuarum motus, Vitam Marii ex Plutarco tibi interpretari volui, ut divinas animi tui laudes, quae de omnibus scriptoribus bene meritae sunt, aliqua gloria afficerem, et libris nostris dignitatem tuo nomine atque auctoritatem accumularem, ratus humanitatem atque animi tui facilitatem Artaxersem Persarum regem imitaturum.

(35)

But Pacini was no great scholar and even though his works had some vogue in their day he was constantly criticised for his mediocre learning (36). The relationship as far as we know did not develop further - probably because the Duke was not sufficiently forthcoming.

Although the relationship between Pier Candido Decembrio, of Milan, and Duke Humphrey has already been described in some detail several times (37), a reappraisal of the evidence fitting

it into the perspective of the general picture of the Duke's patronage is obviously required. Because of the wealth of documentation surrounding Decembrio's translation of Plato's Republic (the dedications to each of its Books and the plentiful correspondence which records the initial approach and contemplation of the work, the process and progress of the translation and the despatch of and subsequent expectations from the presentation volume) this particular act of patronage is of vital importance to the present study, affording as it does the fullest insight into the phenomenon of Duke Humphrey's relationship with Italian scholars whom he never met.

Borsa (38), writing at the beginning of this century, set out the view-point from which Decembrio's relationship with Duke Humphrey has subsequently been regarded:

Italian scholars looked upon him as a Maecenas of the new learning. They used to write to him to dedicate their works to him, either original or translations, and to send him copies of the Latin and Greek masterpieces of which he was in search for his library. On his part the duke showed no superficial interest in the pursuits of the Italian students, and his letters to Pier Candido Decembrio.....seem to show that his interest in the literary movement of his time was more than a fashionable hobby.

(39)

He then describes the process (although he was ignorant of letters which have subsequently come to light) by which Decembrio approached Duke Humphrey and sent the different Books of the Republic in batches at different times between 1437 and 1441 and

also corresponded on the matter of the contents of the Duke's library. Borsa then indicates briefly that the relationship proved disappointing:

It is not clear that the salary was ever paid at all. Some misunderstanding seems to have arisen on the matter between the Duke and his agent and no wonder, as Decembrio like all Italian humanists was not a little greedy and pretentious.

(40)

The implicit judgements behind such an approach ride roughshod over the obvious fact that both parties were working at cross purposes, neither understanding the expectations and motivations of the other side. And it is from the occurrence of such a clash of disappointments and disenchantments that one can discern not only different levels at which the Duke and Decembrio were operating but also the essential difference in approach between the English sort of patron and the Italian kind of patron-hunter which gave rise to the misunderstandings. Alphonso Sammut, who published for the first time all the letters either written by Duke Humphrey or to Duke Humphrey, describes the contents in his chapter on Pier Candido Decembrio (41) but neither he nor Weiss examine the way that two cultural traditions were working at cross purposes. The wealth of documentation is interesting not so much for what it says as what it implicitly reveals in many ways.

It is fascinating in the first place that the documentation exists at all. The development of the letter as a significant literary form, which was an important feature of the Renaissance

in the 16th Century in England (42), had already taken place in Italy. Del Monte's Letter Books and the manuscripts of Decembrio's correspondence testify to this. This would have been an area in which the English and the Italians seemingly understood each other without in fact discerning the fundamental difference in their approach. They both wrote letters. But the fact that the humanists carefully preserved their letters in neat chapters and carefully ordered them indicates that they were regarded as something of an artist's autobiography. The documenting of their relationships with patrons and other "literati" reflected glory back on their own works. Thus Pier Candido Decembrio, apart from keeping the letters in a Letter Book, added a selection from the series of the letters between himself and Duke Humphrey to the manuscript of the Republic. Brit.Lib.Harley 1705, the presentation copy - 'Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don P.Candidus secretaire du duc de Mylan' - contains a selection at the beginning suggesting that Pier Candido Decembrio was himself responsible for their inclusion with the text. Other copies of the Republic, however, contain different selections of the letters (43) and place them at either the beginning or at the end of the actual text and sometimes in both places.

Among the books sent by Decembrio to the Duke, and then given by Duke Humphrey in 1444 to Oxford, was an Epistolas declamatorie which Vickers (44) suggests were two volumes of letters about the Ethics and Republic and Weiss confirms this (45) by stating 'it seems

hardly likely that Declamationes should mean ordinary Latin letters'. Clearly then, Pier Candido Decembrio valued the mechanics of the act of patronage as being important in itself, and not merely the means by which the translation was brought about. Duke Humphrey's copy of the correspondence - if the surmises of Vickers and Weiss are correct - would have been very different from MS.Ricc.827, because Pier Candido Decembrio's Letter Book stretches over a much longer period beyond the relationship with Duke Humphrey. Perhaps though, the volumes merely comprised selections - it is only Chapter V of the Riccardian MS which is devoted to the Duke Humphrey correspondence. If perhaps the volume contained all Pier Candido Decembrio's letters up to 1440, and included the earlier chapters from the Riccardian MS, Duke Humphrey would have seen his correspondence with the humanist set beside that between Decembrio and other well-known Italian humanist patrons such as the Marquis Leonello d'Estense, Francisco Marescalo and Francesco Pizzolpasso. The inclusion of selections of letters was more than just a source of mutual gratification on the completed and bound volume. The internal evidence of the florid style and the great care taken to observe all possible rules of etiquette (showing that even at the time of their creation they were regarded as public statements by the self-conscious writer) and the external evidence of their careful preservation and inclusion suggest that to Pier Candido Decembrio the act

of translating Plato was not the major object of the exercise. The letters reveal not so much the store he placed on his relationship with the Duke (because after all how could he set store by something he was actually forging at the time) but on the mechanism by which it was demonstrably constructed. He would have regarded himself as more of a writer than merely a translator, for the letter was his literary medium. This accounts for both the circuitous route by which he approached his task (his initial approach to the Duke being elaborately conceived, whereby his employer wrote to the Duke praising him and he himself wrote to Castiglione's secretary (Talenti) asking to be recommended to the Duke) and of course for the quantity of correspondence during the translation and also for the eventual disintegration of the relationship between patron and writer. Duke Humphrey had secretaries who were turning out business letters all the time and he would obviously have regarded the letter less deferentially than he was obviously intended to. Naturally Decembrio's letters were replied to but they were probably regarded merely as part of the Duke's official correspondence, an attitude not exactly in tune with the high valuation given by humanists to epistolography.

Although Vickers (46) and Weiss (47) assume that it was Zano da Castiglione who was responsible for persuading Decembrio that a relationship with Duke Humphrey might be a profitable venture, Decembrio himself states that it was Gerardo Landriani,

the Bishop of Como, who had come to England and had been warmly received by Duke Humphrey 1432-3 (see page 181) who had mentioned to him the gap left by Bruni:

Itaque cum ab episcopo olim Laudensi nunc Gmano senserim Leonardum Aretinum Politiam Aristotelis, quam nomine dicti ducis traducere grecis litteris pollicebatur, sanctissimo domino nostro destinasse, statui tua intercessione amorem illius promereri et te illi carum vicissim reddere. Nam cum Politiam Platonis in greco legerem.... statui nove traductionis assumere laborem, et stilo ornato et eleganti reseratam tradere Latinis et dicto duci ascribere ad decus et nomen....

(48)

But Decembrio says this in a letter to his friend Rolando Talenti, Castiglione's secretary at Bayeux, which means that Castiglione's influence should probably be subsumed. In my discussion of Landriani's role in encouraging the Duke's patronage, my suggestion on page 182, that the fact that two men at Basle were singing the praises of the Duke immediately created an impression of a reputation, is borne out here. In the letter addressed to Duke Humphrey that Decembrio sent to Talenti to forward with his own letter of introduction, Decembrio also mentions Bruni's rudeness to the Duke, but he does not on this occasion mention Landriani as his source. It is interesting that he mentions his source to Talenti but not to the Duke, rather in the way a journalist would need to authenticate his material to his editor but not necessarily publish his sources with his 'story'. Decembrio's reference implies his outrage, and in his use of 'satis' he also rather denigrates Bruni:

Cum igitur intellegam Leonardum Arretinum, virum grece latineque lingue satis eruditum, Aristotelis Politicam, quam tuo nomine vertendam sumpserat, non tue excellentie sed domini nostri Pape Sanctitati direxisse, statui nomen tuum per se satis illustre non inferiori munere exornare et eximiam laudem tuam penitus extollere.

(49)

Decembrio's letter is dated Oct/Nov 1437. Although Bruni's translation of Aristotle's Politics had been ready by the beginning of 1437, Frulovisi was writing to Bruni in August 1437 to ask where it was and although Bruni replied that it had already been despatched the volume did not reach Duke Humphrey until the first half of 1438. Bruni had re-dedicated the same work to the Pope on March 1st 1437. Clearly then, Decembrio, writing in November 1437, had more knowledge of what Bruni had done than Duke Humphrey in England himself possessed. One can then surmise that Decembrio's remarks were deliberately designed to alienate Duke Humphrey from Bruni and ingratiate himself in his stead.

Decembrio's letter forwarded by Talenti to Duke Humphrey with his own letter of introduction dated Oct/Nov 1437 mentions the way Castiglione was spreading the Duke's reputation:

Clarissima apud Italos omnes virtutis tue fama percrebuit, princeps illustrissime, ita ut ignotam facie tuam excellentiam omnes litterati apud nos viri fama noverint, inter quos precipuus tue dignitatis laudator fuit et auctor reverendissimus pater Baiocensis episcopus, vir non solum doctrina litterarum sed humanitate, caritate et obsequio mitissimus tuique nominis precipuus amator.

(50)

But Decembrio's relations with Castiglione had not always been

as felicitous as this praise might imply. At Bologna in the second half of 1437 he had asked Decembrio for a copy of Book IV of the Republic translated by his father, Uberto Decembrio. Pier Candido Decembrio chose to interpret this as an accusation of plagiarism and sent a copy of the older version for comparison and enclosed a copy of the letter he had sent Talenti to send Duke Humphrey asking for his opinion on the matter. Castiglione wrote back:

Legi avidissime cum meis copiam litterarum quas clarissimo principi duci Gloucestrie destinasti ex quibus tibi gratias habeo quod me apud eum tanti feceris.

(51)

Thus Decembrio's initial letter to Duke Humphrey proposing to dedicate the translation to him was regarded by the Italian from the start of the venture as a public affair. It is quite likely that Decembrio chose to regard the request as an accusation to obligate Castiglione to help him in his bid for the Duke's patronage and so prove that he was not suspicious. The reason that Decembrio was so touchy on this point becomes obvious when one realizes that Decembrio was more or less paraphrasing the earlier translation of Chrysoloras (52).

It is interesting to look at Duke Humphrey's replies to the two initial approaches Decembrio instigated from Pizzolpasso and Talenti, for such formal letters and so much fuss anticipating a work which he had not himself commissioned were something new to the Duke. Talenti's letter, sent from Bayeux in January 1438 was replied to exactly one month later. The way Duke

Humphrey carefully records the nature of the letter perhaps reflects the puzzlement he felt at the elaborate way Decembrio set about making himself known:

Modo ad epistolas tuas. Duas recepimus uno exemplo factas: primam kalendis Februariis, datam secundo idus, scilicet octavo Ianuarii; secundam vero nonis itidem Februarii, datam primo sexto idus Novembris, una semper cum litteris clarissimi viri P.Candidi nostri, quibus in iocunditatem maximam devenimus, quod vestre nationis hominibus sic sit nomen nostrum commendatum, et tibi et huic presertim Candido nostro, cuius voluntatem laudamus, approbamus et hortamur.

(53)

Such bewilderment would have been compounded when in April 1438, Pizzolpasso wrote a long letter to the Duke praising and promoting Decembrio and enclosing the fifth book of the Republic dedicated to Giovanni Amadeo as a foretaste of the whole work. Perhaps Decembrio felt that the Duke had not sufficiently appreciated his gesture, and Pizzolpasso's letter was designed to enlighten the Duke on Decembrio's status in Italy and the quality of the work which perhaps it was felt the Duke had rather too casually accepted. It is not surprising that Duke Humphrey felt somewhat confused about what was going on. After all it was six months since he had accepted the original approach:

Quodque magis affectum hac super re nostrum cognoscas, iam mensis sextus Candidus is suis suavissimis petiit, gratumne nobis foret si nostro nomini Rempubicam Platonis latinam faceret, conatusque est menti nostre pluribus id persuadere.

(54)

It annoyed the Duke that at least one of the books had been

dedicated to someone other than himself. The Duke's reply to Pizzolpasso is about a third of the length of Pizzolpasso's letter and appears somewhat curt. His letter to Decembrio written about the same time is even more short and to the point. But what one also notices in this retort to Pizzolpasso is the way he in turn emphasises the favour he himself was doing to Decembrio in lending his name to the work. Perhaps the Duke took more literally than was intended the standard flattering suggestion by which humanists often tried to ingratiate themselves, that he would be doing them a favour by having his name associated with their work. To the writer an implication of the desired financial reward would have been subsumed in this suggestion, a subtlety that Duke Humphrey chose to overlook in taking the extravagant phraseology literally.

The frustration Decembrio felt at not being sufficiently valued was not confined to his dealings with the Duke. In his initial letter to Talenti, he states his affection and admiration for his virtues, saying that he expects nothing from him which is not noble and splendid. One can tell from Decembrio's comments that the two have collaborated previously on the publication of some works and that Talenti seems to be something of a literary agent. The reason for writing is not stated until half way through the letter after mentions of previous connections between the two men - Decembrio begins by recalling Talenti's father as a 'profecto humanissimus' -

and declarations of friendship. Half way through the letter Decembrio dismisses these pleasantries tersely - 'Sed haec alia' - & turns to the reason for writing rather abruptly:

Nunc autem Platonis politiam e graeco latinam facere decrevi eam inscribere Illustrissimo duci Clouestrie, quam litterarum non minus eruditissimum quam amantissimum esse audio.

(55)

Decembrio had only just begun the process of making the translation but the matter of to whom it should be dedicated was of immediate importance to him; from the way he speaks at the same time of translating and dedicating it to Duke Humphrey - 'facere' and 'inscribere' both depending on 'decrevi' - it seems that the Italian considered the activities simultaneously. Having heard of Duke Humphrey's reputation through Castiglione he probably thought of what he could do for the Duke rather than arbitrarily embark on a complete translation of Plato's Republic and then look around for a patron on its completion. Decembrio is very diffident about approaching and begs him to ascribe his presumption not so much to his arrogance as to his inordinate affection for a very humane prince and he asks him to write very elegant and sweet letters so that the Duke may hear of his intentions. But there was some delay in receiving any response from Talenti, which would have been very galling to Decembrio's self-esteem.

Decembrio was obviously extremely keen on his project because, on not receiving an immediate reply from Talenti, he wrote again (56), repeating much of the matter of his

previous letter and stressing the value of the work, 'iocundius
....utilius....excellentius' being the three qualities he
thought would persuade Talenti to communicate with the Duke.
This letter is not in the series of correspondence in the Riccardian
Letter Book, nor is it added so far as I know to any of the
selections appended to the translation of the Republic (57).
This is probably because the necessity to repeat the request
to mediate between himself and the Duke somewhat detracts
from the sort of image of the act of patronage which Decembrio
was anxious to construct.

Talenti's reply praises Decembrio's letters and regrets that,
because a previous reply must have got lost in the post,
Decembrio had gained the wrong impression about Talenti's
enthusiasm for the project. He writes in vague generalisations
about the glory Decembrio will attain and the value of studying
Greek. Decembrio's letter which Talenti had forwarded to the
Duke is very florid and flattering. It opens with the short
magnificent sentence I have already quoted, bestowing on the
Duke just the Italian reputation which Decembrio presumed
he would like to have heard of himself having: 'Clarissima
apud Italos omnes virtutis tue fama percrebuit, princeps illustrissime.'
He then mentions the source of his information, the Bishop of
Bayeux, whom he describes as an outstanding lover of the Duke's
name who has spread word of the Duke's virtue, humanity and
prudence. Decembrio mentions how Caesar and Augustus and
many famous men achieved immortal fame through their interest in

learning and then Decembrio says that when he heard how Bruni had dedicated his translation to the Pope rather than the Duke, he had decided that the Duke's name should be no less celebrated and adds that fortunately he had started to translate Plato. The two last sentences of the letter express in clear terms this enthusiastic motivation:

Expecto itaque declarari litteris tue dignitatis, an velis
me laborem istum sacratissimum in laudem tui nominis
assumere ut puto sempiternam. Cui me obsequentissimum
omni tempore commendo. Vale, princeps illustrissime.
(58)

It is hardly surprising that Decembrio, after the effort taken to praise the Duke so fulsomely, should be aggrieved at not receiving what he would have considered sufficient reciprocation. Talenti's letter of introduction to the Duke uses markedly less florid and more businesslike Latin yet nevertheless refers to the Duke's reputation throughout Italy and describes Decembrio as a man skilled in Greek and Latin who was eager to further the Duke's fame and glory. Decembrio is described as a man 'doctis omnibus Italias propter sapientem et singularem uirtutem suam' and highly recommended to the Duke whom he urges to reply to the letter.

Just as Talenti had written to the Duke enclosing Pier Candido Decembrio's letter, so the Duke replied to Talenti enclosing a letter to be forwarded to Decembrio. The correspondents all speak of affection for one another but the most openly affectionate letters appear to be those from the Duke to Decembrio. If one compares the Duke's letter to Talenti with

the enclosure for Decembrio this becomes very striking. The Duke addresses Decembrio, creating an intimacy at once - "Candide noster suavissime" - where Talenti is not directly addressed. The humanist enthusiasm and admiration for Latin and especially Greek writing is very simply and perhaps rather ingenuously expressed and the Duke asks to be shown anything new which either Decembrio or other skilful men have translated:

Gratum et insuper haberemus aliud si quippiam novi,
vel tui vel alterius cuiusvis viri periti per te
videremus. Vale et a nobis amari constantissime tene.
(59)

The projected translation of Plato's Republic is not mentioned by the Duke at all in either letter and it would appear that he was more anxious to reply in a generalised way about the text - that he was interested in anything new - and also about the author as the 'vel tui vel alterius' shows. It is as though he was unwilling to specify his patronage and be seen to bestow it in the one channelled direction. The opening sentence of the letter to Decembrio certainly conveys this impression with its interesting reference to the Duke's patronage:

Ea nobis semper sententia fuit, Candide noster suavissime,
tota menta complecti virtuosos illos viros, qui nos
appeterent et patrociniū nostrum.
(60)

Talenti's covering letter to Decembrio is naturally full of excitement at the success of his mission and he says that he will not write much as the mail carrier is waiting impatiently. Not long after forwarding these two letters Talenti wrote again to Decembrio asking if he might be entrusted with eventually

conveying the finished translation to Duke Humphrey, promising to advertise Decembrio's name and his other works. He reminds Decembrio of his part in establishing his contact with the Duke and that they were both from the same city. Decembrio must have realized the fairness of the request to be allowed to partake in the glory that would accrue from taking the work to the Duke, for he replies and assures Talenti that he may have the job and of his gratitude in very elaborate terms. This seems to be the end of the correspondence involving Talenti, whom Decembrio seems only to have used to ease the initial contact with Duke Humphrey.

The series of correspondence printed by Borsa (61) ignores the role of intermediary played by Talenti and also the various letters between the Duke and Pizzolpasso, Decembrio's master, the Archbishop of Milan. This negates the framework of tentative manoeuvring which Decembrio constructed around his approach for patronage from Duke Humphrey. Clearly this elaboration was intended to convince the Duke of the value of the opportunity presented to him, but Duke Humphrey was just confused by the artificial niceties and apparently gratuitous flamboyance. What is interesting is the extent to which he responded to what Decembrio was doing, because Decembrio's letters were all replied to and even though the Duke was somewhat aggrieved by the initial offer of the dedication being modified and

three of the Books being dedicated to other men, he allowed himself to be assuaged (Decembrio said that the presence of the other names in the work would add to the Duke's glory like planets round the sun) and 'played along' with Decembrio.

The first five Books of the Republic were sent to Duke Humphrey in 1440 through Talenti. In Decembrio's accompanying letter he boasts:

Quippe cum certus sim hos aut nunquam aut tarde profecto esse perituros, tanta elegantia sententiarumque nitent pondere, et iam in famae tuae gloriam atque decus non solum per universam leguntur Italiam, sed ad Hispaniae fines usque penetrarunt.

(62)

There are grounds for supposing that this is more than vacuous flattery (see page 278) and confirms the impression one gains that the humanists published works as soon as they were written - before the whole work was necessarily finished - which would have had the effect of boosting the amount of publicity given to the patron's connection with the work. This confirms the impression that Duke Humphrey's connection with Bruni through the years in which he was translating Aristotle's Politics, before the humanist defected and dedicated the work to the Pope, was very advantageous to the Duke's image as a patron even despite the eventual breach in the relationship (see page 184).

On the 23rd March, Duke Humphrey wrote and thanked Decembrio for the first five Books and urged the speedy completion of the work which I take to be his attempt to reciprocate the flamboyant

enthusiasm rather than any desperate desire to get the work within his grasp. The fact that the complete text was finished by September of the same year rather suggests that Decembrio had been deliberately spinning out the dealings beforehand, but again Duke Humphrey's enthusiastic response to this news responds in kind. Weiss suggests that perhaps 'his protestations might be somewhat exaggerated'. Weiss adds:

True it is scarcely credible that this manuscript and it alone was the subject of his thoughts, as might be inferred from a purely verbal interpretation of his correspondence with Decembrio, yet it would not be far from the truth to assume that his feelings were very similar to those of a scholar waiting for a much desired book seen in a bookseller's catalogue.

(63)

Weiss is taking Duke Humphrey too seriously. The Duke had learnt the required form, the patronage idiom.

The fact that the text was completed did not end the game (whose rules Duke Humphrey had picked up by this time). The delay in the despatch of the text - which Decembrio naturally blamed on his scribes and the Duke naturally 'impatiently lamented' was probably designed to whet the appetite and lasted until the spring of 1443. Meanwhile the relationship between Decembrio and the Duke took a new direction. It is unclear whether the Duke or Decembrio first broached the matter of the acquisition of books but by the first half of 1440 Duke Humphrey mentioned his main requirements and sent a catalogue of his library asking for comment. By 1440, the Duke had already given books to Oxford

and so presumably the catalogue was a fairly extensive one. Decembrio replied that at least one hundred volumes of great importance were not included and the Duke, playing the prescribed part, then commissioned Decembrio to set about filling the gaps. Duke Humphrey also wrote to the Duke Filippo Maria Visconti asking for permission for his secretary to copy and send him the catalogue of the Duke's library at Pavia. This letter is lost and we only know about it from the Duke's letter to Decembrio informing him that he had written to his master. Unfortunately the exchange of views, requests and offers regarding book-collecting has not survived in its entirety and so it is difficult to analyse it with any certainty.

When one recollects that the Duke had already given 129 Latin volumes to Oxford in 1439, the Duke's words are surprisingly modest and simple,

Nos vero habes ac habebis quoad voles, qui semper tuis studiis favebimus. Verum Livium habemus, aliosque prestantes viros et omnia fere Ciceronis opera que reperiuntur. Si quid tamen habes egregii, rogamus facias nos etiam participes.

(64)

It would seem that a letter from Decembrio crossed the Duke's letter and appears to have contained an offer to purchase books. Perhaps both parties regarded this as the obvious next step in the relationship. But if Duke Humphrey's description of his library was a form of false modesty, Decembrio countered this by stating that at least one hundred volumes were missing so that if the Duke had merely been expecting praise this would have been

somewhat mortifying. Sammut (65) prints the list of fifty volumes 'que ex Latinis scriptoribus magis necessaria' which Weiss suggests was similar to the list of at least one hundred volumes sent to Duke Humphrey 'if not actually a copy of it' (66). Evidently it was not a copy, as the existing check list only contains fifty works. Decembrio apparently had a liking for tabulating such information and perhaps he expanded his ideas on what was 'magis necessaria' in compiling the list of omissions for Duke Humphrey, whose commissions were likely to prove a valuable source of revenue. Many of the volumes on the extant list had already been given by the Duke to Oxford - which reflects well on the Duke's collection. Schirmer (67) inferred from the list of books presented to Oxford that Duke Humphrey's humanism was not very deep, for most of the books are such as might be found in any Medieval library. As Decembrio's extant list shows, such a conclusion is not justified, as humanists would also have been interested in the typical contents of a Medieval library and in any case it is quite likely that Duke Humphrey kept any new exciting humanist translations for himself or that copies received after 1443 were never given and so never recorded. Ullman (68) shows that the 1443 donations contained far more humanistic works than the earlier donations and included about twenty-five humanistic works.

It is not known whether Duke Humphrey ever paid the yearly salary of a hundred ducati with which he intended to compensate Decembrio's services. This offer was made in a letter of 30th June 1441 notifying Decembrio of the receipt of the Republic:

Nos institueramus te centum ducatis annuo stipendio condonare, et iam id incepissemus efficere, nisi nos interceptisset quedam quasi suspitio principis tui ne fortasse in aliam partem acciperet officium nostrum, et dum tibi prodesse conaremur, obessemus. Voluimus propterea id tibi prius significare, ut sive hac via sive alia quavis meliori nos estimes tibi complacere posse, id nobis tuis litteris confidentissime declares. Nam pro viribus enitemur, ut officio nostro minime defuisse videamur.

(69)

The offer was then repeated in Duke Humphrey's letter of July 15th 1441, in which he notifies Decembrio of the receipt of some books:

.....cum percipere potueris ex frequentissimis litteris nostris quanti faciamus officium tuum. Idque ut et facilius cognosceres, decreveramus tibi annum stipendium centum videlicet ducatorum, nisi timuissemus ne in aliquam suspensionem te coniecissemus cum principe tuo, et officio in te nostro potius offendere(mus) quam iuvaremus, ut superioribus litteris nostris tibi significavimus, cupientes maxime tuum in hac re prius animum cognoscere.

(70)

Duke Humphrey adds in the same letter: 'et quod tua in re nos iudicabis, facturos facile impetrabis.'

We know of these two offers because they are quoted by Decembrio in a letter. In that letter he then goes on to quote the fact that he had replied to these two offers by stating that what he desired was the price of the villa which had once belonged to Petrarch near Milan, but had heard nothing from the Duke. We can sense from the way in which Decembrio quotes the Duke so amply and then reiterates his own request, that he was emphasising how his request was merely made in response to the Duke's offer. This is indicative of the way in which both patron and writer were playing a game, aware of an uncertainty about the

rules which could be exploited. The Duke doubtless thought his original offer of money was not only generous but would be sufficient and be seen to be so. He had probably been advised to make the lavish offer and then to bolster up the offer by not merely sending the money (just as Decembrio did not merely translate the Republic and send it, but maximised the fuss regarding it) but by repeating the offer and ascertaining that it was the present required. Decembrio however had decided to take advantage of the literal offer and state what he would rather have. The letter containing these details was written in response to the Duke's complaint of silence. Decembrio pointed out the efforts he had made on the Duke's behalf.

Vickers says that 'in making this request he was probably influenced by the fact that the scholar Filelfo had just received such a gift from Duke Filippo Maria and by a desire to be equal with this great rival who had so lately come to Milan.' (71) Evidently then, the request was not a preposterous one from the Italian's point of view. To Duke Humphrey it evidently appeared ridiculous. He chose to ignore the request and then on not hearing from the Italian he wrote and asked why, as though he assumed too that Decembrio would be aware of how out of the question his request had been and also ignore it. Perhaps even, the Duke thought he was being magnanimous in choosing to continue the relationship after such a piece of insolence. Decembrio states that it was not forgetfulness but fear because

his request had been ignored that had caused his long silence. After this dissertation on the condition of his reward, Decembrio mentions that he has secured Columella's treatise on agriculture and all the works of Apuleius but that he had no means of despatching them at present, but if Duke Humphrey would suggest a means of sending them he would do so. This was probably a veiled hint that if the Duke were to pay up, the means of conveyance might be found. With dignity he states 'Ego certe silentio moveor, mercede non utique'. There is a suggestion that money was an unpleasant subject which should grease the cogs of the workings of patronage and not be the subject of them, but if the patron was not forthcoming the writer was in the distasteful position of having to mention these matters and the cogs did not turn so easily. Decembrio, who had built up great expectations for himself, was naturally bitter at the waste of his time and chose to cut his losses and waste no more.

