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Marvelous Generations: Lancastrian Genealogies and Translation
in Late Medieval and Early Modern England and Iberia

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in English

by

Sara Victoria Torres

2014

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Marvelous Generations: Lancastrian Genealogies and Translation
in Late Medieval and Early Modern England and Iberia

by

Sara Victoria Torres

Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Christine Chism, Co-chair

Professor Lowell Gallagher, Co-chair

My dissertation, “Marvelous Generations: Lancastrian Genealogies and Translation in Late Medieval and Early Modern England and Iberia,” traces the legacy of dynastic internationalism in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early-seventeenth centuries. I argue that the situated tactics of courtly literature use genealogical and geographical paradigms to redefine national sovereignty. Before the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, before the divorce trials of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in the 1530s, a rich and complex network of dynastic, economic, and political alliances existed between medieval England and the Iberian kingdoms. The marriages of John of Gaunt’s two daughters to the Castilian and Portuguese kings created a legacy of Anglo-Iberian cultural exchange

that is evident in the literature and manuscript culture of both England and Iberia. Because England, Castile, and Portugal all saw the rise of new dynastic lines at the end of the fourteenth century, the subsequent literature produced at their courts is preoccupied with issues of genealogy, just rule, and political consent. Dynastic foundation narratives compensate for the uncertainties of succession by evoking the *longue durée* of national histories—of Trojan diaspora narratives, of Roman rule, of apostolic foundation—and situating them within universalizing historical modes. At the same time, they reconfigure national space and geography in fantasies of imperial mapping that spatialize their genealogical (re)constructions. The dynastic internationalism characterizing late medieval royal marriages contributes to emerging discourses of the nation and sets the stage for the imperial rivalries between England and Iberia during the Renaissance era.

Within this Anglo-Iberian context, my dissertation tracks an understudied aspect of the legacy of Lancastrian kingship: its claims to the throne of Castile and the multiple Iberian marriages that materialize those claims as they shape late medieval and early modern international historiography. In the early stages of Lancastrian rule, the prestige of foreign kingship reinforced Lancastrian claims to England, claims which in turn fueled political ambitions in France. In the process, English and Iberian historiographies become entangled. I argue that common dynastic descent is mobilized as an alternative way of understanding national relations, thus positioning the consanguinity of royal houses against cultural, linguistic and religious difference—the *international* claims of dynastic affinity over the specifically *national* ones of the polity. In both cases, the political fantasy of a moment of dynastic origins reinforces political theories that render the “king’s body” as proximate to the nation, while at the same time destabilizing the relationship between the monarch and the polity.

My first and second chapters explore how manuscripts produced within the Lancastrian sphere of influence reflect dynastic circuits of power and engage in the construction of cultural legacies that serve to articulate royal power. My first chapter, “Translating Authority in the *Confessio Amantis* and *O Livro do Amante*,” argues that Gower positions himself within a legacy of poetic genealogy and political counsel that is synchronous with the imperial lineages of the poem’s exemplary narratives. The poem conceives of lineage in ethical terms, and thus the interplay between Gower’s evocations of *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii* is fundamental to his narrated mechanisms of political descent. Under the patronage of Philippa of Lancaster, the *Confessio Amantis* is translated into both Portuguese and Castilian, and within these material conditions of book production the political discourse of counsel is linked closely to the performance of queenship. In its Portuguese rendering, then, queen and poet are linked to the practice of just rule in a imagined textual community at once focused on the spiritual, intellectual, and physical regulation of the king and also on the wider readership of those encompassed within the bounds of “common weal.” The second chapter, “Mapping Dynastic Sovereignty in Lancastrian Manuscripts: Margaret of Anjou’s *Shrewsbury Book* and the Burghley *Polychronicon*,” traces how the figure of Charlemagne, as a dynastic trope, embodies English ambitions to the throne of France during the so-called Lancastrian “Dual Monarchy.” By focusing on two manuscripts created under Lancastrian patronage—one by John Talbot for Margaret of Anjou, and one by Thomas Mull, I trace both the changes in valence of references to Charlemagne as well as to the political geographies of his narrative traditions. While Talbot’s *Shrewsbury Book* consolidates a Lancastrian French perspective on the cultural negotiations of the Dual Monarchy by assembling a collection of French-language texts, the Burghley *Polychronicon* compiles various English documents and historical texts to convey a particularly Lancastrian vision of sovereign history and cultural boundaries.

My third and fourth chapters focus on early modern texts that commemorate the House of Lancaster's genealogical ties to Iberia in order to inscribe contemporary imperial rivalries into larger dynastic histories. The fourth chapter, "Epic Afterlives: The *Lusiads* and Historical Legacy," argues that the inclusion of the mid-fifteenth century Portuguese chivalric romance "The Twelve of England" into the great Portuguese epic, Luís Vaz de Camões's *Os Lusíadas*, links Vasco da Gama's voyage and subsequent Portuguese expansionism to specific historical moments of national and dynastic foundation narrated in the epic. Within the *Lusiads*, the Portuguese knight Magriço features in the Twelve of England story as the embodiment of chivalric valor. Chivalry, embodied in the martial valor of crusades and of tournaments, is recovered as a facet of a collective national past and deployed in the celebration of the heroic exploits of the explorer-protagonist Vasco da Gama. This ideological and cultural continuity models a relation between king and knight that is replicated in that of King Manuel and da Gama, whose voyage Camões describes using both epic conventions and romance modalities. However, the metatextual figure of Magriço also embodies the motif of belatedness that runs through the larger poem—a sense of temporal delay that resonates with the poem's larger celebration of contemporaneity and serves to glorify the "late" arrival of the Portuguese onto the imperial stage of Europe. The fourth and final chapter, "La antigua emulación de estas coronas': Habsburg Patrons, English Dynastic Memory and the Spanish Match of 1623," explores how the proposed marriage between Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales and María of Austria, sister of Philip IV of Spain, offered political and religious writers new ways of inflecting dynastic history, as well as the chance to imagine alternative genealogies—spiritual, literary, imperial—for inscribing the union within each kingdom's history. By contrasting two textual productions—a manuscript created by the exiled Syon nuns in Lisbon for the Habsburg monarchs, which links the legitimizing religious patronage of Henry V of England to Philip II of Spain, and the journalistic

relaciones of Andrés Almansa y Mendoza, which record Charles's visit to Madrid in the language of a chivalric romance—I argue that English and Spanish political subjects represented the *infanta* as a figure at once responsible for ensuring dynastic continuity and one around whom other, gendered, paradigms of descent could coalesce. In an era in which rich cultures of reading were driven by both the creation and circulation of manuscripts and printed books and ephemera, a comparative study of these historical sources offers insights into how manuscript and print sources record and appeal to royal history and the diplomatic maneuvering that helps shape it.

In showing how Lancastrian nationalism functions in a larger world, my project resituates and frames the work of recent Lancastrian scholars such as Paul Strohm and Maura Nolan. I join Elizabeth Salter, Kathy Lavezzo, Ardis Butterfield, and David Wallace in demonstrating that English national claims cannot be realized except in an international frame. Furthermore, by discussing the legacy of the marriages of John of Gaunt within a larger context of Anglo-Iberian cultural exchange extending temporally from the High Middle Ages to the seventeenth-century marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, my project foregrounds Early Modern studies of Anglo-Spanish imperial competition and cultural exchange pursued by scholars such as Barbara Fuchs. In excavating the sometimes-repressed matter of Spain as a determinant in the domestic imaginings of England, my project works against insular nationalism to reveal a “sceptered isle” whose political integrity is both reinforced and troubled by its deep and unavoidable genealogical and geographical proximity to realms outside.

The dissertation of Sara Victoria Torres is approved.

Christopher Baswell

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Lowell Gallagher, Committee Co-chair

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2014

For my parents.

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Barbara Fuchs's groundbreaking work in the field of Anglo-Iberian studies has helped shape my research on early modern cosmopolitanism, and I am deeply fortunate to have worked with her and benefited from her extensive expertise. Joseph Bristow encouraged my interest in textual studies

and archival research, and Kat Lecky led me to exciting new avenues of inquiry for feminist readings of queenship rituals and dynastic marriage. John Ganim at UC-Riverside offered valuable feedback on my early efforts at research within the field of the “Global Middle Ages.” Eric Jager gave me memorable advice on writing that I often reflected on in the revision stages of the dissertation. Jennifer Smith’s distilled wisdom helped see me through the English program’s many stages, and she championed me to the end. Sonja Drimmer—fellow Gowerian, friend, and pen-pal extraordinaire is a generous and tireless interlocutor. Her work on fifteenth-century pedigrees has enriched my own research and her encouragement of my work in progress has motivated me towards completion.

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An early version of my first chapter was presented at the Second Gower International Congress, entitled “Gower in Iberia,” at the University of Valladolid in July 2011. Conference organizers R. F. Yeager and Ana Sáez Hidalgo and many other attendees offered insights into fourteenth-century Anglo-Iberian cultural exchange, and my fellow panelist Tiago Viúla de Faria shared his exciting work on the documentary history of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance with me then. Drafts of the two final chapters were circulated as part of the Early Modern Studies Research Group Works-in-Progress series, organized by Barbara Fuchs and Anna More, in which A.R. Braunmuller, Debora Shuger, and others also participated. A dissertation writing group comprised of Mac Harris and Emily Runde likewise provided comments on my fourth chapter. Debora Shuger and Eleanor Kaufman also helped to orient me within the critical discourses of political theology and sovereignty.

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The great majority of manuscripts I consulted were housed at the Oxford Bodleian Library Special Collections & Western Manuscripts Reading Room, and I owe special thanks to Colin Harris for his research assistance, as well as to the administration and staff for allowing gratis manuscript photo-duplication. Several Oxford College Libraries also welcomed me: All Soul's College, Queen's College, Magdalen College, Corpus Christi College, St. John's College, and Brasenose College. Librarians and archivists at the following institutions likewise made my research productive and enjoyable: Lambeth Palace Library, London; British Library, London; Cambridge, Emmanuel College; Cambridge, Queen's College; Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid; Archivo General de Simancas, Spain; Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon; Huntington Library, San Marino; Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles; Morgan Library, New York; and UCLA Special Collections.

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PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Torres, Sara V. "Journeying to the World's End?: Imagining the Anglo-Irish Frontier in Ramon de

Perellós's Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory." In *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond: 300-1600*, edited by Keith D. Lilley, 300-324.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, February 2014.

---. "Opening Up the Archives: A New Digital Platform for LA Aqueduct History." *Boom: A Journal of California* 3.3 (September 2013): 14-21.

---. "Remembered *Pèlerinage*: Deguileville's Pilgrim in Philippe de Mézières's *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*."

In *The Pèlerinage Allegories of Guillaume de Deguileville: Authority, Tradition, and Influence*, edited by Marco Nievergelt and Stephanie Kamath. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013.

Presentations

"Mapping Dynastic Sovereignty in Lancastrian Manuscripts: Margaret of Anjou's Shrewsbury Book and the Burghley *Polychronicon*." Renaissance Society of America Conference, New York City, March 2014.

"'In Praise of Peace' in Late Medieval England." Representing War and Violence in the Pre-Modern World, Pembroke College, Cambridge, September 2013.

- “John of Gaunt on the Post-Armada English Stage.” Renaissance Conference of Southern California, San Marino, June 2013.
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- “Romances of Dynasty in the Talbot Shrewsbury Book.” Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination, British Library, London, December 2011.
- “Royal Chastity and Political Legitimacy in Fernão Lopes’s Chronicles and Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*.” Gower in Iberia: 2nd Gower International Congress, University of Valladolid, Spain, July 2011.
- “The Spatial Poetics of de Mézières’s *Le Songe du vieil pelerine* and Deguileville’s *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*.” The Allegory of Guillaume de Digulleville (Deguileville) in Europe, University of Lausanne, Switzerland, July 2011.
- “The Frying Pans of Fragment Three: Domestic Purgatories in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*” [Revised] Interiorities in Early Cultures, University of California at Irvine Graduate Conference, January 2011.
- “‘Sailing Between Scylla and Charybdis’: Philippe de Mézières, the Order of the Passion, and Negotiations for an Anglo-French Peace.” New Chaucer Society Conference, Sienna, Italy, July 2010.
- “Alfonso de Cartagena’s Repudiation of the Glastonbury Legend at the Council of Basel.” Oxford Medieval Postgraduate Conference, Lincoln College, Oxford, April 2010.
- “The Subject of Elizabeth: Proust, Woolf, and the Archival *Roman* in Alan Bennett’s *The Uncommon*

Reader” UCLA Department of English Graduate Southland Conference, Los Angeles, June 2009.

“Purgatorial Voyages in Anglo-Iberian Cultural Exchange.” Mapping Medieval Geographies Conference, University of California at Los Angeles, May 2009.

“The Life and Afterlives of Katherine of Aragon in Drama and Print.” College English Association Conference, Pittsburgh, March 2009.

“The Frying Pans of Fragment Three: Domestic Violence and Purgatorial Flames in Chaucer’s Wife of Bath’s, Summoner’s, and Friar’s Prologues and Tales.” Conference of Ford Fellows, Washington, D.C., September 2008.

“Nashe’s Anatomy in *The Unfortunate Traveller*: Jack Wilton Goes Under the Knife.” UCLA Department of English Graduate Southland Conference, May 2008.

“Of Sugar and Spice: Eastern Princesses in Early Modern Romance.” UCA Department of Spanish and Portuguese Graduate Conference, May 2008.

“Travel Narratives and the Early Modern Romance Form.” 17th Annual Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque Symposium, University of Miami (Coral Gables), February 2008.

Introduction

Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times.

Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History”¹

On July 25, 1386, on the Feast Day of Saint James, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and his fleet arrived at the shores of La Coruña in Galicia.² From there the duke travelled to Santiago de Compostela, site of the great shrine of St. James, whose gates he entered as the proclaimed king of Castile.³ Soon after, the regnant king, Juan I, sent an embassy to Gaunt, publically to denounce the duke’s claim and privately to open negotiations for a dynastic marriage between the king’s heir and the duke’s daughter Katherine.⁴ By the following year, the duke and his wife Constance agreed to relinquish their claims to Castile in return for generous compensation and the contracted marriage between the *infante* Enrique and Katherine, in whose offspring the disputed claims to the throne would be knit up conclusively.

¹Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, edited by Donald F. Bouchard, translated by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 139-164, 139, § 1.

²Sydney A. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt: King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, Seneschal of England* (Westminster: A. Constable, 1904), 312, (citing Fernão Lopes, *Chronica de el Rei D. João I*, ed. Luciano Cordeiro, Bibliotheca de Classicos Portuguezes, 10 vols. [Lisbon, 1897], v, 91-2; Pedro Lopez de Ayala, *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Eugenio de Llaguno Amiroloa [Madrid, 1779-1780], ii., 249; Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove [Brussels, 1868-77], xi, 338-44): “it was a happy omen that the King of Castile should first set foot in his kingdom on the day of St. James, the patron Saint of Spain and the eponymous hero of the Galician capital, and the capture of a squadron of Don Juan’s ships at Betanzos on the same day seemed to confirm this augury of success.” The definitive scholarly work on political relations between England and Castile in the second half of the fourteenth century is P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain & Portugal in the Time of Edward III & Richard II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955). On Gaunt’s claim to Castile-León and his Iberian campaigns, see Russell, *The English Intervention*; R.F. Yeager, “Gower’s Lancastrian Affinity: The Iberian Connection,” *Viator* 35 (2004): 483-515; Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992); Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 260-276, 301-336.

³ Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 312-13.

⁴ Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 314-16.

This brief episode in the long and storied career of the duke of Lancaster is often resigned to the backwaters of history. Thirteen years of ceremonial posturing in England (and fund-raising in the form of crusading indulgences) materialized as a single year of on-site presence in Castile and a relatively quick diplomatic resolution.⁵ Historians still debate what it all meant: was it a gross miscalculation of the Trastamaran's prescriptive hold over Castile, or an act of subtle statecraft?⁶ The duke's campaigns could be seen as deft maneuvering in the currents of the Hundred Years War, the exercise of *Realpolitik* in a time when royal pretenders could exert considerable pressure on ruling kings. Or did self-interest blind him, as some scholars have said: did the frustrated and displaced ambitions of England's great "overmighty subject" hunger for the ultimate distinction of kingship? Was Gaunt's pursuit of the Castilian crown a performance of elaborate political theater, or did the duke truly expect to capture and keep throne of Castile? Constance's legal claim was strong in all but fact; Enrique de Trastámara had taken and held the kingdom with surety, as did his son Juan I, despite the heavy losses at Aljubarrota and any lingering distrust by *pedristas*. But Gaunt had shown that Juan was not invincible in battle, and, as all who lived during their time knew, Fortune's wheel could turn against even the greatest of kings. It was a risky venture, to be sure; that the duke took it tells us as much about his ambition as it does about his willingness to hazard ships, money, and men in pursuit of his goal. Whether the goal was ultimately the capture of the throne, or an advantageous diplomatic arrangement and royal marriage, is for historians to argue.

Gaunt's Iberian campaigns and their results were not forgotten in their day, or in the centuries that followed. The marriages of John of Gaunt's two daughters to the Castilian and

⁵ On the attempt to finance John of Gaunt's 1336-7 Castilian campaign by advertising it as a papal crusade against Clementists, see Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 123, 263-5, 334, 338-39. Tyerman, 123, writes, "There are hints of crusading overtones in the propaganda of Edward I and Edward III in their wars with Scotland and France, but not until the crusade of Bishop Despenser and the Castilian campaign of John of Gaunt in the mid-1380s were crusade privileges again overtly advertised in what was de facto a secular cause."

⁶ Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 316-7: "He miscalculated the hold of the Trastamarans, partly because he was surrounded by *pedrista* defectors."

Portuguese kings created a legacy of Anglo-Iberian cultural exchange that is evident in late fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century literature and manuscript culture of both England and Iberia. This project explores the cultural legacy of John of Gaunt's campaigns in Iberia in the 1380s. Through textual translations and acts of patronage, through the inscription of dynastic history within circuits of power and prestige, these military engagements and diplomatic maneuvers left a lasting mark on the literary traditions and chronicles of England and Iberia. I argue that John of Gaunt's international ambitions and alliances form an important facet of Lancastrian dynastic history, one that has not been fully appreciated by literary historians, despite its reverberations in subsequent political writing and iconography. The endurance of Gaunt's Castilian claim in Lancastrian historical memory, its appropriation by Yorkist rivals, and its recollection in Tudor pageants and history plays, speak to the symbolic importance of foreign pretensions in the articulation of power in rituals and iconography of English kingship in the late medieval and early modern periods. These particular configurations of English dynastic ambition offer a lens through which to view the larger history of cultural contact between the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century kingdoms. Following the thread of references to John of Gaunt's Castilian ambitions sheds light, not only on later Lancastrian dynastic internationalism, but also on the reading of medieval sources in early modern England and shifting and enduring forms of cultural memory.

Within this Anglo-Iberian context, my dissertation tracks an understudied aspect of the legacy of Lancastrian kingship: its claims to the throne of Castile and the multiple Iberian marriages that materialize those claims as they shape late medieval international historiography. In the early stages of Lancastrian rule, the prestige of foreign kingship reinforced Lancastrian claims to England, claims which in turn fueled political ambitions in France. In the process, English and Iberian historiographies become entangled. This project focuses on the ways that these articulations of Lancastrian history recall earlier memories of dynastic unions, common foundations, and shared

lineage as a basis for understanding and interrogating current political situations, and the ways that these texts participated in discourses that could be mobilized in order to shape current diplomatic interventions and political discourse. I argue that common dynastic descent is mobilized as an alternative way of understanding national relations, thus positioning the consanguinity of royal houses against cultural, linguistic and religious difference—the *international* claims of dynastic affinity over the specifically *national* ones of the polity. In both cases, the political fantasy of a moment of dynastic origins reinforces political theories that render the “king’s body” as proximate to the nation, while at the same time destabilizing the relationship between the monarch and the polity.

Two genealogical manuscripts embody the sense of interconnectedness between England and the Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Portugal in the fifteenth century. One is a “typographical life” of Edward IV of England, British Library, Harley MS 7353.⁷ The manuscript illustrates the dynastic internationalism of Edward’s own vision of his kingship. In the manuscript, the bodies of Henry III of England and Pedro I of Castile lie prostrate. From their torsos grow stocks from whose branches emerge several prominent members of the Houses of Lancaster and York, a portrayal clearly based upon the Tree of Jesse iconographical tradition.⁸ Other royal and aristocratic

⁷ Harley 7353, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, British Library, accessed online August 02, 2012.

⁸ On the development of the Tree of Jesse theme in the Middle Ages, see R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 87-90, 98; Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934). For the popularity of the Tree of Jesse theme in fourteenth-century England and the importance of lineage to heraldry, see Peter Coss, “Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England,” in *Heraldry, Pageantry, and Social Display in Medieval England*, eds. Peter R. Coss and Maurice H. Keen (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2002), 39-68, 53. For discussions of gender and the Tree of Jesse theme, see Pamela Sheingorn, “Appropriating the Holy Kinship: Gender and Family History,” in *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Household, and Children*, ed. Carol Neel, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 2004), 273-301. Originally published in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: St. Anne in Late Medieval Society*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 169-98; Daisy Delogu, “Genealogy,” in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York: Routledge, 2006), 315-6. The Tree of Jesse appears in a variety of media—in illustrated genealogical manuscripts (cf. Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990], 328, which refers to Peter of Poitiers’s *Genealogy*); in fourteenth-century embroideries (cf. Dorothy G. Shepherd, “An English Embroidery,” *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 37:4 (April, 1950): 66-68, and E. Riefstahl, “An Embroidered Tree of Jesse” *The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 11 (1950), 5-13); in sculpture (cf. Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140-1300* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995], 25, 28, 35, 36, 72, 118, 123, 128, 205 [and others]), and in glass (for example, the Tree of Jesse famously appears in a 12th-century window at Chartres.) For

genealogies from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries similarly use the symbolism of a family “tree” to convey biological descent; many evoke the Tree of Jesse theme by having a patriarch lying asleep at its base.⁹ Yet the Harley manuscript, surrounded as it is by a Old and New Testament biblical precedents for Edward’s career, appropriates for Edward the Christic associations of the Tree of Jesse theme.¹⁰ Edward, in fulfillment of (partisan) prophecies, has assumed the throne with divine right. At the bottom left of the membrane lies the Castilian king Pedro, from whose stock rise his two daughters, Constance and Isabella. Isabella is shown alongside her husband Edmund of Langley, and it was through this union that the Yorkist Edward IV claimed a right to the throne of Castile. As we shall see below, this Iberian claim was used to reinforce the Yorkists’ own tenuous claim to the English throne. The manuscript suggests that, in the eyes of early Yorkist propagandists, insular legitimacy is inextricably linked to connections to realms outside, and the intertwining of the English royal line with other royal houses compounds the honor of the English king.

The other manuscript that articulates the dynastic conceits of this project is the *Genealogy of the Infante Dom Fernando of Portugal*, a beautiful series of paintings executed by the Flemish Simon Bening and, subsequently, Antonio de Hollanda.¹¹ The manuscript was commissioned by Ferdinand

the Tree of Jesse theme in medieval English church glass, including at York Minster, Canterbury Cathedral, St. Mary’s Shrewsbury, Margaretting (Essex) and Leverington (Cambridgeshire), see John Harries, *Discovering Stained Glass* (Tring, Hertfordshire: Shire Publications, 1968), 34-5. The theme appears in devotional manuscripts, such as the late-thirteenth-century Huth Psalter (London, British Library Add. Ms. 38116 f. 14b), which was executed in England (probably in the Diocese of Lincoln). See also Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 153.

⁹ For example, Simon Bening’s *Genealogy of the Infante Dom Fernando of Portugal*, discussed below, which contains a Tree of Jesse-like image of a prostrate Sancho king of Aragon, f. 5* (an excised leaf of the original manuscript).

¹⁰ A similar kind of underlying Edwardian messianism can be seen in the Philadelphia Free Library roll, discussed below.

¹¹ *Genealogy of the Infante Dom Fernando of Portugal*, Lisbon and Bruges, 1530-34 (London, British Library Additional MS 12531). The illustrations for the book (which was never completed, owing possibly to the death of its patron) were executed by Simon Bening and Antonio de Hollanda. See Thomas Kren and Janet Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1983), 69-78; Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 460-3, item 147. See also Sandra Hindman, “Renaissance Painting at the Morgan: Miniatures in Context?,” review of *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library*, by Thomas Kren and Janet Backhouse, *Art Journal* 44:2, Part 1, (Summer, 1984): 169-173. Bening’s manuscript is discussed extensively in António de Aguiar, ed., *A Genealogia Iluminada do Infante Dom Fernando: Por António de Hollanda E Simão Bening* (Lisboa, 1962) and mentioned in Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “The Genesis of the Family Tree” *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 4

of Portugal, Duke of Guarda and Trancoso (1507–1534), the son of King Manuel I of Portugal and his second wife, Maria of Aragon, but never completed.¹² One of the folios features the descendants of John of Gaunt. Philippa of Lancaster, wife of João I of Portugal, serves as the focal point of the painting. Young and startlingly beautiful, her modest gaze is averted downward from the view, as opposed to the unsettlingly direct gaze of scandalous Queen Joana of Portugal, wife of Enrique IV of Castile. Visually echoing the role of the Virgin in a Tree of Jesse image, Philippa is shown as a queenly Marian figure. Her prominence in the picture reflects her textual representation in the royal chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eanes de Zurara, in which she is the beloved and gracious matriarch of the Avis dynasty. Below her, John of Gaunt points towards Henry IV of England, Philippa's brother. The final folio partially represents the kings of England and Castile descended from John of Gaunt, as well as another Lancastrian, "Thomas of England."¹³ The Avis line connects not only with the English Lancastrian royal line but also with the Burgundians and Habsburgs through the person of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. The Avis dynasty, which came to the throne during such precarious times, staked their claim not only on popular accord and prescription, but also on a program of dynastic history that portrayed the Master of Avis's rise to power as providential. This sense of divine sanction is reinforced by the network of dynastic

(1991), 105-129; Jay A. Levenson, *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 146-7; and Frederico Francisco de la Figanière, *Catálogo dos manuscritos portugueses existentes no Museu britânico* (Lisbon, 1853), 271-76, cited in Kren and Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, 76.

¹² Kren and Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, 76, citing Aguilar, *A Genealogia Iluminada do Infante Dom Fernando*, 1962, 78-9: "Aguilar argues persuasively that the genealogy, hitherto considered that of the royal house of Portugal, is rather a genealogy of Dom Fernando himself."

¹³ Probably Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter (c. 1377–1426). The unbound manuscript also contains an unfinished drawn illustration by Antonio de Hollanda again with John of Gaunt and Constanza of Castile at the bottom, with Henry IV of England to their side, and João I of Portugal and Philippa of Lancaster at the center. The Castilian descendants of John of Gaunt and Constanza are not included among the surviving folios. Kren and Backhouse, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, 70, write: "The last two tables represent the complex array of descendants of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and Aquitaine (d. 1399; Fig. 9e), whose progeny included fifteenth-century kings and queens of the houses of Lancaster, Burgundy, Hapsburg (Pl. XII), Portugal (Fig. 9f), and Castile...Despite their common subjects, there is no basis, either visual or historical, for suggesting that these last two leaves belonged to a two-page opening. Both have right-hand borders, indicating their placement on the right side of different, but probably consecutive, spreads; the corresponding left leaves, if executed, have been lost. These missing leaves would likely have depicted the ancestors of Manuel I of Portugal (1469-1521), as well as of John of Gaunt's Castilian descendants through Isabella of Castile and her daughter Maria, wife of Manuel I and mother of the Infante Dom Fernando."

alliances forged with other illustrious European houses. On the final, unfinished painting of the set, John of Gaunt sits surrounded by his progeny, incompletely sketched at both the center of history and at its margins.

Dynastic alliances between England and Castile

Before the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, before the divorce trials of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in the 1530s, a rich and complex network of dynastic, economic, and political alliances existed between medieval England and the Iberian kingdoms. These began in the twelfth century, as English Plantagenet kings sought to protect their lands in southwestern France from the incursion of neighboring kingdoms and duchies. In 1152, Henry, duke of Normandy was married to Eleanor, *suo jure* duchess of Aquitaine, and when Henry was crowned king of England two years later, the duchy became an English royal possession.¹⁴ Eleanor's Aquitanian legacy formed the foundation of Anglo-Castilian relations through the mid-fifteenth century, when the duchy was lost to France; dynastic alliances between the two kingdoms served to protect the territorial interests of each along the bay of Biscay. Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine's daughter Eleanor married Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1177, a union credited with the embracing of Anglo-French literary traditions (especially the nascent Arthurian legends) into Iberia.¹⁵ The next important Anglo-Castilian marriage occurred in 1254, when the future Edward I married Alfonso X's half-sister Eleanor in Burgos—a match concocted by Alfonso X and Henry III of England to settle a

¹⁴ On Eleanor of Aquitaine's territorial possessions and cultural patronage, see Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons, eds., *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); John Gillingham, "Events and Opinions: Norman and English Views of Aquitaine, c.1152–c.1204," *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, eds. Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 57-81; and José Manuel Cerda, "La dot gasconne d'Aliénor d'Angleterre. Entre royaume de Castille, royaume de France et royaume d'Angleterre," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 54:215 (2011): 225-242.

¹⁵ Rose Walker, "Leonor of England and Eleanor of Castile : Anglo-Iberian Marriage and Cultural Exchange in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in María Bullón-Fernández, *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 67-87, and José Manuel Cerda, "Leonor Plantagenet y la consolidación castellana en el reinado de Alfonso VIII," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42.2 (2012).

dispute over Alfonso's tenuous claim to the duchy of Gascony.¹⁶ Eleanor was an active and controversial queen consort who accompanied her husband on crusade to Acre (as well as on almost all of his insular itineraries), encouraged trade relations with Castile, and developed a stable system of managing the queen consort's possessions, all while surviving sixteen pregnancies.

Anglo-Iberian relations periodically intensified throughout the high and later Middle Ages, and the complex political alignments of the Hundred Years War again brought England into alliances with both Castile and Portugal, resulting in significant English military and diplomatic interventions in Iberia. These culminated in John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster's pursuit of the throne of Castile, a pursuit which would result in multiple dynastic marriages between the English Lancastrians and Iberian rulers. During the early phases of the Hundred Years War, Edward III and his sons made strategic alliances with Fernando of Portugal and Pedro of Castile, whose throne was challenged by his Trastamaran half-brothers, in order to neutralize the power of Valois France.¹⁷ In an effort to consolidate power against his French enemies, Edward III betrothed his daughter to Pedro of Castile in 1345; the princess left England in 1348 with a great entourage, but died outside of Bourdeaux, one of the earliest English victims of the plague. Edward of Woodstock, the "Black Prince," and John of Gaunt, provided military support for Pedro's cause, and when Pedro was ultimately deposed and murdered by Enrique of Trastámara, Gaunt and his younger brother Edmund of Langley married Pedro's two daughters Constanza and Isabella. These marriages thus brought to the Plantagenet line a legitimist claim to the throne of Castile, now occupied by the illegitimate Trastámaras. After pursuing their claim for thirteen years (from England and then finally in northern Castile itself), John of Gaunt and Constance signed the Treaty of Bayonne with Juan II

¹⁶ See John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth Century England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

¹⁷ The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1373, renewed in 1386 by João I by the Treaty of Windsor and several times thereafter, became known as the longest active treaty in world history.

of Castile. Through this treaty, their daughter Katherine of Lancaster married the heir apparent to the Castilian throne, the *infante* Enrique.¹⁸

Genealogy in a Time of Succession Crises

Against the backdrop of the Hundred Years War and the Papal Schism, the kingdoms of England, Portugal, and Castile became enmeshed in an evolving series of diplomatic and military actions that led to two significant dynastic marriages between the House of Lancaster and Castile and Portugal. João of Avis, the illegitimate son of Pedro I of Portugal, seized the empty throne upon the death of his half-brother Ferdinand I in 1383, successfully fending off his rival Juan I of Castile, who had married the Portuguese heiress presumptive Beatriz and sought to unite the two kingdoms under his rule. His ally in this coup was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, whose wife Constance was claimant to the throne of Castile. Constance's father Pedro I had been deposed and later killed by his own illegitimate half-brother Enrique de Trastámara in 1369; Pedro had nurtured English alliances, contracting a marriage to Edward III's daughter Joan and fighting alongside Edward the Black Prince, Gaunt's brother. After selling off this Castilian claim and marrying his daughters Philippa and Constance to João and the Castilian *infante* Enrique (later Enrique III, "*el doliente*"), Gaunt returned to England with Constance. Just a year before, in 1387, Gaunt's daughter Philippa was betrothed to the newly-crowned Portuguese king, João of Avis. After his death a decade later, Gaunt's son Henry Bolingbroke deposed Richard II. When, in 1399 Henry IV seized the crown of England, his sister and half-sister were each queen consorts in Iberia, creating strong dynastic ties between the three kingdoms.

¹⁸ J.J.N. Palmer and Brian Powell, eds., *The Treaty of Bayonne (1388), with Preliminary Treaties of Trancoso (1387)* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1988).

The later-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries in Europe were a time of fraught successions, both princely and papal, of rival claimants and dynastic rupture. Political legitimacy turned on questions of contested lineage, and thus occupied a major conceptual space in the historical texts. Because England, Castile, and Portugal all saw the rise of new dynastic lines at the end of the fourteenth century, the subsequent literature produced at their courts is preoccupied with issues of genealogy, just rule, and political consent. Dynastic foundation narratives compensate for the uncertainties of succession by evoking the *longue durée* of national histories—of Trojan diaspora narratives, of Roman rule, of apostolic foundation—and situating them within universalizing historical modes. At the same time, they reconfigure national space and geography in fantasies of imperial mapping that spatialize their genealogical (re)constructions. The dynastic internationalism characterizing late medieval royal marriages contributes to emerging discourses of the nation and sets the stage for the imperial rivalries between England and Iberia during the Renaissance era.

Genealogy is an important conceptual term for the later Middle Ages. Fundamental to discourses of familial and social identity, bearing an affinity to historical practice, and resonant with textual exegesis, genealogy both constructs and exposes the links that bind individuals, generations, and nations. Operating as both text and image, genealogical manuscripts serve as *aides-mémoire*, as visualizations of history. As Gabrielle Spiegel has shown, genealogy provides both the form and content of medieval historical writing.¹⁹ Romance modalities, with their emphasis on aristocratic lineage, troubled bloodlines, and recuperated social identities, turn especially on questions of

¹⁹ Scholars of medieval French literature work within a rich tradition of scholarship on genealogy: The pioneering work of Georges Duby and the influential writing of Gabrielle Spiegel have been joined by book-length treatments of the topic by Howard Bloch and Zrinka Stahuljak. See especially Georges Duby, “Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XIe et XIIe siècles,” in *Hommes et structures du moyen âge* (Paris: Mouton, 1973), 287-98; R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historiography,” *History and Theory* 22:1 (Feb., 1983): 43-53, and *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); and Zrinka Stahuljak, *Bloodless Genealogies of the French Middle Ages: Translatio, Kinship, and Metaphor* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005).

genealogy.²⁰ Howard Bloch has demonstrated the relationship between semantics and biolineage in Latin writers such as Alain de Lille and in French vernacular writing and interrogated the various ways of organizing consciousness around feudal structures of kinship. Zrinka Stahuljak similarly focuses on twelfth and early thirteenth century literature and art, but her insightful analysis of patrilineal genealogy theorizes the “inherent bloodlessness of lineage” and thus opens up the discursive grounds of the field of genealogy to encompass forms of linguistic alliance as the foundation of social kinship.²¹

There is a conceptual overlap of genealogical and typological modes of thought in writing produced during the Middle Ages. Genealogy maps out filial relationships in biological, human time, while typological relationships are steeped in a different mode of medieval temporality, one defined by the energies of simultaneity and fulfillment. Erich Auerbach’s concept of *figura* is indebted to the idea of typology²²; the relations of two historical events, seen through the lens of Auerbach’s notion of figural causation, are characterized in terms of prefiguration and fulfillment—the first event is seen as preceding and anticipating the second event, which, in turn, fulfills the first. As Hayden White notes, Auerbach’s *figura*, which openly acknowledges its affinity to Christian exegetical practices, shapes both the theological and aesthetic facets of medieval historical thought.²³ White’s explication of Auerbach’s *figura* draws on the genealogical writings of both Nietzsche and Foucault. He writes, “A given historical event can be viewed as the fulfillment of an earlier and apparently

²⁰ Caroline D. Eckhardt and Bryan A. Meer, “Constructing a Medieval Genealogy: Roland the Father of Tristan in ‘Castleford’s Chronicle,’” *MLN*, 115, 5, Comparative Literature Issue (Dec., 2000): 1085-1111, and Levison C. Reis, “*Clergie*, Clerkly *Studium*, and the Medieval Literary History of Chrétien De Troyes’s Romances,” *The Modern Language Review*, 106:3 (July 2011): 682-696.

²¹ Stahuljak, *Bloodless Genealogies*, 2.

²² On Erich Auerbach’s *figura*, see “Figura” in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984); see also Jesse M. Gellrich, “Figura, Allegory, and the Question of History,” in *Literary History and the Challenge of Philology: The Legacy of Erich Auerbach*, ed. Seth Lerer (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 107-23.

²³ See Hayden White, “Auerbach’s *Literary History*: Figural Causation and Modernist Historicism,” in *Literary History and the Challenge of Philology. The Legacy of Erich Auerbach*, ed. Seth Lerer (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 124-139, 133: “This notion of a real event that was complete in itself and full in its meaning at the moment of its happening, but was at the same time the bearer of a meaning that would be revealed only in a different and equally complete event at a later time, supplied Auerbach with a model for conceptualizing the relationships among specifically historical events. The relationships in question are of the kind which, since Nietzsche, have come to be called genealogical.”

utterly unconnected event when the agents responsible for the occurrence of the later event link it 'genealogically' to the earlier one. The linkage between historical events of this kind is neither causal nor genetic."²⁴ ²⁵

Events linked through *figura* establish a fantasy of contact with a moment of origins. The simultaneous distance and nearness of the past serves a legitimizing function in cases where claims to power are linked to exalted national or dynastic foundations, to Trojan exiles such as Brutus, to early Christian converts such as Clovis or Constantine, to holy figures like St. James or St. Augustine, or to great kings, such as Charlemagne. The interplay of universal and local modes of history in the royal and monastic chronicles that Spiegel studies compels us to look more closely at the circumstances and pressures of their creation. Whose histories are these? Royal genealogies often encompass the history of *nation* as well as of royal families through the metonymy of sovereignty, despite the "typical foreignness of dynasties."²⁶ Monastic chroniclers similarly situate a moment of religious community foundation within other, related histories.

In the epigraphic quote I chose for this introduction, Michel Foucault highlights the contingency of both history and historical record: "Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times."²⁷ Like Nietzsche, with whom he engages deeply, Foucault emphasizes the ignoble and dispersed nature of origins, whose futile pursuit only reveals the multiplicity and instability of first beginnings. This passage from Foucault is striking in its implications for this project because it imagines genealogy as both a method of historical

²⁴ White, "Auerbach's *Literary History*," 126.

²⁵ White, "Auerbach's *Literary History*," 133.

²⁶ The phrase is from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 21n.25 in a discussion of Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 136.

²⁷ See note 1, above.

reconstruction and, more obliquely through metonymy, as its object. The historian's genealogical search is "documentary" because the "field" on which it "operates" is the incomplete, fragmented, and incoherent body of materials which survives in the archives. But this pursuit draws attention to the material genealogies themselves which, like the inscriptions of histories through time, are palimpsests—forever iterative, frustratingly selective, and furtively misleading—effacing as much of history as they preserve.

In what ways do Nietzsche and Foucault's focus on history as contingent, situated, and local resonate with medieval genealogies? On the surface, genealogical rolls that begin with Adam and Eve and end with contemporary times seem to embody that sense of completeness and coherence of history that these two thinkers mistrust and ultimately oppose. The inscription of national or dynastic lineages onto such rolls, which include biblical history and the imperial histories related to the Trojan diaspora, integrate scriptural and classical traditions into one monumental lineage. Yet this moment of human origins is itself the site of fracture and multiplicity—Adam and Eve are usually portrayed in such manuscripts in the act of transgression or of expulsion. The accretive syncretism of universal history, in its yoking of biblical and Trojan histories, encompasses multiple sites of imperial origins and sources of authority.

Lancastrian kingship was haunted by its origins. Documentary and historical accounts of Richard's deposition, death, and the subsequent translation of his body were closely mediated by royal agents, even if these efforts to create and propagate "official" history ultimately eluded state control. The quest for legitimacy was a challenge to create, or recreate, foundation narratives. These Lancastrian narratives transcended the immediate issue of Henry Bolingbroke's rise to power. Imaginative energies coalesced around the figure of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, forefather of

the dynasty, as it later would around Henry V, victor of Agincourt.²⁸ Even Henry VI was remembered for his “saintlike” qualities in the propaganda of Henry VII.²⁹ Lancastrian historical memory is dense with fantasies of originary moments, whether of imperial antecedents (such as the mentions of Julius Caesar or Charlemagne in Lydgate’s ceremonial verses), or dynastic beginnings. Discussing figural relationships, Hayden White writes of a temporally antecedent moment, “But as a historical event, it remains open to retrospective appropriation by any later group which may choose it as the legitimating prototype of its own project of self-making and hence an element of its ‘genealogy.’”³⁰ Lancastrian political authority was often bolstered by appeals to a selectively-rendered past, enabled by the kinds of “retrospective appropriations” that White describes. This project is very much about Lancastrian fantasies of origins and how the self-legitimizing gestures of Lancastrian texts and manuscripts are interwoven with international themes and ambitions.

Each of my chapters focuses on how a particular text represents a foundational moment for dynastic legitimacy and constructs a narrative apparatus that stresses the continuity between past and present through appeals to cultural and princely lineage. In some texts, these dynastic foundations are political narratives of divinely-sanctioned successions to which the Lancastrian apologists would strain their imagination and rhetoric to pin to the font of their sovereign’s political claims: the literary tropes used to situate Henry VI’s Lancastrian inheritance of French territories within the

²⁸ The medieval stained glass windows of the chapel at All Souls College, Oxford (a Lancastrian foundation) include a figure labeled “JOH(ANN)ES REX HISPANIE DUX LANCASTRIE.” See F. E. Hutchinson, *Medieval Glass at All Souls College* (London: Faber and Faber, 1949), 42-45, 48, 49, 54, plate XXIV. As R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2, writes, “The gallery of saints and kings represented in the glass is an illuminating exercise in the historical memory of the Lancastrian dynasty.” On the foundation of All Souls College, see H. E. Salter, and Mary D. Lobel, eds., *The Victoria County History of the County of Oxford*, vol. III, *The University of Oxford: the Buildings of the University, the Colleges and Halls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 173-93; R.J.A. Catto, et al., *Unarmed Soldier: Studies in the Early History of All Souls College* (Oxford: All Soul’s College, 1996); H. M. Colvin, and J. S. G. Simmons, *All Souls: An Oxford College and its Buildings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); and C. G. Robertson, *All Souls College* (London: F. E. Robinson, 1899).

²⁹ John W. McKenna, “Piety and Propaganda: The Cult of King Henry VI,” in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. Beryl Rowland (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1974), 72–88; John M. Theilmann, “The Miracles of King Henry VI of England,” *Historian* 42:3 (May 1980): 456-71.

³⁰ White, “Auerbach's *Literary History*,” 134

iconographical tradition of Valois and Capetian kingship, explored in my second chapter, furnish one such example. The historiographical interventions of writers invested in Lancastrian kingship, such as Gower and Thomas Polton, the English ambassador to the Council of Constance, frame contemporary political events within these larger narratives of cultural translation, diaspora, and conversion by stressing the precedential quality of foundation narratives. My later chapters offer a different perspective on the endurance of Lancastrian political tropes by focusing on the early modern uses of English dynastic history within Portuguese- and Spanish-language foundation narratives of dynastic (the *Lusiads*), as well as monastic history (the Arundel Castle manuscript created by the English Brigittine nuns in Lisbon).

Afterlives of John of Gaunt and the English Claim to Castile

Even in his own lifetime, John of Gaunt was a figure of renown, both within England and beyond her shores. Chaucerians will know him best as the Black Knight of the early dream vision *The Book of the Duchess*, as a figure of pathos and poetry, but references to the duke ripple through various textual courses of the period. As the wealthiest and most influential magnate in England, and a major power player in international politics, John of Gaunt left a mark in the historical record of his era. Chronicles of the Hundred Years War abound with references to the duke of Lancaster.³¹ Thomas of Walsingham's portions of the *St. Alban's Chronicle* are well-known for their shifting tone towards the duke; the author's cold criticism thaws during later Ricardian years to more positive commentary.³² The duke appears also in the political writings of French writers hostile to the English nobility in the late fourteenth- and early-fifteenth centuries: as the "old Black Boar" who

³¹ On John of Gaunt's reputation, see Simon Walker, "John, duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster, styled king of Castile and León (1340–1399)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008, accessed July 29, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14843/>

³² Thomas Walsingham, *The St. Alban's Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, 2 vols., eds. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), i, xxxvi, xlix, liii-lxvi, lxxvi-lxxvii, xciii, xcvi-xcvii, cvii, 8, 12, 14, 26, 30, 42, 50, 84, 892, 970.

threatens a proposed Anglo-French peace in the writings of Philippe de Mezieres and as a negative foil to his French opponent in Christine de Pisan's *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (1404).³³

Petrarch's reference to Gaunt in his *Triumph of Fame* is perhaps more surprising an appearance than in a *grand récit* of the Hundred Years War. The poet includes the duke towards the end of a long list of illustrious figures, immediately after King Arthur, Godfrey of Bouillon, Saladin, and Roger of Loria, and just before "the good" Robert of Sicily and "my great" Stefano Colonna the Elder: "Then came the Duke of Lancaster, who erst / Was a rough neighbor to the realm of France."³⁴ In Petrarch's circles, Gaunt had reached a level of renown meriting his inclusion among contemporary "moderns" and legendary "worthies"; the Italian poet inscribes him into the annals of fame on a European scale. Like many catalogues of illustrious men, the *Triumph of Fame* includes men whose moral status is ambiguous, and Gaunt's description and placement among moderns is aptly elusive.³⁵

³³ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, 2 vols (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), i, 31, 110: "Le veil sanglier noyr, duc des leopars, est prins en figure pour le duc de Lencastre." Christine de Pisan, *Le Livre des fais et bonners meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: H. Champion, 1936), Part 2, chs. 26-27.

³⁴ Ernest H. Wilkins, "On Petrarch's Rewriting the Triumph of Fame," *Speculum*, 39:3 (Jul., 1964): 440-443. On the chronology of the *Triumphs* see Wilkins, *Studies in the Life and Work of Petrarch* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America 1955): 254-272. See also Aldo S. Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974); Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci, eds., *Petrarch's "Triumphs": Allegory and Spectacle* (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1990); and Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi, eds., *Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). On Petrarch's *Triumph of Fame*, see Philip R. Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

³⁵ Walker, "John , duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster": "Popular suspicions about his loyalty arose partly from the duke's great wealth and influence and partly from hostility to the strategic options he advocated: Gaunt's decision to offer financial concessions to the papacy in 1375, his opposition to full-scale intervention in the Low Countries in the early 1380s, and his advocacy of a negotiated peace with France a decade later were all unpopular policies."



Figure 1: John of Gaunt window, All Souls College Chapel, Oxford.

Photograph by Sara Torres.



Figure 2: Glass Panel, Arms of John of Gaunt as claimant to the throne of Castile-León, c. 1376-1393

© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

John of Gaunt's presence in Lancastrian cultural production reflects his status as a dynastic foundation figure. Sir John Fortescue praises him as a *good* "overmighty subject," a great magnate whose power and influence does not subvert royal authority.³⁶ Later in the fifteenth century, after the ascendancy of Edward IV, historical narratives featuring Gaunt have considerable buoyancy, even if they are negative in tone. Historical narratives relating to the duke of Lancaster linger (sometimes intact, sometimes transmuted) in Yorkist manuscripts. The reason for this lies partially in the Yorkist interest in the reign of Edward III as a symbolic model for Edward IV's rule, and partially in the permutations of Yorkist historical memory of Plantagenet Iberian marriages.³⁷ In a Yorkist-owned manuscript of Jehan de Wavrin, *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre*, dating from c. 1470 – c. 1480 (BL, Royal MS 14 E IV), Gaunt's Iberian expeditions feature in many of the manuscript illuminations, including paintings of the duke, styled as the King of Castile-León, dining with the King of Portugal (f. 244v) and of the marriage between João I of Portugal and Philippa of Lancaster (f. 284r).³⁸

³⁶ Michael Hicks, "Bastard Feudalism, Overmighty Subjects and Idols of the Multitude during the Wars of the Roses." *History* 85 (2000): 386–403, 402: "These great men were of several different types. Fortescue himself accepted that they could even be 'righte good for the londe' as long as they 'aspire to noon higher degree or estate' and cited as example John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (d. 1399), the greatest of medieval English noblemen." See also Margaret L. Kekewich, ed., *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: A. Sutton for Richard III & Yorkist History Trust, 1995), 237, cited in Hicks, "Bastard Feudalism," 402n.55.

³⁷ Anthony Goodman and David Morgan, "The Yorkist Claim to the throne of Castile," *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985): 61-69: "Prophesies belonging to the period of Edward III's conquests in France were revived in Edward IV's reign, reflect another aspect of Yorkist ambitions. Until Edward was secure on his throne, expeditions to France would have been inconceivable. Nonetheless, optimistic forecasts of success could easily appeal to popular sentiment. Provided that Edward did not ask his subjects to dip into their own pockets, promises of military achievement could only enhance the king's image in the eyes of his people. One of the most popular of these 'foreign conquest' pieces is entitled 'The Lily, the Lion and the Son of Man'. In this, it is prophesied that the Son of Man (the king of England), in alliance with the Emperor, will overcome the Lily (a usurping French king) and assume his crown. The text piously concludes with the Son of Man's crusade to the Holy Land."

³⁸ British Library, Royal MS 14 E IV is a manuscript made for Edward IV, but it illustrates many episodes in Gaunt's Iberian interventions. See, for instance: f. 201v, "Portuguese and English armies defeating a French vanguard of the King of Castile (book 4, chapter 14)"; f. 204r, "King of Portugal fighting at Juberotes (Albujarotta) (book 4, chapter 16)"; f. 236r, "John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, receiving a letter from the King of Portugal (book 4, chapter 36)"; f. 244v, "John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster dining with the King of Portugal (book 4, chapter 44)"; f. 284r, "Marriage of John, king of Portugal to Philippa of Lancaster (book 5, chapter 34)."

The memory of Iberian dynastic marriages bore continued political significance in fifteenth-century England. Writing during Henry VI's Lancastrian reign, John Capgrave recalls Philippa of Lancaster's queenship in Portugal at the beginning of his biographical treatment of Henry IV in *The Book of the Illustrious Henries*.³⁹ But the Yorkists also had a stake in the genealogical claims of Pedro of Castile. Long after the Duke and Duchess of Lancaster had settled their claim with the Trastamarans through the Treaty of Bayonne (1388), the Yorkists nurtured a counter-claim to Castile through Edmund of Langley's wife Isabella, Constance's younger sister. Edward duke of York recalled this claim in 1412 in diplomatic negotiations with Fernando de Antequera, king of Aragón, and Richard duke of York displayed interest in the claim in 1444, during a period of unrest for the Castilian crown.⁴⁰ As symbolic markers of dynastic power, these Iberian pretensions reached their fullest expression in Edward IV's royal propaganda.

Yorkist pretensions to the throne of Castile were tenacious, in political self-fashioning if not in active policy. The Yorkist claim to Castile featured in the genealogical iconography of royal propaganda early in Edward IV's reign.⁴¹ It became one thread in a larger fabric of dynastic themes which sought to articulate the legitimacy of Edward's claim. The typographical life of Edward IV, British Library, Harley MS 7353, discussed above offers one memorable example, and other, less ornate manuscripts similarly call to mind the Yorkist Castilian claim. A fifteenth-century historical

³⁹ John Capgrave, *The Book of the Illustrious Henries*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858), 102-3, the beginning of the section on Henry IV: "For he was the son of that most sagacious man and most noble lord, John, duke of Lancaster, who was himself the third son of the last king Edward. His sister was married to the king of Portugal, his noble and active ally during the battle which he fought in Spain in vindication of his own rights. And the lady Blanch, the mother of this king Henry, was the daughter of the king of Castile." But see also 102n.1, in which Capgrave corrects the genealogical error in his *Chronicle of England*.

⁴⁰ Goodman and Morgan, "The Yorkist Claim to the throne of Castile," 63.

⁴¹ On Yorkist propaganda see Goodman and Baker, "The Yorkist Claim to the throne of Castile"; Alison Allan, "Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the 'British History' in the Reign of Edward IV," in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. Charles Derek Ross (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1979), 171-92; Raluca Radulescu, "Yorkist Propaganda and *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV*," *Studies in Philology* 100:4 (Fall 2003): 401-424; Linne R. Mooney, "Lydgate's 'Kings of England' and Another Verse Chronicle of the Kings," *Viator* 20 (1989): 255-289; Cameron Louis, "A Yorkist Genealogical Chronicle in Middle English Verse," *Anglia - Zeitschrift für englische Philologie*, 1991.109 (2009): 1-20; Charles Derek Ross, *Edward IV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

miscellany, Bodleian MS Digby 196, includes a rough genealogical diagram of English kings from Henry III to Edward IV in which Edward is described as “*verus heres*,” or true heir, of England, Castile and León.⁴² In the diagram, Pedro of Castile is represented along with both his daughters Constance and Isabella, while Katherine, Gaunt and Constance’s daughter who became queen consort of Castile, is absent. This diagram prominently emphasizes the Yorkist claim to Castile through Edmund of Langley’s dynastic claims while effacing that of the Lancastrian princess Katherine.

Writers seeking Yorkist patronage evidently felt that references to this Castilian claim would be favorably received. Both Osbern Bokenham and John Hardyng assert the Yorkist claim to Castile in texts written to attract Yorkist patronage.⁴³ Bokenham writes that Isabella, Peter I of Castile’s younger daughter inherited the claim to Castile herself—the “royal tytyle of spayne to englond broht, / And, for the fyrste sustyr yssud noht, / But deyid baren”—conveniently forgetting that the “first sister,” Constance, duchess of Lancaster, did in fact have a daughter, who married the future Enrique III of Castile. Hardyng, the historical writer and notorious forger, wrought the effacement of Lancastrian’s previous claim to Castile more elaborately. He includes a long passage (probably fabricated) in his *Chronicle* in which John of Gaunt and his brother Edmund of Langley make a pact by which the legitimate claim to the Castilian throne would pass to the first male issue

⁴² Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 196, f. 35. The MS is catalogued in *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues, IX Digby Manuscripts*, ed. R.W. Hunt and A. G. Watson (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1999), Part One of which includes a reproduction of W.D. Macray’s catalogue (Oxford: Clarendon, 1883): 212-218, item 31. Macray describes MS Digby 196 as a fifteenth century historical miscellany with later marginalia: “Miscellanea multa, praesertim historica. Praefixa est tabula quorundam e contentis, manu saec. xvi. exeuntis.” (The manuscript is cited in Goodman and Baker, “The Yorkist Claim to the Throne of Castile,” 68n.7 as having a reference to Edward’s claim to Castile, but without giving a specific folio reference.)

⁴³ Goodman and Baker, “The Yorkist Claim to the Throne of Castile,” 64.

coming from either of the two Anglo-Castilian marriages.⁴⁴ (Hardyng further argues that the Portuguese throne likewise belongs to the Yorkists, through another genealogical slight-of-hand.)

Many examples of Edward IV's propaganda give voice to broader dynastic aspirations beyond his Castilian "inheritance." The Castilian claim was iconographically linked to Edward IV's new English crown and Edward III's French claim, creating a "triple crown" motif that became pervasive in Yorkist propaganda, especially in genealogical manuscripts. J. W. McKenna argues that this dynastic theme derives from the Lancastrian concept of the Dual Monarchy, and cites it as one example of the endurance of Lancastrian themes developed around the union of English and French crowns which were subsequently reworked as part of Yorkist and Tudor iconographical programs.⁴⁵ The triple crown theme appeared in political verses from early in Edward's reign, such as "Edward dei gratia"⁴⁶:

Rex Anglie et Francie, y say,
Hit is thine owne, why saist thou nay?
And so is Spayne, that faire contrey,
Edwardis, dai gracia.
...
Remember the subdeue of this regaly
Of Englonde, Fraunce and Spayn trewely,

⁴⁴ Goodman and Baker, "The Yorkist Claim to the throne of Castile," 64; Sarah L. Peverley, "Genealogy and John Hardyng's Verse Chronicle," in *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France*, eds. Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 259-282.

⁴⁵ J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), 145-162, 162: "These publicist techniques, developed to bolster the minority of the last Lancastrian monarch, were antecedents and perhaps models for later Yorkist and Tudor attempts to create a public opinion favourable to their own dubious claims of dynastic legitimacy. From the dual crowns of Henry VI evolved the triple crown of Edward IV, an interesting though abortive symbol of the Yorkist tripartite claim to the thrones of England, France and Spain," and cites B.M. Harl. MS. 6148, fol. 121, and B.M. Cotton Vespasian E. vii, fol. 72.

⁴⁶ Rossell Hope Robbins, ed., *Historical poems of the XIVth and XVth centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 221-2, cited in Goodman and Morgan, "The Yorkist Claim to the Throne of Castile," 67.

Edwardes, dai Gracia.

One of the most sumptuous and unique genealogical manuscripts produced early in Edward IV's reign is the Free Library of Philadelphia Edward IV roll.⁴⁷ The format of this roll differs from so many other pedigrees in that a full-length figure of Edward IV bestrides the top of the first membrane, with the arms of England, France, Scotland, and Castile on his horse-trapper.⁴⁸ On membrane 7, there is a row of seven kings and dukes, with inscriptions on scrolls indicating their line: "princeps Wallie brutus conqueror"; "*Dux Cornubie brutus*"; "*Rex ffrancie*"; "*Rex Anglie*"; "*Rex Castellie & legionum*"; "*Dux Aquitanië*"; "*Dux Norman. conqueror*". Fascinatingly, the tenuousness of Edward IV's claim to one kingdom led to his use of the political symbolism of multiple crowns, in manners that sometimes reflected, as McKenna has argued, Lancastrian iconography of kingship.⁴⁹

Yorkist genealogical manuscripts often incorporated prophecies meant to authenticate Edward's rule through both hereditary rights and quasi-religious prophetic traditions.⁵⁰ Manuscripts such as Bodley 623 and Ashmolean Roll 26 use the triple crown theme as they weld together genealogical and prophetic traditions.⁵¹ College of Arms MS., Box 9, number 9, shows four lines of descent (British, Norman-English, French, and Spanish) culminating in the figure of Edward IV, "who is styled *dei gracia verus et indubitatus Rex istius Britanniae, Franciae et hispaniae.*"⁵² The manuscript also contains several prophecies meant to be read to anticipate the rise of the house of York, including those of John of Bridlington written to support Edward III's claim to the throne of

⁴⁷ Philadelphia, Free Library, Rare Book Department MS European 201 (Roll), *Chronicle of History of the World from Creation to Wooden* (After 1461 to before May 1464).

⁴⁸ For a description of the manuscript, see Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, 2 vol., ii, (London: H. Miller, 1996), § 104.

⁴⁹ J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy" 162.

⁵⁰ Allan, "Yorkist Propaganda," 179-89.

⁵¹ Allan, "Yorkist Propaganda," 180.

⁵² Allan, "Yorkist Propaganda," 187.

France.⁵³ Similarly, British Library Additional MS. 18268A includes the British, English, French, and Spanish lines of descent along with various *cognomen* prophecies heralding Yorkist rule.⁵⁴ These Yorkist manuscripts feature a convergence of multiple pre-existing political tropes and traditions deployed for specific propagandist purposes. Such international dynastic claims were especially prominent in early expressions of Edward IV's expansionist ambitions abroad, before his dominant political focus shifted almost exclusively to insular claims.⁵⁵

The legacy of John of Gaunt's Iberian alliances endured in English historical memory well into the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and was recalled in Tudor and early Stuart pageantry celebrating Anglo-Spanish royal entries and marriages. Pageants from the nuptial ceremonies of Katharine of Aragon and Arthur, Prince of Wales and of Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain both make reference to the history of Anglo-Castilian marriages. The *Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, which describes Catherine of Aragon's 1501 nuptial entry into London, highlights the Spanish princess's Lancastrian lineage.⁵⁶ In one pageant whose decoration tellingly includes heraldic Lancaster roses, the British St. Ursula addresses the *infanta*, stressing her ties to England:

Madam Kateryn, because that I and ye

⁵³ Allan, "Yorkist Propaganda," 187. On Bridlington, see Michael J. Curley, "John of Bridlington (c.1320–1379)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford University Press, accessed 6 May 2013). <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14856>>. On John of Bridlington's prophecies, see Lesley A. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press in association with Boydell Press, 2000), 5 n. 21, which includes a bibliography of sources on late medieval prophetic traditions. See also A. G. Rigg, "John of Bridlington's Prophecy: A New Look," *Speculum* 63:3 (Jul., 1988), 596-613, and Rupert Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911). Henry V visited his burial place as a pilgrim in 1421: Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, "John of Bridlington," *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900*, Vol. 29.

⁵⁴ See also BL, Additional MS. 18268A, cited in Allan, "Yorkist Propaganda," 187, 192 n.61, which shows three lines of descent; British, English, and French; the Spanish line is introduced later.

⁵⁵ Goodman and Baker, "The Yorkist Claim to the Throne of Castile," 67.

⁵⁶ Gordon Kipling, ed. *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne* (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1990). One of the pageants celebrates the joint descent of the Tudor Prince Arthur and the *infanta* Catalina from John of Gaunt, thus reinforcing the legitimacy of the house of Tudor by wedding it to an international font of Lancastrian blood. Queen Isabella was a more blue-blooded Lancastrian than Henry VII, and this alliance was not only politically and economically strategic, but also dynastically auspicious for the Tudors. Katherine of Aragon was named after her great-grandmother, Katharine of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's daughter. (Kipling, *Receyt*, 120 n. to l. 72, and Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1941), 6.

Be come of noble blod of this land
Of Lancastre, which is not oonly of amyte
The cause, but also a ferme band
Betwene you and this realme to stonde;
Nature shall meove us to love alwey
As two comon owt of oon cuntrye.⁵⁷

In an echo of earlier Lancastrian and Yorkist motifs, another pageant in the series features a trio of kings—British, French, and Spanish—surrounded by the heraldry of each kingdom. The marriage thus celebrates the union of Arthur and Catharine as a union of Lancastrian descent, a coalescence of the “three wellsprings of English royal greatness (French, British, and Spanish) upon the Rich Mount of England”⁵⁸:

And everlastyng unyon of Englund and of Ispayne,
The most noble regions undre the Hevyn is cope,
Now tournyd and made but oon realme that byfore was tweyne.
Blissid be the begynners that of this matier spoke,
For this bond and unyon, I trust, shall never be broke.
In Poulis many Simeons thought they had well taryed
To see thus Spayne and Englund toguyders to be marid.⁵⁹

In a similar vein, the consanguinity of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and Henry VIII was featured in two genealogical tableaux constructed for Charles’s entry into London in 1522.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁷ Kipling, *Receyt*, 14-15, § 2/92-8, and 119 n. to Book II, ll. 40-2 in: “A Garter, emblazoned with the motto of the Order...surrounds a Lancastrian red rose rather than a Tudor union rose. The heraldic badge thus signals the Lancastrian theme of this pageant. As St Ursula points out, Katharine’s descent from John of Gaunt has created a common bond between the Princess and the Saint: they both ‘comon owt of oon cuntrye’”; 120, n. to l. 92-8: “St Ursula refers to Katharine’s descent from John of Gaunt through both her maternal grandparents...St Ursula, however, does not herself claim Lancastrian heritage, only that she comes from the noble blood of ‘this land of Lancastre’ (i.e. England).”

⁵⁸ Kipling, *Receyt*, 147-8 n. to Book III, ll. 222-41.

⁵⁹ Kipling, *Receyt*, 41, § 3. 85-91.

first of these displayed their joint descent from John of Gaunt, while the second focused on their lineage from Alfonso X of Castile.⁶¹ Other pageants illustrated the imperial themes of the entry; these included scenes of Charlemagne with Roland and Oliver in various imperial postures as well as Arthur accompanied by an entourage of his vassal kings and earls. Both the pageants of 1501 and 1522 speak to a sense of longstanding and entrenched connections between the two kingdoms of England and Castile. It was an old alliance.

The political configuration of Europe was dramatically redrawn with the Henrican reformation. As the sixteenth century wore on, the legacy of earlier dynastic alliances and cultural mediations between England and Iberia stood in an uneasy and ambiguous relationship with the present state of affairs. The religious oppositions and imperial rivalries that subsequently enmeshed

⁶⁰ J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy," 161 n.52: "Later royal pageants continued the use of this genealogical motif...When Charles V entered London in 1522 he encountered several genealogical tableaux showing his descent jointly with Henry VIII from John of Gaunt and from King Alfonso of Spain." See Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), i, 174-79, 175 n.6 (which lists corresponding accounts in Stow, Hall, and Grafton) and the original manuscript in which the entry is described, Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS. 298. Charles V's paternal grandfather, Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, was the son of Eleanor of Portugal, a daughter of King Duarte of Avis, eldest son of João I and Philippa of Lancaster and grandson of John of Gaunt, while Charles's paternal grandmother was Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, who in turn was the son of Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal, who was the daughter of João I and Philippa of Lancaster. Both Henry VIII and Charles V were related to Alfonso X through their Lancastrian lineage; Charles was also descended from Alfonso X on his mother Joanna of Castile (older sister of Katharine of Aragon)'s side.

⁶¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 298, transcribed in Withington, *English Pageantry*, 177-8: "Also att the Leydn hall dyd stand a pageant off the progeny off the emprowr and off the kyng rychely and costly made w^t pictures and Images off the parsons off Kynges and Quenys and princes all in fyne golde in dyvers setys and stagys and a lyne ascendyng from oon to an other, from the lowyst to the hyst, and in ij the hyst setys ij ymages one of them representyng the parson off the emprowr and another the kynges grace, and in the lowest off all an ymage representyng the parson off John of Gawnte Duke off Lancaster, shewyng ther by how bothe the emprowr and the kynges grace doo descende and com lynially owt off the howse off englonde from the seide John of gawnte. Which John off Gawnte was son to Kyng of Edwarde the (iiij^{de})...[The genealogy of both rulers is then traced out in the MS]...Also att the standard in chepe dyd stand a pageant off great hyght rychely garnysshed w^t golde & siluer and asure and dyuers setes [and] stages, and in the hyghest stage sate a yong man representyng the parson off the emprowr and another representyng the kynges grace, an[d] a yong mayden representing the quene and an other the princes[s], and wnde[r] these setes and stages wer dyuers other setes in dyuers degreys one wnder an other, wheryn satte dyuers kynges, quenys and princes, and in the lowest off them all satte one Kyng Alfonsus Kyng of Castell and lyons and a lyne from hym ascendyng by degre to degre of euery kyng, quene, how they bothe descend and com lineally owt of the howse off spayne from the seyde Alfonsus. And the seyde Alfonsus salutyd the emprowr and the kyng att their coming, expownyng and declaryng to them in laten all their sayd progeny [The list of their ancestors is given in the MS.]" The kings of England, it should be pointed out, are descended from Alfonso IX of Castile through his daughter Eleanor, queen to Edward I of England. Sources often confuse the relation of Alfonso X and Eleanor of Castile as being that of father and daughter, due the fact that Alfonso was already on the throne when Eleanor married Edward, but they were in fact half-siblings.

England, Spain and Portugal threw their long shadows over each kingdom's historical traditions. During the *longue durée* of sixteenth-century Anglo-Iberian diplomacy, references to the Lancastrian marriages in Iberia became more fraught with anxieties about political and cultural identity. The marriage ceremonies of Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain in 1554, as reported in a printed source, featured a book tracing the Hapsburg Philip's descent from John of Gaunt: "the Prince of Spayne is vnto vs no straunger, but one of the bloude royall of Englande, by reason that his father the emperours Maiestie, that nowe is, bothe by hys father syde & mothers cometh of the Kinges of Englande."⁶² This appeal to the prince's Lancastrian heritage was undoubtedly meant to reassure the English populace that Philip, the first prince consort of England, was culturally, and even ethnically, akin to his new subjects. Philip's depiction as an Anglo-Spanish prince was meant to ameliorate fears that his foreignness would compromise the integrity of the body politic and ultimately to counter the criticisms of the royal couple steeped in the racializing discourses of the anti-Spanish "Black Legend."⁶³

On the southern side of the Bay of Biscay, John of Gaunt's interventions in Iberian royal politics were remembered in genealogical writing and illustration. The Duke of Lancaster (who is never referred to in Iberia as king of Castile) is mentioned lukewarmly in Alfonso de Cartagena's speech against the English at Basel and in his genealogical treatise *Anacephaleosis*, and appears in illustrations accompanying translations of this work into Castilian.⁶⁴ He likewise appears in Diego de

⁶² John Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion wherein are set forth the causes, that commonly moue men to rebellion, and that no cause is there, that ought to moue any man there vnto* (London, 1554), 93; see also Scott Oldenburg, "Toward a Multicultural Mid-Tudor England: The Queen's Royal Entry Circa 1553, *The Interlude of Wealth and Health*, and the Question of Strangers in the Reign of Mary I," *ELH* 76:1 (Spring 2009): 99-129, esp. 103, 124 n. 18: "among the adornments of the royal wedding of Philip and Mary was a book revealing that Philip was descended from John of Gaunt" (103).

⁶³ On xenophobic discourse in sixteenth century England, see Lloyd E. Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009). On the Black Legend, see Barbara Fuchs, "The Spanish Race" in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 88-98.

⁶⁴ Noel Fallows, "Alfonso de Cartagena (circa 1384-1456)," *Castilian Writers, 1400-1500*, Dictionary of Literary Biography v. 286, eds. Frank Domínguez and George D. Greenia (Detroit: Gale, 2003), provides a list of the manuscripts and editions of the *Anacephaleosis* (*Liber genealogiae regum Hispaniae*) (1454-1456): Cambridge, Mass., Houghton Library, Typ-

Valera's *Crónica Abreviada* (Seville, 1482; dedicated to Queen Isabel), at the end of a long passage on King Juan II's lineage and thus legitimacy, as well as in the anonymous *Breve compendio de las Crónicas de los Reyes de España* (Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Ms. Esp. 110; ca. 1492-1494), which possibly derives from the *Chronica Abreviada*.⁶⁵ The Portuguese Avis dynasty had stronger diplomatic ties with England during most of the fifteenth century than did the Castilian Trastámaras, whose traditional allies were the Valois French. It is not surprising, then, that a sumptuous, Flemish genealogical manuscript, the *Genealogy of the Infante Dom Fernando of Portugal* (1530-34), features a beautiful folio-sized illustration by Simon Bening centered on the pedigree of Philippa of Lancaster, matriarch of the House of Avis and daughter of John of Gaunt.

Iberian chroniclers and historical commentators, like their English counterparts, drew upon this shared history of dynastic relations when it suited their rhetorical aims. As I discuss in my fourth chapter, Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza published a series of *relaciones* on the visit of Charles I to Madrid in 1623, the culmination of prolonged, and ultimately unsuccessful, negotiations for a Stuart

162; Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, 77; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, 938b; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 7432, Res. 35, Vit. 19-2; *Liber genealogiae regum Hispaniae/El libro de la genealogía de los reyes de España*, with facsimile, edited and translated by Bonifacio Palacios Martín (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1995); Yolanda Espinosa Fernández, *La Anacephaleosis de Alfonso de Cartagena. Edición, traducción, estudio*, 3 volumes (Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, 1989). Gaunt's portrait appears in a copy of Alfonso de Cartagena's *Genealogía de los Reyes de España*, Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid, Ms. II-3009 (a Castilian translation of Cartagena's *Anacephaleosis*) as well as in the illustrated copy reproduced in a study and facsimile of Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 7432, Res. 35, Vit. 19-2, edited by Bonifacio Palacios Martín, *El Libro De La Genealogía De Los Reyes De España*, p. [37] on the original manuscript's foliation. See also Isabel Mateo Gómez, *Sobre El Autor De Los Dibujos De La Genealogía De Los Reyes De D. Alonso De Cartagena* (Burgos: Academia Burgense de Historia y Bellas Artes, Institución Fernán González, 2005).

⁶⁵ Diego de Valera, *Edición y Estudio de aa Valeriana: (Crónica Abreviada de España de Mosén Diego de Valera)*, ed Cristina Moya García (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2009), 316: "En este rey se purgó qualquier defecto que oviese en la genolosía de los reyes antepasados d'él, porque el infante don Fernando de la Cerda, primogénito del rey don Alonso Dezeno, fue casado con doña Blanca, fija del rey san Luis de Francia, como dicho es, y ovo en ella a los infantes don Alonso y don Fernando de la Cerda. Y don Alonso, que heredava el reino, casó en Francia con una gran señora llamada doña Mafalda, y ovo en ella a los infantes don Luis de la Cerda, que murió moço, y a don Carlos, que se llamó de España y fue condestable de Francia. Y el infante don Fernando de la Cerda, su hermano, casó con el conde don Enrique de Trastámara, que fue rey después del rey don Pedro, su hermano. Así, este rey don Juan fue visnieto del infante don Alonso de la Cerda y descendiente en setano grado de los reyes san Luis y don Alonso Dezeno, y fue visnieto del rey don Pedro y nieto del duque de Alencastre. Y así, de la una parte como de la otra, por línea derecha sucedió este ínclito rey jurídicamente, sin contradicción alguna, en los reinos de Castilla y de León." See also the anonymous, unpublished Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris: Ms. Esp. 110, "*Breve compendio de las Crónicas de los Reyes de España*. (fin. S. XV, ca. 1492-1494). I am grateful to Andrew Devereux, who is currently working on an edition of the chronicle with David Nirenberg, for bringing this text to my attention and sharing the edition-in-progress with me.

“Spanish match.” In the prologue to the first of these *relaciones*, Almansa offers a brief antiquarian narrative of Anglo-Spanish alliances. He focuses on the English princes who came to Iberian soil to perform chivalric feats—Edward I and Edward, the Black Prince—as well as John of Gaunt, an ancestor of the later Trastamarans, and implicitly casts these feats as precedents for Charles’s journey to Spain. Almansa’s prologue thus frames the current Hapsburg-Stuart match within a broader history of relations between the two kingdoms, one which emphasizes their joint chivalric honor—a theme which pervades the journalist’s depiction of Charles and Philip’s public performances of chivalry in the prince’s “courtship” of the *infanta*. More subtly, this strategic use of historical material serves as an exercise of legitimation, for it emphasizes that the Hapsburgs and Stuarts are dynastic heirs to medieval thrones, that the political legacy of their sovereignty is steeped in traditions that stretch back in time across dynastic rupture.

Many of these examples show the utility of recalling dynastic relations in diplomatic rhetoric, of emphasizing common royal lineage and shared historical traditions as a means of establishing political accord. Yet the memories of John of Gaunt’s Iberian campaigns could also be recast in an aggressive and antagonistic light. In *Henry VI, Part Three* (c. 1590-1), the Earl of Oxford, defending his loyalty to Henry VI, invokes John of Gaunt as not only the foundation figure of the royal house, but also as the font of Lancastrian England’s international claims: “Then Warwick disannuls great John of Gaunt, / Which did subdue the greatest part of Spain” (III.iii. 1775-7). Gaunt’s supposed “conquest of Spain” (an aggrandized reference to his Iberian interventions in 1386-7) are made to anticipate Henry V’s staggering victories in France; Oxford’s invocation of both is intended to shore up the contested, fragile rule of Henry VI on the Tudor stage.

Shakespeare’s portrayal of John of Gaunt as the conqueror of Spain in the 1590s was not unique to Shakespeare—rather, the iconicity of John of Gaunt as the king of Castile-León flourished

on the London stage for several years following the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Henslowe's *Diary* records the staging of a lost play entitled *Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt*.⁶⁶ Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* offers the most fantastical rendering of this historical material when, in the masque scene of Act One, *Hieronymo* identifies John of Gaunt for his court: "He with a puissant army came to Spain / And took our King of Castile prisoner" (1.5.166-7).⁶⁷ All these references indicate a rekindled interest in John of Gaunt's dynastic claims to Castile in direct response to the threat and defeat of the Armada.⁶⁸ However, it is history selectively rendered, for these plays re-imagine Gaunt's Iberian campaigns as wars of conquest. Kyd's egregiously-fictionalized portrayal infuses Gaunt's dynastic pursuit to Castile with nationalist overtones: "English warriors likewise conquer'd Spain, / And made them bow their knees to Albion" (1.5.170-171). By transforming Gaunt from a rival claimant of Castile to the conqueror of Spain, both *Spanish Tragedy* and *Henry VI, Part III* embed this historical episode in a larger narrative of imperial competition and national self-articulation between the two kingdoms.

⁶⁶ Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, eds. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 294, 339; this reference is cited in Felix F. Schelling, *Foreign Influences in Elizabethan Plays* (New York: Harper & Brothers Pub., 1923), 113: "Among the lost plays mentioned by Henslowe in his Diary there was another *King Sebastian*, a *Conquest of the West Indies*, an *Earl of Gloster* "with his conquest of Portugal," and a *Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt*, the two latter clearly unhistorical "histories," calculated to please an English crowd whose appetite for stories of English valor abroad craved more examples than even the defeat of the Spanish Armada could afford them. As to that great theme, it recurs again and again in these plays..."

⁶⁷ Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy* (1.5.162-171). On the dating of *The Spanish Tragedy*, see E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols., (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923), iii, 396; Philip Edwards, ed. *The Spanish Tragedy*, by Thomas Kyd, *The Revels Plays* (Methuen & Co., 1959); reprinted (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986), xxi-xxvii. See also Steven Justice, "Spain, Tragedy, and The Spanish Tragedy" *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 25: 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1985), 271-288, and Lukas Erne, *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy: A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 41-43, who suggests echoes between *Spanish Tragedy* (41-43) and the First Tetralogy and relates the John of Gaunt masque to the contemporary war with Spain (99). The masque is also briefly discussed in similar terms in Richard V. Lindabury, *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931), 64.

⁶⁸ Literary scholars often read Shakespeare's English history plays within the context of celebratory, anti-Spanish nationalist sentiment and a thriving sense of urban patriotism in the post-Armada years. As Claire McEachern notes, mid-twentieth-century writers describe Shakespeare's histories as "plays in which the prevailing dramatic interest is in the fate of a nation," whose purpose was "exercising or fostering patriotism"; or plays which "exploited the conscious patriotism of the decade after the Armada," *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 20. Here Philip Edwards's comment is broadly representative: "The history plays which Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists of the professional theatre wrote in the ten years following the Armada must have done a great deal to create a sense of national identity among Londoners and the city-dwellers of England," *Threshold of a Nation: A Study in English and Irish Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 68, cited in Kermodé, *Aliens and Englishness*, 13.

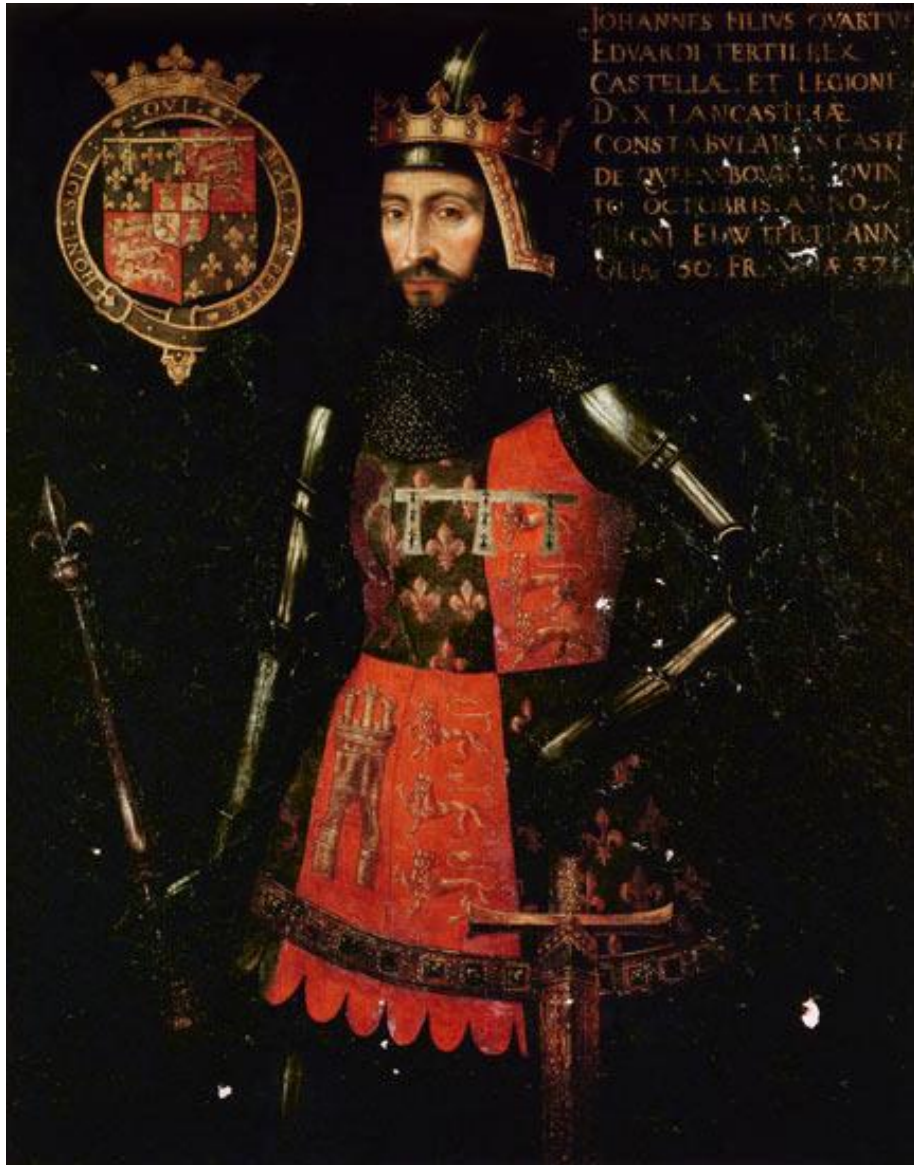


Figure 3: John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, commissioned by Sir Edward Hoby for Queenborough Castle, Kent, c. 1593.

Sir Edward Hoby, who patronized the first known performance of Shakespeare's *Richard II*, also commissioned a portrait of John of Gaunt as king of Spain as part of a portrait series of the Constables of Queenborough Castle *circa* 1593.⁶⁹ This painting, displayed as it was in a castle prepared for the kingdom's defense from foreign invasion, captures the coalescence of Gaunt's two perceived political roles in Shakespeare: as both an icon of English insularism and a foundation-figure of an expansionist dynasty. Along with contemporary references to the Earl of Gloucester's supposed conquest of Portugal (as in the *Spanish Tragedy*), these quasi-historical plays were fueled by, and fueled, an English fantasy of complete Iberian domination.⁷⁰ Like the famous Armada portrait of Elizabeth, this rekindled Tudor interest in John of Gaunt's dynastic claims to Castile are part of a larger cultural paradigm in which England's imperial apotheosis counterpoints the decay and decline of Spanish power and cultural influence during the later early modern period.⁷¹

Seventeenth-century antiquarians continue to display an interest in the foreign progeny of John of Gaunt and the genealogical legacy of Philippa and Katherine of Lancaster's Iberian marriages.⁷² Eighteenth-century historians, such as William Godwin (1756-1836), focus instead on Gaunt's connection with Geoffrey Chaucer or his role in the Hundred Years War, while parties with more interest in social history and ritual focus also on regional connections, such as the Society of

⁶⁹ Ellis K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain, 1530 to 1790* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), 40.

⁷⁰ On these masques in the *Spanish Tragedy*, see Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

⁷¹ On the "Armada paradigm," see especially Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), and on cultural responses to the Armada in England, see Bertrand T. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1994); R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588-1595* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984); and Martin A. S. Hume, *The Year After the Armada: And Other Historical Studies* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1896).

⁷² British Library, Stowe MS 604, f. 2 contains a pedigree of the Kings of Castile along with those of English and foreign noble families; and BL, Lansdowne MS 863/5 fo. 13 b. 14. contains a "Pedigree of the Kings of England from K. Will. the Conqueror to K. James I., together with the descents of foreign potentates from John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and of different nobility from branches of the royal families of England." Incidentally, a modern genealogical reference book on John of Gaunt's descendants exists: Roderick W. Stuart, *Royalty for Commoners: The Complete Known Lineage of John of Gaunt, Son of Edward III, King of England, and Queen Philippa* (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co, 1992).

John of Gaunt's Bowmen.⁷³ Much later, Gaunt appears in ephemeral works of Victorian medievalism in the Gothic revival, such as a pantomime submitted to the Lord Chamberlain for license entitled "Harlequin Friar Bacon and Grim John of Gaunt, or, The enchanted lance of Robin Goodfellow" (1863),⁷⁴ and a light opera (or sailor comedy) that ends with Gaunt's departure to Castile with Queen Constance to the tune of "Yo ho, yo ho!" (1890).⁷⁵

In later centuries, the duke of Lancaster becomes an archetype of late-flowering chivalry, an icon of the era, but even in his day, multifaceted and contradictory portrayals of his character lay the ground for complex and lasting assessments. He was Fortescue's exemplary "overmighty subject," a larger-than-life figure intricately and ambivalently connected with many major political and cultural figures of his time, who loomed over parliament and the king himself. As early as Shakespeare's day he was invested with a sense of nostalgia: in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, Gaunt, as the idealized "Black Knight," mourns Blanche, but in *Richard II*, he mourns England itself.

The duke has thus escaped a strict and sober confinement in the dusty tomes of history. As one would expect, he features largely in twentieth-century academic scholarship on late medieval England, but he also lives on in the pages of popular fiction, not only as a pulp fiction hero of intrigue, but also as a romantic one, a scandalous and star-crossed lover.⁷⁶ This rôle as an erotic

⁷³ William Godwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer, including memoirs of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster: with sketches of the manners, opinions, arts and literature of England in the 14th century*. 2 vols. (London, 1803); Arthur Collins, *The life and glorious actions of Edward Prince of Wales, (commonly call'd the Black Prince) eldest son of King Edward the Third* (London: Printed for Thomas Osborne, in Gray's Inn, [1740]). The Oxford Bodleian online catalogue *SOLO*'s record for this item includes the following note: "The history of John of Gaunt' has a separate titlepage, pagination and register, and consists in part of extracts from Dugdale's *Baronage*." See also Society of John of Gaunt's Bowmen. *Rules and Orders of the Society of John of Gaunt's Bowmen, revived at Lancaster, anno Domini 1788* ([Lancaster?]: Revised and printed, 1791).

⁷⁴ BL, Additional MS 53028 F, *Harlequin Friar Bacon and Grim John of Gaunt, or, The enchanted lance of Robin Goodfellow*, pantomime by 'F. Frost' (i.e. E. L. Blanchard). Licence sent 19 December 1863 for performance at Astley's.

⁷⁵ Michael Mahon, *John of Gaunt, comedy opera*. [N.p., 1890]

⁷⁶ James White, *The adventures of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster* (London: Printed by John Crowder, for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster-Row, [1790]); Jean Plaidy, *Passage to Pontefract* (London: Hale, 1981); P.C. Doherty, *Bloodstone: being the eleventh of the sorrowful mysteries of Brother Athelstan* (Sutton: Crème de la Crime, 2012); *The Straw Men; being the twelfth of the sorrowful mysteries of brother athelstan* (Sutton: Crème de la Crime, 2012); Cassandra Clark, *The Law of Angels* (London: Allison & Busby, 2011); Vanora Bennett, *The People's Queen* (London: Harper Collins, 2010), the last of which is about Alice Perrers, the Black Prince, John of Gaunt, and Geoffrey Chaucer. See also the romance by Anya Seton, *Katherine*

figure speaks to both contemporary reading tastes for historical fiction and to Gaunt's reputation as a prolific progenitor or seeding figure. John of Gaunt's endurance in English historical memory suggests Petrarch's prescience in including the duke in his *Triumph of Fame*—a reputation which Petrarch, along with other great and lesser authors of the era, helped to engrain.

Literature Review

At the time that I began the study several years ago, little scholarly work grappled with the cultural contact between Spain and England in the later Middle Ages.⁷⁷ Biographies of figures who traversed political boundaries, such as of Edward the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, or of individual queens consort, such as Eleanor of Castile or Catherine of Aragon, formed a point of departure for my research. Related fields of study, oblique to my particular focus but still pertinent to the larger story of cultural contact I aim to tell, involve the transmission of textual knowledge through the multilingual Peninsular centers of learning (and ultimately resulting in English translations such as Chaucer's astrolabe treatise) and the dispersal of Continental romance texts across linguistic boundaries.⁷⁸ The place of Spain, and of England, within the cultural landscapes of these romance texts becomes an important site of spatial imagination of the stories as they moved

(Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954) and *The book of the play, of John of Gaunt in love; or, Miss Mermot's preferment. Containing the amours of these two lover, from the time of their first meeting in Pall-Mall, to the consummation of their wishes at Windsor. A ballad farce.* (London: D. Thompson, 1749).

⁷⁷ Scholarship on the economic history of Anglo-Iberian trade includes Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978) and Teófilo F. Ruiz, "Castilian Merchants in England, 1248-1350," in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, eds. William C. Jordan, Bruce McNab, and Teófilo F. Ruiz, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 173-185; Anthony Goodman, "England and Iberia in the Middle Ages," in *England and Her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, eds. Michael Jones, and M G. A. Vale (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), 73-96; and R.F. Yeager, "Gower's Lancastrian Affinity."

⁷⁸ On the diffusion of Arabic learning in medieval England, see Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). I have found the two edited collections on the topic of Anglo-Iberian cultural exchange published since I embarked on this project very useful: *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges* (2007), ed. María Bullón-Fernández (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), and *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604*, ed. Anne J. Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). As this project neared completion, another collection went press that will add to this growing field: *John Gower in England and Iberia: Manuscripts, Influences, Reception* (2014), edited by Ana Sáez Hidalgo and Robert F. Yeager, which features selected work presented at the Second International Congress of the *John Gower Society* in Valladolid in July 2011 and whose theme was, "John Gower in Iberia: Six Hundred Years." Though I was not able to incorporate this collection into my dissertation, I was present at the conference and benefited from many of the papers presented there.

through time and space, and found new communities of readers.⁷⁹ More recently, the field of Medieval Mediterranean Studies has brought new attention to the rich cultural pathways traversing Europe, North Africa, and the Near East—and these offer new vantage points from which to explore the maritime and overland interconnectivities linking England and Iberia as part of larger, transnational circuits of trade and movement.⁸⁰

On the early modern side, a more extensive body of work exists on Anglo-Iberian relations, in particular on translations of Spanish texts printed in England.⁸¹ Much of the work in this area in English Studies takes as its focal point the antagonistic relationship between Tudor England and Hapsburg Spain, and constructs a historical paradigm that leads inevitably and triumphantly to the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In the past decade, more sophisticated critical assessments of this “Armada paradigm” and of the anti-Spanish “Black Legend” have yielded fascinating insights into early modern discursive formations of nationhood and empire in the two kingdoms.⁸² As Barbara Fuchs writes regarding the “case for the centrality of Spain to the field of early modern English studies,” “Spain is not a curiosity or a marginal preoccupation... Instead, both as a powerful

⁷⁹ This is one particularly intriguing, and understudied quality of certain romances, no doubt partially because of the semantically-shifting and indeterminate (or perhaps overdetermined) sense of place in so many texts of the genre. For one engaging study on this topic, see Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

⁸⁰ Major contributions to the field (with particular relevance to Anglo-Norman and Middle English Studies), include Suzanne Conklin Akbari, and Karla Mallette, eds., *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); and Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

⁸¹ On translations, see, for instance, Joyce Leslie Boro’s edition of Lord Berner’s translation of Diego de San Pedro’s fifteenth-century *Cárcel de amor: The Castell of Love: A Critical Edition of Lord Berners’s Romance* (Tempe: ACMRS/Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007) and Barbara Fuchs’s work on Thomas Middleton’s translations: “Middleton and Spain,” in *The Oxford Handbook to Thomas Middleton*, ed. Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 404-417. See also Sara Barker and Brenda Hosington, eds., *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) and Fred Schurink, ed., *Tudor Translation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). On Anglo-Spanish political and cultural relations more generally, see R. B. Wernham, *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips, *Spain’s Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Albert J. Loomie, *Spain and the Early Stuarts, 1585-1655* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996); and Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, eds., *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2002).

⁸² See Margaret Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds., *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Racism in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

cultural model and as an imperial rival, Spain is of crucial importance for understanding England's cultural and political self-definition."⁸³

Chapter Summaries

The project is divided into two sections, the first of which explores texts and manuscripts that develop the genealogical themes of the Lancastrian era, and the second of which focuses on the circulation of Lancastrian themes in early modern Iberian texts. The first two chapters trace the translation of texts across geographical and temporal boundaries as they are translated into new contexts and languages. The patronage of manuscripts produced within the Lancastrian sphere of influence reflects dynastic circuits of power and engages in the construction of cultural legacies that serve to articulate royal power. My first chapter, "Translating Authority in the *Confessio Amantis* and *O Livro do Amante*," argues that Gower positions himself within a legacy of poetic genealogy and political counsel that is synchronous with the imperial lineages of the poem's exemplary narratives. The poem conceives of lineage in ethical terms, and thus the interplay between Gower's evocations of *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii* is fundamental to his narrated mechanisms of political descent. Under the patronage of Philippa of Lancaster, the *Confessio Amantis* is translated into both Portuguese and Castilian, and within these material conditions of book production the political discourse of counsel is linked closely to the performance of queenship. In its Portuguese rendering, then, queen and poet are linked to the practice of just rule in an imagined textual community at once focused on the spiritual, intellectual, and physical regulation of the king and also on the wider readership of those encompassed within the bounds of "common weal."

⁸³ Barbara Fuchs, "Introduction: The Spanish Connection: Literary and Historical Perspectives on Anglo-Iberian Relations," in *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10:1 (Spring/Summer 2010): 1-4, 1. My understanding of the terrain of Anglo-Spanish cultural contact and textual transmission has been informed deeply by Fuchs's work, especially *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (2013).

The second chapter, “Mapping Dynastic Sovereignty in Lancastrian Manuscripts: Margaret of Anjou’s *Shrewsbury Book* and the Burghley *Polychronicon*,” traces how the figure of Charlemagne, as a dynastic trope, embodies English ambitions to the throne of France during the so-called Lancastrian “Dual Monarchy.” By focusing on two manuscripts created under Lancastrian patronage—one by John Talbot for Margaret of Anjou, and one by Thomas Mull, I trace both the changes in valence of references to Charlemagne as well as to the political geographies of his narrative traditions. While Talbot’s *Shrewsbury Book* consolidates a Lancastrian French perspective on the cultural negotiations of the Dual Monarchy by assembling a collection of French-language texts, the Burghley *Polychronicon* compiles various English documents and historical texts to convey a particularly Lancastrian vision of sovereign history and cultural boundaries.

My third and fourth chapters focus on early modern texts that commemorate the House of Lancaster’s genealogical ties to Iberia in order to inscribe contemporary imperial rivalries into larger dynastic histories and explore how the Lancastrian historical moment is evoked by later dynasties as a source of political or religious authority. By showing how John of Gaunt is commemorated in the Portuguese epic, the *Lusiads*, or how Henry V is depicted in a manuscript commissioned by the exiled community of English Brigittine nuns in Lisbon, these chapters argue for the enduring potency of Lancastrian dukes and kings as political symbols through the Tudor and early Stuart periods.

The third chapter, “Epic Afterlives: The *Lusiads* and Historical Legacy,” argues that the inclusion of the mid-fifteenth century Portuguese chivalric romance “The Twelve of England” into the great Portuguese epic, Luís Vaz de Camões’s *Os Lusíadas*, links Vasco da Gama’s voyage and subsequent Portuguese expansionism to specific historical moments of national and dynastic foundation narrated in the epic. Within the *Lusiads*, the Portuguese knight Magriço features in the Twelve of England story as the embodiment of chivalric valor. Chivalry is recovered as a facet of a

collective national past and deployed in the celebration of the heroic exploits of the explorer-protagonist Vasco da Gama. This ideological and cultural continuity models a relation between king and knight that is replicated in that of King Manuel and da Gama, whose voyage Camões describes using both epic conventions and romance modalities. However, the metatextual figure of Magriço also embodies the motif of belatedness that runs through the larger poem—a sense of temporal delay that resonates with the poem’s larger celebration of contemporaneity and serves to glorify the “late” arrival of the Portuguese onto the imperial stage of Europe.

The fourth and final chapter, “‘La antigua emulación de estas coronas’: Habsburg Patrons, English Dynastic Memory and the Spanish Match of 1623,” explores how the proposed marriage between Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales and María of Austria, sister of Philip IV of Spain, offered political and religious writers new ways of inflecting dynastic history, as well as the chance to imagine alternative genealogies—spiritual, literary, imperial—for inscribing the union within each kingdom’s history. By contrasting two textual productions—a manuscript created by the exiled Syon nuns in Lisbon for the Habsburg monarchs, which links the legitimizing religious patronage of Henry V of England to Philip II of Spain, and the journalistic *relaciones* of Andrés Almansa y Mendoza, which record Charles’s visit to Madrid in the language of a chivalric romance—I argue that English and Spanish political subjects represented the *infanta* as a figure at once responsible for ensuring dynastic continuity and one around whom other, gendered, paradigms of descent could coalesce. By exploring this particular constellation of activities and discourses surrounding the proposed Stuart marriage through the lens of two distinct forms of textual production, a manuscript intended for royal use and printed news pamphlets, I focus on the material valuation and circulation of the texts themselves. In an era in which rich cultures of reading were driven by both the creation and circulation of manuscripts and printed books and ephemera, a comparative study of these

historical sources offers insights into how manuscript and print sources record and appeal to royal history and the diplomatic maneuvering that helps shape it.

The chronological organization of my chapters allows me to trace not only the development of certain specific Lancastrian historiographical tropes, but also the creation of the “idea” of the Lancastrian sovereignty, from its origins in a ducal affinity, to its royal elevation, to its status as a site of imagined origins for later dynastic houses. Each chapter gestures towards the later permutations of specific aspects of Lancastrian historical memory: the fifteenth-century reception history of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* in Iberia, the reading practices enabled by a manuscript bearing both historical narratives and a Lancastrian pedigree, the linguistic translations of the *Lusiads* into Spanish and English, and the self-narrated history of the Syon nuns in Spanish. The project’s historical breadth thus allows its focus to shift from Lancastrian tropes to Lancastrian-as-trope in later centuries. This approach bridges the overdetermined historical divide, observed in scholarship, between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and offers instead a mode of historical thought more resonant with that of the period under study: a sense of periodization highly sensitive to spans of dynastic tenure, one archly aware of the need to highlight, efface, or otherwise account for dynastic rupture through the construction of lineal, temporal structures. This view complements, rather than replaces, the other important forces of cultural change integral to the complex transition between the eras we now call medieval and early modern: the beginnings of print culture, the pressures of religious reform and counter-reform, the cartographic and navigational ventures which broadened the territorial horizons and political ambitions of the kingdoms whose fates are encompassed in this study. This project thus challenges its readers to bring into dialogue traditions of scholarship seldom put into conversation, and encourages the future continuation of such a cross-period conversation in new directions.

Chapter One

Translating Authority in the *Confessio Amantis* and *O Livro do Amante*

“Daquelles que screverom ante nós ficam os livros e nós por elles somos ensinados do que entom foi scripto. Porem, bem he que nós outrossi screvamos do novo algũa materia de exemplos dos saibos antigos, em tal maneira que, depois de nossas mortes, a renenbrança dello possa ficar ao diante no mundo.”

O Livro do Amante, Madrid, Palacio MS, II-3088

A humid Mediterranean breeze blows across an open page, drying the new ink, as the copyist closes the nearby exemplar and rises from his desk. The text, running over 257 folios, is a prose translation into Portuguese of John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, and the manuscript’s colophon indicates that it was copied by one Juan Barosso, “at the command of Dom Fernando de Castro the Younger in the city of Ceuta in 40 days in the year 1430.”¹ Ceuta, a North African city on the Mediterranean coast, had been transferred back and forth in a century-long tug-of-war between the ascendant Marinid rulers of Fez and the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada. Now it stood, alone for a time in North Africa, as a lonely and expensive outpost sustained by Portuguese royal and

¹ Madrid MS Palacio II-3088: “por mandado de dom ferman-/do de castro o moco na cidade de/ cetpa em xxxx. ta dias no ano de 1430.” The two known fifteenth-century Iberian versions of the *Confessio Amantis* are Madrid MS Palacio II-3088 (Portuguese) and Escorial MS g.II.19 (Castilian). Manuela Faccon’s edition of the two fifteenth-century Iberian versions of the *Confessio Amantis* appears in *Fortuna De La Confessio Amantis En La Península Ibérica: El Testimonio Portugués* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2010). The epigraphic quote to this chapter is taken from page 273. See also R. F. Yeager, “Gower’s Lancastrian Affinity: The Iberian Connection” *Viator* 35 (2004): 483-515 and Bernardo Santano Moreno, “The Fifteenth-Century Portuguese and Castilian Translations of John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” *Manuscripta* 56 (1991): 12-34. For the Portuguese version, see also Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, “La traducción portuguesa de la *Confessio Amantis* de John Gower,” *Euphrosyne* 23 (1995): 457-466; “Indices castellanos de la traducción portuguesa de la *Confessio Amantis* de John Gower: Palacio II-3088,” *Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies*, Spanish Series 117 (Madison, WI, 1997), 1-9; “*O Livro do Amante*: The Lost Portuguese Translation of John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, MS II-3088),” *Portuguese Studies* 13 (1997): 1-6, and J. M. Manly, “On the Question of the Portuguese Translation of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” *Modern Philology* 27 (1929-1930): 467-472. For the Castilian translation, see also Elena Alvar, ed., with introduction by Manuel Alvar, *John Gower: Confesión del amante. Traducción de Juan de Cuenca* (s. xv), *Anejos de Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 45 (1990), P. E. Russell, “Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca, Translators of John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” *Medium Aevum* 30 (1961): 26-32, Bernardo Santano Moreno, *Estudio sobre Confessio Amantis de John Gower y su versión castellana, Confesyon del Amante Juan de Cuenca* (Cáceres, 1990); Robert Wayne Hamm, “An Analysis of the *Confesyon del amante*, the Castilian Translation of Gower’s *Confessio AMantis*,” (Ph.D. diss. University of Tennessee 1975), and Adolph Birch-Hirschfeld, ed., *Confesyon del amante* (Leipzig 1909).

mercantile interests.² The garrison left there was overseen by this Dom Fernando de Castro and by Henrique, son of King João I of Portugal and his queen Philippa (d. 1415), herself daughter of John of Gaunt and sister of Henry IV of England. Here, in the hinterlands of Portuguese territories, on the cusp of their great age of exploration, Barosso labored to copy *O Livro do Amante*, a text whose history is interwoven with Lancastrian dynastic history and ambitions.

The Middle English and Latin *Confessio Amantis* is a text preoccupied with the tenuous authority of a king in need of wise counsel, the irascible and ill-fated Richard II. Several years after it was written, its author John Gower assumed the role of the laureate poet for a new Lancastrian dynasty. The poem's multiple dedications to Richard II and Henry of Derby, as well as Gower's later position as an apologist for Henry IV, influenced the poem's reception as a text concerned with dynastic lineage and seizure. Philippa of Lancaster, wife of King João I of Portugal, was sister to the new English king Henry IV. As a patron and reader, Philippa would be a position to encounter and negotiate both English and Portuguese linguistic traditions, and scholars associate her with the transmission of the poem to Iberia and its translation into Portuguese and Castilian. Philippa, as sister of the English usurper, and wife to an illegitimate king who claimed the Portuguese throne after an interregnum, would be attuned to the dynastic themes of a text whose brilliant recourse to genealogy resonated deeply with the Lancastrian moment. Beyond the poem's first iterations in the Ricardian era, and outside its site of inception, the *Confessio* partakes in a discourse of good kingship

² On the Portuguese in Ceuta, see H.V. Livermore, "On the Conquest of Ceuta," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 2:1 (Summer, 1965): 3-13; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The crusades of Antequera and Ceuta" in *The Last Crusade in the West: Castile and the Conquest of Granada* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); P. E Russell, *Prince Henry "the Navigator": A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); António Henrique R. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2 vols., i, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972); Alberto Baeza Herrazti, *Portugal y Ceuta: Una Historia Común, 1415-1668* (Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, 2001); Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, *Entre Portugal Y España, Ceuta* (Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, 2001); Isabel M. R. Mendes Drumond Braga and Paolo Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa: 1415-1656* (Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, 1998); Anna Unali, *Ceuta 1415: Alle Origini Dell'espansione Europea in Africa* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2000).

that transcends its original context. It bears political utility in the kingdom of Portugal, during the later reign of a king, João, whose historical legacy was in the process of being codified.

The Portuguese translation of the *Confessio Amantis* is significant not only as an instance of English literature being translated into a Continental vernacular, but also as a material witness to the movement of books across linguistic and political borders during the later Middle Ages.³ The Palacio manuscript tells a story as interesting as any romance encounter within it, a story of sea-adventures, of beleaguered princes, of tragic affairs. The *Confessio*, in both word and codicological frame, text and paratext, constructs and navigates narrative space and explores the aesthetic and ethical implications of traversing such spaces across layers of allegory and strata of subjectivity. The *Confessio*'s traversal of space, from the text's origin in London, to the Avis court in Portugal, to the garrison at Ceuta, concretizes the poem's preoccupation with textual transmission through time. This movement across space distances the text, now *O Livro do Amante*, temporally and linguistically from its moment of creation, making the knowledge it bears more precious as it is translated from a context of dynastic crisis and political reform to dynastic foundation and cultural renewal.⁴ *O Livro do Amante* is a *literal*, linguistic translation of a poem that is itself a narrative about translation on multiple levels—about the transmission of knowledge in the grand scope of history, about fantasies of imperial conquest, about the moral translation of narrative into policy. The Portuguese context of Gower exposes the process of textual transmission, a dynamic within the poem that animates its reflections upon the transmission of historical knowledge. How *O Livro do Amante* was made and how it was

³ Joyce Coleman explores the historical context of Philippa's probable associations with the Iberian versions of the *Confessio Amantis*: "Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal—and Patron of the Gower Translations?" in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges*, ed. María Bullón-Fernández (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 135-165; see p. 157 n. 1 for other early translations of insular literature into Continental languages.

⁴ James M. Dean, *The World Grown Old in Later Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1997), 316: "In some authors, especially John Gower in the *Confessio amantis*, the meditation on the world grown old and its causes led to literary expressions of hope for reform. Gower (and Amans) suggested that knowledge of the world's divisions and one's own divided condition may perhaps bring about the world's renewal."

circulated has become part of the greater story of the *Confessio*'s reception and its particular engagement with Lancastrian sovereignty.

The *Confessio*'s readers have long recognized the poem's sustained interest in theories of kingship, both because of its appeals to Richard II and Henry of Derby and its embedded *speculum principis* in Book 7. Less explored in the critical tradition on Gower is the poem's more subtle engagement with the idea of gendered reading practices and political counsel, a topic which intersects with that of princely self-regulation (figured prominently as chastity in the *Confessio*) and models of governance. In the *Confessio*, good counsel connects to dynastic transmission through the figure of the queen. Dynastic marriages, engineered by and sustaining configurations of political alliance, are meant to secure the production of a dynasty's lineal heir; part of effective rule is leaving someone to rule wisely after you. But queens are also responsible for providing political counsel, for moderating princely rule and interceding with authority, in both private and highly public venues. Internal evidence in the *Confessio* suggests that models of good queenship are inextricable from models of effective kingship, through both positive and negative exempla. The prominence of women as political agents in Book 8 of the *Confessio*, in the long-suffering figures of Apollonius's daughter Thaise and the four chaste wives who preside over Venus's court, argues that queens are figural models for both productive modes of reading and of counsel. Their roles as ensurers of textual lineage and counselors to kings dimensionalize the centrality of queens in actual dynastic succession.

Historical evidence, too, points to the inextricable discourses of queenship, dynasty, and governance in the last decade of Richard's reign. Representations of Richard's first wife, Anne of Bohemia, as a tempering influence on the king hinge on a traditional role of queens as intercessors between the king and the barons or commons, a dynamic that could be exploited in the elaborately choreographed dramas of urban pageantry, such as that recorded in Richard Maidstone's *Concordia*

(1393).⁵ Criticisms of Richard's rule, which often describe the king's youthful, even sodomitical, vulnerability to false counsel, are recuperated in a gendered model of counsel that features Richard as a masculine, kingly husband within a literal and or allegorical marriage to queen and country⁶; such is the case with Maidstone's *Concordia*. After most of the *Confessio* was written, the diplomatic expectations surrounding the marriage between Richard and his child-bride, Isabella of France, call upon rhetoric of pedagogy as a antidote for the anticipated delay of marital fecundity (Isabella was six at the time); as Philippe de Mézières obliquely suggests, the trade-off for a queen who is too young to produce an heir is that she is malleable enough to prove an effective courtly partner.⁷

In its Iberian iterations, the *Confessio* materially embodies queenly authority in propagating political wisdom, with queens acting as book patrons and readers. The earliest Portuguese and Castilian fifteenth-century translations of the *Confessio Amantis* were mostly likely completed, if not directly under Philippa of Lancaster's patronage, then within her sphere of courtly influence. The single surviving texts in each language, each known in one manuscript, are probably tertiary translations from a lost Portuguese intermediary, and thus their survival hints strongly at a larger,

⁵ Richard Maidstone, *Concordia: The Reconciliation of Richard II with London*, ed. David R. Carlson, trans. A G. Rigg (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003). See Sylvia Federico, *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 26-28.

⁶ On Richard as sodomical, see Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols. (London: Rolls Series, 1863-64), 2:148; George B. Stow, "Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles," *Speculum* 59:1 (Jan., 1984): 68-102, 86-87; *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 62-63; Sylvia Federico, "Queer Times: Richard II in the Poems and Chronicles of Late Fourteenth-Century England," *Medium Aevum* 79.1 (2010): 25-46.

⁷ Philippe de Mézières, *Epistre au roi Richart* (1395), 77r-78r, edited and translated by G. W. Coopland as *Letter to King Richard II: A Plea Made in 1395 for Peace between England and France* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), 67. Philippe's infelicitous metaphor is that she may be trained like a horse or elephant. Coopland notes that the reference is to 1 Macc. 6:34: "If anyone should argue that the daughter of the carbuncle is over young, and that the diamond should take to wife a woman from whom he can soon hope to have children, for the comfort of himself and his loyal subjects, to this it may be replied: Bearing in mind the will and favour of God, that is to say, that although the diamond, on the advice of his subjects, may marry a lady good, beautiful and of the right age, yet to have issue as quickly as human beings desire does not fall within the power of man's freewill...Moreover, it is well known that if a man wishes to have the greatest benefit from a horse in battle, or elsewhere, it is necessary that the horse should have been well trained when young, and become obedient to the commands of the bridle and to other guidance, and, further, it is recognized that the man who has trained the horse will get more profit from it than anyone else...Now let us turn to the training of women, and especially of young women of high estate...The training of young girls, I don't say all, but some, is no less effective, if the truth be told, than the training of elephants."

and earlier, possible corpus of Iberian translations of the *Confessio*, which spread outwards in both place and time from the early Avis court.⁸ The Palacio manuscript, through Philippa's earlier patronage of *Confessio* translations, retains traces of queenly agency in its very materiality.

This chapter begins by focusing on the *Confessio*'s English political contexts in the 1390s and then moves speculatively to assess the Portuguese reception of the text in the first half of the fifteenth century. The first two sections focus on complementary facets of Gower's formal negotiations of "lineage" that foreground the trope of *translatio imperii et studii* in the *Confessio Amantis*: the poem's use of lineage as an organizing principle of historical narrative and its deployment of lineage as a metaphor for Gower's poetic creation and literary project. The first section, "Poetic Lineage and Political Legitimacy in the *Confessio Amantis*," explores how Gower structures historical time in the *Confessio*'s Prologue. The Prologue initially counterposes the stability of textual authority against the instability of political authority. In the first sentence of the *Confessio Amantis*, Gower specifically contrasts the endurance of books and the mutability of political structures to interrogate the transference of political and cultural authority embodied in the *translatio* model. Yet even this textual, bookish authority is subject to the rupture that afflicts kings and empires. Gower's project of "secondary translation" in the vernacular, as Rita Copeland has shown, embodies historical and linguistic change even as it announces its claims to bridge ancient and modern worlds.⁹ Copeland casts light on the paradoxical nature of *translatio imperii et studii* to symbolize both continuity and mutability by exploring how Gower inscribes the critical concept of "*divisioun*" into the paradigms of

⁸ As Yeager, "Gower's Lancastrian Affinity," and Manuela Faccon, *Fortuna De La Confessio Amantis En La Península Ibérica: El Testimonio Portugués*, point out, Barroso's exemplar was probably a Portuguese-language exemplar brought from Portugal in the fifteen years since Ceuta's capture.

⁹ Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 217: "As a linguistically heterogenous text, *Confessio amantis* acknowledges the reality of fragmentation represented by the vernacular, and thereby defines its own function: to call into memory that wisdom of the ancients that can be too easily lost through historical and cultural rupture."

historical and cultural transference.¹⁰ Building on Copeland's compelling argument, other scholars have emphasized the dual capacity of the trope of *translatio* to both inscribe and deny change as it reinscribes "imperial," classical cultural authority.¹¹ This dual historical gesture nuances the poem's representations of England's relationship with classical cultures as well as of Gower's relationship to his own textual sources. In the *Confessio*, England both extends and subverts the imperial fantasies of Troy and Rome that feature in Ricardian-era political literature and civic drama. The poem exposes the limits of the *translatio* model as one that engenders only rupture and decay and replaces it with a more fluid and motivical textual generativeness that constellates origins from multiple historical and textual points.

The second section of this chapter, "Genealogies of Textual Authority: Gower's Pen and Lancastrian Counsel" argues that in the *Confessio*, issues of lineage and transmission extend to Gower's treatment of authorship and of the engendering of texts. Poetic creation serves as a metaphor for sex (as in the raucous ministrations of Genius in the *Romance of the Rose*), and sex serves as a metaphor for poetic creation. Gower's use of the allegorical personae Venus and Genius, culled from Alain de Lille's *De planctu naturae* and Jean de Meun's *Romance of the Rose*, problematically sustains the sex/writing linkage while accentuating his engagement with his source-texts. In these French texts and their respective sources, Venus represents the creation of illegitimate lineages that threaten patriarchal order. Genius's authority as a confessor and allegorical figure for writing is thus compromised by his association with Venus, whose subversive linguistic play creates semantically-dangerous double-meanings. These conventional metaphors linking sex and writing both centralize and undermine the lineage of poetic authority that determine Gower's use of and relationship to his

¹⁰ Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 212 ff.

¹¹ See essays in the fourth section of Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Ian R. Johnson, eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

sources. Tropes of production and reproduction link the poem's allegory of love to its theme of linguistic and historical *translatio* as Gower positions himself within a poetic genealogy coterminous with the political genealogies he describes, of English imperial origins traceable to Brutus, of Continental allegorical traditions, and ultimately of Lancastrian dynasticism.

Yet Gower's position within this textual lineage is fraught with doubt. The Gower-persona's aged "impotence," dramatized in Book 8, figuratively plays out authorial anxieties about a failure of effective political counsel through literature. In the fluid, shifting allegorical register of the *Confessio Amantis*, the Lover's Malady is reflective of both authorial and political crisis. In the final book of the poem, the young Lover is revealed as the old, impotent writer—as John Gower himself, whose metaphorical pen is constrained by veiled forces and whose larger project of political counsel, meant to regulate the body politic, is indefinitely forestalled. Yet Gower can, and does, write more, and the narrative rupture that his self-revelation effects allows him to figure himself more completely as a voice of counsel aligned with forms of reading chastely and speaking wisely. A brief detour to the Gower's Lancastrian texts the *Cronica Tripartita* and the poem "In Praise of Peace" serves to emphasize the fundamental importance of the rhetoric of counsel to the official Lancastrian language recording and responding Richard's deposition during the *annus mirabilis* of 1399.

The chapter's final section, "Philippa of Lancaster, *O Livro do Amante*, and Portuguese Chronicles," brings together my readings of lineage and historical inscription, on the one hand, and chastity and gendered counsel on the other, to speculate on the political resonances of the poem in its Portuguese contexts. I argue that a thematic strain of ideal queenship counters the otherwise-grim ending of the *Confessio* and anticipates, if not inscribes, the reception history of the poem. In the *Confessio*, Gower's poetic project repairs ruptured lineage and ensures textual fecundity through exemplary reading. The multiple textual endpoints of translation and manuscript production ensure

continuities beyond the oppositions of a fractious single line. Modes of textual dissemination and manuscript production, alluded to in the poem's opening verses, materialize in the text's material histories as it translated into new languages and political contexts in Iberia. Outside of the text itself, the figure of Queen Philippa serves as an avatar for the cultural negotiation of dynastic foundationalism and political virtue. The chapter concludes by bringing the textual history of *O Livro do Amante* into dialogue with that of another genre of text produced under royal patronage: the fifteenth-century chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eanes de Zurara. Queen Philippa, herself a model of chaste living (and thus reading) in Avis dynastic chronicles and the ensurer of patriarchal lineage, fulfills a kind of cyclical movement internal to the poem by occasioning its translation into Portuguese and Castilian. Fifteenth-century Avis chroniclers Lopes and Zurara, who wrote within the close purview of royal authority, portray Queen Philippa's role in ensuring dynastic legitimacy and providing counsel. The documentary inscription of legitimacy in dynastic chronicles, grounded in both genealogical and ethical models of good rule, hinges upon control over the representation of the queen.

Poetic Lineage and Political Legitimacy in the Confessio Amantis

John Gower, a contemporary and friend of Geoffrey Chaucer, witnessed the great events of the reign of Richard II of England, including the Peasants Revolt in 1381 and the rise to the throne of Henry, earl of Derby in 1399, and left a substantial, trilingual oeuvre of writings responding to the political concerns of the day. His major English poem, the *Confessio Amantis*, which was largely composed and compiled during the late 1380s and early 1390s, runs over 30,000 lines in octosyllabic couplets and is accompanied by an elaborate Latin apparatus. *Confessio* takes the form of a triply embedded *speculum principis*, within a narrative compendium, within an allegory of love that is organized as a penitential manual. The poem's multi-generic negotiations draw upon a range of

textual sources to develop the author's political proposal to make "a bok for king Richardes sake," or, alternately in other recensions, "a bok for Engelondes sake." Yet, as I argue in this chapter, the poem's pervasive concerns with textual lineage and transmission and its broader engagement with Continental sources widen its potential interest to readers beyond the reign of Richard, or the shores of England.

The *Confessio Amantis* centralizes the vexed issues of lineage and royal succession that dominated political rhetoric during the reign of the childless, and at times child-like, Richard II. The poem's preoccupation with the lineal structures of transmission of political and textual authority foregrounds the legitimizing function of "good counsel," a concept which featured largely in popular and parliamentary critiques of Richard's rule. The greater allegorical structures of the poem harness the political rhetoric of counsel to emphasize the effectiveness of written authority in regulating monarchical prerogatives and ensuring the integrity of political structures. Gower writes, and writes himself into, the *Confessio*, positioning himself as the translator and transmitter of this political and politicized knowledge within the Ricardian polity. The *Confessio* promotes good counsel as integral to political legitimacy, most explicitly in Aristotle's instruction of Alexander in Book 7, but also through the confessional ministrations of Venus and Genius in the poem's allegorical frames, in their efforts to encourage Amans to control, and eventually, abandon, his desires.

In the Prologue to the *Confessio Amantis*, Gower's narrator speaks in a voice of authority linked to a greater literary tradition of counsel, one coterminous with imperial authority itself and ultimately more continuous in the face of time's destructions because of its essential translatability. The "Monster of Time" that haunts Nebuchadnezzar's dream—a major set-piece of the *Confessio*'s Prologue—materializes the progression of human culture, a vision which darkens London/*Trinovantium*'s crenellated walls with the shadows of decay and specter of political rupture.

At the emperor's demand, Daniel interprets this dream as an vision of the world's mutability: "And seide him that figure strange / Betokneth how the world schal change / And waxe lasse worth and lasse, / Til it to noght al overpasse" (Prologue, ll. 627-630).¹² As a prophetic cipher, this statue is both ephemeral and material—a formless "ymage" in a dream (Prologue, l. 824) and a grotesque embodiment of cultural debasement conjured from metals and clay, of the march of time that plods with earthen feet towards Rome. Daniel's exegetical prophecy, which translates God's "eterne remembrance" (Prologue, l. 586) into the limited memory of man, features this terminal empire as the end-point of all civilizations, degraded and tarnished, rusting at the Tiber's banks.

Against this inevitable political decline is poised the continuous transmission of books and knowledge, mediated through translation. Books are both a curative and a consolation in the *Confessio*; they materially embody wisdom as they are re-read and recopied through the ages. The *Confessio Amantis* opposes the endurance of books to the mutability of the world's political structures evoked later in the Prologue: "Of hem that writen ous tofore / The bokes duelle..." (Prologue, ll. 1-2). In Gower's poem, books are the links between a past and future framed by Fortune's destructive capacities. As repositories for historical narrative and for ethical dialectics, books survive in the face of the *Confessio's* literary and philosophical *topoi* of decay, their material and textual continuity giving history form. The act of writing is mentioned three times in the *Confessio's* opening sentence; Gower's textual creation places him within a lineage of writers and continues a tradition of writing integral to both culture and political institutions.

¹² John Gower, "Confessio Amantis," *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vol., ii & iii, ed. G. C. Macaulay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899-1902), II, 1; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text. On Nebuchadnezzar's dream in medieval art, see Dean, *The World Grown Old in Later Medieval Literature*, 22-31, and on the senectus mundi trope in Gower, see Dean, "Social Deterioration and the Decline of Love in John Gower's Narratives," in *The World Grown Old in Later Medieval Literature*, 233-270.

The wisdom that books preserve and transmit offers contemporary men, such as Gower, access to both the content and form of exemplary history, so that they in turn may “wryte of new some matter” composed from the fruit of this “old” wisdom:

Forthi good is that we also
In oure tyme among ous hierie
Do wryte of newe som matiere,
Essampled of these old wyse,
So that it myhte in such a wyse,
Whan we ben dede and ellsewhere,
Beleve to the worldes eere
In tyme comende after this. (Prologue, ll. 4-11)

The rhetorical triad of past, present, and future in the *Confessio*'s opening sentence situates the poem within a temporal framework structured around the divisions between “hem that wryten ous tofore,” those who write “In oure tyme among ous hierie,” and those who will read books “in tyme comende after this.” These new verses, “matiere / essampled of these old wyse,” preserve both ancient learning and the formal poetic innovation of “modern” poets. The rhyme pair *wyse/wyse* (“wise”/“ways”) links the concept of wisdom with the manner of its transmission.¹³ The certainty of futurity, grounded in the persistence of narrative through time, frames the apocalyptic impulses which well up at intervals in the *Confessio*'s Prologue and which point, alternately, towards ultimate obliteration of historical time on the one hand or the recuperative possibility of reform on the other. The endurance of books speaks to a continuous poetic lineage that preserves “old wyse,” in both senses

¹³ On the “wyse/wyse” rhyme pair, see John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 3 vols., ed. Russell A. Peck, with translations from Latin by Andrew Galloway (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000, 2003, 2004), I, 238-39, n. to ll. 7-8. See also David K. Coley, *The Wheel of Language: Representing Speech in Middle English Poetry, 1377-1422* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2012), 184-9, for a reading of books in Gower's Prologue resonant with mine, although Coley's focus is on the interplay of written books with the spoken word.

of “wisdom” and “ways”—both moralized verses and the modes of their transmission. Recorded by the poets, who are themselves implicit figures of political counsel, exemplary narratives survive though “The world is changed overall, / And therof most in special / That love is falle into discord” (“Prologue,” ll. 119-121).

Books in the *Confessio* are objects as well as ideas, material carriers as well as metaphors. The *Confessio*'s Prologue stages the relationship between the physical presence of the text and the use of the book as a synecdoche for knowledge, an *auctor* and an authority. One way this is played out is through the visual interface of reading; the mis-en-page of the *Confessio Amantis*, with its Latin hexameter paratexts and glosses, suggests a concern about how the codicological state and organization of a book conditions its reading practices. The range of meaning of “books” is also played out discursively. The act of writing in the *Confessio Amantis* represents a whole discourse of books and a range of activities associated with them, from patronage and conception to material creation to reading practices, and foregrounds lines of transmission and textual lineage between books.¹⁴ This material conception of the book thus resonates with other objects in the *Confessio* marked by lineage, some static, bodily and even grotesque (skulls and skin), others unmoored and dynamic (boats, arrows).

This initial vision of textual permanence lies in stark contrast to the transience of political entities, whose structures, to use Yeat's phrase, “fall apart.” Historical rupture is guaranteed by both time and *translatio*. Succession issues, warped lineages, patricide, and conquered empires punctuate the blood-stained dynastic histories evoked in the *Confessio*'s Prologue and in its subsequent books,

¹⁴ My readings of the *Confessio* and its Iberian recensions bear out Kellie Robertson's insight that “Subjects...[are] dialogically produced, always in conversation with things” and explore how the manuscripts of the *Confessio* and the individual (in some cases unknown) agents responsible for their creation and circulation partake in mutually-complex, reciprocal relations. Kellie Robertson, “Medieval Things: Materiality, Historicism, and the Premodern Object” *Literature Compass* 5/6 (2008): 1060-1080, 1060.

especially its embedded “mirror for princes,” Book 7.¹⁵ Dynastic succession is the first principle of Alexander’s rule, yet the patricides of Ulysses and Nectanabus immediately precede the *speculum principis* of his tutor Aristotle.¹⁶ Time disturbs not only political lineage, but also legal inheritance:

Instar et ex variis mutabile Cameliontis

Lex gerit, et regnis sunt noua iura nouis:

Climata que fuerant solidissima sicque per orbem

Soluuntur, nec eo centra quietis habent.

The law carries itself like the chameleon, changeable with every varied thing; and new laws are for new kingdoms. Regions that were most steady throughout the world’s orb are unmoored, nor do they possess axis-points of quiet. (Prologue, “The State,” ii. ix-xii)

The timeless truths of authority sit awkwardly with the “chameleon-like” contingency of “new laws.” The uncomfortable implications of this interplay of history and innovation expose the mechanisms of translation and transmission to methodological crisis. How do new kingdoms accede to old laws? The answer, for Gower, would seem to be in a kind of regulated practice of sovereign reading that embodies modes of textual counsel.¹⁷ In the penitential framework of the poem, such practices are figured in terms of “chaste” methods of reading and writing.

The *Confessio*’s Prologue thus seems to privilege the mechanisms of poetic lineage against their political and legal counterparts of inheritance, to compare the legacy of *translatio studii* favorably against that of *translatio imperii*, to give us a library against the ruins of Rome. Yet Gower obliquely suggests that even poetic legacy is subject to Fortune’s mutability. The Prologue to the *Confessio*, with

¹⁵ On the use of exemplary narratives in the *Confessio*, see Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 245-297.

¹⁶ On Alexander’s patricide, see Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power*, 277-82.

¹⁷ Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power*, 296: “These negative exempla end Gower’s consideration of kingship in a way that affirms both its public dependence and the absolute singularity of its authority. In fact, it makes the two synonymous...To that extent royal self-regulation comes from them and they [i.e. the poem’s readers] share its power.”

its professed anxieties about the diminished status of learning in the current day, suggests that the present moment may be subject to the crushing, recursive historical traumas of past and to a new kind of silencing or narrative decay born of a loss of literacy or the heedlessness of authority. The *Confessio* exposes the inherent tensions in this particular double-vision of *translatio imperii et studii*. Uniting two methodologies for ordering and reading history, the poem mobilizes an understanding of lineage that is both genealogical (as in universal history) and typological, constructed through exemplary reading practices that create purposeful links between princes and empires across temporal divides.

If the *Confessio*'s Prologue expresses an anxiety about the survival of these textual authorities, it is not in the overwhelmingly material sense of the Richard de Bury's *Philobiblion*, which laments the physical destruction of books associated with war.¹⁸ Nor does the Prologue insist on a textual fixity through time and transmission; Gower's own revisionary choices suggest a practical and theoretical understanding of the iterativeness of the fluid text. Rather, the anxiety expressed in these lines is about the continued legibility of books, in the broadest sense, including linguistic and exegetical challenges.¹⁹ In the "third recension" of the *Confessio Amantis*, Gower describes the high valuation of books in earlier times with a hint of nostalgia:

And natheles be daies olde,
Whan that the bokes weren levere,
Wrytinge was beloved evere
Of hem that weren vertuous... (Prologue, ll. 36-39)

This nostalgic pose is itself a literary trope, and Gower's use of it situates him within a larger poetic tradition of political verse. Gower's complaint, that writing is not valued "as it used to be," hints at a

¹⁸ Richard de Bury, *The Love of Books: The Philobiblon of Richard De Bury*, eds. Ernest C. Thomas and Israel Gollancz (London: Chatto & Windus, 1925), chapter 7.

¹⁹ On moral exempla and reading practice, A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984).

possible intellectual (and ultimately political) crisis born of a failure to read or to read well. The precariousness of the transmission of wisdom, the “wyse” that seemed so assured in the poem’s first lines, is increased by the danger that these stories are not read “correctly”—a very real danger in a poem in which one of the main interlocutors, Amans, is a notoriously ambivalent and unsuccessful exegete. But political resistance to the espousal of literary wisdom extends beyond poor reading skills and arts of interpretation. Intractable princes turn a deaf ear to the wise (as Chaucer’s *Melibee* states), obscuring their moral vision and compromising their ability to rule well. Unwillingness to listen to counsel, based upon pride of estate, threatens the continuity of the tradition, dangerously limiting the ethical constraints upon governance.

Written during a particularly unstable moment in Richard’s reign, leading up to and following the Merciless Parliament’s censure and brief deposition of the king, the *Confessio* is a Ricardian text that, through both internal reference and textual dissemination, grapples with the foundational narratives of Lancastrian dynasticism.²⁰ The textual scholarship of the *Confessio Amantis* long adhered to a model set forth by Gower’s first modern editor, George Campbell Macauley, who posited a three-step revision process by which Gower directed successive changes to the framing sections of the poem (around 1390-1393/4), essentially rededicating the poem to Henry of Derby in advance of Henry’s accession to the throne. More recently, scholars have questioned this model, and some have argued that the supposedly-earlier Ricardian recensions (of which no manuscript survives before 1400) are later interpolations of Lancastrian agents.²¹ If the earliest date at which Gower embraces the role of Lancastrian apologist is open for debate, it is at least clear that by Richard’s deposition he was a supporter of Henry, earl of Derby, a junior appellant and the son and heir of

²⁰ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

²¹ On the critical debates around the multiple versions of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, see Joel Fredell, “The Gower Manuscripts: Some Inconvenient Truths,” *Viator* 41.1 (2010): 231-50; Peter Nicholson, “Gower’s Manuscript of the ‘Confessio Amantis,’” in *The Medieval Python: The Purposive and Provocative Work of Terry Jones*, eds. R. F. Yeager and Toshiyuki Takamiya (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 75-86; Derek Pearsall, “The Manuscripts and Illustrations of Gower’s Works,” in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. Siân Echard (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), 73-97; Coley, *Wheel of Language*, 153-156.

John of Gaunt. Gower's late writings, especially the Latin *Cronica Tripertita* and the English poem "In Praise of Peace" condemn the failures of Richard II and defend the legitimacy of Henry's seizure of the crown. Moreover, at least one Gower manuscript, the "Stafford Gower" (Huntington Library, MS Ellesmere 26 A 17) has signs of Lancastrian ownership.²² Even as the Lancastrians reimagine their dynastic foundation, the Lancastrian reclamation of Gower offers alternate forms of textual genealogy that rewrite and efface the *Confessio's* own vexed Ricardian moment of origins.

Imagined scenes of royal counsel or audience allow Gower to intervene politically into the contemporary state of English governance. The poem, famously, has plural iterations of patronage, with some recensions of the poem praising Richard at the beginning and Henry of Derby at the end, and another recension addressing only Henry. The Prologue's crucial emendation occurs after line 23, with the first recension reading:

And for that fewe men endite

In oure Englissh, I thenke make

*A book for King Richardes sake

*To whom bilongeth my ligeance

*With al myn hertes obeissance

*In al that ever a liege man

*Unto his king may doon or can (Prologue, 22-28)²³

In contrast, the Henrican recension substitutes kingdom for king, England for Richard: "A bok for Engelondes sake,/ The yer sextenthe of Kyng Richard" (Prologue, 24-25). Gower's earlier declaration of authorial intent imagines his work as an expression of sovereign fealty to Richard, but

²² See C. W. Dutschke and Richard H. Rouse, eds., *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1989). See also A.I. Doyle and Malcolm Parks, "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, eds. V. J. Scattergood and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar, 1978), 163-210.

²³ Lines specific to later recensions are marked with an asterisk, following Russell Peck's editorial convention in *Confessio Amantis*.

his choice of vernacular (“fewe men endite / In oure Englissh”) suggests that he never intended a closed circuit of royal reading. The later revision reifies the choice of vernacular as an appeal to common profit on a larger political scale and as the subject of an elaborate Latin apparatus.

The Ricardian recension of the *Confessio Amantis* dramatizes the foundation moment of the poem itself—its moment of patronage by the king—and ties this to larger stories of English foundation through references to Brutus and Hengist. Gower reconfigures the history of English foundations, which encompasses both Trojan and Roman authority, to give voice to an English commons desperate for political reform. As the Prologue of the *Confessio* embeds the crisis of Ricardian kingship within the universalizing historical structures of *translatio imperii et studii*, Gower positions himself within a poetic genealogy of political counsel synchronous in time with the Orosian and Virginal imperial lineages of the poem’s exemplary narratives. The poem’s Prologue rehearses the conventional Galfridian story of England’s foundation by the Trojan Brutus and uses this national foundation to counterpoint the historical narrative prompted by Nebuchadnezzar’s time-monster.

As in Higden’s *Polychronicon*, the foundations of England in the *Confessio* are embedded within universal structures and featured as their privileged “destination” or end-point.²⁴ “Hengist’s tongue” (“*Engisti lingua*”) the language of English political subjects, is celebrated as the foundation of a social and reading community to which Gower gives voice; it is elevated to a status deserving of Gower’s elaborate Latin paratexts. However, the *Confessio*’s appeals to originative moments are fraught with anxieties about decay, dissolution and division. In the Galfridian traditions upon which Gower draws, Hengist’s tongue speaks of the political and imperial failure that encompasses linguistic triumph; the story of the English language becomes a story of genocide. Similar tensions hold true of teleologies that link Gower’s evocation of Troy and Rome with Ricardian England. Hovering at

²⁴ Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 71-92.

the imagined peripheries of the poem is the *Vox Clamantis*, which imagines overrun London as a besieged Troy, swarming with Ulysses's swine and emitting a stream of exiles from its walls in an uncanny nightmare of urban diaspora. Rome too lies vacant of political or ecclesiastical authority, its seat of empire transferred to the peripatetic Germans and its See fractured by schism. The poem's obsession with political mutability—its recurrent nightmares of the fall of Troy and the ruins of Rome—eschews the regenerative appeal of the *translatio* model to produce an ominous and often negative linkage between Gower's London and its imperial origins.

Troy is a particularly unstable and iterative point of national and narrative origins in the *Confessio*. The earliest recension of the poem links fantasies of Trojan foundation to Richard as well as the city of London:

Under the toun of newe Troye,
Which took of Brut his ferste joye,
In Temse whan it was flowende
As I by bote cam rowende,
So as Fortune hir tyme sette,
My liege lord par chance I mette (Prologue, *37-*42)

When Gower revises the poem to address only Henry of Derby, the narrative erasure of Richard coincides with a loss of interest in London's status as a "New Troy."²⁵ This change reframes the Trojan stories in the poem's exempla, emphasizing division without *translatio*. The poem's Latin paratext preserves England's distinction as Brutus's isle: "*Qua tamen Engisti lingua canit Insula Bruti.*"²⁶

Yet the provisional fissure between Troy and Trinovantum in the *Confessio*'s own dramatized

²⁵ See Sylvia Federico, *New Troy*, who discusses the Ricardian boat scene on 112-13, the poem's oblique relationship to the *LGW* on 113-14, and the three English recensions on 115-116: "In these few lines, Gower articulates a changed idea of public poetry. Rather than writing for a king, he writes for a nation. England here replaces Richard in the poem's beginning, as Henry replaces Richard in the Epilogue. These two stages of the poem's alteration are a clear indication of a shift in Gower's allegiance, from the king in new Troy to a new, hoped-for state of England" (116).

²⁶ Chaucer's "Complaint to His Purse," which addresses Henry IV, similarly contains a reference to Albion's Britain, although in a Lancastrian context. See, for instance, Coley, *Wheel of Language*, 181.

foundation-moment renders Troy an exemplum of fallen, rather than translated, empire. Gower is no longer conversing with the king on his royal barge, a figural ship of state. Rather, he stages his performance as a public poet by enacting a kind of textual recuperation against the grain of time's change and division:

Men se the world on every syde
In sondry wyse so diversed,
That it wel nyh stant al reversed,
As for to speke of tyme ago.
The cause whi it changeth so
It needeth nought to specifie,
The thing so open is at y̅e
That every may it mai beholde. (Prologue, ll. 28-35)

The cause that “every eye may behold” is tautologically figured as change itself: “The world is changed overall, / And therof most in special / That love is falle into discord” (Prologue, ll. 119-121). This emphasis on change as the cause (and effect) of moral, political, and intellectual “discord” replaces the typological link that, in earlier versions’ account of the poet’s audience with the king upon the Thames, had seamlessly linked London and Troy. Gower substitutes a scene of princely interest in his literary project with a passage expressing nostalgia for a time when books were held in esteem (Prologue, ll. 36-39; quoted above), and concluding with a directive to continue the traditions of inscription:

For hier in erthe amonges ous,
If no man write hou that it stode,
The pris of hem that weren goode
Scholde, as who seith, a gret partie,

Be lost...

(Prologue, ll. 40-4)

Subsequent lines in which the poem's narrator states his intention of committing to writing the histories of both good and bad princes for edification likewise recharacterize the historical project of Gower's poem, making its narrative exempla more aggressively recuperative and moralizing.

Rome is the terminus for both the Orosian model of *translatio imperii*, which traces the universalist transfer of power across four empires, and the Virgilian mode of history, in which Rome continues the legacy of Troy.²⁷ The *Confessio* exposes the contingencies between the Roman model of imperial power and English political legacies, and Gower exploits this productive tension to enable a multimodal textual engagement with his sources across temporal and spatial fields.²⁸ Gower's *Confessio* articulates two formal ways of imagining a cultural lineage linking England to Rome. One is based upon models of universal history while the other is indebted to the narrative configurations of examples from textual authorities such as Ovid. The Prologue, in Daniel's *grand récit* of history, rehearses the lineal descent of Roman authority through European dynasties and establishes a striking contrast between the absolute, even global, power of Julius Caesar and the iterative European kingdoms which inherit, imperfectly and in limited forms, his authority. Caesar, the passage says,

Al Grece, Perse, and ek Caldee

Wan and put under, so that he

Noght al only of th'orient

²⁷ Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 286-7: "Over the later Middle Ages, the story of the fall of Troy and the subsequent rise of Rome came to be integrated within the Orosian history of imperial power. This development was made easy by the fact that the trajectory of empire both in the *Aeneid* and in Orosius' universal history passes from the eastern regions to Rome by way of Carthage. In spite of the tendency of modern readers to emphasize the disjunction between Virgilian and Augustinian modes of historiography, medieval readers eagerly integrated the two, adding Trojan genealogies and even entire narratives of the fall of Troy into late medieval adaptations of Orosius: in one extreme case, a fourteenth-century adaptation of the thirteenth-century *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* actually pops the whole of the *Roman de Troie* into the sequence of Orosian *translatio imperii*. Troy thus took its place alongside other imperial precursors of Rome."

²⁸ Here I disagree with Frederico, *New Troy*, xv, who argues that Middle English poets avoided using Rome as an imperial model in favor of Troy as an imperial model in the late fourteenth century.

Bot al the marche of th'occident,
Governeth under his empire,
As he that was hol lord and sire,
And hield thurgh his chivalrie
Of al this world the monarchie,
And was the ferste of that honour
Which tok the name of Emperour. (Prologue, ll. 717-726)

The doomed empire “was abandoned...[and] cam nere again / Into the hond of no Romein” (Prologue, ll. 766-768). Its authority passed from the “Frensche kynges” (780) to Lombardy, and thence to Germany, where it was subject to time’s great scythe, “division” (802-807).²⁹ The poem thus implicitly describes the divided authority of the German council, which elects the Emperor of Rome, in negative terms as evidence of the fragmentation and decay of authority. To this day, Daniel (anachronistically) explains, “Th’empire of Rome hath ben and is / To th’Alemans.” The “laste token of all” (826) is the base of the statue, whose base materials represent the fallen state of the present world, in which day by day, the world is subject to unceasing division and decay:

Upon the feet of erthe and stiel
So stant this world now everydiel
Departed, which began riht tho,
Whan Rome was divided so. (“Prologue,” ll. 827-30)

Daniel expounds his prophesy by tracing the rise and fall of empires throughout Orosian history:

Whereof the soothe schewe may,
At Rome ferst if we beginne.
The wall and al the cit withinne

²⁹ “And thus for thei hemself divide / And stonden out of reule unevene, / Of Alemaine princes sevene / Thei chose in this condicioun, / That upon here eleccioun / Th’empire of Rome scholde stonde” (Prologue, ll. 802-807).

Stant in ruine and in decas;
 The feld is wher the paleis was,
 The toun is wast, and overthat,
 If we beholde thilke astat
 Which whilom was of the Romeins,
 Of knythhode and of citezeins,
 To peise now with that beforne,
 The chaf is take for the corn.
 As for to speke of Romes myht
 Unethes stant ther oght upryht
 Of worschipe or of worldes good,
 As it before tyme stod. "Prologue," 834-848

The ruins of Rome serve as a *memento mori* of empire, of "Romes might." This image is saturated with radical pessimism born of a wholly secular vision of history. Unlike medieval pilgrimage guides, which assigned Christian significance to the spiritual sedimentations of the city and translated its ruins into evidence for salvation history, the city represents only historical trauma.³⁰ This wasted scene can only represent "The world which after scholde falle" (c. 825).