Duke Humphrey's offer of a hundred ducats appears extremely generous from an English point of view but should be regarded from Decembrio's point of view. Poggio Bracciolini received six hundred gold pieces from Alphonso of Naples (about whom page 44f) for Xenophon's Cyropedia and Panormita received a thousand florins from Alphonso for instructing him in Livy. Vespasiano says that Alphonso spent as much as twenty thousand ducats a year as salaries for scholars. Perotti received five hundred ducats from Nicholas V for his "Polybius" and

Filelfo received a purse of five hundred ducats for his satires. Guarino received a thousand florins for a translation of Strabo from Nicholas V and would have been paid five hundred ducats more but for the death of the Pope (72). This indeed makes Duke Humphrey's hundred ducats seem pal

Although Decembrio was disappointed in his hopes, it did not prevent his later translating Frulovisi's Vita Henrici Quinti into Italian some time before 1463, when he dedicated it to Francesco Sforza. Decembrio had requested a copy of the text in 1440 from his friend Frulovisi who had shortly before returned to England and after a visit to Milan gone to Toulouse and then on to Barcelona. Thus the request for the volume had been made during the period when relations with Duke Humphrey were still amicable and perhaps at this stage Decembrio had thought of making the translation, and possibly made it at this date, but, sensing how unresponsive the Duke was, kept hold of the work until a later suitable occasion. When petitioning for patronage after his master's death, Decembrio told the Governor of Milan that during his long and faithful service to the Visconti he had refused the efforts of other patrons to suborn his services; one of the patrons cited is Duke Humphrey. Decembrio was not above painting the picture which suited the moment. Perhaps he genuinely felt that he had been unable to fully exploit Duke Humphrey's patronage by coming to England as Frulovisi and Beccaria had done. Frulovisi had filled the place Bruni had left vacant by not coming to England. Perhaps this was present in Decembrio's mind for he stated several times that he wanted to fill the place left by Bruni when he did not dedicate the Politics to the Duke which indicates his awareness of his inability to fill the place left by Bruni in England. Thus it seems that Decembrio may have felt that the loyalty he showed for the Visconti had hampered his chances of taking advantage of Duke Humphrey.

It seems that Decembrio had an inflated idea of what could be obtained from the English Duke, as can be seen from a comparison of his efforts and those of Castiglione and Pacini. The combination of the testimonies of Frulovisi, Castiglione and Landriani raised hopes and also perhaps his disillusionment with his office in Milan, where Filelfo had superseded him in his master's eyes:

The only scholar in Milan who did not cringe to him, the secretary Decembrio, was treated with contempt in his letters and in his satire was made the butt of his sarcasm and accused of the most senseless and servile acts. Decembrio had not the talent to repay him in his
(73)

Filelfo had come to Milan in July 1438 during the period when Decembrio had just started to solicit for the Duke's patronage. Decembrio probably fostered ideas of holding his own with his rival by having an English patron as is shown by his request for a house to match what his master had given Filelfo.

Thus Duke Humphrey and Decembrio were engaged on a joint enterprise in which neither comprehended the position of the other. The relationship flourished as long as their requirements and expectations matched each other but the diverging nature of the understanding of what they were each doing led inevitably to Decembrio feeling disappointed and exploited and Duke Humphrey disdaining the humanist's inflated idea of his worth.

Cumulatively, and superficially, the contact between Duke Humphrey and Italian humanists appears extensive and productive. But on examination of what actually happened and what was actually produced it becomes clear that the activity was not generated by the Duke although he was prepared to benefit from it while it suited him and cost him little, and that in the end the activity amounted to very little and nothing long term. The efforts of various people around the Duke to build up a reputation

attracted men to approach him. The flamboyant language of the letters and dedications conceals the hollowness beneath the surface.

On the back flyleaf of a paper manuscript of Decembrio's translation of Republic (74) there is a list of people to whom copies of the work had been sent with Duke Humphrey's name heading the list. The list suggests the author's surprise at the wide reception given to the work. This list is hitherto unpublished.

Ex his politie platonice libris data copia

Illustrissimo domino duci cloucestrie
Domino Ignico danaloi militi hispano
Illustri d. leonardo Marchioni estensi
Reuerendissimo d. Alfonso burgensi epo
Reuerendo d. Genoni Castellionco epo bawcessi
D. Antonio de Penlauro
D. Vgolino cantel parmesi
francisco picolpassi bononiensi
Comiti brocardo de persico
D. francisco marescalco

The first three entries include men from England, Spain and Italy which befit Decembrio's statement to the Duke: 'famae tuae gloriam atque decus non solum per universam leguntur Italianam, sed ad Hispaniae fines usque penetra-

The Bodleian Catalogue of manuscripts connected with 'Duke Humphrey and his Circle' describes the Vatican MS of Decembrio's Republic as 'possibly the presentation copy sent to Duke Humphrey in 1440. It was written in Milan in a humanistic hand... Two of the initials incorporate scrolls with the motto 'Suen a vous'... Additions, corrections and characteristic marginalia in the hand of Decembrio, including 'Attende Princeps'...'(76). The entry in the catalogue speculates that the manuscript was the presentation copy. In view of the list of people to whom copies were presented and the fact that the MS does not tally with the 1444 list of donations to Oxford, there need be no room for doubt that this was not Duke Humphrey's copy but probably a presentation copy to someone else on the above list.

The list of receivers of the work is interesting as it sets Duke Humphrey within the context of Decembrio's world. One can see how important a single act of patronage could be in enhancing a patron's name. Before the Republic, the Duke's reputation as a patron was based largely on Castiglione's reports and some unsatisfactory dealings, but as the list shows, the Republic dispersed so widely amongst leading contemporary humanists (77), established Duke Humphrey's reputation on the Continent.

CHAPTER IV : DUKE HUMPHREY'S PATRONAGE OF SCHOLARSHIP IN ENGLAND

The nature of the evidence for Duke Humphrey's patronage of literature (of English literature and of Italians who came to England and wrote for him and of Italians with whom he corresponded and who sent works from Italy) makes an examination straightforward. texts, both with the references they actually contain, and with the supporting body of dedications and correspondence, provide much information as to the circumstances in which they were produced. Although the picture is by no means complete, a large number of cross-references of one sort or another enable us to at least identify what the gaps in our knowledge are; and to be able to have 'gaps' one needs to have a relatively substantial body of material, and feel confident that if these gaps were filled the form of the picture as it stands would not be dramatically altered. What is also striking is the unusual accuracy with which a chronology of this patronage can be established. The intrinsic nature of the relationship between patron and writer necessitated a high degree of documentation. The documentation was mutually advantageous in the short term : it enhanced both the writer's and patron's sense of self-esteem to be mutually connected; when successfully working, the systematic documenting of the relationship was designed to bring the writer financial reward and the patron a reputation as a benefactor to artists. However,

it is perhaps too easy to be utterly cynical about the motivation on both sides. Although one is probably right in discerning behind the grandiose language and etiquette the selfish designs of writer and patron alike, it would be wrong to altogether dismiss the element of idealisation that existed. By constant repetition they probably eventually succeeded in deceiving themselves about their motives. Because of the interest in reviving ancient texts a heightened awareness that a text itself has a human history and the rôle which writer and patron were playing in the present history of the text had evolved. Thus, Pier Candido Decembrio could send the Duke two volumes of his own letters and attach selections of his letters to his translation of the Republic as well as a dedication with every book. The humanists, in speaking of the glory which would accrue to the patron from association with the text, were of course utilising a standard form of flattery, and yet, knowing that literature endures the vicissitudes of man, states and civilisations, they revelled in the truth of what they were saying. They obviously felt that they had a valuable commodity to offer the patron and this consisted of a combination of the work itself and the trappings which involved the patron in the history of the work.

In looking at Duke Humphrey's patronage of humanist scholarship in England, however, the form of the evidence is comparatively insubstantial, circumstantial and uncertain, and the only sorts of conclusions which one can draw with any confidence are at best merely suggestions and surmises. This sort of

patronage, which was not confined to the production of individual texts, leaves no concrete evidence neatly explaining the connection with the Duke. One is forced to talk about a more generalised concept of patronage, and is inclined in the absence of direct reference to the Duke to connect the patronage more with the milieu of the Duke's Household than directly with the figure of the Duke himself. And yet, of course, it is only because the nature of the patronage relationship in the patronage of literature engenders the need for a focus that the Duke figures so prominently when examining that sort of patronage in this period. I have discussed how men like Piero del Monte and Castiglione promote the Duke's name as a focus of patronage for their own purposes, and I have also shown how this suited him to a certain extent and he responded accordingly. The real impetus behind his patronage clearly came from the men around him. Although the degree to which the Duke was genuinely interested in patronage is of crucial interest, it is inevitable that any suggestions that the Duke was propelled by a love of learning, literature and scholarship must be regarded suspiciously. Such suggestions abound in the literature, and because of them my discussion of the Duke's patronage of literature continually refers to the Duke himself. This evidence then focusses on the Duke, whereas the extant evidence for his patronage of learning points instead to the learned men within the Duke's entourage acting as some sort of nucleus. But to see this as a contrast in the degree of his involvement as a patron is to negate the essential difference in the material. Possibly, because one is not

blinded by statements inspired by ulterior motivation, the picture one gains of the Duke's patronage of scholarship may reflect more truly the nature of his activity as a patron generally.

The difficulties of being precise about the Duke's patronage of English scholarship are manifested in Chapter V of Weiss's work Humanism in England during the 15th Century where he discusses the careers of Bekynton, Clement, Holes and Moleyns. He begins :

Duke Humphrey's patronage had not been limited to Italians. He also encouraged and gave employment to learned Englishmen, some of whom were affected to a greater or lesser degree by humanism. Apart from the various English poets to enjoy Gloucester's protection, a testimony of his fondness for letters scarcely germane with neo-classicism, it was in his household that Thomas Bekynton shaped his career. Bekynton's rôle in the development of Renaissance learning in England must be sought chiefly within the province of administration, for it was reserved for him to raise the standards of official epistolography in this country by following classical models, and by a disregard of the formalities of medieval epistolary practice.

(1)

Bekynton was the Duke's Chancellor from 1424 until 1438 when he became Henry VI's secretary. In these capacities he obviously came into contact with both the writers and scholars bidding for the Duke's patronage and also the educated foreign officials who came to England on business and the English literati who worked and held offices. He would have met them formally through his work but he also appears to have cultivated them in his own right.

Thomas Bekynton collected manuscripts himself. Among the works which we know he possessed were a MS. collection of

Medieval Latin poems (2), the Latin poems of Francesco Pontano (3), John Free's Latin Synesius (4), and an illustrated Bestiary (5), works presented to him by Thomas Chaundler (6), and the Decades of the Papal secretary Flavio Biondo (7). Apart from these, several formularies still exist containing Bekynton's compilations of official documents interspersed with such items as letters and orations by contemporary Italian humanists (8). The fact that men like Chaundler and Flavio Biondo gave Bekynton manuscripts indicates the sort of reputation he had which inspired such presents. Bekynton, working for Duke Humphrey until 1438 - the year before the first large donation of books to Oxford - would have, at the very least, been aware of the Duke's book collecting if not actually have used the library or had a hand in its growth. In his De Jure Regum Anglorum ad Regnum Franciae (9), Bekynton includes one of Petrarch's Latin Eclogues as an authority which Weiss deduces he knew from the Duke's collection.

Bekynton wrote to Italian humanists in his own right and he managed to forge private links which were in no way connected with his work for Duke Humphrey or the king. Angelo Gattola, a Papal Official who came to England in 1440, had returned home and warmly recommended Bekynton to Flavio Biondo because he had been asked by Bekynton to help him secure the See of Bath and Wells made vacant through Stafford's translation to Canterbury (10). Bekynton was thus able to benefit from having been put in contact with the distinguished humanist on

official business, to establish his own correspondence and eventually enjoy a relationship which involved an exchange of presents. Biondo sent Bekynton a copy of his Decades, a contemporaneous history of Italy, the second volume of which is still preserved (11) "beautifully written on vellum in an Italian hand of the first half of the Fifteenth Centurythe title page is richly illuminated with a border which exhibits, among other ornaments, the well-known canting device of Bekynton, the flaming beacon 'bek' in a tun - proving the volume was specially prepared for him" (12).

Weiss emphasises the degree to which "humanistic influence is evident in Bekynton's Latin correspondence." Indeed it would be surprising if Bekynton had not been influenced in view of the way (which I have already indicated in discussing the Duke's letters to Pier Candido Decembrio) that the Duke's secretaries imitated successfully the forms of language, letter writing and etiquette which they encountered. The fact that it is impossible very often to specify who was responsible for some of the Duke's most famous letters - although some have been established as definitely being the work of Bekynton - implies that his facility with humanistic epistolographical writing, which Weiss praises so highly, was not in fact so extraordinary. His eagerness to establish correspondence with humanists abroad may have been influenced by Piero del Monte, with whom he would have been in close contact 1435-8 while del Monte was in England on good terms with the

Duke and while Bekynton was still in the Duke's employ.

There was nothing extraordinarily new about government officials combining an interest in literary matters with their official duties (Chaucer and Hoccleve being the obvious examples). Nor was there anything remarkable about the use of models for letter-writing, except that Bekynton clearly turned away from the dictaminal collections which dominated the sort of Latin Whethamstede was writing and substituted the humanist letter book and a knowledge of Latin founded on Classical rather than Medieval sources (13). But whether one can say that Duke Humphrey's patronage of Italian humanists was instrumental in this change or itself merely part of a rising trend is difficult to say. The interactions of diplomats and papal officials would doubtless have brought about the situation whereby 'to write to Italy in a Latin not patently barbarous to Italian eyes was a matter of political prestige for a man with Bekynton's outlook' (14), but the presence of the humanists in the Duke's circle and the unusual quantity of written contact with Italy probably increased Bekynton's anxiety to modernise his diplomatic correspondence.

Bekynton also appears to have acted as a patron. Thomas Chaundler, educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, gained the Chancellorship of Wells in 1452 where he came into contact with his Bishop - Bekynton - and dedicated his Liber Apologeticus and his Collucutiones and Allocutiones (15) to him. Weiss says that although these works have rightly been

described as a 'dreary performance', 'closer to the spirit of neo-classicism is Chaundler's dedicatory epistle to Thomas Bekynton in which the numerous second-hand quotations from Greek authors, the examples drawn from classical antiquity and the general tone, betray an attitude in its author not very different from the humanists.' (16) Chaundler, of course, would have had the models of all the works dedicated to Duke Humphrey at Oxford to draw on. Weiss's assertion (17) that Bekynton recommended 'his young friend Richard Caunton, who was going to Rome to pursue the study of oratory', indicates the sort of benevolent encouragement he extended to young scholars.

None of this activity is directly attributable to the Duke, though clearly it was influenced by the sort of things which were going on in the Duke's circle. Weiss says :

Moreover Bekynton knew many of the devotees of polite letters, such as Adam de Moleyns, Vincent Clement, Andrew Holes, Piero del Monte and perhaps John Tiptoft
(18)

However one can add Whethamstede and everyone else who came into direct contact with the secretarial office of Duke Humphrey's Household to this list. One is in danger of allowing the real sense of passive patronage - where the patron enthusiastically allows himself to be used as a focus for a movement and permits certain activities, such as the soliciting of manuscripts, to take place in his name - to become debased by a more generalised idea of passive patronage where anything which goes on connected

with men who had official dealings with the patron is then automatically associated with his beneficence. It can be argued though that Bekynton was a special case because he acknowledged his debt to Duke Humphrey in a statement in his will:

Bekynton may with justice have regarded this strange and illustrious man - the nearest approach in England to an Italian prince - as the architect of his fortunes: indeed in his will he refers to four persons, all deceased, as his chief benefactors: Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; William of Wykham, bishop of Winchester; Master John Elmer; and Walter Therstop.

(19)

Judd suggests why Bekynton felt so indebted to Duke Humphrey:

His appointment as Chancellor of the duke of Gloucester brought Bekynton into contact with a far wider world than the academic one to which he had been accustomed, and with the leading men and events of the time.

(20)

Another man who by the circumstance of his proximity to the Duke and his acquaintance with men in the Duke's circle is discussed by Weiss in his chapter on contemporary English humanists is Vincent Clement. Clement had been Duke Humphrey's proctor in the Roman court, attempting to secure the divorce of Jacqueline of Hainault from her former husband so that the Duke could marry her (21). He corresponded with Bekynton and presented manuscripts to men in the Duke's circle (22). There seems nothing remarkable about his activities except perhaps the insight it affords into the extent to which the enthusiasm and activities of men at the centre of the circle brushed off onto men on the periphery. Clement's realization that an interest in learning and having humanist contacts (his correspondents included Bekynton, del Monte, Poggio Bracciolini, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester,

was important in the furtherance of his career in England is indicative of the general cultural aspirations of the court at the time.

Andrew Holes has been connected with Duke Humphrey because of the Florentine manuscript of Coluccio Salutati's De laboribus Herculis (24) inscribed : 'Cest livre est A moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don (maistre An)dreu Holes' but this manuscript is the only evidence still extant to connect Duke Humphrey with the man whom the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci regarded as worthy of inclusion in his biographies. Holes's own humanist scholarship is questionable - his only extant work, a sermon delivered in Rome, is not outstanding in any way - but one is probably wrong to try and judge him as a scholar as Weiss does and then find him wanting:

.....while scholars of distinction like Carlo Marsuppini, Matteo Palmieri and Gianozzo Manetti, were glad of an occasion to dispute with him on matters theological. The Florentine humanists perhaps appreciated Holes the more for his lavish hospitality. Nevertheless fifteenth century humanism still contained strong elements of scholasticism, so that Holes' popularity is additional evidence that the dialectical skill of the schools could yet obtain a measure of applause from the humanistic side. Judging from his only extant work, the sermon he delivered in Rome, Holes can scarcely have comprehended the finer and more distinctive traits in the mentality of his eminent guests. But it is difficult to believe that he was not attracted, even if unconsciously by the neo-classical background, or at least by the externals of this polite society : how else should he have found the air of Florence so pleasant as to prolong his stay far beyond necessity.

(25)

This assessment, followed as it is by a description of Holes's book collecting, refuses to face the fact that Holes acted

as something of a patron himself, entertaining scholars and collecting books and that this was the direction his humanism took. He evidently had ample means, for apparently his collection was so large when he left Italy in 1444 that he was obliged to return to England by sea rather than over land in order to convey his books. Back in England he appears to have acted as a patron to Thomas Chaundler (26). He corresponded with Bekynton and Del Monte. His appointment to the Keepership of the Privy Seal in 1450 (27), the culmination of a series of official appointments, suggests that his cultural activity brought its rewards. The text which he gave Duke Humphrey is the only extant classical text which belonged to him although a number of Florentine manuscripts in New College may have come from him. Considering the number of books Holes was reputed to have had, the handful which remain (28) indicate the size in the gap in our knowledge of the actual extent and nature of individual libraries. indeed, the extent of this loss should be borne in mind in looking at the Duke's non-classical books which were not conveniently recorded in the accessions to Oxford. It is scarcely surprising that Holes should have given Duke Humphrey a book, as the practice of ingratiating oneself with him in this way appears to have been rather common, too common to suggest that Holes was particularly in receipt of the Duke's patronage in any way at all.

The other man whom Weiss suggests benefited from the Duke's patronage was Adam de Moleyns, Dean of Salisbury, who worked

for the Papal Curia, became a friend of Poggio Bracciolini and brought messages to England from the Pope. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini said that he wrote the best Latin in England since Peter of Blois and attributed this high degree of classical learning to the patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester:

Petrus Blesensis longe inferior fuit, cujus epistolis hanc tuam perbreve antepono. congratulor tibi et Anglie quia jam verum dicendi ornatum suscepisti. sed magne ob hanc causam referende sunt grates clarissimo illi et doctissimo principi, Glocestrie duci, qui studia humanitatis summo studio in regnum vestrum recepit, qui, sicuti mihi relatum est, et poetas mirifice colit et oratores magnopere veneratur. hoc enim nimirum fit, ut plures Anglorum eloquentes evadant, quia quales sunt principes tales et cives esse consueverunt et imitantur servi studia dominorum. perge igitur, mi Adam, mi here.

(29)

That Piccolomini was not merely flattering the man he was writing to is evident from the way he had expressed exactly the same opinion a year previously, writing to Duke Sigismund of Austria, where he is talking about the contemporary state of learning:

egredior Italiam et penitus toto divisos orbe Britanos petam; ibi dux est Glocestrie, qui regnum, quod modo Anglicum dicimus, pluribus annis gubernavit. huic tanta litterarum est cura, ut ex Italia magistros asciverit, poetarum et oratorum interpretes. videsne, quia et hoc seculum principes litteratos admittit

(30)

Adam de Moleyns's humanistic pursuits, however, amounted to collecting manuscripts about which nothing is now known (31). Apart from what Piccolomini said about his Latin, the only testimony we have to his facility with Latin is the one surviving

letter, about which Weiss says:

The choice of words, the construction and phraseology, are obviously inspired by classical models, and show the writer's close association with humanistic culture. In style and Latinity, Moleyns appears from this letter to have been on the same level as most Italian humanists of his time, and by far superior to any of his English contemporaries, Bekynton included.

(32)

However, it seems wrong to couple this observation about the quality of Adam de Moleyns's humanistic writing with the comment by Piccolomini on the wise patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester without pointing out the intrinsic contradiction. There was considerable antagonism between Duke Humphrey and Adam de Moleyns. It was Moleyns who was the main prosecutor at the trial of Eleanor Cobham:

the prosecution was in the hands of Adam Moleyns, the clerk of the King's Council. Moleyns read out an exhaustive list of accusations, to the gravest of which the Duchess returned an uncompromising denial.....

(33)

Probably he also had a hand in the severe sentencing. In the same year 1441, he argued over the Priory of Pembroke, which he wanted to secure for the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, and managed to obtain a licence from the Council for the transfer, whereas Duke Humphrey wanted to assign it to St. Albans for masses to be said for his soul (34). Moleyns was one of the three men cited by Jack Cade as being involved in the supposed murder of Duke Humphrey in 1447 (35). Such antagonism obviously suggests that Moleyns owed no loyalty to the Duke whatsoever - and one suspects that the receipt of Piccolomini's ingenuous comments on the Duke's wise patronage must have been not a little galling

to Moleyns. It would possibly have fueled his dislike of the way the Duke had spread his reputation abroad in such a flamboyant manner. The fact that one can draw up a list of cultured men who were known to each other and exchanged works and ideas, which would include both Moleyns and men closely involved with the Duke, suggests the danger of concluding that the connections and associations with the Duke is indicative of a form of patronage. Men like Bekynton were friendly with the Duke during the period of his increasing isolation (after 1441) and would have had to be exceedingly diplomatic in their dealings with him and his enemies. It suited his enemies to cultivate his 'friends' and it suited his 'friends' to benefit from the rising powers in the land, and the Duke could not allow himself to become totally alienated by discarding what friends he had, even if they were clearly ingratiating themselves with his enemies.

Moleyns wrote an accomplished Latin, but clearly he was not fanatically interested in Italian humanism nor in Duke Humphrey's patronage of it. Possibly in fact the Duke's intellectual activities were regarded with suspicion by his enemies; for instance, his collecting and giving of manuscripts to Oxford could have been regarded as a means of suborning that University's loyalties; his employment of foreign secretaries and literary agents to spread his reputation abroad perhaps appeared as an extension of the same Continental ambition which

had manifested itself in the folly over Jacqueline of Hainault in 1424. It is interesting that the great growth in the Duke's cultural activity from 1435-40 should be followed in 1441 by the trial of Eleanor Cobham and the political disgrace this brought and that one of the major figures in the circle of intellectuals should have acted as prosecutor.

To even loosely define a circle of men who benefited from the patronage extended by the Duke's Household is thus dangerous because one starts to detect links in the circle which one then assumes relate back to the Duke as some central generator. In fact, civil servants, crown servants and papal servants would naturally have known each other and known the Duke. To draw inflated conclusions from the fact that men were acquainted with each other obviously distorts the picture.

Perhaps the Duke's patronage of humanist learning in England is only truly identifiable in his book collecting and the influence this exerted. The presence of so substantial a body of texts would have created great impact : not only could the texts be read, and an inestimable boost given to the standard and range of literary knowledge in England but also, the texts could be copied. The fact that it is possible to discern evidence of both (36) implies the true extent to which this took place. Book collecting became increasingly a viable and respectable hobby outside the religious organisations. The fact that the Duke parted with his books during his lifetime

implies that he saw his library more as a resource for others' use (37) than as a private library for his own reading.

The flamboyance of his gesture in arranging the donations to Oxford is entirely in keeping with the self-advertising aspect of patronage, where the recipients benefit in a tangible way and reciprocate the generosity by enhancing the patron's glory. Also, such a gesture would have encouraged other men to give books to Oxford, and possibly influenced Henry VI's creation of the library at King's College, Cambridge. This was probably based on the books in Duke Humphrey's possession at the time of his death, and promised by him to Oxford, which the king diverted to Cambridge in the suspicious absence of a proven will. It is easy to imagine the kind of impact such a collection of books would have had, bearing in mind that there would have been men employed to handle and house the books and also employed in the of moving the various donations to Oxford and then making the detailed inventories. Compared with the standard sort of collection which a man like Suffolk would have had (38), the Duke's library would have attracted considerable attention. As I have suggested, men suspicious of his motives may have chosen to interpret the activity as symptomatic of his political ambition, and the flamboyance of the size of the collection and the donations to Oxford may have been contributory factors in the animosity which resulted in the Duke's downfall.

In looking at the Duke's patronage of learning in England, one is generally tempted to cite the references to men working in the Duke's Household about whom we know very little. These were me

like the Duke's private secretary, Maufurney, a Frenchman who received the honour of naturalisation in 1426. Although he worked for the Duke for a considerable time we know nothing more of him (39). We know nothing of the circumstances of the stay in England of Giovanni dei Signorelli, a native of Ferrara, who secured denization in 1433 and appears to have been employed in the Duke's Household as a physician (40). Evidently, one would like to know more about him because Frulovisi, also a qualified physician, also coming from Ferrara, also gained denization. One would like to know more about the practicalities of being an Italian in an English Household. Men who are no more than names and are described as 'clerk' (like a certain John Swanwich a 'clerk' and a Bachelor of Physick (41)) abound in the records. A Dietarium de Sanitatis custodia, which has been described as a description of Duke Humphrey's health (42) but which Vickers suggests 'should be considered as a scientific treatise' (43), was written in 1424 by Gilbert Kymer 'who seems to have held an important position in the household of the Duke of Gloucester, 'Celsitudinis vestre clericum' as he is called by the University of Oxford' (44). This was the same man who was responsible for conveying to Oxford the gift of books made in 1439 and who was Chancellor of the University from 1431-3 and again in 1446-53. The University re-elected him as Chancellor in order that he might suggest any steps which they might take to give pleasure to their friend and constant patron (45) and so they obviously considered the Duke to be Kymer's patron also. The University's move was clearly a political demonstration

of support, taken at some risk to themselves and which possibly cost them the books which Henry VI gave to Cambridge on the Duke's death. It was to Kymer that the University petitioned to use his influence with the Duke at a time of internal trouble (45). He corresponded with Piero del Monte (47). And yet for all this we can surmise very little about the relationship between Gilbert Kymer and the Duke. What little we do know rather suggests how much we have lost in the way of information concerning the cultural and intellectual nature of the Duke's Household.