That Rome can only signify an end, a "representational closure," limits its narrative effectiveness as anything other than a negative exemplum.³¹ But this initial vision of Rome in ruins, as a lineal end-point of imperial culture, yields to more positive historical models of recuperation in the poem. The *Confessio* enacts a different mode of transmission of culture between Rome and

³⁰ See Jennifer Summit, "Topography as Historiography," 214: "In place of a historiography of loss and recovery on the one hand, or of undifferentiated continuity on the other, they represent historical change as a form of conversion that did not so much destroy or supplant the past as conserve its outward forms while assigning them new meanings. This project necessitated a method of recuperating the material forms of the past in ways that made them significant to the present, thus turning the visible signs of pagan Rome into vital evidence for a material history of Christianity."

³¹ Frederico, *New Troy*, 28.

England by filtering stories of Rome through the poem's confessional apparatus. By delineating and reconstellating the import of history's sequence, Gower untimes history to make it contain and transmit textual wisdom, and thus rehabilitates Rome as a site of empire in his vernacular English narratives.³² This configuring of examples from history, drawn through memory's sieve, is both a writerly and readerly methodology. Distancing itself from *translatio imperii*, it molds out of the statue's feet of clay a new form in which models of governance can be translated as exemplary stories. Rome, which is both an empire and a republic, can be used in the *Confessio* to condemn tyranny and yoke regal and conciliar authority. Roman narratives function as a site in which the regulation of autocratic rule through counsel, and governance's ultimate endurance, is explored. Finally, Rome provides the very vehicle for the *Confessio* itself: the polysemous figures of Genius and Venus. As living artifacts of the Roman word, each with their own textual lineage, the two allegorical personae guide the Lover through his self-exploration and incomplete penitence.

Genealogies of Textual Authority: Gower's Pen and Lancastrian Counsel

Gower's self-conferred status as a poet of counsel enables him to assume an imagined place within a poetic lineage synchronous with the world of history and history-making. His *Confessio* is both an end-point of the continuity of books and reading practices assured by *translatio studii* and a textual node in the transmission of exempla from the past that links it to future readers. This emphasis on redaction and continuity is especially poignant when one considers that the *Confessio*, across its frames of allegory and narrative, is itself a compendium of translated materials.³³

³² Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. and intro. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 263, §18a: "Historicism contents itself with establishing a causal connection between various moments in history. But no fact that is a cause is for that very reason historical. It became historical posthumously, as it were, through events that may be separated from it by thousands of years. A historian who takes this as his point of departure stops telling the sequence of events like the beads of a rosary. Instead, he grasps the constellation which his own era has formed with a definite earlier one. Thus he establishes a conception of the present as the 'time of the now' which is shot through with chips of Messianic time."

³³ Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power*, 248.

Mechanisms of transmission are predicated upon models of “chaste” reading and writing that guarantee the semantic integrity and trope on figural imaginings of generative textuality. The “ways of books” encompasses both the material propagation of texts and the perpetuation of good reading practices, which the poem figures as “virtuous” or “chaste” reading within its allegory of love. The erotic, and ironic, subtexts of the poem provide a narrative frame which appeals to the royal ear by making wise counsel itself pleasurable.

Chastity features largely in the overarching penitential frame of the *Confessio Amantis*, whose frame narrative concerns the regulation of erotic impulses through the reading of narrative exempla. Unlike other virtues which receive their own installment of exempla, lechery—and most prominently incest—is discussed between Book 7’s macrocosmic Aristotelian “advice for princes” and Book 8’s Hellenic romance of Apollonius (although frequently, exempla treat erotic love obliquely while ostensibly addressing other moral or political issues).³⁴ This placement underscores the political dimensions of this virtue in the ethics of rule. Larry Scanlon, in his reading of the *Confessio*’s Constantine exemplum, emphasizes that practices of reading ethically are politically engaged, and suggests that Gower’s choice to end the poem with a prolonged reflection on chastity reflects the link between political communities and reading communities:

Bringing royal authority back to the body gives the ideological connection between Gower’s readers and his royal exempla material force. Moreover, [chastity] could empower them in the same way it empowers the monarch, to whatever extent they share an interest in the *status quo* he protects. By protecting the sanctity of marriage

³⁴ See Russell Peck, ed., *Confessio Amantis*, I, 31-36.

they protect the balance between class and gender relations on which the distribution of power depends.³⁵

The narrative structure of the poem features the virtue of chastity as an endpoint, not only because it is positioned in the final chapter of the book, after the other vices are discussed, but also as the culmination of a frame which is focused intensely around the problems generated by frustrated lust.

In a poem that turns on the crisis of transmission of both dynastic lineage and bookish political wisdom, the ambivalent figure of the heirless king hovers ominously near the specters of political rupture. But the poem's final vision of moral authority lies in the vision of the four Chaste "Empresses," whose (textual) model of chastity and (thus) linguistic integrity reintroduces the ideal of a healthy ruler and body politic, of the possibility of just rule and succession, and ultimately of the role of family and generative dynasticism in the fraught political landscape:

Bot above alle that ther were
Of wommen I sih foure there,
Whos name I herde most comended:
Be hem the court stod al amended;
For wher thei comen in presence,
Men deden hem the reverence,
As thogh they hadden be goddesses,
Of al this world or emperesses. (Book 8, ll. 2605-12)

These four women, Penelope, Lucrece, Alcestis, and Alcione, model an allegorized marital fidelity that corresponds with the kinds of familial and political integrity Gower envisions in the "Prologue" as the antidote to "division": "Lo, these ben the foure wyves, / Whos feith was proeved in her lyves:

³⁵ Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power*, 296.

/ For in essample of alle goode / With mariage so thei stode” (Book 8, ll. 1615-18). The four exemplary wives embody loyalty, patriarchal integrity, and self-sacrifice—idealized virtues that echo the kinds of chaste narrative inscription that animate Gower’s allegory. Penelope’s never-ending textile, Alceste’s prayers, Alcione’s transformational leap into the sea, and Lucrece’s narrative control over inscriptions upon her own body and history: these virtuous wives all inscribe their own fates in quasi-textual acts that secure their monumental legacies, “That fame, which no gret thing hydeth, Yit in cronique of hem abydeth” (ll. 2619-20). And yet these empress-like women do not speak to the dreamer or offer him counsel—his attention is too soon distracted by the plethora of bad examples crowding the “Parliament of Exemplary Lovers.” Aloof and silent, they serve as examples that the Lover must learn to “read” himself.

If good reading practices result in textually-informed chastity, chastity in turn produces good readers. In contrast, Amans’s erotic impulses, which (presumably) run counter to chastity, restrict his exegetic capacity to respond to Genius’s exempla; the lover’s obsessive interest in his own romantic dilemmas and the local applicability of Genius’s stories to them blunt any efforts to derive wisdom from the narratives and thus serves as a kind of negative exemplum of reading practices. Yet Amans is revealed to be none other than the author/translator figure himself, John Gower, whose control over the narrative structure (if not entirely over ways of reading it) belies Amans’s failures as a reader—but only once the veil is lifted and the persona of Amans transforms with finality into Gower. The poem’s treatment of the interdependence of chastity, language, and counsel culminates in the revelation that the youthful lover Amans is one and the same with Gower, the aged poet. This cyclicity of the poet-figure, who starts as a chaste reader and ends as a chaste writer, stages the dynamism of second-order translation and exegesis; as a reader of his Latin and French sources, the poet writes and rewrites tradition, paradoxically preserving the “olde wyse” of bygone eras through linguistic change.

Chaste practices of reading and writing ultimately correspond in the poem with political and moral counsel. In the frame narrative's extended metaphors, old age leads (naturally) to impotence and results in the poet-persona's voicelessness, thus signaling the failure of counsel.³⁶ Amans/Gower begs Venus to leave her court, chastized and shamed. The ultimate result of this unmasking, however, is the opposite of muteness; rather, it renders Gower's "impotence" as textually productive. The recognition allows Gower the writer to situate himself into poetic tradition, and empowers him to offer his final, "chaste" counsel on the state of contemporary England. Gower's "old age" is strategic; it strengthens his relations to his sources through the trope of age (drawn from the *Rose* and *dits amoureux*), and strengthens his identification as a figure of poetic counsel and transmitter of history.³⁷ Gower is shown to be old like the world, old like books, his age serving as a kind of embodiment—both straightforwardly and parodically—of authority. The parallel he draws between the bodily age of man, the cycle of calendrical time, the progression of history (represented by David's monstrous statue) dilates the symbolic significance of his old age beyond either writer's block or adopted trope; it allows him to blend into the abstracted textual tradition itself, to inscribe himself into poetic lineage, to subordinate his personal subjectivity in the currents of time and tradition: "Sicut ymago viri variantur tempora mundi, / Statque nichil firmum preter amare deum" ("Like an image of man do the ages of the world vary, and nothing besides the love of God stands firm") (Prologue, v. v-vi). The poet's dismay at his age and mortality only underscore the immortality of books and authority, whose voices can carry through the ages beyond that of any embodied human voice.

³⁶ On "old age" as a trope in fourteenth-century French verse, see Nicolette Zeeman, "The Verse of Courtly Love in the Framing Narrative of the *Confessio Amantis*," *Medium Aevum* 60 (1991): 222-240, 223; Melinda Marsh Heywood, "The Withered Rose: Seduction and the Poetics of Old Age in the *Romand de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris," *French Forum* 25:1 (January 2000): 5-22.

³⁷ Zeeman, "The Verse of Courtly Love in the Framing Narrative of the *Confessio Amantis*." See also Coley, *Wheel of Language*, 175: "For Gower, the struggle to fulfill Richard's commission is part of a strategy of self-representation familiar from late-medieval advice literature, that of the truth-telling counselor/poet who fills the self-contradictory positions of royal subject and royal advisor."

Gower's self-positioning within such a genealogy of poets speaks to his engagement with other writers in both Latin and the vernaculars, and none more so than Jean de Meun, and through him Alain de Lille. As Copeland and others have noted, Gower's use of the vernacular is a type of *translatio*, a double-edged "secondary" translation which transforms both Latin and vernacular French sources into a medium in which they are overwhelmed by his confessional frameworks. The exegetical frame of the *Confessio Amantis* echoes, in a sustained fashion, Jean de Meun's allegorical dream-vision of courtly love, the *Romance of the Rose*. The *Confessio's* very title suggests its generic affinity with the *Rose* (in which Genius parodically shrives Nature) and Gower's own penitential text, *Mirour de L'omme*. But just as Guillaume de Deguileville reworked the erotic themes of the *Rose* into the salvific frames of a spiritual journey earlier in the fourteenth century, Gower too found the discursive texture of the *Rose* fertile ground for the fashioning of a new allegory, one thematizing, as argued above, the political utility of poetry within a penitential narrative structure.

The *Confessio's* concern with textual lineage also operates on the level of trope. Gower's Genius descends from his own literary line, both adhering to and deviating from previous iterations. Readers familiar with Gower and his major sources are thus aware of the presence of these sources as shadow texts beneath the surface as a sort of palimpsest in the author's and readers' memories. Gower's treatment of authorship and of the engendering of texts hinges on the absorption into the poem of a salient analogy, drawn from his French and Latin sources, in which writing serves as a metaphor for sex and sex serves as a metaphor for writing. The writings of Alain de Lille go to great lengths in describing the ways in which language is coterminous with sexual acts by drawing a parallel between the dictates of Nature and those of grammar.³⁸ Alain's *De planctu* features Nature as

³⁸ Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 133-36; Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 95: "But Alan will attempt throughout *De planctu* to counter the case for homosexuality by forging an alliance between grammar and Nature. At the outset, he makes a key move by identifying the *ars grammatica* as an *ars Nature*—not surprising since, as we have seen in the *Anticlaudianus*, he regarded all the liberal arts as protégés of *Natura*."

both alluringly sexual and virginal. In a text in which the “biopolitics of lineage” are imagined as coterminous with semantic integrity,³⁹ Nature assures the “the lawful path of sure descent.”⁴⁰ Alain’s Nature is both a mouthpiece for God and sanctioned desire, and a fallible arbitrator of sexual energies; she appoints Venus as her substitute and thus retains the taint by association with Venus’s erotic energies. In the *De planctu*, the unruly dictates of homoerotic desire, pursued against the grain of Nature’s will, result in both the “mixing” of mis-coupled partners and the “mixing of meanings,” leading to a duality of lineage and dangerous monovocality of language.⁴¹ Yet, as Barbara Newman argues, the inherent paradoxes of this analogy complicate Nature’s ostensible alignment with sanctioned *eros*: “in the very act of denouncing sexual sins, *De planctu* demonstrates Nature’s unreliability as a moral guide. Or, to put it differently, Natura cannot be simultaneously the goddess of normative sexuality and normative language.”⁴²

Nature and Venus enjoy a productive, if flawed, working relationship in Alain de Lille’s *De Planctu naturae*; Alain’s Nature “delegates the task of assuring genealogical continuity” to Venus. Venus, however, proves a dubious figure to govern the principles of genealogy.⁴³ Despite being married to Marriage, she flaunts her unfaithfulness. Venus has two sons, one who embodies legitimate descent and the other illegitimate; moreover, her mode of birth—after the castration of

³⁹ Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 136: “Thus, in each case, a dispersion of seed—against the grain of the biopolitics of lineage—implies and is implicated in semantic dispersion. The dispersion of family line parallels the dissemination of meaning in a nexus which sets linguistic and genealogical continuity (affirmation of the proper and of legitimate generation through coition in marriage) against sexual impropriety and the diffusion—strewing, radiation, dissipation, uncontrolled distribution—of genealogy inherent to poetry and rhetoric.”

⁴⁰ Alain de Lille, *De planctu naturae*, cited in Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 133.

⁴¹ Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 136: Here, in fact, the twelfth-century satirist seems to articulate theoretically that which the lyric poets express more implicitly: that desire—free-floating, indiscriminate, and disruptive of hierarchy—and poetic ambiguity—the mixing of meanings and the break with intelligibility—are coterminous principles which effect coevally the subversion of a traditional semantic and social order. The most apparent manifestation of this loss of linguistic and genealogical determinacy is the unbounded and directionless proliferation of verbal discourse and of family.

⁴² Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 97

⁴³ Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 133.

her father Saturn—is far from normal modes of conjugal procreation.⁴⁴ She is the disruptively lascivious wedding guest in an earlier source, Martianus Capella’s otherwise chaste and decorous *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, and she is the bored adulteress of de Lille’s own *De Planctu*, in whom he invests the problematic eruption of desire and its effects on signification.⁴⁵ In the *Romance of the Rose*, de Meun goes to great lengths to repeat the story of the birth of Venus (in effect, “the birth of desire”) from the violent dismemberment of Saturn by his son Jupiter, as if to drive home her association with disruptive and disrupted lineage.⁴⁶ De Meun’s *Romance of the Rose* maintains the earlier relationship between Nature and Genius only to cast it in a parodic light (Genius “shrives” Nature and delivers his “plow, plow, plow” sermon) and to realign Genius more closely with Venus and the artfulness of *fin’ amors*.⁴⁷ Following Barbara Newman’s argument, “The *Rose*, then, overtly fulfills Alan’s covert agenda of disabling Nature as a guide to Christian sexual ethics.”⁴⁸ Gower chooses *not* to translate Nature as an allegorical figure, especially not one who could evoke the kinds of readerly and writerly desire that she does for Alain, who describes her semi-veiled body with almost pornographic interest. Instead, Venus stands in for both the absent figure of Nature and for sexuality itself. Genius’s ministrations in Book 8, his catalog of incest narratives and exemplary romance of Apollonius, are substituted for Nature’s speeches; reading and understanding well complement direct instruction. What it means to act “kindly,” in the *Confessio*, is a story that only stories can tell.

⁴⁴ On Venus’s two lineages, see Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 133-34.

⁴⁵ Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 134: “Grammatical deflection and marital derogation are further subsumed in the principle of sexual deviation. And if adultery or fornication with words represents both a genetic and a verbal illegitimacy, it remains the least serious of sexual and linguistic transgressions. All rhetoric is, for Alain, the equivalent of deviance.”

⁴⁶ Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 138-141, quoted on 138.

⁴⁷ On *fin’amors* see Zeeman, “The Verse of Courtly Love in the Framing Narrative of the ‘*Confessio Amantis*.’” See also Newman *God and the Goddesses*, 9: “The problem is that these august dames take opposite sides: Lady Reason is an implacable foe of the God of Love, while Lady Nature supports him. This departure from Reason represents a novel and surprising turn in Natura’s history.”

⁴⁸ Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 111.

Genius in the *Confessio Amantis* himself should be understood in terms of his own poetic lineage in *De planctu naturae* and the *Romance of the Rose*, and earlier, in the writings of Augustine and his earlier classical manifestation as the *genius loci*. In the *De planctu naturae*, Genius is marked as relating to poetic creation and is associated most closely with Nature. Alain de Lille endows Nature and her subordinate Genius (who is both her son and lover) with creative potential, with “making.” Nature’s clothing is studded with living forms, while Genius’s garb contains “images of objects, lasting but for a moment”—his domain lies more in the sub-creation of ephemera, of objects, and of arts.⁴⁹ While Nature is particularly associated with visual, material production (hence depictions of her slate-drawing, decorated attire, and her forge), Genius is specifically associated with writing. In the *De Planctu*, Genius inscribes figures with his pen—noble figures with his right hand and ignoble ones with his left.⁵⁰ Yet these supposedly noble figures, which include Helen, Hercules, and Ulysses, feature in morally ambiguous exempla within the *Confessio*.⁵¹ They, like Genius, signal a fraught relationship with classical authority mediated through exegetical practices.⁵²

In the *Romance of the Rose*, Jean de Meun likewise attributes to Genius the power of the pen, which he unsurprisingly conceives of in explicitly phallic terms. Gower retains, albeit at an ironic distance, the erotic interest in courtly love central to de Jean de Meun’s portion of the *Romance of the Rose*, an immediate source-text for several features of the *Confessio Amantis*.⁵³ As readers have long

⁴⁹ De Lille, *De planctu naturae*, quoted in Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 69. See also James J. Sheridan, ed., *The Plaint of Nature*, by Alanus de Insulis (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980).

⁵⁰ Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 69: Genius, conversely, has on his iridescent robes the “images of objects, lasting but for a moment,” while the figures he inscribes with his pen are more enduring. These include both noble characters drawn with his right hand (Helen, Hercules Ulysses, Plato) and disgraceful ones drawn with the left (Thersties, Paris, Sinon). The drawings of Genius suggest that, while he is partnered with Nature to impress divine ideas upon matter, he also serves as a figure of Art.”

⁵¹ On Hercules’s infidelity in the *Confessio Amantis*, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1975), 132-3. See also Kelly, *Love and Marriage*, 136-7.

⁵² See Minnis, *Medieval Theories of Authorship*; Judson Boyce Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982).

⁵³ As John Fisher observes, “The *Confessio Amantis* has been traditionally regarded as a poem whose chief subject is courtly love.” John H. Fisher, *John Gower, Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), cited in Ann W. Astell, *Chaucer and the Universe of Learning* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 73. On the God of Love and *fin’ amors* in the *Romance of the Rose*, see also Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 99.

noted, the productive tensions between the erotic valences and the moral imperatives of the *Confessio* result in a polysemous allegorical texture.⁵⁴ Genius's association with Venus in the *Confessio* problematizes his role as an icon of textual *auctoritas*, a tropic traveler across textual divides. Venus and Genius feature as disruptively generative figures of textual production, and Gower inherits and transmits both the conventional and unconventional implications of their at-times unregulated modes of bodily and artistic creation. By evoking their textual lineages, the *Confessio* implicates Venus in bastardy, Genius in lust, and Amans in intellectual and moral stasis and bad reading practices.⁵⁵ This association between Genius, sex, and writing (rendered by de Meun in outrageous parody) colors the relationship between Gower's characters Amans and his confessor, Genius. Gower's association with *both* Genius (a trope for writing) and Amans (an infelicitous and ineffectual exegete) becomes particularly fraught when Amans is unveiled as John Gower at the end of the poem. If Genius's left-handed writing can stray, if Amans is a failed reader, how can they share representational fields with Gower, the exemplary "chaste" writer of political counsel? The answer lies in Gower's translation of the figure of Genius, as well as in the poem's rupturing of the narrative frame through which Gower's poetic voice transcends that of the ineffective, if entertaining, Amans.

Gower, enacting a "chaste reading" of the *Rose*, brings his depiction of Genius more in line with that of Alain de Lille. He rescripts the Genius of Jean de Meun, who energetically encourages his masculine followers to "Plow, plow, plow," into a strong proponent of this kind of ethically-energized chastity.⁵⁶ The dangers of the ecclesiastically-troubled issue of desire in marriage are mitigated by Genius's recommendations of temperance and moderation, especially, as Henry Ansgar

⁵⁴ Zeeman, "The Verse of Courtly Love in the Framing Narrative of the '*Confessio Amantis*.'"

⁵⁵ On Amans's implication in moral stasis and bad reading practices, see Sarah Beckwith, *Shakespeare and the Grammar of Forgiveness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 93-103.

⁵⁶ Kelly, *Love and Marriage*, 125-6, "[In the *Confessio Amantis*,] fidelity in marriage is always commended over adultery throughout the poem both by Genius and by John Gower, whether in his character of the lover or *amans*, or in his own authorial person..."

Kelly notes, in stories such as that of Sara and Tobias.⁵⁷ In the *Confessio*, the tropological status of Tobias's "honest delight" in marital sex points towards the larger issues of language and authority.⁵⁸ In Gower's "mirror for princes," sex, like rhetoric, demands one-to-one correspondences conducted with "honesty."⁵⁹ Even evocations of courtly love do not necessarily stand in the way of the poem's penitential themes; just as Gower's *Mirour* addressed itself as "a treatise to guide married lovers," the *Confessio* uses the trope of the allegorical mirror or speculum to deflate courtly language in order to expose the contingencies of authorship.⁶⁰

What role can Venus play in a poem that centralizes the virtue of chastity and guarantees the integrity of lineage and of meaning? Her troubled role in *Confessio* has no easy resolution; the figure of Venus is caught between multiple incommensurate allegorical frames. On the one hand, Venus is a queen and counselor. She holds up a mirror to Amans, lifting the veil of allegory to reveal a literary truth about conceits of authorship. Yet Venus is also associated with false or double lineage, and her problematically generative potential complicates the allegory of composition and creation surrounding the figures of Amans/Gower and Genius. Though Nature, as an independent allegorical character, does not feature in the *Confessio*, Venus nevertheless alludes to her decrees in offhand remarks to Amans/Gower, sweeping away one of his petitions for succor. Her consistent refusal to help the Lover provokes a narrative diatribe against her worst qualities, echoing the parodic invective of the *Rose*. Yet her revelation allows the faculty of reason to reenter

⁵⁷ Kelly, *Love and Marriage*, 139-140, 274-280.

⁵⁸ Kelly, *Love and Marriage*, 275-278.

⁵⁹ Diane Watt, *Amoral Gower: Language, Sex, and Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 52: "The conceptual link between false eloquence and sodomy (in its most general sense of nonreproductive sexual intercourse) indicates that it would be wrong to isolate Gower's discussion of rhetoric from Genius's praise of "honeste" love and marriage, or from the extended account of chastity as the fifth point of Policy (VII.4215-5397; esp. 4215). Effeminacy is a form of moral degeneracy that Gower condemns outright on a number of occasions."

⁶⁰ Winthrop Wetherbee, "John Gower," in *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 589-609, 591 (on married lovers) and 593: "The *Mirour's* opening lines are addressed to lovers, and like Deguileville, Gower uses courtly convention to represent the workings of the vices... The *Mirour* is everywhere alert to the corrupting power of the courtly language it deploys, and Gower's control is perfect as he describes Temptation's appeal to 'the wild and foolish flesh' (515), making plain that such speech is *vantparlour*, high-sounding but empty."

Amans/Gower's persona; rather than supplanting Reason she enables it, correcting any events caused by Venerian desire.⁶¹ The linear model of confession becomes radically co-opted and forestalled as Venus aborts the whole penitential progress (or lack of progress) of the narrative. Her mirror forces a readerly gaze that ruptures the threshold separating the Lover from the Author. Amans sees Gower through the glass and so do we. With the veil lifted, Gower renews his appeal for political and ecclesiastical reform, transforming his narrative mode of counsel from guided exegesis to direct statement.

The demands of "honesty" have implications not only for biological lineage but also for the genealogy of the poet figure, whether it be Genius, *Amans*, or Gower.⁶² As Diane Watt has argued, Gower's use of Brunetto Latini in his discussion of rhetoric raises issues about the anxieties surrounding poetic and moral influence, both amongst poets and at the courts at which they are read. The dangers of rhetoric—practiced without Genius's prescribed "honesty"—amount to political seduction and result in violence to the language of signification.⁶³ To read Gower against de Lille, Watt suggests, is to recognize the contingency of false eloquence and sodomy.⁶⁴ If a successful poet is a "new Arion" capable of reintegrating the fractured body politic," then one who fails in his moral duties by corrupting rhetoric is likely to suffer approbation.⁶⁵ That accusations of faulty counsel, figured through metaphors of sodomy, pervade critiques of fourteenth-century kings

⁶¹ Zeeman, "The Verse of Courtly Love in the Framing Narrative of the '*Confessio Amantis*.'"

⁶² Ardis Butterfield, "Gower and the French Vernacular Codex," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 80-96, 80.

⁶³ Watt, *Amoral Gower*, 40-41, on Latini, Dante, and Gower; and 45: "Likewise, abuses of language are associated with the royal court." See also David Coley, *Wheel of Language*, 158-175.

⁶⁴ Watt, *Amoral Gower*, 52: "The conceptual link between false eloquence and sodomy (in its most general sense of nonreproductive sexual intercourse) indicates that it would be wrong to isolate Gower's discussion of rhetoric from Genius's praise of 'honeste' love and marriage, or from the extended account of chastity as the fifth point of Policy (VII.4215-5397; esp. 4215). Effeminacy is a form of moral degeneracy that Gower condemns outright on a number of occasions."

⁶⁵ Robert F Yeager, *John Gower's Poetic: The Search for a New Arion* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1990). See also Watt, *Amoral Gower*, 60: "Gower, like Dante before him and Barclay after, is preoccupied with his own reputation and the notoriety or eminence of his patron, forefathers, and other authorities, and also with the questions of whether writing is a legitimate and moral activity, what is the proper way to do it, and what are the difficulties in achieving a virile rhetorical style."

Edward II and Richard II suggests the political appeal of Genius's counsel of moderation, likewise figured in sexualized terms as regulated chastity. Gower preserves his own virtue of chastity as a poetic counselor—his own “honesty”—by nudging his abstracted king-figure towards self-regulation.

Beyond the *Confessio Amantis*, Gower's writings grapple with the theme of just rule. His two late works, the *Cronica Tripertita* and his poem “In Praise of Peace,” which was addressed to the newly-crowned Henry the Fourth, both argue for the legitimacy of the Lancastrian usurpation.⁶⁶ Both compare Richard's misguided, tyrannical, and destructive actions unfavorably to those of the lawful and peace-seeking Henry Bolingbroke. The Prologue to the *Cronica Tripertita* begins: “The work of humankind is to seek out peace and follow after it, the work of hell is to disrupt peace and to put to death the just persons of the realm, which the tyrant Richard was not afraid to do, against the will of God and men” (249).⁶⁷ Voicing a traditional criticism of medieval kingship (in an echo of *Melibeus*), the *Cronica* emphasizes Richard's poor choice of counsel: “Unsound advice from foolish youth he took as guide; / The wiser thoughts of older men he cast aside. / By young men's counsel he breathed out a deadly breath / To seize the nobles' goods and bring them to their death” (*Cronica Tripertita*, Part 1, ll. 15-18). Not only is the king misled and evil of intent, but he also, “feign[s] peace under cover of a dissimulating concord” (*Cronica Tripertita*, Part 2, Prologue), wearing a conciliatory mask as he sets out to destroy his political enemies: “the king, deceptive, double-

⁶⁶ John Gower, *John Gower: Poems on Contemporary Events : the Visio Anglie (1381) and Cronica Tripertita (1400)*, ed. David R. Carlson and trans. A. G. Rigg (Toronto, Ont: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011). See also Elizabeth M. Dutton, John Hines, and Robert F. Yeager. *John Gower, Trilingual Poet: Language, Translation, and Tradition* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010); David R. Carlson, *John Gower, Poetry and Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012); Matthew Giancarlo, “Property, Purchase, Parliament: The Estates of Man in John Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme* and *Cronica tripertita*,” in *Parliament and Literature in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁶⁷ Gower cites the fates of the “three noblemen,” or Lords Appellant, who Richard targeted during the “Revenge Parliament” of 1397: Thomas, duke of Goucester, Richard, earl of Arundel, and Thomas, earl of Warwick.

faced...Was full of fraud: his guileful tricks were not revealed” (*Cronica Tripertita* 2.7-8).⁶⁸ This violence to his political enemies, and violence to the spirit of the law, stem from destructive impulses that recall Gower’s own treatment of the deadly sin Wrath from Book 3 of the *Confessio Amantis*: “The deadly king forgot the rites to which, before, / He’d bound himself, and ended cursed for ever more. / More fierce in touch, in sight, in deed, and in intent, / He raged against his realm; these crimes he’d soon repent. /Such balefule crimes, unheard by ear or known by heart, / He plotted as he sought to tear his realm apart” (*Cronica Tripertita* 3. 45-8). Gower seizes upon the political allegory of the king’s body being proximate to the realm to portray his wrath as the manifestation of external violence stemming the king’s own internal, moral war. Richard’s “crimes,” against the laws, traditions, and rites that govern and ultimately constrain the practice of kingship, rend the realm, plunging it into misrule and chaos.

Gower uses the dynastic language of lineage to support Henry’s accession to the throne, as well as the rhetoric of deposition accounts to emphasize the legitimacy of Henry’s claim.⁶⁹ Whereas Richard caused the demise of other Plantagenets, Henry, the *Cronica* argues in closing, “sought a time of peace” (III. 392).⁷⁰ The *Cronica Tripertita* frames these indictments of Richard’s rule in approbations of peace, by which he primarily means domestic stability. “In Praise of Peace” takes this line of political legitimation further; Gower, drawing on a longstanding legal tradition, argues that prerogative to declare just war is kingly: “Good is t’eschue werre, and natheles /A kyng may make werre uppon his right, / For of bataile the final ende is pees” (ll. 64-66).⁷¹ We see here how

⁶⁸ The *Cronica* claims that Richard uses false documents to hijack the law, and I think it can be argued that for Gower, who was steeped in the law, Richard’s unpeaceableness, the “violence” he does to the realm, are in part related to his radical revision of the doctrine of treason, a concept so potent during these years that in 1397, Richard himself was accused of treasonous behavior towards the crown by one of his enemies.

⁶⁹ Gower, “In Praise of Peace,” III. 354-359.

⁷⁰ See Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), chapter 6, 168-202 on the theme of the poetic “Court Apologist.”

⁷¹ See also preceding stanza: Gower, “In Praise of Peace,” ll. 57-63:

So mai a kyng of werre the viage
Ordeigne and take, as he therto is holde,

deeply imbricated concepts of just war and of sovereignty are in political thought. Kings were not only traditionally viewed as arbiters of peace and justice within the realm (in theory at least), but they were also deemed as possessing the increasingly rarified privilege of declaring just war in the later Middle Ages.⁷² In Gower's "In Praise of Peace," peace is not only a political virtue, but a spiritual one as well:

Pes is the chief of al the worldes welthe,
And to the Heven it ledeth ek the weie.
Pes is of soule and lif the mannes helthe:
Of pestilence and doth the werre aweie! (ll. 78-81)

Gower counsels the king to keep pity and peace within his conscience, and reflect upon the example of the saints, essentially conflating the juridical notion of peace with its valence as a spiritual virtue to promote an ideal of sacral kingship. "Peace" here is analogous to the self-regulation of the king's moral state as theorized in the *Confessio*. The poet's meta-reflections on the role of counsel in the execution of just rule rehearse traditional tropes of kingship while securing his own iterative authority in a nascent monarchical court.⁷³

Returning now to the *Confessio Amantis*, we can see how prophetic the poem's rendering of fallen empires and deposed kings could seem in its Lancastrian readings and reclamations. Unlike

To cleime and axe his rightful heritage
In alle places wher it is withholde.
Bot otherwise, if God Himsilve wolde
Afferme love and pes between the kynges,
Pes is the beste above alle erthely thinges.

⁷² The ethical arbitration in determining this quality of just war is especially relevant to chivalric chronicles of the period, for example, to the Chandos Herald's *Life of the Black Prince*, which contains an extended discussion of the Black Prince's responsibilities to defend Pedro of Castile's throne.

⁷³ Significantly, Gower's poem "In Praise of Peace" was included in William Thynne and Sir Brian Tuke's 1532 edition of Chaucer's works, a publication meant to counsel a king—Henry the Eighth—against the political excesses of tyranny, as Greg Walker has argued. In this later Tudor context, as in its original Lancastrian one, Gower's poem illustrates the underlying relationship between domestic peace and transnational unity in the courtly literature of counsel. As Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 94, writes, "After a brief excursive into the consequences of unchecked warfare..., the poet returns to specifics and the need to purge the royal council of those who would advocate conflict."

the moral ambivalence of Chaucer's *De casibus* narrative, "The Monk's Tale," Gower places the culpability of the fall of princes on their own shoulders. As Daniel tells Nebuchadnezzar in his exegesis, the cause of political collapse lies with rulers themselves:

And fro the ferste regne of alle
Into this day, hou so befallle,
Of that the regnes ben muable
The man himself hath be coupable,
Which of his propre governance
Fortuneth al the worldes chance. (Prologue, ll. 579-584)

The *Confessio* exposes the interplay between competing discourses of the lineal transmission of rule and good counsel. This intersection of political grammars exposes the ethical implications for the practice of kingship that is dependent on hereditary right and just rule.

Gower envisions his *Confessio*, and textual traditions more broadly, as instigators of moral self-regulation and as transmitters of political wisdom. The poem arbitrates the ethics of just rule by interrogating the mechanisms of the counsel, exploring the dynamic interplay between the textual lineage of written authority and the sovereign lineage of kingship through narrative exempla. The *Confessio* inscribes the radical futurity of its own imagined poetic lineages within its narrative frames and actively imagines itself as an enduring contribution to enacted good counsel. The poem is grounded in its historical moment (hence, the multiple dedicatees Richard II and Henry of Derby) but also reaches beyond it, staking its critical claims upon its innate capacity to preserve and continue the "wyse" of books. Translating his sources and framing them in new and provocative ways, Gower enacts a form of secondary translation that aims to be endlessly generative.

The romance dispersal of foreign princesses in the poem—of Constance and Thaise—echoes the foundational moment of textual patronage, conception, and creation of the *Confessio* itself. Constance in her rudderless boat traversing foreign waters recalls both Gower's providential meeting with Richard on the commerce-ridden Thames and the dispersal of the manuscripts of the *Confessio*. When Gower's poet-persona experiences a crisis of authorship and complaints to Venus, he suggestively describes his despair in similar terms as an imperiled ship. Issues of authorship in the *Confessio* turn on the tropes of movement and travel, not only because they figurally evoke linguistic translation or scribal transcription, but also because they signal the poem's deep preoccupation with material modes of textual transmission. This internal concern with the inscription and dissemination of Gower's text prefigures the fate of the *Confessio Amantis* as a text that crosses linguistic and political thresholds. Textual dissemination, like dynasty, may be envisioned horizontally as well as lineally and recognized as an outward-reaching and generative model through which continuity and succession is ensured.

Philippa of Lancaster and O Livro do Amante

Gower, figured as a chaste reader and writer in the *Confessio*, envisions the poem as a catalyst for good rule. When the *Confessio Amantis* is translated into Portuguese under the patronage of Philippa of Lancaster, this model of exemplary counsel is transferred onto the ideal of the chaste queen. This final section contextualizes Philippa's patronage of the *Confessio Amantis* within the textual production of dynastic history commissioned by her sons, the Avis *infantes*. Touching briefly upon Fernão Lopes's depiction of Philippa as a chaste queen and his characterization of the marriage as a successful dynastic alliance, I pursue a more sustained reading of Gomes Eanes de Zurara's depiction of the queen and her role in the conquest of Ceuta—another foundation moment in Portuguese history. The Iberian reception history of the *Confessio Amantis*, I argue, is

preconditioned not only by the English textual content and early reading communities of Gower, which likely included Philippa of Lancaster, but also by the particular configurations of Avis policy and geopolitical ambitions in Atlantic waters.⁷⁴

Barroso's transcription of *O Livro do Amante* in Ceuta in 1430 crystallizes the text as a cultural artifact of Philippa's patronage and of the English alliance close to the heart of Avis foundation. The reception of *O Livro do Amante* in Portuguese Ceuta, moreover, reinscribes the text as a form of public literature around which new, imagined textual communities can coalesce. Thus, the copyist Barosso, like other agents responsible for Iberian Gower translations, materializes the poem's metacritical fantasies of self-perpetuation and alters Gower's moral politics by introducing the poem into new cultural contexts. The poem's stated desire to occupy a place within a forward-looking textual lineage, now features that lineage as culminating in Portugal (or to be more specific, in Portugal's military outposts) and reframes Portugal as a discursive end-point for the poem's hopes of political renewal.

When Gower's English poem is rendered into Iberian vernaculars, the dynamic of translation embedded within the poem exposes the productive possibilities of material continuity and linguistic discontinuity. The *Confessio's* Iberian translations manifest the poem's contribution to enacting good counsel across a wider temporal frame, both within and beyond its originary moment. The poem's dynamic interplay between textual legacy and lineage on the one hand, and relevance and continued readership on the other, exposes the rich iterativeness and instability of the written word as a transmitter of knowledge and moral authority. The Iberian copies of the *Confessio* fulfill Gower's idealized model of textual productiveness, materializing the process of transformation necessary to lasting utility and legibility. As Gower's own activities of authorship, compilation, and

⁷⁴ Yeager, "Gower's Lancastrian Affinity," 491, 502-510, on the cross-class readership of the *Confessio* in England and abroad.

translation suggest, textual transformation is necessary to lasting utility. This process changes the very form of the *Confessio* linguistically and structurally. *O Livro do Amante* renders Gower's poem into a vernacular prose narrative shorn of its Latin apparatus, and brings it into a closer formal relationship with vernacular chronicles and the "advice for princes" genre, which featured prominently in Iberian political discourse.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the potent idea of public literature, especially the poem's treatment of commonweal and kingship, resonates with the political career of King, João, who was elected by *cortes*.⁷⁶

Genealogies of dynastic transmission and of literature connect at multiple points across the *Confessio*'s textual history. In the *Confessio*'s Appolonius of Tyre narrative, chaste queens feature as political advisors, wise in their counsel, firm in their loyalty, and judicious in their intercession. Outside of the text, they function as counselors, guardians of lineage who ensure patriarchal integrity through marital chastity and cultural transmission through patronage. When engineered by political marriages, queenly good counsel becomes a feature of dynastic discourse. For queens, who bring books into being through patronage and circulate them in acts of reproductive codicology, and who exert agency through the creation of reading communities, counsel may be figured as the practice of

⁷⁵ See Joseph F O'Callaghan, "Political Theory," in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, eds. E. Michael Gerli and Samuel G. Armistead (New York: Routledge, 2003), 673-74, for a brief discussion of "mirrors for princes" in medieval Iberia. The *Confessio Amantis*, with its salient corporeal metaphors for kingship, resonates interestingly with the Iberian political tradition of Alfonsine law codes that, as O'Callaghan, 673, writes, "accepted the notion of the state as a corporation comparable to the human body."

⁷⁶ João's claims to power rested not only in his paternal lineage (despite his illegitimacy) but also through popular acclaim (which is reinforced by his identity as a Portuguese opposing a Castilian claimant). In Lopes's chronicle, João's behavior wins the support of the populace (though not the perpetually dissident high nobility), licenses his revolt against the regent queen dowager, Leonor Teles, and overrides any misgivings about his illegitimacy. The Cortes's sanctioning of João's elevation to kingship appears to stem from the legal tradition, shared with Castile, of the Alfonsine *Partidas*, and the latter kingdom's lack of sacral kingship, in which the *de facto* exertion of power and the principle of election are in tandem with hereditary primogeniture. On elective succession principles in neighboring Castile, see Teofilo Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 109-144, esp. 130: "Finally, the law (both Visigothic *Fuero juzgo* and the Roman inspired *Partidas*) opposed the idea of sacral kingship, even if these codes admitted that God chose the king. To a large extent the kings and the kingdom defined their legitimacy in terms of a warrior tradition."

reading. The “chaste” modes of reading wisely figure the queen as a generative reader, one entrusted with both the continuity of textual tradition and dynastic continuity.

Philippa, as queen and book patron, figurally embodies the idea of translation—both of the transmission of dynastic rule and of the transmission of knowledge. We know from surviving letters and documentary records that Philippa facilitated material exchanges and cultural border-crossings during her tenure as queen. She encouraged diplomatic relations between the English and Portuguese courts, both during the final decade of Richard’s reign, and subsequently, when her own brother Henry, earl of Derby became king.⁷⁷ Her two oldest surviving sons, Duarte and Pedro, travelled to England to be inducted into the Order of the Garter in a celebration of their Plantagenet and Lancastrian ancestry. Philippa and João’s sons were listed in many Lancastrian genealogical rolls—an unusual and possibly unprecedented inclusion of a non-agnatic line in these particular types of pedigrees.⁷⁸ Philippa’s daughter, Isabella, as duchess of Burgundy became a powerful and influential figure, and noted patron of books and art at a court which, in turn, heavily influenced English court culture in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁷⁹

Philippa is known to have presided over a court of letters.⁸⁰ Her husband and son Duarte wrote political and moral treatises: João authored a hunting manual that discussed the role of the

⁷⁷ Tiago Viúla de Faria, “Court Culture and the Politics of Interaction in the Letters of Philippa Plantagenet, Queen of Portugal,” in *John Gower in Late Medieval Iberia: Manuscripts, Influences, Reception*, eds. Ana Sáez-Hidalgo and R. F. Yeager (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, *forthcoming*). I am grateful to Dr. Viúla de Faria for sharing this essay with me in advance of publication.

⁷⁸ I have identified two Lancastrian and two Yorkist genealogies that represent the *Avis infantis*: London, British Library MS Sloane 2732A (genealogy of Henry VI); London, British Library Lansdowne Roll 2 (genealogy of Henry VI); Oxford, Bodleian MS Marshall 135 (genealogy of Edward IV); Oxford, Bodleian Library Jesus College MS B 114 (Yorkist genealogy). All of these rolls show Duarte, Pedro, Enrique, and Alexander. This last figure is not attested anywhere that I have found in the historical record, and could either represent a scribal error or the witness of an son who died in infancy.

⁷⁹ After an early marriage negotiation (1413) for Henry V of England’s hand fell through, and Isabella instead married England’s ally, Philip the Good of Burgundy. Aline S. Taylor, *Isabel of Burgundy: the Duchess who Played Politics in the Age of Joan of Arc, 1397-1471* (Madison Books, 2001), 23.

⁸⁰ Manuela Santos Silva, “Philippa of Lancaster, queen of Portugal: Educator and Reformer,” in *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern*, eds. Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 37-46.

king, and Duarte wrote a moral treatise called *Leal Conselheiro*, or the *Faithful Advisor* (1437–1438).⁸¹

Both works are meta-reflections on rule drawn from the advice for princes genre. By participating in the inscription of such literature, these two early Avis kings enacted some of the advice embodied by the generic traditions—they feature themselves as listeners to the counsel of the ages and the wisdom of textual authority, and as transmitters of it.

Philippa’s role as a patron of books, and especially of translations into foreign vernaculars, resonates with her depiction in fifteenth-century Portuguese royal chronicles. She appears as an ideal queen in Fernão Lopes’s *Chronicle of John I*, which narrates the rise of the Avis dynasty in the midst of the succession crisis following the death of Fernando I.⁸² Lopes’s chronicle emphasizes João’s moral worthiness of the crown—his intellectual deliberations, his seeking of counsel, his wise leadership. Among these “wise” choices is his choice of wife. Lopes relates at length João’s reason for marrying Philippa, which turn on his reluctance to marry her sister Catharine and thereby involve Portugal in

⁸¹ Joyce Coleman, “Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal—and Patron of the Gower Translations?” in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges*, ed. María Bullón-Fernández (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 135-165, 153: “Philippa’s son Duarte owned a copy of the Portuguese *Confessio*—or *Livro do Amante*, as he calls it; he quotes from it in his *Leal conselheiro* of 1438.” See Peter E. Russell, “Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca,” Translators of Jon Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” *Medium Aevum* 30 (1961): 26-32. On King Duarte of Portugal’s *Leal Conselheiro* see the *Leal Conselheiro Electronic Edition*, accessed September 1, 2014, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/IbrAmerTxt.LealConselheiro/> See also Ana Isabel Buescu, “Livros e livrarias de reis de príncipes entre os séculos XV e XVI. Algumas notas,” *eHumanista* 8 (2007): 143-170 and “A *Confessio Amantis* de John Gower na livraria do rei D. Duarte,” *Actas do I Congresso Internacional de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses (Lisboa, 6-8 de Maio de 2001)* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 2001), 67, 75; Maria Helena Lopes de Castro, “‘Leal Conselheiro’. Itinerário do manuscrito,” *Penélope* 16 (1995): 109-24; Isabel Vilares Cepeda, “Manuscritos iluminados da Corte portuguesa no século XV,” *A Iluminura em Portugal. Identidade e Influências, Catálogo da Exposição (26 de Abril a 30 de Junho 1999)* (Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional, 1999), 345-61.

⁸² Lopes, Fernão, *Crónica De D. João I*, eds. António Sérgio, Manuel Lopes de Almeida, and A de Magalhães Basto, 2 vols. (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1945). Lopes’s central thesis is the political legitimacy of João I’s reign. This is accomplished through various rhetorical means, including reports that the populace favored João, the description of a hermitical prophesy predicting João’s kingship, and the blessing issued by his brother, the legitimate heir to Pedro’s throne, who was in captivity. There is a pervasive sense in Lopes’s chronicle that João avoided overtly claiming the throne, and this reluctance to seize control without sufficient encouragement from the populace, nobles, and foreign magnates (in the person of John of Gaunt) is meant to legitimize his eventual rule. Lopes, in his capacity as royal chronicler, keeper of the royal archives, and personal secretary to the *infante* Duarte, had access to multiple and various sources, historiographical, documentary and oral, from which he synthetically organized his historical writings. The organization of *Chronicle of John I* into two parts, with the temporal division at the Battle of Aljubarrota, highlights the decisive military success of the Portuguese and English over a much larger Castilian army, an event which solidified João, Master of Avis’s *de facto* claim to his late father’s throne.

a dynastic conflict.⁸³ After the marriage, the couple ride through the streets of Oporto in a royal procession: “Neither of them took precedence but rather they rode in complete equality.”⁸⁴ Fernão Lopes dedicates a brief chapter to the praise of Philippa soon after the account of the marriage. In his description of the new Queen, he focuses on her noble lineage, her devotional habits, her charity, and her cherishing of marital accord.

The Queen Philippa, daughter of a noble father and mother, had been praised when [sic] a princess for all the virtues that are appropriate to a high-born woman, and the same was true and indeed even more so after she was married and raised to royal estate. Moreover, God granted her a husband to her taste [*comcordauell a sseu deseio*], and their union produced a fine generation of virtuous and successful sons, as you shall hear later on...She cared for the poor and needy, giving alms most liberally to churches and monasteries. She loved the noblest of husbands most faithfully. She made great efforts never to annoy him, and set great store by the education and sound upbringing of her children. Nothing she did was done out of rancor or hatred. On the contrary, all her actions were dictated by love of God and of her neighbor.⁸⁵

The queen’s courtly conversation and entertainments are depicted by Lopes as fundamental to the successful social functioning of the court, and, implicitly (like all of her virtuous behaviour) politically expedient.⁸⁶ Lopes concludes with a declaration of Philippa’s feminine exemplarity: “So if

⁸³ Fernão Lopes, *The English in Portugal 1367-87: Extracts from the Chronicles of Dom Fernando and Dom João*, eds. Derek W. Lomax and R. J. Oakley (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988), 219. After papal dispensations are requested, owing to João’s membership in the military Order of Avis (225, 227), he rides with haste to pledge his betrothal, and for the first time, meet Philippa.

⁸⁴ Lopes, *The English in Portugal 1367-87*, 233.

⁸⁵ Lopes, *The English in Portugal 1367-87*, 237.

⁸⁶ Lopes, *The English in Portugal 1367-87*, 237: “Her conversation was plain, and often helpful without showing any pride in her royal rank; and her way of speaking was sweet, gracious and most pleasing to all who heard her. In order not to

the perfect manner in which she lived could be recorded in detail, any woman could study it with profit, no matter how high her rank.”⁸⁷ Fernão Lopes thus writes Philippa into history as an exemplary queen.

According to the chronicler, in João, God had given Philippa a husband “much to her desire.” The historiographic legacy of Philippa and João’s marriage emphasizes Philippa’s chastity while it develops the theme of the erotics of queenship, so central to the engendering of what Luís Vaz de Camões calls “*inclita geração*” (“illustrious generation”) in the *Lusiads*. In Lopes’s chronicle, Philippa’s grief at João’s illness early in their marriage, her subsequent miscarriage, and her spiritual “intervention” through prayer for his life all cement the emotional bonds uniting the marriage partners.⁸⁸ That Philippa is remembered in such eulogistic terms in the chronicles is as much a reflection of her personal and political qualities as it is an encomium of how her husband and sons wanted her to be remembered; her virtues and powers of counsel only reinforce the carefully-drawn dynastic narrative of the Avis line. João and Philippa’s productive union is nowhere more forcefully memorialized than by the double effigy of their tomb at the great monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória at Batalha, their hands linked in an eternal embrace. The church’s foundation, near the location of the battle of Aljubarrota, was meant by João to be a dynastic monument, a tribute to this decisive victory and to his fledgling royal house. On his tomb, he had only two events recorded as his legacy: the victory at Aljubarrota and the capture of Ceuta, representing his family’s claim to the land of Portugal and its ambitions to territories beyond it.

The romance rendering of Philippa in Lopes’s chronicle ascribes to her an active containment of erotic subplots of Iberian historiography. An important part of Philippa’s tenure as

appear too cut off from others, she delighted sometimes in relaxing with her maidens in those lawful games in which no trickery could be involved and which were seemly for any honest person.”

⁸⁷ Fernão Lopes, *The English in Portugal 1367-87*, 237.

⁸⁸ Coleman, “Philippa of Lancaster,” 144.

Queen of Portugal supposedly involved the policing of sexual energies at court.⁸⁹ She was known to have forcibly arranged marriages and thwarted gossip and intrigues; she instituted what has since been called an atmosphere of “religious austerity” at the Portuguese court. Ensuring that the her children would not be brought up surrounded by royal illegitimates (as she herself was, in England), she actively encouraged João’s monogamy and took into her own hands the fate of his former mistress and their three natural children. In Lopes’s chronicle, Philippa stands in stark contrast to Leonor Teles, the wife of King Fernando I (João’s predecessor and half-brother), who is blamed by Lopes for the political turbulence of the Portuguese “Interregnum” of 1383-6. João himself, while still Master of Avis, kills Leonor Teles’s lover in a re-assertment of patriarchal authority, while his half-brother (and “double” in the chronicle, Prince João) remains politically impotent in Castile. Leonor Teles’s political destructiveness as queen is eventually overcome by João and his contingent, including John of Gaunt’s English reinforcements. João’s “God-given” victory at Aljubarrota, his marriage to Philippa, the daughter of his strongest ally, their exemplary marriage, and efforts at political reform ground this initial victory in performances of “good rule” drawn, it would seem, from an “advice for princes” manual.

The contrast between Philippa and Leonor underscores the political importance of bastard lines—and therefore, royal mistresses—in both Portugal and Castile during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the seriousness of their claims to the throne.⁹⁰ Lopes narratively and genealogically forecloses any possibility of this kind of tragic and destabilizing dynastic affair recurring in the kingdom. Lopes’s chronicle, in the form we have it, ends with a reproduction of papal bulls sanctioning the marriage of João and Philippa, and a description of the fates of the members of the Marvelous Generation, followed by those of João’s illegitimate children, who up

⁸⁹ Coleman, “Philippa of Lancaster,” 145.

⁹⁰ These include the well-remembered and lurid affair of Pedro I of Portugal and Ines de Castro, which though often romanticized, served as a negative example of immoderate passion.

until then had been marginalized by in the narrative. As if tying up any loose ends in the chronicle, this closing makes clear the successful and peaceful absorption of any rival, illegitimate claimants to the Portuguese throne into the Avis and Lancastrian courts, thereby ensuring the permanence of the new Avis dynasty.⁹¹

In one of history's turns, both Philippa of Lancaster and the Portuguese translation of the *Confessio* become associated with the capture of Ceuta. The court chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara, in *Crónica de tomada de Ceuta por el Rei D. João*, features Philippa as an intercessory, Marian figure, who promotes the military venture, prays intently for Portuguese victory, and succumbs to plague while engaged in these prayers.⁹² Zurara claims *infante* Henrique (later "Henry the Navigator") as his source and promotes Henrique as the most enthusiastic of the *infantes* to pursue the crusade.⁹³ Indeed, the chronicler features Henrique's crusading desires as gestational—taking hold even while in his mother's womb.

Several related episodes in Zurara's chronicle dramatize Philippa's role as a royal counselor. When King João decides to pursue a crusade in Ceuta (to expand Portugal's trade interests), Zurara has the king defer to two individuals before committing to military action: his wife Philippa and the Constable Nun'Álvares Pereira. The popular support that legitimizes João's power operates through

⁹¹ A historical irony that Lopes, familiar with a household brimming with so many *infantes*, could hardly have predicted would be the tenacity of bastard lines in Portugal. When the last king of the Avis line, Sebastian, perished heirless in an extravagantly ill-conceived military fiasco in North Africa without an heir, his country was annexed into that of his Hapsburg cousin Philip II. Only with the elevation to the monarchy of the Bragança line, which traced their lineage back to João I's natural son the Count of Barcelos, did an Avis descendant sit on the Portuguese throne.

⁹² Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica Da Tomada De Ceuta*, ed. Reis Brasil (Mems Martins Codex, Portugal: Publicações Europa-América, 1992) and *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por el Rei D. João I*, ed. by Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1915); Virginia de Castro e Almeida, and Bernard Miall, eds., *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator: Being the Chronicles of Azurara* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd, 1936). All English citations are to Castro e Almeida and Miall's edition and Portuguese references to Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira's 1915 edition.

⁹³ Zurara, *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*, 39: "Then all this was told me also by the Infante Dom Henrique, Duke of Vizeu, and lord of Covilha, in whose household I dwelt for some time by order of our lord the King; and this Infante, better than any other person in the kingdom, could inform me as to the very spirit of the principal things which constitute the true value of history; and this because, even as he issued from his mother's womb, he held, so to speak, against his heart the symbol of the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the love of Whom he had always a great desire to fight the Infidels, and in this desire he lived and continued all his life, as I shall relate to you in what follows." On his enthusiasm, see also 43, 58.

the mediating figures of the queen, and (more distant to the court), the Constable. The king defers on this important matter to Philippa, “the Queen, my dear and well-beloved spouse, who, by her high virtues and her great goodness, is so loved by all that if she does not give her consent to our projects neither the people nor the great men of the kingdom will help us with the vigour and activity of which we have need.”⁹⁴ Philippa, of course, assents to the king, and claims that her sons are destined by lineage for this venture. Together, king and queen perform an interplay of self-authorizing gestures to promote their military plans.

At the Portuguese court, the Ceuta mission is kept a secret, and the ambassadors from Granada, fearing an attack on their lands, attempt to bribe Queen Philippa to intercede on their behalf with the king by promising rich clothes for her marriageable daughter:⁹⁵

[The Moors] told her that Rica Forma, the chief wife of the King of Granada, begged the Queen Dona Felippa to concern herself with the mission with which the Moorish ambassadors were charged. Rica Forma knew well, they said, that the prayers of women had much power of the hearts of husbands when they asked their spouses for things on which their hearts were set; therefore she besought the Queen, out of regard for her, to be pleased to persuade the King to give a favourable reply...⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Zurara, *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*, 52-3, cited on 52; *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por el Rei D. João I*, ed. Esteves Pereira, 60-62.

⁹⁵ Interestingly, Zurara writes that some in Portugal believed that the military preparations involved England: Zurara, *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*, 63-64: “Amidst all this manual activity men’s minds were likewise at work, seeking to divine the goal of the expedition and the true projects of the King. Opinions were many and various; some saying that the King was sending his daughter, the Infanta Izabel, to England, there to espouse a prince of that country, and that all these troops and the fleet were going thither to help the King of England to conquer France; or that their object was to go to the Holy Land and bring back the Holy Sepulchre; or to make war upon the Duke of Holland; or to fight and overthrow the Pope of Avignon; and other suppositions beside, one more absurd than another...A Jew, servant of the queen, figured it out and put it in verse.”

⁹⁶ Zurara, *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*, 65-66; *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por el Rei D. João I*, ed. Esteves Pereira, 107-109.

“Rica Forma” is a shadowy cipher for the beautiful, “rich” material wealth and allure of Granada, meant to play upon a form of vanity or greed gendered as innately female. Philippa, of course, refuses to aid the ambassadors: “But who could have persuaded the Queen to follow such a course? For the Queen was a woman most acceptable to God, and would never espouse the interests of the Infidels, nor do anything in their favour, the more so as she was English, and England is one of those nations that hate the Infidels.”⁹⁷ In the midst of the chronicle, Philippa is given a whole monologue expounding on the proper behavior of queens.⁹⁸ Before dying, Philippa blesses her sons and gives them swords she had forged for the ensuing battle.

I request you as a great favour...to have the kindness to knight your sons before me, at the moment of your departure, with the swords that I shall give them to this end and with my blessing. It is said that the arms offered by women weaken the heart of chevaliers; but I believe that, having regard from the line from which I am descended, the swords which the Infantes receive from my hand will by no means enfeeble their hearts.⁹⁹

In Zurara’s chronicle, João and Philippa in this moment represent two chivalric traditions, one native Iberian and the other English. Earlier, she had appealed to the king in favor of their sons’ participation in the capture by citing their lineage.¹⁰⁰ The *infantes*’ lineage, and thus destiny, cojoins the Reconquista energies of Portuguese crusading kings and the idealized chivalry of Knights of the Garter, the order that her two oldest sons belonged to. After commending her battled-bound

⁹⁷ Zurara, *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*, 66; *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por el Rei D. João I*, ed. Esteves Pereira, 107: “Mas quem auia de seer aquelle que mouesse a Rainha pera fallar em tall partido. ca a Rainha era huãa molher mujito amiga de Deos, e segumdo suas obras filhara de muy maamente emcarreguo de nehuũm emfiell pera lhe procurar alguũ fauor. quamto mais ajmda que era naturall dHimgraterra, cuja naçam amtre as do mumdo naturallmente desamam todollos jmfees.”

⁹⁸ Zurara, *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*, 66-67; *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por el Rei D. João I*, ed. Esteves Pereira, 107-109.

⁹⁹ Zurara, *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*, 76. On Philippa’s death, see *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por el Rei D. João I*, ed. Esteves Pereira, 125-140.

¹⁰⁰ Zurara, *Conquests & Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*, 53.

husband and sons to God, she dies a virtuous death—her dying words are spent correcting the Church Latin of the priest administering her Last Rites.¹⁰¹ In an echo of earlier historiographical ideals of queenship, Philippa is both a custodian of culture and tradition and of language itself—of grammatical, linguistic surety, not only in the vernacular, but in Latin as well. Zurara’s portrait serves as a fitting end for a queen remembered for personal piety as well as political and religious reformist tendencies.

Why should the performance of queenship figure so prominently in a chronicle focusing on a military attack? Philippa’s role in the *Crónica de tomada de Ceuta*, on the one hand, dramatizes the *infante* Henrique’s symbolic recourse to his English lineage, as witnessed, for example, in his Garter robes.¹⁰² More broadly, Zurara’s chronicle serves as a foundational moment for the Portuguese Avis line, an encomium of two figures, Philippa and João, whom Zurara and his predecessor Lopes cast as models of governance. Zurara’s chronicle was written nearly thirty-five years after the attack, and serves as a retrospective to celebrate the capture of Ceuta as the first in a long series of Portuguese mercantile activities in the Atlantic.¹⁰³ The chronicle thus serves as kind of historical point of origins for the navigational program championed by Henry, which, by the time Zurara was writing his account, had already proved an expensive and frustrating royal venture. Celebrating its origins in writing was one way of promoting its continued royal support as the throne passed on to new rulers.

¹⁰¹ See Coleman, “Philippa of Lancaster, 145.

¹⁰² Russell, *Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’*, 356-7, “The inventory makers found in one of Henry’s Algarvian wardrobes a complete outfit of the robes worn by knights of the Order of the Garter. The whole array of undertunic, mantle, cap, sash and other ceremonial appurtenances in the then Garter colours of crimson, scarlet, gold and blue is individually described. The robes, as a routine, had been brought to Henry from England by the Garter King of Arms after his election to the Order in 1443. Henry perhaps attached more importance to his membership in the famous order of chivalry established by his English great-grandfather than did brothers [*sic*] or his nephew, Afonso V. It was perhaps by Henry’s order that the arms of the Garter are also displayed on the tomb made for D. Pedro in Batalha in 1455 after his posthumous rehabilitation and ceremonial reburial there. The reburial was organized and presided over by the Prince who, we are told, appeared for the occasion clad in the deepest mourning...It is, of course, tempting to wonder whether he kept the ceremonial robes of the Garter beside him in the Algarve so that he could deck himself out in them on important occasions there, as when, for example, he received foreign knights seeking to enter his service, or when—as Zurara states and documents confirm—chiefs from the Canaries or from Black Africa whom he wanted to impress came to visit him as his household guest.”

¹⁰³ H. V. Livermore, “On the Conquest of Ceuta,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 2:1 (Summer, 1965), 3-13, 3.

The Portuguese capture of Ceuta sent ripples far out into Europe, affecting the kingdom's relationships with Genoese merchants and papal powers in Rome that would later help shape Portugal's early hegemony in the Atlantic. If the Portuguese garrison at Ceuta occasionally gazed out from the fortress's stone walls, looking north towards the lands of Portugal, others were gazing south, intently focused on the geographical positionality and strategic importance of Ceuta, and the Mediterranean shores of North Africa—Genoese, Venetian, and Catalan, to be sure, but also English. St Alban's chronicler Thomas Walsingham includes a description of the Portuguese capture of Ceuta, suggestively positioned after that of Agincourt and before Henry V's Christmastime celebration and news of another, victorious battle at Harfleur:

In this year [i.e. 1415] the king of Portugal [João I], relying especially upon the help of English merchants and the Germans, fought a battle with the Saracens in the land of the king of Mauretania. He came off the winner, sending many thousands of the heathen down to the son-in-law of Ceres. And he captured a very large town of theirs, situated on the sea and in their tongue called 'Ceuta'. It is said to be surrounded by a circle of strong, high walls twenty miles long.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, trans. David Preest, ed. James G. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005): 413; Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Oxford, 1937), 98: "Hoc anno rex Portingali, commisso bello in terra regis Belmarini cum gente Sarracenicā viribus Anglorum quam maxime et Alemannorum victor extitit, multis milibus perfidorum ad generum Cereris destinatis. Cepitque civitatem amplissimam supra mare sitam, vocatam Suut eorum lingua, cinctam in circuitu muro viginti milium passuum, alto et firmo." Walsingham's inclusion of the Portuguese capture of Ceuta in his chronicle is noted by both Anthony Goodman and R. F. Yeager. Goodman, "Introduction," in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, eds. Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 1-13, 4, compares Lancastrian warmongering in France unfavorably to Portuguese exploration, expansion and crusade: "In the year of Agincourt, it was his Portuguese cousins who fostered the crusading traditions of the House of Lancaster, as well as of their realm, by participating in their father João I's capture of Ceuta. Its occupation set in motion the Portuguese acquisition of wealth and empire, a more lasting and creative achievement than the internecine Lancastrian pursuit of an ephemeral empire in France, inflating English pretensions and overtaxing England's resources." See also Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 278, 428 n. 79, and Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols., RS. London (1863-64), 2:314.

Though Walsingham was mostly likely aware of the dynastic ties between England and Portugal, he does not describe the victory in terms of dynastic affiliation. Rather, he stresses the mercantile and schismatic alliances between English, Germans, and Portuguese in their joined forces at Ceuta.¹⁰⁵ The victory is, in this way, reminiscent of chronicle accounts of the Tunis campaigns of 1390.¹⁰⁶ Walsingham's inclusion of the capture of Ceuta after the battle of Agincourt signifies more than a "footnote" in history, as some historians have described it. Rather, it indicates, intuitively, an expanded sense of royal history and interests that encompasses the long history of Anglo-Portuguese political relations and the mercantile relations that helped sustain both kingdoms. English kings had long looked south to Iberia for political and economic alliances. The House of Lancaster, in particular, nurtured an intense interest in Iberia, expressed most forcefully by Henry of Grosmont's leadership at the siege of Algeceiras and John of Gaunt's Iberian campaigns.¹⁰⁷ Walsingham's momentary vision of the English and Portuguese fighting together at the gates of Hercules speaks to the long arm of English political interests and influence in Mediterranean and Atlantic spaces.

Let us return, in closing, to the copyist of our sole surviving manuscript of *O Livro do Amante*, Barroso, assembling his book in Ceuta, over whose fortress walls the Portuguese flag waved in 1430. Gower, in the *Confessio*, represents himself as a restorer of lineages through textual exemplarity and canny authorial counsel. *O Livro do Amante* materializes and enriches the *Confessio*'s imagined poetic legacy and promotion of just rule: "Daquelles que screverom ante nós ficam os

¹⁰⁵ Yeager, "Gower's Lancastrian Affinity," notes that merchants formed one group of readers for Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. As an aside, it is worth noting that one rare example of a fifteenth-century English-provenance and English-language manuscript attested in late medieval/early modern Lisbon is a copy of *Dives and Pauper*, New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 228, which was left in a monastery by an English merchant. See "Eight Medieval Manuscripts," *Yale University Library Gazette* 29:3 (January 1955): 99-112. I am thankful to Sonja Drimmer for bringing this manuscript and essay to my attention.

¹⁰⁶ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 278-9. In 1390, England merchants and merchant-adventurers participated in a Bourbon-led "crusade" along with contingents from other kingdoms.

¹⁰⁷ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 295.

livros e nós por elles somos ensinados do que entom foi scripto. Porem, bem he que nós outrossi screvamos do novo algũa materia de exemplos dos saibos antigos, em tal maneira que, depois de nossas mortes, a renenbrança dello possa ficar ao diante no mundo.” Barroso’s act of textual remembrance and regeneration embraces past and future iterations of moral wisdom. Yet the manuscript is also marked by the labor of inscription (as described in his colophon) and the linguistic and geographical contingencies of the copyist’s own historical moment.

If Barroso had climbed the nearby Monte Hacho and looked north across the Strait of Gibraltar, he would have seen the towering mountains of Gibraltar at the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula, territory of the Moroccan Kingdom of Fez. Beyond those, lay the lands of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, and further still, those of the land-hungry Castilian kings, whose eyes flickered with ambition when they thought of these last “un-reconquered” Iberian dominions of their Visigothic predecessors. The strategic position at which he produced the manuscript was a potent symbol in the European imagination for the bounds of knowledge and imperial possession. Alexander halted before the Pillars of Hercules; Ulysses ventured beyond—in Dante’s rendering, dangerously and impetuously transgressing the geographic and epistemic boundaries of the world. But as Barroso was writing, the Atlantic waters and the islands that rose in their midst were already being mapped, and stakes to their claim being contested. Though the scribe was stationed at the hinterlands of his own kingdom’s territories, and the reach of his vernacular, he was positioned at a node of Mediterranean cultural connectivity, one in which crusade and trade were deeply intertwined. His was a quickly changing world; within twenty years of his copying *O Livro do Amante*, the seas would be cut with blithe caravals as naval technologies reconfigured the experience of Mediterranean space. Boundaries of kingdoms in Iberia would change, too, as the Castilians annexed and consolidated their realm through a series of prescient dynastic marriages. In one of history’s later turns, both the city of Ceuta and the kingdom of Granada, and this newly-penned manuscript

itself, would end up as patrimony of the Spanish king Philip II. The Gates of Hercules themselves became geographically and emblematically appropriated by Charles V in his imperial motto, *Plus ultra*.

The “ways” of books, as the *Confessio* tells us, move forward through time and space. Their journeys were often, at the end of the Middle Ages, tied to the particular configurations of dynastic filiation and alliance, which influenced the flow of both intellectual and aesthetic tastes of cultural artifacts and wares, of both diplomats and merchants, and sometimes, queens. Translation—of texts, of lands, of titles—occurred within a social fabric of power woven through with the sometimes subtle, and often shrewd thread of queenly acumen and desire.

Chapter Two

Mapping Dynastic Sovereignty in Lancastrian Manuscripts:

Margaret of Anjou's *Shrewsbury Book* and the Burghley *Polychronicon*

In 1444 and 1445, Margaret of Anjou travelled from her residence in Tours, the ancestral *pays* of dukes of Anjou, to London via Rouen, accompanied by a large and expensive entourage of English attendants. Along her itinerary, civic entries welcomed the princess as a herald of peace and celebrated her upcoming nuptials with Henry VI of England.¹ To more optimistic observers in England, this royal marriage might succeed where military maneuvers had failed in halting the years-long trend of territorial loss in Northern France. In her royal entry into London, civic pageants hailed the travel-weary princess: “Twixt the reawmes two, Englande and Fraunce, / Pees shal approche, rest and unité.”² Yet, as Margaret passed through the territories in France en route to England, her movements presaged not the stability of English Continental rule, but the evacuation of it. Already in the rhetoric of these pageant verses, England and France were imagined not as two kingdoms joined in a dynastic dual monarchy temporarily troubled by rebellious Frenchmen (as Henry V’s encomiastic literature might suggest), but rather as two kingdoms for which only a well-articulated *division* could bring peace. In one of the larger ironies of the Hundred Years War, Plantagenet and Lancastrian attempts to consolidate a trans-Channel union of kingdoms would serve to *consolidate* each in opposition to each other, with England decidedly the loser. Ultimately,

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¹ Although she was so frequently ill from her travels that English baronesses sometimes played her role in these entries: see Diana E. S. Dunn, “Margaret (1430–1482),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed August 8, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18049/>

² John Lydgate, *Mummings and Entertainments*, ed. Claire Spensler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2010), 161.

despite the language of these pageant verses, which pinned such elusive hopes for Peace, Rest, and Unity upon Margaret's queenship, the marriage only deepened the factional divides at Henry's court within England and the fracturing of English possessions abroad.

Margaret's position in England carried the burden of the heavy cultural ironies so often attached to foreign queens consort. She embodied both the sovereign claims of the Valois in France and the last gasps of Lancastrian rule across the Channel. Her presence in England at once symbolized English geographical desire for French territorial lands and the foreclosure of their territorial ambitions on the Continent. For Henry's Angevin marriage came at a steep price: the English crown ceded (unbeknownst to some English barons) Maine and other strategic lands in France as part of the diplomatic negotiations with Margaret's family. Margaret's itinerary and her scripted entries into and through politically-contested city-spaces reveal an underlying spatial ordering of dynamic and unstable Lancastrian spaces in Northern France and England. As a discursive, diplomatic, or dramatic figuration of French sovereignty itself, Margaret's representational efficacy culminates in substitution: Henry VI gains the princess but loses most of northern France. Her itinerary thus mapped an imminent pattern of English territorial loss in these dynamic political spaces of Northern France, and French sovereignty, not English, was strengthened and consolidated in her wake.

Upon reaching Rouen, John Talbot, the first Earl of Shrewsbury, presented Margaret with a visually-stunning illuminated manuscript of French *chansons de geste*, romances, and chivalric treatises, now known as the Shrewsbury Book.³ The famous manuscript, one of the most important fifteenth-

³ British Library, Royal MS 15 E. vi. On John Talbot's life and career, see C T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); M. G. A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: A Study of War, Government and Politics During the Later Stages of the Hundred Years' War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); A J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427-1453* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983); Ralph A.

century Anglo-French compilations, contains an often-cited pedigree of Henry VI and Margaret showing the descent of both English and French royal houses from St. Louis of France (f. 3). This chapter traces the spatial implications of Charlemagne narratives within the Shrewsbury Book and another manuscript also containing the famous St. Louis pedigree: the Burghley *Polychronicon*. The Burghley *Polychronicon* was another fifteenth-century compilation made within the Lancastrian sphere of influence, but in a gentry, rather than royal, context—and in Latin and English rather than French. Both these manuscripts translate Charlemagne’s expansionist movements into Lancastrian models of political sovereignty. Each manuscript spatially imagines the boundaries of Lancastrian rule through linguistic or contextual “translations” of Charlemagne’s empire. Charlemagne is a specifically French king whose sovereign, imperial authority was used to bolster the symbolic claims of the English king to the crown of France. However, the vernacular poetics of each manuscript reflect the split in sovereignty that plagued the dual monarchy, striving to articulate claims across multiple languages.⁴ While the Shrewsbury book embodies a strategic linguistic and cultural French

Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); and Edward Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

⁴ These tensions were inherent in the earliest articulations of the dual monarchy, the Treaty of Troyes and Thomas Polton’s speeches at the Council of Constance, in which the delegate struggled to articulate England’s conciliar nationhood while grappling with the problematic plurality of languages spoken in “English” lands. For Polton’s speech, see C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1977), 110-26, esp. 116, hereafter cited as ‘Polton’. Polton discusses geography at length in his conciliar speech. The various secular and ecclesiastical means of measuring “space,” especially the status of the various territories within the domains of the King of England, was a point of contention between the English and French delegates: “...all the world knows that, although several kingdoms have been part of the English nation from ancient times, and any of them alone is far more spacious and prestigious than the kingdom of France by itself, yet there are essentially eight kingdoms, let alone numerous duchies, lands, islands and lordships; that is, England, Scotland, and Wales, the three of which make up greater Britain; also the Kingdom of Man; and in Ireland, next to England, four great and notable kingdoms, which are, Connaught, Galway, Munster and Meath, as it is recorded, among other things, one by one, in the lists of Christian kings in the Roman curial register. And there is the famous principality of John, prince of the Orkneys and about forty other islands.” The problematic status of royal authority in Celtic realms within *Britannia* is denied by Polton, who claims that it is a “flagrant untruth” that Welsh prelates are disobedient to the English king or to the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Polton, 116) or that Scotland and Ireland should be considered as separate ‘nations’. On the Council of Constance, see J.-P. Genet, “English Nationalism: Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 28 (1984): 60-78, Louis R. Loomis, ‘Nationality at the Council of Constance: An Anglo-French Dispute’ *American Historical Review* 44:3 (Apr., 1939): 508-527, and George C. Powers, *Nationalism at the Council of Constance (1414-1418)*, dissertation, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1927). On the status of Scotland, Wales, Ireland, see especially James Carley, “A Grave Event: Henry V, Glastonbury Abbey, and Joseph of Arimathea’s Bones,” in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), 285-302, 291, originally published in *Culture*

authority, even as it implicitly subordinates this to insular English court culture, the Burghley *Polychronicon* responds to the pressures of territorial loss by privileging English as a national language. The Burghley *Polychronicon* features internal scenes of vernacular translation and linguistic seizure that ideologically redress the Lancastrian problems of sovereignty under pressures of territorial loss. As the English lose and cede more land in France, Charles himself is “Englished,” that is, rendered into English linguistically but also reinscribed as a potent model for English sovereignty.

Lancastrian cultural production politically translated the figure of Charlemagne into a model of Anglo-French sacral kingship to legitimize Lancastrian dynastic expansionism. Already inscribed into textual and iconographical tradition as a “Worthy,” the emperor operates as a symbol of French kingship that can be used in political writing to promote a quasi-imperial aura for Henry VI during his minority and early reign, on the plane of royal symbolism if not precise political status.⁵

Following a roughly chronological trajectory, this chapter tracks a fifteenth-century shift in Charlemagne’s symbolic valence as a dynastic forebear over the rise and fall of Lancastrian presence

and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend : Essays in Honor of Valerie M. Lagorio, eds. Martin B. Shichtman and James P. Carley (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 129-48; and Genet, “English Nationalism,” 75: “[Polton] had to follow the distinction drawn by Campan, but as it was a matter of common knowledge in the conciliar assembly that neither the Scots nor most of the Irish (not to speak of some of the Welsh) were unwilling to be considered as members of the English nation, he had to rely upon historical material of purely English origin and upon geography to prove not only the precedence of England over France, but also that England was equivalent to *Britannia* itself because of the antiquity of its faith and the glory of its kings. In other words, he had to claim the leadership of a *natio generalis* with *nation particularis* material, and he was compelled to hide this inadequacy behind a smoke screen, the identification of *Anglia* with *Britannia*.” On multiple vernaculars within a conciliar nation, see Genet, “English Nationalism,” 68-9.

⁵ Already in the late fourteenth- and early-fifteenth centuries we see a more general interest in Middle English Charlemagne stories drawn from French *chansons de geste* and other narrative traditions, such as that of the Nine Worthies. The evident popularity of Middle English Charlemagne romances in mid-fifteenth century England coincides with Ottoman incursions in the Eastern Mediterranean, events which animate the Saracen threat that features in some Charlemagne narratives. The London Thornton Manuscript (British Library Additional MS 31042), a mid-fifteenth-century miscellany compiled by Robert Thornton contains an interesting arrangement of such material, including two Middle English Charlemagne poems, *Rowland and Otuel* and a unique copy of *The Sege of Melayne*, as well as religious material, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, and the dream-vision poem, *Parlement of Thre Ages*, which dates from the second half of the fourteenth century and contains a narrative list of the Nine Worthies. See Warren Ginsberg, *Wynnere and Wastoure; And, the Parlement of the Thre Ages* (Kalamazoo: Published for TEAMS by Medieval Institute Publications, 1992); Thorlac Turville-Petre, “The Nine Worthies in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*,” *Poetica* 11 (1979): 28-45; and John J. Thompson, *Robert Thornton and the London Thornton Manuscript: British Library MS Additional 31042* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987).

in France. My readings coalesce around particular moments in the life of Henry VI: first, on the development of genealogical themes in the political verse of John Lydgate; then, on a manuscript produced for his marriage, the Shrewsbury Book; and finally, on a manuscript created during his maturity, the Burghley *Polychronicon*. With English losses in France, Charlemagne, like the Lancastrian lands in France, becomes a kind of vanishing point or structuring absence for imagined English political geographies, one again consigned to exemplarity rather than political ancestry.

My chapter thus has two main interpretive spokes. The first centers on the translation of a dynastic trope—the figure of Charlemagne—across time, language and manuscript context. The second focuses on the translation of particular localized geographies—those of Gascony and the Roncesvalles Pass—as older texts are translated into new languages and new political contexts. As these Lancastrian manuscripts re-imagine European and English spaces, the cultural negotiations that occur within these Charlemagne narratives intersect with the discourse of dynasticism in fascinating ways. The translations of texts across space serve to legitimize new configurations of sovereign power as the textual geographies mapped within them undergo translation into new codicological environments and political contexts. Like the relics of St. James washed ashore in Galicia, the textual and imaginative translations of Charlemagne narratives authorize the redrawing of political and spiritual maps.

Ever since Henry IV claimed the throne of England in 1399 by uttering a few sentences in English, the Lancastrians have been associated with the calculated use of the vernacular.⁶ As David

⁶ Henry's short speech in English to his first Parliament is recorded as follows: "In the name of Fadir, Son, and Holy Gost, I Henry of Lancastre chalenge this rewme of Yngland, and the corone with all the membres and the appurtenances, als I that am disendit be right lyne of the Blode comyng fro the gude lorde Kyng Henry therde, and thorgh that ryght that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of my Kyn and of my Frenedes to recover it: the whiche Rewme was in poynt to be undone for defaut of Governance and undoyng of the gode Lawes" (J. Strachey, ed., *Rotuli parliamentorum ut et petitiones, et placita in parlamento*, 6 vols. [1767–77], 3.422–3), cited in A. L. Brown and Henry

Wallace has observed, “Processes of Englishing, vigorously pursued throughout the fourteenth century, assume increasing importance as English monarchs identify themselves ever more closely with the English tongue.”⁷ The expanding use of English in political and literary contexts continued throughout the fifteenth century, although the Lancastrian fixation on the throne of France and recourse to Anglo-Norman and the French vernacular created a more complex system of languages of symbolic power than a simple teleology of the “rise of English” suggests. Moreover, Gwilym Dodd has shown that English encroached only very slowly upon the uses of administrative French and Latin.⁸ I follow Alastair Minnis in ascribing a broad scope to the concept of vernacularity, which “encompass[es] acts of cultural transmission and negotiation,”⁹ in my discussions of the translations of political tropes into new languages and manuscript contexts.

This chapter begins with a brief preamble, “Setting up the Louis Pedigree: Charlemagne in Lydgate’s Lancastrian Verse,” that traces the imagery of lineage present in many of John Lydgate’s political poems written for Henry VI. Lydgate’s propagandist poetry provides a context of Lancastrian political ideology as developed during his minority. The Louis pedigree based upon the verses of Calot, which implicitly links St. Louis to Charlemagne, became a visual and textual symbol of the dual monarchy, and through this visual motif, the Lancastrians appropriated Charlemagne as a

Summerson, “Henry IV (1367–1413),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Sept 2010, accessed August 12, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12951/>.

⁷ David Wallace, ed., *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 637.

⁸ Gwilym Dodd, “The Spread of English in the Records of Central Government, 1400-1430,” in *Vernacularity in England and Wales c. 1300-1550*, eds. Elizabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 225-266. On vernacularity in late medieval England and the “rise of English,” see also John H. Fisher, *The Emergence of Standard English* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996); Christopher Cannon, *Middle English Literature: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 67-71; Seth Lerer, *Inventing English: A Portable History of the Language* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), and Salter and Wicker, eds., *Vernacularity in England and Wales c. 1300-1550*. On Henry IV, see also Gwilym Dodd and Douglas Biggs, eds., *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press in association with Boydell Press, 2003) and *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403-1413* (York, England: York Medieval Press, 2008).

⁹ Alastair Minnis, *Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature: Valuing the Vernacular* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2009), quoted on 1; see also page xi, in which Minnis: “proposes that the very term ‘vernacular’ has a value which goes far beyond the category of language, to encompass popular cultural beliefs and practices which engaged in complex relationships with those authorized by church and state institutions.”

dynastic icon in royal propaganda. The Louis pedigree, which appears in both manuscripts I discuss, appropriates and transforms Valois traditions of kingship to illustrate the English claim to France.

In the second and third sections, I turn to an analysis of political resonances of the poem *Aspremont* within the Shrewsbury book. The second section, “Charlemagne’s Italy: Angevin Dynastic Territories in the Shrewsbury Book” argues that the cluster of Charlemagne poems within the manuscript deploys the emblematic and exemplary figure of Charlemagne as a foundation figure of Valois (and thus English) rule while at the same time signaling Talbot’s geopolitical support of Margaret’s family’s claims in southern Italy. Appropriating the Valois’s own traditions of royal chronicles and dynastic history, the manuscript offers models of sovereignty and lineal descent derived from evolving articulations of French sacral kingship to serve Lancastrian political ends. The third section, “Girart’s Rebellion in *Aspremont*: Feudal Autonomy and Gifts of Marriage” suggests that the Shrewsbury Book’s multiplicity of generic forms offers complementary models of baronial loyalty in order to promote Talbot’s status within the power-structures of the Lancastrian affinity.

The remaining three sections focus on the theme of vernacularity within the Burghley *Polychronicon* manuscript, whose patron Thomas Mull was linked by national and local political ties to John Talbot. The Burghley *Polychronicon* includes historical documents relating to Lancastrian rule, John Trevisa’s translation of Ranulf Higden’s *Polychronicon*, other related Trevisan materials, and the unique surviving Middle English translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, a twelfth-century prose history of Charlemagne’s battle at Roncesvaux. The chapter’s fourth section, “English Historical Memory in the Burghley *Polychronicon*: Higden’s Political Geographies and Trevisa’s Vernacular,” focuses on the intertextual links that arise between items in the manuscript as they document and explore Lancastrian history. Trevisa’s “Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk” emphasizes the

ethical necessity of vernacular translation in the formation of national and linguistic communities while exposing the mechanisms of aristocratic patronage that materially produce texts.

The chapter's fourth section, "Translating Sainly Spaces in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*," concentrates on the manuscript's final item: Middle English translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*. The Burghley *Polychronicon* positions *Turpines Story* at the end of a series of historical materials that includes Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* and several Lancastrian political documents, such as the record of the deposition of Richard II and the description of Henry VI's coronations at Westminster and St Denis. When translated into English and positioned in this textual environment, the spiritual and imperial geographies articulated in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* gain new political currency. I explore how the narrative frames of the *Chronicle* deploy the hagiographical trope of saintly translation in assigning Charlemagne and Archbishop Turpin imperial and religious authority.

The fifth and final section, "'Roulonde vnderstode riht wele': Vernacular Politics in *Turpines Story*," argues that *Turpines Story* imaginatively extends the manuscript's focus on vernacularity and sovereignty to its depiction of religious conflict within the contested Pyrenean spaces of Spain and Gascony. Two complementary narrative episodes feature scenes of translation and linguistic play between a Christian (Charlemagne and Roland) and a Saracen opponent that promote strategic multilingualism as a facet of imperial power in march territories. The Burghley *Polychronicon* exploits Carolingian imperial history to construct a Lancastrian political genealogy that authorizes the multinational, multilingual claims of dual monarchy, while still exemplifying the privileged linguistic and political spaces of English nationhood within a universal scheme. In *Turpines Story*, the trope of pilgrimage intersects with those of genealogy and descent, galvanizing the linguistic and cartographical mechanisms of translation. The vernacularizing of the Latin text refracts various modes of translation encompassed *within* the text itself, especially the movement of holy objects and

crusading warriors across space. This process corresponds with the discursive “Englishing” of the political spaces of Lancastrian Gascony within the imaginative realm of history and legend, even as these spaces are lost to English sovereignty.

Setting up the Louis Pedigree: Charlemagne in Lydgate’s Lancastrian Verse

The Lancastrian concept of dual monarchy, “*l’union des deux couronne*,” while based ultimately on Edward III’s claim to France, had its more immediate origins in the diplomatic negotiations between English ambassadors of Henry VI and those of Charles VI leading up to treaty of Troyes of 1420.¹⁰ The treaty employed rhetoric of peace and unity and emphasized that both kingdoms would retain independent statuses as coherent polities once they were jointly ruled by Henry V.¹¹ Central to the treaty of Troyes was that it would preserve the integrity of the kingdom of France.¹² In particular, the Duchy of Normandy would be reunited with the French political body: “[Henry V] would not dismember the crown: Normandy, on his accession, would revert to its status as a dependency of the crown of France.”¹³ Decades later, England was in a much weaker bargaining position, its hold upon French possessions tenuous. The truce of Tours in 1444 stipulated Henry

¹⁰ On the terminology of “*l’union des deux couronne*,” see Anne Curry, “Two Kingdoms, One King: The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Creation of a Double Monarchy of England and France,” in *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England, 1420-1700*, ed. Glenn Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 23-41, esp. 23-4, 23n.2. In theory and in practice, the treaty of Troyes was significantly different from its diplomatic predecessor, the treaty of Brétigny, signed on 9 May 1360 between Edward III and John II “*le bon*.” As Maurice Keen writes, “The treaty of Troyes...made a clean break with the old tradition” of Anglo-French diplomacy, *Nobles, Knights, and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon, 1996), 233-8, quoted on 233. On the Treaty of Troyes, see also J. W. McKenna, “Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 145-62; C.T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c. 1300-c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 30-2.

¹¹ See Curry, “Two Kingdoms, One King,” 25-6; and Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 30.

¹² Keen, *Nobles, Knights, and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages*, 235-6.

¹³ Keen, *Nobles, Knights, and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages*, 236; and Curry, “Two Kingdoms, One King,” 25.

VI's Angevin marriage and resulted in a renewal of England's sovereign claims over Normandy, further dividing the English throne's precariously-held French territories between the kingdoms.¹⁴

The concept of Lancastrian dual monarchy posed challenges for those who strove to contextualize it with contemporary political theories of representation, and diplomats and jurists who wrote the treaty of Troyes demonstrated considerable legal sophistication in their articulation of Henry V's position as "King of England and Heir of France."¹⁵ The political writers and propagandists whose job it was to promote the dual monarchy created a coherent grammar of royal iconography and textual strategies that defined for Henry V's subjects the political implications of these two autonomous kingdoms being united under one crown "by right and not by conquest."¹⁶ These modes of symbolic representation underwent change as the infant Henry VI took his father's place as the soon-to-be joint ruler of the two kingdoms.¹⁷ As Maura Nolan writes, "The idea of *representation*, the notion that the king literally embodied the realm, was a crucial one during the minority, when it was deployed precisely to compensate for the absence of an adult king."¹⁸ Throughout Henry VI's minority, Lancastrian propagandists produced political genealogies that articulated, textually and visually, the dual monarchy by emphasizing Henry's descent from both English and French lines. The most well-known trope was the Louis pedigree, a textual and visual representation that features in the French genealogical verses of Jacques Calot that were subsequently translated into English by John Lydgate in 1426 as "The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI."¹⁹ The pictorial genealogy that accompanied Calot's verses corresponds with the beautiful *fleur-*

¹⁴ On the truce of Tours (1444), see Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 35-6.

¹⁵ See Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 19-20.

¹⁶ Curry, "Two Kingdoms, One King," 25.

¹⁷ Curry, "Two Kingdoms, One King," 33.

¹⁸ Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture*, 6.

¹⁹ John Lydgate, "The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI," in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate II (Secular Poems)*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, EETS o.s. 192 (1934), 613-622; edited from MS BM Harley 7333. See McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy"; Anne D. Hedeman "Collecting Images: The Role of the Visual in the Shrewsbury Talbot Book

de-lis illumination in the Shrewsbury Book, whose genealogical schema depicts Henry VI's joint maternal and paternal descent from St. Louis.²⁰

The dynastic link between Henry VI and St Louis is a fundamental element in the Lancastrian propaganda that served to legitimize, through established paradigms of descent, the position of Henry VI as lawful king of France.²¹ Charles V's devotion to Saint Louis and Charlemagne helped to establish their symbolic potential in Valois royal historiographical traditions and ceremony.²² Both kings feature prominently in the *Grandes Chroniques de France* and other expressions of French sovereignty.²³ The Coronation Book of Charles V (British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B. viii), for example, illustrates the "sceptre of Charlemagne" that Charles received at his coronation.²⁴ Anne Hedeman suggests that the genealogical model illustrated in the Shrewsbury Book might be based on the *Reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli magni*, a political prophecy stating that a ruler of Carolingian descent would rise to the throne after seven generations of Capetians (it was ultimately fulfilled in the person of Louis VIII, father of Saint Louis IX).²⁵ The appropriation of this

(Royal 15 E. VI)," in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe (14th-17th centuries)*, eds. Karen L. Fresco and Anne D. Hedeman, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), 106.

²⁰ On the political valences of Saint Louis in French historiographical traditions, see Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques De France, 1274-1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and on his presence in the Shrewsbury Book's pictorial genealogy specifically, see Hedeman, "Collecting Images," 110-1.

²¹ McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy," 155.

²² Hedeman, *Royal Image*, 98. See also Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne & France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 96-7.

²³ Hedeman, *Royal Image*.

²⁴ Joanna Fronska, "Coronation Book of Charles V (*Livre du sacre des rois de France*) [BL, Cotton Tiberius B. viii, ff. 35-80]" in *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*, eds. Scot McKendrick, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle, et. al. (London: British Library, 2011), cat. no. 138, 388-91. See also Carra F. O'Meara, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France* (London, Harvey Miller, 2001); E. S. Dewick and William Griggs, *The Coronation Book of Charles V. of France (Cottonian ms. Tiberius B. VIII)* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1899); Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne & France*, 96; and Danielle Gabotit-Chopin, *Regalia. Les instruments du sacre des rois de France, Les "bonneurs de Charlemagne"* (Paris, 1987). I am grateful to Dr. Joanna Fronska for this last reference and for her generous correspondence regarding the Coronation Book.

²⁵ Hedeman, "Collecting Images," 111-3. On the *Reditus*, see also Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The *Reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli magni*: A New Look," in *The Past As Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 111-37. See also Marigold Anne Norbye, "Genealogies and dynastic awareness in the Hundred Years War: The evidence of *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histories*," *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007): 297-319.

Carolingian tradition points to the ways that English artists and writers turned to French traditions of sacral kingship to develop their own legitimizing tropes while at the same time asserting the priority of English cultural production within the dual monarchy. The *Reditus*, moreover, links the Valois kings to earlier dynastic lines and highlights the continuity between the Capetian Saint Louis and the Carolingian line. Thus the figure of Saint Louis in the Shrewsbury Book's genealogy looks even further back, envisioning not only the crusader-king Saint Louis as the ancestor of the English king Henry VI, but also, through him, the celebrated crusader-emperor Charlemagne.²⁶ The Charlemagne poems in the Shrewsbury Book should be read through a lens of genealogical continuity between Lancastrians and Capetians, and Capetians and Carolingians.

We can see how Lancastrian genealogical claims function alongside other symbolic appropriations in the poetry of John Lydgate. Lydgate's translation of Calot's genealogy provides a historical tracemark for his more general endeavor to set up Henry VI as a just king who descends from both saintly (Louis) and martial (Henry V) predecessors, both of whose lineages coalesce around the symbolic potency of the crusading emperor, Charlemagne. In several of Lydgate's occasional verses on Lancastrian themes, the poet uses metaphors of consanguinity—of blood and trees—to depict Henry VI as a true heir of his mighty father, a branch of the great stock of Lancastrian kingship. The "Roundel for the Coronation of Henry VI" begins, "Reioice, ye reames of Englund & of Fraunce, / A branche þat sprang oute of the floure-de-lys, / Blode of Seint Edward

²⁶ After discussing Charles V's book production patronage to "legitimate" the Valois dynasty, Minnis, *Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature*, 3, writes, "However, there is nothing in the corpus of Middle English texts which corresponds to either of Dante's literary-theoretical treatises or Oresme's commentated translations, and neither King Richard II of England nor his Lancastrian successors attempted to emulate the 'state hermeneutics' cultivated by the Valois dynasty." I am arguing slightly against Minnis here, in claiming that Lancastrian political agents attempted to emulate the iconographical traditions and vernacular politics of the Valois symbolism of Charlemagne, although the degree to which Lydgate, Talbot, and Mull were participants in the creation of a "state hermeneutics" is uncertain.

and Seint Lowys, /God hath this day sent in gouernance.”²⁷ The “Ballade to King Henry VI Upon His Coronation” similarly speaks of Henry as the “Crophe and roote of þat royal lyne.”²⁸

Beyond biolineage and filiation, Lydgate composes his political genealogies to encompass political lineage through lines of regnal succession. Lydgate’s “Ballade” yokes the ancestral figures of Arthur and Charlemagne in a trope which crystallizes the political histories developed to promote the Lancastrian dual monarchy:

Royal braunche descendid frome twoo lynes
Of Saynt Edward and of Saynt Lowys,
Hooly sayntes translated in þeyre shrynes,
In þeyre tyme manly, prudent, and wys;
Arthour was knyghtly, and Charles of gret prys,
And of alle þeos þy grene tender aage
By þe grace of God, and by His avys,
Of manly prowesse shal taken a terrage.²⁹

The concurrence between the explicitly consanguineous descendants Edward and Louis and the dynastic ones Arthur and Charlemagne blurs modes of descent—the ancestral and spiritual, the political and ethical—from which Lydgate constructs his kingly typologies and addresses the issue of how King Henry VI will represent both the French and English nations. As James Simpson writes, “Lydgate produced texts that jointly form a heterogeneous collage of differently figured histories.”³⁰

Together, these histories form the conceptual, imaginative, and sacral foundation of the Lancastrian dual monarchy. Lydgate’s invocation of Arthur and Charlemagne in his “Ballade” emphasizes not

²⁷ Lydgate, “Roundel for the Coronation of Henry VI,” in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate II*, 622, ll. 1-4.

²⁸ John Lydgate, “Ballade to King Henry VI Upon His Coronation,” in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate II*, 624-630, quoted 628, l. 98.

²⁹ John Lydgate, “Ballade to King Henry VI Upon His Coronation,” 625, ll. 9-16.

³⁰ James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution. The Oxford English Literary History. Vol. II, 1350-1547* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 55, quoted in Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture*, 21.

only legitimizing royal histories of foundation and descent, but also the theories of kingship that promote the legitimizing force of ethics in personal rule. Later in the “Ballade,” Lydgate appeals to the king to *perform* the acts of governance which are the result and requisite of his heritage:

And sith þou art frome þat noble lyne
Descendid dovne, be stedfast of byleeve,
Þy knightly honnour let hit shewe and shyne,
Shewe þy power and þy might to preove
Ageyns alle þoo þat wolde þe chirche greve,
Cherisshe þe lordse, haate extorcion,
Of þyne almesse þy people þou releve,
Ay on þy comunes having compassyoun.³¹

Lydgate relates historical paradigms of genealogy to the performance of just kingship. Lineage, Lydgate implicitly argues, is contingent upon the efficacy of governance which emulates the antecedent “worthies”—and none more so than Henry V, who in encomia embodies the spirit of both empire and crusade.³²

Charlemagne’s status as a modern “Worthy” is integral to his iconicity in Lancastrian political writing. The trope of the Nine Worthies was popular in fifteenth-century England and France, appearing in verse, manuscript illuminations and tapestries; at the end of the century, it

³¹ Lydgate, “Ballade to King Henry VI Upon His Coronation,” 626, ll. 33-40.

³² In encomia for Henry V, these verses often fuse the rhetorics of “nationalism” and crusade, which coalesce in contemporary literary evocations of Charlemagne. See Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 328 and 341-2, who writes, “The apotheosis of Henry V as a holy warrior, no less worthy of fame, respect, and divine favour than any crusading hero of the past, came with the king’s entry into London a month after the victory at Agincourt.” This is especially the case for the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (cited in Tyerman) which survives in two anonymous fifteenth-century manuscripts: British Library, Cotton MS. Julius E IV, article 4, and British Library, Sloane MS. 1776. *Gesta Henrici Quinti [The deeds of Henry the Fifth]*, ed. and trans. Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975).

served as the thematic basis of Caxton's "Worthies" series of publications.³³ These Worthies served as exemplary figures for Lancastrian rule, and thus the trope of identifying an admirable figure as a tenth "Worthy" became commonplace.³⁴ During the minority and early adult reign of Henry VI, the memory of Henry V was often used in literature as a model of military kingship; John Lydgate, in his "Title and Pedigree of Henry VI," a translation of Calot's verses, declares that Henry V was illustrious enough to be included among the Nine Worthies:

Whiche thurgh his manhode & grete labour,
Lyche a notable worthi conquerour
Cesid not, thurgh his besy peyne,
Iustly to bringworthi reames twayn
Vndir oo crowne by desceynt of lyne;
For which he may among þe Worthie Nyne
Truly be set & reconed for oon,
Who can take hede among *hem euenichone*.³⁵

According to the verses, Henry V was king of France by right of both lineage and conquest. The martial valor of Henry V results in a consolidation of power through both the "great labor" of war and through dynastic union.

Initially useful as a icon of sovereignty in France, the figure of Charlemagne transforms again over the course of the fifteenth century into an exemplum of kingship and a crusader, whose

³³ See Sir Israel Gollancz's edition of the *Parlement of the Thre Ages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), as well Roger Sherman Loomis, "Verses on the Nine Worthies," *Modern Philology* 15:4 (Aug., 1917): 211-19; H.C. Marillier, "The Nine Worthies," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 61:352 (Jul. 1932): 13-15, 19.

³⁴ Stephen H. A. Shepherd, ed., *Turpin's Story: A Middle English Translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 2004), EETS o.s. 322, xvii, (hereafter cited as *Turpin's Story*): "And at roughly the same time as HM 28, 561 was being produced, a pageant symbolically established Queen Margaret as the Tenth Worthy, the fourth Christian among the group and a peer of Charlemagne."

³⁵ Lydgate, "The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI," in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* II, 613-22, quoted on page 619, ll. 212-91.

narrative potency is endlessly *translatable* as readers can envision him ethically, if not ethnically. Lydgate's occasional poems praise Henry V for his defense of orthodox religion in the face of schism and religious heterodoxy.³⁶ In his "Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI" (1432), Lydgate celebrates the allegiance between Henry V and the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund in their crusade against heresy:

Ageinst miscreauntes themperour Sigismound
Hath shewid his myght which is imperial;
Sithen Henry the Vth so noble a knyght was founde
For Cristes cause in actis martial;
Cherisshyng the Chirch Lollardes had a falle,
To give exauple to kynges that succeed
And to his braunche in especiall
While he dothe regne to love God & drede.³⁷

The imperial alliance between Henry V and Sigismund which defends "Cristes cause" through "actis martial" echoes the histories of the crusading kings Louis IX and Charlemagne. As an exemplum for Henry VI, Charlemagne, like Henry V, defends Christian orthodoxy as well French sovereign territories.

Charlemagne's Italy: Angevin Dynastic Territories in the Shrewsbury Book

³⁶ John Capgrave, in the *Book of the Illustrious Henries*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858) voices the idea that more than one Lancastrian from Henry of Lancaster forward was a crusader. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588*, 307, 433 n. 24, notes that "In the late 1440s Henry VI himself received a tract, *De Regimine Principum*, that urged reconciliation between England and France so that the recovery of the Holy Land could be put in hand." Around the time of Henry VI's marriage (1444-5), Pope Eugenius promoted crusade preaching for England; this was repeated by Pius II in 1460 and 1463 (Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588*, 308). See *Tractatus de Regimine Principum Ad Regem Henricum Sextum*, edited by Jean-Philippe Genêt, *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages*, Camden Series (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London, 1977).

³⁷ Lydgate, "Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI (1432)," in *Minor Poems of John Lydgate II*, 623-4, ll. 9-16.

While Lydgate's poetry can illuminate the dynastic engineering that preoccupied Henry VI's minority, another document focuses on the heightened stakes contingent upon his marriage. The Shrewsbury Book was likely presented to Margaret of Anjou by the book's creator and patron, John Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury in Rouen in March 1445 in anticipation of her marriage to Henry VI of England.³⁸ The manuscript, which contains French-language *chansons de geste*, romances, and chivalric treatises, is richly adorned and painstakingly compiled and executed. The manuscript's presentation to Margaret during her cross-channel royal itinerary further deepens the manuscript's symbolic status as a cultural artifact of English sovereignty. Its creation at a critical moment in history of the Lancastrian monarchy and its conceptual integrity as a textual compilation render the Shrewsbury Book a uniquely valuable expression of fifteenth-century Lancastrian political culture.

Through its assemblage of French texts, the Shrewsbury Book articulates the dynastic geography of the Lancastrian dual monarchy and spatializes its illuminated genealogy. It appropriates the Valois's own traditions of royal chronicles and lineal descent to bolster Lancastrian expansionism. The presence of a 'Book of Charlemagne' within the manuscript, I will argue, draws on the Lancastrian political iconography of dual monarchy developed during Henry VI's minority by Lydgate and others, which featured Charlemagne as both a genealogical forebear and political

³⁸ For a description of British Library Royal MS 15 E. iv, see Scot McKendrick, "The Shrewsbury Book," in *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*, cat. no. 143, 400-3. On its presentation to Margaret, see McKendrick, "The Shrewsbury Book," 401. Several studies of the manuscript are included in Fresco and Hedeman, eds., *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe* (Columbus, 2011) as individual chapters: Anne D. Hedeman, "Collecting Images: The Role of the Visual in the Shrewsbury Book (BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi)," 99-199; Andrew Taylor, "The Time of an Anthology: BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi and the Commemoration of Chivalric Culture," 120-33; Craig Taylor, "The Treatise Cycle of the Shrewsbury Book, BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi," 134-50; and Karen Fresco, "Christine de Pizan's *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* and the Coherence of BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi," 151-88. Other studies include Catherine Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book, British Library, Royal MS 15 E. VI," in *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Rouen*, ed. Jenny Stratford (London: British Archaeological Association, 1993), 109-16, and "English Patrons and French Artists in Fifteenth-century Normandy," in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, edited by David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 299-313; B. J. H. Rowe, "King Henry VI's claim to France in Picture and Poem," *The Library*, 4th Series 13 (1932): 77-88; Michel-André Bossy, "Arms and the Bride: Christine de Pizan's Military Treatise as a Wedding Gift for Margaret of Anjou," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 236-56; André de Mandach, "A Royal Wedding-Present in the Making: Talbot's Chivalric Anthology (Royal 15 E IV) for Queen Margaret of Anjou and the 'Laval-Middleton' Anthology of Nottingham," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 18(1974), 56-76.

exemplar. The figure of Charlemagne, whose sovereign legacy encompasses issues of dynastic genealogy, the mapping of imperial geography, the ethics of just rule, and the negotiation of baronial-royal relationships, serves as one of several motifs which lends coherence to the manuscript. The geopolitical scope of Charlemagne's dominions provides the self-declared 'heirs' of his imperial and regnal authority, be they the Valois or the Lancastrians, with a spatial paradigm for the consolidation of sovereignty in Continental lands.

Charlemagne's status as a political symbol within the Shrewsbury Book reinforces not only the legitimacy of Lancastrian rule in both kingdoms, but also the political structures that underlie the administration and preservation of the dual monarchy. The Charlemagne *chansons de geste* offer a model of kingship that explores feudal power dynamics, as the memorable example of Girart's rebellion in *Aspremont* demonstrates. Through the interplay between textual genres and visual features, the manuscript actively promotes models of political loyalty indebted to dynastic rhetoric and chivalric ideologies. Moreover, as the driving force behind the creation and composition of the manuscript, Talbot's act of patronage and gift-giving stakes a claim for baronial authority within Lancastrian power structures.

Within the wide geographical distribution of the manuscript's *chansons de geste*, romances, chronicles, and statutes, the cluster of Charlemagne poems is endowed with specific political capital. The "book of king Charlemagne,"³⁹ composed of *Simon de Pouille*, the *Chanson d'Aspremont*, and *Fierabras*, develops the genealogical themes bolstering the political agenda of Lancastrian sovereignty through appropriations of Valois dynastic historical traditions and epic narratives. These *chansons* feature contested territorial spaces of immediate relevance to the Lancastrian-Angevin dynastic marriage and evoke an imperial geography born of feudal alliances. The hero of the poem *Simon de*

³⁹ The rubric on fol. 24v reads "Cy commence le lieuvre du roy Charlemane."

Pouille (fols. 25r-42v) is from Apulia, while military action of the *Chanson d'Aspremont* (fols. 43r-69v) takes place in Calabria.⁴⁰ Charlemagne's domains serve as a geographical precedent for contemporary claims of Valois sovereignty, both in Southern Italy and in trans-Pyrenean lands. The Apulian hero *Simon* travels to the Holy Land, the heroes of the *Chanson d'Aspremont*, including Roland, defend Rome from a Saracen invasion, and in *Fierabras*, Charlemagne's peers take part in battles against the Saracen army which has sacked Rome and which dominates Spain. Together, the imperial geographies of crusade (the Holy Land, southern Italy, and Pyrenean Spain) articulate the ambitions of Carolingian sovereignty in epic poetry and preserve a historical tradition of militant expansionism that sets useful precedents for later medieval chroniclers and political writers.

Crucially, each of these geographies is a contact zone between Christian and Saracen cultural forces, where the stakes both of Christian empire and Valois dynastic claimsmanship can emerge. One of these areas of cultural connectivity was southern Italy. The kingdom of Naples, as Alan Ryder notes, "stood at the cross-roads of Europe: the bridge between east and west, the highway which brought the peoples of northern Europe into the heart of the Mediterranean."⁴¹ Just as the Holy Land and trans-Pyrenean Spain (especially the Compostelan pilgrimage route and the site of Roncesvaux) bore specific symbolic resonances in the narrative traditions of medieval French epic poetry, so too did the peninsulas of southern Italy which featured so prominently in the dynastic ambitions of the House of Anjou.⁴²

⁴⁰ Bossy, "Arms and the Bride," 247, points out the relevance of the Angevin claims to the inclusion of these particular poems in the manuscript in passing but does not develop this point further.

⁴¹ Alan Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous: The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 1.

⁴² Sharon Kinoshita, "Worlding Medieval French," in *French Global: A New Approach to Literary History*, eds. Christie McDonald and Susan Rubin Suleiman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 3-20, esp. 9-10, who cites *Florian et Florete* and *Guillaume de Palerne*: "From the late twelfth century, some lesser-known French romances evince a fascination with Sicilian kingship that emphasizes its strangeness." See also Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

The long political legacy of Angevin territorial claims in southern Italy lent continuing dynastic relevance to these Charlemagne poems set in Italy and the Mediterranean.⁴³ Margaret's father René was a claimant to the kingdom of Sicily and Naples, and thus to the overlordship of Apulia, from 1435 to 1442, while her brother John was a titular duke of Calabria—a historical context for the reception of these Charlemagne poems in mid-fifteenth-century France which I will explore in more detail below. However, René's rival, Alfonso V of Aragon, annexed the contested kingdom in 1442, ending the long, intermittent dispute between the Angevins and the count-kings of Aragon over Sicily and Naples.⁴⁴ The claims of the House of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples were part of a larger discourse in Valois political writing concerned with the control of succession and dynastic lines within the French royal family. Honoré Bonet, in his *L'arbre des batailles*, dedicates a chapter to proving through legal means (to his satisfaction, at least), Louis III of Anjou's right to the kingdom.⁴⁵ The prominent inclusion of these two poems in the Shrewsbury Book should be read as a tacit defense of the historical Angevin territories in southern Italy only recently lost and of titular claims still formally retained. This narrative tribute to the House of Anjou's dynastic claims resonates with the heraldic displays of Margaret of Anjou's arms at the manuscript's margins, a

⁴³ For a brief but useful survey of Charlemagne *chansons de geste*, see Hans-Erich Keller, "King Cycle," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, eds. William W. Kibler, et. al. (New York: Garland, 1995), 507-9. On the House of Anjou's Mediterranean interventions, see Robert Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999); M. G. A. Vale, *The Origins of the Hundred Years War: the Angevin Legacy, 1250-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: Arnold, 2001); Richard Mortimer, *Angevin England, 1154-1258* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958); Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, "Angevin Patronage in Naples and Southern Italy," in *Italian Gothic Sculpture: c. 1250-c.1400* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴⁴ For the rival claimants to the kingdom of Naples, see Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*; David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms: The Struggle for Dominion* (London: Longman, 1997), 195-222; Margaret L. Kekewich, *The Good King: René of Anjou and Fifteenth Century Europe* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁴⁵ On the question of "Whether Queen Jeanne of Naples could affiliate King Louis," see Part Four, Chapter CX of Honoré Bonet's *L'arbre des batailles* in *The Tree of Battles: An English Version*, trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), 194-5.

visual feature which symbolically articulates Talbot's particular loyalty to the new queen.⁴⁶ In commemorating the Angevin territorial legacy in Italy through carefully-selected texts, the manuscript appropriates for Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou the political reach of French royal sovereignty, as imagined in the poems, and thus the imperial authority of Charlemagne invested in the symbolism of Naples into expansionist dual monarchy.

The Dukes of Anjou had retained a claim to the Kingdom of Naples in their formal titles, and nurtured a hope of dynastic reassertion of their rights to *il Regno*, since the waning of their political influence in southern Italy well over a century before, following the uprising against Charles of Anjou known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282).⁴⁷ When, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the kingdom's succession appeared uncertain due to the expiration of two claimant lines (the Neapolitan Angevin-Durazzo line and the Aragonese-Sicilian line), Duke Louis III of Anjou actively renewed his claims to the kingdom and successfully sued for papal recognition of his title.⁴⁸ Giovanna II of Naples (rg.1414-35) resisted Louis's French claims, which were now backed by both papal authority and the powerful Sforza family, choosing instead Alfonso of Aragon as her heir in 1421.⁴⁹ By 1423, however, Giovanna had disinherited Alfonso, and Louis III of Anjou, it appeared, would be Giovanna's designated successor.⁵⁰ Louis narrowly predeceased her, however, and she subsequently chose René of Anjou as her heir. She died only months later, leaving conflicting claims of succession for the kingdom between the houses of Anjou and Aragon.

⁴⁶ Hedeman, "Collecting Images," 113.

⁴⁷ On the history of the medieval kingdom of Naples, see Alan Ryder, "The Italian and Spanish Antecedents," in *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 1-26. On the influence of Charles of Anjou's Mediterranean exploits on French literary history, see Kinoshita, "Worlding Medieval French," 11-2.

⁴⁸ Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 23-4.

⁴⁹ On Giovanna (or Joanna) II of Naples see Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 23-6.

⁵⁰ Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 25. See also the document drawn up in relation to the adoption and dated 8 July 1421, printed in C. Tutini, *Discorsi de sette officii overo de sette grandi del regno di Napoli* (Rome, 1666), 137-42, cited in Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 25 n.57.

At the time of Giovanna II's death in 1435, René of Anjou was a captive of the Burgundians and thus unable to pursue his claim in person. René's wife, Isabelle, Duchess of Lorraine, traveled to Naples in his stead, arriving on 18 October 1435, and remained there, as representative of his authority, until her husband was able to join her (arriving in Naples on 19 May 1438) after his release from captivity in 1438.⁵¹ In the meanwhile, Alfonso of Aragon, a capable diplomat and seasoned naval commander, was establishing his military presence in southern Italy. Though Alfonso hoped for a swift victory, he instead was engaged in a "prolonged war of attrition."⁵² In the late 1430s, the Angevin resistance to Alfonso's claim was considerable, especially in the loyal Angevin territories of Calabria.⁵³ By 1440, however, the Angevin strongholds in Calabria began to fall to Alfonso, whose successful siege of Naples proved a definitive victory over René's forces.⁵⁴ René departed from Naples after the siege, and though he retained the honorific title (Pope Eugenius IV finally granted René the long sought-after papal bull for the kingdom on his return to Anjou after his defeat at the siege of Naples⁵⁵), he did not pursue this claim with equal military aggressiveness again.⁵⁶ While René journeyed home to rejoin his family in Anjou, the city of Naples prepared for Alfonso's triumphal entry into the city, which took place on 26 February 1443, and made full use of humanist Roman imperial iconography.⁵⁷ Despite Alfonso's ascendance in *il Regno*, Valois political investment in

⁵¹ On Isabelle's role in the Angevin recuperation of Naples, see Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 212, 223.

⁵² Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 26.

⁵³ On René's winter campaign of 1439-1440, see Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 236-7; on Calabrian resistance to Alfonso, see pages 217, 242.

⁵⁴ On the fall of Angevin strongholds in Calabria in 1440 and Alfonso's final siege of Naples in 1442, see Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 242-7.

⁵⁵ On Eugenius's bull for René, given in Florence, see Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 247. René's son continued to pursue his claim as duke of Calabria; see J. Bénét, *Jean d'Anjou, duc de Calabre et de Lorraine (1426-1470)* (Nancy: Société Thierry Alix, 1997).

⁵⁶ Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 247.

⁵⁷ On Alfonso's triumphal entry into Naples (February 1443) "in the style of the Roman Caesars" see Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 248-51, quoted on 248; Roy C. Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), 26; and Ernesto Pontieri, *Alfonso il Magnanimo, re di Napoli 1435-1458* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1975), 63 n.57, cited in Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 248. On sculptor Francesco Laurana's arch in Castel Nuovo (1452-65) commemorating the entry, see

French claims to the kingdom of Naples endured, as is evident in Charles VIII's devotion to Charlemagne as a saint and royal progenitor and the prominence of the Aspremont legend in the king's imperial and crusading ambitions. The themes of Holy War and the pursuit of dynastic territorial claims converge in the symbolic place of Naples.⁵⁸

The Shrewsbury Book's inclusion of Charlemagne poems set in Italy bears witness to the significance of the Kingdom of Naples in the Valois political geography. During the same summer that London was celebrating the royal marriage festivities (1445), Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester—King Henry VI's uncle, one of the most prominent political agents at the Lancastrian court, and an important early English patron of Italian humanists—sent, or intended to send, an illuminated copy of Livy's *Roman History* to Alfonso V of Aragon.⁵⁹ A letter survives that was meant to accompany the intended gift to Alfonso, the recently-crowned king of Naples and rival of René of Anjou.⁶⁰

According to this dedication, Gloucester was sending the manuscript to Alfonso as a sign of

also G. L. Hersey, "The Arch of Alfonso in Naples and Its Pisanellesque 'Design,'" *Master Drawings* 7:1 (Spring, 1969): 16-24, 75.

⁵⁸ Charles VIII's devotion to Charlemagne is discussed in Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne & France*, 102-8. As Morrissey notes, "Since 1277, the king of Naples held the title of king of Jerusalem. Thus, for Charles [VIII] to claim his rights to the crown of Naples was an essential step toward his reconquest of the Holy Land."

⁵⁹ The manuscript in question is Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 777, an illuminated copy of Pierre Bersuire's *Histoire romaine*, itself a translation of Livy's *History of Rome*. Susanne Saygin, "Gloucester's Gift to Alfonso of Aragon and the Crisis of July 1445," in *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) and the Italian Humanists* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 120-9, 121-3 argues that Gloucester's gift of the manuscript to Alfonso V was an "act of covert resistance to the dominant powers" at the Lancastrian court, especially Suffolk, who were in favor of the Angevin alliance; for the manuscript's provenance, she cites Alfonso Sammut, *Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli Umanisti Italiani* (Padua: Antenore, 1980), 215-6. On the two theories of the manuscript's provenance, see the manuscript's catalogue entry on *Calames*, accessed May 9, 2012, <http://www.calames.abes.fr/Pub/#details?id=BSGA12181/>. The *Calamus* entry indicates that the manuscript was acquired by Philip the Good of Burgundy (1396-1467) after Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester's library was dispersed following his death in 1447, and cites Bernard Bousmanne, et. al., eds., *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. iii (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 128-9, but gives Aragonese ownership as an alternative theory. Anne D. Hedeman likewise does not provide an Aragonese ownership in the history of the manuscript's provenance: "Pierre Bersuire, *Histoire romaine* [Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 777]" in *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500*, eds. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman (Los Angeles: Getty Pub., 2010), cat. no. 24, pp. 174-6.

⁶⁰ Both René of Anjou and Alfonso V of Aragon were noted literary patrons in their day. On René, see Florence Boucher, ed., *René d'Anjou, écrivain et mécène* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); Noël Coulet, Alice Planche, Françoise Robin, *Le roi René: le prince, le mécène, l'écrivain, le mythe* (La Calade, Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1982); Jean-Michel Matz, Elisabeth Verry, and Noël Coulet, eds., *Le roi René dans tous ses états* (Paris: Patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, 2009); Kekewich, *The Good King*. On Alfonso as an early humanist patron, see Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 306-57.

admiration for his military success in achieving dominion in southern Italy; implicitly, this particular diplomatic gift, whose text resonates with Alfonso's Roman triumphal iconography in Naples, negotiates the contested sovereignty of both Lancastrian France and the Kingdom of Naples by triangulating Lancastrian English interests with those of the Aragonese-Sicilian and Valois courts.

Girart's Rebellion in Aspremont: Feudal Autonomy and Gifts of Marriage

The integrity of Charlemagne's dominions is maintained through the feudal vassalages, with the loyalty of his peers and nobles guaranteeing the geographical bounds of his power. Turning now to *Aspremont*, we can observe how the external borders of Charlemagne's empire are dependent upon its relations within. *Aspremont* is a poem that features, front and center, the reciprocity of feudal oaths and their importance to territorial articulation and protection. It is, on a fundamental level, a poem about loyalty, and the poem's Italian setting provides a site for the discursive treatment of feudal autonomy.⁶¹ The manuscript illumination at the beginning of the Shrewsbury Book's *Aspremont* represents the Duke of Naymes's loyalty to Charlemagne by creating a visual parallel between the two mounted figures and their forces (f. 43r). With their symmetrical stances and facial similarities, the two figures appear to mirror each other. The manuscript painting, reflecting the political narrative it illustrates, depicts the Duke of Naymes as modeling an ideal of baronial loyalty.

The poem dramatizes Charlemagne's defense of the Calabrian massif, at the territorial boundaries of Christian lands, from Saracen invasion. The Saracens threaten not only southern Italy but Rome—their ambitions encompass even the distant Frankish heartland, Charlemagne's *pays*. The poem thus negotiates issues of centrality and periphery in the political geographies of the

⁶¹ Editions of *Aspremont* include François Suard, *Aspremont: Chanson de geste du xiii^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2008); Louis Brandin, *La chanson d'Aspremont: D'après un poème du xiii^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1923-4); Michael A. Newth, ed. and trans., *The Song of Aspremont (La Chanson d'Aspremont)* (New York: Garland, 1989); and Andrea Fassò, *Cantari d'Aspremonte: Inediti (Magl. Vii, 682)* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1981).

emperor-king's dominions. However, threats to Charlemagne's sovereignty come from within his realms as well as outside of them. When Charlemagne calls upon his princely vassals to fulfill their feudal obligations, the rebellious Girart refuses to come to Charlemagne's aide. Girart, whose territories include Auvergne and Burgundy, does not recognize Charlemagne's authority and pointedly castigates the emperor. Archbishop Turpin calls upon Girart, who is his kinsman, to intercede, but Girart hurls both insults and weapons across the dinner table at him. Finally, Girart's wife Lady Emmeline admonishes her husband to uphold the reciprocal bonds of vassalage and join Charlemagne's forces. With Girart's aide, Charlemagne is able to repel the Saracen invaders. At the end of the poem, however, Girart considers his obligation to Charlemagne fulfilled and proceeds to declare his independence from the king once more.⁶²

The narrative tradition surrounding Girart represents him as the clamoring voice of feudal autonomy.⁶³ The Girart d'Eufrate of *Aspremont* is related to the eponymous protagonist of other twelfth-century *chansons*, *Girart de Roussillon* and *Girart de Vienne*.⁶⁴ In *Girart de Roussillon*, Charles Martel and Girart are betrothed to the two daughters of the emperor of Constantinople, but competition between them for one sister (Girart's intended bride, whom Charles marries instead) as well as for land leads to a protracted series of conflicts that strip Girart of his land, wealth, and sons. *Girart de Vienne* also centers around a contested marriage; Charlemagne promises the duchess of Burgundy to Girart, but then marries her himself, giving Girart the territory of Vienne instead.

⁶² See Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 41.

⁶³ Gerritsen, et al., eds., *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes*, 121.

⁶⁴ On the twelfth century *chansons* *Girart de Roussillon* and *Girart de Vienne*, see Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance*, 246; René Louis, *Girart, Comte De Vienne Dans Les Chansons De Geste: Girart De Vienne, Girart De Fraite, Girart De Roussillon* (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1947); and W. P. Gerritsen, et al., eds., *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes: Characters in Medieval Narrative Traditions and their Afterlife in Literature, Theatre, and the Visual Arts* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 120-5. Editions include W. M. Hackett, ed., *Girart de Roussillon*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1953-5); Wolfgang van Emden, ed., *Girart de Vienne* (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1977), and Michael A. Newth, ed., *The Song of Girart of Vienne by Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube: A Twelfth-Century Chanson de Geste* (Tempe: Arizona CMRS, Arizona State University, 1999).

Eventually, a controversy involving the queen results in Charlemagne laying siege to Vienne, but he is reconciled with Girart through the interventions of Roland and Oliver.

Girart represents the competing pressures of baronial loyalty and resistance; in *Aspremont*, he is a cursing, cantankerous, and impulsively murderous figure, a caricature when compared with the protagonist of *Girart de Rousillon*. Girart d'Eufrate is a thorn in the side of the heroic Charlemagne, and his rebellion threatens not only Frankish cohesion, but (as his wife reminds him) the integrity of all Christian lands. Yet, at the end of the poem, he reveals a deep understanding of the complex matrix of feudal relationships in which he operates. Girart, successfully and with sophisticated rhetorical strategies, manipulates these very structures of obligation to assert his autonomy from them. *Aspremont* dramatizes its characters' ongoing negotiations of these feudal roles; its ending offers only a provisional resolution to Girart's claims of autonomy. The implicit attitude of political realism rejects the rhetorical surety of "permanent peaces" which pepper the documents of medieval diplomacy in favor of narrative provisionality that allows for emendation and accretion. Burgundy's designation as the site of political resistance in *Aspremont* (though less sympathetically rendered than in *Girart de Rousillon*) would have resonance for the fifteenth-century readers of the poem familiar with the internal divisions during the Hundred Years War, most especially the blood feud between the Armagnacs and Burgundians.⁶⁵ The dissenting figure of Girart was popular at the fifteenth-century Burgundian court, where he was seen as something of an ancestral hero himself.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Despite the shifting political alliances of the Burgundians, the literary production of the fifteenth-century Burgundy court was highly influential on the Continent, and eventually in England as well; see Rosalind Brown-Grant, *French Romance of the Later Middle Ages: Gender, Morality, and Desire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague: Leiden University Press, 1977).

⁶⁶ On Jean Wauquelin's prose version of the *Girart de Rousillon* for Philip the Good (1447), see Gerritsen, *et al.*, eds., *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes*, 122.

Significantly, in all these Girart poems, the feudal politics of marriage are linked to the rift between Charles Martel/Charlemagne and Girart.⁶⁷ The nucleus of political fracture between Girart and Charlemagne arises from contested control of the matrix of familial relations that dictates the feudal relations and territorial control. The prominence of nephews in *Aspremont* not only foregrounds “horizontal” feudal relationships, but also develops the generational theme. Old feuds overlap with fresh blood; the poem features the *enfances* motif, most especially the coming of age of Roland, who, in the course of the battle, claims his sword Durendal and his olifant horn defending Rome, empire, and king.

In *Aspremont*, marriage ties account for rapprochement yet cannot forestall the return of division. When Girart refuses to help Charlemagne—and thus to defend Christendom—he is chastised into obedience by his wife, who demands that he join Charlemagne for political and religious reasons. The noble status of Girart’s wife Lady Emmeline comes into play again towards the end of the poem. Girart rehearses the various feudal ties uniting his wife’s family with Charlemagne and pressures the emperor to consent to a marriage between the captured Saracen queen and his own nephew, his wife’s relation.⁶⁸ Girart asserts his authority, perhaps even oversteps it, by usurping Charlemagne’s power to arrange marriages (as well as to dispose of hostages), a fundamental lordly privilege in feudal relationships. In brokering this marriage between his nephew and the Saracen queen (who already had expressed a conflicting interest in the Duke of Naymes), Girart links his freedom from feudal obligation to his wife’s wise counsel.⁶⁹ Lady Emmeline’s voice of counsel, recalled and performed through that of her husband, provides Girart a space to fulfill his obligations to Charlemagne (and the spiritual call to crusade), outside of the immediate context of

⁶⁷ Morrissey, *Charlemagne & France*, 95.

⁶⁸ Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance*, 40-2, discusses this scene at length.

⁶⁹ Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance*, 41.

Charlemagne's sovereignty. Rather, he acts out of respect for his wife and her family. As Sarah Kay writes, "Explicit in these speeches is that his wife's support has given Girart autonomy from Charlemagne, whereas Charlemagne has a debt of gratitude to her father, the Hungarian king... In setting up Charlemagne to make this gift, Girart both acknowledges and masks his own obligation, and ingeniously frees himself from it at no cost to himself."⁷⁰ Whereas earlier in the poem, Girart expressed his independence from Charlemagne's prerogative, at the end of the poem he carefully orchestrates the expression of bonds of feudal obligation to compel Charlemagne to bend to his will.

Both in *Aspremont* and in the manuscript as a whole, the reciprocal bonds of loyalty forged and maintained through royal marriages preserve diplomatic negotiation and enforce ethical constraint. This local reading of *Aspremont* brings us back to the historical moment of the Shrewsbury Book's creation by dramatizing imbrications of genealogy and power. Through his presentation of the Shrewsbury Book to Margaret of Anjou, Talbot defines a role for magnates within the cross-channel political machine of the Lancastrian administration. In the frontispiece of the manuscript, Talbot kneels before the queen wearing a robe with the insignia of Order of the Garter, and presents her with the manuscript (f. 2v). This image is mirrored later in the book in an illumination featuring Honoré Bonet giving his book to Charles VI (f. 293). Through this visual analogy between the two presentation scenes, Talbot emphasizes his own investment in the ethics of war and chivalric practice as well as his political status within Lancastrian French territories. He identifies himself as not only a patron of the manuscript, but as a source of ethical authority in the judgment of martial conduct.

In the context of the manuscript, Talbot's chivalric authority is closely linked to political position. A miniature of Henry VI giving Talbot a sword as constable of France illustrates the

⁷⁰ Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance*, 41.

beginning of Christine de Pizan's *Les fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (f. 405). This image crystallizes Talbot's role as a stalwart defender of Lancastrian Normandy, entrusted with the protection of military and administrative responsibilities in tenuously-held territories. Anne Hedeman has argued, the heraldic elements in the Shrewsbury Book frame the manuscript's texts and images and foreground the relationship between King Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, and John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp, the latter two as the privileged companions and guardians of Margaret as she journeys to meet her spouse.⁷¹ Moreover, Talbot embeds his own family's ancestral romance, *Guy of Warwick*, within the narrative matrix of Shrewsbury, forming a chivalric grammar that transcends the generic divisions of the manuscript. The sophisticated intertextual compilation reflects Talbot's presence as a political subject within the manuscript; its modes of expressing political loyalty vary by genre and range from the tropes of arbitration and counsel contained in the heroic *chansons*, to the practice of chivalry depicted in the romances, to martial or aristocratic codes of conduct in the treatises.⁷²

As a royal gift, an object of beauty and prestige, the Shrewsbury Book bears political significance as it circulates between bestower and recipient within the courtly gift economy of privilege and preferment. Talbot's gift to Margaret on her nuptial itinerary through Lancastrian Normandy incorporates her into this aspect of court culture. The manuscript, a product of Rouennaise artisans, commemorates the queen's literal and symbolic presence in the Rouen. Talbot had spent much of his military career establishing and maintaining English possessions in France, and it was here in Rouen, Talbot's hard-won French stronghold, that he likely chose to present the

⁷¹ Hedeman, "Collecting Images," 107, 114.

⁷² McKendrick, "The Shrewsbury Book," 401.

manuscript to the queen.⁷³ The book's illuminated presentation scene imagines the moment of possession when Margaret's fingers will first run over the book's cover and anticipates the wedding that will occur at the end of Margaret's travels.⁷⁴ Talbot's act of manuscript patronage may be read through the lens of *Aspremont*, which expresses a fascination with the ideal of baronial loyalty and its relationship to genealogical networks of obligation and privilege. As Sarah Kay writes of the ending of *Aspremont*, "The ambiguity of the gift is framed by the ever-present threat of violence. In giving of your own, you give up a part of yourself and claim a part of the recipient, you deal simultaneously in intimacy and rivalry, alliance and oppression, you mark both community of interest with the exchange of partners and severance from them."⁷⁵ Talbot's gift to the new queen, who was variously associated with the tightening of dynastic ties to the House of Valois and a truce which functioned to loosen England's grip on her French possessions, embodies the Lancastrian dual monarchy's sovereign dominion over France, yet is framed within a historical moment that witnessed the irreversible decline of Henry's political forces.

English Historical Memory in the Burghley Polychronicon: Higden's Political Geographies and Trevisa's Vernacular Readers

The Shrewsbury Book compiles a wide array of French texts to celebrate the cultural legacy of the Valois French and the marriage of Margaret to Henry. In contrast, the Burghley *Polychronicon* reimagines English history from a belated Lancastrian perspective.⁷⁶ The manuscript, I argue, moves its dynastic nation-building from a geographical to a linguistic front as it subordinates geography to a

⁷³ On Margaret's itinerary from Anjou to London via Paris, Rouen, and Southampton, and her royal entry into Rouen, see Dunn, "Margaret (1430–1482)."

⁷⁴ McKendrick, "The Shrewsbury Book, 401, points out the asynchronicity between the manuscript image and accompanying text here.

⁷⁵ Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance*, 42.

⁷⁶ For description of the "Burghley *Polychronicon*," San Marino, California, Huntington Library MS HM 28,561, see *Turpin's Story*, xiii-xxxii and C. W. Dutschke and Richard H. Rouse, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, 2 vols. (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1989), II, 683-7.

vernacular politics of translation and seizure. The Burghley *Polychronicon* as a whole is invested in the construction of dynastic history and royal genealogy.⁷⁷ Like so many other continuations of Higden's history produced in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Burghley *Polychronicon* updates the mid-fourteenth-century *Polychronicon*, bridging the temporal gap between the reigns of Edward III and Henry VI for politically-expedient purposes.⁷⁸ The Burghley *Polychronicon* incorporates John Trevisa's translation and continuation of the *Polychronicon* (1385-1387) but it also updates Higden's history by including Latin documents in the manuscript. These include verses on the kings of England, documents relating to the Ricardian deposition and Lancastrian accession, events of the reigns of Henry IV and V, and items relating to Henry IV's coronations, marriage, and pedigree.⁷⁹ The documentary impulse underlying the incorporation of these materials into a Trevisan *Polychronicon* manuscript signals the interplay between the linguistic prestige of Latin and English, the first, which evokes legal *and* historical authority, and the second, the accessibility of universal history within a specifically national reading of community and polity. Both Latin and the vernacular, crucially, reinforce each other's authority as languages of the *nation*.⁸⁰ The Latin documents included in the manuscript authenticate not only the Lancastrian succession to England, but also the dual

⁷⁷ *Turpines Story*, xxvi: "It also seems possible that the Lancastrian material in Latin could have been included in the manuscript to suit Mull's interests; clearly, as history, it is suitable company for the *Polychronicon*, and even provides a kind of updated epitome of English history since the closing date of the *Polychronicon* in 1387...Further, if the pictorial genealogy was commissioned by Mull, then it may have been intended in part as a tribute to his employer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had commissioned a *de luxe* version of the genealogy about fifteen years earlier for Margaret of Anjou..."

⁷⁸ The *Polychronicon* survives in approximately 120 manuscripts, and John of Trevisa's translation of the whole work survives in fourteen manuscripts. On Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*, see Emily Steiner, "Radical Historiography: Langland, Trevisa, and the *Polychronicon*," *Studies in the Ages of Chaucer* 27 (2005): 177-211, rpt. in *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, eds. Thomas J. Schoenberg and Lawrence J. Trudeau (Detroit: Gale, 2007), 244-265, 246. On the *Polychronicon*, see also Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols, ii., c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 43-57; and John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 55-57, 93-103. A. S. G. Edwards, "The Influence and Audience of the *Polychronicon*: Some Observations," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Literary and Historical Section* 17, pt. 6 (1980): 113-19.

⁷⁹ *Turpines Story*, xiv-xv.

⁸⁰ Minnis, *Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature*, x: "However, the relationship between Latin and vernacular posited in this book is more elaborate than that...Further, it allows for a concept of vernacular culture which transcends language to encompass acts of cultural transfer, negotiation, appropriation, and indeed resistance—within which wider context language-transfer could play a major role, though not necessarily."

monarchy of England and France claimed by Henry V and VI. The manuscript also contains a pictorial genealogy of Henry VI's dual descent similar to that found in the Shrewsbury Book.⁸¹ This visual link is suggestive of the possible connection between the two manuscripts, for the Burghley *Polychronicon's* patron, Thomas Mull, was politically affiliated with the Talbot Earls of Shrewsbury.⁸² The concern with baronial status that frames the Shrewsbury Book surfaces also in the "Burghley *Polychronicon*," a miscellany related to the Shrewsbury Book that mirrors its literary content.

Moreover, the Burghley *Polychronicon* yokes together Higden's chronicle with one of his acknowledged sources, the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*. The manuscript apparatus provides a way of reading across the textual divides, of critically assessing the intertextual genealogies of digested historical materials. Genealogy provides a useful concept for imagining the stemmatic relationships between texts and between material manuscripts as they move through circuits of power and influences. Manuscripts, like kings, knights, and translators, have lineages and histories of descent.⁸³ The Burghley *Polychronicon* is related textually and iconographically to both the manuscripts in the library of Lord Berkeley and the Talbot Shrewsbury book, and thus responds to two models of baronial patronage in the creation of sovereign English history. Thomas Mull's patronage of the Burghley *Polychronicon* stages his relation to king and lord within both the Lancastrian affinity and local political culture. The Mulls' patronage and ownership of the Burghley *Polychronicon* expresses their political loyalty on both the level of nation and of shire. They were neighbors of both the

⁸¹ *Turpines Story*, xiv-xv: "As a supplement to the fifth item, a genealogical table in the second column of f. 323^v shows Edward III's claim to the sovereignty of France; and another table (f. 324^v) shows the descent of Henry VI from St Louis. The latter appears to derive from a pictorial genealogy commissioned around 1423 by John, Duke of Bedford, as part of his propaganda campaign in France to bolster Henry VI's claim to the French throne, and is identical in text and layout to the table found in Cambridge, University Library MS Ll. V. 20, f. 34^r (produced in 1444). A famously ornate version of this pictorial genealogy, rendered on the frame of a large illuminated fleur-de-lys, with miniature portraits, appears in London, British Library MS Royal 15 E. vi, f. 3^r, the oft-cited collection of romances and chivalric works in French commissioned by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, as a gift for Margaret of Anjou, probably on the occasion of her marriage to Henry VI in 1445. This item is possibly a later addition to the manuscript; see p. xviii below."

⁸² *Turpines Story*, lii-liii.

⁸³ See Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., "Introduction," in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 1-6, 2.

Berkeleys and the Talbots, were strong proponents of the latter against the former in the “great Berkeley lawsuit” of the mid-fifteenth century. Political loyalty, like hereditary claims, may be expressed through genealogical paradigms. Exemplary narratives celebrated the valor of ancestral heroes of the baronial and gentry classes who valiantly supported such exalted kings. The *Turpin's Story's* depiction of an English Roland, descended from Milo, possibly evokes the legendary (and supposed) Norman ancestor of Mulls, also named Milo. Thus, baronial loyalty is established through legends of descent; just as John Talbot appropriates the Guy of Warwick story as an ancestral hero and includes his narrative in the Talbot Shrewsbury Book (a supreme expression of political status), so too the gentleman Thomas Mull draws upon his ancestral traditions and link them with the figure of Roland.

The assemblage of texts in the Burghley *Polychronicon* imagines a genealogy of Lancastrian rule by constructing imperial genealogies implicitly linking Charlemagne to Henry. The creators of the Burghley *Polychronicon* literally translated the heroic exploits of Charlemagne into the English vernacular, and embedded this narrative within Higden's nationalist universal chronicle. The manuscript interpolates documents and historical narratives to articulate what Kathy Lavezzo has called “rhetorics of Englishness.”⁸⁴ The Burghley *Polychronicon* manuscript positions the English translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* at the end of a series of historical materials, which includes Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* and several Lancastrian political documents, such as the record of the deposition of Richard II and the description of Henry VI's coronations at Westminster and St Denis. The Burghley *Polychronicon* imaginatively situates the Lancastrian dual monarchy within, or perhaps at the end of, the progress of *translatio imperii*.

⁸⁴ Kathy Lavezzo, ed., *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), xiii: “As the work of Keeney and like-minded critics demonstrates, while England lacks the national teleology that has been ascribed to it, rhetorics of Englishness have a long history.”

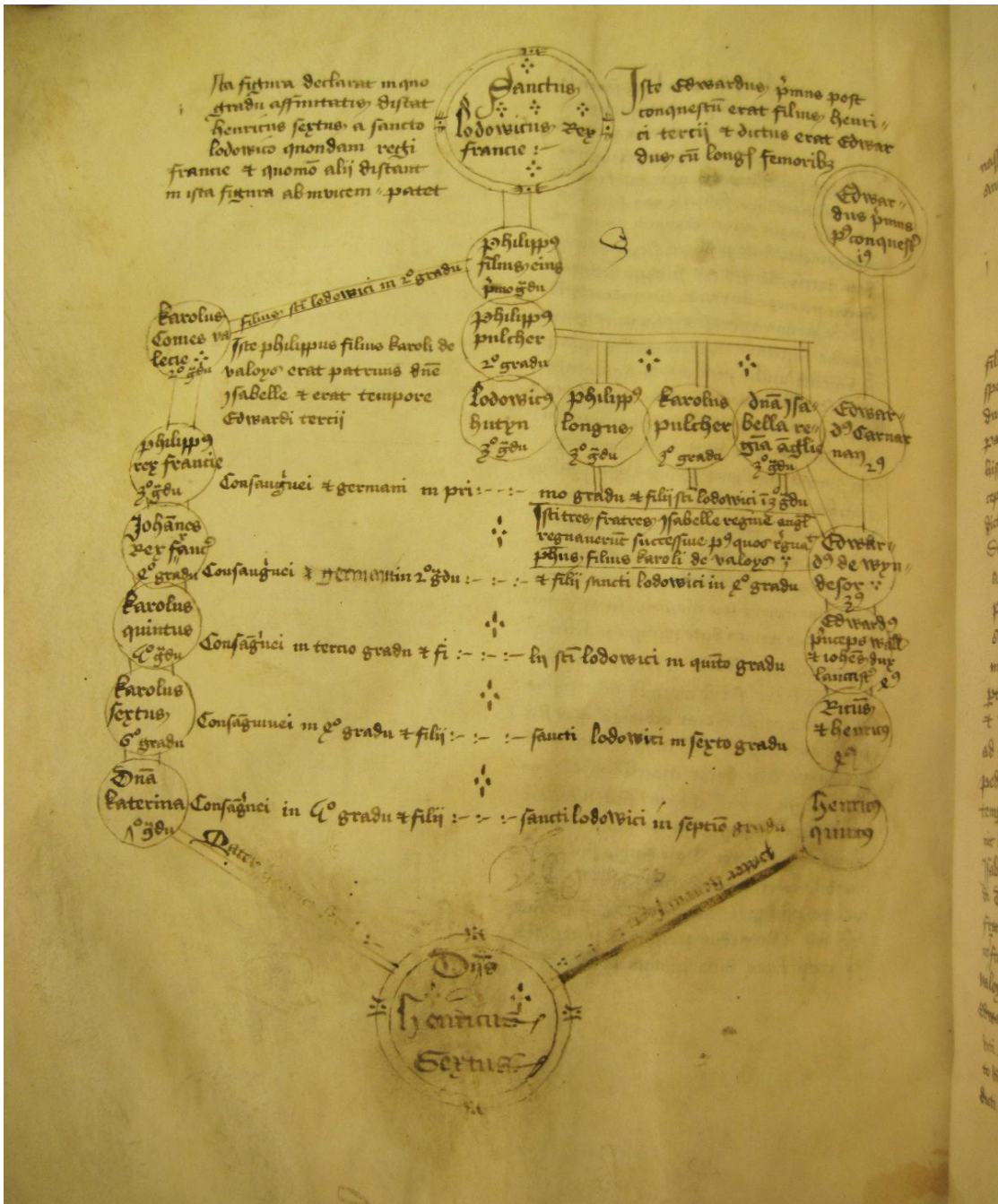


Figure 4: Louis Pedigree, San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 28561, f. 324v.