Two English scholars who have been connected with Duke Humphrey's patronage but who were completely uninfluenced by the new humanist trends were John Capgrave and John Whethamstede. Both were writers who gave and dedicated works to the Duke, but the writing cannot be classed as 'English Literature' and falls more within the genre of scholarship and learning than creative literature. It is the nature of the patronage here which is of interest.

After a career at Oxford, where Whethamstede was a contemporary of Thomas Bekynton, he became Abbot of St. Albans in 1420, and because of the close connections between the Abbey and the Crown, Whethamstede would naturally have come into contact with Duke Humphrey. A special rapport grew up between Duke Humphrey and Whethamstede, such that by 1440 the Palladius translator included the Abbot among the men writing for the Duke:

Yit Whethamstede and also Pers de Mounte
Titus and Antony and y

(48)

Weiss speaks of Whethamstede thus :

During his life Whethamstede was in close contact with some of the pioneers of humanistic learning in England. Amongst these was Humphrey of Gloucester, whom he presented with a Latin Plato, and with a Cato, and probably the Chronicles of Matthew Paris, besides several of his own writings. Whethamstede appears to have been closely connected with Duke Humphrey up to the time of the latter's tragic death and doubtless during their frequent meetings they discussed topics connected with learning as well as politics and increased each other's store of knowledge. It cannot have been only opportunism that made the Abbot seek the Duke's patronage, but also genuine appreciation of his fondness for learning, for Humphrey actually was the very kind of man to inspire Whethamstede's admiration
(49)

But with Whethamstede, as with Bekynton, Holes, Moleyns and Clement, the label of 'patronage' does not accurately convey the relationship he had with Duke Humphrey. It is undeniable that the Abbey received patronage in the form of money, favours and gifts both from the Duke and from the Crown (50) but this was a continuation of a long-standing tradition. The Abbey being near London was a convenient stopping place en route anywhere North or a convenient retreat from London.

Whethamstede had two terms of office as Abbot - an unusual occurrence - from 1420-40 and then, after Duke Humphrey's death, from 1452 until his own death in 1465. Whethamstede collected books himself, exchanged books with Duke Humphrey, extended the library at St. Albans and at his Oxford College - Gloucester College - wrote Latin prose, corresponded with men like Del Monte and travelled to Italy. He acted as a patron to Lydgate who praised his 'gaye librarye' and his scholarly industry in St. Albans and Amphabell, which was commissioned by Whethamstede.

There is not sufficient evidence to support Weiss's suggestion that the Abbot sought the Duke's patronage. Friends they clearly were with interests in common. It would be more accurate to describe them as two patrons who exchanged books and supported each other (51) and had many acquaintances in common (52) Del Monte, having dedicated his De Virtutum et Vitiorum inter se Differentia to Duke Humphrey, sent a copy to Whethamstede inviting him to put it in his library if he thought it good enough and asking for the Abbot's opinion of the work. He promised Whethamstede more works by Italian humanists and then asked to be lent an ancient Josephus preserved at the Abbey. He said he looked forward to friendly talks with him about literature and about their own particular work - clearly Piero del Monte is bidding for the Abbot's patronage (53).

It is difficult to know whether to categorise Duke Humphrey's patronage of John Capgrave under English literature or English learning. He dedicated a Commentary on Genesis and a Commentary on Exodus to Duke Humphrey, he probably wrote a Chronicle of England at the Duke's instigation and it seems he composed a Vita Humfridi Ducis. As all these works are in Latin and as both the commentaries are of a theological nature, it seems most logical to discuss Capgrave in the context of the scholars whom the Duke patronised, although the form of the patronage relationship between Capgrave and Duke Humphrey appears more akin to the sorts of relationships which writers established with the Duke. Unfortunately our knowledge of Capgrave's life is not

altogether conclusive. Bishop John Bale, writing in 1557 (54) testifies that Capgrave was Duke Humphrey's confessor. P.J. Lucas (55) demonstrates how this can be seen to be corroborated by the way in which a marginal trefoil, which recurs in the manuscript presented to Duke Humphrey, appears to draw attention to matters concerned with moral issues :

From this evidence.....it appears that Capgrave's preoccupations vis-a-vis Duke Humphrey were all matters concerned with Christian religion, matters of faith, morality and priestly practice. The nature of these preoccupations is remarkable (especially in view of the fact that Duke Humphrey was primarily a politician), as is their range of terms of comparative importance from the resurrection of Christ to the reckoning of prices.

(56)

But, as Lucas points out, in the Dedication to the Commentary on Genesis Capgrave states that he knew Duke Humphrey only by report. It is inconceivable that if Capgrave knew Duke Humphrey personally he should depreciate the relationship in this way, which rather indicates that the marginal trefoils merely serve to draw attention to ideas in a more general way. Bale was evidently unfamiliar with the patronage idiom and read the fulsome praise too literally.

Vickers (57) maintains that as Capgrave wrote his Chronicle of England in English and so was 'one of the first monkish chroniclers to use the vulgar tongue for historical purposes', that this 'casts an interesting gleam of light on the position of Duke Humphrey in the Renaissance movement' because the adoption of vernacular languages for scholarly purposes broke down the

domination of 'Christendom' on political life. It is only speculation which connects the Duke with the Chronicle and this is totally unsubstantiated. So Vickers's claim is somewhat extravagant.

The Dedications of the Commentaries provide more interesting insights. The presentation manuscript of the Commentary on Genesis has a representation of Capgrave presenting his work to the Duke in the initial 'G' of 'gloriosissimo'. Because the author of the Dedication speaks of the Duke from received information about his reputation (58) rather than from personal knowledge it seems that the work was sent by way of self-introduction in 1438. Capgrave speaks of the Duke's reputation for having a sharp intellect and for the study of ancient authors and for reviving the state of learning in this country. One wonders if the comment on ecclesiastics, who pay more attention to politics than the church and do not study themselves, is designed, by its implicit criticism of Duke Humphrey's enemy Henry Beaufort, to please the Duke. Vickers comments:

.....interesting feature of this dedication is that Capgrave commends this commentary on Genesis on the ground that in it is to be found the science of judging literature. The new science of theology was to discard the crutches of tradition and to take its place side by side with the other interests of the human mind..... in these words of Capgrave may we not see some indication of that critical faculty, which plays so large a part in the new birth of the mind of man? That Humphrey could be addressed after this manner clearly shows the position that he held among those who aspired to more freedom of thought; it is significant that a theological treatise should be dedicated to him on the ground that in full play was given to the critical faculty.

(59)

Vickers in his eagerness to apply preconceived criteria concerning the Renaissance to what he saw Duke Humphrey doing overstates and confuses the case. By 1438, Capgrave had probably heard of the returns to be had from sending works of literature to the Duke and, as this Commentary was the most likely thing he had to offer, he carefully writes a dedication which emphasises the value of the work to the patron.

That Capgrave's bid for the Duke's patronage proved successful is borne out by the Dedication of the Commentary on Exodus (unknown to Vickers). The fact that such a similar work was then dedicated suggests the good reception given to the first. It is possible that the De illustribus Henricis, dedicated to Henry VI and probably given to him at the time of his visit to the priory of Lynn in 1446, was written at the suggestion of Duke Humphrey, whose motivation in this would have been similar to that which prompted him to commission the Vita Henrici Quinti from Frulovisi. Humphrey is described amongst the sons of Henry IV:

vir quidem inter omnes mundi proceres literatissimus cuius laudes ad alia tempora et ad aliam vacacionem ideo differendas puto quia propter specialem affectum quem erga me gerit specialem tractatulum super commendaciuncula eius quandoque me facturum existimo.

(60)

It is curious how the Vita Henrici Quinti appears to have suggested the idea of the Humfroidos just as here the De illustribus Henricis induces Capgrave to contemplate writing a 'specialem tractatulum'. A Vita Humfridi Ducis was known to Bale (61) and Pits (62); the latter states that it was in the library

of Balliol College, Oxford. As the De illustribus Henricis was written in 1446 (63), either the Vita Humfridi Ducis was written just before the Duke's death or shortly afterwards. Either it was designed to rival the Humfroidos, which had probably been well received by the Duke, or it was the work of a man who was grateful to his dead patron. The latter would have been politically unsound, and probably Capgrave would have realised that he would gain nothing from it. If we are to accept the Sixteenth Century testimony as to its existence, the likelihood is that Capgrave was writing it shortly before the Duke's death and would have considered himself unfortunate in having gone to the trouble when the Duke died before he could receive any benefit.

CONCLUSION

In evaluating Duke Humphrey's patronage it must be borne in mind that we cannot be sure how complete a picture the extant evidence now gives us. For instance, were it not for the chance survival of the Fitzwilliam MS there would be nothing to connect the Middle English Palladius translation with Duke Humphrey, and it is in the stanzas that this manuscript alone possesses that we can detect the most significant corroboration of the Duke's reputation for an active interest in literature. Seaton's determination to link all anonymous Fifteenth Century poetry with the Duke's milieu is a symptom of the frustration caused by the combination of the Duke's considerable reputation and the somewhat incomplete, inconclusive and disparate picture we now possess. Speculation and suggestion are inevitable under these circumstances (and academically valid if recognised as such) but it is nevertheless essential - in fact, all the more essential - that the evidence that we actually do possess is in no way distorted. It is probably better to present a bleaker and emptier picture than the reality might have been than to be tempted to paint a glowing picture full of all the possibilities that the Duke's reputation encourages people like Seaton to envisage. I have shown that the 'reputation' is itself suspect. The Duke did not have a widespread reputation as a patron of the arts during his lifetime except among the

circles of people who had a vested interest in fostering such a reputation. My comparison between Duke Humphrey's and Bedford's involvement in patronage of literature rather suggested that there was nothing at all unusual in the initial manifestations of the Duke's patronage, so that perhaps the reputation which was to evolve originated out of what was in truth an ordinary straightforward aspect of a Fifteenth Century Prince's life. The reputation was promoted for a variety of ulterior motives. Time and circumstances have conspired to preserve the reputation to the point where it clouds our vision of what Duke Humphrey's patronage actually entailed. The reputation (while in itself an interesting phenomenon and an intrinsic aspect of Duke Humphrey's patronage) must not be used to justify the padding-out of our sparse knowledge of what the Duke's patronage of the arts really involved.

An examination of the chronology of Duke Humphrey's involvement in the arts as a patron reveals a clear pattern of development which suggests that whatever evidence is now lost it may not have substantially altered the main design of the picture as we now have it. It has never been pointed out that the Duke's activity as a patron was largely confined to a particular period of his life.

By the time of Henry V's death in 1422, Duke Humphrey had shown no evidence of any significant interest in the arts. Poggio's visit to England in 1418-22, heralded as an indication that a humanist might take an interest in England, passed

off without any contact between Poggio and Duke Humphrey. Likewise there is no evidence that Simone Lelli da Teramo, a Papal official in England in 1420, had had anything to do with Duke Humphrey. Thus, when he writes to the Duke in 1424 a letter full of classical allusions, it is unfounded speculation to conclude that he included these because he knew of the Duke's interest. Another possible early indication of the Duke's interests is his employment in 1420 of Thomas Bekynton as his Chancellor. Weiss says: 'Apart from the various English poets to enjoy Gloucester's protection, a testimony of his fondness for letters scarcely germane with neo-classicism, it was in his household that Thomas Bekynton shaped his career' (1). In 1438, Bekynton moved to become Henry VI's secretary and it was in this job that he left his mark on the language of diplomacy (2). Despite Weiss's assertion, there is no evidence from Humphrey's having employed him in 1420 that at this early stage (nor indeed during any of the time Bekynton was employed by the Duke) his talents were especially appreciated by his master. The fact that he was quickly rewarded with lucrative ecclesiastical dignities was nothing out of the ordinary and so cannot be particularly ascribed to his humanism. It is impossible to assert that Duke Humphrey's employment of Bekynton was due to his discernment of talent which was worthy of promotion. I have shown how it is impossible to glean from either Hoccleve's Complaint Series or Lydgate's Epithalamium, both written in the early 1420s, any evidence that Duke Humphrey

took an unusual interest in literature. Hoccleve states that Duke Humphrey had just returned to England as Lord Lieutenant and Lydgate's Epithalamium coincides with the Duke's being created Protector after Henry V's death. In both instances, Duke Humphrey was the obvious choice of patron for the sensible patron-hunter.

In the period after his fruitless expedition to Hainault in 1425 Duke Humphrey started accumulating books, since some of the earliest extant books for which we have a date of the gift date from this time. In 1427, Sir John Stanley gave Duke Humphrey an illuminated Bible (3) inscribed to the Duke (4). 1427 was also the year that Bedford sent his brother the illuminated copy of Livy's 'Roman History' (5). These are the first two books which we can definitely date, but in the next few years several more donations can be identified, which indicates that the Duke's book collecting was gathering momentum

In 1428, the Duke's marriage to Jacqueline of Hainault was annulled and he was able to marry Eleanor Cobham with whom it seems he had been living since his return in 1425. Eleanor was the daughter of Reginald Cobham, who had been one of the Duke's two captains in 1417 when the Duke had taken an active and successful part in the second phase of Henry V's French wars; Humphrey had probably been paying a debt to an old retainer by getting the daughter a position as lady-in-waiting with his first wife. Eleanor Cobham appears to have shared at least to some extent the Duke's interest in books, for he gave her

a copy of a translation of an Arab treatise on surgery (6).

By 1430, Beaufort had gained the ascendancy over Duke Humphrey, whose appointment as Keeper of the Realm was more title than office (7). Henry VI's coronation in 1429 marked the beginning of the period when the Council and Beaufort kept a tight check on Gloucester's powers. In 1431, Duke Humphrey commissioned Lydgate's Fall of Princes, a work that took eight years to complete. Those eight years saw a dramatic escalation in the Duke's cultural involvement. In 1434, he was commissioning Zano da Castiglione, Henry VI's representative at Basle, to purchase books for him and encourage men to send him works. In 1433, he first invited Bruni to come to England, and although this invitation was refused, the fact that it was made to one of the most significant humanists in Italy at the time reflects well on the patron's eagerness and discernment. Piero del Monte, in England from 1435-40, appears to have greatly encouraged the Duke and his circle to take an interest in humanist developments, and it is likely that it was due to him that the Duke employed resident Italian secretaries. Frulovisi, described in his grant of denization, March 1437, as Gloucester's 'poeta et orator' produced much work of propaganda value to the Duke during the two or three years of his stay. Beccaria, whose employment may have overlapped with that of Frulovisi, was producing translations for the Duke by 1439. By November 1439, the Duke was in a position to give Oxford University 129 books, and it seems that

these were the fruits of the escalation of his patronage during the 1430s.

In 1440, Duke Humphrey was roused to return to the political scene by the mooted release of Charles, Duke of Orleans, who had been held captive since the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. Duke Humphrey's involvement was by means of a lengthy document 'A complaynte made to kynge Henry VI. by the Duke of Gloster upon the Cardinal of Winchester' (8). Vickers describes the document from an historical point of view but, considering it is the one piece of writing from the pen of the Duke, it is interesting from the point of view of his patronage. By 1440, Duke Humphrey's interest in literature and writing had been raised to such a pitch that he turned to writing a treatise himself. The treatise appears to have been written before Orleans was released in November - an act which demonstrated the strength of Beaufort's faction over Humphrey - and it is possible that the charges brought against the Duchess of Gloucester in 1441, the following year, were Beaufort's method of avenging himself on the Duke for his written attack.

Duke Humphrey lived some six years after the disgrace and banishment of his wife. Although he continued to attend Council his activity was confined to his mere presence. His opposition to the marriage of Henry VI with Margaret of Anjou, the wife advocated by the Suffolk faction, ensured his alienation from

the central stage of political life. Public affairs would have taken up comparatively little of his time. If the generally retailed observation that the Duke's interest in patronage grew with the decline of his political power were correct, then one would expect a dramatic increase in the Duke's activity as a patron after 1441, when he had just as much money as before, but much more time.

All the activity connected with the Duke's patronage which occurred after 1441 had its origins in earlier years. One observes that after the disgrace and banishment of his wife in 1441 the Duke exerted himself very little either politically or as a patron. During the last six years of his life, Duke Humphrey instigated little patronage. It is possible that - as the years of his interest in being a patron exactly correspond to those of his marriage - Eleanor Cobham was in some way the driving force behind his cultural activities. At any rate, the Duke's loss of his wife was symptomatic of a general withering of his life's activities, which included that of patronage.

It is clear from a chronological analysis of Duke Humphrey's patronage that his interest in being a patron was largely confined to the years 1430-1441 and more particularly to the second half of this period. The significance of these years can be attributed to the felicitous conjunction of the circumstances and factors described in the chapters of this thesis. Less active on the political scene than he had been, yet nevertheless an important figure, Duke Humphrey had sufficient power to

greatly attracted to the whole idea of patronage. In every aspect of his patronage which has been examined, it is the trappings of patronage which emerged as important rather than the actual works of art. It is significant that the Palladius translator (who most clearly recognised what it was that his patron required) should have been working towards the end of the period I have identified as the time in which the Duke was particularly interested in patronage. The Palladius translator had had the chance to perceive what would please Duke Humphrey, and this accounts for the extraordinary emphasis in the presentati manuscript on the trappings of patronage. The celebration of the Duke's patronage is a consistent feature of every work executed under the Duke's auspices. Although, when considered separately, such things as a motto, an insignia or a coat of arms on a manuscript, tomb or cup would be perfectly normal, collectively the quantity and consistent presence of these ostentatious connections with Duke Humphrey display a strong emphasis on the patronage. This over-rides the interest in the actual production of the items and amounts to a picture of consistent and deliberate image-building.

This placing of value on the trappings of patronage is symptomatic of a sophisticated recognition of the mutual benefits of organised patronage to patron and writer alike. Once the men with money acquired a taste for these trappings, writing could develop into a profession. In this respect,

command the interest of men who valued being associated with him, but also had sufficient time to devote the necessary attention to the activity of promoting himself as a patron. Patrons are often men whose political position is somewhat precarious, so that they are concerned about their image, and there may be an element of this behind the Duke's activities. Indeed, it is very important not to underestimate the importance of Duke Humphrey's receptivity, which made his friendship with men like Castiglione and del Monte so fruitful, and however reductive an analysis of the results and nature of the individual aspects of the Duke's activities as a patron may be, collectively the Duke's cultural activity is most impressive. This is because Duke Humphrey was clearly not solely interested in the arts but also interested in the use the arts could be to him. His interest in patronage was precisely that. He was interested in patronage and the arts acted as a vehicle.

To be successful as a patron one needs to be seen to be successful. For all we know, John, Duke of Bedford, was just as learned and interested in the arts as his younger brother, Duke Humphrey, but it is because of the careful cultivation of his image as a patron that Duke Humphrey's contribution to culture in Fifteenth Century England is so well-known. Duke Humphrey's success as a patron - a success manifested even in the fact that some 536 years after his death someone should be writing a thesis about it - was due to the fact that he was

Italy was somewhat in advance of England in the early Fifteenth Century, where more systematic methods of patronage had developed and writers were responding eagerly to the new market. Through his contacts with Italy, Duke Humphrey was happy to enjoy the openings and opportunities offered to him to make contact with Italian patrons and patron-hunters, and he learnt to enjoy and value the function and trappings of patronage. He was slower however to grasp the reciprocal function of a patron ; the idea that he was expected to pay for work appears to have consistently eluded him. This was a distinct difference between Italy and England at the time; in Italy, writers could expect contracts and payments as a matter of course, in England writers worked in hope. Duke Humphrey had a lot of claims on his purse, and he probably accepted his disbursements on books and Household expenses as a matter of course, because these were traditional expenses. He would expect to pay for a copy of a text, but what he was buying was the book and the scribe's time. The book was a tangible object, and the Duke would have been used to commissioning and paying artisans for objects; he would also be used to paying scribes by affording them the protection of his Household. As Green says:

All too easily the service which the author performed might be interpreted as falling within the general terms of his agreement as a household servant, in other words, as a service warranting no special consideration or remuneration.

(9)

The fact that Duke Humphrey actually offered to pay Pier Candido

Decembrio a hundred ducats shows that Duke Humphrey did start to comprehend that patronage cost money, but he is hardly to be blamed for living at a time when the uneasy relationship between payment and literature was in a state of transition.

Patronage of the arts was incumbent on a man in Duke Humphrey's position, but as the difference between the Duke and his elder brother, Bedford, indicates, Duke Humphrey had understood something of the Italian emphasis on patronage itself. Whereas Alfonso of Aragon was operating within an established tradition of patronage, where resources were diverted to pay writers and translators, Duke Humphrey had not learnt to regard literature as a priority for his budget. He was, however, very skilful in effecting as much patronage as possible for as little of his own effort and money as possible. He was also highly adept at publicising his activities. Circumstances may have combined to preserve and enhance Duke Humphrey's reputation as a patron, but one should not underestimate the value of his receptivity to the opportunities he encountered.

I began this thesis with an examination of the tradition of the Duke's reputation as a patron, suggesting that the reputation is founded on a myth which circumstances combined to promote. A detailed examination of the material demonstrates that patronage is in itself designed to promote a mythic reputation and if one judges patronage by what it

actually seeks to do, then Duke Humphrey in his eager espousal of the role of patron could not have hoped for greater success than to be still commemorated by the constant uncritical references to his patronage which are scattered throughout accounts of the arts in Fifteenth Century England.

APPENDIX I

In this Appendix I supply a transcript of the text of the Humfroidos which I made from the only extant manuscript, Biblioteca Colombina, Seville, MS.7.2.23. In an appendix to his article about the Humfroidos (Weiss R., 'Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and Tito Livio Frulovisi' in Fritz Saxl 1890-1948. A volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England, ed. D.J. Gordon (London, 1957), pp. 218-27) Weiss supplies its first and last twenty-five lines. A note to this appendix states:

To give some idea of the quality of the poem and also of the corrupt state of this MS I transcribe here its first and last twenty-five lines as they are given, without any attempts at emendation.

I was puzzled by the claim that no attempt had been made to emend the text because Weiss's handwritten transcription of the text in the library of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes differs immensely from the published text. Attached to this transcription is some correspondence between Weiss and the Latin scholar Harold Butler in which possible emendations are discussed. Both men clearly agree that the text is not only corrupt but also full of faulty Latin. They agree that the text is not worth attempts to emend it. Whatever Weiss's note to his published extract says, it is clear that he did make emendations for publication.

In order to present a complete and unified text, I have made my own transcription (which generally agrees with Weiss's transcript in the Courtauld) and ignored the patently emended published text.

Biblioteca Colombina, Seville, MS.7.2.23

agnanimum humfredum, vires magnosque tropheos
magnanime gentis britonum fraudesque philipi,
hic canere incipiam atque ducis periuria seui
burgondi. Sancte nunc aspirate canenti ;
Quae colitis musae Pegasi parnasia templa. 5
Vos memorate deae veniat cur dira cupido
Fallendi miserosuperos ; nec jura tenere
Jurandi dominisque suis, cur bella mouebat ;
Cum tamen ipse uiros ; regis viresque superbas
nouisset ; gentum poterant quasnulla praeire 10
arma. Quidemque deus iustis sit justa tuetur.
defierant iam anglus paulatim bella remittens :
Aspera forte suis damnis si corda domarent
Sponte sua galli ; non semper ut hostica passi
Instaurent animas seue per vulnera mortis 15
perdere, defessis mitescunt proelia uictis.
Atque breui regem veniam pacemque rogassent
Henricum. miseris tandem requiesque fuisset.
Quaesitor minos herebi dolet ipse silentum
quod fiet haec iactura locis. Iamque ille uacabat 20
Officio. Regemque uocat cui tercia venit
Sors ; reliquosque duces, nutu quis tartara parent.
Ast ubi conuenit, hinc rex sedet ipse supremus
Ac leua minos. dextera radamantus. Adibant
Cetera turba suas sedes. quum quisque sederet 25
Incipit haec minos. Quaerendi tradita cura
est mihi quas scelerum poenas ; quae quisque teneret
hic loca. sic solis inuisaque lumina juro
Non ego defessus crebro quum milia morti
Gallorum victor dederit rex atque britanus 30
Insignis populus. Nam crescere regna videbam
Nostra meo ductu ; Nunc est clementia nobis
Terribilis. Quae magna venit pietate benigna
Angolorum dominis. hostis qui uulnera lugent.
Et pietate. volunt potius quam viribus uti ; 35
Sentiat infelix britones non sanguine letos
Nec feritate trahi. Juste sed ad arma uocatos.
Quodque metu mittent minime quae jura tuentur
Regna sibi, metuet. suplex pacemque reposcet
Et ueniam gallus ; quae haud aspernata petenti 40
Continuo nobis haec reddet inania regna.
Ac veluti pellagus fontes de montibus altis
Compescant latices si flumina nula remittant
Hinc Rodanus renuat mare. sic septem ostia nilus
Erivanus ferax sique undique limpha relinquat 45
Si uastum pellagus radiis sitientibus olim
Non poterit tamen has altas contingere ripas
Atque breui grandes caete morientur harenae
Et parui pisces. pereant neptunia regna.
Auis reget? Ista timens vobis consulta repono ; 50

Nunc animo veniunt nostro quae mente reuoluo.
 Si populos nobis hic irremeabilis unde
 Stix teneat flegeton ardens custodibus atris.
 Vestra calios umbris alijs complere parabit
 Docta nisi vastosque locos solertia diui 55
 Haec mala prestetis mortalibus inclita fama
 Plutonis pereat. Saturni dignus haberi
 Filius hic dicendus erit cui tercia mundi
 Sors veniat : mentes animosque in vestra parate
 Comoda. Quiaque locum rauco tum murmure complet. 60
 Ut paulo rabidumque silentia corda quierunt
 Talia uerba prius saturnius edidit ore.
 Quis tibi promeritis, minos : quae gratia feri
 Digna potest ? recolis quae tanta tacere nefandum
 Et scelus hoc esset. Nobis burgondia gignit: 65
 Quod pariat nostris populos : atque ardeat ingens
 Gallia. sicque suo motu nunc bella renascent
 Ut quondam semper mittant anglicus audax
 Ocia. flandrenses surgunt. Et bella pikardi
 Instaurent. magno ruat ipsa superbia luctu 70
 Principis immitis. furiarum prima citetur.
 Aleto subijt primis se uocibus offert.
 Teruit ipsa patrem reliquos aditaeque sedentis.
 Talis erat facie. diis vellata colubris
 Instabilisque oculis : acies gestat que scelestas. 75
 Ora mouet. Voces variat. Caligine tinta.
 Unguibus arpiacis seuis infecta ueneris.
 Et sic orsaloqui fratres ni prelia possim
 Unanimes armare : domos et uertere fundo :
 Soluere compositum fedus. sic mille nocendi 80
 Apta modis, vales belgas celtas que furentes
 Uulneribus varijs: per mille sequentia tella
 Precipitare suis fretos plus uiribus equo.
 Dux ego burgundus saxo uirata philipus
 Haud magnificiat. mentem que cupidire caeca 85
 Incendam dictis. Et crimina noxia cordi
 Ipsa iuro faciem. dicto plus gesta maligne
 Dicetis fustis pariter mox congitur alis
 Et graditur veritis : caeli ut conuexa videret.
 Tunc superi metuunt phoebus per nubila condit 90
 Lucentes radios. positis iam crinibus ibat
 Uipereis ; uelox in magna palatia venit.
 Atque crux simulat se : qui secreta philipi
 Primus adire solet ; famusque maior habetur
 Et gratus domino. dicits sic fatur amicis 95
 O decus o princeps francum : cui grata fatetur
 Galia magna tuis multum confidere in armis :
 Te moueor pietate tua complexus adire
 Qua princeps valeoque tuis admittier altis
 Consilijs. studium nunc in tua comoda pono 100