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The most striking formal feature of the Burghley *Polychronicon's* composition, like many Trevisan manuscripts, is its investment in the practical and theoretical aspects of vernacular translation—in Trevisa's words, the mechanism to make knowledge “more pleyn to knowe and vnderstonde.”⁸⁵ The writing of English history, in the English language, stakes a claim for English national sovereignty within the universal structures of Higden's Latin history. John Trevisa's English translation of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon's* emphasizes that the preservation of memory is linked to the vernacular. “I praye who schulde now knowe emperours, wonder of filosofres, oþer folwe þe apostles,” asks Trevisa in the prologue of his translation of the *Polychronicon*, “but hir noble dedes and hir wonder werkes were i-write in stories and so i-kept in mynde?”⁸⁶ For Higden and Trevisa, chroniclers are the keepers of historical memory and the preservers of apostolic deeds. They transmit the knowledge of religious and imperial foundations, and of the local and exotic contours of the world through the ages.

Higden's *Polychronicon* integrates a comprehensive vision of national history into the universal scope of world history and assimilates various (even conflicting) historical materials drawn from multiple authorities.⁸⁷ The diversity and disciplinary breadth of Higden's sources contributes to his “critical historiography”⁸⁸; his chronicle derives its authority from this epistemological and textual multiplicity, as is evident in his list of sources, a classic invocation of *translatio studii*, just as Trevisa's list of translators in his “Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk” authorizes his translation of the

⁸⁵ “Dialogue,” 293, 167-8.

⁸⁶ Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, eds. Churchill Babington and J. R. Lumby, 9 vols., RS 41 (London: Longman, 1865-86), I, 5-7; hereafter *Polychronicon*, cited by volume and pagination. On the manuscripts of Trevisa's *Polychronicon*, see Ronald Waldron, “The Manuscripts of Trevisa's Translation of the *Polychronicon*: Towards a New Edition,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 51 (1990): 281-317, and Arthur C. Cawley, “The Relationships of the Trevisa Manuscripts and Caxton's *Polychronicon*,” *London Medieval Studies* 1.3 (1939/1948): 468-82.

⁸⁷ Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 72, and Emily Steiner, “Radical Historiography,” 245.

⁸⁸ Andrew Galloway, “Latin England,” in *Imagining a Medieval English Nation*, ed. Kathy Lavezzo (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 41-95, 55.

Polychronicon.⁸⁹ Higden gives structure to the multiplicity of sources “i-gadered of dyuerse books” available to him, and from them shapes historical tradition. These many “stories” are authorities that, in turn, serve as sources for future inscriptions of history.⁹⁰ And though the matter of his history is universal—of emperors, philosophers, and apostles—the object of Higden’s (and thus his English translator, John Trevisa’s) efforts is the positioning “of þe staat of þe londe of Britayne” within the totality of historical time and the breath of world geography, for the edification and “knowleche of men þat comeþ after vs.”⁹¹

The Burghley *Polychronicon* thus engages in compilation on two levels—the *Polychronicon* gathers and structures many sources, and the chronicle is itself translated into English and embedded within a larger narrative and documentary manuscript context. Just as a chronicler arranges his sources, giving their content new meaning through textual interlacing, so too a manuscript compiler creates a new *ordinatio* which shapes readerly encounter with a book. Its structure—its organization, apparatus, *mise-en-page*, contents, illustrations—suggests the intended (and in the case of marginal annotations, the actual) reading practices of its users. As a unique cultural production, the individual medieval manuscript witnesses its own conditions of creation and patronage.⁹²

Higden’s construction of sovereignty centers on the insular domains of England, its privileged qualities as well as its relation to the category of the universal. Higden uses diverse

⁸⁹ Ronald Waldron, “Trevisa’s Original Prefaces on Translation: a Critical Edition” in *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, eds. Edward Donald Kennedy, Roland Waldron, and Joseph S. Wittig (Wolfeboro, N.H.: D. S. Brewer, 1988), 285-299, hereafter cited as “Dialogue,” followed by page and line numbers; on manuscripts, see 287.

⁹⁰ *Polychronicon*, I, 7: “By þe worþynesse and ensauple of so worþy writeris i-spi3t and i-egged, nou3t bostynge of myn owne dedes noþer skornynge ne blamyng of oþer men dedes, I haue y-kast and y-ordeyned, as I may, to make and to write a tretes, i-gadered of dyuerse books, of þe staat of þe londe of Britayne, to knowleche of men þat comeþ after vs.”

⁹¹ *Polychronicon*, I, 7.

⁹²As Ralph Hanna writes, manuscripts “represent defiantly individual impulses—appropriations of works for the use of particular persons in particular situations.” Hanna, “Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England,” in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, eds. Nichols and Wenzel, 37-67, 37.

narrative and cartographic strategies to situate England within larger universal structures. As Kathy Lavezzo writes, “the *Polychronicon* offers us a textual version of what the map visually displays: how an artifact of universal scope nevertheless can imagine a sovereign England.”⁹³ Higden links England’s susceptibility to incursion to its status as an object of imperial and geographical desire, establishing the relationship between insular history and the history of empires and foregrounding the contingent foundations of England and Rome.⁹⁴ The island becomes, in the *Polychronicon*, the last and most exalted object of Roman and Carolingian imperial desire.⁹⁵ Even Higden’s use of Latin enables him to privilege England within his universal historical structures.⁹⁶ Trevisa’s “Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk” describes the *Polychronicon* as “book[es] of cronykes þat discreueþ þe world aboute yn lengthe and yn brede and makeþ mencyon and [mu]ynde of doyngs and of dedes of meruayls and of wondres and rekneþ þe 3eres to hys laste days fram þe vurst makynge of heuene and of erþe,”⁹⁷ yet retains a focus on the formation of English linguistic communities. Likewise, Higden’s different textual and visual *mappamundi* imagine multiple possibilities for constructing a comprehensive epistemological document whose structure retains an emphasis on a single kingdom.

Like the genealogical rolls that trace parallel lines of descent for the kings of England, France, and Wales alongside those of the Popes and Holy Roman Emperors, the synchronous histories of various kingdoms and empires in Higden’s aptly-named *Polychronicon* invite readers to compare parallel historiographies. Higden’s universal scope includes histories of both temporal and

⁹³ Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 71.

⁹⁴ Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 86-88.

⁹⁵ Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 86: “After this etymology of the island, Higden elaborates on the bounty of resources (“omnium bonorum copia”) that spurred Charlemagne to call Britain his own chamber. While Higden follows here the precedent set by Bede, Henry of Huntington, and other English chroniclers, he departs from them when he explicitly identifies English natural resources as signs of English distinction...and expounds on those resources in unprecedented detail.”

⁹⁶ Galloway, “Latin England,” 42-43, 53-5; J. B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), I, 287 and 312-13; Peter Brown, “Higden’s Britain” in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. Alfred P. Smyth (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1998).

⁹⁷ “Dialogue,” l. 26-34.

ecclesiastical power and comments on their interdependency. As the Holy Roman Emperor and supposed (re-)conqueror of Spain, the figure of Charlemagne in the *Polychronicon* serves as one of many links between England and Rome.⁹⁸ Histories of empire and church coalesce in Rome, and the *Polychronicon*'s description of Rome emphasizes the collective and successive nature of the city's foundation.⁹⁹ Higden's emphasis on Rome's multiple founders echoes his treatment of the multiple foundations and successive dynasties of European countries and foregrounds the vexed temporalities of *translatio imperii*. His descriptions of two countries associated with Charlemagne, France and Spain, treat issues of national origins, the descent of kings, and susceptibility to invasion.¹⁰⁰ This multiplicity of internal divisions heightens the implicit instabilities of the *Polychronicon*'s historical geography, his imbrications of genealogy and geography, as a source of political and national foundations texts.

The Burghley *Polychronicon* was compiled almost a century after the completion of Higden's Latin work, and its political geographies reflect the legacy of the Lancastrian dual monarchy in English sovereign rule. In particular, the manuscript's positioning of Lancastrian political documents, laudatory verses, and genealogical paradigms alongside the English *Turpines Story* speaks to a definition of English sovereignty that encompasses Continental lands, especially the Duchy of

⁹⁸ Steiner, "Radical Historiography," 245: "In short, the medieval reception of the *Polychronicon* suggests a different way of writing intellectual history as literary history: not as the transmission of a theme or idea, but as the search for the formal properties of political discourse."

⁹⁹ According to the *Polychronicon* I, Cap XXIV-XXV, lxxx, Noah, Janus, Saturn, Italus, Hercules, and Evander were all agents in the creation of different parts of Rome; finally, Romulus arrived and erected its walls, thus organizing the city's spaces around his central palace and defining its limits.

¹⁰⁰ The *Polychronicon* offers three etymologies for the name "France": one linking it to a Trojan founder, one based upon a legend of fealty to Charlemagne, and one based upon ethnological characterizations (*Polychronicon* I, xxxiii-xxxiv). Higden then traces the descent of the kings of France from the time of Julius Caesar, through the Merovingians, Carolingians, and Capetians (*Polychronicon* I, Cap. XXVII, 266-286). His descriptions of the many provinces of France is an exercise in historical geography, for some provinces change boundaries and names, such as Aquitaine and Gascony (*Polychronicon* I, Cap. XXVIII, 288-298). Higden's description of Spain incorporates different ways of dividing its regions according to both classical and contemporary political geographies. Higden's comment about the shifting boundaries of the Reconquista has no known sources and is possibly an original observation. See *Polychronicon* I, Cap. XXIX, 298-302; "His notice of Spain (c. xxix) is but slight, and is principally taken from Justin and Isidore. The concluding remark about the Spanish possessions of the Saracens, as they then existed is found only in the latter form of the chronicle, and may be original" (xxxiv).

Gascony.¹⁰¹ English dynastic claims to Spain were part of the Lancastrian historical legacy, and Charlemagne’s textual associations with the imagined and literal spaces of Gascony and Spain contribute to his iconicity as a Lancastrian “Worthy,” just as his imperial and royal authority in France is used to promote the Henrican ambitions of dual monarchy. Higden identifies Charlemagne as the national hero of the French, but in fifteenth-century Lancastrian political thought, France is inexorably linked to England and the Henrican dual monarchy. In an oft-quoted passage of the *Polychronicon* on the relationship between historical narrative and “national sentiment,” Higden writes, “But perhaps it is the manner of every nation to extol in excessive praise some one from their members, as the Greeks do their Alexander, the Romans their Octavian, the English their Richard, the French their Charles; and thus it follows that the Britons overly exalt their Arthur. That happens, often, as Josephus says, for the beauty of the story, for the pleasure of the readers, or to praise their own blood.”¹⁰² In some cultural productions of Lancastrian England, Charles is more than an imperial admirer of England’s bounty, more than a Worthy.¹⁰³ The *ordinatio* of the Burghley *Polychronicon*, with its inclusion of an English translation of the Burghley *Polychronicon*, appropriates Charles, saying, in effect, “he is *our* Charles, too.”

The manuscript translates the “Matter of France” into a specific English political context, thus redefining both the political genealogies of English sovereignty and the vernacular reading audience of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*. However, the Burghley *Polychronicon* narrowly post-dates the English loss of Gascony, so the manuscript’s privileging of English national and linguistic identities

¹⁰¹ The Burghley *Polychronicon*’s historical memory is attune to the English Aquitanian legacy, a legacy originating at the very foundations of the Plantagenet dynasty with the marriage of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine and encompassing the history of Anglo-Iberian policies related to the preservation of English territories in Gascony.

¹⁰² Higden, *Polychronicon*, 5:336-37, cited and translated in Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 90 and 171 n.101: “Sed fortassis mos est cuique nationi aliquem de suis laudibus attollere excessivis ut quemadmodum Graeci suum Alexandrum, Romani suum Oxtavianum, Angli suum Ricardum Franci suum Carolum sic Britones suum Arthurum praeconantur. Quod saepe contingit, sicut dicit Josephus, aut propter historiae decorem, aut propter legentium deletiationem, aut ad proprii sanguinis exaltationem.”

¹⁰³ Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 86.

(most salient in the tentative identification of Roland as half-English) elides the failure of martial kingship and expansionism of the kind celebrated in Lydgate's coronation verses. The Burghely *Polychronicon* preserves the vigorous imperial ideologies of earlier Lancastrian decades despite the legacy of political failure, territorial loss, and dynastic conflict which would eventually cost the manuscript's patron Thomas Mull, like his king Henry VI and lord John Talbot, his life.

The Burghely *Polychronicon*'s other Trevisan materials reinforce the thematic importance of vernacular translation throughout the manuscript.¹⁰⁴ In Trevisa's "Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk," which was appended to Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* in several manuscripts, the Lord-figure argues for the ethical necessity of vernacular translation as he commissions from the Clerk a translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*. The Lord traces the need for translation to the fracturing of language itself in the wake of the linguistic divisions at Babel:

"Dominus: Seþthe þat babyl was ybuld men spekeþ dyuers tonges, so þat dyuers men buþ straunge to oþer and knoweþ no3t of here speche."¹⁰⁵ The birth of linguistic communities is also the birth of different *gens*, and ultimately of nations—as Isidore of Seville notes, "Races arose from different languages, not languages from different races."¹⁰⁶ This differentiation is the foundation for the category of specific national histories that exist alongside the category of universal history propagated by twelfth- and thirteenth-century historians. The Lord's fundamental argument that universal history, "noble and gret informacion and lore," should be distributed universally is a

¹⁰⁴ Trevisa's translations of Pseudo-Occam's *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* and FitzRalph's antifraternal sermon *Defensio curatorum*, both included in the Burghely *Polychronicon*, demonstrates his intellectual participation in debates surrounding vernacular translation occurring around him during his residence in Oxford. David C. Fowler, "John Trevisa" in *Authors of the Middle Ages, Volume 1: English Writers of the Late Middle Ages*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993), 1-31, rpt. "John Trevisa c. 1342-c. 1402" in *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, ed. Thomas J. Schoenberg and Lawrence J. Trudeau, vol. 139, (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 167-266, 218-238, 230, 240.

¹⁰⁵ "Dialogue" 289, 2-4.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 198.

profound acknowledgement of commonalities.¹⁰⁷ Yet the emphasis on one particular language, English—one that, as the Clerk points out, few non-Englishmen know—facilitates the transition of the discussion seamlessly to one of a *specific* vernacular as opposed to a more general category of vernacularity.¹⁰⁸

The Lord offers two God-given solutions as a “remedy” for linguistic diversity and mutual unintelligibility: multilingualism and translation from Latin, the universal language of Europe.¹⁰⁹ The task falls to clerks to provide these linguistic services in accordance with what God has “ordeynd.” The Lord emphasizes the issue of universality, both in terms of access across national and linguistic divides and in terms of historical content:

Parfore clerkes of here godnes and cortesy makeþ and wryteþ here bokes in Latyn vor here wrytyng and bokes scholde be vnderstonde in dyuers nacyons and londes. And so Ranulph, monk of Chester, wrot yn Latyn hys book[es] of cronykes þat discreueþ þe world aboute yn lengthe and yn brede and makeþ mencyon and [mu]lynde of doyngs and of dedes of meruayls and of wondres and rekneþ þe 3eres to hys laste days fram þe vurste making of heuene and of erþe. And so þarynne ys noble and gret informacion and lore to hem þat can þarynne rede and vnderstonde.¹¹⁰

The Lord assumes responsibility for the promotion of vernacular translation and implicitly *orders* it of his unwilling clerk. The task of translation is, to use Emily Steiner’s phrase, an “exercise of lay

¹⁰⁷ “Dialogue” 290, 32-33.

¹⁰⁸ “Dialogue” 290, 37-47.

¹⁰⁹ “Dialogue” 289-90, 15-24: “Þis ys a gret meschef þat volweþ now mankuynde; bote God of hys mercy and grace haþ ordeynd double remedy. On ys þat som man lurneþ and knoweþ meny dyuers speches. And so, bytwene strange men of þe whoche noþer vnderstondeþ oþeres speche, such a man may be mene and telle eyþer what þoþer wol mene. Þe oþer remedy ys þat on langage ys ylurned, yvsed and yknowe in meny nacyons and londes. And so Latyn ys ylurned, yknowe and yvsed specialych a þys half Grees in al þe nacyons and londes of Europa.”

¹¹⁰ “Dialogue” 290, 18-24.

sovereignty,” a point that is of obvious relevance to Trevisa’s own translation of the *Polychronicon*, executed under the patronage of Lord Berkeley.¹¹¹

The currency of the vernacular is that it is understood widely and clearly; the currency of English is that it is not only a mode of transmission but an expression of identity. The translation of chronicles into English reinforces a linguistic community by offering access to a history in which the national is embedded within the universal. The linguistic community formed through the patronage of the Lord is ultimately a national one; as Emily Steiner writes, “in Trevisa’s view, the universal history makes a very specific argument for translation because its structure inherently expresses the values of lay lordship; it is in making this argument, for Trevisa, that the *Polychronicon* posits a secular and aristocratic notion of English identity.”¹¹² For Trevisa and Lord Berkeley, for the Lord and the Clerk, the language of valuation is English.¹¹³ The authority that descends from Higden’s sources is typologically and textually linked to Trevisa’s own project. Trevisa thus establishes a “genealogical rather than intertextual context for translation.”¹¹⁴ The Lord’s successively unfolding argument

¹¹¹ Emily Steiner, “Radical Historiography,” 248: “In Trevisa’s reading of the *Polychronicon*, the universal history offers its own ‘sovereign’ hermeneutics, by which I mean first, the interpretation of a text through the exercise of lay sovereignty, according to the way that lords judge need and distribute profit; and second, an interpretation of a text that values historical precedent and genealogical descent, the cultural foundations of lay lordship.” As the Lord suggests, the ethical nature of medieval reading practices underpins the necessity of increased access to knowledge. The Clerks repeated objection, “Þe Latyn ys boþe good and fayr. Þarvore hyt neodeþ no3t to h[an] and Englysch translacion” (“Dialogue” 291, 91-2), provokes the Lord to conclude that the Clerk should not be so quick to judge the basis of qualities of need: “Bote þat ys profytable nedeþ, and so vor to speke al men neodeþ to knawe þe cronykes” (“Dialogue” 291, 80-81). The Lord dwells on this issue of need, dilating it to an analogy between physical and intellectual sustenance and wrests from the Clerk the ultimate authority to judge need and distribute that which is “profitable.” The Lord’s subsequent arguments about the “profitability” of (implicitly) unmediated lay access to historical and scriptural knowledge continue to give weight to this epistemological issue of need.

¹¹² Emily Steiner, “Radical Historiography,” 248.

¹¹³ The Lord cites several late antique authorities as precedents for his commissioning of a translation, including those who wrote both universal histories and sacred commentaries: “Vor 3ef þis reson were o3t worþ, by such manere argement [me m]y3t preoue þat þe þre score and ten, and Aquila, Symachus, Theodocion, and he þat made the vyfte translacion, and Origenes were lewedlych occupyed whanne [hy] translated holy wryt out of Hebreu into Grw; and also þat Seint Ierom was lewedlych occupyed whanne he translatede holy wryt out of Hebreu ynto Latyn, vor þe Hebreu ys boþe good and feyre and ywryte by inspiracion of þe Holy Gost; and al þeuse vor here translacions buþ hy3lych ypreysed of al holy cherche” (“Dialogue” 291-292, 100-109). Trevisa invokes the exalted status of translators even as his Clerk-persona denounces the task. Moreover, he promotes the specific project of the translation of the *Polychronicon* into English by describing Higden’s own materials, and, in some cases, sources.

¹¹⁴ Steiner, “Radical Historiography,” 250.

reveals a trajectory moving towards a reappraisal of lay devotion and ways of knowing both the historical and religious truths embodied in the words of Scripture.¹¹⁵

The Lord's argument suggests that meaning transcends medium and that the most transparent text is the one with the greatest potential for offering devotional sustenance.¹¹⁶ He makes this point by invoking a genealogical and textual continuity of translators, a paradigm of *translatio studii* in which imperial transmission is linked with historical time, with the passing of ages and empires. Translation, and even secondary and tertiary translation, reveals, rather than obscures, knowledge through successive historical eras, without which its edifying and salvific value would be lost. Yet the Lord's focus on English uniquely privileges it among other vernaculars. His invocation of *translatio studii* implies an "arrival" of English as a language of knowledge, as Latin and Greek had been before it, and of England as a site of the generation and transmission of "lore" analogous to Rome. However, the distinction between Latin and English in Trevisa's England is not one of competing empires, but one of restricted access between estates within a single kingdom. The economics of patronage and aristocratic agency are poised against the authority of the church, which withholds knowledge that is profitable to men.

¹¹⁵ The calculated rhetorical thrust from universal history through traditions of scriptural commentary leads finally to an argument about the authorizing motives behind the vernacular translation of scripture itself. After listing all these historical writers and biblical commentators, the Lord directly addresses the devotional ramifications of vernacular translation of scripture. He begins with an obvious point, that the efficacy of pastoral care depends on the lay audience understanding the content of sermons: "Also holy wryt in Latyn ys boþe good and fayr, and 3et for to make a sermon of holy wryt al yn Latyn to men þat konneþ Englysch and no Latyn hyt were a lewed dede, vor hy buþ neuere wiser vor þe Latyn bote hyt be told hem [an] Englysch what hyt ys to mene, and hyt may no3t be told an Englysch what þe Latyn ys to mene withoute translacion out of Latyn in[to] Englysch" (Dialogue" 292, 110-117). Sermons, as mediations of and commentary upon Latin scripture, must be offered in the vernacular, or men will be none the wiser. The Lord now builds to his most polemical point, that Latin, though "good and fayr," is only a secondary language in the textual history of Scripture, itself a translation from Greek and Hebrew. There is no theological or ideological reason why this translation studii should not continue on to include translations of holy writ into the English vernacular.

¹¹⁶ "Dialogue" 292-293, ll. 127-153; Steiner, "Radical Historiography," 251: "The Lord's genealogy suggests further that it is patronage that produces a workable theory of translation, because it is patronage that incorporates translation into the historical relations of time and place. The movement from Greek to Latin to French to English; from classical antiquity to medieval Europe; from the Continent to England; and from the English past of King Alfred to the English present, as represented materially by Berkeley Chapel: all these *translations* are motivated by the complementary labors of lord and clerk... This is not just to say that *translation studii* depends upon and is enabled by *translation imperii*. It is to say that translation acquires meaning and purpose within the history of aristocratic generation and possession, within a history, which, for the Lord, is a history of Englishness itself."

The Lord's promotion of English enables national history to be recorded and understood. The drive for intelligibility informs the Lord's request that the translation of chronicles be in prose: "Yn prose, vor comynlych prose ys more cleer þan ryme, more esy and more pleyn to knowe and vnderstonde."¹¹⁷ For Trevisa, cognitive efficacy takes priority; language must bow to the capacities of lay understanding. The translator's task is to render his Latin texts unconcealed and unadorned in the vernacular. Trevisa describes his editorial policy in the *Incipit Epistola* as one that likewise privileges meaning: "Bote vor al such chaungyng, þe menyng schal stonde and no3t be ychanged."¹¹⁸ The Lord entrusts the preservation of history to the Clerk and his brethren. Trevisa emphasizes the ethical implications of textual criticism and features translation as acts of both transmission and explication, of unfolding the innate relationship between language and content. The Lord emphasizes the prestige and professionalism of the endeavor.¹¹⁹

The Clerk ultimately figures translation as an act of creation modeled upon the divine will, analogous to the poetic practices of "making." In his long closing speech after he accepts the Lord's commission of a translation of a universal chronicle, he offers a concise synopsis of salvation history beginning with the six days of creation from Genesis.¹²⁰ Higden's universal chronicle, like fourteenth-century royal genealogies, encompasses the entire history of sovereignty from Adam to Edward III, and ultimately enacts a "translation from history to nation"¹²¹ by uniting political, intellectual and textual genealogies.¹²² Universal access necessitates great care and learning on the

¹¹⁷ "Dialogue," 293, 167-8.

¹¹⁸ "Dialogue," 294, 225-7.

¹¹⁹ Trevisa's Lord recognizes of the difficult task of translators and the insufficiency of his lay training in Latin for the task: "Y denye þys argument, for þey [Ich] kunne speke and rede and vnderstonde Latyn þer ys moche Latyn in þeus bokes of cronyks þat Y can no3t vnderstonde, noþer þou wipoute studyng and auysement and lokyng of oper bokes" ("Dialogue," 290, 56-60).

¹²⁰ "Dialogue" 294, 190-202.

¹²¹ Steiner, "Radical Historiography," 251: "Thus to practice a hermeneutics informed by the *Polychronicon* is first, to conceive of translation as a genealogy, that is, as a history of sovereignty, and second, to direct arguments for translation to the local instantiations of English possessions...But, by participating in the Lord's genealogy, he is included in the translation from history to nation."

¹²² Steiner, "Radical Historiography," 248-251.

part of the translator, and this authority is closely tied—economically and politically—to that of his patron. Within the Burghley *Polychronicon*, the economies of patronage align with political affinities; Mull’s manuscript reflects the trans-Channel and local interests of the Talbot family in its appropriation of Trevisan materials and Lancastrian tropes. The politics of vernacular translation, articulated early in the manuscript, anticipate the crucial theme of linguistic intelligibility within *Turpines Story*’s fantasy of imperial domination.

Translating Saintly Spaces in the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle

The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* is a twelfth-century Latin text written as the personal testament of the dying Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, fatally injured at the Battle of Roncesvalles.¹²³ *Turpines Story*, like its Latin original, is a text composed of many frames and narrative symmetries: the opening letter of Archbishop Turpin, explications of the apostolic mission and episcopal organization, descriptions of the siege of and final departure from Pamplona, accounts of Charles’s battles, and, in the most interior position, Charlemagne and Roland’s multilingual disputations with Saracens. In *Turpines Story*, as in the *Chronicle*, Turpin claims authorial and interpretive agency by retelling and glossing stories of Charles’s campaigns.¹²⁴ Turpin, as the supposed author and narrative voice of the *Chronicle* and *Turpines Story*, “interprets” Charles’s battles and, in so doing, models a tropological

¹²³ The twelfth-century *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* was one of Higden’s many sources. The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* is a later editorial title for a work known commonly in the Middle Ages as the *Historia Caroli Magni* or *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotbolandi*. The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*’s wide European dissemination makes it one of the most important historical sources for the Carolingian era in the later Middle Ages and accounts for the multiplicity of codicological environments that the *Chronicle* was reproduced (or translated) in. For example, it is used as a source in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, cf. Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink, eds., *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age*. Collection: La Pochothèque (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 292–295.

¹²⁴ *Turpines Story* 13, ll. 354–360: “This batail morelisithe þe gode archebisshop Turpyne in þis manere: ‘Alle Christen me[n] in þis lyffe bethe in continual batale of the flesshe, þe worlde, and þe deule. Ry3t as Charlis kny3ttis made redy here armore before þe bataile, so sholle we arme vs with armore of vertuus ayenste oure gostely enmyes and vices; and þefore whosoouer wolle arme him with feythe ayenste heresy, with charité ayenste hatte, with largenes ayenste auarise...’”

reading of historical events.¹²⁵ His commemorative acts function within an embedded narrative structure in which oral, epistolary, and historiographical texts are enfolded. Through this structural ordering of narrative agents, witnesses, and writers, the *Chronicle* traces a line of authority extending from Pope Calixtinus to Turpin and Charlemagne, to the apostle St James, and ultimately affirms the extent of power conferred to the custodian of St Peter's keys through chronicle and curial records. Turpin's letter describing Charlemagne's death at Aachen thus mirrors the authorizing letter (supposedly) written by Pope Calixtinus describing the death and burial of Turpin.¹²⁶

Within the frame of the archbishop's letter, *Turpines Story* begins with the Passion of Christ, the post-Pentecostal dispersal of the apostles, and St James the Greater's mission to Galicia.¹²⁷ St. James would be the "furst to preche þe feythe in Galice to þe Galiciane," but not the last; this recursivity provides the underlying structure for the rest of *Turpines Story*. Following St. James's martyrdom under the "cruelle kynge Horode"¹²⁸ in the Holy Land, his disciples, guided to Galicia by an angel, "þer beried his body, and preched þer þe fayþe, and conuerted þe Galiciane to þe laws of Criste."¹²⁹ The translation of St. James's remains across geographical space maps out a religious border zone of apostolic activity. St. James's apostles, like the saint himself, never complete their mission of Galician evangelization: "But sone after þe disipulus of Seynt Iame were gone þens, the

¹²⁵ *Turpines Story* features the first-person authorial voice, "I, Turpin" for example, when Turpin blesses the troupes (p. 16, ll. 475-476) and helps to gather the host and fight with them (p. 17, ll. 483-486). On tropology, see Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1998).

¹²⁶ *Turpines Story* 38: "The Prologue takes the form of a letter written by Turpin to the Dean of Aachen soon after the death of Charlemagne. Turpin writes from Vienna, where he is languishing from the wounds suffered years earlier in the aftermath of the battle of Roncevaux. His letter is a complement to chapter xxxiii, now missing from this manuscript, which letter, attributed to Pope Calixtinus, describes the death and burial of Turpin at Vienna (see Meredith-Jones, Appendix A, for the full Latin text). Turpin writes to Aachen because that is where Charlemagne has recently been buried."

¹²⁷ *Turpines Story* 5 ll. 80-86: "After oure Lord Ihesu had sufferid deþe and paide þe rawnsome for synfulle man by his peynfulle passioun and rose fro deþe to lyue and at þe laste styede to heuene, þen þe holy appostlus, after þey had reseuyed þe Holy Gost, þey departid hem into diuerse parties of the worlde to preche oure Lord Christis lawis. And so it fylle lot to Seynt Iame þe More, broþer of Seynt Iohan þe Euaungelist, furst to preche þe feythe in Galice to þe Galiciane."

¹²⁸ *Turpines Story* 5, l. 88.

¹²⁹ *Turpines Story* 5, ll. 91-92.

Galiciane were peruertide and forsoke þe faith, and so bode vnto þe tyme of grete emperoure Charlis.”¹³⁰ Charles’s conquest of Spain thus completes St. James’s apostolic mission.

The multiple frames of temporality that exist both within the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the greater manuscript work together to shape the *Chronicle*’s spiritual geographies, which in turn determine political boundaries. Charlemagne’s dream-vision of the “Way of Stars” remaps the apostolic spaces of evangelization and saintly translation as a pilgrimage route. Immediately before Charlemagne begins having his inspired dreams, his temporal power has waxed—he has annexed both Christian kingdoms and captured those under Saracen control.¹³¹ His imperial ambitions all but fulfilled, Charles is poised on the brink of establishing peace. However, his recurring dream-vision of the Way of St. James disrupts the geographical solidification of his domains: “Sone after þis, Charlis had a vision shewide to him vnder þis forme: he saw in heuene a wey of sterris þat bygan fro þe Frysonnys See and streyte bytuexe Douchelonde and Italie, Fraunce and Gyane, goynge euyne by Gaskyne and Nauerne, by Spayne, to Galice were þe body of þe apostle Seynt Iame was beried and lay vnknowne.”¹³² Charlemagne continues to dream of “þis wey of sterris”¹³³ until the Apostle James appears to him in a dream to explain his visions.¹³⁴ James asks Charles to deliver Galicia, the resting place of his body, from the Saracens, so that Charlemagne could “make an opyn and sewere whey to my tumbere and berieall for alle peple þat shalle come theþer by whey of pylgrymage...” where pilgrims will be forgiven of their sins.¹³⁵ Sacred and earthly power are inexorably linked in the

¹³⁰ *Turpines Story* 5, ll. 92-92

¹³¹ *Turpines Story* 5-6, ll. 95-102: “Þis grete emperoure Charlis, after he had by many gretefolde laboris, by diuerse climattis and costis of the worlde, by many auenturus dede, suddued contris and kyngdomes as Engelonde, Fraunce, Duchelond, Bakari, Latharinge, Burgayne, Italie, Britayne, and oþer regions and prouynce, citeis, and townes withoute numbure fro þe powere and þe right of þe Sarzynes, and broute hem to Christen feythe, þen he purposide for to haue ceside and rest and neuer to haue hawntid þe dedis of warre more.”

¹³² *Turpines Story* 6, ll. 103-107.

¹³³ *Turpines Story* 6, l. 110.

¹³⁴ *Turpines Story* 6, ll. 107-112, 118-133.

¹³⁵ *Turpines Story* 6, ll. 128-131.

person of Charles; this neo-apostolic mission follows, almost consequentially, after the completion of his imperial designs because, as St. James explains in Charles's dream, Charles's God-given temporal power is innately allied to his "deliverance" of Galicia from the "Moabites."¹³⁶

Turpines Story establishes a geographical and political continuity between Roman imperial power, the growth of the Carolingian empire, the evangelization of Christian lands, and the corresponding development of ecclesiastical institutions. However, this fantasy of perfect alignment is deeply troubled and exposes the vexed imperial temporalities within the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* itself. The emperor Charlemagne's dominions should reflect the long shadow cast by the Roman Empire's own breadth, yet their eastern and western peripheries pose problems. As the later mention of Ephesus obliquely suggests, the ambivalent status of Byzantium within a *christianitas* imagined in the Latin West troubles both the genealogies of apostolic succession and imperial authority. The Iberian peninsula, at the beginning of the narrative, eludes Christian, and thus imperial, control altogether. Indeed, in the *Pilgrim's Guide* of the Codex Calixtinus, Julius Caesar's own difficulty in subduing this entire area is told as an exotic story of the ethnic origins of the Navarrese. Charles, it would seem, was content enough with this state of affairs to contemplate military retirement, until provoked by St. James to conquer Galicia. According to Charles's vision, this resistance to permanent conversion must be overcome, Spain's exceptional status erased, and its regions forcibly incorporated into his realms. The fulfillment of Charles's sublime dream is the conquest of Spain and the creation of the Compostelan See.

Charlemagne's historical and apocryphal associations with the Holy Land and with the Byzantine Empire suggest the possibility of a comprehensive vision of Christendom; yet the

¹³⁶ *Turpines Story* 6, ll. 122-126: "Wherefore, I do þe wete þat ri3t as oure Lorde hathe made þe strengest of alle herthly kynggis, so he hath shosyn þe for to delyuer my cuntraye of Galice fro þe hondis of þe Moabitis. And afterward, for þi labore þou shalte be crowned with þe crowne of euerlastynge blisse."

historical gap between the Carolingian world and that of the twelfth century declares itself in the narrative's foundation-story of the Compostelan See. The geographical breadth of Charlemagne's dream creates a juxtaposition of the eastern and western bounds of Christianity in bishoprics of Ephesus and Compostela.¹³⁷ This apostolic ordering privileges geographical extremities and creates a symbolic investment in the peripheries of ecclesiastical space that echoes the importance of secular sites like the Pillars of Hercules in classical traditions or the Fortunate Isles in the natural philosophy of Pliny. Just as these westernmost spaces represented the end of the known world, Compostela, as a *finisterre*, is positioned on the edge of epistemic and religious boundaries. In the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, Ephesus, as the eastern apostolic see, is paired with Compostela both cartographically and fraternally, since the episcopal authorities of the two sees originate with the two sons of Zebedee, James and John the Evangelist.¹³⁸ Charles's (and Turpin's) spatial ordering of Apostolic Sees of Rome, Compostela, and Ephesus is based upon apostolic precedence and represents a rival conception of ecclesiastical authority to the traditional Pentarchy of episcopal sees associated with Justinian and Roman imperial rule: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.¹³⁹ Not only does Charles's ordering elide any lingering memory of the extent and prestige of Asian and African Sees, but it also quietly "forgets" the symbolic (and, in some traditions, cartographic)

¹³⁷ *Turpines Story* 32, ll. 1027-1035: "And ry3tte as Ephesus, in þe est part of þe worlde, by Seynt Iohan þe Ewangeliste, Seynt Iamus broþer, was made a see, ry3tt so it is conuenient þat in þe weste partte [of] þe worlde, in Galice, þat þe feythe of Criste be stabylly ikeptte, and þat Compostle shoulde be a see. Forsoþe, þese be þe sees of Cristis herthely kynddomys: one, | on þe ri3te side, þis is Ephseus, were Seynt Iohan þe Euaungeliste satte; and Compostela, þat is on þe leyfte syde of Cr[i]stis erthely kynddome, were Seynt Iame satte—þe wiche sees fylle by lotte to þese .ij. sonnys of Zebede."

¹³⁸ On *Turpines Story's* reference in St James as the brother of John the Evangelist, see *Turpines Story* 41.

¹³⁹ *Turpines Story* 31-32; on ecclesiastical precedent of the Compostellan apostolic see in Spain, and on the coronation of Castilian kings at the shrine at Compostela, see Alison Stones, et al., eds., *The Pilgrim's Guide: A Critical Edition*, 2 vols, (London: Harvey Miller, 1998), II, 31-32. The narrative and apocalyptic associations of the city of Ephesus in the Middle Ages surround issues of vexed temporality, of both primacy and supersession, of beginning of time and the end of it. Ephesus was the first of the Seven Churches of Roman Asia mentioned in St John's Apocalypse (Revelation 2:4), and was also the site of the apocryphal Seven Sleepers, in which persecuted Christian youths entered a cave and fell asleep for over a hundred years, only to reawake after their city was converted to Christianity. The tradition of the Seven Sleepers evokes an element of temporal stasis, encompassed in the idea of sleeping, of waiting for the progression of salvation history in an obscure space outside of time. In commentary traditions that associated the symbolic significance of the Seven Churches with the seven ages of the world, Ephesus represents the first age.

centrality of Jerusalem, which was no longer a Christian territory.¹⁴⁰ The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* articulated its view of Christendom around the time of the First Crusade, when the idea of *christianitas* was being narrowed toward a more Latin, western semantic range. Its ordering of apostolic (and thus episcopal) precedence privileges the West over the East as it envisions the movement of pilgrims from all Christian lands traveling towards Compostela. Moreover, it witnesses the consolidation of ecclesiastical authority in Rome. The ultimate authority of See in Rome bespeaks the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle's* Cluniac origins and its monastic conservatism with regard to papal authority. This is no surprise, for Charles derives his territorial claims to Spain upon his authority as the Emperor of Rome and his unique position as defender of the faith and imperial heir to Rome.

By dramatizing St James' interventions in Charles's career, the *Turpines Story* assigns the volition behind the redrawing of imperial maps to a sacred authority.¹⁴¹ The Compostelan dream-vision and its fulfillment unite the ambitions of Carolingian territorial expansion with the apostolic mission of early Christianity.¹⁴² Like the medieval *mappamundi* which develop a grammar of spatial relations and political symbolism, the narrative represents religious domination as resonant with imperial power. We can draw a parallel between the spatial practices of Charles's dream in *Turpin's Story* and those of the *mappamundi*. These include Julius Caesar's depiction as measuring the world on Ebstorf map and that of Augustus and his surveyors at the bottom of the Hereford map, in which

¹⁴⁰ The inclusion of Ephesus (rather than Constantinople) is also suggestive of the political landscape of the world in which the creators of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* lived. As Robert Bartlett has demonstrated, the nature of Christian identity, which was expressed in a more abstract form in the early Middle Ages, becomes racialized in the following centuries; moreover, it becomes associated with a specific territory—one that excludes the Greek Church: "The Christendom that became newly aware of itself in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not the Christendom of Constantine, but an assertively western or Latin Christendom." Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 250-255, 254.

¹⁴¹ Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography*, I, 337: "Mappaemundi also became symbols of royal and imperial power, thus reflecting the secular influences behind their creation. The orb and the scepter were accepted regalia in presentations of royalty, not only in ceremony and art but also on coins of the realm. Some of the earliest extant pictures of the tripartite and spherical earth are found on coins."

¹⁴² *Turpines Story* 44 n. 166-7.

the figure of Christ is shown embracing, and possessing, both the temporal and (implicitly) heavenly kingdoms.¹⁴³ Einhard's ninth-century *Vita Karoli Magni* portrays Charlemagne's own interest in symbolic cartography by describing his three silver tables—one of which contains a map of Rome, another of Constantinople, and the third, of the entire world, which some scholars have understood to mean a celestial map.¹⁴⁴ This macroscopic skyscape mirrors the order below, and its evocative resonance with the Way of Stars symbolizes Charles's ambitions to follow the Way, to control it, and, finally, to possess it.

The finality of Charlemagne's conquest of Spain in spite of the Saracens' protests signals the triumph of Christian orthodoxy. In this hagiographically-inflected "chronicle," the fulfillment of Charlemagne's dream is the expansion of both his imperial and religious domains; the Way of Stars he envisions is now an "an opyn and sewere whey" for pilgrims leading to Compostela; Galicia is finally—and permanently—annexed into the Christian fold, and, as the Turpin-narrator declares: "And fro þat tyme forthe durste neuer no man in Spayne profur Charlis bataile."¹⁴⁵ When Charles's Saracen enemy Aigolonde challenges his claims to Spain on grounds of primogeniture, he responds by directly invoking his evangelical mission:

Panne spake Aigalonde to Kynge Charlis in þis wyse: 'I beseech yow, Charlis, telle me why ye toke away þicke londe þat þou, ne þi fadur, ne þi fadris fadur, ne þi belefadur, hade neuer title þerin bi eritaunce?' Þenne seid Kynge Charlis, 'For þis cause: for oure Lorde, Christe Ihesus, maker of heuene and erthe, hathe chosyn vs þat bethe Cristen peple for to be principalle of alle peple and to be lordis of alle þe

¹⁴³ Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography*, I, 309; Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles, eds., *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1998), 3.

¹⁴⁴ Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography*, I, 303 and F. N. Estey, "Charlemagne's Silver Celestial Table," *Speculum* 18 (1943): 112-17; Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni: The Life of Charlemagne*, eds. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow and Edwin H. Zeydel (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1972).

¹⁴⁵ *Turpines Story* 31, ll. 998-99.

worlde, and that we shold labore to make all peple Cristen, wherefore I labored and made alle Spayne for þe more partte—and þou haste made hem renegatis and false paynyms.¹⁴⁶

Aigolonde's appeal to traditional modes of inheritance is wryly conservative, but the expansion of Christendom provides the juridical and theological justification of Charles's actions. The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* was created at a moment when the territorialization of the idea of *christianitas* was all but complete, as Charles' invocation of the "Cristen peple[s]" God-given right to be "lordis of alle þe worlde" suggests.¹⁴⁷

Aigolonde's objection raises other, more profound political and theological questions about Charlemagne's authority in Spain. On the one hand, Aigolonde emphasizes that Spain is not and has not been a Christian land for many generations. The Arian Visigothic heritage of Spain seems uncomfortably elided here in a manner which echoes the historical gap at the beginning of the narrative between St James's translation and the ascendance of Charlemagne. This elision, while emphasizing Muslim hegemony in Iberia, also renders the terms "renegades" or "false paynyms" unstable. What *was* the devotional status of the various peoples Charles encountered on the Spanish frontier, in those Pyrenean heights between his confident military bases in France and the impregnable walls of besieged Palmyra? Is the cultural identity of the Spaniards encountered by St James the same as those encountered by Charles? The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle's* treatment of Charles's conquest of Spain indicates the degree to which Peninsular history must be effaced for Spain to fit into the model of *translatio imperii* valorized in the *Chronicle*; unsurprisingly, multiple Iberian counter-narratives staged interventions into the traditions valorizing Charlemagne's campaigns by asserting

¹⁴⁶ *Turpin's Story* 19, ll. 552-555, 555-561.

¹⁴⁷ On the territorialization of Christianity, see Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 252.

the priority of Asturian or Catalan military successes independent from, or even competing with, those of the emperor.¹⁴⁸

“Roulonde vnderstode rízt wele”: Vernacular Politics in Turpines Story

In the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, the exchanges between various characters in the plot are rendered from the (imaginatively reconstructed) vernaculars spoken by the Franks and Saracens into a Latin that embodies the universalism and clerical authority of Turpin’s account. In the English translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, or *Turpines Story*, the narrative is rendered into a vernacular that describes the dialogue of characters spoken in *other* vernaculars, including the “Saracen” and “Spanish” tongues. The sophisticated treatment of cross-cultural translation within the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, once redacted into English, offers highly-nuanced instances of linguistic play that interrogate the relationships between reading practices and linguistic communities, and between national affiliation and political history.

Turpines Story, like Trevisa’s “Dialouge,” imagines multilingualism as an “exercise of lay sovereignty.”¹⁴⁹ Two complementary narrative episodes found towards the center of the narrative depict the importance of speaking and understanding multiple vernacular languages. In both cases, multilingualism is tactical; linguistic knowledge serves as a rhetorical weapon that bestows immediate military and disputational advantages. In the story’s two meta-scenes of translation, Charlemagne and Roland each surprise a Saracen opponent with their multilingualism. Indeed, the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* translates the understanding of multiple vernaculars into imperial boundary enforcement.

¹⁴⁸ Barton Sholod, *Charlemagne in Spain: The Cultural Legacy of Roncesvalles* (Genève: Droz, 1966).

¹⁴⁹ Emily Steiner, “Radical Historiography,” 248.

The first of these episodes occurs when Charles moves to halt the advances of “a paynym kynge of Affrica þat was callid Aygalond”¹⁵⁰ who has (re-)conquered all of Spain and (re-)converted its people to his religion. In their confrontation, Aigalonde demands to know why Charlemagne has challenged his authority; Charles responds in his opponent’s native language:

“þou haste take my londe fro me—þat is to say, Spayne and Gaskuynne”...When þat Aigalonde harde Kynge Charlis speke þe Sarzyns tonge (þat sume tyme he lernyd at Tholouse wen he went to scole) he ioied gretely; for so he myȝt better denounce and declare his matris by hemselffe þan by anoþer interpretacioune.¹⁵¹

Only after Charles’s protest is offered does the Turpin-narrator inform us that Charlemagne has spoken in a Saracen language. This moment of intelligibility echoes the project of vernacular translation into English itself; readers of the English *Turpines Story* can understand Charlemagne’s argument as clearly as can Aigolonde.

Charles’s capacity to articulate his sovereignty in “þe Sarzyns tonge” is a result of schooling “at Tholouse.” The reference to Toulouse is possibly a scribal error for Toledo, the city associated with Charles’s education in the *Mainte* tradition.¹⁵² The effect of the transposition of the “scole” in *Turpines Story* from Toledo to Toulouse shifts cultural boundaries by moving the place of Arabic learning north of the Pyrenees to southern France. Charles’s use of a Saracen tongue with Aigolonde privileges the clarity of language and meaning in their *disputatio*. The story’s source here uses Latin to

¹⁵⁰ *Turpines Story* 10, ll. 257-260: “After Charlis whas come into Fraunce, a paynym kynge of Affrica þat was callid Aygalond come into Spayne with grete hooste and conqueryd Spayne and alle þe Cristen men þat where in townnes or cittaes or holdis þat Charlis lefte to kepe þe londe.” See also *Turpines Story* 49 n. to line 255.

¹⁵¹ *Turpines Story* 18-19, ll. 549-552; see also *Turpines Story* xlii-xliii.

¹⁵² *Turpines Story* 62-3 n.550: “As found in their oldest *Pseudo-Turpin* witnesses, this and the reference in chapter xxiii to Charles’s service to Galafrius of Toledo (l. 1088-9) represent the earliest allusions to what became known as the *Meinet* tale among the *Enfances* legends of Charlemagne...The reference to Charles’s time in Toledo appears in Latin in a separate sentence which follows the one which describes Aigolandus’s pleasure at hearing his native tongue spoken by Charles...”

imagine a dialogue in multiple vernaculars. The scene extends beyond the cognitive ease of semantic transparency as it dramatizes the pleasures of hearing one's native tongue.

Mutual intelligibility is vital to the theological import of the rest of Aigolonde's story. Aigalonde agrees, after a trial by combat, to convert to Christianity, but after witnessing the religious hypocrisy of the Christian camp—the failure of the Franks to provide nourishment to their poor—he renounces the Christian faith on the morning of his scheduled baptism. Charlemagne subsequently acknowledges this fault and corrects it. This episode dramatizes the distance between word and deed among the Christians, of the failure of the ethical reading of theology. Within the context of the Burghley *Polychronicon*, Aigolonde's reaction to Christian hypocrisy echoes Trevisa's translation of FitzRalph's sermon, which dramatizes the need for church reform.¹⁵³ In *Turpines Story*, the African Saracen king comes to embody the capacity to understand Christian theology (and thus its wordly application) with more depth than the Christians. With no further purpose to serve in the narrative, Aigolonde, who will not become a Christian and who cannot defeat the God-sanctioned Charlemagne, must be eliminated. Later, Charles defeats Aigalonde, who dies, still a pagan, implicitly excluded from Christian grace just as he was excluded from the imperial ranks of Charlemagne.

The second episode in *Turpines Story* that turns on the issue of multilingualism involves the prolonged battle between Roland and the giant Ferragut.¹⁵⁴ Perfectly matched in strength, the fight between the two becomes a stalemate. During the breaks in their fighting, the two discuss theology; Roland treats Ferragut to an exposition on Trinitarian doctrine. Ferragut freely acknowledges the

¹⁵³ Moreover, Higden's critical interventions into history include the expression of reformist sentiments, especially with regard to religious institutions. Indeed, his comments on papal corruption, in particular his condemnation of the Donation of Constantine, were appropriated by Wyclif in his own writings, for far more polemical use and radical purposes than the *Polychronicon* attempts. See *Polychronicon*, Book 4, 27, and Steiner, "Radical Historiography," 247.

¹⁵⁴ *Turpines Story* 23-29, esp. 25.

Genesis story— ‘Canste þou beluee þat God made Adam?’ ‘Yee’, seid Ferrakutte”¹⁵⁵— but retains doubts about the Incarnation of Christ: “Why seyste þou to me so many ydulle wordis? Hit is inposible þat a man `sholde aryse’ fro dethe to lyue.”¹⁵⁶ In the original Latin text of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, the giant’s fixation on the literal understanding of theology would have marked him as a practitioner of an “old religion,” such as Judaism, or, in this case, Islam.¹⁵⁷ In the fifteenth-century English, and specifically Lancastrian manuscript context, the giant’s religious alterity and Roland’s teaching would also echo with contemporary anxieties about heterodox exegesis—especially regarding Lollard literalism.¹⁵⁸

Ferragut’s body is supposedly imperious to attack, impenetrable, yet his sole vulnerability is revealed by an act of linguistic play that coincides with a kind of imperial knowledge. Ferragut reveals his only weak spot to Roland in Spanish, wrongly assuming the hero will not understand him:

Thanne satte Rowlond by him; and as þey satte togedur Rowlonde asked Ferrakutte how he was so stronge and so hardy þat drade neyþer swerde ne spere ne arow ne stone. Thenne seid Ferrakutte, ‘There may no man hurte me ne wounde me with no manere of wepyn but in my navile.’ When Roylonde had hard þat worde he hylde his pese and turnyd away his here as þow he had noʒt merked þat worde, for this giaunte seid this worde in the Spayennyshe speche, þe whiche þe giaunte went þat Rowlond vnderstode noʒt—but Roulonde vnderstode riʒt wele.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ *Turpines Story* 27, ll. 843-4.

¹⁵⁶ *Turpines Story* 28, ll. 876-7.

¹⁵⁷ Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 251: “Throughout the [Western Christian] literary tradition, Islam is depicted as a religion that satisfies only carnal impulses, a view that is based on the Western understanding of Islam as a return to the ‘Old Law’ of Moses. From the Christian perspective, Islam was thought to be (like Judaism) a religion in which the letter is privileged over the spirit, and earthly joys are prized more than heavenly joys.”

¹⁵⁸ See Suzanne Akbari, *Idols of the East*, 18. Akbari also points out on page 4 that male Saracens were less likely than women to be assimilated in medieval Christian narratives. On geographical and ethnic alterity, see also page 11.

¹⁵⁹ *Turpines Story* 25, ll. 786-794.

Ferragut's physical weak spot is his navel, but it must be admitted that his mouth is likewise a source of vulnerability. Through two speech-acts, he gives Roland the knowledge and then the religious sanction to defeat him. Ferragut transforms his combat with Roland into a trial of faiths: "Den seid Ferakutte vndur þis forme: 'I shalle fy3tte with þe, þat yf þis feithe þat þow spekiste of be trew þou shalte ouercome me; and yf it `be´ no3t trew I shalle ouercome þe; and he þat his ouercome shalle `be´ in repreue, and he þat ouercome oþer shalle be in loude and preysinge.'" ¹⁶⁰ The epistemological grounds of the battle change now that it serves to validate Roland's Christian theology. Ferragut's own challenge differentiates this fight from his others against Charles's heroes, whom he effortlessly had defeated.

The giant's use of "Spanish," as well as Roland's concealed understanding of it, calls attention to the crucial role of language in defining ethnic and political identity. The very status of the giant's "Spanish" is problematic. What language would this late eighth- or ninth-century Spanish vernacular be, and how would each of them have come to understand it? Ferragut hails from Syria, though he leads Turkish troops ¹⁶¹; Roland, a Frank in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, is described as the son of the "English" Milo twice in *Turpines Story*. ¹⁶² Spanish is an acquired language for them both. Roland's understanding of Spanish (in the original Latin of the Codex Calixtinus, "*lingua yspanica quam Rotolandus satis intelligebat*" ¹⁶³) enacts a form of imperial knowledge and possession, and thus echoes the crusade ideology of Charlemagne's challenge to Aigolonde, spoken in the Saracen language: "þou haste take my londe fro me—þat is to say, Spayne and Gaskuyne." ¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ *Turpines Story* 29, ll. 909-913.

¹⁶¹ *Turpines Story* 23, ll. 718-722: "After þis was done, tydynggis came to Kyng Charlis how Admiraldus, kyng of Babilon, had sende to Vageris a gyaunte of the kynrade of Goliath þat was callid Fereacutus, the whiche came ou3te of þe coostis of Sirie with .xx. þousonde Turkus for to 3eue a bataile to Kyng Charlis."

¹⁶² *Turpines Story*, xxxix, li-lii.

¹⁶³ *Turpines Story*, xlii-xliii, 72 n.792-4.

¹⁶⁴ On crusade ideology *Turpines Story* 61 n. to l. 509: "'occupied and `re`keuerid': *cooperiebant* (127, x). The scribal addition of (abbreviated) *re* to 'keuerid' creates a revision that renders the translation potentially more meaningful, if less literal. The notion of recovery of stolen territory was understood by crusade theologians as a legalistic justification for

As in *Mandeville's Travels*, *Turpine's Story* uses vernacular comprehension as a marker of land possession.¹⁶⁵ Roland's understanding of Spanish suggests that the lands were already his, *a priori*, in a manner that supersedes the prescriptive claims of the Syrian giant who dwells there.

The fate of Ferragut echoes that of Aigolonde. Both are willing to put their religions to the test of trial by combat; both lose. However, Ferragut's battle is a fatal one. The giant has no chance to recognize his own death as proof of Christianity, and dies with a prayer to his god for help:

And þan anone þe giaunte fylle on Roulonde and leyde on him and þou3tte so to a sleyne him. Ðan þe gode Roulonde knewe wele þat he my3t neuer askape fro him, for he was so moche and so heuey. To god helpe he with his soule cried, to Christe Ihesus Mari Sonne, preyinge hem boþe of helpe to helpe him at þat nede and at þat tyme; and, anone, by grace of Criste, he meuyd þat giauntte and turned him vpri3t, and with his swerde he prickyde þe giauntis navylle and he arose and askapide fro him. But wat! Ðan cried þis giaunte to his god with a loude voyce, seying þus:
‘Maumeth, Mavmeth, now socoure me, now helpe me, for now I dy3e!’¹⁶⁶

Turpine's Story places narrative emphasis not on conversion but on exclusion. Roland's prayer to Christ for help is balanced symmetrically against Ferragut's dying cry to "Maumeth." Ferragut and Roland, despite their ontological and ethnic differences, are perfectly matched warriors, so that divine intervention must grant Roland his increasingly-unlikely victory, a victory which denies the giant Ferragut a chance to willingly convert.

holy war: see Norman Daniel, 'The Legal and Political Theory of the Crusade,' in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969-89), VI, 3-38 (pp. 6-7). 'Rekeuerid' translated the same Latin word several lines further on (l. 516; corresponding to Meredith-Jones 127, xix) and is so copied without need of correction. The earlier correction could suggest that the scribe was copying from the translator's draft, where, just as in the fair copy, a diminutive abbreviated *re-* had been added above or below the line."

¹⁶⁵ Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 56.

¹⁶⁶ *Turpines Story* 29, ll. 918-928.

Turpines Story, like Trevisa's translations, privileges the role of vernacular language in defining political identity by showing how multilingual knowledge can result in broader political boundaries that resonate symbolically, in terms of inclusion or exclusion, as well as geographically, through territorial competition. Despite his eastern Mediterranean origins, the status of Ferragut as a speaker of Spanish identifies him with disputed Iberian territories. The geographic concept of Spain in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and its English translation is coterminous with the ontologically-fraught giant Ferragut, whose navel—whose *middle*—is the only weak spot on the Saracen political body. In the *Chronicle*, Spain is an ambivalent political space—a geographical area but not a sovereign political entity, an imperial march of the Carolingian empire but not one culturally French or Frankish.¹⁶⁷ The territorial flux of conquest and reconquest in Iberian and Pyrenean spaces results in their peoples' religious dynamism and unstable confessional identities. Spain is at once a cultural boundary and, implicitly, a geographical center in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and in medieval authorities. In particular, Isidore of Seville views his Spanish homeland as a midpoint between southerly Africa and northern Europe, and thus a microcosm of the world along a north/south axis.¹⁶⁸ The episode featuring Ferragut's vulnerable middle (and Roland's piercing of it) imaginatively remaps the cartographic positionality of Spain so that, from the perspective of the Carolingian empire, this march becomes a central object of imperial desire. Moreover, the trope of the Levantine giant's navel links the sacred sites of the Compostelan route in Spain to those in Jerusalem, the *umbilicus mundi*, the navel of the world and the geometric center of most medieval

¹⁶⁷ See Paul Freedman, "Cowardice, Heroism and the Legendary Origins of Catalonia," *Past & Present* 121 (Nov., 1988): 3-28.

¹⁶⁸ Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 45-46: "The dark-skinned Mauritians, for the Spanish bishop, lie just to the south; the fair-skinned Gauls and Galicians, just to the north. In this way, Isidore's own homeland of Spain appears as a kind of microcosm of the great world all around... Isidore's own space is a mean, but one surrounded closely by climactic extremes, with Spain being a kind of microcosm that enfolds within it the diversity of the earth."

world maps.”¹⁶⁹ This symbolic centrality is crystallized in the Hellenic *omphalos* in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹⁷⁰

Ferragut’s destruction serves as a substratum for imagining the typology of sacred spaces in Christian geography. The cultural encounter and conflict between the Syrian giant Ferragut and Roland is embedded in a foundation narrative of a newly-accessible pilgrimage site.¹⁷¹ Spain, as a point of contact between eastern and western holy spaces, links Charlemagne’s narrated holy wars with Levantine crusade. At the same time, the episode exposes the vulnerability of *middles* by contrasting the unavailability of spiritually- and cartographically-central (but geographically remote) Jerusalem as a pilgrimage destination with Charlemagne’s opening of the occidental Way of St James to Christian pilgrims. The *Chronicle* highlights the dual quality of the Compostellan pilgrimage site as both historically-situated and transcendent and locates its sacred spaces within the political geography of Charlemagne’s empire. The geographic symbolism of the Ferragut episode in *Turpines Story*, now rendered into the English vernacular and positioned within a nationally-inflected manuscript context, subtly shifts the *Chronicle*’s treatment of the giant’s linguistic play. *Turpines Story* identifies Roland’s strategic knowledge of Spanish as imperial knowledge, reinforcing the vernacular’s association with national boundaries and spaces of political sovereignty. Like Charles’s cosmopolitan education at Toulouse/Toledo, Roland’s multilingualism is integral to the Carolingian imperial project. Charles is fluent in “Saracen tongue,” yet Roland’s Spanish, though freely spoken

¹⁶⁹ Katharine Breen, “Returning Home from Jerusalem: Matthew Paris’s First Map of Britain in Its Manuscript Context” *Representations* 89 (Winter, 2005): 59-93, 81; see also Daniel K. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris,” *The Art Bulletin* 81:4 (Dec., 1999): 598-622. On Jerusalem as a site of pilgrimage in medieval English literature, see Suzanne M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁷⁰ On the Greek *omphalos*, see Jane Ellen Harrison, et al., *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 396-406. According to some sources, Harun al-Rashid sent Charlemagne keys to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as a gesture of friendship. See J. C. Cox, *A History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Northampton* (Northampton: William Mark, 1897), 15. On Jerusalem as the center of the world and earthly paradise as a type of *umbilicus*, see Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 58-60.

¹⁷¹ The St Denis stained glass windows also depict the two warriors as symmetrically poised in battle.

from the lips of a Saracen, refers to the ambiguous and unstable political space of Spain, which is multilingual by virtue of its domination from both north and south, and regional diversity within. The comprehension of the Spanish vernacular is a marker of imperial claims and raises issues of power and priority coextensive with crusade ideology and the anticipated *recovery* of territory of the *Reconquista*.

In both the *Codex Calixtinus*, which contains the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the Burghley *Polychronicon*, Gascony is a contested region ambiguously positioned at cross-roads of national and international political spaces.¹⁷² The *Pilgrim's Guide* consolidates French perspective at the point where multiple French pilgrimage routes converge and the Gascon and Navarrese “Other” is defined. The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* identifies both Gascony and northern Spain as territories under Saracen threat. As Charlemagne says to Aigalonde in *Turpines Story*, “þou haste take my londe fro me—þat is to say, Spayne and Gaskuyne...” The Ferragut episode demonstrates that territorial possession, like the trope of pilgrimage, is ultimately linguistic. Roland’s body, like Ferragut’s, symbolizes and delimits the cultural identity, imperial status, and the sacred associations of a disputed land, Gascony.¹⁷³ The *Codex Calixtinus’s Pilgrim’s Guide* describes how the “blessed martyr Roland” is brought home to the Gascon port of Blaye-et-Sainte-Luce by his companions, his martyred body traveling the route his living one could not complete.¹⁷⁴ Roland’s shrine at Blaye is not only an important site on the pilgrimage route to Compostela, but it also marks the cultural

¹⁷² The Guide excludes Gascony and the Basque Country from French cultural geographies by identifying them as exotic and semibarbarous hinterlands on a dangerous and temporally-vexed pilgrimage route. Within the *Codex Calixtinus*, then, there is a productive tension between these spaces envisioned as being either on the Spanish march or on the central “way” to Compostela.

¹⁷³ Items in the *Codex Calixtinus* include: *Anthologia liturgica*; *De miraculis sancti Jacobi*; *Liber de translatione corporis sancti Jacobi ad Compostellam*; *Historia Caroli Magni et Rotholandi*; *Iter pro peregrinis ad Compostellam*. On the fifth item, the *Pilgrim’s Guide*, see Stones, et al., eds., *The Pilgrim’s Guide*.

¹⁷⁴ On Blaye, see *Pilgrim’s Guide*, II, 63, 65: “In truth, it is said that, after conquering many kings and pagans in battle, exhausted by hunger, cold and excessive heat, enduring frightful blows and incessant lashes for the love of God, wounded by arrows and lances, so it is said, Roland, precious martyr of Christ, finally died in the said valley. His companions buried his most holy body with worthy respect in the basilica of the blessed Romanus at Blaye.”

boundaries of feudal Gascony.¹⁷⁵ In the *Song of Roland*, the intense desire of the Franks for this land, which represents the threshold of their lord's possessions, is poignant, and also dangerous, for the Saracen envoy is able to manipulate the Christians' nostalgia for his own ends: "Puis que il venent a la Tere Majur, / Virent Guascuigne, la tere lur seigneur."¹⁷⁶ The vista towards Gascony becomes a point of affective and layered memory for the Franks.

In conclusion, *Turpines Story* relates the clear political utility of pilgrimage to dynastic legitimacy and genealogy. By translating Charlemagne's expansionist movement into Lancastrian models of political sovereignty, *Turpines Story* commemorates English sovereignty in France at the same time that it responds to the pressures of territorial loss by privileging English as a national language. Pilgrimage, as a commemoration of sacred events situated in specific places, elicits an affective response to a moment of foundation. This spiritual sedimentation promotes a consciousness of historical geography as way of understanding an imperial past and a way of experiencing political time as teleological; the spatial mapping of pilgrimage gives meaning to history. The *Codex Calixtinus* portrays the Carolingian empire and Christendom as synonymous and uses the foundation of the Compostelan shrine to resignify and subordinate regional space into a universalist salvific schema. In contrast, the Burghely *Polychronicon* uses universalizing schemes to better distinguish a particular national and linguistic space—that of England—by linking the

¹⁷⁵ Eleanor Constance Lodge, *Gascony Under English Rule* (London: Methuen & Co., 1926), 11: "All this country [i.e., Gascony] was in every way distinct from France, speaking a different language and living under its own written customs; medieval France may be said to have ended at Blaye."

¹⁷⁶ *Song of Roland*, vv. 818-22, quoted in Eugene Vance, "Roland and Charlemagne: The Remembering Voices and the Crypt" in *Merveilous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 51-85, 59-60: "Situated in the mountains midway between Spain and France, Roncevaux serves as a threshold of intense recollections for the war-weary Franks who now contemplate their homeland: recollections of abundance, security, and appeased desires. The tantalizing proximity of France is all the more poignant in that a violent (and fore-known) tragedy separates the Franks from their longed-for sabbath...The passage through Roncevaux stirs up special anguish in Charlemagne, who is already remembering (and grieving for) a Roland destined never to return."

universal structures of Higden's *Polychronicon* and Trevisa's critical translation theories to the Lancastrian writing of history and construction of national and dynastic genealogies.

The Duchy of Gascony, which had long been part of the English king's realm, was surrendered in 1453, only a few years before the probable date of the Burghley *Polychronicon*. England's loss of Gascony, along with most other French territories, forces a remapping of the political spaces of English sovereignty that privileges the borders of an *insular* nation. England's loss of Gascony reconfigures the domains of the English crown; national, or even imperial, "rhetorics of Englishness" will focus primarily, from now forward, on an archipelagic geography. The Burghley *Polychronicon* responds to the pressures of a political sovereignty in decline by privileging England genealogically and linguistically, by readapting the hero Roland as half-English and translating the imperial conquests of Charlemagne—France's hero, as Higden notes—into the English vernacular as an extension of Higden's nationally-inflected universal history.

Coda: The Performance of Foreign Queenship

In the closing scene of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, the victorious King Henry comically woos the French princess across language barriers: "It is as easy for me, Kate, to conquer the kingdom as to speak so much more French" (5.2.187-8). Much irony hangs on Henry's critical monolingualism—if his English heart and English tongue cannot feel or speak in French, how can we imagine Henry as not only conqueror, but king of that land? How can we imagine a speculative future in which Henry *embodies* both kingdoms, speaks both languages of power? Yet this scene is a peculiarly Tudor fantasy, rather than a reflection of the living words of Henry V in an age where French remained a *lingua franca* of European affairs. It is a theatrical vision in which Englishness is wholly wrapped up in the English language, a language whose canny masters are the king himself, and the playwrights who supply his long-dead lips with stirring battle speeches.

Yet in Shakespeare's scene, Henry and Kate know more than they ever express concerning both each other's words and the situation—a wooing that will not admit refusal. This suppression of linguistic knowledge in favor of performance, ritual, and reconciliation contributes to the dense dramatic irony of the play in which both king and chorus “stage-manage” much of the action. For her part, Katherine has already been primed for her future role as consort, as Henry crudely puts it, as “a good soldier-breeder” (209). She has been schooled, early in the play, in the rudiments of the English anatomy in the form of a connubial *blazon* beginning with the hand and ending with sexual puns. She understands well enough that Henry's hand is forcefully hers and that her hand is given at the discretion of her father, and thus how much of this elaborate courtship is performance. The result of their union, as Henry jocularly imagines it, will be a motley offspring, a crusading prince: “Shall not thou and I, between Saint Denis and Saint George, compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard?” (*Henry V* 5.2. 209-12). The play's Elizabethan audience would quickly recognize the irony of the scene's anticipation of a prince who would lose both France for England, and England for himself.

The play *Henry V* thus explores the concurrency of conquest and vernacularity, of ruling and linguistic knowledge, and even features the wooing of Katherine as a kind of ludic game, in which Henry performs and manipulates, and possibly veils, his understanding of the vernacular to his own advantage. It is the culminating act in a play in which Henry displays fluency in a kind of nationalistic, “vernacular” register that unites his troops under one banner. Henry assures Katherine that she must marry him to retain France: “But in loving me you should love the friend of France, for I love France so well that I will not part with a village of it. I will have it all mine. And, Kate, when France is mine and I am yours, then yours is France and you are mine” (175-179). The equation of Henry and Katherine's union with the joint possession of these two kingdoms in a verbal chiasmus of possession forms the bases of Henry VI's claim and of the Louis pedigrees that

show his descent from both lines. These pedigrees appeared on church doors in Normandy during Henry VI's minority, in coronation displays, and, as discussed above, in the Shrewsbury Book given to Margaret of Anjou before her wedding. The English, though, were already losing their grip on their French possessions by Margaret's arrival, and only eight years after, Gascony, that long-held duchy of the Plantagenet kings, was ceded.

Foreign queens consort are often associated with the shifting boundaries of a kingdom, or the widening and narrowing of international horizons. It was Eleanor of Aquitaine, *suo jure* duchess, who brought Gascony into the English royal legacy, and it was under Margaret of Anjou's troubled tenure as queen consort that it was lost, along with other territories, despite the negotiations of Lancastrian diplomats. Medieval queens, through their own agency and through those who represented them, could thus reshape the spatial imagination of a kingdom. Such geographical "translations" intersect with issues of cultural and linguistic identity. Ensclosed in their new kingdoms, do foreign-born queens embody a discrete identity of their home *pays*, crystallized from the moment of their arrival, or is their cultural identity inherently hybrid, rhetorically fluid, conditioned by the contingencies of the moment? Were queens destined to preserve or efface their linguistic difference? John Talbot's gift to Margaret, the Shrewsbury Book, suggests that the manuscript will allow the queen to remember her French: "Talbot had this book made so that you would pass your time with it and so that, when you speak English, you will not forget French, and so that you [will] see the stories which are worthy of remembrance because of the most noble deeds which are contained within this said book."¹⁷⁷ Was this simply a deference to and celebration of the

¹⁷⁷ BL, MS. Royal 15 E. vi, f. 2v, Transcribed and translated in Taylor, "The Time of an Anthology: BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi and the Commemoration of Chivalric Culture," 121.