Omne meum uideam quamuis sapientia quanta
 Sit tua Nonne uides delphino cura quietis
 que veniat ? bello fuerit uexatus inani
 que multos annos ; misere prostratus et omni
 Dilectu fuerit iuste populisque relictus I05
 Nec regem metuit : quantum tua bella recenti
 que tibi fraude pater misere laniatus inermis
 Iam uindicta satis totusque in uota moueri
 Ipse uolet dominus gallorum primus in oris
 Esse potes. regni dabitur tibi tota potestas I10
 Imperium cedit tibi sola relictæ corona
 Nomen inane tuum maneat tu uincere cura
 Angolorum vires. dominos spolijs que superbos:
 Quos tua ditauit patria: quae nomine magnos
 Per mundum celebrat. poteris quos uulnere nullo I15
 Si tua nunc uideant hostis quibus arma mouebis,
 Pellere hic omni regno totusque quietus
 Delphinum invadas: patrio qui uulnere debet
 Inferiis animam et mortem faciatus amici
 Tunc regnum capias. solus domineris in illo I20
 Site sorte mouet regi jurata dedisse,
 Hoc tantum metuas: populi ne fama feratur
 Dignæ mali: precio poteris sed crimine solui
 Auguribus nostris sanctos precibusque mouebis.
 Nec britones metuas tanto discrimine belli I25
 Iam fessos: bello plures quis tempus ademit
 Quam maiores homines. certe quum bella uidebunt
 Instaurata nouos hostis decernere nollent
 Et pugnas renuent totiens tentare periculis.
 Quare age tu princeps terris quum crastina reddet I30
 Alma diem croceum fugiens aurora cubile
 Tithoni magni nuttas delphinis ad urbem
 Qui leges ponant hosti pacemque reducant.
 Pace data sileas. regem ad consulta uocato
 Quo pacto meliore potes. patrie que locorum I35
 Consultum quaeas simules. sic omnia caedent
 Ut volumus. Pastor spe tunc laetatus inani
 Basilicique gregis pariter collectio mitent
 Legatos veniant patrias qui pace reponant
 Antiquas, causas et qui discrimina belli I40
 In melius refermant miserari sanguine nostro
 Arua rubere diu gallos extrema que passos.
 Talia fata simul colubrem detraxerat atrum:
 Uertice quem uestit variam tunc petra figuram
 Inque aliam uertit faciem. sit tortile collo I45
 Auri insigne decus patriae regale gerendum.
 Et fuit hic varijs species distincta lapillis
 Iuncta silex sumulatque calilis Iam excudere dicas
 Scintillam silice atque focum quo terra cremetur
 Gallorum aesonides vellus quod phasidos unda I50

Surripuitque auriti torquis dependet in imo :
 Moribus ut discat paribus : fraudes que fruatur.
 Hoc errit hoc princeps collo gestamen honoris
 Quondam insigne domus : patriam quod terreat omnem
 Atque duci donatque ornato munere verbis I55
 Hic specie captus torquem vestitus inarsit
 Atra uenena fluunt : subijt praecordia tristis
 Cura. furor. fraudes. regnandi et auara cupido.
 Et potuit nihil hic uerborum reddere demens.
 Anuit et gallis sibi jam regnare uidetur. I60
 Iam nox longa uenit. fesso quae longior ipsi
 Uisa. fuit cuius capiunt nil membra quietis
 Aeger erat que animo. primum quum surgere quiuit
 Mollibus estratis, fidosque tum quosque uocauit.
 Italiam uadant alij. delphina tecta I65
 At alii pergant. quibus haec diuersa feruntur
 Que referant. cuncti mutent cum nomine vestis
 Se fingat cupidum delphini hic. uertere posse
 Iratum dominum. fidaque impace mouere
 Ut consanguineus hostis de limine pellat I70
 Gallorum patriae : leges si uiderit equas
 Ille feratque ducem pacis si papa remittat
 Legatos cupidum. horteturque sanguine tanto
 Ipse uetet populos fratres in prelia caesum
 Ire diu domini cognata pace quiescant. I75
 Dissimulent que suo se nunc a principe missos.
 Sed consanguineu seuo certamine motus.
 Principis ut mentem uario certamine mouit
 Continuo alecto graditur sublimis in auras.
 Mox inferna petens affatur uoce superua I80
 Infernos comittes herebi regemque silentum.
 Sat fraudum super est. rapitur que cupidine magna
 Regnandi. popuis supplebit regna philipus
 Nostra suis. inanes alio non turbine vastum
 Exercentque chaos: mentis dira dum domina tulerunt I85
 Supplicia: ac uarias amens dum corda uoludet
 Ipse agitet curas modo jam regnare uidetur.
 Nunc socios dominosque fagat. modo sanguine totum
 Delphini uideas madidum Iam regna tenere
 Se putat et varias legatos mittit in oras. I90
 Pace fruunt galli: pariat quae bella cruenta
 Plura sibi. moles caeco nunc marte trahantur
 Hinc belgae: et pariter caeti certamine celtae
 Ipsa regam pugnis stridentia tela per auras.
 Tolite corde metus. homini discrimine ponam. I95
 Bella. dolos. pacem misero rapiamque quietem.
 Talibus hic pluto dictis reliquique quierunt.
 Legati ueniunt delphini laeta ferentes
 Foedera. Iam donatque duci quaecumque teneret
 Rex. gnatoque simul uenit campania dote: 200

Deficiat regique suis adiungere curet
 Arma. suosque velit potiusque gente britanos.
 Imperio regnare suis nec numina credat
 Juribus ut faueant. dextris sed regna tueri
 Militibus liceat. regnum sibi nomine cedet. 205
 Imperiumque duci: placida quum pace fruuntur.
 Tunc animo laetus famulos et fronte serena.
 Accipit affatim. et laudes cum munere donat
 Non tamen exardet secus: ac in pulvere flamma
 Quem balista regit lapides iactura per auras 210
 Immensos paupo primum contendit igni
 Viribus et crescit lapides uiolentia tandem
 Emittit aureum que simul tum murmure caelum
 Intonat: ut tonitu magni quum rector dimpi
 Deterret populos. seuis confecta veneris 215
 Sic et cura ducis rebus nunc aucta scanielis
 Crescit in immenum et fremitum cum murmure torquet
 Apparent que patris manes et territat ingens
 Umbra ducem. belloque monet, ne terra cremetur
 Forte sui bellum maneat. Promisa tyranni delphini 220
 Abscendant: domino fide jurata reseruet
 Ille tamen specie credit uel imagine falsa
 Deludi tantumque potest uel auara cupido.
 Vel serpens furiale malum. Jam papa remittit
 Legatos sinodusque simul colectio cleri 225
 hortantes precibus posito certamine pacem
 Infandi gallis olim ut discriminis auctor
 Nunc oret regem: delphino erata remittat
 Legatique aderunt sancto de pape missi
 Et clerus pariter mittet qui jura tueri 230
 Nunc curent, veniunt laetis rumoribus almam
 Legati britonum terram precibusque rogarunt
 Hic regem et dominos pariter que prelia cessent.
 Dignetur veniam et pacem impartine roganti
 Delphino Atreurbem locus de principe dictus 235
 Sancto. aderuntque crucis deuoto cardine praesul
 Legatus ciprius cleri et pro pace paratus
 Dux aderit regemque rogat: velit ipse quietem
 Et pacem populis. laetae rumoribus urbes
 Conueniunt gratesque deo persoluere curant 240
 Tedia que belli veniant uictisque fugatis
 Saepius et tandem discant pia iura tenere
 Haec mandata duci referunt crudelia nunquam
 Bella suo regi victori grata fuisse
 Illustresque parant legatos undique lectos : 245
 Qui more praetereant gallis noua foedera ponant.
 Quem procerum dederat pulchra utintonia regi
 Iohannem comitem multo cum milite anchin
 Additur atque comes regis suffolchia pulchra
 Quom dicit princeps vuielmus nomine pole: 250

Nobilium grandis numerus quos turba secuta
 Multa uiram dominos henricus que additur istis
 Vel brounflet quondam domino cui nupta ducissa
 Ex eboraco adhibent docto de nomine cleri
 Eusebij regis patruum cum cardine dignum 455
 Pontificem henricum. Johannes Kemp eboraci
 Tunc presul sequitur numerum quos magna caterna
 hinc equitum sequitur. pedes et cum milite multo.
 hinc graditur rudborn moncuiensis episcopus omnis
 Quem thoman dicunt hos noruicensis et abuunt 460
 Priuati sociat regis custosque sigilli
 Ut precibus molire videt quos nulla potestas anglicos.
 Armorum potuit seue tunc mente nouatur
 Alleto furia uulnus. modo tedia belli
 Inuictis uenisse putat nec tedia tantum. 465
 Qu putat absumptus longo Jam tempore uires
 Angolorum dominosque uiros, et pace coactum
 Velle frui regem, et laudes post ponere belli
 Sequi putat regem : pluri si milite pergat
 Accinctus varijs gemis ostroque superbo. 470
 Auocat honoris germanos vetria mittit
 Magna ducem hernoldum que toro cui iuncta uigali
 Burgundi fuerat neptis. hinc omnis in vnum
 Turba ruit procerum populoso que agmine venit
 Atrebatum letuo. reliquos hic ipse moratur 475
 Legatos dominosque simul de more uocatos.
 Adueniunt papae primi. francumque secundi.
 Hic procerum primus dux quem burbonia dicit.
 Arturusque ducis frater ut britania pauia
 Quem vocat. atque comes vandomi, et episcopus 480
 Remensis bello melior quam docta minerua
 Artibus hunc oleri faueat decernere ferro
 Hic dicit ualidosque armis conantre in hostes
 Ast ubi conueniunt, graditur Tunc ipse philipus
 Obuius ad proceres delphini. et quisque suorum. 85
 Ut videre ducem clamor hinc undique motus
 Omnipotens pacem genitor te cunta gubernans
 Infelix populus francum rogat. adde quietem
 Tunc lacrimas simulat burgundus. flere uidetur.
 Et manibus capiunt omnes componere dextras. 490
 Sed uetat ipse pudor detenctam ostendere pacem
 Atque manet dubij seuo ut quum uulnere tauri
 Contendere diu. curis armenta mouentur
 Tunc varijs dubitant et que uictoria tendat.
 Interea que manent dubia. et tunc quaeque silesconti. 495
 Haud aliter galli primis dextram que philipus
 Porrigit hostiuis. letus dextrasque pretendit.
 Instaurant lacrimas circumdant brachia quaeque
 Alterius collum blanda tunc voce loquentes
 Tecta petunt urbis. laeti hospicijs que subintran. 300

Post celebrant epulas pariter posque festosque diesque
 Hinc uarios galli ludos agitant què frequentes.
 Additur atque nouus. nam dierni in prelia quaerit
 Burgundum hispanus miles statuitque duelli
 Dux tempusque locumque simul et spectacula vertiims 305
 Pacis et ad bellum reparatur undique campus.
 Hos opibus gallusque animis hinc uincere curat
 Hispanus. pariter veniunt sed dispar honore.
 Burgundus reliqui que duce spectacula sumunt.
 Burboni hospicium. belli tempus que propinquat. 310
 Armati veniunt equites offerre parati
 Se pugnae. armatis ualide campusque tenetur.
 Ut si forte ducis calidi mandata negarent
 Pacis et his valeant equites obsistere in armis.
 Infestis series hastis sibi uulnera quaerunt 315
 Pulsatus ualide gallus tunc brachia parma
 Inuulata gerit tectus. sed parte sinistra
 Pene ruitque animatus in ciuile bellum
 Aggreditur sexto inuadens hostemque superbum 320
 Pulsatur. pariterque ferit. sic franitur astra
 Vtraque: Jam sumit vires. armisque ferire
 Approperant. sed equi renuunt formidine pugnam.
 Hi decimo mutant et equos uinoque refecti
 Hic quater inuadunt uiolenti corpora molu. 325
 Tunc ictu alterno tandem ultima frangitur hasta
 Discernere viri bellum: cum principis esset
 Burgundi signumque fenestris jacta sagita.
 Ambobus requies datur his cum pace sequestra.
 Postera quum rediit roseis quorora capillis 330
 Armati redeunt pedites pugnam que capessunt
 Detecta hispani facies. galea sed apertus
 Gallus erat. primumque hastis concurre tentant.
 Ast ictus prohibent splendentiaque cera repellunt.
 Et validi gesso pulchram per uulnera mortem 335
 Dum quaerunt hostisque depellitur ictu,
 Protrahitur tempus: vires ut spargat inertes
 In pugna gallus. seuos at temperat icuts
 Hostis non aliter ne nives uel cera liquescit
 Sole repente nouo et quum calido aponitur igni: 340
 Ac pereant galli uires hispanus adibat
 Saepe uirum quaerens hostem ut prosternat harenae.
 Te cherny potuit solus prohibere periculo
 Dux mortis. stigijs et te seruauit ab undis.
 Nondum finierant miles tua stamina parce : 345
 Principis hoc signum seruat te jacta sagita.
 At vos o populi diuos in uota mouete.
 Ut patrie meliora ferant nam quaeque parantur.
 Deterritoria prius uolis quae lata fuere
 Pleteritos anos suadent spectacula pacem 350

Praeteritos anos. suadent spectacula pacem
Haec uobis. regem patria an burgonde putabis
Pellere. quo ualeas bello surbuertere diuini
Jura. tibi caede ne dolis nunc gallia regi.
Sed manifesta uolunt papulis hoc numina pandi. 355
Caelestesque dei, et fraudes quae pace geruntur
Non pacem sed bella parat. uos undique fortes
Hunc prohibete viri. redeat uel criminis auctor
In poenam solus. patria modo tant facessant
Vulnera, nam Jaculo minime subtrahet heros
Hunfredus morti ac fugiens uelocior euro. 360
Et paciēre tuis inferri infanda philipe:
Principis hunfredi adueniet quum fama futuri
Dilectu ualido tibi copiam ut addat, et ingens
Hic heros pugne, populos in morte reliquens
Et patrias igni: veniunt. a principe missi 365
Angolorum. domini statuunt de pace referret
Iohannes presul regis qui et jura reposposcat
Et pro delphino referat qui presidet archos
Remis haec primus superba uoce locutus.
Que uos o britones bellis infamia suadet 370
Infestare diu gallos. an forte putatis
Qu maneant nostris animis discordia semper.
Non erit unde ducis burgundi prelia semper
Uictore faciant uestros nos mittite tandem
Nauibus et grati patrias remetis ad urbes. 375
Vestra licet uectare uiri modo bella facessant.
Imperium galli et britonum nunc diuidat aequor.
Multa licet uestre intulerint iniuria uires
Hinc patriae dominisque uiris, priuatis et auro
Hoc regnum et uestrum pariter discrimini longo. 380
Abtamen in nostris fuerit patientia tanta:
Si differe placet dabitur dilatio uobis
Nostraque reddetis: captiuos pulchra inuentus
Gallorum brittonumque simul Jam pace quiescat
Vel si bella uiuat potius gestare periclis 385
Laudibus ut nostris belli sit fama perennis,
Conuinctus animis nobis tunc nulla timenda
Extera regna : licet hispanus surgat et indus,
Et quicquid medij ne grandis detinet urbis.
Ut finem fecit placido sic orsus abalto 390
Principio Kemp nulla mouet frustratio nostros:
Quantum quisque dolet, clerique luditis ambos
Legatos nolim sedeat sententia quamuis
Que uestris animis pro nobis pauca ferenda
Sunt mihi Nulla mouet britones insania bellis 395
Hanc patriam infestare pudet uos ludere pacis
Auctores uicti o totiens pugnaque fugatis
Pauca patres repetam nostrumque ab origine belli
Consilium exponam. et regemque Jura mouerunt
Henricum. facilis nostros, et jure monebo 400

Nos juste gallos armis dormuisse rebelles.
 Viribus et nostris armis non fidimus aequo
 Nos magis atque dei nostros victoria monstrat
 Auspicio pugnasse viros. en fando putatis
 Audiuisse olim Karolum quem gallia refem
 Juridicum tenuit postremum. filia cuius
 Isabella edoardo teda iuncta secunso. 405
 Coniugis et prolem propriam alto semine liquit.
 Rex edoardus erat regem qui tertius heres
 Gallorum fuit huic regi stip nulla uirilīs
 Extiterat Karolo sed filia sola relicta 410
 Isabella fuit. cessauerat undique proles
 Ipsa virum: merito francum quae regna gubernat.
 Haec regina dedit nostris : quo jure regamus.
 Quid uos o proceres memolam. qui forte frequenti 415
 Consilio henricum Karolo uiuo esse regentem
 Mortuus ut foret hunc regem statuistis ad unum
 Uos omnes. aberat delphinus. saepe uocatur
 Hic tamen. ipse memor regis mandata minoris
 se fecisse: ducem affirmans ne quando necaret 420
 Burgundumque patri iurauerat esse relictus
 consensit. poenamque probans tunc sponte recepit.
 Conficit inde uerum frudans sic conscius ipse
 Non prodit in numerum. Karolo de iure reatus
 Tunc dedit has poenas regno priuatos abiret 425
 Hinc patrio henricus primus decernitur heres
 Nulla igitur uersat nostros infama belli.
 Iure agimus bellum et uictoria iusta sequetur
 Burgundus ualeat quamuis pia et induat arma
 Armatis poterit noster sua iura tenere: 430
 Ocia burgondus seruet licet : ipseque regis
 Nunc mandata reget: quod abest amore uirorum.
 Burgundus non et proceres iurastis ad imum
 Henrico ne fidem uersant periuria mentem
 Fortibus haud unquam. dabit is uos tempore poenas 435
 Hoc scelere et digne facient periuria moestos
 Ulla molos scerleris ne potest concordia tutos
 Reddere. Vos agitant furia mortem que requirunt
 Condignamque dolis quaeitis quos mente mouetis.
 Vestra tenere licet. uestrasque coletis et urbes 440
 Imperium galli et britonum non diuidet aequor.
 Vnus erit noster rex. Vna potentia solus
 Et gallos britonsque reget: quem quisquam timebit.
 Vera quies dabitur regnis. et nostra inuentis
 Depositis armis discat modo palladis omnes 445
 Quae restant artes panos docteqe mineruae
 Vt ualeant regi nostro quum uenerit aetas,
 Consilium et uires pariter praebere roganti:
 Haec nos opigeat regi parere britanum
 Haec dominum proles se sanguine scindit ab uno 450

Cum uestra pariter uestrum ex utroque parente
 Hic heros Edoardus erat uero ordine regum
 Henrico cessit regni huic utriusque corona
 Nec minus o proceres poterunt dominate britano
 Gallorum vires : quum iuncta potentia soli 455
 Henrico fuerit surgant hispanus et indus
 Et quicquid medio retinet nunc terra tyrannum
 Tuta quies nostris: et magna potencia caelo
 Aequa venit regi nostro magnique trophei
 Aeteruti regno fuis victisque superbis 460
 Hostibus atque simul laudes utrosque sequentur.
 Si tanti facitis delphinum magna tenebit
 Cura uiri regem. dominabitur ipse superbus
 Non nullis gallis procerum maiorque sequentur
 Ipse suum regem. nostri si uira negatis, 465
 Et cupitis potuis nunc forte iuuare tyrannum
 Arma parate uiri: quando pacata nequitis.
 Haec fatus pariter coepit tunc ore philipus
 Iam uestris animis redeat pax. foedera pacis
 Alliget has primas uobis quecumque feratur 470
 Lex britones bellum belli si queritis auctor
 Ast alius queratur enim certamine tanto
 Arma piget tractasse uiri patriaeque nefanda
 Ipse tulisse manu: largo quo sanguine nostro
 Gallorum crebo strages hec arua rigarent. 475
 Nec vos o proceres reddunt certamina letos
 Nec fausti quamuis uictoria bella tulistis
 Vos dominis tempusque uiris spoliauit et auro
 Nec tanti facio crebis rumoribus urbes
 Quod me fama ferat regi iurata tulisse 480
 Si facinus culpam meruit me iure solutum
 Reddidit ipsa sacri sinumque licentia patris.
 Iste crucis praesul mea nunc errata prauit
 Non tulit hontinton dictis suspecta tyranni
 Sic paritecque referit tua nunc errata prauit 485
 Legatus que sacri summi que licentia patris
 Te pigeat gnamius nequi nos iura ruebunt
 Armatique simul britones quos tempus ademit
 Ipse fatebor enim: mortales prelia nunquam
 Nos plures faciunt sed persecunda uirorum 490
 Terra parit populos nobis qui eterna moueunt
 Prelia gallorum patriaque et in hospita tellus
 Delicto grandi miseris haec uestra redibit
 Sed tua me mordent noster qui semper amicus
 Auxisti patriam patris mortemque nefandam 495
 Ultus es et britonum uires fecere superbiam
 Te nimium domini nobis hominesque supersunt
 Tuque uelim fidus maneat auroque uidevis
 Exhaustos minime nostros hunc unus adiuit
 Legatus britonum: belli dispendia solus 500

Qui ualeat suffere diu. nec bella reducent
 Hunc inopem ; durent licet haec ethernaque durent.
 Si tibi nulla fides remanet, nec bella requiras
 Quae tua prosternant: nostrae tibi prospera uires 506
 Quae fecere diu nobiscum numina credes
 Nec scelus ipse putes hac religione prari.
 Te soluat quamuis patis que licentia summi
 Te quum bella geres damnumque pudorque sequetur.
 Quoque magis flores maior tibi casus ab alto.
 Quid nos o socij pacem tractamus. an armis 510
 Nunc maiora parant. nobis stat pectore certum
 Linqere qua u eo p ces. et ad alta redire
 Moenia nunc patriae. quantoque inducta furore
 Ipsa trahat secum burgvndum gallia fallax
 Vt discant nostri. possintque occurere in armis 515
 Quum tempus dabitur: belli et seruare decora
 Haec ubi dicta dedit: varijs tum quisque susurrat
 Hinc exire parant britones sed fraude morantur
 Jam timidi uideant gallis cum pace redactum
 Burgundumque simul socium delphinia bello 520
 Arma cupit sonare manu et conuertere regi.
 Haec uersatus animo dubius utroque uersatur.
 Hunc optat captare uiros nunc fallere pactum
 Ipse fidem prohibet que pudor: ne forte feratur
 Principe non dignus rumor falli unde querantur 525
 Legatus synodi et pariter quem papa remisit.
 Et ueluti pelagus nimbos cum turbine venti
 Exagitant varij in celum modo tollitur altum.
 Hinc uastos aperit fluctus manesque sub imos
 Se uertunt toto miscet tunc aequore tetum 530
 Non aliter versat burgundus pectore curas
 Consulit inde suos praedae sententia fertur
 Consilio uarie: captos retinere suadent
 Pars britonum alij suadent indicere bellum britones
 Regali de more uelit: si bella procurat 535
 Et ualuisset enim cupido sententia prima
 Pontificer si falsa ducis non corda mouerent.
 Tunc cleri ueritus patre permissit abirent.
 Haec solum dominos uiolant suspecta susura
 Et populi pauxillum nox laxata per auras: 540
 Quam differe placet : moti tunc agmine longo
 Hinc pergunt britonum proceres pelagusque requirunt
 Incusant gallorumque dolos pacemque nefandam
 Saepe ducis. facile credunt modo pellere regem:
 Legatos cleri placidos si gallia mittat 545
 Ast ubi cesserunt britones maiora frequentant
 Consilia et galli grates nostro dicere curant
 Legatus cleri Remis qui praesidet archos
 Incipit haec placide domini maiora perata
 Consilio uestro uestrum quam quisque putaret 550

Unanimes gallos iunxit prudentia vestra
 Nostra timent hostes animis quæ bella paramus
 Conuinctis: patriam quibus hanc tuamur ab hose,
 Burgundum metuent, sic instauratio belli
 Nulla fiet mittent britones aut bella coacti. 555
 Vel si bella parat bello prostratus abibit
 Anglicus et uictos armis prosequemur ad altum
 Illorum patriam ratiuis tunc terram cremabit.
 In britones tandem redeunt incendia belli
 Ergo agimus quæ digna potest hic gratia uobis 560
 Ite patres francum pacem posuistis in oris
 Reddidit hæc ciprius patria nostro bella facessant
 Hac uestra gradimur læti sed corda notauit
 Per britonum facies oculis in fulgura mittunt
 Non satis est placasse duces nostro querite regis 565
 Et pacem veniamque simul mihi credite tandem.
 Vos numero plures bello melioribus hostes
 Hinc eritis Cantos faciant uos lapsa periculis
 At vnus britonum gallis pro quinque valebit
 Vt ualuit semper fatus sic quisque recedit. 570
 Sanxerunt tamen ante prius promissa tyranni
 Sæpe monentque duces approperet de cerpere regno
 Gallorum britonesque suis adiungere curet
 Viribus in numeris portus saltusque uirosque
 Unde meant angli glauca exponunt, et hærena 575
 Arma uiros arcus clipeos. fortesque ducesque
 Tum fecisse sciat uictor primordia gallis:
 Unde datur miseris nostro respirare potestas
 Romanumque monent: regem Jam stamine pauco
 Parcarum seum clausurum in lumina morte. 580
 Occupet ergo prius celebris se fama suorum
 Factorum referat mundi pro principe dignum.
 Quæ facilis potuit caeco sententia suadi
 Sautius hic fuerat stigijs seuisque uenenis
 Fecerat allecto subitum in precordia uulnus 585
 Unde viro venit belli non cura quietis.
 Ut uenere uiri delphinum magna voluptas
 Inuadit, magnis putat hic se viribus auctum
 Vel si forte uellit victori regna tueri
 Ipse pater superi henrico regnator olimpi 590
 Casurum credit pariter que Marte superbum
 Anglorum facere duces et inuida uirtus
 Henria regis ludos celebratque chorcas
 Vota parant diuis populi persoluere iusi
 Delphino redolent lætis altaria donis. 595
 Posquam defecisse uident iam fraude philippum
 Non paribus britones cumulant altaria uotis
 Hos odium stimulant seui et uindicta furoris
 Burgundi differe placet sed digna reatus
 Non patitur nunc poena moras nam more superbum 600

Hinc uocat unde ualet turm s quis uella gerantur
Inque suum regem furiis nunc fulminat amens.
Nunc hostes fudit capto nunc Marte peremit
Diuidit et predas caeto regnare uidetur
Negliget et diuos summi et caelestia patris. 605
O furor o que sitis regnandi anxia cura
Quorum mentes agitant hominum miserosque molestos
Quot casus refferunt quos stulta superbia mouit.
Concurrunt urbes seuoque furore uocate
Hin belgae populi pariter celtae que furentes. 610
Et numero coeunt ingenti milia centum
Hinc equitum peditumque simul fabulia fabri
Hinuarum varia exercent. Tribulos volucresque sagittas
Loricis clipeis ocreas scamis que rigenter
Thoracis mandata ducis non abrunt unus 615
Hinc carpenta ferunt validis devincta catenis
Et super inducunt carpentis aggere terram?
Ut castris valeant faciles de ducere vallum.
Et tribullos addunt ictu ne perge possit
Hunfredus uallidum princeps gentesque decorae 620
In uallum : dabitur quando victoria dignis.
Arma parant meliora fugaeque Marti decora.
Moxque iubet bellum regi feriale uocato
Indici vario pingunt iam stamine pugnas
Hin castris astare uides qui Marti superbo 625
Calisiam inuadunt et fortes detrudere muris
Hinc certant Britones scalis hos uulnere lapsos
Iam uideas artem armato, Jam milite scandit
Burgundus princeps ualid s detrudit ab altis
Moenibus atque suas Ianas partitur in omnes 630
Anglorum posite fuerant que more uetusto
Calisiae rapiunt alij fortemque recusant
Atque cruce uideas Britones quis morte maligna
Emittant animas omnis sed poena redibit
Militibus uestris uestras gradientur ad urbes. 635
Magnanime heros Britonum si uella notascis
Stamine iam uestro pupesque uidere putares
Armatis pelago plenas armore Britonum
In patriam litusque tenent hinc omnia late
Deuastant que lares hominum. Jam morte coronam 640
Arripunt Clades uestri haec portenta requirunt
Flandrenses uenient Angli formidine uestra
Et terrori simul patriae quum nulla potestas
Haud uestre fuerit uultus spectare feroces.
Et bellum Indici temeraria corda pauentum 645
Mandatis regi; multo feriale potente
Principe plus uestro facimus si forte ualeret
Ut c ram referat regi mandata nefanda
Sed tremuere manus: cartisquae scripta notarunt
Unde iris extuit uestrum innolescere bellum 650