Il [Talbot] a fait faire ainsi que entens
Afin que vous y passez temps
Et lors que parlerez anglois
Que vous n'obliez pas le françois.

bride's Angevin heritage? Was it a more pointed encouragement for Margaret to champion an *English* presence in France—the cause for which Talbot was to lay down his life? Margaret encouraged Henry to give up lands in Maine early in their marriage and less than a decade later, Gascony was lost as well.¹⁷⁸ If Margaret of Anjou's dynastic marriage, upon the threshold of her wedding, served as a reification of now-exhausted Lancastrian rhetorics of imperialism, her legacy in England as the staunch defender of the Lancastrian claim renders uneasy the policing of boundaries of cultural identity embodied in the person of medieval queens.

Margaret of Anjou, who both represents in Lancastrian political verses and pagentry an English-possessed France and a French English crown, was at the center of a court grappling with the implications of unstable territorial boundaries and dynamic vernacular cultures. She herself was later “Englished” in theatrical ways by Shakespeare, who keeps her in England long past her historical return to France as an uncanny “madwoman in the attic” haunting Yorkist kings—in confident English harangues. Paul Strohm, in his book *England's Empty Throne*, writes of Lancastrian “language of legitimation,” but it is probably just as accurate to speak of Lancastrian “*languages* of legitimation,” thus acknowledging the strategic multilingualism of fifteenth-century cultural production, of the interplay of Latin and vernaculars found in the broader scope of documentary records, manuscripts, political verse, and civic drama which articulate and extend royal power.

Et que vous voyez les hystoires
Qui bien sont dignes de memoire
Pour les tres haustes entreprinses
Qui ou dit liure song comprinse.

¹⁷⁸ Dockray, *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou, and the Wars of the Roses*, xxviii.

Chapter Three

Epic Afterlives: The *Lusiads* and Historical Legacy

When Sir Richard Fanshawe arrived in Lisbon in 1661 to finalize the marriage negotiations between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, his reputation as a translator of Latin and Romance language texts preceded him.¹ At the English College in Lisbon, students entertained the patient diplomat with Latin oratory and stilted mock-heroic English verses celebrating his linguistic accomplishments, referring especially to his 1655 English translation of the Portuguese epic the *Lusiads* (*Editio princeps*, 1572) by Luis Vaz de Camões.² Indeed, Fanshawe's labors as a translator resonated with his role as a royal ambassador. Just as "eloquent Mercury" served as Jupiter's ambassador (the students' verses declared), so too did this poet-diplomat and dedicated Stuart royalist serve his king, his translation projects ideologically yoked to his political agenda of British mercantile expansion and colonial dominance.³

¹ On Sir Richard Fanshawe, see Peter Davidson, "Fanshawe, Sir Richard, first baronet (1608–1666)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed April 26, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9149>, accessed 26 April 2014/ and Peter Davidson, ed., *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols., ii (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997-1999). Much historical information about Fanshawe's personal and professional life is derived from his wife, Lady Ann (*née* Harrison) Fanshawe's memoirs: Lady Anne Halkett and Lady Anne Harrison Fanshawe, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, eds. John C. Loftis, John G. Nichols, and Samuel R. Gardiner (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979).

² Roger M. Walker, "'Mercurius Anglus': Sir Richard Fanshawe's Reception as Ambassador in Lisbon," *Portuguese Studies*, 6 (1990): 126-137, transcribes and translates the Latin verses on pages 130-132: "Si vulgarem loquar librorum versionem, quid in te praeclarius, quid luculentius? Testis adsit Poetarum Princeps Camoenus, qui licet patria Lusitanus, sermone tamen peritè admodum a te edoctus modulari Anglo. Testis et adsit Pastor Fidus, qui genere Italus, facundus tuâ insudante operâ evasit Anglus. Caetera hac in re illasque admodum praeclaras taceo lucubrationes, ne vulnerare modestiam tuam, ac ruborem illi quasi sanguinem videar inclementè elicere."

"If I speak of your translation of books into the vulgar tongue, what in you is more illustrious, more splendid? Let there attend as witness the Prince of Poets Camoenus who, although Portuguese by birth, nevertheless was taught by you with consummate skill to sing in the English tongue. And let there also attend as witness the Faithful Shepherd who, Italian by origin, through your sweat-stained efforts has emerged as an eloquent Englishman."

³ Miguel Martínez, "A Poet of Our Own: The Struggle for Os Lusíadas in the Afterlife of Camões," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10.1 (2010): 71-94, offers the most comprehensive analysis of Spanish and English translations of the *Lusiads*. He discusses Fanshawe's royalist agenda at pages 78-81, and writes on page 84: "Thus Fanshawe's literary activity as translator is unequivocally linked to his political and diplomatic mission." Syrithe Pugh, *Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality: Classical Literature and Seventeenth Century Royalism* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), focuses on a study of two 1648 publications of literary royalism steeped in classical allusion, including Fanshawe's *The Faithfull Shepherd*, a translation of Guarini's *Il pastor fido*.

In one set of verses composed in honor of the diplomat, the “Genius of Camoes” himself, perhaps brought to dramatic life by a laurelled student, greets his English translator:

How happily am chang’d, since by your pen,
Rescu’d from death I see the world again,
And heir to Hippolytus’s fame am thus
By your life-breathing lines a Virbius.
Sorrow in one night hath made some men grey;
I’m green by th’Antiphrasis of this joyful day.
Nor lack I now an Eye: you’ve giv’n me one
Out sparkles Argus’ hundred all alone—
An English eye, and English tongue so sweet
Phoebus himself might learn to speak by it.⁴

As the verses suggest, Fanshawe’s translation preserves Camoes from a deathly end in the Portuguese tongue—no great compliment to the Portuguese, who had only reclaimed their sovereign independence from Spain in 1640 and surely would be pained to hear their language disparaged as morbid. The lines on Camões’s linguistic “rescue” obliquely recall the *Lusiads*’s own account of Camões’s deliverance from shipwreck, an event commemorated in the frontispiece poem of Fanshawe’s edition: “India a life, which I gaue there for Lost / On Mecons waues (a wreck and Exile) tost / To boot, this Poem, held up in one hand / Whist with the other I swam safe to land.”⁵

⁴ These verses, which take the form of a dialogue between two students, one in the character of a student and the other as “The Genius of Camoens,” are found in materials at the Library of the University of Coimbra and edited in *Luís de Camões: The ‘Lusiads’ in Sir Richard Fanshawe’s Translation*, edited by Geoffrey Bullough (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 349-52. An excerpt of these verses are reproduced in Roger M. Walker, “Sir Richard Fanshawe’s Reception as Ambassador in Lisbon,” 135. Walker notes that “Although the dialogue is not dated, it is clear from the references in it to the forthcoming marriage of Charles and Catherine that it was performed before Sir Richard [Fanshawe] during his first embassy to Portugal, in 1661.” Martínez, “A Poet of Our Own,” 83-3, also reproduces some of these verses.

⁵ All quotes from the original Portuguese are from Luís Vaz de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, ed. and transl. Frank Pierce, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), hereafter cited parenthetically by canto and stanza; accompanying English translations

The English College students' verses soon shift from encomium to epithalamium, and conclude by implicitly linking Fanshawe's poetic projects to his current mission: to contract a royal marriage between the two countries.⁶

Fanshawe's "Englishing" of Camões extends beyond the textual translation of Camões's poem, which was executed via a Spanish-language intermediary, to include the preface and illustrations.⁷ The students' verses at the English College in Lisbon suggest an awareness of this edition's paratexts and the apparatus of the material book. That Camões is given a "second life" through Fanshawe's translation, and that the Portuguese poet is "turn'd Englishman" are both ideas given voice in the edition's dedication to William Wentworth.⁸ Ocular references in the students' performance call to mind Camões's one-eyed author portrait in Fanshawe's translation.⁹ In his new reincarnation, Camões will see with an English eye more prescient than those of Argus Panoptes—and ostensibly more powerful than his remaining Portuguese one—one with which he can survey the changed power dynamics of global traffic. Symbolic of the epic's poetics of prophesy, Camões's "English eye" merges the trope of the visionary poet with that of the surveying trade empire.¹⁰

During Fanshawe's Lusitanian negotiations, Britain's diplomatic and mercantile gaze was fixed on

from *The Lusíads*, transl. Landeg White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), unless noted otherwise. Where I felt White's translation deviated too far from the meaning of the original, I supplied my own translation. On Camões's shipwreck in 1559, see Michael Murrin, *Trade and Romance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 173, and *Os Lusíadas*, ed. Pierce, 253 n. 1 to stanza 128.

⁶ Bullough, ed., *The Lusíads' in Sir Richard Fanshawe's Translation*, 349-52, 351: "But this is not a time to run upon / Favours peculiar, but that general one / Your presence doth our Nation, since it brings / Joys to the best of Queens from the best of Kings, / And high caresses such whose every line / Welcomer is and wealthier than a mine."

⁷ On Fanshawe's use of Manuel Faria e Sousa's annotated Spanish edition (1639), see Martínez, "A Poet of our Own," 80-1.

⁸ On the dedication of Fanshawe's translation, see Martínez, "A Poet of our Own," 80-3.

⁹ Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 128: "Camões had served earlier in Ceuta, where he lost an eye fighting Moors, and he would fight them again during his three-year military service in the Indian Ocean."

¹⁰ On intelligence and surveillance in early modern England, see John Archer, *Sovereignty and Intelligence: Spying and Court Culture in the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) and *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). On Portuguese writings in particular, see Fernando Gil and Helder Macedo, eds., *The Traveling Eye: Retrospection, Vision, and Prophecy in the Portuguese Renaissance* (Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, 2009).

the trade routes Portugal had once discovered and dominated in the waters of the Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans.

As is hinted in the *Lusiads*'s prefatory material, Fanshawe's *Lusiads* not only translates the Portuguese epic to the English vernacular, it also appropriates the navigational and mercantile prestige of Portuguese discovery for English symbolic capital.¹¹ Samuel Purchas had written in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625) that Henry ("the Navigator") was "The true foundation of the Greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but of the whole Christian World, in Marine Affairs, and especially of these Heroike endeavours of the English (whose flesh and bloud hee was)..."¹² Just as Samuel Purchas had identified Henry as the first English explorer of the age, so too did Fanshawe's edition subtly hint at the ancestral Englishness of the *infante*. The poem's single medial illustration is a full-spread dyptich featuring, on the left, a portrait of Henry the Navigator in armor between an inset of a library with astronomical equipment and the capture of Ceuta, and, on the right, Vasco de Gama, hero of the *Lusiads*.¹³ Henry the Navigator's half-English parentage is implied through the Garter device prominently surrounding his arms and thus the illustration subtly draws him into the fold of English national heroes.¹⁴ The illustration associates Henry the Navigator and Vasco da Gama as founders of the Portuguese age of exploration, and their pairing collaborates

¹¹ On the importance of prefatory material to early modern readerly encounters, see Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), which focuses especially on theorizing the "textual liminality" of front matter, and Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹² Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, Or, Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*, 20 vol. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1905), 10, cited in Peter [P.E.] Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 1, who writes: "Indeed, because of his half-Plantagenet parentage, Henry was claimed in 1625 by the geographer Samuel Purchas to have been the first person to demonstrate the English genius for maritime exploration.

¹³ The portrait of da Gama also demilitarizes him, showing him as a courtier and diplomat rather than explicitly a naval commander, although the dyptich's creates a visual parallel between Henry's crusading/trading project in the Atlantic and da Gama's exploration/trading efforts in India.

¹⁴ On Henry's tomb in the Monastery of Batalha, which prominently displays the Garter arms, see Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator'*, 362, and on a surviving inventory that includes a description of Henry's Garter robes, see Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator'*, 356-7.

with Portuguese historical sources themselves as it constructs a clear teleology of Portuguese achievement in exploration (and sometimes conquest) that begins and ends in England.¹⁵

As the poem's history and the students' imaginative rendering of Camões suggest, the mechanisms of translation are inseparable from the poetics of empire.¹⁶ Fanshawe's translation of the *Lusiads* and his two diplomatic trips to Lisbon (1661, 1662), first to contract the marriage and then to secure the dowry, ultimately correspond with a *translation* of land itself. Catherine's promised dowry included Tangier and the Seven Islands of Bombay, trading privileges in the East Indies and Brazil, and two million gold pesos, the bulk of which never made it into English royal coffers.¹⁷ With the flourish of quills, Bombay was signed away, ceded to another Atlantic monarch who would never venture half so far, as part of the diplomatic price of maintaining England's allegiance. Thus, a strategic port in India, one whose Portuguese domination was retrospectively prophesized in the *Lusiads*, is absorbed into the English colonial and mercantile sphere of power.¹⁸

¹⁵ On the relationship between crusade and territorial hegemony in the fifteenth-century Atlantic, see Shankar Raman, *Framing India: The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 65-66: "The *Romanus Pontifex* of January 8, 1455—the so-called charter of Portuguese imperialism—not only illustrates the importance of theology as an enclosing frame for the colonial enterprise, but also its imbrication with material exigencies to which the voyages were a response. A substantial portion of the papal bull summarizes the efforts of the Portuguese Prince Henry ('the Navigator'), focusing in particular upon his colonization of the uninhabited islands of Madeira and the Azores and his acquisition of numerous Negro slaves, many of whom 'have been baptized and [have] embraced the Catholic Faith.' In return for Henry's religious exertions on its behalf, the Church granted Portugal monopoly over navigation, trade, and fishing in not just these regions, but in all subsequently discovered areas south of Cape Bojador and Nun, and as far as the Indies." Of course, Portuguese exploration and trade efforts in the Atlantic existed in the fourteenth-century, well before Henry the Navigator; see, for instance, David Wallace, "Canaries (The Fortunate Islands)," in *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2004), 203-238.

¹⁶ Martínez, "A Poet of Our Own," 83. William Julius Mickle of the East India Company produced a new translation of *Os Lusíadas* (1776); on Mickle's translation, see Martínez, "A Poet of Our Own," 85-6, who writes that "The story of Portuguese decadence and British ascendance in Asia, constructed by Mickle throughout his introduction, transforms *Os Lusíadas* into a visionary narrative of *translatio imperii* at the service of the British" (86).

¹⁷ On Catherine of Braganza, see S.M. Wynne, "Catherine (1638-1705)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008, accessed August 25, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4894/>; Liliás Campbell Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança: Infanta of Portugal, & Queen-Consort of England* (London: J. Murray, 1908); Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, rev. edn, 6 vols. (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1889), vol. 4; Joana Almeida Troni, *Catarina de Bragança (1638-1705)* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2008); Isabel Stilwell, *Catarina De Bragança: A Coragem De Uma Infanta Portuguesa Que Se Tornou Rainha De Inglaterra* (Lisboa: A Esfera dos livros, 2008); Hebe Elsna, *Catherine of Braganza; Charles II's Queen* (London: Hale, 1967); Augusto Casimiro, *Dona Catarina De Bragança: Rainha De Inglaterra, Filha De Portugal* (Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1956).

¹⁸ The first Portuguese to sail in Bombay (1509) was the Viceroy Francisco de Almeida (1450-1510), whose victory at the Battle of Diu (1509) was decisive for Portuguese mercantile control in the Indian Ocean. He is mentioned in the first

This was not the first time, however, that the *Lusiads* would be made to serve the “epic” prestige of another kingdom, another state.¹⁹ Already aggressively appropriated by earlier Hapsburg court agents, the *Lusiads* had seen multiple Spanish translators (the first wave appearing in the aftermath of Portuguese annexation by Philip II), culminating almost sixty years later in the massive annotated edition by Manuel Faria de Sousa (1639) dedicated to Philip IV of Spain.²⁰ It was, in fact, this edition that Fanshawe probably used when composing his own translation.²¹ That the Portuguese epic is first translated into English through a Spanish intermediary is one of many ironies surrounding the history of the *Lusiads*.

The *Lusiads*’ susceptibility to translation and appropriation is engrained in its own formal structures. The poem imagines itself at the end of a long genealogy of epics and empires. In the Far West, it occupies the site of the furthest most reaches of European *translatio imperii*, its long Atlantic shores facing towards a future of exploration and trade. It is a poem of the provisional and providential, of the “long now” of a startlingly modern history. By positioning itself spatially and temporally at the breaking of a new era of knowledge and exploration, the *Lusiads* privileges its own belated entry onto world stage. The poem celebrates its emergence as a kingdom whose lands are wrested from Reconquest victories and from other Iberian kings; its embedded ancestral romance, the “Twelve of England,” envisions the kingdom’s late arrival onto the chivalric circuit in Europe. Most significantly, the *Lusiads* commemorates Portugal’s discovery and (the poet hoped, ultimate) control of the entire world. In this literary context, Portugal’s “belatedness” is an expression of modernity, not through a sharp break from what proceeded it, but rather as the full realization of

and last cantos of the *Lusiads*: “the fearsome / Almeidas, whom the Tagus still laments” (1.14) and in Tethy’s prophecy in Canto Ten 10.26-38, along with his son Lourenço, which alludes to The Battle of Chaul (1508), the Battle of Diu (1509), and Francisco de Almeida’s death at the Cape of Good Hope.

¹⁹ On translation, appropriation, and imperial rivalry, see Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

²⁰ On the *Lusiads*’s history of censorship, see Terry Cochran, *Twilight of the Literary: Figures of Thought in the Age of Print* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), 103-134.

²¹ See note 7 above.

classical precedent and late medieval aspirations.²² The *Lusiads* imagines itself as the fulfillment of history's promise of epic achievement.

By featuring the *new* as legitimate, the *Lusiads* critiques epic tropes. “Boast no more about the subtle Greek / Or the long odyssey of Trojan Aeneas” the poet reproves in his opening invocation: “Enough of the oriental conquests / Of great Alexander and of Trajan; I sing of the famous Portuguese...” (“Cessem do sábio grego e do troiano / As navegações grandes que fizeram; / Cale-se de Alexandre e de Trajano / A fama das vitórias que tiveram; / Que eu canto o peito ilustre lusitano...” [1.3]). An epic of exploration, the *Lusiads* celebrates the creation of new systems of knowledge. The poem's generic critiques drive a vast rhetorical experiment meant to push the epic past earlier epistemological thresholds into new circuits of spatial and narrative travel.²³ The *Lusiads* imposes limitations of historicity on the scope of epic material in order to glorify the events of the past seventy-four years since da Gama reached Calicut. As the poetic narrator and the poem's protagonist makes clear, there is no place in the new global episteme shaped and constituted by European exploration for the “fábulas” (5.89) of antiquity except in the machines of allegory—the Roman tropes that the poem exposes at the end of the poem as empty fantasies.²⁴ Such metacritical

²² In discussing Camões's treatment of the Southwest Monsoon in relation to the trope of the storm in antique epics (in particular, to the cyclone in *Odyssey*, 5.295-96), Murrin, *Trade and Romance* 174-5, writes, “Moreover, what seems exaggeration in the enclosed sea becomes merely accurate description in the open sea, something that gives special point to Camões's claims at the beginning of his poem, namely, that Gama surpassed Aeneas and that the Portuguese generally eclipsed even the fantasies of Boiardo and Ariosto (*L*, 1.3, 11-12). The new reality justifies the old fictional mode of representation. Or rather as Giovanbatista Giraldi Cinzio argued, the purpose of imitation is not to reproduce the original but to make the poem in turn worthy of imitation, in effect to *replace* the model. For modern readers there is also a sense that spectacular events, mostly imagined in the past, here become real.”

²³ Denis Cosgrove, “Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93:4 (Dec., 2003): 852-870, 854: “In the sixteenth century, the scale and wonder of global diversity--physiographic, climatic, bio-tic, ethnographic--overwhelmed the European episteme (Foucault 1970; Greenblatt 1991). Geographers--or, more accurately, cosmographers--approached a much ‘newer’ world than did Von Humboldt, facing for the first time the modern contradiction of universalism's grounding in the very thing it seeks to subordinate or transcend: the centered subject circumscribed by locale.”

²⁴ On the poem's use of Roman gods, see Raman, *Framing “India”*, 32-7 and 59-60, who writes at 59: “Embarking with the pagan gods upon this inaugural voyage to India, *Os Lusíadas* nostalgically merges an imagined past with a desired future in order to confer upon the land of its birth a national unity, a shared sense of purpose, and a colonizing ethos capable of repairing the wounds left by the depredations of a still-vital history.”

gestures, as an apparatus of generic control being applied to a rival body of classics, constitute a caustic critique of the classical form itself.

However, the *Lusiads* also reanimates the same language it censures. As if rising from ashes, the familiar tropes of epic are summoned into a new configuration meant to mirror Portugal's maritime aspirations. The poem celebrates Portuguese endeavors in an idiom of classical precedents. The very act of allusive incorporation and formal gesturing marks the poem *as* epic, set out to both supplant and imitate its generic predecessors.²⁵ The *Lusiads* thus aims to show the variety of means through which the poem stages potentially disabling tactics and then neutralizes them. The mechanisms of critique are various: through the Old Man of Belem's curse and the poet's ambivalent references to Ulysses, the poem critiques hubristic lust after fame and the pursuit of heroic ventures; through the sailor Veloso's critique of erotic romance, the poem rejects amorous tales—only to reincorporate a kind of culminating Lucretian eroticism in the final canto that is imagined as textually and imaginatively productive within the specific literary and political context of the poem. The internal generic critiques suggest the need of the text to pull apart elements of the rhetorical body before reassembling and re-animating them in a newly rehabilitated form. This will be a new age of epic done right.

Beyond redeeming past epic gestures, Camoes's poetic project digests past forms with the expectation that, in these new expressions, it will be imaginatively fertile. The *Lusiads* embodies the tropic inventions of *copia* in the Renaissance and illustrates the sheer profusion of different ways of appropriating texts. Terence Cave, in *The Cornucopian Text*, notes that in the sixteenth century, "Writing is acknowledged to be dependent on what has been written before (particularly in classical antiquity); according to Erasmus, the writer must assert his independence by both multiplying and

²⁵An integral feature of the Renaissance epic is its desire to "overgo" its precedents while at the same time imitating them; see David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 7-8. On *imitatio*, see also Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

fragmenting his models so that he is not trapped by the prestige of a single author.²⁶ *Copia*'s figures of abundance resonate with both the rhetorical trope of linguistic "treasure-troves" and with the materiality of the nascent Portuguese spice trade whose advent the *Lusiads* commemorates.²⁷ The *Lusiads* draws heavily upon chronicles and weaves these through a matrix of classical allusions and experiential knowledge. The poet himself sailed upon and suffered upon Indian waters. Camões, eyewitness to the apex and decline of Portuguese mercantile power, extends Erasmus's rhetorical conceit of *experientia* beyond poetic endeavor to field knowledge itself.²⁸ As Michael Murrin notes, the *Lusiads*'s emphasis on eyewitness accounts resonates with Virgilian poetics.²⁹ This rhetorical dispersal or multiplicity of seed beds allows for numerous imperial and dynastic histories to culminate in one Portuguese historical moment that exults in its triumph over the adversaries of a wider and richer world.

But the *Lusiads*'s utility as a cultural artifact celebrating the rise of new forms of knowledge and power at once anchors it to a particular historical moment and provides the conceptual basis for its own appropriation by later readers. Though the *Lusiads* imagines its own completion as a moment of the fulfillment and exhaustion of old epic tropes, its formal designs fail in trying to alter a set of developments already in motion. The *Lusiads*'s dramatized competition for tropes extends to the poem's posthumous career. It is the very quality of belatedness that allows the poem to be superseded by other, newer, writers and authorities.³⁰ Throughout the *Lusiads*, the poet hints at the demise of its own rhetorical engines. The poem's strange silence about the fate of Magellan—da

²⁶ Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), xi.

²⁷ On Fanshawe's use of treasure-trove imagery, see Martinez, "A Poet of Our Own," 79-80. On the treasure-trove trope more generally, see Fuchs, *Poetics of Piracy*, and Cave, *Cornucopian Text*, 6, 174.

²⁸ Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 113-25, offers a fascinating discussion of experiential knowledge, natural philosophy, and atmospheric marvels in his analysis of Adamstor and waterspouts in Canto 5. On experience and observation, see also Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 159, and on the observing subject in the *Lusiads* and the gulf between ancient and modern knowledge, see Raman, *Framing "India"*, 15.

²⁹ Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 157-164, on importance of visual experience in Camões and Virgil.

³⁰ Cave, *Cornucopian Text*, 71, offers a French analog to the *Lusiads*'s valorization of cultural belatedness: "Although Du Bellay concludes the chapter [in *La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise*, 1549] by speculating that French culture will last all the longer because it has taken so long to mature, it is clear that a sense of change and decay is deeply inscribed in his defence of the French language."

Gama's navigational "heir" and Portuguese hero-in-exile—is strangely resonant with the state of a poem that consumes and cannibalizes other texts. The poet's critique of corrupting Portuguese greed in the *Lusiads* and other writings raises the possibility that Portugal's exalted future will ultimately be forestalled.³¹ At the same time, his laments about meager patronage are thick with anxiety that Portugal's past—its national memory—will be lost as well. In the century after the *Lusiads*'s first publication, Camões's poem was translated, annotated, and censored; his presence as a poet was summoned as the ghost of imperial hopes long dead for new political regimes. The poem's status as a received monument of Portuguese history, a late celebration of its fleeting imperial legacy, exposes the tensions between the various metatextual plays of the poem itself and the historical ironies of its posthumous career. The *Lusiads*'s pervasive emphasis on the dangers of historical forgetting and oblivion eerily anticipates the linguistic negotiations of later translators who claim that the poem itself is a monument in need of "unburying."³²

The first section of the chapter, "Oceanic Epic," explores the literary and spatial implications of the poem's etymological identification of Ulysses as the founder of Lisbon. The poem establishes the Ithacan hero as a forebear in the mode of *translatio imperii* and, alluding to the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, remaps an epic voyage that transcends ancient geographical knowledge to encompass the Atlantic and Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea. The trope of "epic" journey in the *Lusiads* occasions internal reflections on the navigation of narrative space as well as the negotiation of generic conventions. At the same time, the analogy of Ulysses's feats opens up an aperture for a critique of contemporary Portuguese activity in the Indian Ocean in Camões's own time, temporally displaced to Da Gama's earlier journey. The Old Man of Belem censures Da Gama's fleet as they depart from Lisbon's port in language reminiscent of textual traditions surrounding Ulysses's last voyage—most

³¹ Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 131: "The story the poet presents [of the Portuguese in Calicut], cleaned up where possible of embarrassments, nevertheless still signals a series of caveats and misgivings just below the surface."

³² The theme of forgetting ironically echoes the *Lusiads* own admonishment to its readers to "forget" previous epics in the opening canto. On this passage and the theme of forgetting, see Raman, *Framing "India"*, 31.

developed in Dante's *Inferno*, and of the monstrous, emblematic goddess *Fama*. The textual moment belatedly critiques da Gama's exploratory, imperial enterprise. These protests are ideologically neutralized by the captain's religious and chivalric zeal for this quasi-"crusade." Although the Old Man's curse is against the writing of the *Lusiads* itself, his function in the poem is not to disavow the history of Portuguese exploration entirely, but rather to situate it within a larger triumphalist history of Christian imperialism. But the sting of criticism leaves its mark on the text by attaching a tropological value to the origins of Portuguese exploration and trade, a lofty and even uncomfortable inaugurating moment against which later exploits are measured.

The chapter's second section, "Veloso's Tale and Avis Dynastic History," focuses on the formal interdependence of epic and historiography in the *Lusiads* by surveying three major historical episodes in the poem: Vasco da Gama's recitation of Portuguese history (Cantos 3 and 4), Paulo da Gama's ekphrasis on the Portuguese banners while in Calicut (Canto 8), and the embedded chivalric story of the Twelve of England told by the sailor Veloso (Canto 6) during a lull in the voyage. The hero of this "ancestral romance," Magriço, embodies a larger theme of the epic of national "belatedness" that is integral to the poem's engagement with the temporalities of empire and cultural inheritance. The Twelve of England story illustrates and expands the legacy of the Avis dynasty's founding allegiance between João I and John of Gaunt. Chivalric authority in the tale is imaginatively transferred from the Duke of Lancaster's English court to the Lisbon court of João I as twelve Portuguese peers travel to England to defend the honor of twelve ladies. Moreover, Veloso's remarks on the differences between narratives of courtly love and those of martial endeavor extend the poetic narrator and da Gama's modes of generic critique. However, Veloso's argument that this chivalric tale is appropriate for the sailors' consumption is qualified by synchronous narrative event of the underwater council of Roman gods. The poem interpolates the chivalric narrative at the same moment that it emphasizes the vulnerability of the seamen to the

elements—a moment in which no surplus of chivalric honor could aid against the destructive winds. The story, which is ultimately cut short by a storm, celebrates ludic chivalric events as edificatory for explorers at a moment in which the chivalric entertainments of European courts seem most cognitively distant from the sailor's troubles.

Veloso's disavowal of erotic narrative is answered in Canto Nine by the Isle of Love episode, in which a geographically-itinerant *locus amoenus* populated by flirtatious nymphs rewards the sailors for their epic ventures. As scholars such as Michael Murrin and Shankar Raman have noted, the episode serves as an alternative to the events at Calicut recorded in Camões's sources; the Venetian pleasures awaiting the sailors strengthens the textual links between the *Lusiads* and the *Aeneid*, offsetting the potentially "un-epic" mercantile activities at Calicut. I argue in the chapter's third section, "Uncharted Waters and Camões's *locus amoenus*" that the sexual fantasies offered in the Isle of Love episode serve the explicitly political goal of encouraging a royal marriage and thus anticipate the poet's address to King Sebastian in Canto Ten. The poem's implicit promotion of sexual energies and glorification of eroticism links dynastic continuation with textual generativeness. The continuation of the dynastic line parallels the continuation of traditions of national history, which is dependent upon magnanimity in patronage.

A fourth and conclusion section, "Immortalizing Verses," focuses on the poem's final canto and relates the goddess Tethys's vision of Portuguese futurity, especially her portrayal of the explorer Magellan, to Camões's poetic complaints for increased patronage and recognition. The ambiguous figure of Magellan, described in the poem's anticipatory, prophetic mode but long since consigned to the past, embodies historical ironies surrounding the poem's double vision of past and future. Following this concluding vision of Magellan, and the poem's brief narration of da Gama's successful voyage home, the poet engages in a closing address to King Sebastian emphasizing the need for him to seek out those with experience as political counselors. Vasco da Gama, the Old Man

of Belem, Camões himself: all are figures in the *Lusiads* who represent experience—the lived knowledge of ocean voyages, of Eastern outposts, of Portuguese achievement and Portuguese vulnerability. Through their voices and the poem’s own legendary history, *Lusiads* assumes the authority of both a chronicler and eyewitness. Its verses, inscribed on the salt-sprayed manuscript held above the rough waves of the Mekong Delta near the South China Sea, embody the material survival of Portugal’s national memory. These verses would outlive the Portuguese control of the poem’s wide ocean spaces; to Camões’s despair, they would outlive even the sovereign kingdom of Portugal itself.

Oceanic Epic

“As armas e os barões assinalados...” (1.1): the *Lusiads*’s opening lines clearly situate the poem within the epic tradition of the *Aeneid*, recalling Virgil’s *Arma virumque cano*. The *Lusiads* analogizes da Gama both with Aeneas, the figure of Roman imperial expansion, and Ulysses, the Greek victor of Troy, even as it claims to supplant Homeric and Virgilian epics on the basis of both content and veracity. The poem invites its readers to imagine the Portuguese as latter-day Romans, subduing “Eastern” cultures, relating stories of their victories, chasing Venus’s nymphs through a *locus amoenus*. The Roman gods who function as part of the poem’s allegorical structure emphasize that the Portuguese are the imperial heirs of Rome: the hostile Bacchus “saw heaven fully resolved / To make of Lisbon a second Rome” (6.7). Venus, the champion of Aeneas, intercedes with the gods on behalf of the Portuguese due to their “resurrection” of Roman qualities. In her voice, Camões links the Portuguese language to Rome’s Latin.

Sustentava contra ele Vénus bela,

Afeiçoada à gente lusitana

Por quantas qualidades via nela

Da antiga, tão amada, sua romana:
Nos fortes corações, na grande estrela,
Que mostraram na terra tingitana,
E na língua, na qual quando imagina,
Com pouca corrupção crê que é a latina.

Against him [i.e., Bacchus] spoke the lovely Venus,
Favouring the people of Portugal
For her love of the Roman virtue
She saw resurrected in them;
In their stout hearts, in the star
Which shone bright above Ceuta,
In the language which an inventive mind
Could mistake for Latin, passably declined. (1.33)

Drawing on etymological theories of Renaissance philologists, Camões argues that Portuguese are the ethical *and* linguistic heirs to the Romans—heirs who ultimately supersede them.³³

Underlying Camões’s adoption and dismissal of the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* is his investment in the epic form’s capacity to preserve the historical “truth.” Camões’s epic celebrates events less than a century old; he embeds the story of recent exploration and expansionism into Portuguese national history. The *Lusiads* vaunts its own historicity at the expense also of other *Rinascimento* epics.

The poem’s invocation censures antique epics as fraught with fabular and formal excess and likewise

³³ See João de Barros’s sixteenth-century Portuguese grammar, *Grammatica da lingua portuguesa com os mandamentos da santa mãe igreja* (“Grammar of the Portuguese language with the commandments of Holy Mother Church”) (1539), discussed with de Barros’s other grammatical and didactic works in C. R. Boxer, *João De Barros, Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi: Concept, 1981), 82-96. Boxer notes that, according to the *Grammatica*, its author intended it in part for the edifications of converts to Christianity in Portugal’s overseas ventures, and that “Like other Romance humanists, Barros proved to his own satisfaction that his native tongue was closest of all to Latin, and thus inherently superior to the others” (88-9). Boxer also discusses the role of language in imperial power in António de Nebrija and Barros (88).

disparages both the *Orlando Innamorato* and *Orlando Furioso* as “Fantásticas, fingidas, mentirosas” (“fantastical, feigning, lying” 1.11, translation mine):

As verdadeiras vossas são tamanhas
Que excedem as sonhadas, fabulosas,
Que excedem Rodamonte e o vão Rugeiro,
E Orlando, inda que fora verdadeiro.

Historic deeds such as theirs
Transcend fables, and would eclipse
Boiardo’s Orlando, and Ariosto’s too,
Even if all they wrote of him were true. (1.11)

According to the *Lusiads*, all preceding epics are ahistorical, and therefore without pedagogical value—ultimately, poor material for epic treatment. History, the poet argues, spurs men to great deeds with greater force than myth. The *Lusiads*’ opening canto thus anticipates the imperial, pedagogical function that historical texts will play within the epic and corresponds with da Gama’s own rhetoric in his recitation to the Malindians:

Let them fantasize, of winds leaping
From wine-skins, and of amorous Calypsos;
Harpies who foul their own banquets;
Pilgrimages to the underworld... (5.89)

Rather than abandoning these epic precedents in Homer, Virgil, Boiardo, and Ariosto, however, the poem reconfigures old tropes into an apparatus that models classical engagement and adapts them to the particular geographical and cognitive demands of the Portuguese narrative.

Camões dramatizes his authority as an epic poet not only by citing his textual precedents, but also by representing himself as a sailor-poet who adds worldly experience to received history. The poem's close identification of Camões and da Gama as sailors, storytellers, and political agents is significant not only for the poem's treatment of the economy of patronage, as we shall see later in the chapter, but also for its investment in scientific discovery and material culture.³⁴ The *Lusiads* reveals the disciplines of cartography and natural philosophy as facets of imperial knowledge which facilitate and even legitimize Portuguese mercantile and political ventures abroad. The lyrical monuments of Camões's epic verse—like da Gama's rhetoric of "naked purity" (5.89)—perform the work of diplomacy and conquest more effectively than the impotent boasts of Homeric fantasies. The two voices of the poet and hero overlap in da Gama's experiential meta-narratives, in which we can hear the echoes of Camões's own disavowal of antique epics. In Canto Five, Vasco da Gama, after regaling the Malindian king with the entire history of Portugal, calls into question not only the geographical extent of these epic journeys but their very historicity:

Julgas agora, Rei, se houve no mundo
Gentes que tais caminhos cometessem.
Crês tu que tanto Eneias e o facundo
Ulisses pelo mundo se estendessem?
Ousou algum a ver do mar profundo,
Por mais versos que dele se escrevessem,
Do que eu vi, a poder de esforço e de arte,
E do que inda hei-de ver, a oitava parte?

³⁴ On Vasco da Gama as a historical figure, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and A. R. Disney and Emily Booth, eds., *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Do you think, O King, the world contained
Men who would tackle such a journey?
Do you imagine that Aeneas and subtle
Ulysses ever ventured so far?
Did either of them dare to embark on
Actual oceans? For all the poetry
Written about them, did they see a fraction
Of what I know through strategy and action? (5.86)

In contrast, da Gama presents his own recitation of Portuguese history as integral to the kingdom's empire-making project: "A verdade que eu conto, nua e pura, / Vence toda grandíloca escritura!" ("The truth I recount, naked and pure/Vanquishes all grandiloquent writing!" [5.89, translation mine]). Like Aeneas and Ulysses, da Gama is an epic storyteller of his nation's history and of his own adventures. Da Gama's portrayal as a master rhetorician and storyteller in the mold of Ulysses calls into question his "truth"—his manipulation of historical and political narratives—and reflects the control over history writing within the structures of imperial power. By claiming a typological relationship with both the Trojans (and the Dardanus-descended Romans) *and* the Greeks, the *Lusiads* foregrounds the competing epic genealogies of supremacy and resistance.³⁵ Not only does da Gama's capacity for subtlety reflect that of Ulysses, but the Greek hero's final exploit, as related by Dante, strikingly resonates with da Gama's pursuits. The Portuguese prove to be not only new Romans, but new Greeks and Argonauts as well.

An oceanic epic, the *Lusiads* disavows the *Odyssey*, one of its most integral source-texts and thus by extension its hero Ulysses, the epic founder of its ascendant royal city, Lisbon, while

³⁵ Quint, *Epic and Empire*.

underhandedly appropriating the epic tradition in which the *Odyssey* occupies prime place.³⁶ As a “second Rome,” Lisbon is both the city of Ulysses (whose destruction of Troy forced the Trojan Aeneas to flee) and of Aeneas himself. This supersaturation of foundation narratives and tropes speaks to figural accretion of textual traditions as the classical past is accommodated to the medieval chronicle history of Portugal. Yet Camões’s and da Gama’s insistence on the superiority of Portuguese historicity over Greek “fable” destabilizes the epic genealogies of both text and nation in the process of creating them.

The *Lusiads*’s criticism of the *Odyssey* qualifies the etymological legend of foundations which identifies Ulysses as the founder of Lisbon. Repeatedly the *Lusiads* invokes the linkage between Ulysses and Lisbon as a privileged part of the national histories recounted in the poem. Da Gama alludes to Ulysses during his narration of the Siege of Lisbon (1147), a seminal moment in Portugal’s national history and the political origin of its independence as a sovereign kingdom: “Then you, most noble Lisbon, princess / Without peer among the world’s cities, / Named for her founder, the coiner of words / Through whose cunning Troy was burned” (“E tu, nobre Lisboa, que no mundo / Fàcilmente das outras és princesa, / Que edificada foste do facundo, / Por cujo engano foi Dardânia acesa”[3.57]). In Canto Eight, Ulysses is described near the beginning of the grand narrative of Portuguese history glossed from tapestries for the Indian Catedral: “This is Ulysses; the

³⁶ For Erich Auerbach, the *Lusiads* is “the great epic of the ocean” and “the most beautiful epic of the Iberian Peninsula.” Erich Auerbach, *Introduction to Romance Languages and Literature* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), 185, quoted in George Monteiro, “Camões’s *Os Lusíadas*: The First Modern Epic” in *The Cambridge Companion to Epic*, ed. Catherine Bates (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 119-132, 119. See also Steven Mentz, “Toward a Blue Cultural Studies: The Sea, Maritime Culture, and Early Modern English Literature,” *Literature Compass* 6.5 (2009): 997-1010, who describes new critical “maritime perspective [that] does not view the oceans simply as bodies to be crossed, but as subjects in themselves” (997). Demetrius Chalcocondyles’s *editio princeps* of Homer was published in Florence in 1488. On Bruni’s translation of Homer, see Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 9-10. For the *Odyssey* in the Renaissance more broadly, see Sarah Phillips Van der Laan, “‘What virtue and wisdom can do’: Homer’s ‘Odyssey’ in the Renaissance imagination” Unpublished Dissertation. (Yale University, 2008). Cross-generic adaptations of the *Odyssey* were fashioned in Iberia; see, for example, Joseph V. Ricapito, “Classicality in the Spanish Golden Age: Gonzalo Pérez’s Translation of *La Ulyxsea* and the Origin of the Spanish Picaresque Novel” in *The Picaresque: A Symposium on the Rogue’s Tale*, edited by Carmen Benito-Vessels and Michael O. Zappala (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994): 36-56.

altar is sacred / To the goddess who taught him eloquence / If there in Asia he burned great Troy, / Here in Europe he founded fair Lisbon” (“Ulisses é o que faz a santa casa / À deusa que lhe da lingual facunda; / Que se lá na Ásia Tróia insigne abrasa, / Cá na Europa Lisboa ingente funda” [8.5]).³⁷ In both moments, Ulysses’ eloquence is linked to his role in the destruction of Troy. Lisbon (like Rome) rises from the ashes of Illium, from the long journeys of its enemy whose restless oars took him to the Far West, past the Pillars of Hercules, to Lusitania. Here, the tropes of foundation intersect with those of ending and defeat. In the words of Michel Serres, “The origin refers to another origin, the beginning demands a beginning...The book of the foundation of the city begins with the destruction of the city.”³⁸ Lisbon’s foundation encompasses the *longue durée* of Trojan history, and its ascendancy serves as the teleological end-point of the cycle of imperial destruction and conquest inaugurated by the Argonauts’s burning of Troy.³⁹ All these empires are linked through *translatio imperii*, embedded and preserved within each other in a *mis-en-abyme* structure: Roman within Portuguese, Trojan within Roman, each eastern horizon the vanishing point of a western victor. The *Lusiads*’s multiplicity of epic precedents thus centralizes the Odyssean foundations ingrained in its very etymologies by linking all these imperial fantasies of origins through *translatio*, and by translating them into the political vernacular of the Lusitanians.

The *Lusiads* roots its epic foundations in the overdetermined figure of Ulysses, whose journey was assigned multiple allegorical significances in Renaissance exegesis.⁴⁰ Ulysses’s voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules bears differing valences in the variant traditions of Neoplatonic and

³⁷ *Lusiads*, ed. White, 235 n. 59. See also George Monteiro, “Camões’s *Os Lusíadas*,” 122: “In settling on Gama, Camões is able to avail himself of the journey away from and return to home that was employed in the earlier epics, most notably the *Odyssey*. In doing so, he forgoes the theme of the founding of the city—Virgil’s theme—that would have seemed to be an attractive choice, as legend has it that it was Ulysses who founded the city of Lisbon (from its old Greek name, Olissipo).”

³⁸ Michel Serres, *Rome: The Book of Foundations*, trans. Felicia McCarren (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 38.

³⁹ On the Renaissance-era political symbolism of the Argonauts, see Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 17-19 and 146-161.

⁴⁰ See Piero Boitani, *The Shadow of Ulysses: Figures of a Myth*, trans. Anita Weston (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) and W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme: A Study of the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954).

Renaissance allegoresis. In sixteenth-century commentary Ulysses is both the cunning and victorious architect of Troy's demise and the reckless overreacher who imperils his crew and profanely challenges the bounds of human knowledge. The "wise Greek," the sophist who tricks Ajax, and the adventurer who, in Dante, dubiously sails to the Far West through the Pillars of Hercules, sits uneasily at the font of Portugal's lineage.⁴¹ Dante's *Inferno* proved an important intertext for Renaissance-era references to Ulysses.⁴² In *Inferno* 26, Dante and Virgil encounter Ulysses and Diomedes burning in a single, bifurcated flame. After listing Ulysses's offenses, Virgil, who had roundly condemned the Ithacan in his *Aeneid*, confronts Ulysses in a famously ambiguous scene which encompasses fraught issues of poetic and textual authority. Dante also describes the ultimate fate of Ulysses, who sails beyond the Pillars of Hercules—the bounds of the known world—before his final shipwreck and death.⁴³ As Ronald Martinez writes, "the ambivalence Dante expresses for Ulysses did not disappear. The Renaissance, which knew and praised the prudent and durable stoic Ulysses, as well as the Neoplatonic Ulysses, who exemplified the return of the soul to its home, still hesitated before the wily and crafty Ulysses, master of dangerous strategems and virtuoso of lies..."⁴⁴ The *Lusiads*'s identification of Ulysses as a Portuguese foundation figure captures the poem's intent as a narrative that both records and reinforces imperial power. One central paradox of the *Lusiads* is that it stages a humanist interrogation of the nature of myth while legitimizing its own capacity to

⁴¹ On Ajax, see *Lusiads*, ed. White, 254 n. 201.

⁴² On fifteenth and sixteenth century commentaries on Dante's *Commedia*, which included works by Andreu Febrer and Enrique de Villena, see Julian M. Weiss, "Dante Alighieri," in *Medieval Iberia*, ed. E. Michael Gerli and Samuel G. Armistead (New York: Routledge, 2003), 276-7, and Marina Brownlee, "Dante in Spain," in *Dante Encyclopedia*, ed. Richard H. Lansing, et. al. (New York: Garland, 2000) 279-283.

⁴³ On Ulysses in the *Inferno*, see Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Volume 1*, ed. and trans. Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), Canto 26, 398-415 and 571-3. On *Inferno* 26, see also Gabriel Pihás, "Dante's Ulysses: Stoic and Scholastic Models of the Literary Reader's Curiosity and *Inferno* 26," *Dante Studies* 121 (2003): 1-24; Lawrence Warner, "Dante's Ulysses and the Erotics of Crusading," *Dante Studies* 116 (1998): 65-93; Teodolinda Barolini, "Dante's Ulysses: Narrative and Transgression," in *Dante: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Amilcare A. Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 113-32; Piero Boitani, "Beyond the Sunset: Dante's Ulysses in Another World," *Lectura Dantis* 9 (Fall 1991): 34-53.

⁴⁴ Martinez, "Two Odysseys: Rinaldo's Po Journey and the Poet's Homecoming in the *Orlando furioso*" in *Renaissance Transactions*, ed. Finucci, 21.

create false narratives.⁴⁵ On the one hand, the *Lusiads* offers critical perspectives on epic history as part of its disavowal of the historicity of earlier epics. However, da Gama's use of historical narratives to impress Eastern rulers is followed by his misleading self-representation of the goals of the Portuguese imperial project. Da Gama's subtlety demonstrates that his narrative and rhetorical strategies encompass the capacity for lies. However, these "untruths" are ultimately sanctioned by the ends-based providential structure of the poem.

The *Lusiads*' ambivalent treatment of Ulysses also animates the Old Man of Belém episode, which serves as a capstone to da Gama's history and transition into his account of the voyage to India (4.94-104).⁴⁶ Standing on the shores of the Tagus as the sailors prepare to depart, the Old Man condemns their pursuit of fame and issues a curse against the commemoration of these adventures: "O pride of power! O futile lust / For that vanity known as fame! / That hollow conceit which puffs itself up / And which popular cant calls honour! ("Ó glória de mandar! ó vã cobiça / Desta vaidade a quem chamamos fama! / Ó fraudulento gosto que se atixa / Cũa aura popular que honra se chama!" [4.95]).⁴⁷ The historical setting here is crucial: Lisbon is etymologically associated in the *Lusiads* with the hero of the *Odyssey*; and da Gama's ships depart from "Ulysses' famous harbor" (4.84). The Old Man's condemnation of da Gama's fleet as it attempts to set a new course in uncharted waters echoes the more negative representations of Ulysses's last voyage.

The *Lusiads* grapples with how the pursuit of fame operates within the corporate, nationalist pursuits of the epic genre as it interrogates the efficacy of poetic commemoration as an imperial tool. The Old Man of Belem turns the poem's critique of ancient epic against itself: it curses the

⁴⁵ Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 115-117.

⁴⁶ Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 123: "[Camões] own experience in the East gave him a critical view of Portuguese activity, which he saw as corrupt."

⁴⁷ The episode of the Old Man is a much-commented one in Camonian criticism. For one lucid account of his function in the poem, see Raman, *Framing India*, 82, who writes, "His condemnation of Vasco da Gama's voyage is directed at it as a figure of man's overreaching desire ("altos desejos") that drives him beyond the bounds of the Mediterranean in search of India, and "moves" him to transgress the limits of the known and the proper." Ruth MacKay, *The Baker Who Pretended to Be King of Portugal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 239 n.73 notes an analogous figure in Luís de Góngora's first "Soledad," dating from around 1610.

historian's project and thus ostensibly disavows Camões's own poem by questioning both the veracity and ethical subtext of the epic project. Like *Orlando Furioso*, Canto 34, this episode in the *Lusiads* calls into doubt the self-interestedness of all epic writing and the accessibility of all historical truth. The allure of fame and the anticipation of imperial processions are bound up with the creation of narrative: "What visions of kingdoms and gold-mines / Will you guide them to infallibly? / What fame do you promise them? What stories? / What conquests and processions? What glories? ("Que promessas de reinos e de minas / De ouro, que lhe farás tão facilmente? / Que famas lhe prometerás? que histórias? / Que triunfos? que palmas? Que vitórias?" [4.97]). The Old Man curses the sailors with obscurity, yet he was created by Camões as part of an epic poem celebrating these events.⁴⁸ The world-weary Old Man is himself proximate to the other narrative agents in the poem, and is particularly linked to Camões himself and to the storyteller da Gama through a pervasive emphasis on truth and experience as part of historical authority: "So we heard him clearly from the sea, / With a wisdom only *experience* could impart, / He uttered these words from a much-trying heart" ("Que nós no mar ouvimos claramente, / Cum saber só de experiências feito, Tais palavras tirou do experto peito"[4.94], emphasis mine).⁴⁹

As an imperial victor, Ulysses is cursed with itinerancy, with the loss of ships and comrades, with deferred homecoming. It is this last concern for the domestic, both familial and national, which drives the Old Man's objections: "You wreck all peace of soul and body, / You promote separation and adultery; / Subtly, manifestly, you consume / The wealth of kingdoms and empires?" ("Dura inquietação de alma e da vida, / Fonte de desemparos e adultérios, / Sagaz consumidora conhecida / De fazendas, de reinos e de impérios!" [4.96]). Da Gama's voyage threatens corporate

⁴⁸ "And may no solemn chronicler, / No sweet harpist nor eloquent poet / Commend your deeds and celebrate your fame, / But let your folly vanish with your name!" (4.102) / "Nunca juízo algum, alto e profundo, / Nem cítara sonora ou vivo engenho / Te dê por isso fama nem memória, / Mas contigo se acabe o nome e glória!"

⁴⁹ On the epic sources of the Old Man of Belém, see Pierce, ed., *Os Lusíadas*, 106 n. 1: "This creation recalls both the counsellor Nestor and the prophetess Cassandra of the Trojan War, and passages from Appollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* (I), and Valerius Flaccus' poem of the same name."

failure on a national level, and thus disrupts the epic conflation of hero and nation: “To what new catastrophes do you plan / To drag this kingdom and these people? / What perils, what deaths have you in store / Under what magniloquent title?” (“A que novos desastres determinas / De levar estes Reinos e esta gente? / Que perigos, que mortes lhe destinas / Debaxo dalgum nome preminente?” [4.97]). The Old Man argues that their departure leaves Portugal vulnerable: “[So that] history will flatter you...you ignore the enemy at the gate” (“Deixas criar às portas o inimigo / Por ires buscar outro de tão longe” [4.101]). He ultimately curses the Portuguese, not with failure, but with obscurity, in response to their undue ambition for fame. The Old Man’s condemnation of pride and rebellious ambition includes references to both Prometheus and Icharus, yet the opening of the next canto contains a metaphor of flight, echoing both the “wings as oars” imagery of the *Aeneid* and the story of Icharus: “As the honourable old man was uttering / These words, we spread our wings / To the serene and tranquil breezes...” (“Estas sentenças tais o velho honrado / Vociferando estava, quando abrimos / As assas ao sereno e sossegado Vento...” [5.1]).⁵⁰

From the perspective of hindsight, the perceived threat to their homeland—this vision of Lisbon as herself potentially imperiled—seems obliquely directed at King Sebastian himself.⁵¹ Later readers of the *Lusiads*, one speculates, could not read this passage without some foreboding sense of irony. It was King Sebastian’s fanatical pursuit of his crusading ambitions, against the counsel of both his uncle Philip II of Spain and his so-called enemy, the Moroccan Sultan Abd Al-Malik, that led to his death and massive Portuguese losses at the Battle of Alcazarquivir. It was said that in the years leading up to the battle, Sebastian had ordered his kingly ancestors to be exhumed, so that he could swear to their corpses that he would “restore Portugal’s glory.”⁵² The king’s obsession with the

⁵⁰ “Estas sentenças tais o velho honrado / Vociferando estava, quando abrimos / As assas (wings) ao sereno e sossegado / vento...” (5.1)

⁵¹ MacKay, *The Baker Who Pretended to Be King of Portugal*, 23, also points out the relevance of this passage to Sebastian’s venture.

⁵² MacKay, *The Baker Who Pretended to Be King of Portugal*, 8.

Reconquista's medieval legacy informs the poem's own impassioned rhetoric of crusade yet sits uncomfortably with the poem's admonitions to heed political counsel, reiterated in the poem's concluding verses addressed to Sebastian himself. Read against the extratextual spectacle of Sebastian's exhumations, the poem can be seen as promoting King Manuel and da Gama's "wise" uses of national history to inspire and guide the pursuit of the Portuguese trade empire.

The *Lusiads* stages the potentially disabling critique of da Gama's voyage only to neutralize objections to it. It does so through both historical procedures and generic negotiations. The poem emphasizes the religious dimensions of da Gama's exploits by situating them within a crusade context in a manner which echoes fifteenth-century Iberian documentation of geographical exploration and papal diplomacy setting maritime boundaries. Secondly, the *Lusiads* reinscribes the narrative function of the journey within epic as productive rather than digressive—an idea that will be explored in more depth in the next section. The Old Man's censure divorces da Gama's exploration from the Christian imperialism of the Iberian Reconquest and Holy Land crusade described in Cantos 3 and 4; in his eyes da Gama's journey is seen as nationalist deviance rather than continuation. The Old Man's remedy for this moral degeneracy is to redirect Portuguese national energies towards crusading (4.100-101) and his focus on crusade as the proper sphere for the achievement of fame and honor implicitly links the Manueline era to the kingdom's *Reconquista* efforts. The Portuguese story of national foundation is based on the mechanisms of fame, which drew foreign crusaders and heroes to the Tagus's shores.⁵³ The *Lusiads* seeks to override the Old Man's objections by clearly situating da Gama's journey within a history of national crusade leading to global, Christian domination and thus frames all of the *Lusiads* as an episode in an eschatological

⁵³ According to the *Lusiads*, the pursuit of fame brought Portugal's first royal founder Henrique to Lusitania and sustained the country's territorial re-conquests (3.23-25). Describing the Castilian king Alfonso's Iberian crusades, da Gama relates: "The story of these exploits flew / From Gibraltar to the Caspian mountains, / And many knights came flocking in their pride, / All ready to be martyred at his side" (3.23). Despite being drawn towards Iberia because of the spread of fame, these knights, according to da Gama, "burned, more than for fame, / With an inward love of the Faith" ("E com um amor intrínscico acendidos / Da Fé, mais que das honras populares" [3.24]). Fame inspires, but cannot be an end in itself.

Christian history. When fame is pursued for its own sake, when adventures jeopardize national safety, “epic” ambitions fall short of honor; yet Camões provides a way of accommodating both the Portuguese past and its imperial destiny within an epic narrative whose crux is in the era of Manueline exploration.⁵⁴

The opposing voice of the Old Man of Belem is fundamentally generational—the poem is haunted by its own past, its own foundational crusading energies. His condemnation of the Portuguese venture exposes a perceived breach in the ethical frameworks underlying the writing of national history—those of the self-aggrandizing pursuit of fame and those of corporate religious war. The Old Man represents a national teleology framed by an origin in crusading ventures that culminates in da Gama’s journey. The *Lusiads* features his navigational feats as integral to (rather than in opposition with) larger “crusading” agendas both in the Iberian Atlantic and in more distant lands and waters. Camões often describes the centrality of crusade to Portuguese history and current policy. In the midst of a poem that identifies Lisbon as an imperial “center” of the globe, the poet portrays a conservative Christian worldview at whose center is Jerusalem’s Holy Sepulchre. The opposition between the imperial pursuits of the explorers and the crusading overtones of the poem creates a tension between two competing cartographic models and two self-representations of royal policy. The Odyssean echoes of delayed *nostos* contribute to the inherent fulfillment of the poem’s ending as well as its sense of future iteration. The successful completion of da Gama’s journey is the beginning, rather than the end, of a much larger imperial venture. This venture will both recall past geographies of power in the world, and decisively rewrite them for the generations to come.

The imperial heritage of classical Rome looks both westward (through *translatio*) and eastward throughout the narrative arc of the *Lusiads*. The Portuguese, who embody the qualities of Trojan, Greek, and Roman heroes, are heirs of a global *imperium*, a final “stop” of the procession of

⁵⁴ Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 151, on the *Lusiads*’s use of crusading themes in regards to its epic genre.

translatio imperii in the Far West.⁵⁵ The conception of temporal linearity intersects with that of geographic linearity—the steady movement of imperial *translatio* westward or exploration eastward. The *Lusiads* rhetorically links the “Orient”—here primarily identified as the Indian subcontinent and maritime South-East Asia region—to a classical past through the device of presiding Roman deities, who hold a council on the future of the East (1.20). Though the Portuguese sail in maritime regions never traversed by historical Romans—as Bacchus says, “Look how they dare to plough oceans / Where even the Romans never ventured; / Behold the ways they trespass on your realm, / Breaking your laws wherever they turn their helm” (6.30)—the poem finds itself unable to imagine the east in terms other than those of its classical precedent and temporal antecedents. In the *Lusiads*, the Orient has already been colonized by the pantheon of Roman deities, and specifically by Bacchus. As he tells the underwater council in Canto 6, “You all remember, when I conquered / The lands of India in the Orient, / What honours and eternal fame I won? / Now with these interlopers, / all’s undone” (6.32). The Portuguese displacement of Bacchus is thus the displacement of one imperial victor over another. Moreover, the Portuguese destiny to dominate the East is encapsulated in the etymology of their Latin name as “sons of Lusus” (6.26). Portugal’s etymological foundation-figure is Lusus, son of Bacchus, whose paternity suggests that the Far West is the progeny of a decadent Far East (allegorized in the figure of Bacchus), which jealously disavows its own stock. Conveniently, domination of the East is a Portuguese birthright.⁵⁶ Bacchus, the enemy of the Portuguese voyagers, acknowledges as much to the council of gods, in a prophecy that anticipates Portugal’s oceanic trade dominance: “Consider how this wretched tribe / Named after one of my former vassals, / Has found the courage to dominate / You, me, and the entire world” (6.30). Yet Bacchus himself is described as being “Theban-born” (9.19), and thus links the Portuguese with

⁵⁵ Barbara Fuchs argues that the very idea of empire in the early modern period is indebted to Roman political thought: “Imperium Studies: Theorizing Early Modern Expansion,” in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern*, eds. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 71-90.

⁵⁶ *Lusiads*, ed. White, 230 n. 10 and 246 n. 125, as well as 1.39, 7.77, and 8.2-4 in text.

even earlier classical foundations. The culmination of European *translatio* westward is an eastern journey of origins.⁵⁷

As the Portuguese traverse the boundaries of Christian and pagan worlds, their journey encompasses a dynamic and vexed temporality which cuts across time and space. Their own occidental cultural and linguistic lineage, as latter-day Romans, opposes that of an East which embodies a primordial heredity predating their own national foundation. In the *Lusiads*, cartographic sphericity bridges the classical and contemporary worlds and gives shape to global trade networks at the same time that it offers a means of conceptualizing the epic genealogies and temporal relationships of empires linked by *translatio*. As when Camões celebrates the transoceanic span of imperial domains, “You, mighty King, on whose India / The new-born sun directs his first beam, / Shines on your palace in mid-hemisphere, / And casts his last ray on the Brazils” (1.8.1-4), the conception of space here is global. East and West are cartographically, temporally, and politically enfolded upon each other.⁵⁸ Despite the cartographic demarcations of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) and the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529), the exact place where this threshold exists was, in practice at least, indistinct. Determining longitude was an imperfect science despite its use in the grammar of sovereign possession.

Moreover, a map curled around a sphere loses its peripheries. Portugal occupies a peculiar place within the imperial cartographies the poem imagines, as vector of space and time at which opposing systems of knowledge intersect. Portugal’s privileged place in the Far West, at the distant

⁵⁷ On this East/West binary, see Raman, *Framing “India”*, John Michael Archer, *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); and Kisa Kaaren Bailey, Lindsay Diggelmann and Kim M. Phillips, eds., *Old Worlds, New Worlds: European Cultural Encounters, c.1000-c.1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

⁵⁸ On the imprecision of longitude, see Raman, *Framing “India”*, 7, who excerpts a following passage from Hakluyt’s *Voyages and Discoveries* (1.220), itself a quote of the words of Robert Thorne, an English merchant in Seville, written in 1527: “this Card, though little, containeth the universall whole world betwixt two collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part descendeth perpendicular upon the 175 degree, & the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree...And that which is without the two said transversall lines, is only to shew how the Orientall part is joined with the Occident, and the Occident with Orient.”

peripheries of a classical or Christian world centered on Rome or Jerusalem, is reimagined in the new worldview of the Portuguese maritime empire. The *Lusiads* both invokes Portugal's conventional place as a *finis terra* at the occidental margins of the world and exposes it as an ineffectual and outmoded trope. Within the poem's fantasy of Portuguese imperialism, this cartographic placement shifts so that Lisbon occupies a central spatial, as well as discursive, site. Camões addresses the king, invoking a global vista that echoes the goddess Tethy's prophecy of Portuguese maritime apotheosis: the sun rises on Portugal's eastern outposts, "Shines on your palace in mid-hemisphere," and sets in the Atlantic waters that wash onto Brazil's shores. Sunrise and sunset bind east and west in a unifying temporal gesture that brings together worlds old and new. The poem's epic procedures negotiate this collision of incommensurate cartographic models (Lisbon as an exceptional periphery versus Lisbon as an imperial center) to dramatize da Gama's voyage as an epistemic turning-point. As David Quint writes in *Epic and Empire*,

A reference to Magellan in the following stanza, which concludes Jupiter's prophecy...suggests that the final goal of the steady eastward expansion is world empire, an empire that circumnavigates the globe, on which the sun never sets. The completion of this circle implies, in fact, a kind of timeless cessation of history itself, the ultimate dream of imperial power. With this goal, epic linearity—the sequential linking of events—becomes a teleology: all events are led, or dictated, by an end that is their cause.⁵⁹

However, the global vision that encompasses Portugal's trade empire sees that oceanic waterways are linked and seas merge, and that the network of trade routes that course through these are fluid and iterative, rather than static and monumental. Cartographic centrality can be redrawn in a world of global imperial competition, and trade dominance superseded.

⁵⁹ Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 33.

Camões appropriates and adapts the many conventions of the epic form in the *Lusiads*, among which is the inclusion of embedded narrative. The poem seeks to achieve a high epic register from the materials of Portuguese chronicle history, most especially events leading up to the rise of the Avis dynasty, especially the Battle of Aljubarrota. Through the intrusions of memory, oratory, and story-telling, the narrative spaces that unfold against the grain of chronology develop the text's complex relationship with Portugal's historical past. The *Lusiads* is, at its heart, an epic about spatial linearity, the attempt to discover the most direct route from Portugal to India. However, this epic linearity is not wholly mirrored in the text's structure—the narrative meanders chronologically even if its geographical journey is (in intention) direct.⁶⁰ Embedded narrative and storytelling, as formal features of epic, oppose this linearity, in part to accommodate the convention of beginning *in medias res*. As an oceanic epic, the *Lusiads*'s form embodies a tension between cartographic linearity and the phenomenology of navigation, its multidirectional movement along the sea-surface. Like its predecessors the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, the *Lusiads* negotiates the generic implications of this oceanic non-linearity, which approximates at times the itinerancy of romance. Like other Renaissance epics, the *Lusiads* can be seen as engaging in “generic play” that questions and troubles the conventions of the epic form.⁶¹ The *Lusiads* openly resists the siren song of romance, yet it contains, redirects, and ultimately incorporates its digressive allures and erotic energies to create its sublime vision of global empire.

⁶⁰ François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, “Essai sur la poésie épique,” in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 8 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1877), 336, cited in Cochran, *Twilight of the Literary*, 116: “But the greatest of all the defects of this poem is the scarce connection that governs [*le peu de liaison qui règne*] in all its parts; it resembles the voyage that is its subject.”

⁶¹ See Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (New York: Routledge, 2004), esp. 66-68, 66; David Quint, *Epic and Empire*; and Colin Burrow, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

The *Lusiads*'s historical consciousness links the past, present and future by including embedded narratives that reconfigure Avis dynastic history as part of an imperial teleology.⁶² The poem incorporates narratives drawn from medieval royal chronicles for da Gama's recitation of Portuguese history, placing fifteenth-century Portuguese exploration within a larger, dynastic history stretching from Portugal's origins and royal foundations to its future maritime explorations.⁶³ Iterations of Portuguese history, selectively narrated to convey their naval destiny, are central to the poem's project of empire-building. As in older epics, especially the *Aeneid*, the rhetorical use of the past to enthrall, to instruct, and to conquer, is integral to the overall structure and meaning of the text, even if it disrupts its narrative chronology.⁶⁴ The poem's dynamic ocean spaces, which are "marked" by classical precedents, serve as both a metaphor and a setting for the poem's narrative linkage of temporality and spatiality.

Several moments in the *Lusiads* dramatize the recitation of national history. The first, and most expansive, is the grand narrative which da Gama tells the Malindian king in Cantos 3 and 4, which knowingly echoes Aeneas's and Odysseus's acts of storytelling.⁶⁵ The narrative arc of da Gama's history begins with the mythic foundations of Portugal and culminates in the reign of Manuel I. This meta-story includes a poetic invocation to the Muse Calliope and a geographical survey of Europe in the mode of a universal history.⁶⁶ The description of the continent's kingdoms and boundaries emphasizes the process of *translatio imperii* as it describes a Europe in decline. In the

⁶² Andrew Fichter, *Poets Historical: Dynastic Epic in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1: "Their common theme is the rise of the *imperium*, the noble house, race, or nation to which the poet professes allegiance. To this subject the dynastic poet imports the narrative strategy established by Virgil in the *Aeneid* (*Aen.*): action is set in the period of the historical or quasi-historical past during which the struggle for the formation of *imperium*, the laying of geographical, genealogical, cultural, and moral foundations, takes place."

⁶³ On Camões's sources for both Portuguese history and for accounts of eastern travel, see Raman, *Framing "India"*, 30 and Murin, *Trade and Romance*, 124-5.

⁶⁴ Raman, *Framing "India"*, 30, on the "mutual dependence of epic and historiography as generic forms."

⁶⁵ Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 113: "In the fifth canto of the *Lusiads*, Vasco da Gama is the guest of the African king of Melinde on the east coast of Africa. He narrates the story up to this point of the voyage from Portugal: Camões's obvious models are Odysseus telling his adventures to Alcinoüs in Phaeacia and Aeneas recounting his wanderings to Dido in Carthage."

⁶⁶ See also *Aeneid*, ix. 525.

voice of his hero da Gama, the poet describes “the turbulent Aegean Sea / Where warrior Greeks once held sway, / But of triumphant Troy in all her glory / The sailor sees only a memory” (“e o mar que fero e horrendo / Viu dos Gregos o irado senhorio, / Onde agora de Troia triunfante / Não vê mais que a memória o navegante” [3.7]). Byzantium, he laments, has fallen to the Turks “To the great shame of Constantine the Great!” (“Boa injúria do grande Constantino” (3.12), and is no longer the land of Greeks “Touching the sublime in hexameters, / Not less inspired in war than in letters” (“clara Grécia, o Céu penetras, / E não menos por armas que por letras” [3.13]). Italy, once great, is now fallen.⁶⁷ In contrast with these dead or decaying powers stands Portugal.⁶⁸ The *Lusiads* begins its national history at the mythic foundations of the Portuguese people with the figures of Lusus and the heroic shepherd Viriatus. It continues through Portugal’s birth as a kingdom ruled by Alfonso Henriques, and finally relates the political and familial drama of the medieval Portuguese royal house.⁶⁹ Da Gama’s recitation celebrates the rise of the Avis dynasty. The break between Cantos 3 and 4 coincides with the Portuguese “interregnum,” which resulted in the providential succession of João to the throne. The narrative continues with his descendants, leading towards the reign of Camões’s own monarch, King Sebastian.

Another of the *Lusiads*’s elaborate embedded historical narratives is Paolo da Gama’s *ekphrasis* of tapestries on board their ship, addressed to the Indian Catual, in Canto 8. Rather than convey history as a chain of royal successions, this scene portrays the charismatic mechanisms of valor as a facet of national history. Eschewing the versified royal chronicle form of Cantos 3-4,

⁶⁷ “Today, Rome’s power is in decline, / It is home to the Keeper of the Keys, / No longer boasting Empire as its merit: / So God rains blessings on the poor in spirit!” (“Mas, depois que o porteiro tem divino, / Perdendo o esforço veio a bélica arte: / Pobre está já de antiga potestade. Tanto Deus se contenta de humildade!” [3.15]).

⁶⁸ This description of Europe in Canto Three resonates with Hapsburg-era maps which show Iberia as the crowned head of Europe, such as in Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia* (1570).

⁶⁹ “She was named Lusitania, so it’s said / From Lusus or Lysa, thought to be / Bacchus’ sons, or members of his band, / The very first to cultivate this land. (3.21)

Canto 8's *ekphrasis* focuses on individual chivalric acts.⁷⁰ The *ekphrasis* begins with Lusus, Ulysses, and Viranthus, the shepherd-warrior who defied Rome, and then describes several early Portuguese kings followed by a series of non-royal, multinational knights. The Atlantic space of Portugal's coast was a heavily-traversed route for medieval crusaders, and part of Portugal's national history is its magnetism to attract northern crusaders to aid in its Reconquest efforts. The catalogue ends with the sons of João I, the "Marvelous Generation," resolving the division between kings and knights in a dynastic culmination. In particular, the knights display heroism in crusading efforts. The *ekphrasis* accretes and incorporates national and international contributions to the corporate history of the Portuguese; as Paolo da Gama suggests, there would be even *more* heroes depicted if the artists had been better patronized by the descendants of ancient heroes. The two historical interventions of Cantos 3-4 and 8 offer complementary ways of structuring dynastic time and envisioning national, corporate history. Both narratives attempt to dramatize the fantasy of a moment of origins by mythologizing the etymologies of the kingdom's name. Both offer a similar narrative arc that brings them from Lisbon's foundation to Aljubarrota to the celebrated Avis dynasty.