Quumque superba ducis defertur epistola regi,
 Regnis hic caelus potuit uix certa tenere
 Que capiunt oculis, omnes rum ribus urbes
 Que referunt pingi vario jam stamine pugnas
 Euentusque simul belli stragesque britanum. 655
 Armari pubem et carpentis castra parari
 Tunc ualidam statuunt calssem maria omnia circum
 Armari. ut pelagi turritus pupibus omnis
 Tunc aditus hosti claudant nec caetera curet.
 Expectant que ducem martis que facta mouebant 660
 S cire prius: validi moueant quum bella britani
 Sed faciles noscunt bello non protinus omnes
 C nu cat in castris lustratque per omnia turmas.
 Aggreditur quum viam primum carpenta procedunt
 Armatisque datur leuiter tum prima sequella 665
 Carpentis Ualidi commitantur corpore pauci
 Hic pedites pergunt equites post puluere campos
 Exagitant putres medioque astante philippo
 Turba ruit procerum h stilis circundare muros
 Calisiae appr perant praeclaeque cupidine caeci. 670
 Ut uidere uiri proceses ad moenia tendi
 Innumeris castris et multo milite mortem
 Calisie incensum: britonum stragemque minari
 Edmundum comitem mittunt agnocem mortem
 Ac dominum camoijs quinque et cum milibus anglum 675
 Subsidio terrae Radelif quam forte regebat
 Missus ab Hunfredo regni qui dicitur heros
 Esse regens. Pelagi tutor custodia cuius
 Calisiae fuerat Radelif pro principe tutor
 Iohanes animo ualidus tum marte superbo 680
 Eximus socius Tartarij et ordine dignus
 Miles erat metuens haud obstentari virorum
 Bene decem menses. uallo sed moenia fortis
 Cinxera et uigiles crebos statione locabat
 Quaque : suis parcens minime que laboribus heros 685
 Milia terque uirum victum et missilia prudens
 Multa tenes urbem muniuerat additus ergo
 Praesidij tants numerus tunc omnia late
 Laetitia impleuit. soluitque tim ribus omnes
 Adueniant quamuisimo pro milia centum 690
 Hostibus existis qui sunt quoque milia centum.
 Ut terram tetigere viri lustrant que per agros,
 Hic amor Hic que suis praedae que et amare cupido
 Flandrenses ducit per agros homines que bonorum
 Sic honerata simul preda iumenta redibant. 695
 Saepius hinc captos referebat undique mauors.
 Calisiam laeti tanta nunc forte morantur
 Castra inimica virique acuunt discrimine vires.
 Dux tamen ipse prius tentat castella minora
 Sangath cum baulingam et omnia qua nulla morantur 700

Bella ducis; quem posse putant rescindere caellum
 Gentibus innumeris. statuunt formidine portas
 Ne claudat quisquam et dedunt castella superbis
 Hostibus. Hinc letus graditur march marte cruento
 Sed nunc bella para. dabitur pugnare potestas. 705
 Exiguas quamuis turmas occuras ad hostis
 Bis ter uiginti numero tua castra morantur
 Uulneribus uarijs crudele et morte tuarum
 Erumpunt portis. pugnatur quo minus armis.
 Victores redeunt prosetum quibus sagittas 710
 Moenibus ex altis passim Jaculatur in hostes
 Emanibus jam saxa uolant multo que cruore
 Tum duces animas burgundi bella secuti
 Seu a ducis quater et centum linguere per auras
 Hostibus ut tandem dedunt se vulnera passi 715
 lam diuerse viri: emittunt cum sanguine vitam
 Ante tamen septem. deduntur moenia tandem
 Ast ubi deducti grand riuum forte fuerunt
 March capti ueniunt urbi castrisque proprinquant
 Haec jactata domi regni discrimina quamuis 720
 Nunc innocant omnes, ausus uix ista fateri
 Ducere bella manu quis non formidine moti
 sunt domini decus at seruunt tunc principis omnes
 Hunfredi regis patruui, qui regna gubernat.
 Musabant reliqui laeta tum fronte profatur 725
 Sic princeps. Vides quorum confidemus armis
 Compluras hic esse uiros quis nostra secutis
 Arma uelim superare manu qui regna gubernant
 Euftratis et gangis lelegas atrosque gelenos.
 Et quicquid medij nobis nunc obijcit orbis. 730
 Nunc opus est animis doceat qua quisque mouetur
 Mente breui patriae ac Hostes prosequamur in armis
 Fama ferat plures numero licet ista inuentus
 Nobiscum uitrix laudes magnosque tropheos
 Adducet mensem patiar circundere castris 735
 Calisiam ignouos hostes in morte relinquam
 Tot proceres nostri talis nostro fama facessat
 Consequar ipse ducem castris et castra propinqua
 sunt jungenda uiro dabitur certare potestas
 si nunc bella cupit populum tot innumere fietus 740
 Nec grandi numero populi comitatus adibo.
 Sed uos o proceres nostri quis grata potestas:
 Ite domum fausti famulos et ducite mecum
 Et uestra cupidus uenia quicumque cliens est
 Omnis et armati veniant in litore nostro: 745
 Bis dicies prius ac abscondat lumina phoebus
 Experijs undis: totiens et surgat eos
 Milite non alio fretus nunc bella prepono
 Nec populi caveat omnes sic gloria sola
 Princibus uulgi cessent dispendia nostri: 750

Quando quidem superest argentum et inuida uirtus
 Corporibus nostris et grandis turba clientum.
 Hanc animam noueo patriae : si forte repositat.
 Sed tamen est animo: fuerit uictoria nostris 755
 Quod iustis armis fugiet non conscius ipse
 Expediat licet et pugnam nostri ne vigorem
 Ista pati poterit populum colluuió tanta
 Ite viri nostros uictoria iusta sequetur
 Rex agit ipse prius grates persoluere curant
 Mox reliqui domino. Cupiunt confere manusque 760
 Hostilem priam et gliscunt rescindere fero
 Sic diuersa petunt graditur tum quisque profectó
 Inpropriis que domos occasum querit hic ortum
 Ast alius borcam procerum sic quisque britanum
 Arma parant et equos domini famulumque clientum 765
 Quisque sibi pulchrum que putat : si pulchra incientus
 Post graditur proceres omnes superare procurant
 Alterius numerum et laudes de principe quaeunt
 Hunfredo : quas posse putant nostro prima parentur
 Arma virum domino placeant coetusque suorum. 770
 Mirmidores quales agitant quum fortis aceruos
 Deportant fulcis: foueas adit ille redit que
 Nunc alius prohibentque moras corpusque laborat
 Vel quum noue nous conuenctant florida mella
 Querit apesque tunum gestat nunc tibia ceram 775
 A celerant mne caritas exire videres
 Hinc vacuas et honustas multo mele petentes
 Haditus grandi numero et meliore labore
 N n aliter brit nes urbes nostro bella quaeruntur
 Quod faciant domini populum nec munera quaerat. 780
 Auisque cupit confere suam partem que laboris
 Admonet hos Princeps vires inbella reseruent
 Forte nonus patriae si confitur ex erit hostis
 Argentum et pueris gratus laudes que profatur
 Ingentes populis patriaeque munera quaerant. 785
 Hic arcus quaerit que ocreas thoraca aliusque
 Et galeas alij certant precisque minori:
 Vendere nunc ciues obstatque pecunia milli:
 Expeiant arma atque viri quin corpora presto
 Hinc feialis adit iussus, mensis que morari 790
 Flagitat ipse duos hostem castrisque britanos
 Expectet procers: belli si forte triumphum
 Exquirat. minnero pugna non quippe futuros
 Admonet hos totidem que unus pro quinque britanus
 Ad pugnam veniet statuerit nunc foedere pignus: 795
 Credere si dictis renuit non foedera fallent.
 Burgundus sic verba refert expecto britanos
 Adueniant quamius omnes annumque movabor:
 Calisiam nostrae capiant nisi moenia vires
 Ante tamen vestri pelago sed nostra videbunt 800

Arma viri. pugnam que parent in litore vestro.
Aspicio nostro vestri nostra terra cremabit.
Discute nunc armis verbo non bella parare.
Aduiratque deum manes primusque sepulti:
Atque caput Karoli gnati discedere nunquam 805
Ipse loco vivus intret nisi moenia portis
Calisiae nec lege nuc quippe teneri
Hunfredum dominum quamius nostro tota britanum
Ipsa manus ueniat fungetur tempore vires
Quisque suas uerbis audacibus ipse profatur 810
Ex nunc mente timens frigidoque timore moue
Ut ferialis erat domino coramque locutus
Principis hic mentem compleuerat ipsa voluptas
N n animus patitur quicquam nec membra geretis
Nunc classem supplere iubet numero que parari 815
Alta quater naues centum castella ferentes
Imperat atque vires classis ne deuebat equor
Alterius quicquam nauis ne pergat ad hostis
Ulla uirum excat et flandrensis non mispar
Occludent pelagus: donec procerum arma parentum 820
Imperiumque viri seruant sine crimine cunti.
C nu cat inde sui famulos fidosque clientes
Arma parat cuntis et equos maioribus uti
Quis liceat. Procerum littus jam quisque petebat.
Vna dies aberat mandato protinus omnes 825
Quum lustrat princeps uiginti milia pulchris
Corporibus : proceres secum quos agmine ducunt
Irarum plenos seuisque furoribus actos
Non tantum suspensa studet que iter acre pennis
Ad nidum gradiens alles: quos misit hiantes 830
Ipsa die miserata famem longoque dolorem
Natorem referens escam properans que volatum.
Anglorumque quisque moras jam tollere curat
Non aliter visa lepore et Jouis ales ab alto
Ducta fame dubitans foueas ne preda subintret 835
Concipit irarum satis : aduersata morasque
Contrahit hic uires animo superante volatum
Vincere se putat alis et non uiribus unguis.
Quam dubitant britones irati ne mora vinci
Impediat nunc multa duces qui tanta profatur 840
Atque fugam metuunt omnes non arma philipi
Si preparant velut ij cupiunt facile et forte credunt
Victores medijs castris ianiare superbos
Imbellestque hostes : tuturium sin arma mouentur
Pandite sacra deae cantu mentem que mouete 845
Huic uestro vati ut valeat describere versu:
Quanta manus comitata duces quanta quum virorum
Hunfredus turba prodeat campoque patenti
Collustret turmas ratibus quos ducat in aequor.
Ecce ducam inprimis sese referebat ad undas 850

Johanem comitata manus norfolchia fortis.
 Huntiton que comes turmas monstrare studebat
 Ipse suas vuaruuyk sequitur comes atque rikardus.
 Hinc aderat srafford hunfredus. deuoniaeque
 Edmundus comes. approperant deducere coram 855
 Delectos iuuenes armis et marte feroces.
 Oxoniaeque comes campo ducebat aperto
 Johanes homines arcus pulchras que Pharetras
 Gestantes gladijs pariter dum gessa ferebant.
 Magnanimum comitum ducit non ultimus eeu 860
 Ipse suas auidus turmas critaminis her s
 Hos comites gradituque ducem post pulchra iuuentus:
 Quam ducunt faun p jam primus in armis
 F rrtia facta feren Johannes undique duxit
 Armat s homines sua qu s cornubia nutrit 865
 De l uuel d minum comitatur pulchra caterna
 l hanem pariterque virum duct r reginaldus
 Delauinem venit dominus tum pulchra parenti
 Arma virum campo Vuilmus conche pr ducit.
 Et dominus grey henricus demontes secutus 870
 Johannes bello magna comitante caterna.
 Hos intermedios coram fortissimus heros
 Hunfredus uallidum princeps gentisne britanum
 Dux aderat grandi turba comitatus equorum
 Et peditum pariterque omnes in littore lustrat. 875
 Miraris procerum turma atque arma recenti
 Hunc agitata manu. vires animosque feros
 Apparequeeviros super f rrtissime princeps
 Tunc mnes comites reliquosque ducesque tuorum
 Anglorum proceres lustrans lustraris ab omni 880
 Milite quisque legit mores animumque virilem
 In te t ta fides uirtus tua tanta voluntas
 Militibus uires animi firmat que futurum
 Mente breui spondet victorios prelia fortis
 Auspicio brit nes. Hostis stragesque virorum. 885
 qualis facies animi quantis que decoris
 Lustrabas comitum seriem numerumque tuorum
 Qu s super sesse putas accedit turba minorum
 An ne putas urbes pr prio sine munere belli
 Parte sua saltem d minos tractare britanos 890
 Posse pati pantur enim sine munere multi
 Hic t tideque quasi: nullus quos duxerat heros.
 Forte recensebat famulos propriosque clientes.
 Nunciat hic homines famulus pluris duce cassos
 Conspectare maris naues et littora circum. 895
 Principis auspicio: pugnamque quisque capassat.
 Quum dabitur tempus uel quum veniet ad hostes.
 Participes prede et pugne pariter fore credunt
 Principum ut hic nouit turmas aduertit in istos.
 Tunc oculos saturque uiris cum uoce benigna. 900

Quae nos o iuuenes domibus s lertia ducit.
 Si n bis dabitur vestris nunc usus in armis
 Huc statim venient: ratibus qui vestra per altum
 Arma uehant nobis: quibus hic fungamur in hostes.
 N n opus est. uestri ruires seruamus in usus 905
 Ast alios. seu patriam tuantur ab hoste
 Forte n nus patriae nostrae sin arma minetur.
 Non tulit haec populus uario sed murmure eglum
 Impleuit referens ducas haec arma per equor.
 Nos ted m volumus vitam prohibere periclis. 910
 Si nobis prohibes tantum non corpora nando
 Nulla licet nauit reueat veniemus ad hostem.
 Hic hostes pariter fudisse superbos
 Pars laudis n stre fuerit. nec numera nostrum
 Quis tua nunc quaerit gratis sed vestra dabuntur 915
 Arma tibi. Imperio laeti et parebimus omnes
 Laudibus ethernis te semper ad astra ferents.
 Saepius ut tentans sensit nil corda moueri
 Sic iterumque refert. medios traducere p ssum
 Classe mea. reliquos populi nunc littor mittam. 920
 Est animo ratibus primum quibus arma paratij.
 Et reliqui socij. p st u s deducere mecum.
 Anuit hic populus scandunt et littore pupes
 Tunc pr ceres primi reliqua et tum turba surrum.
 Post p pulos naues ducunt conscendere certat 925
 Quisque prius metuens seguis ne littore missus
 Hic maneat p stquam scandunt bis milia quinque
 T t numer capiunt naues tunc ultimus heros
 Regius hic altam c nscendit littore pupem.
 S lvunt inde rates pelag segnes que reliquunt. 930
 Neptunusque paterppr pere tritoria uocauit.
 mperat; ut vent s arcens aquilone relict
 Caeliam in patriam claudat redditur et aequor
 Quippe mari hunfredus ualeat c ntingere portum
 Calisiae pr ceresque simul delecta Juuentus 935
 Hic conca gradiens uent s et nubilia condit.
 Ast aquilon s lus clasem deducit ab alto.
 Veneat ut soluere uiri tum nuncia cymba.
 Atque nolata manu defertur epsitola clar
 Principium et ostendit: preceps ut castra reliquit 940
 Burgundus princeps mortis celebrataque fama
 Impius ut fuit. primum quum moenia cinxit
 Calisiae castris sedem tum cepit eoo.
 Debruges aderant nomines grandaui proles
 Juncta simul domini sedem muniuerunt apte. 955
 Atque suam sumunt sedem ex aquil ne picardi.
 Hiprius his medius miles sua castra locauit.
 Ast ab erat paulum tam m hic de sede philipi.
 Vrbe procul timidusque h stis confederat mnis.
 Quippe tamen ducens carpentis aggere murum 950

Non tantum metuens lapides celeresque sagittas
 Quam ne saepe uiri irrumpant. castrisque suorum
 In medijs agitent stragem. et cogantur in armis
 Esse sui semper; capiunt ne membra quietem
 Interdum. molles vadeant nec vivere semper. 955
 Femina multa fuit burgundo causa timoris
 Pugnantes numero superat quos castra tenebant.
 Luxurie sagittatque omnes. non uulnera martis
 Tempore sed credunt urbem deuincere longo
 Et jactu lapidum nimis haec sed castra remota. 960
 Non balista jacit passus termilia quaequam.
 Fabricat ergo prius delignis: castraque pone
 Castellum erigit. adducit quod longa rotarum
 Machina: qua muris imponant arma virosque
 Vt videre viri britones castella produci 965
 Exiciumque suis urbi muris que parari
 In campum prodeunt armato milite tentant
 Viribus inde suis turris moneatur ad urbem
 Nequaquam prohibent que viri. tum machina ruptis
 Ipsa rotis sistit. medio acta viaeque moratur. 970
 Non igni potuit mortem rescindere ferro
 Nec castella magis sed quippe sacrata cruore
 Hostili mittunt hoc laeti marte britani
 Crebruis erumpant penetrant in castra ducisque
 Hic agitur caedes strages et multa virorum 975
 Clauditur et castris aditus: que nullus adire
 Ad limphas audeat tanta formidine mortis
 Ducuntur miseri credunt pugnare leones.
 Non homines : Vnum videant superare britanum
 Quod numero plures: quorum non ulla teguntur 980
 Corpora nulla valent, bello non arma tuentur
 Infaustos hostes reliquos audent memorari
 Non suffere valent putes ne nec audent
 Iam procul. hoc unum seruatis militem dignum
 Excubias noctu vigiles statione locati. 985
 Insidias radelif que comes nunc arte parari
 Forte putant urbisque tenent in moenibus omnes.
 Non potuere tamen predatum forte minores
 Dum vadunt aliqui pariter castellaque lustrant
 Quae procul a castris martis jam pulchra cupido 990
 Aduenit opugnant turrim si forte valebunt
 Ingredi et his armis opulentos se fore credunt.
 Quingenti proceres arcem tutantur ab alto
 Hi numero pauci si plures esse putentur.
 Tunc balista tona lapides jaciensque per auras. 995
 Denotat atque duci scaeum pugnare britanos.
 Hunfredum at venisse putat. timor addit ultro
 Milia sexque virum decies venisse paratos
 Ad pugnam metuunt trepidi castrisque morantur
 Miraturque comes tantum balista tumultum 1000

Cur agitet mittitque viros qui certa reportent
 Nuncia sic referunt pugnari morte cruento
 In portis britonesque simul confere manusque
 Castellum proceres burgundi vincere posse
 Praedones arcem ligni. si pauca ferantur
 Ac dubitant proceres pariterque decori
 Insidias. fortesque dolent in morte relinqui
 Et metuunt urbi: procul hinc si forte recedat
 Multa manus mittunt aliquos ad bella manipulos
 Tunc crescunt animi. Spes auri concitat vias.
 Ingrediunt portis. maior hinc ipse laborat.
 Caduntur que hostes britones castella potiti
 Festa agitant laeti cucunt et in urbe triumphum
 Machina diruitur cuius nostro digna feruntur
 Rupta manu. Praede sperie hinc urbe locantur.
 O decus / o virtus francum et fortissima corda
 Quae vos nunc agitat formido quantaque cura
 Ingentes numero licet hic sedeatis ad urbem
 Alterius castris. dabitur mora nocte sequenti
 Vix media. vestrum melior quicumque putatur,
 Hic primus fugiet que opulentum castra relinquet
 Sed britonum facies qualis tunc qualia tentant
 Ut novere fugam vinum et tentoria pulchra
 Cratera auri, argenti grandesque relictos:
 Quicquid habent nec habere putant longaque dolebant
 Nec multi faciunt balistas armaque vestra
 Flandrenses timidi tribulos et grandia saxa
 Missa fuga vestri seruos sed quique queruntur
 Amisisse suos. aquilo lucebat ab alto
 Hunfredum et reliquos proceres quos fecerat omnes
 Ipse fuge rumor moestos litusque capessunt
 Explrant que locos simul et quo fugerit ille
 Qui britonum vires omnes pariterque caternas
 Pollicitus fuerat castris anuum ipse morari.
 Mox fecialis addit patria tota requirit
 Burgundum dominum admonet ut tuatur ab hoste
 Hinc patriam domino parens ut mente benigna
 Adueniat veniamque petens serrata piare
 Iam studeat. sed fama volat linguisse superba
 Tunc animam turri ligni: quum bella cruenta
 Praedones agitare viri: quum cetera turba
 Castrorum que turba turpi delinquerat agros
 O fleuere ducemque suum burgundia celtae
 Et belgi pariter. latuit princepsque philipus:
 Luna quater donec radiantia cornua primis
 Luminibus renorat: quae nullus in orbe videbat
 Ante prius pau pl mortis rumore latere
 Burgundus statuit: quamuis populenter et agros
 Atque urbes villasque simul britonum legiones.
 Pergebant validum princeps pulchre que caterne

1005

1010

1015

1020

1025

1030

1035

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1045

1050

Hostilesque agros vastantes omnia late
 Oppida cum villis inimicum incendia vastant.
 Femines generi et pueris solum abstinet ira
 Atque viris sacris reliquos laqueusque peremit.
 Arboribus pendent vincti: ceu vitibus una
 Flandrenses. lacrimant matres nuptae que puellae. I055
 Execrantur enim in felicis bella philip
 Profugium miseris extat de morte ducisque
 Hic rumor dederit poenasque cum malorum
 Ipsa prius miserum defertur ad aethera clamor I060
 O princeps infande virum cur patria nostris
 Luctibus hic iacerum conspectans ipsa parentum
 Corpora tota perit. quo nunc fugere superbe
 Innumerae viresque .cur numina fallis.
 Deferis et regem et patriam ferro dimittis et igni. I065
 Non nullus potuit clamor non ulla ruina
 Villarum remouere virum. quem tanta tenebat
 Cura timorque necis. timidus sed quippe latebat
 De reditu cogitant barones pulchroque triumpho:
 Ut proceres videre diu non ulla mouere I070
 Bella ducem cuius mortis fama uolarat:
 Castra ducis quamuis teneant inimica politi:
 Virginis ipse aderat phoebus jam crinibus albis.
 Duxerat imber aquas bis denis forte diebus
 Innumeras caelo et brinis totidem illa peragrant I075
 Equora camporum. segetes villas que vocabant
 Oppida dum tectissignis. sic corpora fecum
 Eet laquei pariter villarum nomina dicam
 Et castella simul: non grato que igne cremarunt
 Ospicium noctu britonum sed primus eoiis I080
 Ipse videt nascens rabida tabescere flama,
 Gersyton. decrost que baren merdik eglebek
 Atque picham. straiellae et cum mectevene bene
 Acebrok et blendek que pradelle et baemode linden
 Cercle propinque simul lebane ontkerche elesyton I085
 Elesbring adrianque edekins essere et mkos
 Eulme cum beline et pariterque plura relinquo
 Sponte mea populis latoque potentia campo.
 Tum redeunt laeti britones laetissimus heros
 Hunfredusque magis, tum naues undique cogunt I090
 Et numero plures veniunt honeraneque priaeda
 Approperant quisquis que honeratis pupibus omnes
 Ascendunt naues. Saphiris spirantibus almis
 Tum britonum proceres: caeto gratissimus heros
 Regius ascendit uelum que iubet dare ventis. I095
 Et primus graditur. reliqui dominique sequuntur
 Interea britones diuos regemque decorum
 Omnibus in templis poscunt pro principis almo
 Quisque triumpho: que magnis victisque superbis
 Hostibus et letus patrias gradiatur ad urbes. I100

Ecce e conspectu regni jam vella videntur	
Servantes populi litus statione locati	
Arma feruntque citi. pupes oculisque reuisunt	
Ut noscant veniant inimici sit vel amicus	
Ut nouere viros veniunt venit ecce proclamant.	II05
Spargitur inde bonus rumor letusque per omnes	
Huc veniunt proceres populi matres que puellae	
Ad litus propere: officisque aures que locabant:	
Ut noscant cupidi bellum quod gesserat heros.	
Sed videre viros qui navibus omnem	III0
Exponunt predam, que honerant melioribus aptos	
Ducit equos que pedes gradiens. et sarcina sola	
Affidet. ergo studet proprios tum quisque uidere	
Agnatos. pariterque lares. gnatosque nepotes.	
Coniugis et facem. fortunas quisque ferebat.	II15
Rex postquam uidit patrum proceresque britanos.	
Alloquitur dominos blande: Vos patria letos	
Accipiat. semperque mihi quum uenerat extus	
Grati eritis. gratum que fer is in omnibus eui	
Temporibus regem. Sed tu fortissimus heros	II20
Gloria magna domus nostre. jam corda tenebis	
Nostra quidem nostro grandi deuictus amore.	
Si laudes studeam que hii persolvere dignas	
Vix ualeam. nobis desint et tempus et aetas.	
Sed mea corda tenent firmum semperque tenebunt.	II25
Aduentus rumore tui tumidusque superbus	
Burgundus latuit fugiens. latebrisque tuetur	
Viribus a nostris. famamque secutus iniquam	
Tempora ni fuerint, actum de viribus esset	
Burgundi. limphas didici quas flandria potat.	II30
Innumeros imbres pluit hanc donec peragrasti	
Hostilem Patriam. membris modo redde quietem.	
Rex manibus dextram remittet patruo oscula donat.	
Qui proprias cedes procerum comittante caterua	
Laetus adit uenia que bona tum quisque recedit.	II35

EXPLICIT HVNFROIDOS. LIVII FURLOVISII

Appendix II

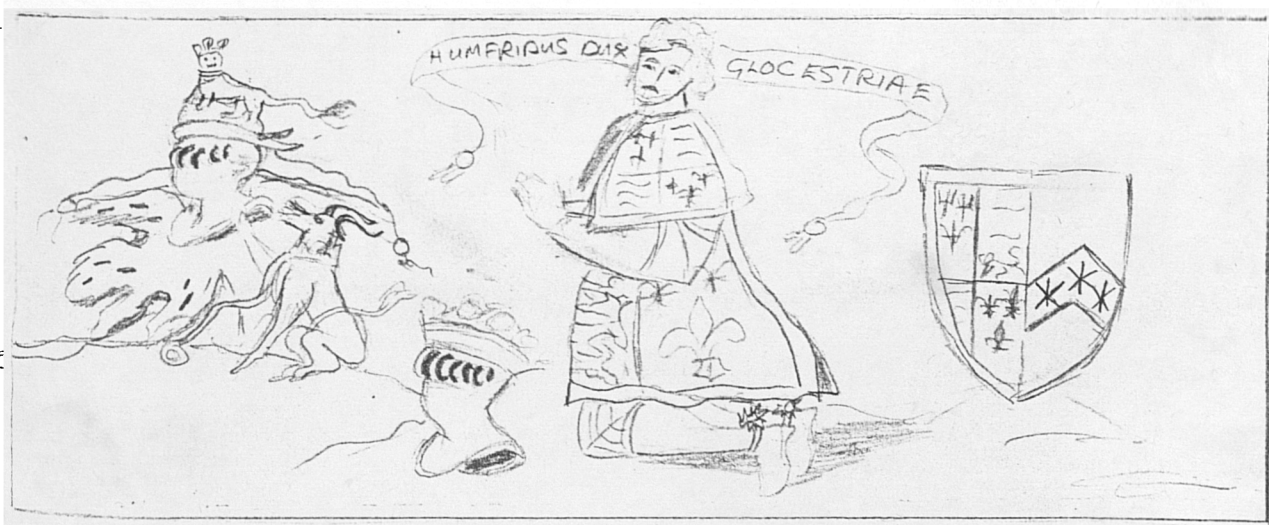
Duke Humphrey's Patronage of the Visual Arts.