The *Lusiads* includes the Portuguese chivalric romance "The Twelve of England" to heighten the international dimension of Avis dynastic foundations.⁷¹ Veloso's tale of the "Twelve of England," complements accounts of the Portuguese victory at the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385),

⁷⁰ Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 9-10, quoted on 10: "Paradoxically, at the moment of absolutist ascendancy in the seventeenth century, when European monarchies were acquiring power in unprecedented concentrations, the epic poems that should have celebrated that power failed artistically. These very poems, along with other, more successful contemporary efforts at heroic poetry, looked back nostalgically to a nobility and valor not yet subject to royal control...Dying as a generic form, epic also looked back to its origins and to its preference for Achilles over Agamemnon: for the heroism of the individual distinct from the power of the corporate state. These nostalgic visions of aristocratic autonomy, moreover, characteristically employed the motifs and narrative structures of romance, by this time recognized as a separate genre by literary theorists."

⁷¹ Hutchinson, "Twelve of England," 168: "The Twelve of England crystallizes an ideal, perhaps imaginary moment of glory and international recognition for Portugal, highlighting its knights' chivalric valor as a national trait. Furthermore, these qualities are recognized by the English, their vital ally against the persistent Castilian threat of invasion. Nationally and internationally, the Treaty of Windsor was an additional affirmation of the newly established house of Aviz founded by King João I with his accession to the throne in 1385."

which both Vasco and Paolo da Gama evoke in their historical narratives.⁷² Unlike da Gama's historical narrative, however, which only mentions in passing the Iberian-Lancastrian marriages, the "Twelve of England" explicitly recalls the Anglo-Portuguese alliance and its military and dynastic successes. At the beginning of the story, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, remembers the valor of the Portuguese during his Iberian campaigns:

This mighty Englishman had campaigned
With the Portuguese against Castile
And knew of their great-heartedness
And that fortune was their friend;
He had made trial, too, in Portugal
Of their romantic dispositions,
When King João took Philippa as his own
Queen of his heart, and partner of his throne.

Era este inglês potente, e militar
Cos Portugueses já contra Castela,
Onde as forças magnânimas provara
Dos companheiros, e begingna estrela;
Não menos nesta terra exprimentara
Namorados afeitos, quando nela
A filha viu, que tanto o peito doma
Do forte rei, que por mulher a toma. (6.47)

⁷² Paolo da Gama likewise evokes the battle in his extended depiction of Nun' Alvares, João's constable (Canto 8).

Veloso's story features the dynastic marriage between Philippa and João as a privileged component of both Portuguese and English history and frames the "Twelve of England" as a foundational narrative for the Avis dynasty.⁷³ The story's textual history confirms its relevance to dynastic history; the surviving manuscript of an independent version of the tale is bound with a copy of the *Crónica* of Fernão Lopes, the royal chronicler of João I.⁷⁴

The "Twelve of England" dramatizes the English, and thus international, recognition of Portuguese chivalric valor. The story emphasizes Portugal's participation in an international court culture that contrasts dramatically with the poet Camões's contemporary vision of a divided and discordant Europe in Canto 3. The romance begins with twelve English ladies at court who, after being insulted by the men at court, appeal to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster to find knights who would defend their honor. Gaunt recalls the valor of his Portuguese allies during his Iberian expedition and writes to King João, asking him to send his champions to the English court. The Portuguese knights eagerly accept this challenge, but one of them, Magriço, announces his plans to travel throughout Europe before the tournament. He promises to rendezvous with the other eleven knights at the English court, which he does at the last possible moment before the tournament. The newly-reunited twelve Portuguese peers are victorious in the tournament, and win honor for both themselves and their designated English ladies.

Magriço's tardy arrival at the tournament corresponds with the "late" Portuguese arrival on the circuit of chivalric activities, developing the theme of belatedness that drives the poem's

⁷³ See also *Lusiads* 4.47 on João and Philippa's marriage. Allies in the Hundred Years War, the Portuguese and English often fought together on the battlefield, and Portuguese knights were present in Henry V's army at Agincourt. On the *Lusiads*'s historical treatment of the Hundred Years War, see Mariana M. G. Neves, "La Guerre de Cent Ans et l'épisode des 'Douze d'Angleterre' dans Les Lusiades de Camoes," *Quadrant* 19-20 (2002): 125-32. On Portuguese knights at Agincourt, see Hutchinson, "Twelve of England," 177: "In 1415, Soeiro da Costa, Rui Mendes Cerveira, and João Pereira Coutinho, names included in later versions of the Twelve of England, fought alongside Henry V at Agincourt." The prominence of John of Gaunt as an arbitrator of chivalry is suggested by an Iberian tendency to view England as an archetypal landscape of romance. See, for example, records of Philip II's itinerary to England in Teófilo F. Ruiz, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

⁷⁴ Hutchinson, "Os Doze," 170.

treatment of epic *translatio* in a different generic mode. The “Twelve of England” dramatizes the historical moment at which the Portuguese eclipse the English. Veloso describes the knight’s victory with a metaphor of deposition: “English pride was hurled from its throne” (“Cai a soberba inglesa de seu trono” [6.65]). Though bound by dynastic marriage, the Portuguese are the heirs of English chivalry, supplanting them culturally and martially. The twelve knights from Portugal “overgo” English models of chivalric romance just as the poem as a whole overgoes epics of antiquity.

Through Veloso’s chivalric tale, Camões participates in the literary critical debate over romance’s place in epic. The story is told during a lull in the sailor’s nighttime shift. When one sailor asks for “some agreeable tale / That will dispel the burden of sleep,” the first response is for a tale of love: “Leonard, who was always preoccupied / With thoughts of some beloved, agreed: / --‘Let love be our theme,’ he said. ‘Let’s dance / The hours away with the stuff of romance’” (6.40).

Veloso rejects this proposal:

--‘No,’ said Veloso. ‘Gentle topics
Have no place amid such hardships;
The work of a ship is too demanding
For talk of love and such refinements;
Instead, our story must be of war
And the fierce heat of battle;
Grim days await us, hard labour, with groans
Our only comfort. I feel it in my bones.’

--“Não é—disse Veloso—coisa justa
Tratar branduras em tanta aspereza,
Que o trabalho do mar, que tanto custa,

Não sofre amores nem delicadeza;
 Antes de guerra fêrvida e robusta
 A nossa história seja, pois dureza
 Nossa vida há-de ser, segundo entendo,
 Que o trabalho por vir mo está dizendo.” (6.41)

In Canto 6 of the *Lusiads*, Veloso’s response teases apart romance’s chivalric themes from its erotic qualities, and argues for the didactic qualities of chivalric romance in promoting valorous actions. Through the figure of Veloso, Camões engages with the various early modern debates about the recreational reading of chivalric literature.⁷⁵ Veloso argues for the edifying quality of chivalric romance: “to learn from me, and it, to behave / Nobly and with honour” (“E por que os que me ouvirem daqui aprendam / A fazer feitos grandes de alta prova” [6.42]). Veloso suggests the applicability of these ethical, chivalric qualities to sailors and thus presents chivalric romance not as a dangerous or narratively itinerant form, but rather as a vehicle for honor and courage.

Camões also explores the epic’s deployment of romance strategies by having Veloso, whose portrayal echoes that of Ulysses, narrate “Twelve of England.” Canto 6, in which Veloso tells his chivalric story, begins with da Gama’s unwillingness to linger with the friendly Malindians, with the pressure to stay on course. Just before, in Canto 5, Veloso’s “Odyssean” curiosity about an African tribe endangers him, and the cloud-giant Adamastor (a permutation of the *Odyssey*’s Polyphemus) issues his epic curse as the sailors round the Cape of Good Hope.⁷⁶ Magriço combines the digressory potential of Veloso’s “curiosity” with a chivalric drive towards accretive heroic

⁷⁵ On the recreational purposes of romance, see Davies, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance*, 17-19, and Glending Olson, *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

⁷⁶ David Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 116: “The episode historically took place...It is an apparently trivial vignette of colonialist violence, but Camões evidently saw in it another version of the encounter between Odysseus and Polyphemus in the *Odyssey*. Veloso has an Odyssean curiosity to learn about the natives and their customs; as de Góis puts it, he wished ‘to go and to see their dwellings, and the manner of life they kept in their homes.’ But like Odysseus, the Portuguese explorer is forced to make a run for his ship.”

ventures.⁷⁷ Veloso's own narrative itinerancy resonates with his hero Magrigo's geographical itinerancy. Yet Veloso's story does not entail the geographical errancy of Ulysses's wanderings; unlike the romance dilations of the *Odyssey*, the "Twelve of England" is not the story of a crew's misadventures after being blown off course. Rather, Veloso's metanarrative opens up a narrative space in its digression while the sailors are very much on course (hence Bacchus's anxieties about them soon reaching India). The narrative expansion occurs in a moment of stasis in journey, and is framed in a dramatic irony that lends a certain amount of ambivalence to its status as an edifying narrative within the *Lusiads*. While Veloso is regaling the exploits of the twelve Portuguese peers, the gods of the sea are holding an underwater council that sets out to destroy the sailors. When the storm gales begin, it becomes clear that no amount of chivalric valor will save the Portuguese. Da Gama, realizing this, utters a prayer to his Christian god, which results in Venus and her nymphs helping to calm the winds with an amorous ploy.⁷⁸ The moral of Canto 6 proves to be that human valor is subordinate to divine power, and it is only through a god's intervention that the Portuguese are saved from disaster and aided on their journey.

The geographical deviance of Veloso's knightly hero reveals the political dimensions of the *Lusiads's* generic negotiations. Through Veloso's tale of the "Twelve of England," Camões foregrounds the epic tradition's legacy of ideological tension between princely and aristocratic "heroes," described by David Quint in *Epic and Empire*. The "Twelve of England" complements da Gama's royalist history by focusing on the knightly class, while still subordinating individual pursuits to the royal volition and authority that drives the explorer's ventures.⁷⁹ Magrigo's itinerancy en route

⁷⁷ Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 116.

⁷⁸ Giamatti, *Earthly Paradise*.

⁷⁹ Raman, *Framing "India"*, 76-77: "The rhetoric of *Os Lusíadas* may suggest a mutually exclusive opposition of aristocratic and mercantile classes, but Camões's ideological separation of profit from glory rests upon a far more fluid and ambiguous sense of what comprised the Portuguese nation...Camões's opposition of a mercantile and an aristocratic ethos should consequently be interpreted with reference to a *shared* practice, a mutual commitment on the part of both the bourgeoisie and the nobility to the voyages, since both groups saw the voyages as potential solution to crises of revenue and production affecting the absolutist state."

to England reflects the pressures of self-interest and individuality inherent in literary treatments of chivalry. The “Twelve of England,” as it survives, has the qualities of an aristocratic ancestral romance. Though firmly situated in royal court culture, the tale centers on the chivalric achievements of knights in late medieval tournaments. Ultimately, Magriço’s errancy is narratively contained, for the knight does show up to his tournament, and the arrival of a sudden storm interrupts Veloso before he can say any more of Magriço’s many adventures.⁸⁰ The poem ultimately upholds the supremacy of royal power, even if this power is emphatically encouraged to heed wise counsel.

The “Twelve of England” interlude heightens the emulative potential of chivalric narrative and preserves its valorization of courage in battle, courtly manners, and political loyalty, for da Gama and his crew. The *Lusiads* valorizes da Gama’s loyalty to King Manuel by emphasizing the feudal ties of chivalric valor which bind this maritime “knight errant” to his lord. The poem casts da Gama as a chivalric hero whose quest for honor is bound up with his monarch’s nationalist interests, extending the semantic range of the term chivalry itself to new contexts. The *Lusiads* literally ennobles da Gama, who was, later in life, raised to the nobility for his navigational and administrative service to the crown. King Manuel’s vatic dream of Portuguese exploration suggests the intimate correlation between the king’s sovereignty and the nation’s imperial destiny. In response to this prophetic vision, Manuel sends out his sailors to navigate unknown waters. Some, the poem indicates, did pass far into uncharted waters, but were prevented from ever returning. Da Gama’s great victory was not only that he sailed to India, but that he was the first to return with the maritime knowledge to inaugurate the trading sea-route to India. The desperation with which the Catual seeks to prevent Da Gama’s return to Portugal indicates the implications of the sailor’s achievement. In the *Lusiads*, the geographical knowledge gained through exploration, which

⁸⁰ On the classical analogues of the great storm in Canto 6 that interrupts Veloso’s storytelling, see Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 163-79.

encompasses the disciplines of natural philosophy, ethnography, and above all, cartography, underlies imperial control.⁸¹ In sixteenth-century Iberia, this knowledge was highly mediated and controlled, for cartographic display—as well as secrecy—heralded imperial power.⁸²

Uncharted Waters and Camões's locus amoenus

Narrative can conquer; it can also seduce. The *Odyssey* is rejected as a model for the *Lusiads* because it is given not only to rhetorical excesses but also to the digressive content “of amorous Calypsos” (5.89). Camões’s proscription of romance—implicit in his condemnation of the generically-hybrid *Orlando furioso* and explicit in the dialogue preceding the Twelve of England interlude—excludes both narrative errancy and “stories of love,” which are unfit for war-like purposes.⁸³ Yet, erotic detours remain a part of the *Lusiads's* meta-narratives. This is true across the poems generic modes: eroticism emerges in the poem’s treatments of history (Inês Peres de Castro in Canto 3), allegory (Venus calming the winds in Canto 6), and dynastic foundation (marriage of Philippa of Lancaster and João I, evoked in Canto 6).⁸⁴ Ultimately, the erotic is not excluded from the *Lusiads*, but rather shown to be, in proverbial terms, a matter of timing—as well as of space, and

⁸¹ See Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999). On natural philosophy, see David Quint’s discussion of the waterspout phenomenon in the *Lusiads* in *Epic and Empire*, 115.

⁸² On the “intentional or unintentional suppression of knowledge” in sixteenth-century Portuguese and Spanish maps, see J. B. Harley, “Silences and Secrecy: the Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe,” *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), 57-76.

⁸³ Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (New York: Routledge, 2004) 66, 68: “Central figures such as Ariosto, Spenser, Tasso and Cervantes elaborate on the tradition of medieval romance, deconstruct classical epic by exposing and questioning its conventions, and constantly engage in generic play. In the theoretical debates about the nature and value of romance, as well as in the texts debated, one can trace the origins of its conceptualization as a literary strategy of pleasurable multiplicity, opposed to the single-mindedness and political instrumentality of epic. That is, whereas epic is most often associated with stories of effective quests, corporate achievement, and the heroic birth of nations, romance challenges these narratives by privileging instead the wandering hero, the erotic interlude, or the dangerous delay...For all of these texts [Ariosto, Tasso, Spenser], the tension between martial quest and erotic detour will be a central organizing principle.” See also Marc Bizer, “From Lyric to Epic and Back: Joachim Du Bellay’s Epic Regrets,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 71.2 (2010): 107-127; Richard H. Lansing, “Ariosto’s ‘Orlando Furioso’ and the Homeric Model,” *Comparative Literature Studies* 24:4 (1987): 311-325.

⁸⁴ On the treatment of these two queens in Fernão Lopes’s chronicles, see Amélia P. Hutchinson, “Encontro de Horizontes: Um estudo metahistórico das figuras de Leonor Teles e Filipa de Lencastre nas crónicas de Fernão Lopes,” *Hispania* 85:3, Special Portuguese Issue (Sep., 2002), 476-85.

an integral part of Camões's epic vision of Portuguese empire. Cantos Nine and Ten, which contain Tethy's vision and the Isle of Love episode, are fundamental to our understanding of Camões's poetic project in the *Lusiads*, as they demonstrate not only how epic participates in the commemoration of imperial history, but also how it enacts its own narrative circulation through the networks of cultural dissemination and exchange. Generative textuality—the creation of ever more epic material—is intimately linked to dynastic succession and shown to be a fundamental necessity for the survival of Portugal not only as an empire, but as a kingdom.

The *Lusiads*'s narrative procedures emphasize the deferral of erotic pleasure in the epic journey. The poem answers its own dismissal of “the stuff of romance” (6.40) with the Isle of Love episode of Canto 9.⁸⁵ Whereas in Cantos 5 and 6, da Gama had dismissed stories of “amorous Calypsos” as “empty fables” and Veloso had insisted that “Gentle topics / Have no place amid such hardships,” the *Lusiads*, in this moment, not only sanctions but indulges in the imaginative pleasures of the erotic interlude. Veloso himself, who like da Gama is painted in shades of Ulysses, robustly initiates the sailors' “chase” of the nymphs: “Let us follow these goddesses and see / If they are fantasies, or flesh!”⁸⁶ Venus insists upon the disruption of the Portuguese homeward voyage by inserting the trope of the *locus amoenus* as she “inserts” a magical island into the hero's nautical course.

De longe a ilha viram, fresca e bela,
Que Vénus pelas ondas lha levava
(Bem bomo o vento leva branca vela)
Pera onde a forte armada se enxergrava;
Que, por que não passassem sem que nela

⁸⁵ On the Isle of Love and Camões's use of allegory, see A. B. Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 210-26, especially 230-31.

⁸⁶ Quint discusses Veloso's anthropological impulse in his encounter with the Hottentots in *Epic and Empire*, 116.

Tomassem porto, como desejava,
Pera onde as naus navegam a movia
A Acidália, que tundo enfim podia.

The lovely, verdant island hovered
As Venus wafted it over the waves
(As the wind will convey a white sail)
To where the ships were to be seen;
For to prevent their sailing past
Without making port, as she desired,
Wherever they went, she kept it in full view,
Shifting it, as she had the power to do. (9.52)

Camões displaces the erotic interlude to the end of the journey so that it functions as a reward for achievement rather than an impediment to it (9.18-19).⁸⁷ Though it temporarily delays the epic drive towards *nostos*, the episode rhetorically anticipates their safe passage home (9.17), and therefore is discharged of any implications (as in the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*) of the dangerous stasis accompanying sensual decadence.⁸⁸

The Isle of Love episode dramatizes the erotic force of narrative as it manipulates its epic sources. Just as Venus invites Cupid to partake in her scheme, the text invites the complicit reader, familiar with the *Aeneid*, to engage in the narrative pleasures of its mimetic gestures: “Such a device she had once invoked / To greet Anchises’ son, Aeneas, / In that meadow where Dido’s subtlety / Bought Carthage with a bull’s hide” (“Tal manha buscou já, pera que aquele / Que de Anquises

⁸⁷ Venus “Wished now, as a reward for their exploits / And to compensate their sufferings, / To provide with every power in her employ / On the dreary seas an interval of joy” (9.18).

⁸⁸ See Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 149-51 on *Lusiads* 9.16-17.

pariu, bem recebido / Fosse no campo que a bovina pele / Tomou de espaço, por sutil perdido” [9.23]). This Virgilian allusion to Aeneas’s Carthaginian voyage and lover emphasizes the fulfillment of da Gama’s journey, for just as Aeneas’ sojourn heralded Carthage’s destruction, da Gama’s “delight” and “repose” (“deleite...descanso” [9.19, translation mine]) signal Portugal’s imperial possession of the East. The imperial genealogy invoked throughout the *Lusiads* thus reaches its climax in the divine rewards Venus bestows upon the Portuguese: “And because they copy so uncannily / The deeds of my old Romans, I propose / To show them every kindness, be benign, / To the limits of our powers, yours and mine” (“E porque tanto imitam as antigas / Obras dos meus Romanos, me ofereço / A lhe dar tanta ajuda em quanto posso, / A quanto se estender o poder nosso” [9.38]). Camões bestows pleasures upon the Portuguese experienced long before by their epic ancestors.

The *Lusiads* implicates romance and eroticism as narrative strategies that generate empire. Sexual excitement—and the voyeuristic pleasures of poetry—are celebrated as part of the masculine heroic drive rather than renounced as an entirely disruptive narrative intrusion. Unlike Tasso, who represents the *locus amoenus* in wholly negative terms, Camões functionalizes the trope’s digressiveness to emphasize the necessity of sexual desire to dynastic continuity.⁸⁹ In portraying the unions in the Isle of Love episode as symbolically generative and procreative, Camões joins Tasso in his role as an epic poet in celebrating dynastic marriage, though Camões obsessively highlights the political expediency of sex to dynastic continuation.⁹⁰ His Cupid launches a crusade of procreative sexuality against the “heresy” of misdirected passion. Cupid marshals a small army of lesser arrow-wielding demi-gods, “For an expedition against mankind / To punish the heresy, still prevalent / In these present days, of expending / All their passion (for so they were accused) / On things intended

⁸⁹ Sergio Zatti, “Epic in the Age of Dissumulation: Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*” in *Renaissance Transactions: Ariosto and Tasso*, ed. by Valeria Finucci (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 115-45.

⁹⁰ As Venus proclaims, “I wish to populate Neptune’s realm / Where I was born, with the strong and the beautiful” (9.42).

merely to be used” (19.25). Actaeon is held up as a political allegory of such error, with the implication that the rejection of (normative) heterosexuality by a king is dangerous to the nation (9.26-27). As Cupid surveys the world, he witnesses this phenomenon: “He saw, in short, none loving what they should / But all led astray by perverse desires,” and sets out “To establish a proper sense of awe / In all those disobedient to his law” (19.29). Sexual release is prescribed as a corrective to the threat symbolized by Actaeon and embodied in the refusal of King Sebastian to propagate his dynastic line through marriage. The erotic fantasy of the Isle of Love, along with the Camões’s more sobering political interjections, serves as part of a “mirror for princes” for his monarch, who displayed disturbingly little interest in producing an heir.⁹¹

The Isle of Love episode dramatizes the linkage of fame, textuality, and empire which is only implicit in earlier cantos. Tethys’s prophesy to da Gama at the height of their ascent represents both the beginning and the climax of an envisioned Portuguese empire.⁹² When Cupid demands the help “Of a certain, notorious go-between... the giant goddess Fame,” to create lust for the Portuguese in the hearts of the sea-nymphs (19.44), Camões’s oblique allusion to the power of poetry to sexually excite as well as to inspire great deeds creates fetishized objects out of the Portuguese themselves—not only for their “other,” but for themselves. Camões’s allusion to the “giant-goddess Fame” echoes the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphosis* and calls attention to his poem’s place in an epic genealogy of self-referential texts.⁹³ The consummation of the Portuguese and the sea-nymphs who secure their ocean passage has been read by critics as a violent enactment of imperial rapture in all its destructive force.⁹⁴ Yet the sea-nymphs, summoned by Cupid’s arrows from their watery depths, inhabit a

⁹¹ McKay, *The Baker Who Pretended to Be King of Portugal*, discusses Sebastian’s early illnesses and aversion to women.

⁹² On ascensional imagery and eroticism, see Clive Hart and Kay Gilliland Stevenson, *Heaven and the Flesh: Imagery of Desire from the Renaissance to the Rococo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁹³ *Lusiads*, ed. White, 252 n. to p. 185: *Fama* was “portrayed as a giantess in *Aeneid*, iv.178-88 and *Metamorphosis*, xii. 39-63.”

⁹⁴ On the modern reception of Camões, see Robert Edward Myers, “The Language of Camões: Modern Readers of *The Lusiads* and the Exclusion of Portuguese from the Western Canon,” Unpublished Dissertation, Yale University, 1995. For the history of twentieth-century criticism on the *Lusiads*, see Hélio J. S. Alves, “Post-Imperial Bacchus: The Politics

geographically liminal space between the clear divisions of East and West—as Robert Thorne, put it, where the “Orientall part is joined with the Occident, and the Occident with Orient.”⁹⁵ They are beings closely associated with artifice, ciphers for the incarnation of textuality. The Isle of Love episode is ultimately not a moment of imperial rapture, though the desperate concupiscence of the sailors hints at the problematic intrusion of sexual desire in colonial venture (documented and debated for several decades preceding Camões’s own birth). The neo-platonic vision instead dwells on the prospect of empire, and offers a fantasy of dominion always on the verge of achievement, of climax, enjoyed from the nostalgic perspective of loss.⁹⁶ The Portuguese conquer an East—indeed, a “new world” to them—that is imagined most fully in terms of a Roman past. The intellectual project of the epic thematizes the very boundaries where allegory ends and history begins. Less a reflection (much less a valorization) of sexual violence, either in and of itself or as a metaphor for colonization, the Isle of Love episode emphasizes the Portuguese embodiment of the Roman and presents their navigational achievement as the fulfillment of Roman imperial aspirations and poetic tropes. Put another way, the final cantos are more preoccupied with the heroes’ relationship with Virgil than with the nymphs—and more with the novel island than with its demigods.

The Isle of Love, which moves fluidly in space, is part of an imaginative cartography of textual precedent outside of the epistemic world of Portolan charts and other navigational tools. This suspended narrative moment plays out the Portuguese fantasy of contact with the world of Roman epic; the sailors’ surpassing of all Roman precedents temporally bridges their disparate words. Veloso’s exclamation manifests a desire to find the marks of a classical past in newly-discovered lands, “If ancient pagan rites survive, / These woods are sacred to the nymphs” (9.69).

of Literary Criticism in Camões Studies 1940-2001,” *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies* 9 (2002-10): 95-106. For one reading of marriage symbolism and colonial contracts in the poem, see Anna A. Klobucka, “Lusotropical Romance: Camões, Gilberto Freyre, and the Isle of Love” *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies* 9 (2002): 121-38.

⁹⁵ See note 58 above.

⁹⁶ Emily S. Apter and William Pietz, eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

The island is, in a sense, outside of *both* time and space as well as suspended between the registers of history and allegory. The *modus operandi* of the Portuguese (to find a direct sea-route to India) now accomplished, the epic's investment in navigational mapping is put aside. We enter a space outside the scope of experiential geography yet firmly placed within the domains of cartographic tradition. Venus is associated with islands both within and beyond the "gates of Hercules," yet her archipelagic copiousness, as a metaphor for geographical *scientia*, is complicated by the indeterminate cartographic placement of her islands.⁹⁷ It is unclear how classical tropes, such as Venus's "floating islands," map onto the increasingly-charted oceanic spaces. The poem ironizes cartographic traditions of representing the *locus amoenus* in order to separate the allegorical site from the science of nautical charts. Whereas in Roman times only the gods could truly move with ease and dominion between these Mediterranean and Atlantic spaces, in the contemporary age of exploration, the Portuguese themselves are able to cross these time-honored geographic thresholds, supplanting both gods and men. Camões both delights in the specters of a classical past and exposes their artificiality as tropes of literature, fantasies to be experienced only through textual mediation. Yet the artifice of this fantasy bespeaks a belatedness that puts it, and the poem itself, at the mercy of successive imperial fantasies.

The *Lusiads* spatial imagination corresponds with both the self-referential traditions of Mediterranean epic journeys and with Renaissance cartographic production. For instance, Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon* visualizes epic history and Roman imperial translation diachronically as it charts modern and legendary voyages onto its maps. The poem, moreover, showcases the *locus amoenus* as an important trope within the narrative geography of classical epic.⁹⁸ Ortelius reframes humanist

⁹⁷ *Lusiads*, ed. White, 252 n. to p. 181: "for she owned many. I have taken this much-debated passage to mean that Venus possessed many islands beyond those normally attributed to her in the Mediterranean. For Hercules' pillars, see canto 3.18."

⁹⁸ Ortelius's *Parergon* includes maps of the voyages of the Argonauts and of Virgil's *Aeneid*, using literature such as the *Aeneid* and Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* as sources for his textual and visual narratives. See Denis Cosgrove "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography," 856.

intellectual pursuit as a voyage. His *Parergon* is a microcosm of the world; its reader is, by analogy, a traveler within it. The *locus amoenus* which serves as Venus's gift to the successful Portuguese likewise rewards readers for their intellectual achievement.⁹⁹ The discipline of geography, which encompasses the movement of political boundaries and the organization of power systems that determine spatial networks of centers and peripheries, is shown to be irrevocably enmeshed in the lives and (implicitly) deaths of empires. The blank spaces of the *Parergon's* early maps are filled as Roman territorial incursions progressively spread outwards. The apotheosis of Spanish Hapsburg empire is expressed in Ortelius's cartographic articulations of power¹⁰⁰; similarly, the combined effect of Tethys's vision and Venus's preparations for the Island of Love in the *Lusiads* is part of the larger cosmological vision of Portugal's imperial fulfillment.¹⁰¹ Just as the political, philosophical, and humanist prerogatives of Ortelius's *Parergon* are enhanced, rather than disturbed, by the inclusion of his Thessalian groves, the eroticism of the *Lusiads's locus amoenus* does not forestall the imperial ambitions of the Portuguese.

Ensclosed in the Virgilian echoes of the Isle of Love episode is the influence of Lucretius's materialist philosophy.¹⁰² Lucretius's epicurean fascination with the inherent and exquisite eroticism of the world suffuses the Portuguese wonder at the marvels of the island, and provides an underpinning of classical thought to the Portuguese mariners' consummation of their relationship with the sea nymphs. Veloso's astonished cry gives voice to an aesthetics of the veiled marvelous: "Wonders exist, and marvels are apparent, / Though the world hides this from the ignorant"

⁹⁹ On readerly position and power, see David Buisseret, *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography As a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹⁰⁰ The work closes with an artistic representation of Philip II's Monastery at El Escorial, itself an attempt at a microcosmic metonymy and a symbol of universal empire. On the Escorial and *loci amoeni* in Ortelius's *Paergon*, see Cosgrove, "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography," 857.

¹⁰¹ On Tethys's vision and Venus's preparations for the Island of Love as part of a larger cosmological vision, see *Lusiads*, ed. White, 251-2 n. to p. 180.

¹⁰² For Lucretius's influence on Virgil, see Monica Gale, *Virgil on the Nature of Things: The Georgics, Lucretius, and the Didactic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Philip R. Hardie, *Lucretian Receptions: History, the Sublime, Knowledge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), and Stuart Gillespie and Philip R. Hardie, *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

(9.69).¹⁰³ Veloso's curiosity about newly-discovered lands (actual and allegorical) beautifully embodies the linking of the material and sensual experience of exploration with its eroticization in early modern writing.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the pleasures of the island resonate with the commercial pleasures suggested by the exotic spices and rich textiles the sailors bring back from India. Camões enfold material commodities into the epic list of battles that serves as another of the poem's historical set-pieces.¹⁰⁵ The aura of Lucretian materialism heightens the epic's Virgilian association of natural philosophy with poetic inspiration at the same time that it informs the text's mercantile undertones.¹⁰⁶ However, the vexed relationship of Lucretius' thought with the Roman imperial project undercuts the blithe equation of this sensual materialism with the untroubled achievement of imperial conquest.

Immortalizing Verses

The *Lusiads* celebrates da Gama's successful journey on behalf of his kingdom as inaugurating an era of exploration that culminates with Magellan's fleet's circumnavigation of the globe. In the poem's final canto, the sea-goddess Tethys offers da Gama a global vista of future Portuguese exploration encompassed within a cosmological "machine" of the universe representing all knowledge.¹⁰⁷ The goddess surveys the geography of Portuguese exploits in Asia and describes the East's wondrous materiality. Together, they observe the world bowing to Portuguese maritime power. The prophetic scene evokes the epic trope of the visionary "set-piece," one so common in

¹⁰³ On affective wonder in the early modern Age of Exploration, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

¹⁰⁴ On love poetry in the early modern transatlantic world, see Roland Greene, *Unrequited Conquests: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁵ However, see Murrin, *Trade and Romance*, 151-3, who notes the traditional critique of spices in epic narrative.

¹⁰⁶ Cosgrove, "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography," 860.

¹⁰⁷ On cosmology in the *Lusiads*, see Raman, *Framing "India"*.

early modern epics and romances that Cervantes exploits it to satirical effect in the *Quixote*.¹⁰⁸ Here, Tethys and da Gama observe the world from the perspective of a surveyor perusing a globe. At the temporal threshold of Camões's narrative is "another voyage beyond imagining" which spans the globe, a journey both spherical and linear, one whose destination is its origin:

Mas é também razão que, no Ponente,
Dum lusitano um feito inda vejais,
Que, de seu rei mostrando-se agravado,
Caminho há-de fazer nunca cuidando.

But it is fitting you glance westwards
To observe the exploit of a Portuguese
Who, believing himself snubbed by his king,
Made another voyage beyond imagining. (10.138)

The final vision that Tethys shows da Gama culminates in Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe, but does not transcend it. From this vantage-point, cardinal polarities shift, and da Gama's attention is now *oriented* westwards, as the scope of the world finally becomes global.¹⁰⁹

There is a tone of irony in this prophesy, though, a hint of trouble in paradise. Magellan is granted only a provisional nationality: "Magellan—in all his actions Portuguese / If not completely in his loyalties" ("O Magalhães, — no feito, com verdade, / Português, porém não na lealdade" [10.140]). Feudal bonds link da Gama to his king, while purely economic ones link Magellan to his patrons. No knight errant, Magellan is rather a venture capitalist, an adventurer for hire whose pursuits do not serve his native country's imperial agenda—in bleakest terms, a traitor, although

¹⁰⁸ See Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1-2.

¹⁰⁹ On the project of visualizing the globe, see Denis E. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Camões is careful to cast Magellan's position in a sympathetic light. While da Gama's journey ends in the glorification of king and country, Magellan undertakes his voyage under the banner of his kingdom's imperial rival, Spain.¹¹⁰

Magellan's voyage glorifies his people but not his state, rendering his achievement problematic within the grand vision of corporate Portuguese achievement grounded in monarchical legacy.¹¹¹ Unlike Camões's epic hero da Gama, who speaks for his entire people in his epic the *Lusíads*, Magellan is a political exile who offers his services to Charles I of Spain (Emperor Charles V) after years of service to his own king. The scene has cartographic analogs in the Hapsburg-patronized maps that visually represent Magellan's voyage, such as those of Battista Agnese (1540s) and Ortelius's *Paergon* (1570s).¹¹² Agnese's atlas, made for Emperor Charles V as a gift for his son Philip, "opens with an image of God handing the world to Alexander the Great, and surrounds this image with emblems of Charles and Philip as his imperial successors. This frontispiece determines the reception of the world map, converting the endless circle of Magellan's route into an emblem of Habsburg *imperium sine fine*."¹¹³ Magellan's great achievement glorifies his Habsburg patrons and materializes Charles's heraldic emblem of the Pillars of Hercules and the motto of *Plus Ultra* ("Further beyond"). The poem's anxieties about the legacy of Portugal's heroic past coalesce, then, in Magellan's global circuit, which symbolizes both Portuguese achievement and fractured loyalty.

Tethys's prophecy of the futurity of Portuguese ventures is ultimately qualified by Magellan, who embodies the drives of (wounded) pride, ambition, and self-interest, and whose discordant relationship with his king contrasts with the epic model of political accord represented nostalgically

¹¹⁰ "They entered the pleasant Tagus, and gave / Their country and their honoured king / The prize for which they sailed at his command, / Placing still greater titles in his hand" ("Entraram pela foz do Tejo ameno, / E a sua Pátria e rei temido e amado / O prémio e glória dão por que mandou / E com títulos novos se ilustrou" [10.144]).

¹¹¹ On epic in the Habsburg empire, see Elizabeth B. Davis, *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain*, and Padrón, *The Spacious Word*.

¹¹² On Ortelius's *Paergon*, see Cosgrove, "Globalism and Tolerance," 857 and on Battista Agnese's atlas, see Padrón, *Spacious Word*, 3.

¹¹³ Padrón, *Spacious Word*, 3.

by da Gama.¹¹⁴ Nor is Magellan the only figure in Tethys's vision who is compromised by lack of royal patronage. The poem laments the fate of Duarte Pacheco Pereira, a contemporary of Vasco da Gama who sailed for India in 1503, and who dies ignobly despite his great service to his "king and faith": "So kings behave, it being their royal way / To subject truth and justice to their sway" (10.23).¹¹⁵ Camões's political critique of kingship extends to the patronage of both sailors and poets and serves as a pained reflection upon the future reception of his own poem.

The goddess's prophecy is, in this way, framed by a sense of authorial crisis. The figure of the self-exiled explorer Magellan caught in a web of imperial rivalry and competition echoes that of the poet Camões himself, who also appears in Tethy's vision. The tension between Magellan's epic ambitions and the constraining force of royal power manifests as poetic and political anxieties about a laureate-less empire. As the goddess directs da Gama's gaze towards Southeast Asia, the poem draws its readers' attention to the figure of the shipwrecked poet Camões himself, who holds the manuscript of his epic above the tossing waves in the Mekong Delta. Camões imagines the king's benevolent reception of his verses:

Este receberá, plácido e brando,
No seu regaço o canto que molhado
Vem do naufrágio triste e miserando,
Dos procelosos baxos escapado,,
Das fomes, dos perigos grandes, quando
Será o injusto mando executado
Naquele cuja lira sonora

¹¹⁴ Quint, *Epic and Empire*, 9-10.

¹¹⁵ The *Lusiads's* encomium of Duarte Pacheco Pereira (10.23-10.25) echoes earlier mentions of Ulysses, linking the ideas of kingly counsel, deceit, and national destruction: "So kings behave when, besotted / By what is smooth and plausible, / They award the prize Ajax deserves / To the fraudulent tongue of Ulysses" (10.24). See *Lusiads*, ed. White, p. 254 n. 202: "my poet's word: the theme of the badly rewarded soldier and of royal ingratitude bears directly on Camões's own situation."

Será mais afamada que ditosa.

Gently, compassionately, he will receive
On his broad bosom these Cantos, snatched
Soaking from sad, wretched shipwreck,
Surviving treacherous shoals, and hunger
And countless other dangers, when
An unjust mandate is imposed on him
Whose lyre, played with such sweet dexterity
Will bring him fame, but not prosperity. (10.128)

Camões describes his survival, and that of his cantos, as miraculous; implicitly, he has avoided the fate of those cursed by the cloud-giant Adamastor in Canto 5.¹¹⁶ Tethys's vision prophesies the publication into the world of Camões epic verses. Da Gama, in turn, becomes a spectator of the material survival of Camões' commemorative verses in his honor.¹¹⁷ The poet's and hero's legacies are thus intertwined in a shared epic drive for fame and transcendence.¹¹⁸ Yet the manuscript's providential survival is coupled with poetic complaint. Camões' precarious position in the prophecy underscores his anxieties, expressed in his narratorial interludes, about the economies of patronage which underlie historical commemoration.

¹¹⁶ "Now, my life on a thread, surviving / Shipwreck by no less a miracle / Thank the extra years given to Hezekiah, / As promised by the prophet Isaiah!"; "Agora, às costas escapando a vida, / Que dum fio pendia tão delgado, / Que não menos milagre foi salvar-se, / Que pera o rei judaico acrecentar-se!" (7.80).

¹¹⁷ Landeg White, in his edition, italicizes this stanza to indicate that it is spoken in the voice of the poetic narrator; however, it appears ambiguous to me whether this stanza is related in the voice of Tethys, and thus to da Gama, or whether it occurs on a different narrative plane than the prophecy. I favor a reading which has the goddess describing Camões's shipwreck in her own voice, and thus analogizes him with the Portuguese sailor-explorers adumbrated in her prophecy. The scene resonates interestingly with Hans Blumenberg, *Shipwreck with Spectator: Paradigm of a Metaphor for Existence* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

¹¹⁸ Robert M. Durling, *The Figure of the Poet in Renaissance Epic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).

Throughout the *Lusiads*, Camões has warned of the political decadence of a society that does not reward the poets and artists who bear the responsibility of historical commemoration. At the end of Canto 5, at the end of da Gama's recitation of Portuguese history to the Malindians, Camões emphasizes the importance of martial encomia and laments the lack of Portuguese poets to celebrate their countrymen's exploits:

Enfim, não houve forte capitão
Que não fosse também douto e ciente,
Da lácia, grega ou bárbara nação,
Senão da portuguesa tão sòmente.

It is hard to think of a great commander
Whether Roman, Greek, or Barbarian,
Who was not also skilled in learning
Unless, that is, among us Portuguese. (5.97)

Likewise, Paulo da Gama's *ekphrasis* of Canto 8 complains about the shortsightedness of noble houses who do not patronize commemorative artists (8.39). Noble houses are threatened with obscurity because they do not invest in the preservation of their own ancestral histories, while new court favorites do not have lines worth commemorating (8.40). This lack of poetic and artistic patronage contributes to the evacuation of national history and exemplary narrative. A king who snubs the ambitious and talented will weaken his kingdom; the personal implications of Camões's politicization of the economies of patronage here are clear.

The role of the epic poet in the preservation of national and imperial history is both exalted and ambiguous. On the one hand, the *Lusiads's* vision of the shipwrecked poet saving his manuscript echoes the classical heritage of Julius Caesar himself, as described by Plutarch. As one seventeenth-

century reader of the *Lusiads*, Manuel Severim de Faria, wrote, “Luis de Camões saved himself on a plank, and while he was being threatened with the loss of his own life, he thought of nothing else but of carrying with him the cantos of his *Lusiads*, heedless of all other belongings. He deserves no less praise for this than Julius Caesar, who escaped from Alexandria while using one hand to swim and carrying in the other his *Commentaries on the Gallic War*.”¹¹⁹ This exalted (for Camões) analogy emphasizes the poet’s assertions that ideal monarchs will value historical literature. However, the poet had earlier written in the *Lusiads* that his lyre “Will bring him fame, but not prosperity”—recognition without economic reward. The vaunted dangers facing the poet—his hairsbreadth deliverance from shipwreck, his sorrows, sufferings, and bodily injury—mirrors that of his mariners, and are compounded by the unpredictable economics of royal patronage, whose waters, like those of the Indies, are dangerous to navigate.

Yet history never catches up with Camões’s vast rhetorical edifice. Camões is capable of imagining Portugal’s downfall even while commemorating its apotheosis. Magellan’s Vitoria sails ever westward at the temporal limit of Tethy’s vision, circumventing Portuguese trade routes; beyond this temporal horizon, Portugal’s ascendancy implicitly begins a slow decay.¹²⁰ While the poet could not have foreseen the full chain of events which led to Philip II of Spain’s annexation of Portugal into the Hapsburg empire, he was more than aware of the fragility of the Avis line and the history of Castilian pretensions to the Portuguese crown.¹²¹ Anxieties surrounding the impending fall of Portugal resonate throughout Camões’s poetry. His sonnet “Dom Fernando,” a eulogistic poem for a captain lost to shipwreck in the East (one prophesied by the *Lusiads*’s African cloud-giant Adamastor) imagines Castro’s death in terms of the destruction of Rome. The poem ends: “Lament his loss, but / remind yourselves of the resilient Romans who knew / that even their destruction and

¹¹⁹ Gerald M. Moser, “Camões’ Shipwreck,” *Hispania* 57:2 (May, 1974), 213-219, esp. 215-216.

¹²⁰ On the *Lusiads* as responding to Portuguese naval and imperial decline, see *Lusiads*, ed. White, x.

¹²¹ The Avis dynasty was founded in opposition to the claim of King Juan I of Castile through his wife Beatrice (this “Portuguese Interregnum” lasted from 1383-5).

defeat / never gave Carthage any peace of mind” (“Exemplo toma nisto de Dardânia; / que, se a Roma co ele aniquilaste, / mem por isso Cartago está contente”).¹²² Even in this encomium, Camões’s elegaic tone hints at the heroic fulfillment of immortality in the face of empire’s worldly transience. The “new Romans” of the *Lusiads* might face defeat just as the historical Romans and their Trojan ancestors did; the Portuguese heroes, like their epic ancestors, might someday dwell only in the verses of poets. The *Lusiads* closes on a note of urgent anxiety about the imperial future of Portugal, about its heirless king and decadent court. It evokes and challenges the political and allegorical meanings of the epic voyage of return and redirects the energies of *nostos* towards a vision of Portugal both exalted and deeply troubled. Like Ulysses’s besieged Ithaca, the very origin of the journey, Lisbon, is threatened.

Portugal’s fate justifies Camões’s preoccupation with historical memory and epic afterlives, with the tenuousness of national legacy and fragility of the very materials of history. Six years after the publication of the *Lusiads*, Camões’s epic poem of the Lusitanians was read in Iberia in a radically different way. The massive defeat and death of King Sebastian in North Africa at the Battle of Alcazarquivir (1578) resulted in the failure of the Portuguese Avis dynasty, and, the absorption of Portugal into the lands of Phillip II of Spain (1580).¹²³ “Castile, your friend” (10.139) had finally encroached upon the banks of the “pleasant Tagus.” Ultimately, the origin of the journey would prove itself as vulnerable to imperial threats as any exotic outposts. Its strategic centrality vanishes; Portugal itself ultimately becomes a specular object of epic desire, reduced to a cipher, evoked from

¹²² *Luís de Camões: Selected Sonnets*, ed. and transl. William Baer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 76-77.

¹²³ King Sebastian was immediately succeeded by his uncle, Cardinal Henry of Portugal, who reigned briefly from 1578-80 and after whose death Philip of Spain led a military invasion in Portugal. Philip was crowned King of Portugal in 1581 by the Cortes of Tomar. Confusion over the identification of Sebastian’s remains opened the door for claims that the king was still living, and the following decades saw the appearance of multiple pretenders to the throne; on these individuals and conspiracies, see Ruth MacKay, *The Baker who Pretended to be King of Portugal*. The legend of the king who might someday return inspired the Sebastianism movement in Portugal, on which see José I. Suárez, “Portugal’s ‘Saudosismo’ Movement: An Esthetics of Sebastianism,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 28:1, Messianism and Millenarianism in the Luso-Brazilian World (Summer, 1991): 129-140 and Mary Elizabeth Brooks, “From Military Defeat to Immortality: The Birth of Sebastianism,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 1:2 (Winter, 1964): 41-49.

within a fractal space where other maps fold over. This vanishing centrality carries with it a sense of narrative crisis which underlies the poem's impassioned efforts at counsel and commemoration. The extent of the dying epic poet Camões's despair is captured in a letter supposedly written just before the accession of Phillip II of Spain to the throne of Portugal in 1580: "All will see that so dear to me was my country I was content to die not only in it but with it."¹²⁴ Camões did not live to see the later editions of Ortelius's *Theater of the World*, in which the symbolic achievement of Magellan would be fulfilled in the imperial breadth of his Habsburg patrons. The editions comment on the vast space represented by the Philip II's Empire, which by now had annexed Portugal: "[W]ho doth not see that this empire is the greatest that ever was in the world?"¹²⁵ The *Lusiads* is transformed into a monument of Portuguese national history at the very moment that the kingdom recedes politically into Castilian domains, its maritime hegemony wanes, and its rhetorical machines of empire become exhausted.¹²⁶

As an icon of Portuguese exploration and imperial ambition, the poem was appropriated by both Spain and England in later decades. Two translations of the *Lusiads* into Spanish were produced as part of Philip II's royal policy surrounding the annexation of Portugal. One of these translations, Luis Gómez de Tapia's *La Lusiada de el famoso poeta Lúys de Camões. Traduzida en verso Castellano de Portugues* (1580) included a genealogical catalogue of Portuguese kings that culminated in the succession of Philip of Spain to the Portuguese throne.¹²⁷ Within its new textual apparatus, the *Lusiads* is transformed into legitimizing narrative for a new kingdom; it becomes a foundation story

¹²⁴ *Lusiads*, ed. White, x, who does not cite a primary source for this correspondence.

¹²⁵ *Lusiads*, ed. White, x.

¹²⁶ Cochran *Twilight of the Literary*, 122: "Here, however, there are already intimations of a theory of history that situates Portugal's (and Camões's) idiosyncratic centrality: *The Lusiads* is simultaneously the most masterful expression of the great, most masterful moment of Portugal's nationhood and its summation. It is the *Vollendung* in all senses, signaling the nation's end and its perfection. In other words, this monumentalization of Camões and his poem's relationship to the idea of Portugal has an important discursive role to play in Schlegel's own formulation of literary expression...if nationhood formally ceases, its greatest monument becomes even more monumental, for the nation lives on only in its monument and not as a nation at all."

¹²⁷ Martínez, "A Poet of Our Own," 73-75.

that points beyond itself to new political horizons. The poem, translated into Spanish, now takes its place within a chain of events leading inevitably to Castilian sovereignty and maritime endeavors. Manuel de Faria e Sousa's later annotated edition, *Lusiadas comentadas* (1639), which was dedicated to Philip IV of Spain (Philip II's grandson), forges an even closer imaginative link between Philip II and Camões. Faria e Sousa relates the story that Philip II, upon entering Portugal, sought out the famous poet Camões, only to discover that he had recently passed away. The annotator compares Philip's gesture with the Emperor Octavian Augustus's correspondence with Virgil.¹²⁸ As the *Lusiads* itself becomes an object of imperial desire, its author is appropriated as a Virgil for new dynasties and trade empires. Camões, like the poem to which he is metonymically linked, assumes a monumental status within the literary cannon that remains open to appropriation.¹²⁹

Having courted the "giant-goddess Fame" with his verses, Camões wears the laurels of Portugal's age of epic ventures, a figure of both its apotheosis and impending failure. Portugal's decline only heightens the poignancy of the poem's elegiac strains. The end is a beginning: the poem's deliverance from shipwreck and storms initiates new legacies of authorship, of modernity, and widens the geographic and cognitive limits of the epic tradition. Camões's legacy as the Renaissance's great sailor-poet is crystallized in the iconic vision of his rescued pages, carried homeward on a cargo-laden ship, accompanied by the scent of mace on the prevailing easterly trade winds.

¹²⁸ Martínez, "A Poet of Our Own," 72-3.

¹²⁹ Terry Cochran, *Twilight of the Literary*, 105: "Evoking 'Camões' overshoots the individual Camões and his writings' imputed value: his name is a figure, a discursive object, that is rhetorically deployed and intersects with countless other discourses. The figure signals the Poet and poetic creation and synechdochically represents a golden age that has already the protagonist of an entire literary history...."

Chapter Four

“La antigua emulación de estas coronas”:

Habsburg Patrons, English Dynastic Memory, and the Spanish Match of 1623

On the eve of the anticipated Anglo-Spanish match between Charles, Prince of Wales and the *infanta* María of Austria, an outpouring of literature and iconography flooded the printing houses, which debated, recorded, sensationalized, idealized, and criticized the diplomatic negotiations leading up to the match—not only in London, but also in Continental centers of English recusant resistance and in the city of Madrid. The perceived political significance of royal marriage was heightened by the intense speculation regarding the role the *infanta* would play as a cultural mediator at the Stuart court. Polemicists and pamphleteers, courtiers and consuls, all attempted to calibrate how the *infanta*'s presence in England would influence Stuart policy. In England, questions abounded surrounding María's role as a future, foreign queen consort within the British body politic. Would she champion the recusant Catholics at home and abroad? Would she, as radical Protestants feared, forcibly convert both king and country? How would an Anglo-Spanish match reconfigure the political geography of worlds old and new and of transatlantic trade networks? At the same time that anti-Spanish writers warned that this union would undermine the Church of England and ruin the very fabric of British culture, royal propagandists strove to assure Englishmen that this marriage would bring political and economic rewards to the kingdom.¹

¹ On Anglo-Spanish relations during the early modern period, see Anne J. Cruz, ed., *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) and Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2013).

The prospect of a dynastic marriage between the Habsburgs and Stuarts provided opportunities for English political subjects promoting the marriage to re-envision history as teleologically or even typologically leading to the union. For instance, an engraving created in anticipation of the match shows María of Austria below an arch inscribed, “This Table sheweth The Seuerall mariages that haue past betwext England and Spaine since the Conquest wth their seueral Armes.”² Other engravings from the same years show Charles and María, hands clasped, underneath conventional monarchical imagery and heraldic devices.³ Anticipatory commemorations of the marriage union featured ways of imagining alternative genealogical paradigms—spiritual, literary, imperial—for inscribing the union within each kingdom’s history. These permutations of the iconography of power sought to neutralize fears about conversion and religious difference as they delineated the relationship between king, future queen, and state.

Two bold articulations of the genealogical links between the Spanish Habsburgs and the English royal line appeared in works from the early 1620s celebrating the proposed Spanish match. Both take up the project of situating the current political conditions within the history of Anglo-Spanish royal marriages. The English Brigittine nuns, living in Lisbon since the late sixteenth century, commissioned a manuscript addressed to Philip III (*d.* 1621) and his daughter, the *infanta* María of Austria, which links the Lancastrian Henry V and the Habsburg Philip II in a genealogy of religious patronage. The manuscript represents Henry’s foundation and protection of the monastic community as an expression of royal piety and links this patronage with the preservation of dynastic succession and successful expansionist imperialism based upon divine favor. Thus, the nuns highlight their own legitimizing power in their supplication for Habsburg patronage. The nuns

² The engraving is attributed to Renold Elstrack; see Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries: A Descriptive Catalogue with Introductions*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), ii, 183, no. 41.

³ *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*, 62-64, no. 17 and plate 33.

promoted the Spanish match as a means of their own repatriation and, ultimately, the return of England to Catholic rule by featuring Philip II and his descendants as spiritual, and very obliquely, dynastic heirs to the English Lancastrian kings.

Charles's visit to Madrid in 1623 also elicited a great variety of secular responses, including occasional verse and published prose accounts. Andrés Almansa y Mendoza's five *relaciones* published that year record the various festive events and pageants staged in the city. Almansa's first *relación* describes the arrival of Charles in Madrid and begins with a prologue which includes a historical synopsis of Plantagenet and Lancastrian intermarriages with Castile. Almansa uses this genealogy to highlight the chivalric model of earlier English princes for contemporary royals and to structure a typological parallel between these and Charles. Almansa's historical preamble casts Edward I of England's visit to Castile to retrieve his Spanish bride as a precedent for Charles's visit. Through an allusion to Edward the Black Prince's military support of Pedro I, Almansa further highlights the strength of dynastic alliances founded upon chivalric principles during civil crises and war. By framing the events of Charles's visit within an idealized medieval past exalted for its codes of chivalric conduct, Almansa is able to represent the actions of Charles and Philip within a model of courtly "honor" that in its antiquarian hints of nostalgia was very much ideologically and aesthetically of-the-moment. Almansa's *relaciones* describe the *infanta* as a courtly lady—the object of her "knight," Charles's, affection. The *relaciones*'s rich descriptions of Madrid city-space, of festivals, pageantry, fireworks, costume and other instances of material culture further negotiate not only the power relationships between political agents and factions, but also the highly-mediated control over the royal image presented to his readers in Spain as well as abroad, through published translations.

Both the Briggittine nuns' commissioned book, now called the Arundel Castle Manuscript, and Almansa's *relaciones* offer nuanced visions of the past, specifically, of the history of dynastic

alliances between England and Spain and the attendant cultural productions associated with these unions. Their insistence on the rhetorical utility of “antique” bonds of alliance, articulated in a spirit of self-aware transhistorical referentiality and cultural mimesis—of what we might now call medievalism—is complemented by a driving interest in the political iconography of tropes of foundation. Moreover, several themes or political preoccupations common to both textual productions give witness to the sustained reflection upon the political and religious implications of a Stuart-Habsburg match. Both rewrite dynastic genealogy and stage interventions in political history as they co-opt “originative” historical moments. The Syon nuns depict their own monastic foundation as intimately tied to Henry V’s military success; Almansa’s *relaciones* look to the early “adventures” of English princes on Iberian soil, and the dynastic marriages that resulted from them, as the precedent for Charles’s visit to Spain.

Each text negotiates the politics of privileged monarchical access in ways that reflect the exigencies of manuscript and print culture. For the Brigittine nuns, their royal patronage in decades (and centuries) past entitles them to special privilege—especially at the end of a reign which saw a proliferation of new royal monastic foundations—and this privilege, along with the religious content and context of their petition, dictates their choice of a royal gift. Almansa’s journalistic narrative records not only public civic events but also the more private dialogue between political agents, or suggestive anecdotes regarding the royals which would not have taken place in public view. After the reign of Philip III, in which the visibility of the king was highly mediated, his image was displayed in controlled instances of portraiture. Almansa’s widely-disseminated descriptions of the performance of kingship by the recently-crowned Philip IV mark an important episode in the representation of Philip’s sovereignty available for public (and through translation, international) consumption.

Additionally, both texts demonstrate an interest in the relationship between the monarch's devotional practices and the ethics of princely rule.

The Arundel Castle Manuscript and Almansa's *relaciones* both give a special place in their prenuptial narratives for the *infanta* María as an agent in the political negotiations of the match. The *infanta* operates on the peripheries of masculine social structures that both the Arundel Castle Manuscript and Almansa's *relaciones* celebrate—though she features largely in the textual apparatus of the Arundel Castle Manuscript, she is absent from the manuscript's pictorial cycle, which focuses exclusively on the monarchical figures of Henry V, Philip II, and Philip III. Yet the *infanta* is the object of the entire providential narrative of repatriation created by the nuns, and the final figure in a specifically matriarchal spiritual typology that complements the political one embodied by Henry V and Philip II. In the person of the *infanta* María, these two lines of descent—the spiritual and the monarchical—converge. In Almansa's *relaciones*, the *infanta* is the ultimate object of the courtly effusions of friendship and chivalric camaraderie between Philip IV and Prince Charles. Whether these actions were self-directed or orchestrated by other courtly figures, one of the enduring features of representations of Charles's Spanish match was that of the pious princess who pleads for English Catholics. Read together, the Arundel Castle Manuscript and Almansa's *relaciones* both portray the *infanta* as a defender of Catholics, a figure who embodies the more uncompromising attitudes towards ideological difference. In both representations, the *infanta* María symbolizes dynastic affiliation and fulfils the role of foreign consorts within interdynastic marriages as transcultural political agents. Writing from within the bounds of Habsburg territory, any representation of a

Spanish princess must take into consideration the legacy of Castilian queenship and the influence of Hapsburg royal women which underlies the perceived power of the infanta as a dynastic agent.⁴

The polemic surrounding this controversial marriage, like other early modern debates about female power and sovereignty, drew upon and contributed to an evolving cultural grammar of queenship, one that would take into account not only the nature of gendered authority, but also issues of cultural and religious difference. How would the *infanta* conform to received expectations of her role as queen? English rituals and iconography of queenship were deeply traditional, even if they were framed and deployed in specific and historically-situated ways.⁵ The most important roles of queens consort were to enable dynastic continuity, to add to the magnificence of her husband's court through participation in ritual performance and court splendor, and to create and maintain

⁴ Though Spain had a run of Hapsburg kings—Charles V, Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV—their claims to the country were ultimately through a Trastamaran queen, Isabella the Catholic, and her daughter Juana. Furthermore, the close female relations of Philip IV wielded significant power at his court. Recent English-language works on Spanish queens regnant and consort include Janna Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Therese Martin, *Queen As King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and *The King's Other Body: Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Nuria Silleras-Fernandez, *Power, Piety, and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship: Maria De Luna* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). On Isabella the Catholic in particular, see Barbara F. Weissberger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Barbara F. Weissberger, ed., *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis, 2008); Peggy K. Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); David A. Boruchoff, *Isabel La Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Nancy Rubin Stuart, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

⁵ On English queenship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, see John Carmi Parsons, ed., *Medieval Queenship* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); Anne Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1997); Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves, eds., *High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed., *Queenship in Europe, 1660-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz, eds., *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Joanna Laynessmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in Late Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Katherine Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2000); Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-west Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Lisa Hopkins, *Women Who Would Be Kings: Female Rulers of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Vision Press, 1991).

political alliances. The power of queens was often grounded in their capacity to ensure hereditary succession, and this quality of motherhood, often accompanied by a prominent intercessory role, had overtones of Marian devotion.⁶ In the conservative English political ideology of royal power, the role of queens as political agents in a public capacity was mainly to act as peace-makers and supplicants of their husbands on behalf of his subjects.⁷ However, traditional paradigms of queenship in England were radically altered by the accession of several queens regnant in Britain: Mary, Queen of Scots, Mary Tudor, and Elizabeth Tudor (and, if only in name, Lady Jane Grey). These monarchs transformed the political symbolism and praxis of queenship even as they drew upon its longstanding rituals and iconography. Their sovereignty complicated and qualified traditional patriarchal imagery of English monarchical rule.⁸ The Stuart line, inherited from the Tudors agnatically, returned to many of these patriarchal expressions of sovereignty, but the dynamic rhetoric of queenship forged during earlier Tudor reigns lingered in the cultural and political spheres and informed the depiction of Stuart queen consorts.

The political significance of the Spanish match, as Alexander Samson has argued, extended to the “nature of dynasticism” itself.⁹ The inevitable prospect of a foreign queen, her foreign retinue, and the potential sympathies of any royal offspring towards his or her maternal family colors the heavily-theorized relationship between the early modern sovereign and his polity, a quasi-contractual relationship which encompassed issues and ideals of just rule underlying political legitimacy. The

⁶ Lois L. Huneycutt, “Intercession and the High Medieval Queen: the Esther Topos,” in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, eds. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 126-46 and John Carmi Parsons, “The Queen’s Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England” in *Power of the Weak*, 147-77.

⁷ In practice, of course, some queens overstepped the bounds of these rigidly-defined and circumscribed roles. Medieval England saw formidable foreign queens—Eleanor of Castile, Isabella of France, Margaret of Anjou—though history has not always been kind to them for role in the political life of the kingdom.

⁸ Kristin E. S. Zapalac, “Patriarchal Power and Paternal Imagery,” in *In His Image and Likeness: Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990) and Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

⁹ See Alexander Samson, ed., *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 1.

contingency of foreign policy and dynastic intermarriage—issues which were intimately bound up with religious and national identity—challenged and complicated this dominant, sovereign model of power. In the case of the *infanta* María, both religious and secular accounts highlight her political agency, which often takes the form of religious patronage. The Arundel Castle Manuscript and Almansa's *relaciones* suggest the degree to which dynastic iconography and ideology were becoming inextricably tied to religious affiliation in a manner that overpowered competing discourses, such as chivalry, which sought to create conciliatory diplomatic languages of historicized commonality and cultural traditions. If the foreign bride was traditionally a figure in whom dynastic—and national—difference could be bridged through transculturation and marital union, then she could also be recast as a figure in whom the most entrenched qualities of cultural identity symbolically coalesce in an essentialist fashion. The Syon nuns feature the *infanta* as a mediatrix who channels the patronage of her grandfather Philip II, as well as his wife Mary Tudor's spirit of orthodox expansionism. The *infanta* embodies a Habsburg spiritual authority that transcends the bounds of Spanish imperial geography to restore an originative English faith. Almansa's *relaciones*, though they dramatize the *infanta*'s promotion of English Catholic interests, subordinate and frame her actions within the interwoven discourses of dynasticism and chivalric, male friendship. Almansa features the match as another in a line of dynastic marriages between England and Spain, and describes the *infanta* as a courtly lady for Charles to win through gallantry, obliquely echoing the visit of Edward I of England to the court of Alfonso X to collect his bride. The romance subtext of Almansa's news pamphlets centralizes Charles and Philip IV's performance chivalric friendship within the gift economy of marriage. Princely friendship, inextricably tied to the rituals of courtship, serves as a means to negotiate the transcultural politics of the contested marriage alliance.

The English Brigittine Nuns in Lisbon: The Spanish Match and a Habsburg Genealogy of Monastic Patronage

When Charles, Prince of Wales arrived in Madrid in summer of 1623 after traveling incognito through France to sue for the hand of Philip IV's sister, the *infanta* María of Austria, his "surprise" appearance in the Habsburg capital served as the culmination of years of diplomatic maneuvering by senior political agents at the Stuart court, especially the Spanish ambassador Count Gondomar and the Duke of Buckingham. The prospect of a Spanish match for Charles had elicited a multiplicity of responses for and against a Stuart-Habsburg union, and publications issued in England in the early 1620's bear witness to the strongly polemical treatment of Charles's potential Habsburg marriage.¹⁰ The salient religious implications of such a marriage, including the legislation of religious freedoms for Catholics in England and the repatriation of recusants in exile, underlie many of these textual responses. Unsurprisingly, English Catholic communities in Britain and on the Continent supported the match. By contrast, radical Protestant contingents vehemently opposed the marriage as well as any conciliatory measures that would benefit Catholics in England or openly reintroduce Catholicism into courtly devotional practice. Public opinion regarding the match was not, however, drawn entirely along religious lines. A prominent "Spanish faction" at James's court supported the marriage for mainly political, rather than religious reasons—for it, a dynastic union with the Habsburgs would provide the basis for political, monarchical, and economic stability in Europe which would be beneficial to Stuart Britain.¹¹ Likewise, in Spain the viability of a Stuart match was a hotly-contested and deeply factional issue, and its fruition was hindered not only by

¹⁰ See Samson, ed., *The Spanish Match*; Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta* (London: Yale University Press, 2003); Michael C. Questier, *Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religious Politics, 1621-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2009), esp. 37-54; and Brennan Pursell, "The End of the Spanish Match," *Historical Journal* 45 (2002): 699-726.

¹¹ On English Catholic responses to Stuart dynastic marriage, see Michael C. Questier, *Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religious Politics, 1621-1625*, 2: "Many of these letters do not contain a great deal of information or material which cannot be garnered from other sources. They are important, however, because they reveal a crucial (Catholic) component of 'public-sphere' politics, in other words the range (and means and modes of expression) or opinions and discourses which were deployed in reaction to the Stuart court's highly controversial attempts to secure the future of the dynasty through a marriage for Prince Charles. In the often fraught conditions of late Jacobean polity, Catholics, like certain Protestants, availed themselves of the opportunity to agitate and lobby for public and official approval and confirmation of their particular glosses on and attitudes to the questions raised by royal foreign policy." On the Spanish faction see Questier, *Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religious Politics*, 9.

ideological differences between the two monarchs, but also by the machinations of the powerful royal favorite, the Count-Duke Olivares.

The ongoing negotiations for a Spanish match for Prince Charles stirred the hopes of these communities in Ireland, France, and Spain (including Portugal, annexed by Philip II in 1580) for repatriation. The recusant English religious communities on the Continent produced theological, literary, and historical texts that expressed distinctive perspectives on the English regnal succession and the political status of English Catholics both at home and abroad.¹² A manuscript commissioned by the Lisbon-based community of English Brigittine Nuns in anticipation of the proposed Spanish match constructs a typology of religious patronage that links Henry V's royal foundation at Syon Abbey with Philip II's protection of the community both in England and on the Continent.¹³ Unlike the publications printed in Douai and St Omer, this manuscript was created as a unique presentation copy for specific royal recipients: Philip III and the *infanta* María. The Arundel Castle Manuscript reimagines Habsburg political "descent" from the English royal line, establishing a genealogy of

¹² On English Catholics in the early modern period, see Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975); Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535-1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Brian Magee, *The English Recusants: A Study of the Post-Reformation Catholic Survival and the Operation of the Recusancy Laws* (London: Burns, Oates and Co., 1938); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993); Ian Atherton and Julie Sanders, eds., *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary Essays on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), and on recusant presses especially, see A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559-1582: A Historical and Critical Account of the Books of the Catholic Refugees Printed and Published Abroad and at Secret Presses in England Together with an Annotated Bibliography of the Same* (London: Sands, 1950). Also relevant to the topic of English Catholics are Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier, eds., *Religion, Literature and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Debora K. Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

¹³ All text and translations from the Arundel Castle Manuscript are from Christopher De Hamel, *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and Their Peregrinations After the Reformation: an Essay* (Smith Settle, Otley: Privately printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1991), hereafter cited as *Syon Abbey*, with pagination for the English translation given first and the for Spanish original given second. See also Nancy Bradley Warren, "Dissolution, Diaspora, and Defining Englishness: Syon in Exile and Elizabethan Politics," in *Women of God and Arms: Female Spirituality and Political Conflict, 1380-1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 139-167.

Catholic monarchs that identifies Philip II and his son Philip III as the “true descendants” of the Lancastrian kings:

Driven out from their royal foundation, founded and endowed by Your Majesty’s predecessors, the Kings of England, as the Annals of that kingdom relate, these servants of Our Lord did not lack his protection, for he touched and inspired the royal hearts of Your Majesty and of Your Most Zealous Father, King Philip II, true descendents of their founders, the English Kings, to take them to your charge and sustain them with your annual pension for all the sixty-one years of their hardships, journeys and exiles, as already described.¹⁴

This manuscript was not only an “*aide-memoire*” for its royal recipients of the community’s history, but it was also a bold vision of a providential political history linking the exile of the nuns with the English regnal succession.¹⁵ The manuscript’s pictorial cycle counterpoints Henry V’s founding of Syon Abbey with Philip II’s welcoming of the Brigittine community back to London during Marian reign, and then later into his Continental territories. By narrating the continuity of the community’s religious patronage from Henry V through Philip II, the manuscript offers a perspective on Anglo-Spanish royal relations that animates the political desire for repatriation of English Catholic religious women in exile.

¹⁴ *Syon Abbey* 33-4; 21-22: “porque faltando la su dicha Real fundaçion hecha y dotada por los Reyes de Inglatierra predeçeres de V. Magd. como consta por los Anales del dicho Reyno todauia Nuestro Señor no faltó a estas sus siervas de inspirar y tocar El Real pecho de V. Mgd. y de su Zelossissimo padre El Rey Phelippe segundo como verdaderos descendientes de los dichos Reys jngelezes sus fundadores dellas Tomarlas a su quenta y sustentallas con su pension anual por todo este tiempo de 61 años destos sus dichos Trabajos pelegrinaçiones y destierros atras declarados.”

¹⁵ *Syon Abbey* 9: “The text, written in a formal and somewhat stilted Spanish, comprises the dedication to the Princess of Wales, followed by an introductory account of the foundation of the Order and the history of the nuns. Following the nine miniatures, five pages contain an account of their extraordinary peregrinations with a fuller explanation of the events depicted in the miniatures. The whole manuscript was intended as an *aide-memoire* for the King of Spain and his daughter, to encourage them to consider the nuns’ plight and to assist in their cherished aim of returning to England. The failure of the Spanish match dashed the hopes of the nuns and the manuscript was never delivered to Philip III but remained in the possession of the community for nearly 200 years.”

The Arundel Castle Manuscript's texts and images foreground the privileged relationship between the monastic community and the three monarchs depicted in the manuscript: Henry V, Philip II, and Philip III. (Mary Tudor is mentioned as Philip's wife though never depicted; nor are the two monarchs responsible for the expulsion of the nuns from Syon Abbey, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.) The striking visual iconography of the final manuscript painting evokes the spiritual authority of Philip II through his protection of the English Brigittine nuns. The painting, which appears above a "Prayer of Thanksgiving for the King of Spain,"¹⁶ uses a conventional scene of patron and saintly intercessor to emphasize not only the personal, but the familial piety of Philip II, whose young son, the nuns hope, will continue to provide political support for their community. The symbolic depiction of Philip's piety through the recognizable trope of saintly intercession grounds the cycle's more radical assertions about Habsburg political claims to English authority within a traditional, hagiographical schema. As the final image in a larger sequence of chronological images of exile and return, the painting points to an ultimate teleology of repatriation.

The manuscript's genealogical paradigms showcase the role of kings as religious patrons as central to their kingdom's "national" or dynastic histories. Crucially, such patronage undergirds their own sovereign authority. In commemorating the nuns' peregrinations, the manuscript stages the nuns' claims of English national affiliation within an international context as they expose the contingency of dynastic and monastic modes of history. Philip II's depiction as the perennial protector of the specifically *English* exiled nuns casts him, as well as his son, as the "true descendents" of the Abbey's founder's, "the English Kings." This linkage emphasizes the historical occasion of the Abbey's foundation as intrinsically connected with Henry V's military victories in France:

¹⁶ *Syon Abbey* 8-9.