This appendix draws together the scattered evidence for Duke Humphrey's interest in the visual arts. The problem with an examination of this aspect of the Duke's patronage lies not in the lack of material so much as in the disparate and inconclusive nature of the extant evidence. The value of this appendix will lie more in the bringing together of scattered evidence than in the critical evaluation.

Works of art which are connected with Duke Humphrey include an elaborate tomb at St. Albans commissioned by him in his lifetime, some manuscripts collected by him, a chalice presented by him and his second wife to Lady Margaret Beaufort through whom it found its way to Christ's College, Cambridge, and some stained glass at Greenwich and Cobham Churches which is no longer extant. Because of the wide variety of forms within this short list of works connected with the Duke, I shall examine the works separately for a patron's interest in a type of art may vary according to what it can offer him. The overall aim of this examination will be to see if any consistency of taste or purpose emerges behind Duke Humphrey's interest.

I was directed to the stained glass connected with Duke Humphrey by the appendix in Vicker's biography which details the portraits of Duke Humphrey (Vickers K.H., Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester

(London, 1907), p. 448. Vickers refers to a rough drawing of 1695 in Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS., 24, f. 107 and another in Bodl. Lib. Ashmole MS., 874, f. 113^{vo} of a stained glass window at Greenwich which was destroyed in 1710. The window represented the Duke in kneeling posture in armour wearing a beard. Apparently also in the Ashmole MS. of 1610 there is a drawing of the west window of St. Helen's, Abingdon, also no longer extant, depicting Henry V and his three brothers ('These Dukes be in their robes and their coronalls with their arms over their Heads, and their names written under their feet.'). Neither of Vickers's references are correct for the MSS. cited are of altogether different dates and subjects. All I was able to obtain was the reproduction of the drawing of the east window in the headpiece to the preface of the old catalogue of manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford:



(1697 catalogue of the Bodleian Library, Douce, C, subt. 253., the etching is entitled 'In fenestra Ecclesia de Greenwich in agro Cantiano')

As the glass no longer exists it is impossible to even try to date the glass, which could have been made during or after the lifetime of the Duke. The glass was not a benefaction in the Duke's will (which in any case was never carried out) and it is difficult to speculate why the people of Cobham or Greenwich should have waited to commemorate the Duke after his death at their own expense unless perhaps they were proud to be associated with the national hero, the Good Duke Humphrey, whose myth developed in the years following his death (see p.15 ff.). Possibly Duke Humphrey commissioned the glass himself. In 1429-32, the Duke rebuilt his house at Greenwich in magnificent style and created a park around it of two hundred acres (see p.86). The glass might have been donated to the church at this time.

It is clear from this little that we know about the stained glass connected with Duke Humphrey that the emphasis is on the heraldry which constitutes the main subject of the design and is not just employed as a means of identification. In the illustration taken from the Bodleian Library's 1697 catalogue the Duke wears a cote d'armour as well as the shield on the right and his badge on the left. Possibly this celebration of the Duke's heraldry indicates that he was seeking to establish a personality cult. If the glass post-dates the Duke it can be regarded as a symptom of the regret which people felt for the years of stability which his demise seemingly marked the end of.

The illuminated manuscripts known to have been acquired by Duke Humphrey are fine and if one is able to ascribe a discriminating taste to their acquirer (on the grounds that either he selected them or they were selected with his tastes in mind) one would surely do so. The "Songe du Vergier", the "Grande Bible" and the "Chroniques de France" acquired through his brother are very fine, and all bear witness to an excellent taste and to the sort of interest in archaic art that Jean, duc de Berri, showed when he instructed illuminators to study what aesthetic and technical skills old manuscripts had to offer to better their work. If one is to find evidence of Duke Humphrey doing the same, it is possibly in some manuscripts of principally literary interest in which the similar illumination indicates that Duke Humphrey had some illuminators working specially for him. These MSS. are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS.285/1 (Tito Livio Frulovisi's Vita Henrici Quinti, the dedication copy); London, College of Arms, MS.Arundel 12 (also Frulovisi's Vita Henrici Quinti, the presentation copy to Duke Humphrey); Cambridge, St. John's College, MS.C.10. (Frulovisi's Latin comedies); London, British Museum, Royal MS.5.F.II. (Beccaria's St. Athanasius's Theological treatises); Cambridge, King's College MS.27 (St Athanasius, Orationes contra Arianos by Beccaria). From this list it is clear that the illuminator was working in conjunction with the Duke's Italian secretaries. All the MSS. have the initials in the same style, with monsters and caricature heads and rather muddy-coloured acanthus leaves in

pink, blue, green and orange on scalloped grounds of gold and pale colours. It is likely that this work was performed for the Duke by a resident illuminator or someone whom the Duke was able to commission over a period. The monsters and caricature heads could have been copied from the marginalia in earlier MSS. in the Duke's collection. My reason for suggesting that the illuminator may have been resident in the Duke's Household is the particular selection of texts which he is associated with. Both Tito Livio and Beccaria lived in Duke Humphrey's Household.

In Oriel MS. XXXII, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, (Capgrave's Commentary on Genesis) f. 3v, there is an illustration of Capgrave presenting the book to the Duke. Except for the fact that the illustration is within the "G" of "Gloriosissimo" appropriately enough for Gloucester, there is nothing remarkable about the portraits. The faces are badly sketched and lacking in any degree of individuality. The proportions are such that the Duke is drawn much larger than the kneeling Capgrave, thus depicting the relative status of the two men:



I have already mentioned the three great illuminated MSS. acquired by Duke Humphrey. The Chroniques de France - Royal MS.15. G.VI. - bears the inscription: "C'est livre est A moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don des Executeurs le Seigneur de Faunhere" and is a beautifully illuminated 14th Century manuscript. The illuminations contain fine drawing, careful attention is paid to the lines of the figures, the dramatic situations portrayed and to the delineation of character through pose and costume. The magnificence of the work is paradoxically spoilt by the Duke's untidy ex libris scrawled at the back of the volume. The same is true of Le Songe du Vergier - Royal MS.19,C.IV - which is also a beautifully illuminated manuscript. It belonged to Charles V and presumably came to Duke Humphrey through his brother, John, Duke of Bedford, who purchased Charles V's library at a ridiculously low price.

It is impossible to determine much about Duke Humphrey's taste from books which were merely donated to the Duke. The books which he actually commissioned are thus more interesting. Royal MS.,15.D.III, "La Bible Hystoriaux ou les Hystoires Escolastres" may fall into either category as it was made in the early 15th Century. It is French work and in the style of books executed for the duc de Berri with fine initials and foliated borders with grotesques; the illuminator's name is given as "Petrus Gilberti" but so far he has not been identified. If the manuscript was made specially for the Duke then clearly the Duke purchased fine contemporary work but it is impossible to say more than this with any certainty.

A direct commission of the Duke's was the selection of psalms in Latin made for his own use, Royal MS.2.B.I. It was written in a liturgical hand c.1420-30. At the end -f.87b - is the inscription 'Cest liure est a moy humfrey duc de gloucestre des seaulmes les quel jay esleus du saultier'; as far as the word 'gloucestre' it has partially been erased and the remainder, though contemporary, does not appear to be the Duke's autograph. The psalms are 18,44,45,86,131; then the 'Magnificat' and 'Nunc Dimitis' and the Litany of the Virgin are followed by prayers with special attention paid to St.Christopher, St.George and St.Ursula. Two folios are of most interest. f.8 contains a full border of foliage on a blue and gold ground which is very fine and rich. This foliage grandly encloses a miniature $3\frac{1}{4}$ X $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches of a crowned figure with a smooth face, kneeling before an image of pity supported by a grey-bearded man who has golden leg armour and a high red and gold cap turned up with ermine and he bears in his left hand a tau cross. The man standing could be Henry IV as the man kneeling is probably meant to represent Duke Humphrey. The Duke would have been thirty in 1420 and it is possible that the kneeler is too young to represent a thirty year old. Perhaps the kneeler is meant to represent the King, Henry VI and the older man is the Duke as Protector. If this is the case, the iconography is political as the psalter would have been made at a time when the Duke's position as Protector was slightly precarious: it is possible that the psalter was a gift from the young king to his uncle

and the miniature affirms their relationship. The main argument against this is that the Duke tended to record gifts in his ex libris with much pride and it seems likely that a gift from the king would have been so recorded.

If the kneeling figure does in fact represent Duke Humphrey, then it is most likely that the grey-bearded man is St. Alban in whose abbey Duke Humphrey is buried. The costume and jewellery are very rich and it could be that the emblem on the Duke's robe is meant to relate to the foliage of his heraldic badge. He is kneeling before the psalter so that the function of the book is thus demonstrated by this opening miniature:



Royal MS.2.B.I.f.8

f.7 also contains full page borders of light sprays of foliage around a narrow gold frame with the Duke's arms within the opening initial. At the foot of the page the shield of the Duke is squashed beneath the Duke's coat of arms, two white antelopes sejant gorged with ducal coronets or and surmounted by a helmet and crest, on a chapeau gules turned up with ermine, a crowned lion statant gardant or. The whole is executed in delicate greens which are set off by the richness of the blue and gold foliage. One notices how around the heraldry the artist has drawn trees to give the animals a rustic setting.

Throughout the psalter are partial borders springing from the large initials and most of the initials contain heads. The smaller initials and line fillings are in blue and gold - the former on grounds of red and purple filigree work - all of which gives the psalter a very rich appearance. The miniatures are crude however and were obviously not done by a skilled artist of the calibre of the man who designed and executed ff.7,8. On f.74^v there is a swan in the "D" of "deus"; the swan was one of the Duke's emblems and this may have been deliberate. One aspect of the psalter which is of most interest is the chalice into which the figure of pity pours the blood from Christ's wound.

In the possession of Christ's College, Cambridge, is a chalice



Plate 4: Royal MS.2.B.I.f.7

which bears the arms of Duke Humphrey and his second wife, Eleanor Cobham. It is called the "Foundress Cup" because it was bequeathed to the College by Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby and mother of Henry VII. Lady Margaret was born in 1443 and the Duke was her god-father and so it seems likely that this was the point at which she acquired the cup, as a Christening present. The cover, bowl and foot are written and the spiral bands so formed are decorated alternately with running foliage (rose, vine and oak, the last bearing acorns) embossed in relief and engraved cusping bearing trefoils. It is quite likely that all the decoration was added to the cup at some later date to its production, as the knop on the top most certainly was. An article in the Burlington Magazine, June 1979, by Claude Blair, established a similarity between a cup which was given to the Lord Mayor of London by Henry VI at his coronation in 1429 and Duke Humphrey's cup, the former existing only as an illustration. Apparently the Lord Mayor had the right to serve at the coronation banquet and his reward was to receive the cup for his pains. The Lord Mayor was to help the Chief Butler perform this duty. What Blair does not indicate - doubtless because his interest is with the drawing of the Lord Mayor's cup rather than in Duke Humphrey's cup's history - is that it was Duke Humphrey who was the Chief Butler at the coronation and it seems likely that both the Lord Mayor and Duke Humphrey

each received identical cups at the coronation. The Duke had his arms enamelled onto the side at a later date and some time during the Fifteenth Century extra ornamentation was added. The sketch of the gold cup given to the Lord Mayor of London by Henry VI after his coronation in 1429 is in the City of London Letter-Book K.f.70 (Corporation of London, Records Office).

The connection between the illustration in the miniature on the psalter and the Duke's cup may be coincidental - although the cup in the miniature has the same distinctive shape - and due to the fact that the items are nearly contemporary. However, in the crypt beneath the tomb of Duke Humphrey in St.Albans there is an extraordinary wall painting. There are six cups arranged around the figure of Christ. Perhaps the Duke used the cup as a symbol.

Cotton MS.Claudius,A.VIII.ff.195-98 in the British Museum contains the detailed commission for Duke Humphrey's tomb. The tomb is placed parallel to St.Alban's shrine. £433 6s 8d was spent on the 'making of the tombe and place of sepulture' which must have been a not inconsiderable sum to spend. The tomb is built into the structure of the Abbey. It is covered with heraldic devices. One of these devices

has incurred much comment. This is the device of the 'daisies in a standing cup' (E.E.Dorling) or a 'humanistic garden of Adonis' (T.D.Kendrick). Kendrick may be right in his suggestion that the symbol of the gardens of Adonis was suggested to the Duke by one of the humanists with whom he came into contact. As the image is symbolic of the transitoriness of life, it is appropriate to the tomb.



If one considers my photograph (above) of the gardens of Adonis device on Duke Humphrey's tomb and the Tudor heraldic commentaries printed by Kendrick one notices that part of the symbol is the cup itself.

It would seem from the presence of a prominent cup in the miniature in the Duke's psalter, and his possession of a cup of similar distinctive shape and from the cups so strangely strewn around the crucifixion scene in the wall painting in the crypt, that the cup was as much a part of the Duke's emblem as the quick-growing and -dying plants which sprouted from the cup. It seems surprising that no one has pointed this out.

The tomb is architecturally very impressive and covered in heraldic devices. The figure below shows how the beasts supporting the Duke's arms have been smashed but the scene when complete would have resembled the heraldry at the foot of f.7 in the Duke's psalter (see Plate 4).





Plate 5 : The wall-painting in Duke Humphrey's crypt, St. Alban's Abbey.

I said at the beginning of this appendix that the evidence is thin and scattered. The dominant impression is one of heraldic celebration where heraldry is delighted in as an organising motif rather than merely as a means for identification of the object with the patron. One is visually reminded of the effect achieved verbally by Hoccleve in his play on 'homme ferai'.

Please note that a separate bibliography for Duke Humphrey's patronage of art is provided,p.408.

APPENDIX III

A chronological table of the main events in Duke Humphrey's life and patronage

- 1390 Duke Humphrey born, 4th son of Henry Bolingbroke and Mary Bohun.
- 1399 Bolingbroke became Henry IV.
- 1403 Battle of Shrewsbury - Duke Humphrey's first battle - after which he received the Order of the Garter.
- 1413 Accession of Henry V : Duke Humphrey made Chamberlain of England.
- 1414 Duke Humphrey created Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Gloucester.
- 1415 Duke Humphrey with Henry V in France - Agincourt.
- 1417 Renewal of French War - Humphrey's involvement included sieges at Caen, Alencon, Falaise, Cherbourg, Rouen and the Cotentin expedition.
- 1419 Minor skirmishes in France. Humphrey returned to England on Nov. 21 as Regent and received commission to be 'Guardian and Lieutenant of England' on Dec. 30.
- 1420 Henry V and Catherine returned to England on Christmas Day.
- 1421 Jacqueline of Hainault arrived in England in April and was welcomed by Duke Humphrey. In May, Duke Humphrey returned to France on Henry V's 3rd French Campaign.
- 1422 Henry remained in France. Duke Humphrey returned to England but in August, Henry V died and the Duke was appointed Protector with severe limitations placed on his powers. He married Jacqueline.
LYDGATE'S EPITHALAMIUM.
HOCCLIVE'S COMPLAINT SERIES.
- 1424 October - Duke and Duchess sailed to regain her lands in Hainault. Humphrey was recognised there as his wife's Regent but when he demanded the costs of his expedition events turned sour.
KYMER'S DIETARIUM.
1424-1438 : BEKYNTON SECRETARY TO DUKE HUMPHREY.
SIMONE DA TERAMO'S LETTER TO THE DUKE.
- 1425 Burgundy took issue with Hainault, Duke Humphrey returned alone to England promising to return with more troops but lost interest.
- 1426 CESARINI'S LETTER OF INTRODUCTION TO DUKE HUMPHREY.
- 1427 Duke Humphrey suppressed William Wawe the Lollard.
- 1428 Duke Humphrey was by now openly living with Eleanor Cobham.
- 1429 Coronation of Henry VI. Humphrey reduced to First Councillor.
- 1430 Henry VI in France; Humphrey became Regent in England.
- 1431 Jack Sharpe's insurrection.
LYDGATE COMMISSIONED TO WRITE THE FALL OF PRINCES

- 1432 Henry VI returned to England;the Beaufort/Duke Humphrey hostility increased considerably.
LANDRIANI RECEIVED BY DUKE HUMPHREY WITH FRIENDSHIP.
- 1433 Bedford was made First Councillor and Duke Humphrey was largely redundant until Bedford's death in October.
BRUNI INVITED TO COME TO ENGLAND.
DUKE HUMPHREY'S ITALIAN PHYSICIAN, SIGNORELLI, RECEIVES DENIZATION.
- 1434 BRUNI REPLIED TO HUMPHREY'S LETTER OFFERING TRANSLATION OF ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS WHICH HE WAS ENGAGED ON UNTIL 1438.
CASTIGLIONE AT BASLE PROMOTING DUKE HUMPHREY'S NAME.
LANDRIANI ALSO AT BASLE.
- 1435 DEL MONTE CAME TO ENGLAND - 1435-40 - AND WORKED CLOSELY WITH HUMPHREY.
- 1436 August - relief of Siege of Calais effected under Duke Humphrey's command; these were the events to be celebrated in Frulovisi's Humfroidos
- 1437 FRULOVISI IN ENGLAND - 1437-9 - PRODUCING CONTINUOUS FLOW OF WRITING FOR THE DUKE.
CASTIGLIONCHIO SENT THE DUKE WORK.
PACINI SENT THE DUKE WORK.
DECEMBRIO FIRST APPROACHED THE DUKE.
- 1438 CAPGRAVE'S COMMENTARY ON GENESIS DEDICATED TO DUKE HUMPHREY.
DEL MONTE DEDICATED HIS TREATISE TO THE DUKE AND ASKED TRAVERSARI TO WRITE FOR DUKE HUMPHREY.
- 1439 BECCARIA IN ENGLAND.
CASTIGLIONE IN ENGLAND.
DONATION OF 129 BOOKS TO OXFORD ON 5 NOV.
- 1440 Negotiations took place for peace in France;Duke Humphrey headed the faction desiring a continuation of war and had strong support in the country.Against his wishes, Orleans was released.
PALLADIUS TRANSLATION EXECUTED.
FIRST FIVE BOOKS OF DECEMBRIO'S REPUBLIC SENT TO DUKE HUMPHREY WHO THEN ASKED DECEMBRIO TO SEND HIM BOOKS.
- 1441 Duchess of Gloucester disgraced and her marriage to Humphrey annulled.
- 1442 CASTIGLIONE WROTE RATHER FORMALLY TO DUKE HUMPHREY BUT APPARENTLY RECEIVED LITTLE HELP AS HIS SECRETARY LATER WROTE TO DUKE HUMPHREY'S SECRETARY ON THE SAME ISSUE.
- 1444 DONATION OF 135 BOOKS TO OXFORD ON 25 FEB.
- 1445 Henry VI married Margaret of Anjou which completed Humphrey's alienation from the Crown.
GIFT OF LIVY TO ALPHONSO OF ARAGON.
- 1446 CAPGRAVE PROPOSED A VITA HUMFRLDI - POSSIBLY EXECUTED.
- 1447 Humphrey died on Feb.23 at Bury where he had been summoned to answer trumped up charges.Murder was suspected but never proved.

Appendix IV

This Appendix contains all the stanzas of the Palladius translation which are written in colour in the Fitzwilliam MS. These are the stanzas which are in fact extraneous to the actual work of translation. The text of the Prohemium has been taken from Hammond's text (for details of all the works mentioned here, see page 372, note 1) and has already been printed with the colour scheme by Howlett in his thesis. The stanzas from the Books of the Palladius are taken from Liddell's edition. I have followed Howlett's method of underlining the text with the colour in which it is written in the Fitzwilliam MS.

Agriculture as in nature and art
Tendure of creature AlCreatour
List to prouide and duc H(umfrid)e his part
Diuide of either side a(dd)ynghe honour
So high that we of princis se the flour
Hym be So sende he me sense and science
Of my balade away to rade errour
Pallade and do t(o gl)ade his excellence

5

2

His excellence O trine and oon eterne
Almyghty lord Alsapyent al good
Thy Prouidence as sterismon and sterne
Emforth this word now refluent now flood
Now in concord now violent and wood
By lif present so list extende in grace
That of his woord his werk entent or mood
Noon inuident may reprehende an ace

10

15

3

An ace apoynt y vndirstonde is werk
Disioynt mys take on honde of his support
Wroght euer kynge or prince or knyght or clerk
A thyng other then right by his confort
Though opon fame ha maad thus pleyn report
Yit lame is she tatteyn onto the dede
Of myghtiest to hym is glad resort
Of meest and leest is had his loue and drede

20

4

His loue and drede in brestis sprede his wit
And grace in sondri place is so fecounde
That sapienc(e in) his prudence is knyht
As seyn in trewthys pleyn that list abounde
In myn entent the Sapient secounde
Is fonde into euery londe whos fame is born
And worthy straunge her londis chaunge & founde
Expresse of his prowess at eye afor

25

30

5

At eye afor is hym right here in sight
To here and noon was lorn of their labour
Whos vertu seyn and doon disport aright
Resort han summe ayeyn wt gret honour
And yiftis grete and summe vnder this flour
Are heer and thyngis trete of high emprise
ffor lif present for lif future vche hour
His cure and iust entent who kan comprise

35

40

6

Who kan comprise in werkis wise in right
In sadde avise as forto wise a londe
The duc periure who made assure in flight
Calise endure who made and sure in honde
The kyngis right who made vpright to stonde
Who hath insight to stynte vnright aduerse
Who hath be prest the chirche in rest to londe
As trewthe is best let feithfullest reherce

45

7

Let feithfullest reherce y treste hym beste
Yf heretike ought kouthe pike him fro
Yf Sharp or Wawe hadde of the lawe a feste
Yf right was fond in al this londe unto
Hit to gouerne he doon the sterne vnto
Of euery poynt a kyng ennoynt of bothe
Englond and ffraunce hath conysaunce also
Nis ther noo lord that nil record hem sothe

50

55

8

Record hem sothe hit self the dede apperith
Wul he for bothe alyue and dede esploye
To saue vs here and hem in ffraunce hit cherith
His wit to here and Orliaunce ennoye
Wel myght a kyng of suche a flour enioye
To seen hit sprynge in fyn odour & huys
Strenght & sauour hym oueral to ioy
In whos fauour science and al vertu is

60

9

Vertu is fonde if goldon Sapience
Haue intellect and consel ffortitude
If pite stonde enaured wt science
That hem connect the Lordis drede enclude
Man thus confect is voide of dedis rude
This kyngis dere vncul & sone and brother
Hath god prouect His werkis to conclude
His werkis here or where is suche another

65

70

10

Another felyng so the philosophre
In bokis natural as is phisic
Metaphisic also thus prompt to profre
Vche art quadrivual and hath practic
With theoric moral as is Ethic
Politic monastic yconomye
In gramer ground of al growyng logic
ffor fruyt and rethoric to florifie

75

80

11	
<u>To florifie in artificial</u>	
<u>Science and al thorgh se philosophie</u>	
<u>Beth thyngis hie And yiftis natural</u>	
<u>Hit is not smal to haue as memorie</u>	
<u>What thyngge engyne vpfynde or reson trie</u>	85
<u>And iustifie in tresor to reclyne</u>	
<u>Is not indigne if good phisionomye</u>	
<u>Vche organ eye and al figure & lyne</u>	
12	
<u>At Oxenford thys lord his bookis fele</u>	
<u>Hath euery clerk at werk They of hem gete</u>	90
<u>Methaphisic phisic these other feele</u>	
<u>They natural moral they rather trete</u>	
<u>Theologie here bye is with to mete</u>	
<u>Hem liketh loke in boke historial</u>	
<u>In deskis xij hym selue as half a strete</u>	95
<u>Hath boked thair librain vniuersal</u>	
13	
<u>For clergie or knyghthod or husbondrie</u>	
<u>That oratour poete or philosophre</u>	
<u>Hath tretid told or taught in memorie</u>	
<u>Vche lef and lyne hath he as shette in cofre</u>	100
<u>Oon nouelte vnnethe is hym to profre</u>	
<u>Yit Whethamstede and also Pers de Mounte</u>	
<u>Titus and Antony and y laste ofre</u>	
<u>And leest Our newe is old in hym tacounte</u>	
14	
<u>But that his vertu list vs exercise</u>	105
<u>And moo as fele as kan in vertu do</u>	
<u>He sapient is diligent to wise</u>	
<u>Alle ignoraunt and y am oon of tho</u>	
<u>He taught me metur make and y soso</u>	
<u>Hym counturfete and hope aftir my sorow</u>	110
<u>In god and hym to glade and aftir woo</u>	
<u>To ioy and aftir nyght to sey good morow</u>	
15	
<u>And hym that held as doubil mortal foo</u>	
<u>Ten yeer my self and myne in wrong oppresse</u>	
<u>And yit my chirche and al my good me fro</u>	115
<u>Hath in effect yit treste y god redresse</u>	
<u>But this matere as here is not texpresse</u>	
<u>As y seid erst in hope y thynke abide</u>	
<u>And to that princis werk my wit compresse</u>	
<u>My wronge my woo my care y sette aside</u>	120

16

And hym that lord that wt his woundis wide
ffrom deth vs bought and hath our lif in cure
Thorgh al this werk so derk he be my gide
My wight he right my number and mesure
That first for hym and thenne his creature
His princis flour good fruyt & fressh plesaunce
Vpgrowe on hit in his Agriculture
Maad at his hest and his Consideraunce

125

Explicit Prohemium

Book I : Aier,Watir,Lond, and Gouvernaunce.

And heer an ende as of this first book 1170
Of husbondrie, and ther beth other twelue
Vntouchid yit that y not vndirtook
To do! But thus y seide vnto my selue:
'Y wul assay hem vp to plowe & delue'.

A lord to plesse, how swete is to laboure; 1175
ffor that men heue and shoue and ouerwhelue.
Lo thus hit is, and thus y Crist honoure:

Laude, ymne, honour, empire & songe vnto
The flour of lesse spronge in Bethleem,
Whom Symeon seid of, and Anne, and moo 1180
In oon bisought Osanne at Iersalem;
ffor now is goon, hope y, the werre of hem
My foon, and y doon nerre His prince Humfrey.
This incorrect, aferd lest fuke or wem
Enfect, y to this duc directe, and sey: 1185

Serenous prince! or thus: O princis flour!
Or thus : O prince in pees and duc in werre!
Or nay : O Goddis knyght and Cristis tour!
Or ellis thus : O londis lif and sterre 1190
Of light! Or ellis : Thyng of thyngis derre!
Or y noot what, excedyng so nature,
That who thow art to say my wittis erre,
Not oonly god ner oonly creature.

But God, me semeth, best thou mayst resemble
ffor verite, Iustice, and mansuetude,
And other mo that in thy brest assemble
Whiche euery lif suffisith to conclude.
To the these incorrectid versis rude,
Noot y not why ner how mys metrifid,
Thus ofre y, prayng thy celcitude 1200
Do that my wrong and they be iustified.

My bone is graunt and to correctioun
That half is doon; that other half mot stonde
In hope as yit vndir protectioun.
As while y speke apart with this husbonde, 1205
And telle hym forth the tilyng of his londe
In euery place and seson of the yeer,
Now God leue al be sadly vndirstonde
And first wul y bygynne At Ianyueer.

Book II : Ianyueer

And here an ende as to the gouernaunce (fol.43.)
In Ianyueer vppon this husbondrie.
Now hope y se this peised in balaunce
Of hym that kan best knowe yf hit mys wrie
In my defaut. And hym wul y supplie -
My blisshed lord, mene y, the duc Homfrey -
Right as hym thynketh best, do iustifie
My wronge & this. And thus to Crist y sey:

450

455

Louynge honour and iubile, Iesu,
To the doth yer & hour, persone & place,
Erthe, aier, fir, see, gresse, herbe, odour, vertu;
ffoil, flour, fruyt, greyn, & tre thonkyng thi grace,
That now fauour and liberte purchase,
As He doth hem socour. Thy Prince hym selue
ffertilite wul now labour outtrace,
And our ytilite wul plowe & delue.

460

Now garth and mede odouris sprede. How white
And rede her flouris brede and redyuyue,
Beth graynis dede and helpe in dede ascite
At nede; and vynis spede, and tren vp blyue
As molbery, garnat, chery, tholyue
Hery peche, hard pery, and euery kynde
Of tren chery; and men mery shal thryue,
Heer y their Lord hery(e), His werkis fynde,

465

470

And vnto Hym vpward their hondis holde (fol.43a)
With infynyte ympnysyng armonye;
His prince also they thonke a thousand folde.
Therto the bee, foul, fish, & beestis crie,
And sayn attonys they wul fructifie;
ffor now shal art attende vppon nature,
Now lif, essence, and wit shal magnifie
The creatour of euery creature.

475

A(nd) now my lord biholdith on his book.
ffor sothe al nought, he gynnyth crossis make
With a plummet and y noot whow his look,
His cheer is straunge, eschaunge. Almeest y quake,
ffor ferd y shrynke away, no leue y take.
ffarwel, my Lord! do forth for y am heer,
And metur muse out of this prosis blake.
And heer y wul sette on At ffeueeryeer.

480

485

Book III : Feveryeer

Lo heer this ffeveryeer, a bisy mone,
Is brought, & not with nought vnnethe, anende;
Go reste - or make is beste, or what to done.
Nay first is not the wirst to recomende
This part, vntil hit art, that list to spende
Labour of fyn fauour hit to correcte,
Now shal my wrong & al, y hope, amende,
And stonde hym vnderhonde al saf protecte.

1195

Iesu, in whom is al vertu and grace, (fol.65 a.)
Al right & lawe, al myght and gouernaunce,
Our mynde, & word, & werk, vpbynde & brace
In the, that we ne be Thy displesaunce.
And so Crist Iesu do me fro myschaunce,
And heer in this matier noo wordis spille;
Thynk y yit mys, hit is of my greuaunce,
Turbaunce, and ignoraunce, & not my wille.

1200

1205

Good hope is reste, and al yit shal amende -
Theron y treste. And al this longe yeer
Of husbondrie in hast y thynke anende.
The forme book is doon, and lanyueer,
And lo my lord in honde hath ffeveryeer;
Wul he correcte? Ey what haue y to done?
He wul doon as a lord. Thenne aftir heer,
Asfaste y thynke on sette, At Marchis mone.

1210

Book IV : Marche

Now Marche is doon, and to correctioun
His book is goon, as other dede afore,
Of hym that seid "y thy protectioun
ffrom al thy foon aduersaunt, lesse & more,"
And his bihest stedfest is euermore.
Honour, empire, and iubilatioun
To Iesu Crist in special therefore -
My Lif! my Light! my right Sauacioun!

985

Ayeyn to werk am y sette, and y haste.
"Com of, let se who be the sharpe penne,
The tyme is riche and synne is hit to waste"
Euery moment seith, "Ris, y go, com thenne
To iugement". O what may y sey thenne,
That mony an hour ha spende and not al wel?
But mercy, God. How husht of this, for renne
I must, and heer bigynne At Auerel.

990

995

Book V : Aprile

And heer an ende, er then y wende, y fynde:
Eek done is in this mone art taught afor.
O Saluatur! o lesse fflour so kynde,
Of oon for euerychoon that list be born,
And for vs hyngre, a crowne vsynge of thorn!
Honour be to The, fflour of flouris! Ay
Thy princis werk asay fro derk vpborn
So make, as heer y take ayeyn At May.

215

Book VI : May

Lo May is ronne away in litil space
The tonge is short, and longe is his sentence.
fforride y se my gide and hym y trace,
As he as swyft to be yit y dispence.
O Sone o(f) God allone, o Sapience,
O Hope, of synys drope or fraude immuyn,
Louynge y to The synge as my science
Kan do, and forth y go to werk At luyne.

235

Book VII : Iuyn

Now Iuyn is do. Saluz, blisse, ymne, honour,
Ioy, iubile, power, and diademe,
Iesu, be to The, lesse rotis fflour,
In maieste that art to sitte and deme.
So to vs se, that in that hour extreme
Thy prison, helle, al cloos from vs be lokon,
And we with The dwellynge. Yet must y yeme
This book, and telle At Iuyl of lond vproken.

260

265

Book VIII : Iuyl

Thus Iuyl is doon, August y must bygynne.
O tryne and oon God, Lord, record y The;
That sensis spille, or poynt disoynt be thrynne
Is not my wille, and yit in hit is she
Myn ignoraunce; and why, noot y; but he
That she myschaunce - he pricke or nicke hit theer -
Thy prince y mene; as mene or nought hit be
He rynce, yf Aust be faust Nygh September.

165

Book IX : Aust

Thus Aust is spende. O alpha, Lord, & oo,
O endles Ende, o gynnyngles Gynnynge,
To make aright vntil this book be doo
So graunte myght and therwithal connynge,
As myn entent is Thyn honour to sprynge
And iugement; Thy princis flour on cleer,
On cloudy, derk or light he must vpbrynge.
And y to werk am sette At September.

215

Book X : September

September is anende. Honour, empire,
Laude, ymne, & blis ascende vnto our eterne
Almighty Lord, that wolde vs alle enspire
In werk His word to holde, yf galle interne,
Yf synne in our entent Hym nolde externe.
O Iesse fflour, so hent and bolde vs heer
To fle fro synne and derk fir sempiterne,
As me to gynne a werk At October.

215

Book XI : October

October spende, O Sonne, O Light superne:
O Trine and Oon, louyng honour, empire
Withouten ende vnto Thy myght eterne!
That shyne & goon our princis flour aspire
Magre thy foon; so list vche hour, and gire
His spere aright that, sauynge Oon, so cleer
Sterre is ther noon in al our emyspire;
Vndir whos sight y gynne on Nouembeer.

450

Book XII : Nouember

Thus bokis twelue anende, and oon is rest,
Hit selue vnbende vppon, which book is laste.
O kyngis Kyng, O Lord, O Thyng hiest,
Louyng record and rynges her stryngis chaste
To thyn honour; of fyn sauour that haste
A flour to taste, odour to caste. Al yeer
Thy duc attende, of fuke vnblende, or laste
Vnshende, and ende vs sende of Decembeer.

605

610

Book XIII : Decembre

Laude, ymne, honour be to the fflour Iesu
Ymne vnto the our right, our soulis light;
Honour the do good werk, life, light, vertu;
Be our good Lord gouernyng al our myght;
To right werk gouernyng, yet vs wit, right;
The our lif al, vs fosturing right thus,
fflour, soulis light, our, wit right to the dight.
Iesu, light, vertu, myght, right thus dight vs.

My wit, my word, my werk The magnifieth,
O kyngis Kynge, O Lord of lordis hie,
Whos grace a princis flour honorifieth,
That in nature hym like is noon to trie.
Gramerci, Lord, that list eek mortifie
My wronge, y hope, and do me sundel rise
Thy self in hym to se. Yet treste y crie
Thy laude, and his honour eft preconise.

80

85

Explicit.

REFERENCES

Introduction

- 1) Evans J., English Art 1307 - 1461 (Oxford, 1949), p. 111.
- 2) Hammond E.P., English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey (Durham North Carolina, 1927), p. 143.
- 3) Lucas P.J., 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', The Library, 6th Series, IV (1982), pp. 219-48. This contains the most recent general study of patronage. He comments p. 219 :

"The patronage of literature is a subject of wide interest. It concerns literary scholars, historians, sociologists, and, in regard to the Middle Ages, palaeographers and art historians."

Holzknrecht K.J., Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages (Philadelphia, 1924) is the fullest study of the subject. Holzknrecht defines patronage, p. 4 :

"For our purpose it denotes the employment of, favor, protection, and influential support to advance the interests of art, limited generally to the habit of subsidizing authors, as is notable in 18th Century England, and patronage almost always implies something of the relation of superior to inferior which existed between a wealthy and powerful Roman patron and his client. But this is only its material aspect. Patronage may omit the subsidy and may be simply an encouraging interest in letters extended by a person superior in wealth or position to an author with or without donatives of money or honors. Hence, 'encourage by his patronage' need not always imply financial support and may be only the encouragement of a connoisseur's interest and approval!"

Green R.F., Poets and Princepleasers (Toronto, 1980) examines the role of writers at the English Court in the Late Middle Ages and although the book's primary concern is not with patronage, it contains much that is pertinent.
- 4) For the Southampton Conspiracy, see Vickers K.H., Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (London, 1907), p. 15.
- 5) Wright T., Political Poems and Songs, R. S. 14, (1861), Vol. II, p. 125.
- 6) For a discussion of the dating of Hoccleve's Complaint Series, see p. 162.

- 7) Hoccleve T., Minor Poems, ed. Furnivall F.J. and Gollancz I., E.E.T.S., E.S. 61 and 73, revised by Mitchell J. and Doyle A.I., and reprinted as one volume (London, 1970), p. 129, ll. 533-4.
- 8) Griffiths R. A., The Reign of King Henry VI (London, 1981), pp. 748-9.
- 9) Duke Humphrey's association with St. Albans was a consistent feature of his life - but in itself this was nothing particularly unusual, see Vickers K.H., Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 329.
- 10) Robbins R.H., Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (New York, 1959), pp. 180-3. The reference to the Duke's learning is in l. 97: "Studye, labour, and merit for comvne wele".
- 11) This epitaph should be distinguished from the one printed by Vickers K.H., Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 440, which was executed in the early 17th Century.
- 12) Robbins R.H., Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, p. 186, l. 17.
- 13) A curiously parallel use of the 'domestic' our occurs in Chaucer's Nun's Priest's Tale :
 "And syen the fox toward the grove gon,
 And bar upon his bak the cok away,
 And cryden, 'Out! harrow! and weylaway.
 Ha! Ha! the fox!' and after hym they ran,
 And eek with staves many another man.
 Ran Colleoure dogge, and Talbot and"
 (The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. Robinson F.N., Oxford, 1957, p. 205).
- 14) See Gransden A., Historical Writing in England, II, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century (London, 1982), p. 381 :
 "In general Whethamsted's sympathies were with the Yorkists. Gratitude for benefactions to St. Albans accounts for his eulogy on Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. This is inserted in the annal for 1455, when parliament cleared Duke Humphrey's name of the charge of high treason for which he was arrested in 1447, imprisoned and murdered. Whethamsted abuses those "satellites of Satan" who had poisoned King Henry's mind against a man "so respected and loved by the people, so faithful to the King". The Duke had been to the king like David to Saul; he was his right hand, a tower of strength, his defender against enemies at home and abroad."
 Gransden cites Registrum abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede, ed. Riley H. T., 2 vols., R.S., Vol. I., pp. 178-83.

- 15) The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, ed. Grosart A.B. (London, 1885), Vol. II, p. 199.
- 16) Drayton M., Poems (London, 1619, reprinted Menston, 1969), p. 174.
- 17) Campbell L.B., 'Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Elianor Cobham His Wife in the Mirror for Magistrates', Huntington Library Bulletin, V. (1934), pp. 119-55.
- 18) Campbell L.B. ed., The Mirror for Magistrates (Cambridge, 1938), p. 444.
- 19) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p. 235.
- 20) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p. 6.
- 21) Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', p. 233. The article by Henning referred to is: Henning E.B., 'Patronage and Style in the Arts', J.A.A.C., 18 (1959-60), pp. 464-57.
- 22) Quoted by Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', p. 223.
- 23) Green R.F., Poets and Princepleasers (Toronto, 1980), p. 11.
- 24) Cited by Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p. 170.
- 25) Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 198.
- 26) Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', pp. 223-4.
- 27) Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 13.
- 28) Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', p. 225.
- 29) Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', p. 236.
- 30) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, pp. 56-7.
- 31) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p. 90.
- 32) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, pp. 95-6 :
 "Tradition has it that his A.B.C. poem was translated at the command of the Duchess Blanche of Lancaster; the rubric of the Compleynt of Mars 'made by Geoffrey Chaucier at þe comandement of þe renommed and excellent Prynce, my lord þe Duc John of Lancastre,' suggests another; and of a third, Lydgate says : 'This poete (Chaucer) wrot at Request of the quene; A legende of parfight hoolynesse Offe goode women...'"

- 33) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p.124.
- 34) Cited by Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p.124.
- 35) Luke addresses his Gospel and the Book of Acts to Theophilus.
- 36) Gower J., English Works, ed. Macaulay G. G. (London, 1900-01), E. E. T. S., E. S. 81 (London, 1899-1902), p. 8.
- 37) Holz knecht, English Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, pp. 4-5.
- 38) Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 203.
- 39) See Millar E. G. and James M. R., The Bohun Manuscripts (Roxburghe Club, 1936).
- 40) Wylie J. H., History of England under Henry IV (London, 1898), IV, pp. 138-9.
- 41) Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, IV, p. 139, note 6.
- 42) Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, III, p. 325.
- 43) Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 58.
- 44) Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, IV, p. 159.
- 45) Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, IV, p. 325.
- 46) Leland J., Collectanea, ed. Hearne, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1774), VI, p. 302.
- 47) Alexander J. J. G., 'Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons in the Later Middle Ages,' in English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages, V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London, 1981), p. 158.
- 48) Cited by Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p. 79.
- 49) Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, I, p. 200.
- 50) Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, I, p. 200.
- 51) Capgrave J., De Illustribus Henricis, ed. Hingston F. G. (London, 1858), p. 108 : "ut multum diei expenderet in quaestionibus solvendis enodandis..."
- 52) Wylie, History of England under Henry IV, IV, p. 137.
- 53) Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 76.
- 54) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 8.
- 55) Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 75.
- 56) Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 93.
- 57) The rubric states that the Life of Our Lady was written "at the excitation and styring of the noble and victorious prynce kyng Harry the fyfthe" (MS. Cosin V. ii. 16 at Durham Univ. Lib. but there is no other evidence for this association with Henry V, see: Pearsall D., John Lydgate (London, 1970), p. 288.

- 58) Lydgate J. Troy Book, ed. Bergen H. (London, 1906), EETS ES, 107, p. 3, Prologue ll. 73-4.
- 59) Lydgate, Troy Book, p. 3, Prologue, ll. 75-83.
- 60) Lydgate, Troy Book, p. 4, Prologue, ll. 111-115.
- 61) Holzknrecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p. 79.
- 62) now Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 18, 150; described in full in E. Carlton Williams, My Lord of Bedford 1389-1435 (London, 1963), p. 249.
- 63) Now Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. Latin 17294; see Barber M. J., 'The Books and Patronage of a 15th-Century Prince', The Book Collector, XII (1963), pp. 308-15.
- 64) Barber, 'The Books and Patronage of a 15th-Century Prince', p. 309.
- 65) See Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 122.
- 66) Barber, 'The Books and Patronage of a 15th-Century Prince', p. 311.
- 67) Barber, 'The Books and Patronage of a 15th-Century Prince'; p. 314.
- 68) Barber, 'The Books and Patronage of a 15th-Century Prince', p. 315.
- 69) Carlton Williams, My Lord of Bedford, p. 251.
- 70) Barber, 'The Books and Patronage of a 15th-Century Prince', p. 311.
- 71) Fowler K., The Age of Plantagenet and Valois (London, 1967), p. 199.
- 72) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 69.
- 73) These are both patrons with whom Decembrio and Frulovisi had dealings.
- 74) This is the Livy mentioned in note 65) above. The date 1445 for the Duke's letter is correct and an unusual instance of the Duke's patronage after 1441.
- 75) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 215.
- 76) Ryder A., The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous (Oxford, 1976), p. 222-3.
- 77) Ryder, The Kingdom of Naples..., p. 222.
- 78) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 180.
- 79) See Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 8 : "Unfortunately, our knowledge of the most important fifteenth-century secular library in England, that of Humphrey of Gloucester, is limited almost entirely to his Oxford bequests, which are unlikely to represent a typical cross-section of its contents."

- 80) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 85.
- 81) Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 213, note 2.
- 82) Purity, ll. 17-18, quoted by Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p. 13.
- 83) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 4.
- 84) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, pp. 39-40.
- 85) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 15.
- 86) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 18.
- 87) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 18, note 2.
- 88) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 23.
- 89) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 30.

Chapter I

Reference will be made to the edition or editions of the texts used in the first footnote regarding the text.

- 1) The Palladius Translation : The edition used is Hammond E.P.ed., English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey (Durham, North Carolina, 1927), pp. 202-6. Unfortunately Hammond only prints the Prohemium and one Epilogue stanza from each of January, February, April and May so I have used her edition of the Prohemium and the text in Appendix 4, taken from Liddell's edition for all other stanzas. Two editions of the Palladius translation were published in the 19th Century; Lodge B., ed., Palladius on Husbandrie, EETS OS 52 and 72, (London, 1873 and 1879) - this is an edition of the Colchester MS now Bodleian MS Add.A.369 which contains none of the material relating to Duke Humphrey; Liddell M.ed., The Middle-English Translation of Palladius De Re Rustica (Berlin, 1896), Part I : Text - Part II was never printed, this text is based on the Bodleian collotype of the Fitzwilliam MS. Studies of the Palladius translation include : Struever G., Die mittelenglische Uebersetzung des Palladius : ihr Verhaltnis zur Quelle und ihre Sprache (Halle, 1887). This work is based on the inadequate EETS edition. Hammond E.P., 'The Nine-syllabled Pentameter Line in Some Post-Chaucerian Manuscripts', Modern Philology, XXIII (1937), pp. 129-52. Howlett D R., 'The Date and Authorship of the Middle English Verse Translation of Palladius' De Re Rustica', Medium Aevum, XLVI (1975), pp. 245-52. Howlett D.R., 'Studies in the works of John Whethamstede', Oxford, D.Phil thesis, 1975.
- 2) The edition is merely a transcription from the faulty MS. with little attempt to elucidate the text.
- 3) Mac Cracken H.N., 'Vegetius in English', Kittredge Anniversary Papers (1913; New York, 1967), pp. 389-403, p. 398.
- 4) Howlett, 'Studies in the works of John Whethamstede', p. 216.

- 5) British Museum, Arundel MS. 391, f. 168^v. This folio is in fact an index to Godfridus's version of the Palladius treatise.
- 6) Bollarde both adapted the original Palladius and also Godfridus's version. MSS of his texts include BritMus. Cotton Julius D. VIII., Addit. 5467., Sloane 7., Sloane 686. Latin texts of the Palladius were fairly common (Singer D.W., Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical MSS (1928-31), II, pp. 649-51) and we have no reason to suppose as Howlett does that the Palladius translator would have been dependent on Whethamstede for an edition of the text as Duke Humphrey gave a copy of the Palladius to Oxford.
- 7) MacCracken, 'Vegetius in English', p. 399.
- 8) MacCracken 'Vegetius in English', p. 400.
- 9) The list includes : John Neel; Thos. Smith; Thos Donett; J hn Bell; Rob Aubrey; Alexander Lee; J. Bredhill; Alex Lye; Thos Lesberry; John Webb; Robert, Bishop of Rochester; Oliver King; Edmund Russell; John de Villeris; Adam Rydshefe; Alexander Browning; Philip Gryme; John Kemp; John Trevenaunt; Thomas Geffray.
- 10) Bale J., Scriptorum Illustrium majoris Brytanniae Catalogus Auctore (Basle, 1559), p. 308.
- 11) MacCracken 'Vegetius in English', pp. 389-93. The edition of Knyghthode and Bataile used is : Knyghthode and Bataile, Dyboski R. and Arend Z.M. ed., EETS OS 201 (London, 1935)
- 12) MacCracken 'Vegetius in English', p. 399, note 8.
- 13) Robbins R.H., Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (New York, 1959), p. 186, ll. 17-18.
- 14) As for instance in Lapo da Castiglionchio's Dedication of his translation of Plutarch's Life of Artaxerxes (Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 170) "*Et nunc Artaxerxis illustrissimi Persarum regis vitam latine tibi interpretatus sum, que quidem mihi et quia regis et quia optimi regis erat tue maxime convenire visa est: siquidem tu ut ille regio genere ortus, regis filius esses, et fratrem regem habuisses, et nepotem haberes, et regnum maximum regeres.*"
- 15) Howlett, 'Studies in the works of John Whethamstede', pp. 214-215.
- 16) Howlett, 'Studies in the works of John Whethamstede', p. 216
- 17) Godfridus's version of the Palladius was presumably an attempt to make the classical work more practically useful.

- 18) On which see Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, pp.181,183 and 276: the astrological tables are in British Museum, Sloane MS., 407, ff.224-227.
- 19) Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, p.462.
- 20) Duke Humphrey's heraldic badge, from the Museum of London:



- 21) Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, p.203.
- 22) See page 37 of this thesis.
- 23) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p.116.
- 24) Schirmer ed., 'John Walton's metrische Uebersetzung der Consolatio Philosophiae', Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie, VI (1914), p.1.
- 25) The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed Robinson F.N. (Oxford, 1957), p.479, B.I.V, ll.1858-9.
- 26) The obvious precedent is calendars in canonical works.
- 27) This large 'A' of the first word 'Agriculture' which is drawn to incorporate the whole of the first line perhaps suggests that the artist or illuminator and scribe were the same person.
- 28) See Evans J., English posies and posy rings, (London, 1931).
- 29) Lydgate positively shied away from such an illumination, see p.145, and that showing Capgrave presenting his work to the Duke is somewhat half-hearted (Oriel College, Oxford, MS., xxxii, illustrated in Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.386).
- 30) I myself suspect that the Duke's interest in non-illuminated books is yet another aspect of his cost-effective patronage, see p.314.
- 31) For the Epithalamium I have used the edition in Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, pp.145-8; for the Fall of Princes, the EETS edition: Lydgate J. Fall of

- Princes, Bergen H.ed., EETS ES 121-4 (1918-19).
- 32) Holzknrecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p.78.
- 33) Holzknrecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, p.103.
- 34) Pearsall D., John Lydgate (London, 1970), p.1.
- 35) Rather in the same way that the humanist writers produced Vitae, see pp.247ff of this thesis.
- 36) Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp.250-1 on the popularity of the Fall of Princes.
- 37) Pearsall, John Lydgate, p.162.
- 38) see Rudd M.B., Thomas Chaucer (Minneapolis, 1926).
- 39) Henry V was not dead when the Epithalamium was composed (see Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, p.119) but he was not the patron for the Siege of Thebes written shortly after the Troy Book which suggests that Lydgate was casting around for a new patron.
- 40) Hammond E. P., 'Lydgate and the Duchess of Gloucester', Anglia, XXVII (1919), p.386.
- 41) Hammond, E. P., 'Lydgate and the Duchess of Gloucester', Anglia, XXVII (1919) pp.381-98.
- 42) Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, p.145.
- 43) Shirley's rubric to That now is Hay some-tyme was Grase:
'Here begyneth a balade whych John Lydgate the Monke of Bery wrott and made a þe commaundement of þe Quene Kateryn as in here sportes she walkyd by the medowes that were late mowen in the monthe of Julii'(cited by Pearsall, John Lydgate, p.75) demonstrates the point. The rubrics are not to be understood literally but they enable the reader to imagine the circumstances of their composition.
- 44) Pearsall, John Lydgate, p.165.
- 45) Pearsall, John Lydgate, p.165 : "... it would have been hard to refuse such a commission.. "
- 46) Lydgate J., Troy Book, Bergen H.ed. (London, 1906), I, p.3, ll.75-83.
- 47) Hammond, 'Lydgate and the Duchess of Gloucester', p.393.
- 48) For example, Pearsall, John Lydgate, p.166.
- 49) See page 241.
- 5) See Griffiths R. A., 'William Wawe and his gang, 1427', Transactions of the Hampshire archaeological society and field club, XXXIII (1977), pp.89-93.

- 51) Hammond E.P., 'Lydgate and Coluccio Salutati', Modern Philology, XXV (1927), 49-57.
- 52) Ullman B L., Colucii Salutati de saecolo et religione (Florence, 1947), p. xi.
- 53) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 111.
- 54) Ullman was only able to identify the MS under ultra violet light - this is the first time the reference in Lydgate has been connected with the MS.
- 55) Lydgate, Fall of Princes, IX, 3303 ; these words are not necessarily Lydgate's.
- 56) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, Chapter VII.
- 57) For examples of dedicatory illumination, see Holz knecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages, pp. 165-79.
- 58) Hammond E. P., 'Poet and Patron in the Fall of Princes', Anglia, XXXVIII (1920), 121-36.
- 59) The best account of the Letter to Gloucester is in the edition of Lydgate's Poems edited by Norton-Smith (Oxford, 1968), pp. 114-8.
- 60) The edition used of Hoccleve's work is :Hoccleve's works, The Minor Poems, ed Furnivall F.J. and Gollancz I., E.E.T.S. E.S. 61 and 73, revised by Mitchell J. and Doyle A.I., and reprinted as one volume (London, 1970).
- 61) Another example is Helen Thomas's account of her relationship with her husband, Edward Thomas, written after his death in 1917; "As it was and World Without End."
- 62) Selected Poems by Edward Thomas, R. S. Thomas, ed. (London, 1964), p. 52.
- 63) Hoccleve's Complaint Series, l. 301.
- 64) Hoccleve's Dialogue, ll. 234-5.
- 65) In view of the early date of the Complaint Series however, it would be wrong to see Hoccleve's idiosyncratic approach to Duke Humphrey as a tribute to an established patron. Seymour however, takes this view: "This tribute to the patron to whom the whole sequence of poems was addressed reflects the martial glory which Gloucester won in Normandy. As a soldier, a lover of books...." (Seymour M.C., ed., Selections from Hoccleve (Oxford, 1981) p. 135).
- 66) A technique frulovisi employs in the Humfroidos also.
- 67) Against lines 543-4 Hoccleve adds in the margin 'scilicet de secundo redditu suo de francia' - Selections from Hoccleve ed. Seymour p. 136, note 533.

- 68) See page 68 note 11.
- 69) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.80, item 232.
- 70) Durham University Library MS Cosin V.iii.9; this MS was written by Hoccleve himself.
- 71) La Male Regle and the Regiment of Princes are also curiously public statements of personal experience.
- 72) Seaton E., Sir Richard Roos, c.1410-1482, Lancastrian Poet, (London, 1961). Pearsall's review is in Modern Language Review, LV1, pp.576-7.
- 73) Seaton, Sir Richard Roos, p.129.
- 74) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.388.
- 75) Nicolai Vptoni, De Studio Militari (London, 1654), p.2.
- 76) MS.Holkam Misc.31.
- 77) See note 69 above.
- 78) Upton, De Studio Militarip.238 : "Portat integra Arma Francie et Anglie Quarteriata, Cum Una Bordura Gobonata De Argento et Nigro.....Il port lez Armes de Fraunce et D'Engleterre quarterlez ovesque un bordure gonone d'argent et d'asor". The description is not accurate as the border was argent only.
- 79) Ashby G., Poems, Bateson M ed., EETS ES LXXVI (1899), p.3, ll.57-63.
- 80) This could just be Queen Margaret's slandering of the Duke, however, see Vickers, p.393.
- 81) Russell J., The Boke f Nurture, in Education in Early England Furnivall F.ed., EETS OS 32 (1867).

Chapter II

- 1) See, for example, Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, pp. 345, 350; Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, pp. 13-21; Schirmer, Der englische Frühhumanismus, pp. 10-19.
- 2) See pp. 193 - 220.
- 3) See pp. 221 - 231.
- 4) Poggio asked Petworth to show Duke Humphrey his De Varietate Fortunae :

'In iis mi Richarde iacta cogitatus tuos. Sunt enim virtutes et recte vivendi disciplina. Libella autem vellem ut duci Gloucestrie monstrares et post transcribi faceres eundem. Vale et me ama Florentii die XXX Iulii 1442.'

(Walser E., Poggius Florentinus (Leipzig, 1914), p. 454)
It is likely that Petworth obtained the copy of Poggio's De Avaritia which the Duke owned and was obtained by Cambridge, see Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 93.
- 5) See Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 122 ff.
- 6) Walser E., Poggius Florentinus, p. 40 : "In Gefolge der Grossen war ein ganzer Kreis, italienischer Humanisten in die Kleine Konzelsstadt eingezogen....."
- 7) On Poggio's discoveries see Sabbadini R., Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' Secoli XIV e XV, 2 vols., (Firenze, 1905-14), vol. I, pp. 77-84, vol. II, pp. 191-3.
- 8) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 95.
- 9) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 137 ff.
- 10) Schirmer, Der englische Frühhumanismus, pp. 20-4
- 11) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 20.
- 12) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 3.
- 13) Poggii epistolae, ed. T. de Tonellis (Florence, 1832), revised Fubini R. (Turin, 1964), I, p. 67.
- 14) This is the letter to be found in The Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, ed. Williams G., R.S., 56 (London, 1872), vol. I, pp. 278-9.
- 15) Simone's letter is to be found in Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp. 217-8.

- 16) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.4.
- 17) On Cesarini, see Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.5; Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.23.
- 18) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.23.
- 19) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century p.23, cites C. P. R., vol. VII, pp. 32, 36.
- 20) Kingsford C. L., 'The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle', English Historical Review, XXVII (1912), p.464.
- 21) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.5 : "si puo credere quindi che, durante la sua permanenza in Inghilterra, egli parlasse al duca delle scoperte di nuovi testi classici in Italia e continuasse a mantenere vivo il suo entusiasmo per un argomento che gia lo interessava molto, come induce a pensare la lettera di Simone Lelli."
- 22) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.40.
- 23) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.6.
- 24) Zellfelder R., England und das Basler Konzil (Berlin, 1913), p.316
- 25) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.40, note 1.
- 26) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.40, note 1.
- 27) See Chapter III of this thesis.
- 28) Baron H., Leonardo Bruni Aretino (Leipzig, 1928), p.138 suggested a period 1428-35 for the letter but Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.47, follows Bertalot L., 'Forschungen uber Leonardo Bruni Aretino', Archivium Romanicum, XV (1931), p.313 in dating the letter 1434.
- 29) For the text of Bruni's letter, see Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.146-8.
- 30) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.47, note 7.
- 31) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.7 : "...nella prima metà del Quattro-cento, l'Aretino era figura molto nota, non soltanto in Italia, ma in buona parte d'Europa, specialmente dopo la pubblicazione della sua famosa versione dell'Etica Nicomachea, finita nel 1417, la quale fu accolta con plausi entusiastici nell'ambiente culturale italiano ed europeo."

- 32) see Weiss R , 'Leonardo Bruni and early English Humanism', Modern Language Review, 36 (1941), pp. 443-8.
- 33) Vespasiano confused John Tiptoft 'duca di Volsestri' with Duke Humphrey.
- 34) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p 353; Weiss R., 'Leonardo Bruni and early English Humanism', p. 445; Schirmer, Der englische Fruhhumanismus, p. 21.
- 35) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 147 : "Quod autem flagitas ut Politicorum libros eiusdem philosophi tuo nomine in latinum convertam. . . ."
- 36) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 148 : "Librorum autem per me traductorum indicem his litteris interclusi, ut eligere queas si quidem, placitum fuerit; de quibus ego certior factus, exemplandis mittendisque curabo."
- 37) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 48
- 38) for the text of this letter see Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp. 148-51.
- 39) for Biondo's letter to Bruni see Nogara B., Scritti Inediti e Rari di Biondo Flavio (Rome, 1927), pp. 93-4.
- 40) See p. 260 of this thesis.
- 41) See p. 268 of this thesis.
- 42) See p. 276 of this thesis.
- 43) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 15.
- 44) See Chapter I of this thesis.
- 45) Palladius translation, Prohemium, ll. 102-3.
- 46) Haller J., Piero da Monte - ein gelehrter und papstlicher Beamter des 15 Jahrhunderts (Rome, 1941), p. 39.
- 47) Haller J., Piero da Monte - ein gelehrter und papstlicher Beamter des 15 Jahrhunderts, p. 121
- 48) Del Monte had been a pupil of Guarino's, see Zanelli A., 'Piero del Monte', Archivio Storico Lombardo, pp. 320-3
- 49) Haller J., Piero da Monte - ein gelehrter und papstlicher Beamter des 15 Jahrhunderts, p. 120.
- 50) Haller J., Piero da Monte - ein gelehrter und papstlicher Beamter des 15 Jahrhunderts, p. 120.
- 51) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 15.

- 52) Weiss,Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century,p.27.
- 53) See for example his letter to Whethamstede,note 49 above.
- 54) Weiss,Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century,p.27.
- 55) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.153
- 56) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.16 : "del Monte compose il suo unico lavoro umanistico, De virtutum et vitiorum inter se differentia"
- 57) Weiss,Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century,p.24.
- 58) Oxford,Bodleian Library,Auct F.5.26 (S.C.3618).
- 59) See pp.244 of this thesis
- 60) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.151-3.
- 61) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p 16 : "Sembra che del Monte abbia trasmesso il trattato al duca dopo essere partito dall'Inghilterra,perche quest' ultimo gli scrisse per congratularsi e esprimergli la sua gratitudine".
- 62) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.151.
- 63) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.151.
- 64) See Jacob E.F., 'Verborum Florida Venustas',Essays in the Conciliar Epoch (Manchester,1933),pp.185-206;pp.193-4: "The frequent practice of early humanism was the comparison of the patron addressed to the heroes of ancient history or classical mythology..."
- 65) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.152.
- 66) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.17.
- 67) Frulovisi T.L.,Opera hactenus inedita Titi Livii Frulovisii de Ferrara,ed.Previte-Orton C.W.(Cambridge,1932),p.xiii.
- 68) For del Monte's letters see Haller J.,Piero da Monte - ein gelehrter und papstlicher Beamter des 15 Jahrhunderts (Rome,1941).
- 69) Vickers,Humphrey Duke of Gloucester,p.381.
- 70) The grant of denization is printed in Rymer T.,Foedera,X, p.661.Frulovisi is also described as a famous poet and orator in his Liber de Ortographica and one notices how the Palladius translator couples the two posts:
For clergie or knyghthod or husbondrie
That oratour poete or philosophre
Hath tretid told or taught in memorie...
(Palladius translation,Prohemium,ll.97-9)

- 71) Weiss R , 'Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Tito Livio Frulovisi', in Fritz Saxl 1890-1948 - A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England (London, 1957), p. 219.
- 72) Sabbadini R., 'Tito Livio Frulovisio', Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, CIII (1934), p. 60.
- 73) Frulovisi, Opera hactenus..., pp. xvi-xxxv.
- 74) Frulovisi, Opera hactenus..., p. xii.
- 75) Del Monte was a Venetian doctor of Law; Frulovisi had begun life as a notary and his plays demonstrate his knowledge of the law and legal documents.
- 76) see Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 381.
- 77) "Hunc et Hunfredum ducem in literarum et omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum studiis caeteros principes quantum est qui vivant superantem. Hinc amor itineris, hinc tanti labores. . .": Vita Henrici Quinti, ed. Hearne T. (Oxford, 1729), p. 2.
- 78) Duke Humphrey gave a copy of the Republica to Oxford in 1443 (Frulovisi, Opera hactenus .., p. xviii).
- 79) Frulovisi, Opera hactenus..., p. xiv.
- 80) Frulovisi, Opera hactenus..., p. xxviii.
- 81) Frulovisi, Opera hactenus..., p. xxix.
- 82) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 204 ff.
- 83) Wickham G., Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660 : Vol III: Plays and their Makers to 1576 (London, 1981), p. 49.
- 84) Sabbadini R., 'Tito Livio Frulovisio', p. 73.
- 85) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 43.
- 86) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 43.
- 87) Gransden A., Historical Writing in England, II, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century (London, 1982), p. 210.
- 88) Rossi S., Ricerche sull'umanesimo e sul rinascimento in Inghilterra (Milan, 1969), p. 19.
- 89) Kingsford C. L., English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1913), p. 69.
- 90) Sabbadini R., Il Metodo degli Umanisti (Florence, 1922), pp. 75-6.
- 91) See p. 234 of this thesis.
- 92) See p. 246 of this thesis.
- 93) See p. 226 of this thesis.
- 94) See p. 251 of this thesis.

- 95) Sabbadini R., Il Metodo degli Umanisti (Florence, 1922), pp. 77-9.
- 96) Guarino, Epistolario di Guarino Veronese, ed. Sabbadini R., 3 vols. (Venice, 1915-9), III, pp. 56-7, 61.
- 97) Guarino, Epistolario..., II, p. 458.
- 98) Gransden, Historical Writing, II, p. 211.
- 99) Frulovisi, Vita Henrici Quinti, ed. Hearne T. (Oxford, 1729), p. 2
- 100) Frulovisi, Vita Henrici Quinti, pp. 4-5.
- 101) Kingsford C. L., English Historical Literature..., p. 53.
- 102) Gransden, Historical Writing, II, p. 212.
- 103) Rossi, Ricerche sull'umanesimo..., p. 22.
- 104) Borsa M., 'Pier Candido Decembrio e l'Umanesimo in Lombardia', Archivio Storico Lombardo, Ser. II, X (1893), pp. 63, 428.
- 105) See pp. 253-78 in this thesis
- 106) Borsa, 'Pier Candido Decembrio e l'Umanesimo in Lombardia', p. 63: "ex principibus nauseans adeo stomachatus sum ut ipsorum ieiunium aliquantisper sit habendum cum popularibus viventi".
- 107) Hamilton Wylie J., 'Decembri's Version of the Vita Henrici Quinti by Tito Livio', English Historical Review, XXIV (1909), p. 85.
- 108) Hamilton Wylie J., 'Decembri's Version of the Vita Henrici Quinti', p. 85.
- 109) Hamilton Wylie edited a MS in the Imperial Library at Vienna (No. 2610); there is a sumptuous copy in the Vatican Library, MS. Urb. lat. 922.
- 110) See p. 193 of this thesis.
- 111) Nicholas Bildestone went to Rome in 1422 as the 'King's Orator' (Schirmer, Der englische Fruhumanismus, p. 24)
- 112) Parallels of the Humfroidos are to be found in Filelfo's Sfortias, Porcellio's Feltria and Tito Vespasiano Strozzi's Borseide, see Rossi R., Il Quattrocento (Milan, 1949), pp. 242, 275.
- 113) Weiss, 'Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Tito Livio Frulovisi', p. 225.
- 114) Biblioteca Colombina, Seville, MS 7.2.23

- 115) Weiss, 'Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Tito Livio Frulovisi', in Fritz Saxl 1890-1948 - A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England (London, 1957), pp. 218-27.
- 116) Weiss, 'Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Tito Livio Frulovisi', p. 222.
- 117) Borsa, 'Pier Candido Decembrio e l'Umanesimo in Lombardia', pp. 63, 428.
- 118) Weiss, 'Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Tito Livio Frulovisi', p. 222; for the record in the 1444 inventory see Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p. 81.
- 119) The Chronicle of John Hardyng, with the continuation of Richard Grafton, ed. Ellis H. (London, 1812), p. 396.
- 120) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 253.
- 121) Weiss, 'Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Tito Livio Frulovisi', pp. 225-6.
- 122) These notes are to be found in the library of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.
- 123) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, pp. 44-5.
- 124) See p. 316 of this thesis.
- 125) See Butler's notes, number 19.
- 126) See p. 36 of this thesis.
- 127) Ramsay J. H., Lancaster and York, 2 vols, (Oxford, 1892), I. p. 475.
- 128) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 259.
- 129) Robbins, Historical Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, 'Scorn of the Duke of Burgundy', 30, ll. 1-5.
- 130) Robbins, Historical Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, 'The Siege of Calais', 28, ll. 157-9.
- 131) Scattergood V J., Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1971), p. 87.
- 132) Scattergood, Politics and Poetry, p. 90.
- 133) Scattergood, Politics and Poetry, p. 91.
- 134) Holmes, G., 'The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye', English Historical Review, LXXVI (1961), pp. 193-216.
- 135) Palladius Translation, Prohemium, ll. 102-3.
- 136) British Library MS. Royal, 5. F. II, f. 131^v, cited by Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 45, note 7.

- 137) Weiss,Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century,p.45.
- 138) Weiss,Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century,p 45.
- 139) Weiss R.,'Antonio Beccaria in Inghilterra',Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana,CX (1937),p 344.
- 140) Griffiths R. A ,The Reign of King Henry VI (London,1981), p.232.
- 141) Vickers,Humphrey Duke of Gloucester,p.377.
- 142) Most are no more than names and it is clear that at any one time several men were employed.
- 143) Weiss,'Antonio Beccaria in Inghilterra',p.344.
- 144) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.21,note 4.
- 145) Haller,Piero da Monte - ein gelehrter und papstlicher Beamter des 15 Jahrhunderts,pp.81-3.
- 146) Haller,Piero da Monte - ein gelehrter und papstlicher Beamter des 15 Jahrhunderts,p.83:
 Legi siquidem epistolam tuam illustrissimo principi Humfredo duci Gloucestrie qui hac singulari laude et gloria ceteros nostre etatis principes antecellit, quod tantam litterarum studiis curam diligentiamque adhibuit adhibetque quotidie, ut de omni disciplinarum genere, si quid in me est ingenii, is quid iudicii, docte diserte copiose ac memoriter loqui ac disputare posse mihi videatur. Princeps profecto est magnis laudibus efferendus.
- 147) Weiss,'Antonio Beccaria in Inghilterra',p.345.
- 148) weiss,'Antonio Beccaria in Inghilterra',p.345,note 7.
- 149) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani,p.22, note 50.
- 150) See p.186 of this thesis.
- 151) Weiss,Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century,p.45.
- 152) Weiss,'Antonio Beccaria in Inghilterra',pp.345-6.
- 153) Creighton M., 'Some Literary Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester',English Historical Review,X (1895), pp.103-4.
- 154) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.22 and Weiss,Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century,p.188,note to p.46,n.1.
- 155) Sammut,Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani,p.22

- 156) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 188, note to p.46, n.1.
- 157) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.266.
- 158) The first folio of one of them however is lost.
- 159) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp 156-65.
- 160) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.157.
- 161) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.162
- 162) See p.247 of this thesis.
- 163) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.157.
- 164) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.160.
- 165) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.161.
- 166) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.162.
- 167) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.157-60.
- 168) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.161.
- 169) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.377.
- 170) See this thesis p. 183.
- 171) See this thesis p. 274.
- 172) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.165.
- 173) See this thesis p. 145.

Chapter III

- 1) Schirmer, Der englische Fruhumanismus, p.22 suggests that Castiglione met Duke Humphrey on 26 January, 1431 in France when he swore an oath of allegiance to the English King; Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.50 agrees with Schirmer; but Ullman, Studies in the Italian Renaissance, p.352, maintains that the Duke was not in France on that date. Schirmer, Der englische Fruhumanismus, p.22, also suggests that the Duke was present on 27 February 1432 at the investiture of the Bishop of Bayeux. Borsa, Pier Candido Decembrio e l'umanesimo in Lombardia, p.61 speaks of many encounters between Castiglione and the Duke in England. Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.24, observes that the only encounter between the two men of which we can be certain is that at the end of 1439 which apparently marked the end of their working relationship.
- 2) Vespasiano da Bisticci, Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV, ed. Ancona-E. Aeschlimann P.D. (Milan, 1951), pp.70-1.
- 3) Foffano T., 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia nel secolo XV', Rinascimento, II, 4 (1964), p.5.
- 4) Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia...', p.5.
- 5) Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia...', p.31, note 1.
- 6) Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia...', Appendix IV contains this letter, pp.31-2.
- 7) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.50.
- 8) Sabbadini R., La Scuola e gli Studi di Guarino da Verona (Catania, 1896), pp.26-7.
- 9) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.25
- 10) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.119.
- 11) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.52.
- 12) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.47.
- 13) Borsa M. 'Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio', English Historical Review, XIX (1904), p.520.
- 14) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.53.
- 15) Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia...', p.10.
- 16) The Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, I, p.219.

- 17) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.218.
- 18) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.221.
- 19) Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia', p.32
- 20) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.218 follows Denifle H., 'La desolation des eglises, monasteres et hopitaux en France pendant la guerre de cent ans', Documents relatifs au XV^e siecle, I (Paris, 1897), pp.525-6, 531-2.
- 21) Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia', p.33.
- 22) Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia', p.34.
- 23) See p.224 of this thesis.
- 24) Borsa, 'Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio', p.520.
- 25) Although the comparison seems obvious and common, see Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.374: "It seems, too, that it was due to Zano that Humphrey possessed so great a military reputation in Italy, which is alluded to by nearly all his Italian scholar friends."
- 26) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.167.
- 27) These were the lives of Theseus, Romulus, Solon, Publicola, Pericles, Fabius Maximus, Themistocles, Camillus and Aratus (Luigi F.P., 'Studi su l'Epistolario di Lapo da Castiglione Juniore', Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica, VII (1899), p.275). MSS containing the Lives of Camillus and Romulus by Lapo were given to Oxford.
- 28) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.168.
- 29) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.170.
- 30) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.170-1.
- 31) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.28.
- 32) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.374.
- 33) Weiss, Humanism in England, p.52, note 8.
- 34) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.171.

- 35) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.173.
- 36) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.52.
- 37) The numerous accounts include: Macray W.D., 'Early Dedications to Englishmen by Foreign Authors and Editors', Bibliographica, I (1894), pp.324-47; Voigt G., Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums, II (Berlin, 1893), p.249; Borsa, 'Pier Candido Decembrio e l'umanesimo in Lombardia', pp.5-75; Newman W.L., 'The Correspondence of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Pier Candido Decembrio', English Historical Review, XX (1905), pp.484-98; Vickers K.H., Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, pp.353-69; Creighton M., 'Some Literary Correspondence...', pp.99-104; Schirmer, Der englische Fruhumanismus, pp.23.27-37, 49; Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, pp.49-52, 54-65, 186-90; Zaccaria V., 'L'Epistolario di Pier Candido Decembrio', Rinascimento, II, 3 (1952), pp.85-118; Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.29-53.
- 38) Borsa, 'Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio', pp.509-12.
- 39) Borsa, 'Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio', p.509.
- 40) Borsa, 'Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio', p.511.
- 41) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.29-53.
- 42) Einstein L., The Italian Renaissance in England (New York, 1902), pp.37-52.
- 43) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, prints all the letters which Duke Humphrey either wrote or received regarding the Republic translation, pp.174-203; Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia', prints all the letters involving third parties, pp.26-34.
- 44) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.366.
- 45) weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.59, note 2.
- 46) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.355.
- 47) weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.54.
- 48) Foffano T., 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia nel secolo XV', Rinascimento, 2nd Series, 4 (1964), p.27.
- 49) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.181.

- 50) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.180.
- 51) Biblioteca Riccardiana, Firenze, MS. Ricc no. 827, ff. 31^v-32^r.
- 52) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, pp. 55-6, note 5.
- 53) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.176.
- 54) Sammut, Unfredo Duca Di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.179.
- 55) Zaccaria, 'L'Epistolario di Pier Candido Decembrio', p.200.
- 56) Foffano, 'Umanisti italiani in Normandia', pp.26-7.
- 57) It exists in Rolando Talenti's Letter Book, Bayeux, Biblioteca del Capitolo, MS., 5, ff. 23^r-23^v.
- 58) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.181.
- 59) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.182.
- 60) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.182.
- 61) Borsa M., 'Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio', pp.251-323.
- 62) Borsa M., 'Correspondence of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio', p.513.
- 63) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.56.
- 64) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.187.
- 65) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.37-8.
- 66) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.58, note 4.
- 67) Schirmer, Der englische Fruhumanismus, p.32.
- 68) Ullman B.L., 'Studies in the Italian Renaissance', Storia e Letteratura, LI (Rome, 1973), p.72.
- 69) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.196.
- 70) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, p.197.
- 71) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.367.

- 72) Holz knecht, Literary Patronage, pp. 172-3.
- 73) Woodward W.H., Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators (Cambridge, 1897), p. 186.
- 74) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I. 104. Sup.; this was Decembrio's own copy of his work.
- 75) Borsa, 'Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Pier Candido Decembrio', p. 515.
- 76) 'Attende Princeps' occurs in the 7th Book beside some words referring to the virtue of study.
- 77) Two of the men on the list, Alfonso, Bishop of Burgos, and Pizzolpasso, were among those to whom Books of the Republic were dedicated much to the Duke's annoyance. Giovanni Amadeo the other patron however does not figure on the list. I have been unable to identify 'D Antonio de Penlauro' or 'Comiti brocardo de persico'. Although I have been unable to trace any biographical detail concerning 'Domino Ignico danaloi militi hispano', in P.C. Decembrio's Letter Book in Milan, I found a letter from him to Decembrio in which he describes himself as 'Magnus camerarius' which indicates that he was a Lord Chamberlain (R. 88. Sup. f 37^v). The 'Illustri d. leonardo Marchioni estensi' is a mistake for Leonellus Estensi a humanist who kept in regular and frequent touch with Pier Candido Decembrio and consulted him about his library. Born in 1407, he died in 1450, and so was roughly contemporary with Duke Humphrey (1390-47). Decembrio seems to have begun to correspond with Leonello about the time of the translation of the Republic when the latter wrote and asked for a copy, and continued to do so until Leonello's death. 'D. Ugolino cantelo parmesi' refers to a Pisanis Ugolino who graduated from the University of Bologna in 1437 and went to Capua where he entered the service of the humanist King Alphonso of Naples. From there he went to Ferrara where he lived in the court of Leonello d'Este and moved in the circle of Guarino da Verona. Francesco Marescalus was also a regular correspondent of Decembrio's and a member of the literary circle at Ferrara. Poggio Bracciolini dedicated an edition of his letters to him and he waged a vituperative war of letters with Guarino.

Chapter IV

- 1) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.71.
- 2) Wilmart A., 'Le Florilege Mixte de Thomas Bekynton', Medieval and Renaissance Studies, I (1941-43), pp.41-84.
- 3) Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, ed. Williams G., R.S.(1892), I, p 178.
- 4) Mitchell R J., John Tiptoft (London, 1938), p.166.
- 5) Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, pp.273-4.
- 6) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, pp.134-5; also, James M.R.ed., The Chaundler MSS, Introduction on the Life and writings of Thomas Chaundler (London, 1916), p.32.
- 7) Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, pp.xxxi, 242; Biondo's Decades is now MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no.205.
- 8) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.75, note 1.
- 9) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.73.
- 10) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.72, note 5.
- 11) See note 7 above.
- 12) Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, p.xxxi.
- 13) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.75.
- 14) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.75.
- 15) James, The Chaundler MSS, pp.7-8, 17-18.
- 16) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p. 136.
- 17) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.73.
- 18) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.73.
- 19) Judd A F , The Life of Thomas Bekynton (Chichester, 1961), p.163.
- 20) Judd A.F., The Life of Thomas Bekynton (Chichester, 1961), p.10.

- 21) Schirmer, Der englische Fruhumanismus, pp.63-5.
- 22) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p 76.
- 23) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.76.
- 24) Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.123-4.
- 25) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, pp.78-9.
- 26) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.78, note 7.
- 27) Griffiths R. A. , The Reign of Henry VI, p.287.
- 28) Bennett J.W., 'Andrew Holes : A Neglected Harbinger of the English Renaissance', Speculum, XIX (1944), pp.314-35.
- 29) Wolkan R., 'Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini', Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Diplomataria et Acta, vol.I, pp. 256-7.
- 30) Wolkan, 'Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius...', I, p.325.
- 31) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.80.
- 32) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.82.
- 33) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.272.
- 34) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.281.
- 35) Griffiths R A. , The Reign of Henry VI, p.639.
- 36) Examples are numerous and most easily discernible when a text was specially written for Duke Humphrey and the presentation copy still survives and other copies also. The most obvious example of a text being consulted is Lydgate's use of *Salutati*, see p.141 of this thesis.
- 37) Provision was however made for him to borrow back his own books if he so wanted, which implies that he read them.
- 38) On his books, see Napier, Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme, pp.127-8.
- 39) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.377.
- 40) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.381.
- 41) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p 381, note 5.
- 42) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, pp.299-300.
- 43) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.381.
- 44) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.381

- 45) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 381.
- 46) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 381
- 47) In P. del Monte's Letter Book, Vatican Library MS., Vat Lat. no. 2694 is a letter unpublished by Haller from del Monte to Gilbert Kymer.
- 48) Palladius translation, Prohemium, ll. 102-3.
- 49) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, pp. 33-4.
- 50) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 329.
- 51) Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century pp. 30-8.
- 52) Such as the 'Thomas Norton, dominus, magister, clericus, Chaplain to Duke Humfrey and Chancellor of his Household' whom Howlett is determined to ascribe the anonymous Palladius translation to in his article, Howlett, D.R. 'The Middle English De Re Rustica', Medium Aevum, XLVI, (1976), pp. 245-252.
- 53) Weiss R, 'Piero del Monte, John Whethamstede, and the Library of St. Alban's Abbey,' English Historical Review, LX (1945), pp. 405-6.
- 54) Bale J., Scriptorum Illustrium majoris Brytanniae Catalogus (Basle, 1559), p. 583.
- 55) Lucas P.J., 'John Capgrave, O.S.A (1393-1464), Scribe and Publisher', Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, V (1969), pp. 1-35.
- 56) Lucas, 'John Capgrave, O.S.A...', p. 30.
- 57) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p. 385.
- 58) The dedication is printed in Appendix IV, pp. 239-301 to Capgrave's De illustribus Henricis, ed. Hingeston F.C., R.S (1858).
- 59) Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, pp. 386-7.
- 60) Frulovisi, Vita Henrici Quinti, ed. Hearne T. (Oxford, 1729), p. 2.
- 61) Bale J., Scriptorum Illustrium... p. 583.
- 62) Pitsei J., Relationum Historiarum de Rebus Anglicis (Paris, 1619), p. 672
- 63) Lucas, 'The Growth and Development of English Literary Patronage in the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', pp. 237-8.

Conclusion

- 1) Weiss R., Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.71.
- 2) Weiss R., Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, p.71.
- 3) See Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani, pp.120-1.
- 4) The inscription reads :
 'Le dixiesme jour de sptembre l'an mil quatre cens
 vingt et sept fut cest livre donne a tres hault
 et tres puissant prince Humfrey, duc de Gloucestre,
 Gonte de Haynnau, Hollande etc...,protecteur et
 difenseur d'Engleterre, par sire Jehan Stanley,
 chevalier, ledit prince estant en l'abbaye Nostre
 Dame a Chestre'.
(Sammut, Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani,
 p.120.
- 5) See p⁴⁰ of this thesis.
- 6) See Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, pp.433-4.
- 7) See Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, pp.216-221.
- 8) See Vickers, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, p.264.

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