Firstly, if Your Majesty were so inclined, he would know that King Henry V, who was the second king of the royal house of Lancaster in England, in the year 1413, the second of his reign, before he began his victorious wars, in which he sought to engage so that God might give him happy and marvellous [*sic*] success in them, founded with great devotion this monastery and convent of Syon of the Order of St Bridget. This royal foundation and building, the fruit of the King's aspirations and benefiting from the reputation of his heroic achievements, as well as from the exemplary virtue of the convent itself, lasted and endured, famous and universally respected, until that grievous and infamous about-face of Henry VIII.¹⁷

Henry V's wars of conquest are intimately, even causally, linked with his foundation of Syon Abbey.¹⁸ Conquest and religious patronage together establish his religious and political authority, and, implicitly ground the political theory of sacred monarchy in dynastic history, symbolized in the heraldry of the three red roses of Lancaster.¹⁹ Henry VIII's dissolution subsequently ruptures this idealized affiliation of monarch with monastic community. The nuns' manuscript reactivates a sense of typological history that glosses over the Tudor moment, which is decoupled with bloodlines and which authorizes its power through the mechanisms of spectacle rather than the sacralization of biolineage. The exegetical modes of thought that govern typology, however, accommodate such ruptures in the continually-unfolding time of providential history. The manuscript paintings depict

¹⁷ *Syon Abbey* 30; 18: "Primeramente si V. Magd. fuere servido sabra como El Rey Henrico quinto q' era el segundo Rey de la Real casa de Lancastro en Inglatierra en el an'õ de 1413 en el segundo an'õ de su Reyno antes de començar sus Victoriosas guerras q' pretendia hazer porq' Dios le diesse en ellas felices cuçessos como lo dio Maravillosos El con mucha devoçion fundo este Monasterio y convento de Sion dela orden de S'ta Brizida cuja Real fundaçion y obra despues de Sus dichas pretençiones y heroicas ymprezas acabadas juntamente con la Exemplar Virtud del dicho convento duraron y perseveraron con much fama y grande estima de todos hasta aquella lastimosa y infame mundaça de Henrique octavo..."

¹⁸ On the foundation of Syon Abbey, see George James Aungier, *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery: The Parish of Islenorth, and the Chapelry of Hounslow* (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1840).

¹⁹ The heraldic three red roses of Lancaster appear on the second painting; see *Syon Abbey* 7.

the plight of the nuns as they are alternately ejected from London by Henry VIII and Elizabeth and harbored by Philip.

For the English Brigittine nuns, the genealogy of royal patrons becomes an alternate way of envisioning a line of royal succession tropologically. Indeed, the Arundel Castle Manuscript was possibly produced by a scribe or workshop that also created Spanish noble genealogies, and would thus be influenced by the aesthetic and structural principles of that genre.²⁰ Unlike so many of the secular expressions of joint or contingent descent between the English and Spanish royal lines produced in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Arundel Castle Manuscript emphasizes not royal consanguinity but rather a continuity of religious patronage across dynastic lines. The manuscript commemorates Philip as the protector of the community—his claims to the nun’s gratitude and praise are that he continues the “virtuous” work of Henry V and the “English Kings” who patronized the Abbey—and though he had English royal blood in his own right, his political authority in England is as Mary’s husband. This continuity from Henry V to Philip of Spain underscores the unwillingness of the Tudors (and implicitly, the Stuarts as well), to welcome back the nuns, who lament the “aching loss of [their] native land, families and mother tongue,”²¹ to England. Moreover, the historical content of the manuscript undermines conventional Tudor claims of Lancastrian descent by opposing the Tudor disavowal of the nuns to their virtuous foundation by Henry V. Through divine intervention, the Kings of Spain assume the responsibility for protecting English monastic heritage; the exiled nuns must appeal to the descendants of Philip II, rather than to the Stuarts, for continued protection and the securing of their return to England.

²⁰ *Syon Abbey* 7: “Historicizing details lend the scenes a certain additional interest. Henry V, for instance, in the panel showing the founding of Syon, is dressed in what is obviously meant to be medieval costume. Some of the miniatures are embellished with appropriate royal heraldry. The combination of historicist details and accurate heraldry suggests that the miniatures may have been the work of an heraldic artist of the sort used to compile the elaborate noble genealogies (*Las Cartas executórias de hidalgüia*) which formed such a feature of Spanish seventeenth-century manuscript production, rather than a conventional artist.”

²¹ *Syon Abbey* 25; 13: “la grande falta de nuestra patria’ parientes, y language.”

The text and images of the manuscript, by illustrating the direct association of the nuns with Henry V or Philip II, underscore the reciprocal relationship between monastic houses and monarch. This is the case both in the description of the Abbey's foundation, which links Henry V's victory in war with his virtuous generosity to the community, and in the various religious allegories the manuscript presents to petition the current Spanish king, Philip III, for continuing protection and economic support. Narrating their arrival in Lisbon in 1594, the manuscript triangulates the relationship of the nuns with the king and with God, who "made choice of and ordered Your Majesty as His most zealous and proper instrument, to be the entire supply and relief of all [their] needs until through His divine mercy He converts, and recalls them to, their longed-for native land."²² The manuscript further expresses the nature of the relationship between the Spanish king and the nuns through biblical typology:

Your Royal Majesty not only kept watch over all our toils and wanderings, as did many other princes and nobles in the lands through which we passed, but was our royal or, better said, our angelic consort and companion. The protection that the angel Raphael gave Tobias on his journey and that was given on that thrice greater journey of Joseph with the Son of God and with his Most Divine Mother on their flight into Egypt, you, O Most Powerful King, gave to this humble and exiled convent dedicated to the Mother of God, not once but many times, as will be shown by inspecting the images that follow.²³

²² *Syon Abbey* 34; 22: "ordeno a V. Mdg. como el mas Zeloso y proprio Instrumento suyo por ser el entero supplimiento y Remedio de toda la dicha falta hasta q' el por su divina misericordia convierta y las Revoque a su deseada patria..."

²³ *Syon Abbey* 28; 16: "Como se paraçera claramente mas abaxo, de toda la qual nuestra perigrinaçion y sudor V.R. Magd. estuvo no solamente a la miro como muchos otros prinçipes y grandes deotras Tierras por las quales passamos estuuieron, sino Nuestro Real o por dizir mejor Nuestro Angelico consorte y compañero, porq' lo q' El angel Raphael hizo con Tobias en su cumplido viage, y q'mas es loq' aquel tres vezes grandissimo Joseph hizo, con el hijo de Dios y su divinissima madre en su huida y destierro por Egipto lo mismo, O poderosissimo Rey hizistes no por una sino por

The iconography of the flight of the Holy Family from Egypt visually and symbolically provides a background to the nuns' own peregrinations, as can be seen from the first manuscript painting. Through this angelic and highly-politicized metaphor of deliverance, the manuscript articulates a spiritual economy of exchange, turning the indebtedness of the nuns to the Spanish king into an aggressive argument for his particular favor.²⁴ The king will reap many rewards from his patronage of the nuns, the manuscript argues. His generosity towards them will bring him honor, a central concept in the early modern political theory and iconography of monarchy, and it will lead to both worldly acclaim and divine favor for the king: "Truly the world will be amazed to see so great a monarch giving his particular attention to helping and preserving such humble and poor foreigners..."²⁵ Ultimately, the manuscript argues that the nuns' prayers will help effect the perpetuation of his dynastic line. This reciprocity between the nuns and the king is most forcefully expressed in the self-identification of the nuns with their "preserver," the king:

Hence, O Most Clement King, all the good that we have in this life is Yours, all our past hardships and sufferings are Yours, all our perseverance for so long and in so many foreign lands are Yours, and lastly all our prayers and our very lives are Yours, because all our sustenance, succor and preservation on which all the rest is founded is Yours, and thus, Most Clement Monarch, take this present from the hand of our poverty...²⁶

muchas vezes por este humilde y desterrado convento dedicado a la misma Madre de Dios como se mostrara a la Vista de todos por las figuras sequientes."

²⁴ On the political significance of this angelic metaphor, see John M. Archer, *Sovereignty and Intelligence: Spying and Court Culture in the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

²⁵ *Syon Abbey* 28-9; 16-17: "verdaderamente es tanto q' como El mundo se spanta de verla, y de mirar tan grandissimo monarca atentar tan particularmente al amparo y perservacion de unas tan humildes y pobres estrangeras..."

²⁶ *Syon Abbey* 29; 17: "Por donde o Clementissimo Rey todo El bien q' en esta Vida tenemos es Vuestro todos nuestros Trabajos [y] sufrimientos passados son Vuestros, toda nuestra perseverancia por tanto tiempo y por tantas tierras ajenas son Vuestras y finalmente todas nuestras oraciones y las mismas Vidas son Vuestras porq' todo nuestro susteno amparo

The nuns' praise of the king is painted in shades of loaded expectation. The great need of the community elicits an equally great religious obligation on the part of the monarch. The most salient political "payoff" of this quasi-contractual spiritual relationship is the securing of the king's dynastic continuity and his kingdom's political health:

it is nothing more than Your rightful merits and multiple greatness which are extended, not only to our sorely afflicted cousins, now persecuted for our Holy Faith, but also to our glorious mother, St Bridget, obliging her to procure through her intercession the happy and prosperous succession and protection of Your royal progeny through the sustenance and preservation of this family of your daughters in their laborious pilgrimage and exile, and also to obtain from Our Lord the fulfillment in these Your kingdoms and dominions of his divine promise made in these words, *in omni regno terra aut civitate in quibus monasteria huius ordinis cum Vicarii mei licentia constructa fuerint augetur ibi pax et Concordia*; which is the best blessing that can be bestowed on any kingdom or republic.²⁷

The "peace and concord" of the kingdom is intimately linked with monastic foundation. This section of the manuscript closes with praise for Philip II, and thus emphasizes the national—even imperial—obligation of the current king (who, like his father, cultivated a reputation for piety) to follow his father's model of sacred kingship.

y perservacion en el qual todo lo demas esta fundado es Vuestro y assi Clementissimo monarca tomad este prezente de la mano de nuestra pobreza..."

²⁷ *Syon Abbey* 29-30; 18-19: "q' no es otra cosa q' los propios merecimientos y grandezas Vuestras las quales no Solamente so estienden a nuestros affligidissimos parientes que agora estan persequidos por nuestra Sta. fee sino Tambien anuestra gloriosa madre Sta. Brizida obligandola de procurar por su jntercission la felice y prospera suçession y proteçion de V. Real propagaçion y generaçion por el sustento y perservacion desta familia de sus hijas en esta trabajosa peregrinaçion y destierro, y juntamenta de alcançar de Nuestro sñor El cumplimiento de su divina promission en estos Vuestros Reynos y dominios hecha por estassus palabras, 'in omni Regno terra aut civitate in quibus Monasteria huius ordinis cu[m] Vicarij mei licentia constracta fuerint augetur ibi pax et concordia', que es la mayor benediçion que puede llegar aqual quer Reyno o republica."

The Arundel Castle Manuscript's treatment of gender reflects its multiple intended audiences, its two anticipated recipients, Philip III and his sister the *infanta* María. The section of the text addressing the king himself, as well as the picture cycle, focuses distinctly on masculine, kingly authority. The parallelism between Henry V and Philip II in the paintings and corresponding glosses marginalizes the role of Mary Tudor in the brief repatriation of the Brigittine nuns, while the final painting emphasizes the patriarchal descent of the Habsburg line from Philip II to Philip III. In contrast, the section of the text specifically addressed to the *infanta*, under the heading "The Petition To Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales Whom God Preserve," emphasizes the role of queenship not only in the preservation and ultimate return of the nuns to England, but also in the preservation of dynastic continuity through royal marriages.²⁸ The manuscript commemorates the devotion of the *infanta's* predecessors to St Bridget through supporting her "religious daughters," and enjoins the princess to follow in their example: "Your Most Serene Highness is like a green branch of her predecessors, flourishing in the imitation of their virtues and with their continuous exercise."²⁹ The manuscript already identifies the *infanta* as the betrothed of Charles I, and indicates that this marriage is the fruit of the nuns' prayers. As future queen of England, the nuns hope, the *infanta* will facilitate the return of the nuns to Syon, and, ultimately, the hoped-for conversion of England to Roman Catholicism:

So with good reason must this humble convent hope for the special favour and protection of Your Highness, for during the whole length and duration of our exile we have always enjoyed the special and most benevolent favour and protection of your Catholic parents, and rightly so, since we do not doubt that the entreaties and

²⁸ *Syon Abbey* 23; 11.

²⁹ *Syon Abbey* 23; 11: "Vuestra Serenissima Alteza siendo como un ramo verde, y floreciente con la imitacion de sus virtudes y con la continuacion dellas consequente mente..."

prayers of our glorious mother, the hardships of these her daughters, have negotiated and brought about, through Our Lord, the marriage of Your Highness with our very great Prince of Great Britain, with this special intention that Your Highness should go to assume her place as mother and patroness and singular refuge of her daughters. And just as Queen Mary, wife of the great Philip, your Royal grandfather, resettled the convent following its exile in Flanders, so Our Lord ordained that the Princess Mary, wife of the aforementioned famous Prince, should resettle it a second time from the foreign kingdoms to which it had again been exiled, and has now, through this marriage of Your Highness, opened the door for our holy Catholic faith to enter England.³⁰

By creating a nominal typology between Mary Tudor and the *infanta* María, the manuscript imagines an alternate model for reinscribing the Habsburg spiritual authority into English regnal history. This association between royal Marys overtly draws upon tropes of Marian worship which are fundamental to the expression of Catholic female religious devotion in the Counter-Reformation era. The manuscript also likens the *infanta* to Esther in a rhetorical gesture that recalls the pageant of Esther in Mary Tudor's royal entry in London decades before.³¹ This portion of the manuscript also creates an analogy between the peregrinations of Abraham and those of St Brigit with underlying

³⁰ *Syon Abbey* 23-4; 11-12: "y con mucha razon este humilde convento deue esperar el particular favor, y protection de Vuestra Alteza, como ya por todo el tiempo, y descurso de nuestro destierro siempre tuuimos el espeçial, y benignissimo amparo, y protection de sus dichos catholicos padres, y con mucha razon porque no dudamos, sino que los ruegos, y oraciones de nuestra gloriosa madre uistos los trabajos destas sus hijas tiene negoçiado, y alcançado de nuestro señor el casamiento de Vuestra Alteza con nuestro muy grandioso Príncipe de la gran Bretaña con esta espeçial intencion que Vuestra Alteza fuesse y entrasse en su lugar por madre patrona y singular amparo dellas, y ansi que nuestro señor (mediante este casamiento de Vuestra Alteza abriendo la puerta para nuestra sancta fee catholica entrar en Inglatierra) como la Reyna Maria muger del grande Rey Phelippe Vuestro Real abuelo reduzio este convento de su destierro en Flances, assi la prinçesa Maria esposa del dicho famoso Príncipe lo redusiera esta segunda vez de los Reynos estraños para adonde [e]stava otra vez desterrado."

³¹ *Syon Abbey* 24 and 12.

resonances of national self-identification.³² Voicing the dearest hopes of English recusant communities abroad, the manuscript anticipates that the *infanta* Maria will be like a second Esther, leading the English community of nuns back into their country under the spiritual guidance of St Brigit, who is described as of equal or superior stature to Abraham. This expression of matriarchal spiritual and national leadership nuances and complements the patriarchal schema of the manuscript's illustrations. By appealing to a female patroness, the nuns conflate the Marian devotional trope of spiritual intercession with the political trope in earlier English tradition of queens as intercessors.³³

In the Arundel Castle Manuscript, the theme of exile reinforces the nuns' sense of English national identity within a multinational setting, just as their use of the Spanish language marks them as operating between cultures of belonging.³⁴ The displaced nuns represent themselves as pilgrims; their spiritual exile imitates that of their patron, Saint Bridget, whose "holy and exemplary pilgrimage" serves as a model for "her true daughters, who follow and journey in her auspicious footsteps, and in her exiles and wanderings."³⁵ Drawing on the *homo viator* theme, or the allegorical valence of an individual's life as a pilgrimage, the manuscript describes how the community itself is likewise consigned to a *peregrinatio*. The nuns' physical and emotional suffering defines their religious exile that ultimately brings them to Lisbon in 1594. In addition to the dangers posed by travel and

³² *Syon Abbey* 28: "For if the children of Abraham highly esteemed their great patriarch as their father with how much greater reason are we, true religious daughters of this glorious Saint, able to delight in and esteem our great and Most Holy Mother"; and 16: "pues q' los hijos de Abraham se preçiaron mucho de su dicho grande Patriarcha y ser hijos del, con quanto mayor Razon nosotras las verdaderas Religiosas hijas desta gloriosa S'ta. nos podemos holgar y preçiararnos de Nuestra tan grande y sanctissima madre..."

³³ Paul Strohm, "Queens as Intercessors" in *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 95-119, and John C. Parsons, *Medieval Queenship* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

³⁴ On the theme of exile in early modern English religious writing see, for example, Christopher Highley, "Exile and Religious Identity in Early Modern England," *Reformation* 15 (2010): 51-61, and Peter Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State," in *Discipline and Diversity. Studies in Church History*, Vol. 43, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 263-284, 275.

³⁵ *Syon Abbey* 27; 15: "porque el claramente trata de Su Sta. y Exemplar peregrinaçion, y consequentemente de nos otras sus Verdaderas hijas que seguimos ye Caminamos por sus dichosos passos y destierros y peregrinaçiones..."

hostile “heretics,” the nuns lament the “the aching loss of our native land, families and mother tongue, as well as our extreme poverty in foreign lands and kingdoms.”³⁶ The teleology of the illustration cycle begins with the dual foundation of the community and Syon Abbey itself; the rest of the sequence charts the peregrinations of the nuns as they are separated from their rightful building, their legitimate home, to which the community is metonymically linked. The recurrent London cityscapes in the illustrations emphasize the nuns’ association with not only the religious architecture of Syon but also the politically-central, national spaces represented by London. The dissonance of conventless nuns being bound to monastic rule yet traveling extensively in the world is recuperated by the allusion to St Bridget’s own exile. The ideal of religious isolation and female devotion is thus seen as commensurate with the travail of travel and with their contact with a hostile, outside world in which they are harassed and endangered by heretics, “exposed to uproars and riots,” and even threatened by “Flemish and English pirates.”³⁷

The wanderings of the nuns are coextensive with Habsburg imperial geography, as the recurrent figure of Philip II in the manuscript’s paintings illustrates; as an almost omnipresent benefactor, Philip greets the nuns in London, in the Low Countries, and in Lisbon. The nuns skirt the peripheries of Philip’s dominions both geographically and culturally. The Arundel Manuscript is written in Spanish in acknowledgement of Philip’s sovereignty, and thus tentatively marks the nuns as Hapsburg political subjects. The pursuit of religious patronage at the Spanish royal court was highly competitive, and while the Syon nuns secured his protection and some fiscal support, they were relegated to territories far from the center of political authority in Madrid. Moreover, they insist that the vast lands of their protector are always foreign to them:

³⁶ *Syon Abbey* 25; 13.

³⁷ *Syon Abbey* 31-3; 20-1: “la importunidad y Peligro delos herejes Rumores y alborotos...y afrentas y peligros passaron en aquel Viage tanto por Tierra de los dichos herejes como por la mar de los cosarios Flamencos y Inglezes...”

Therefore although we are poor foreigners and in every way unfit to have something worthy to offer Your Majesty, nevertheless for this very reason and being as we are here, we offer a jewel of much greater price and value than all the other many gifts and presents that may arrive. Truly the world will be amazed to see so great a monarch giving his particular attention to helping and preserving such humble and poor foreigners...³⁸

There is a resistance on the part of the nuns to identify Philip as their sovereign in a purely political sense—he is their angelic protector, and they are his privileged beneficiaries, but they are adamantly English national subjects, who paradoxically lack a sovereign monarch or a body politic within which they can assume a spiritual role. Their exile is both a spiritual pilgrimage and nationalist peregrination. The nun’s territorial marking of Hapsburg authority intersects discursively with the conceptual mapping of English confessional spaces and recusant Catholic models of spatiality.³⁹ The nuns’ pervasive use of the recusant trope of exile has both religious and imperial dimensions. The manuscript again invokes the explicitly “royal” figure of Bridget as a model for exploring the contested political status and expatriation of the nuns. Drawing on the medieval scholastic and ultimately neoplatonic commentary tradition of the *Aeneid*, the manuscript alludes to Bridget as an Aeneas-like leader:

³⁸ *Syon Abbey* 28-29; 16-17: “Por tanto aunq’ somos pobres estrageras, y en toda manera inhabiles de tener cosa dina de offereçer a V. Mgd. todauia por este mismo respecto y por ser nos tales aqui offereçemos una joia de mucho mas preçio y valor de todos quantas las otras davidas o prezentes podran llegar, y q’ verdaderamente es tanto q’ como El mundo se spanta de verla, y de mirar tan gradissimo monarca atentar tan particularmente al amparo y perseruaçion de unas tan humildes y pobres estrangeras...”

³⁹ On English Catholic spaces, see Lowell Gallagher, ed., *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2012); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Frances E. Dolan, “Gender and the ‘Lost’ Spaces of Catholicism,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32:4 (Spring, 2002), 641–665; Peter Davidson, “Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England,” in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley, and Arthur F. Marotti (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 19–51; See Julian Yates, “Parasitic Geographies: Manifesting Catholic Identity in Early Modern England,” in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 63–84.

Through her intercession we believe and know that we have made this convent alone, above all the other convents of her Order, approximate more exactly to the heroic steps and toil of her auspicious departure from her native land and family for so many different foreign countries and provinces, so that this convent can say, like the famous Trojan pilgrim, *Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?* [*Aeneid* I, 460].⁴⁰

This Virgilian analogy links the convent to the figure of Aeneas through their founder St Bridget, equating the rise of Reformation England and the dissolution of the monasteries with the destruction of Troy. The nuns, like wandering Aeneas, frame their travels as part of a larger diasporic narrative of expulsion and ultimate return. Just as Aeneas had carried his Penates from burning Troy as they guided him towards Italy to establish a new empire, the nuns' peregrinations will end in a re-founding and re-consecrating of London for English Catholics. The nuns' history of foundation and exile is legible as a typological design in which their repatriation is made to seem like a nationalist destiny. The Brigittine nuns embody a native English religious culture in exile, while the Spanish royal family will restore the community to its homeland—and the homeland to its original orthodoxy.

The manuscript argues for the priority and uniqueness of the nuns among continental English female recusant communities: “more than all other English religious Sisters...our case is unique, since not only were we the first exiles for our Holy Catholic Faith, but also the only ones, of all the orders and convents of English nuns, who have continued and persevered in this very hard

⁴⁰ *Syon Abbey* 28; 16: “por cuyos y entercession creemos y tenemos por cierto averse hecho q'este solo convento sobre todos los otros monasterios de su orden mas ymite aesta heroica obra de su peregrinaçion y q' mucho mas insiste en los Trabajosos passos y sudores de aquella su dichosa salida de su tierra y parnetesco por tantas y tan varias tierras y provinçias ajenas por lo qual este convento podra verdaderamente dizir con el famoso perigrino de Troja. *Qu[a]e regio in terris nostrino[n] plena laboris.*”

exile from its first inception until now.”⁴¹ As the manuscript indicates, during the Henrican era and in subsequent Protestant reigns, “true religion” went into exile; symbolically, the nuns themselves become the representatives of English Catholicism.⁴² The manuscript argues that Philip III should privilege them above other Continental communities:

And in this manner, this unique and only relic of all the houses of religious Sisters of England, through the boundless compassion and goodness of Our Lord, found a safe lodging, free from all the plentiful hardships, storms, and dangers of the past, undergone for the preservation of our Holy Faith and Religion, during which, Our Lord be praised, they always found help and succor from the arm and favour of God.⁴³

In defining themselves as a “relic,” the community of Syon nuns highlights its efficacy in sustaining political authority.⁴⁴ As Alexandra Walsham observes, “relics and remains operate as instruments of legitimation, as vectors and embodiments of authority.”⁴⁵ The manuscript’s analogizing of Henry V

⁴¹ *Syon Abbey* 25; 13: “mas nosotras paticularmente, y mas que todas las otras religiosas Ingelezas podemos con el devoto Mardocheo dizir (quien sabe) porq’ nuestro caso siendo singular, y no solamente començado con los primeros desterrados por nuestra sancta fee catholica Sino Tambien estando nosotras solas de todas las ordenes y monasterios de Religiosas yngelezas que continuaron, y preserveraron en este dicho durissimo destierro desde su primero comensamiento hasta aora...”

⁴² *Syon Abbey* 30: “With that hideous change [i.e. Henry VIII’s reformation] our Holy Faith, and with it all virtue and religion, was utterly overthrown and exiled”; and 18-9: “con la qual tan fea alteraçion como nuestra S’ta. fe y con ella toda Virtud y Religion quedauan Totatmente derribadas y desterradas...”

⁴³ *Syon Abbey* 33; 21: “y desta manera esta Unica y sola Reliquia de todas las Religiosas de Inglatierra por la infinita misericordia y bondad de Nuestro Señor fue puesta em salvo y libre de todos los cumplidos trabajos tempestades y peligros passados padeçidos por la conservaçion de nuestra S’ta. fe y su sta. Religion en los quales loores a nuestro Señor siempre hallaron El braço y amparo devino de asistillas y socorrellas...”

⁴⁴ On relics, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Alexandra Walsham, ed. and introd., *Relics and Remains, Past and Present* Supplement 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). See also Elizabeth A. Robertson and Jennifer Jahner, eds., *Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Objects in Global Perspective: Translations of the Sacred* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Martina Bagnoli, *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2010); and Sally J. Cornelison and Scott B. Montgomery, eds., *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006).

⁴⁵ Walsham, “Relics and Remains,” 24-25.

and Philip II transfers their legitimizing force to a new dynasty. Moreover, it evokes Philip II's confessional habits and the religious aesthetic embodied in his large relic collection at El Escorial. This relic collection, as Guy Lazuare has shown, was itself developed as an expression of dynastic power and sacralization.⁴⁶ The nuns use the political language and iconography of Hapsburg rule in their supplication for patronage, and their manuscript's treatment of Spanish genealogy conspicuously exhorts Philip III to live up to his father's exalted example.

But what does it mean to be a *living* relic? The nuns' self-depiction emphasizes their own corporate embodiment and thus their vulnerability.⁴⁷ Seizing upon the language of transference and mobility, the nuns figure their peregrinations as a type of *translatio* that narrates the journey of a relic to a new devotional site.⁴⁸ The nuns' claim also stresses the more material concerns facing their community. The manuscript's transcendent religious language of spiritual journey contrasts with their plea for physical protection and economic sustenance by a patriarchal protector. Just as relics are "sacred commodities" subjected to valuation, circulation and translation, the nuns present themselves as available spiritual objects—*as well* as subjects—in the Counter-Reformation Habsburg economy of royal patronage.⁴⁹ The nuns' evocation of relics, however, is infused with poignancy, for

⁴⁶ Guy Lazuare, "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 58-93; Rosemarie Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); "Federico Zuccaro and Philip II: The Reliquary Altars for the Basilica of San Lorenzo de el Escorial," *The Burlington Magazine* 129:1013 (Aug., 1987): 502-509; and Alexandra Walsham, "Introduction: Relics and Remains," in *Relics and Remains*, 24-26, who discusses Philip II's relic collection on p. 25 and the "sacralization of the Habsburg monarchy" more generally.

⁴⁷ Walsham, "Relics and Remains," 12: "A relic is ontologically different from a representation or image: it is not a mere symbol or indicator of divine presence, it is an actual physical embodiment of it, each particle encapsulating the essence of the departed person, *pars pro toto*, in its entirety."

⁴⁸ On the mobility of relics, see Walsham, "Relics and Remains," 11; and on the translation of relics, see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 9: "As we examine the nature of these hagiographic sources, particularly *translationes*, we realize that the propagandistic function of these texts and their public liturgical nature demanded that they reflect values and attitudes espoused by their audiences, if they were to be effective. As a result, the values of hagiography mirrored, as a reality or as an ideal, the consensus of the community in which and for which the text was written."

⁴⁹ Geary, *Furta Sacra*, cited in Walsham, "Relics and Remains," 31. See also Patrick Geary, "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 169-191. See also Walsham, "Relics and Remains," 21-22: "Reflective

their surrounding cultural contexts are deeply marked by the repercussions of the Reformation, in which controversies about relics as ironized or metaphorized objects abound. Yet in the manuscript's language of intercession, this orthodox evocation of relics is a specific facet of the privileged royal discourse, a bid for patronage that recognizes and upholds the centrality of relics in devotional practice in the Habsburg family as well as in the convent's own earlier moment of foundation. Far from being corrosive and stranded objects marked by the confessional, relics offer the nuns a grammar in which to articulate their claims to continuing Habsburg support in the midst of competition for religious patronage within their realms.

Finally, the assertion that the nuns are the "only relic" of English female monasticism stakes a claim over periodization and political identity. Relics link past and present, and are, as Alexandra Walsham writes, "material manifestations of the act of remembrance. They sublimate, crystallize, and perpetuate memory in the guise of physical remains, linking past and present in a concrete and palpable way."⁵⁰ The illustrations and text of the manuscript dramatize historically-situated moments in the journey at the same time that they draw upon the valences of transhistorical, spiritual pilgrimage. Even in a religious sense, the nuns were very literally caught between past and present. In Lisbon, they were censured by the local bishop for their use of an antiquated liturgy—one that predated the Tridentine reforms. They sought and finally were granted a papal dispensation to continue their devotional traditions in the Portuguese capital without further episcopal interference. This sense of vexed temporality also extends to the nuns' political status. To what extent is the England of the Brigittine nuns already lost? The essential nationalism of the nuns predicates a

of the dynamic interplay between the local and universal, elite and popular religion in the era of the Counter-Reformation, they became a vibrant hallmark of baroque piety in regions that remained loyal or were reclaimed to the faith of Rome...They were point of contact between traditional and Tridentine piety."

⁵⁰ Walsham, "Relics and Remains," 13: "A kind of umbilical cord that connects the living and the celebrated dead, they carry messages from beyond the grave and provide a mnemonic ligature to a world that has been lost."

teleology of return, yet their circulation as a religious *and* quasi-historical relic embodying the magical qualities yielded from their “martyrdom,” or suspended moment of ritual sacrifice (their expulsion from England) foregrounds the issue of whether Catholicism in seventeenth century England is native or foreign.⁵¹

The implications of the nuns’ spiritual “uniqueness” extend not only to the Habsburg patronage of the Lisbon-based community, but also to their patronage by the *Infanta* during their anticipated repatriation after the Spanish match is solemnized. In privileging the relationship between the English nuns and their Habsburg patrons, the text nuances the genealogical underpinnings of *patria* and reinscribes a form of national identity that is both essential and imbricated in international claims of obligation. One strategy the Arundel Castle Manuscript uses to accomplish this is to essentialize the nation transhistorically but to separate it from complete identification with the British royal line, and thus to separate the political demands of national affiliation from Tudor and Stuart sovereignty. The Habsburgs, who are symbolically co-extensive with early modern Catholicism, and, through Philip II, were once intimately connected to the English monarchy, are depicted as spiritual protectors of the Brigittine nuns. The manuscript emphasizes dynastic ties not by invoking antiquarian royal genealogies, but by constructing genealogies of orthodox spiritual authority across dynastic marriage ties. By featuring the Habsburg princes as political and spiritual agents (hence, the analogy of guardian angels), the manuscript stakes a claim in the contested designation of “Catholic” monarchs. The nuns’ asylum in the Habsburg empire, their itinerary through *foreign* lands, is inextricably bound to the history of Anglo-Spanish

⁵¹ David Loades, “Literature and National Identity,” in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature*, eds. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 201-228, 213: “Was the old faith English, or was it Spanish and Italian?”

dynastic ties. The manuscript ultimately situates Catholic England within an imperial matrix of Habsburg rule, albeit one internally troubled by religious heresy and conflict.

The manuscript addresses itself to two distinct recipients, Philip III of Spain and María of Austria, the prospective consort of Charles Stuart. Accordingly, its construction of spiritual genealogies of patronage and of spiritual authority is both multivalent and gendered. The illustration cycle and the sections of the text addressed to Philip III appeal to him by featuring the community's male patrons—Henry V, Philip II, and Philip III—as political agents and protectors. Philip II's translocational appearance and imperial authority in the manuscript paintings intimates ways in which his rule transcends the category of the national, yet the vast Habsburg lands serve as an archetypal “foreign” landscape against which the nuns can claim and preserve their originative nationality. In contrast, the section of the text addressed to María of Austria, the “Princess of Wales,” emphasizes matriarchal genealogical relationships. The conjoining of female spirituality with the theme of movement and exile creates a typological link between the royal figures of Esther, St Brigit,⁵² and the *infanta* María, all of whom are represented as spiritual mothers who lead, or will lead, their “adopted” daughters through exile in foreign kingdoms homeward. This matriarchal typology is complemented by a second one in the text based upon dynastic orthodoxy and transcendent nominalism, that of Holy Mary, Mary Tudor, and the *infanta* María, in which the Marian and queenly tropes of intercession are coextensive. The manuscript ends by invoking Philip III's descent from the English line, linking the foundation of the monastic community by “Your Majesty's predecessors, the Kings of England” to their protection by Habsburg kings: “for [the Lord] touched and inspired the royal hearts of Your Majesty and of Your Most Zealous Father, King Philip II, true descendents of their founders, the English Kings, to take them to your charge and sustain them with

⁵² *Syon Abbey* 26-7.

your annual pension for all the sixty-one years of their hardships, journeys and exiles...until through His divine mercy He converts, and recalls them to, their longed-for native land.”⁵³

The Arundel Castle Manuscript preserves the political voice of a prominent English female monastic community, one which is attuned to the diplomatic nuances of religious patronage and political favoritism in the early seventeenth-century Habsburg court.⁵⁴ Although the manuscript was never presented to either of its recipients, its makers intuited the role that María of Austria assumed during the negotiations for a Stuart dynastic match as an active supporter and patron of English Catholics and religious communities in exile. In Almansa’s fifth *relación* on the visit of Charles to Spain, he relates how the *infanta*’s final words to Charles were to commend him to the English Catholics, a historical moment which was excised entirely from *relación* translation into English printed later that year in London. It seemed clear to the Madrid-based spectators and journalists of Charles’s 1623 visit to Spain that María of Austria openly welcomed the role of a spiritual and political patron—an Esther, a Mary—of English Catholics both at home and abroad.

Andrés Almansa y Mendoza’s Relaciones: Chivalric Revivals in “Imperial” Madrid, 1623

Writers anticipating the Spanish match and recording Charles’s visit to Spain in 1623, especially those casting it in a positive light, used genealogical tropes of common descent to frame

⁵³ *Syon Abbey* 33-4; 21-22: “la sua dicha Real fundaçion hecha y dotada por los Reys de Inglatierra predeçeres de V. Magd. como consta por los Anales del dicho Reyno todauia Nuestro Señor no falto a estas sus siervas de inspirar y tocar El Real pecho de V. Mgd. y de su Zelossissimo padre El Rey Phelippe segundo comos verdaderos descendientes de los dichos Reys jnglezes sus fundadores dellas Tomarlas a su quenta y sustentallas con su pension anual por todo este tiempo de 61 años destos sus dichos Trabajos pelegrinaçiones y destierros...hasta q’ el por su divina misericordia conierta y las Revoque a su deseada patria...”

⁵⁴ On early modern female religious communities, see Cordula Wyhe, ed., *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) and Ronald Corthell, ed., *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007). For the court of Philip III, see Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Patrick Williams, *The Great Favourite: The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip III of Spain, 1598-1621* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Elizabeth R. Wright, *Pilgrimage to Patronage: Lope De Vega and the Court of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001).

Charles's visit within a larger context of dynastic alliances. Appeals to royal consanguinity were conventional in visual art, literature, and pageantry celebrating dynastic marriages. As frameworks for structuring history, however, genealogical paradigms could be highly malleable matrices in which evocations of common descent were embedded within larger political ideologies. In a Europe of dynasties long and widely intermarried amongst themselves, there existed ties stronger than blood—ties of religion, of commerce, of territorial articulation and defense, of mutual political benefit. To highlight certain marriage alliances within larger familial histories was always a calculated rhetorical move to privilege power relations between certain families or kingdoms. Commentators of Charles's Spanish match and of his visit to Madrid sought precedents for this event and thus looked retrospectively at dynastic history in order to document and gloss the layered political performances of the royals, court figures, and diplomats.

The festivities staged during Charles's visit were captured in enthusiastic detail in Andrés Almansa y Mendoza's five journalistic *relaciones* describing these royal events, two of which were translated into English and published in London.⁵⁵ The spectacles, which were executed under royal authority with civic funds from the city of Madrid, had as their focal points the interactions between King Philip IV, Prince Charles, and the *infanta* María. Almansa offers a state-sanctioned version of the festivities staged during Charles's visit. Yet such public spectacles, however carefully planned by state officials, were still open to variant readings, and could ultimately be unstable bearers of meaning. As Teofilo Ruiz writes of Philip II's tournaments and civic entries, "It is certainly accurate

⁵⁵ Andrés Almansa y Mendoza, *Obra Periodística*, eds. Henry Ettinghausen and Manuel Borrego (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 2001). Almansa's second and fourth *relaciones* covering Charles's visit were published together in England as *Two Royall Entertainments: Lately Given to the Most Illustrious Prince Charles, Prince of Great Britaine, by the High and Mighty Philip the Fourth King of Spaine, &c. at the Feasts of Easter and Pentecost* (London: Printed [by J. Haviland] for Nathaniel Butter, 1623). See Henry Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," in *The Spanish Match*, 75-89 and *Prince Charles and the King of Spain's Sister: What the Papers Said* (Southampton: University of Southampton, 1985). See also Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 5, and Brendan M. Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron, eds., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001).

to view these festivities through ideological lenses as attempts to reiterate and display royal authority, but they give witness as well to the dialogues with authority and challenges to it. They tell of the nuanced ways in which festive traditions could be manipulated to demonstrate resistance to power. The fluid ideological boundaries of festive spaces and times...were more often than not places of contestation.”⁵⁶ Almansa’s *relaciones* glossed the festivities to contain the range of meaning and order the varieties of possible responses to the events. Like the pageant masters, he received compensation from the city of Madrid to record the events of the royal visit. His *relaciones* convey views endorsed by monarchy promoting the royal match and celebrating Hapsburg power. His texts thus participate in systems of meaning that operate in tandem with the machines of government.

Yet Almansa’s *relaciones* function as more than propaganda or eulogy. His *relaciones*, in their recording of the intricate choreography of princes, courtiers, aristocrats, religious figures at these festive events, hint at the complex layers of political performance taking place within Madrid’s royal and civic spaces. As a purveyor of “news” entertainment, Almansa capitalizes on the royal events, sensationalizing them and capturing them in a way that will attract a large print readership in the face of journalistic competition. His *relaciones* were themselves translated and emended by an international audience outside the purview of Hapsburg power. Working within the nascent early modern culture of news, he helped to develop new textual networks and circuits while making visible and legible royal diplomacy.

The sequence of Almansa’s *relaciones* frames the events of Charles’s stay in Madrid, and the possible marriage it might herald, within the history of earlier Anglo-Spanish royal marriages.

Almansa’s first *relación* begins with a prologue that mentions the future Edward I’s trip to Spain in

⁵⁶ Teofilo F. Ruiz, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 7-8.

1254 to marry Eleanor of Castile, during which time he was also knighted by Alfonso X. It was an episode with an impressive endurance in Castilian chronicle history and popular memory, and the idea of an English crown prince traveling to the Spanish court in order to fetch his Castilian bride still had symbolic capital in the seventeenth-century. The historical memory of the Plantagenet Edward I's visit to the court of Alfonso X grounds the dynastic lines of both countries—the (Austrian) Habsburgs for Castile and the (Scottish) Stuarts for England—in their corresponding medieval politics in a mutually-legitimizing and transhistorical rhetorical gesture that posits the continuity of regnal lines across dynastic rupture. Almansa goes on to describe the alliance between Edward, the Black Prince to Pedro I of Castile and the marriage of John of Gaunt to Pedro's daughter Constance of Castile. The commemoration of this dynastic marriage echoes the royal pageants celebrating the two sixteenth-century Anglo-Spanish unions. The *Receyt of the Ladie Kateryn* (1502-3), which records Catherine of Aragon's entry into London, describes a scene in which the Spanish princess is reminded of her Lancastrian heritage, for both her parents were descendants of John of Gaunt.⁵⁷ When Mary Tudor married Philip of Spain, a book was ceremoniously presented to him that described his joint descent from English and Spanish blood through John of Gaunt.⁵⁸ In a similar vein, Almansa concludes his prologue by stating that, through the marriage of his daughter to Enrique III of Castile, the Spanish kings “are descendents of British blood.”⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryn*, ed. Gordon Kipling (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1990). See also Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 318-343, especially 334-336.

⁵⁸ Alexander Samson, “Images of Co-Monarchy in the London Entry of Philip and Mary (1554),” in *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013). I am grateful to Professor Samson for sharing this essay in advance of publication.

⁵⁹ “Al señor don Juan de Castro y Castilla se debía, por dependencia natural, la dirección de este discurso. Patricio en Burgos, digna cabeza de estos reinos, y descendiente de los gloriosos reyes don Alfonso XI y don Pedro Justiciero, a quien le sucedió caso semejante, que al primero vino a aquella gran ciudad Eduardo, príncipe de Gales, acompañado de gran nobleza de su reino a pedir le armase caballero, por ser en armas el príncipe de mayor estimación. Trabóse la Amistad, o continuóse la que se debía tener, pues reconoce aquella isla, reina del océano, su origen de los cántabros, muro y puerta de España; y su hijo de este príncipe vino a estos reinos en defensa de don Pedro en las guerras con su hermano, a quien Francia favorecía, señal de la antigua emulación de estas coronas, y trajo consigo al duque de

Despite the conventionality of Almansa's genealogical prologue, the impact of his insistence on the British descent of the Spanish kings, a bold articulation of shared lineage after almost two decades of peace-making negotiations (preceded by several more decades of outward hostility between the kingdoms) significantly links the tropes of common descent and cultural identity. Though Almansa claims that this visit is without precedent, his historicizing prologue to this journalistic series highlights the recursivity of genealogical ties underlying imperial alliances as a historical framework for Charles's visit. Almansa's initial discussion of consanguinity between the English and Spanish royal houses grounds the rest of the *relaciones*' descriptions of Charles's behavior in a traditional assertion of blood relations. Throughout Almansa's descriptions of the civic and courtly ceremonies staged during Charles's visit, the writer emphasizes the expression of Charles's affinity with the Spanish royals through elaborate cultural performances of identification. The Stuart prince frequently is described as "adorned in Spanish manner,"⁶⁰ although he also at times bears the heraldic Garter of the English royal order.⁶¹ The purely public nature of this endeavor, which is founded upon the protocol of diplomacy, is meant to materialize the inward commonality of shared descent that cannot necessarily be seen or performed.

Lancaster, su hermano, que casó con hija del rey, matrimonio siempre apetecido de aquellos príncipes. Y hoy los nuestros, por don Enrique III y todos los de Europa, son descendientes de la sangre britana, como de la de Padilla, lustre grande y gloria de esta casa."

"To the gentleman Don Juan de Castro y Castilla, the address of this discourse is owed by natural dependence. He was born in Burgos, worthy head of these kingdoms, and descendent of the glorious kings Don Alfonso XI and Don Pedro the Just, to whom a similar occurrence took place, that to this great city first came Edward, Prince of Wales, accompanied by the great nobility of his kingdom to ask that he be knighted by him, in order to be, in arms, the most renowned prince. Friendship bound [them], or continued that which should be had, then acknowledged that island, queen of the ocean, her Cantabrian origin, wall and port of Spain; and his son of this prince came to these kingdoms in defense of Don Pedro in the wars with his brother, whom France favored, sign of the antique emulation of these crowns, and he brought with him the Duke of Lancaster, his brother, who married the daughter of the king, a marriage always favored by those princes. And today our [kings], through Don Enrique III and all those of Europe, are descendents of British blood, as that of the Padillas, great luster and glory of this house." (translation mine)

⁶⁰ Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," 84.

⁶¹ David Sánchez Cano, "Entertainments in Madrid for the Prince of Wales: Political Functions of Festivals," in *The Spanish Match*, 51-73, especially 64.

Both the Spanish royal family and Charles I participated in an elaborate sequence of civic spectacles which, according to Almansa, evoked the rituals of knighthood. Chivalry was a highly malleable discourse in the early modern period, one open to various social and political investments and appropriations. Writers such as Almansa were complicit in glossing and publicizing the events of 1623 as a grand chivalric adventure (English audiences might have even seen these as a revival of “Elizabethan chivalric militarism”⁶²), but their cues came from royal authority. During Charles’s visit to Spain, royals and journalists alike drew on the discourse of chivalry as a strategic facet of diplomatic language—the Spanish commentators on Charles’s visit to Madrid frequently described the events in terms of exemplary displays of honor, gentility, and splendor.⁶³ By evoking a cultural tradition that antedated the Reformation, the political agents involved in Stuart-Habsburg diplomacy were able to recover a historical moment that embodied the fantasy of a trans-European, international court culture based on aristocratic alliance. This “medieval” or “antique” past provided an alternative discourse from those predicated upon either contemporary religious and cultural difference or imperial competition. In this vein, Almansa’s accounts of the events of Charles’s visit offer highly imaginative moments deeply ingrained in literary traditions of chivalry and courtly love.⁶⁴ The challenge issued at one of the jousts performed for the Prince’s visit, according to Almansa, refers to Charles as “the great prince of the Caledonian forest, of whom wise men talk in

⁶² Thomas N. Corns, ed., *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2.

⁶³ Elizabeth A. Leffeldt describes what she perceives as the crisis of “masculine” nobility during the time of Charles’s visit in “Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain” in *Renaissance Quarterly* 61.2 (Summer 2008): 463-494.

⁶⁴ Despite Almansa’s own framing of the Charles’s visit within the context of Edward I’s journey to Castile, the writer in another instance emphasizes the novelty of the visit. Samson, *The Spanish Match*, 3: “Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza, the contemporary court chronicler and journalist so important in the formation of the public’s reaction to the prince’s visit, described his arrival as ‘without precedent ancient or modern’, an even which ‘in other kingdoms is an imagined dream, given substance and made reality here by the most serene prince Charles Stuart.’ In the words of Pérez-Reverte, the visit transformed the cold and calculating machinations of early modern marital diplomacy into something out of a courtly love story.” On chivalric imagery in commemorations of Charles’s visit, see Jeremy Robbins, “The Spanish Literary Response to the Visit of Charles, Prince of Wales,” in *The Spanish Match*, ed. Samson, 107-137, especially 109-111; and Ettinghausen, “The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza’s Coverage of Prince Charles’s Spanish Trip,” 84. As Robbins has pointed out, evocations of knight-errantry may at times be a double-edged compliment—and censure (110).

terms of the great deeds of Amadís de Gaula and Lisuarte of Great Britain.”⁶⁵ By identifying Prince Charles with the English heroes of Iberian chivalric romance, Almansa situates the tournaments within cultural fantasies of Anglo-Spanish romance tropes.

By beginning his first *relación* with a prologue featuring the chivalric ideologies underpinning medieval Anglo-Castilian relations, Almansa makes evident that his efforts are not only to record, but also to frame and gloss, the events of Charles’s visit in his commemorative texts. Almansa’s *relaciones* describe the events using a grammar of chivalric romance and tropes especially on romance themes of kinship and its attendant power structures.⁶⁶ He documents and dramatizes the utility of courtship rituals and marriages in establishing the architecture of such social structures and in securing the political stability of dynastic sovereignty. The preoccupation of chivalric romance with lineage thus resonates with the other dynastic themes used to celebrate the royal engagement.⁶⁷

Almansa portrays these political events as an allegorical narrative, a drama of chivalry and courtly love that moves to the episodic rhythms of romance. Yet the real-time quality of his narratives introduces an element of inevitable provisionality as currents of popular opinion shift and diplomatic relationships sour. These contingencies plot out a very different narrative than the one anticipated at the outset of his first relation. Unlike Edward I, Charles comes home without a bride; unlike Edward of Woodstock or John of Gaunt, he has seen no real military action. The beginning

⁶⁵ Robbins, “The Spanish Literary Response to the Visit of Charles, Prince of Wales,” 109-110.

⁶⁶ Marco Nievergelt, *Allegorical Quests from Dequileville to Spenser* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 3-4: “Charges of anachronism concerning chivalric literature and imagination in the early modern period are largely based on the assumption that knighthood and chivalry possess any single and stable significance, or that they represent a clearly defined and circumscribed set of material, social and cultural practices associated with a particular period...the present study considers the practices and concepts associated with chivalry and knighthood not so much as having a stable significance or ‘content’, but rather as vehicles, ‘forms’ making up a highly adaptable language that can articulate widely different ‘contents’, meanings and discourses.”

⁶⁷ Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (D.S. Brewer, 2003), 3: “The assertions this study makes about the continued relevance of chivalry in the early modern period centre on just this aspect; it was viewed as an ideology distinctively concerned with justifying rank and precedence through assertions of pedigree and lineage—assertions intimately related to the narrative strategies of romance.”

of the first and fifth (and final) *relaciones* comment upon Charles's great and exemplary courtliness, yet by the fifth *relación*, Almansa has to present Charles as an ideal prince but *not* a bridegroom. In Almansa's "final eulogy for Charles," as Alexander Samson writes, the writer echoes his earlier approbation of the Stuart prince, naturalizing and universalizing Spanish acclaim of the prince based upon his "gentility":⁶⁸

Earned by his trust and gracious manners, as a direct effect of his stout-heartedness, our affection for the Prince has become entirely natural, for Spaniards' hearts are won by gentility: with admirable valour, his Highness, the eldest son of the greatest of statesmen, has succeeded in emulating the qualities of so wise a father.⁶⁹

Even as the diplomatic death-knell of the Spanish match tolled, Almansa attempts to bring his journalistic series to a coherent and tactful close.

Across the Chanel, English Protestant glosses on Charles's Iberian diplomatic affair recast it as an adventure of evasion. In the view of many of his Protestant subjects, Charles had successfully resisted the imperial and erotic allure of Habsburg Iberia, eschewing its gold coffers and silver-tongued heterodoxies for the true religion of Britain. In romance grammar, he was Redcrosse knight rebuffing and escaping Duessa's clutches, his heroism proved by resistance rather than consummation (an awkward posture during the subsequent marriage negotiations for Henrietta Maria). In political drama, most famously Thomas Middleton's *A Game of Chess* (1624), Charles's "checkmating" of the Spanish king followed political intrigue, occlusion, and discovery. The entire

⁶⁸ Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," 86-7.

⁶⁹ Cited in Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," 87.

episode could now be rewritten with pens that ran thick in anti-Spanish vitriol no longer checked by the Stuart authorities with their volte-face in foreign policy.

In Spain, meanwhile, the accord between Charles and Philip IV was described by Almansa as well as by writers of occasional poetry in terms of the masculine bonds of chivalric friendship. Mira de Amescua's poem "Príamo joven de la Gren Bretaña"⁷⁰ describes this reciprocity: "que Filipo es inglés, y español, Carlos" ("Philip is English and Charles Spanish"). Moreover, the geographical scope of Mira de Amescua verses, which are echoed in other poetic commemorations of Charles's visit, evokes the image of Philip IV as a "Planet King" who will "share" his dominions with Charles due to their close friendship. These depictions of the chivalric and imperial amity of Philip and Charles draw upon early modern discourses of friendship. The "trope of likeness," ultimately derived from Aristotelian conceptions of friendship, functions as a metaphor for polity and thus also has both ethical and political implications.⁷¹ But, as Laurie Shannon has argued, the ideal of "two equal corporeal bodies bound in friendship [which] constitute a single corporate or juridical body, a legal fiction creating an operative unity" is incommensurate with monarchical power: "The precondition of the king's function as an emblem of public sovereignty is his emphatic and comprehensive preclusion from exercising the very gestures and capacities friendship celebrates."⁷² Still, the concept of friendship between *two* sovereigns has discursive efficacy, for it establishes the very *public* nature of the diplomatic show of their masculine friendship.⁷³ In other words, the tension of the public-private duality of friendship might be evacuated in the case of a king, but this purely performative nature of friendship between sovereigns is exactly the point. The "friendship" of

⁷⁰ Robbins, "The Spanish Literary Response to the Visit of Charles, Prince of Wales," 109-115.

⁷¹ Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2.

⁷² Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, 2-4.

⁷³ On early modern masculinity, see George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) and James Turner, *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Charles and Philip still emphasizes the Aristotelian subtext of *amicitia perfecta*, which is premised partially on the exclusivity of this bond in social hierarchies.⁷⁴ Who else could expect a prince's friendship, if not another prince? Moreover, Almansa's depiction of amity between Philip and Charles during the "courtship" of the *infanta* evokes the gift economy of marriage that underlies so much of the romance tradition, recasting hard-nosed diplomatic negotiations as a chivalric pursuit or quest.⁷⁵ Still, the economy of friendship between the two sovereigns destabilizes the cultural and geopolitical lines circumscribing each prince. If Charles is Spanish, does that mean that Britain is, in some covert way, Spanish as well? The rhetorical complimentariness between Philip and Charles challenges, to a certain degree, the grounding of their political authority in the monarch's paradigmatic status as the head of the early modern body politic.

Almansa's *relaciones* feature the *infanta* as Charles's "courtly lady," the object of his affections and desire, and the figure around whom the chivalric friendship between Philip and the prince coalesces. Both spectator and object of speculation, her centrality to the English diplomatic purpose in Madrid renders her perspective and positionality inaccessible and opaque—and thus open to aggressive interpretive glossing.⁷⁶ While she, in some instances, performs her role as Charles's sought-after "lady," she is largely veiled from the prince (much to his consternation, commentators would have us believe) and her conversations are only recorded at the point of Charles's departure. In a grand courtly gesture, Charles saluted a painting of the *infanta* María displayed among those of

⁷⁴ Daniel T. Lochman, Maritere López, and Lorna Hutson, eds., *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 16. See also Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1994). Theoretical models for friendship include Jacques Derrida, *Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins (London: Verso, 1997).

⁷⁵ On the economic qualities of friendship, see Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1994). On women as objects of medieval gift exchange in medieval texts, see Sarah Kay, *The Chansons De Geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

⁷⁶ Teofilo Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 212, notes the centrality of the literary motif of love in late medieval and early modern ludic tournaments: "The female gaze, not unlike the royal gaze, played a signal role in shaping the cultural contours of the tournament."

her royal family decorating the Puerta del Sol⁷⁷; in another instance, the blushes of the *infanta* signal her pleasure at the festivities.⁷⁸ Both these descriptions signal the degree to which Charles's response to the *infanta* is mediated by baroque courtly manners and glossed (even, plausibly, fabricated) by gawking commentators.

The "courtly love" meta-narrative of Charles's visit represents the most developed and sustained chivalric strain in Almansa's *relaciones*, but also the one that most directly grapples with the diplomatic issues of religious difference between Charles and his prospective bride. Courtly love in the romance tradition is frequently used as a narrative mechanism to interrogate, and sometimes resolve, religious and ontological differences. Despite being the object of Charles's efforts at courtship in Almansa's *relaciones*, the *infanta* is able to exercise a more direct, and ultimately polemical, line of diplomacy that tends to remain buried underneath the finery, costume, pageantry, and feasting described at courtly gatherings. At the request of the *infanta* María, Charles visited the renowned nun Sor Luisa de la Ascensión and observed Catholic religious rituals. Almansa portrays the *infanta* as a devoted champion of English Catholics, one who "claimed that she would gladly lay down her life for each one of the Catholics in England,"⁷⁹ and who, in her last conversation with Charles, commended him to the English Catholics.⁸⁰ The active role of the *infanta* in negotiating

⁷⁷ Cano, "Entertainments in Madrid for the Prince of Wales: Political Functions of Festivals," 56.

⁷⁸ Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," 84.

⁷⁹ Alexander Samson, "1623 and the Politics of Translation," in *The Spanish Match*, 91-106, especially 103-4: "The most significant omission from *The Joyfull Returne of the Most Illustrious Prince* was a long passage dealing with the Infanta's commendation of the English Catholics to Charles and his visit at her request to the *beata* Sor Luisa de la Ascensión, a visionary nun and confidante of Philip IV. She gave him a letter for the nun, in which she had asked Luisa to pray for his safe passage...Most worrying for Charles perhaps, she also claimed that she would gladly lay down her life for each one of the Catholics in England, something which according to the Spanish, he also readily agreed to look to...Two references to Charles being in love with the Infanta were also suppressed in the English translation."

⁸⁰ Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," 86: "He then deals at length with the sumptuous mutual present-giving, noting the Princes double semi-private leave-taking of the Infanta, the ceremonial farewells of ambassadors, grandees, councilors, and so on, Charles' solemn swearing of the marriage contract, his final public adieu: to the Queen in French, and to the Infanta

issues of sovereignty and spiritual authority, especially those involving female religious figures, is in keeping with the prominent role of royal religious women associated with the Habsburg court and the prominence of women as spiritual advisors to King Philip III. Unsurprisingly, references to Charles's visit to such a Catholic spiritual advisor, Sor Luisa de la Ascensión and to the *infanta's* insistent petitions on behalf of English Catholics, were suppressed in their contemporary English translations.

As in the imperial conceits of Mira de Amescua's verses, which identify Charles as a northern Priam and imagine a worldwide empire emerging from Charles's visit to the Spanish court, Almansa's *relaciones* forge iconographical links between the Hapsburg dynasty and antique empires. He sets his two male "heroic" protagonists against a cityscape of civil and royal spaces, spaces which can be accessed through his journalistic printed accounts. Two of the *relaciones* are dedicated to the city of Madrid itself,⁸¹ which Almansa styles as a new Rome.⁸² In recording the royal festivities, Almansa was functioning in an official capacity; he was compensated for his efforts by the city of Madrid, which by royal decree shouldered the burden of costs entailed in staging the festivities during Charles's visit. In glorifying Madrid as an imperial city, Almansa's *relaciones* narrate the centrality of Madrid to Habsburg territories, placing the city at the political center of royal power in its mapping of imperial space. His eulogic depiction of Madrid as a New Rome, reproduces well-trodden Habsburg dynastic myths and materializes them in generous descriptions of the city's

(who commended to him the English Catholics) for half an hour in English, with Cottington acting as interpreter, and the departure of the train of coaches and outriders followed by crowds of *Madrileños*."

⁸¹ Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," 84: "If the first and fourth relations are dedicated to the city of Madrid, the second, third, and fifth are directed to leading figures of the Establishment: the Duchess of Medina de Rioseco, the Marquis of Astorga and the Count of Olivares."

⁸² Samson, "1623 and the Politics of Translation," 104-5: "The translation of Almansa y Mendoza's fourth relation, in the second part of *Two Royall Entertainments, lately given* was a consummate achievement by its translator, given the complexity and detail of the descriptions of clothing, furniture and heraldic devices, preceding the brief description of an early modern bullfight... The biggest change is the omission of the dedication by Almansa y Mendoza, which holds up Madrid, as the new Rome, center of the world. This fulsome praise had cost the city the considerable sum of 500 *reales*."

opulent feasts, tournaments, and festive displays. Almansa celebrates not only the royal city but also Spanish imperial political control in Rome.⁸³ Almansa's description of royal spaces within the city suggests an implicit movement between public civic spaces and more intimate courtly ones; his writings negotiate the politics of privileged monarchical access and offer a textual parallel to the strict control over the royal image in seventeenth-century Habsburg Spain.⁸⁴

Imagery of Habsburg magnificence and power suffuse the festivities and the material ornaments Almansa describes in his *relaciones*. Madrid's civic spectacles and the courtly, ornamental displays of chivalry fit well within a baroque aesthetic colored by antiquarian tastes. This opulence was integral to early modern expressions of princely magnificence. Fireworks, pageants, and feasts served as expressions of courtly splendor which itself had significant political capital.⁸⁵ The series of pyrotechnic shows staged during Charles's visit, though probably based upon recycled designs and stagecraft, articulates an imperial teleology of Spanish rule. The first featured a fighting Hercules (a mythical foundation figure of Spain), the second featured a *naumachia* or sea-battle, and the third depicted the assault of Troy by the Greeks in a wooden horse, together constituting an allegory of origins, naval power, and *translatio imperii*.⁸⁶ Implicit to the audience is the dual association of the fireworks with both entertainment and emerging artillery technology.⁸⁷ Moreover, the pamphlets

⁸³ Thomas J. Dandeleit, and John A. Marino, eds. *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) and Thomas J. Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁸⁴ Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," 80: "Almansa presents himself implicitly as someone with access to the heart of the matter by highlighting elements that read like inside information, such as the fact that Gondomar was amongst the first to be informed of Charles' arrival..."

⁸⁵ See Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (V.i): "...The king would have me present the princess...with some delightful ostentation, or show, or pageant, or antique, or firework," quoted in Alan S. H. Brock, *A History of Fireworks* (London: Harrap, 1949), 29.

⁸⁶ On Almansa's description of the fireworks, see Ettinghausen, "The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip," 83, and Cano, "Entertainments in Madrid for the Prince of Wales: Political Functions of Festivals," 56-57, and 73: "As so often, the fireworks functioned more as an expression of power in being able to mount such a costly display, as well as pure entertainment."

⁸⁷ On pyrotechnics and gunpowder, see Carlo Cipolla, *Guns, Sails and Empires* (New York: Pantheon, 1965); John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (London:

recording these ephemeral displays were as powerful a propagandist mechanism as the shows themselves.⁸⁸

Almansa's *relaciones* use details of ornamental imagery and material culture to emphasize the imperial themes of the civic and courtly spectacles. Material culture can be glossed or read in different ways, and descriptions of courtly objects of opulence in particular could become narrative sites of political tension. One prominent instance is his description of Philip IV's necklace, which bears four linked crowns: "[con] vnas coronas liagadas a quatro hazes, salpicadas de esmalte verde, y negro... quatro coronas ligadas en el pecho de su Magestad, serán Inglaterra, Francia, España, y el sacro Imperio Romano."⁸⁹ The nature of this symbolic political linkage is ambiguous—ostensibly it represents an alliance of kingdoms, but the extent to which it suggests an implicit hierarchy in state powers is unclear. As Samson notes, the contemporary English translation of this passage renders the chain of linked crowns vague and fails to mention the names of the four kingdoms.⁹⁰ The English translation's ambivalence about the meaning of this piece of jewelry speaks to the inherent dangers of imperial alliance and the threat of political domination. Even Almansa's descriptions of the feasts given by members of the nobility hint obliquely at the power dynamics of the Habsburg polity—the dessert course was so magnificent, it was “as if Lisbon and Andalusia had both been plundered three times over” (“En postres y dulces se despojó a Lisboa y Andalucía por tres

Cambridge UP, 1974); J. R. Hale, “Gunpowder and the Renaissance: An Essay in the History of Ideas” in *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Charles H. Carter (New York: Random House, 1965): 113-44, reprinted in *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983): 389-420; Roy S. Wolper, “The Rhetoric of Gunpowder and the Idea of Progress,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31 (1970): 589-98; Brock, *A History of Fireworks*; J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1960).

⁸⁸ Kevin Salatino, *Incendiary Art: The Representation of Fireworks in Early Modern Europe* (Santa Monica, CA: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1997), 1-3.

⁸⁹ Cano, “Entertainments in Madrid for the Prince of Wales: Political Functions of Festivals,” 63 n.104.

⁹⁰ Samson, “1623 and the Politics of Translation,” 104.

veces”).⁹¹ This description gleefully evokes the fantasy of Portuguese and Grenadine imperial annexation as a metaphor for material opulence, just as rhetoricians of the period used metaphors of plunder or piracy to describe linguistic copiousness.⁹²

In his published accounts of Madrid’s royal entertainments, Almansa negotiates the dynamics of civic and royal power in a manner that highlights the parallel relationship between kingdom and dynasty. To what extent does the interweaving of dynastic and national iconographical traditions result in a political structure in which royal family and kingdom (or empire) are entirely coextensive? Just as Renaissance epics and historiography “recast national history within dynastic terms,”⁹³ the civic pageantry celebrating princely magnificence drew upon genealogical models. What Gabrielle Spiegel argues about thirteenth-century French historiography is no less applicable to the dynastic themes and devices which feature so prominently in Renaissance royal entries:

Raised to the royal level, genealogy took on the overtones of a dynastic myth...

Through the imposition of genealogical metaphors on historical narrative, genealogy becomes for historiography not only a thematic “myth” but a narrative *mythos*, a symbolic form that governs the very shape and significance of the past.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Almansa y Mendoza, *Obra Periodística*, 357, translated in Ettinghausen, “The Greatest News Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza’s Coverage of Prince Charles’s Spanish Trip,” 85: “Almansa’s third relation, dated exactly a week after the second, is a report on a second lavish feast laid on by the Count of Monterrey...As for the desserts, it was—he assures his readers—as if Lisbon and Andalusia had both been plundered three times over.”

⁹² Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*.

⁹³ Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson: 1973), 19: “The great Renaissance epics, Ronsard’s *Franciade* or Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*, were written for the glory of princes. Each celebrated the reigning dynasty by perceiving its members through the mythical history of their legendary forbears. At the same time court historians, under the impact of Renaissance historiography, recast national history within dynastic terms.”

⁹⁴ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative,” *History and Theory*, 22.1 (Feb., 1983): 43-53, 47.

The interwoven dynastic lines resulting from royal marriages were represented in civic pageantry to invoke the hereditary basis of power as a grammar to represent the contemporary configuration of imperial alliances. As Roy Strong writes, “whether Tudor, Habsburg or Valois, all transmuted the traditional forms of secular entertainment into a vehicle for dynastic apotheosis.”⁹⁵ These genealogical traditions, however, could be used to produce counter-narratives of dynastic succession and typology. Almansa, in deploying chivalric models drawn from both chronicle history and Renaissance re-imaginings of an earlier past glorifies the Habsburg dynasty by effacing the dynastic ruptures that underlie the continuous regnal line. However, his evocation of the Spanish medieval past calls attention to the power dynamics between internal kingdoms within the early modern polities of Spain and Britain that challenge the territorial and theoretical articulations of monarchical power in each. The Brigittine nuns were able to disaggregate English royal authority from the Tudor and Stuart regnal lines by underscoring the religious qualities of monarchical power. Their manuscript posits transcendent spiritual authority as the basis for political succession in order to privilege Habsburg imperial authority and ultimately secure their own repatriation under a Stuart-Habsburg union.

However, the Syon nuns remobilize such genealogical tropes even as they are about to be vacated. By the middle of the seventeenth century in England, the languages of dynastic affiliation and typological logic are no longer close to center of political discourse. Royal genealogies ultimately fail as an uncontested rhetorical means to galvanize a sense of English cultural unity in the face of other competing discourses, including those of common law, constitutionalism, linguistic communitarianism, or even cultures of the spectacle.⁹⁶ The Arundel Castle Manuscript is a late

⁹⁵ Strong, *Splendour at Court*, 22-23.

⁹⁶ On sixteenth-century nationalism, see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) and Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612*

attempt to activate this material, and the nuns' nationalist rhetoric is almost purely rhetorical and deployed for local purposes. Their efforts to create a deep fantasy of past unity based upon pre-Reformation, Lancastrian sovereignty, whose authority can be traced along devotional and genealogical lines to Iberia, only reinforce the sense of vexed temporality surrounding their self-fashioning as a "relic" of an increasingly-irretrievable English past. The fate of the Arundel Castle Manuscript, which never saw royal eyes, exposes the ironies of the nuns' language of nationalism. Their relationship with the Habsburg monarchs seems contingent on a specific set of events and projects a future fantasy into whose design they insert themselves as key players. Through their petitions, we glimpse an imaginary field that will never be realized in the way the nuns would desire. The poignancy of their hopefulness intensifies as their projections for the future take shape with fewer and fewer links to the real. The fate of Syon house itself, depicted with such nostalgia in the manuscript but since fallen into Tudor hands, illustrates the growing chasm between the nuns' hopes for repatriation and the political landscape of England.⁹⁷ It would not be until 1861, roughly 238 years after the nun's commissioned their manuscript, that the community would finally return to England as the only surviving pre-Reformation English order; and even then, Syon house, still in the hands of the dukes of Northumberland, was lost to them forever. Their community numbering only three, the Brigittine nuns' convent in South Brent, Devon, was dissolved in 2011.

(Cambridge University Press, 1996), who argues on p. 5, "The Tudor-Stuart nation is not necessarily democratic in sentiment or political institution; nor it is produced by means of any practical homogeneity of social existence. It is a performative ideal of social unity founded in the ideological affiliation of crown, church, and land, imagined not in opposition to state power, but rather as a projection of the state's own ideality."

⁹⁷ The Syon house was appropriated by Tudor agents and favorites, first by Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector to Edward VI. The nuns relocated there briefly during the reign of Mary I, but were expelled again after Elizabeth ascended the throne. Later, in 1594 Queen Elizabeth granted the lease of Syon House to Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland. For abandoning his father's Catholic sympathies, Percy had won Elizabeth's favor; only the year before, she had made Percy a knight of the Garter. See Mark Nicholls, "Percy, Henry, ninth earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, Jan 2008, accessed August 24, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21939/>; and G. R. Batho, "The library of the Wizard Earl: Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)," *The Library*, 5th ser., 15 (1960): 246-61.

Conclusion

Earl of Warwick: But for the rest, you tell a pedigree
Of threescore and two years; a silly time
To make prescription for a kingdom's worth.

William Shakespeare, *3 Henry VI* (3.3.1786-8)

In the midst of writing this closing section, I found myself in the audience of the Kentucky Shakespeare company's production of *Henry V*. I was spending a week in Old Louisville for the annual Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents, at which I worked on developing an editorial practice for the transcription, annotation, and encoding of fifteenth-century pedigree rolls. At the institute, I had been focusing on the details of these manuscripts, the precise placement of roundels, lines of descent, and supporting text. So I was caught off-guard when the Archbishop of Canterbury emerged on stage carrying a ersatz parchment roll scribbled with red and blue ink, between two large wooden dowels, as he discussed Henry's claim to France and expounded on his own shrewd interpretation of Sallic law. This prop, whether intended to be a replica legal document or a pedigree, was clearly meant to represent a certain kind of documentary authority.¹ The roll was held, gestured to, but in the dramatic action of the play, not explicitly read. Its power lay in its status as a symbolic object and an interpretive crux. In that moment, my sense of the purpose of pedigrees

¹ William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, directed by Amy Attaway, Kentucky Shakespeare (The C. Douglas Ramey Amphitheater, Louisville, Kentucky, July 22 2014). Shakespeare's First Folio (London, 1623) *Henry V* does not contain a stage direction at this point in the text (which later editors designate Act 1, Scene 2) for Canterbury to enter with a document, although he discusses Sallic law at length. Nor is there a direction at the equivalent of Act 2, Scene 4, lines 84-90, in which the Duke of Exeter argues Henry's right to the French throne, although his demonstrative allusion to a pedigree indicates the strong possibility that a prop was indicated: "that you may know / 'Tis no sinister nor no awkward Clayme, / Picket from the worme-holes of long-vanisht dayes, / Nor from the dust of old Obluion rakt, / He sends you this most memorable Lyne, / In euery Branch truly demonstratiue, / Willing you ouer-looke this Pedigree" (p. 76 [430], [I have silently substituted modern typography for the long s]). Nor does the First Quarto of *Henry V* contain an indication of prop use (*The Chronicle History of Henry the fift. With his battel fought at Agin Court in France. Together with Auntient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times plad by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants* [London: Printed by Thomas Creede for Tho[mas] Millington and John Busby, 1600]). Facsmiles of both the First Folio and *Henry V*, *Quarto 1* accessed online via *Internet Shakespeare Editions* on August 5, 2014, <http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/>The recent BBC *Hollow Crown* (Season 1, Episode 4) production of *Henry V*, directed by Thea Sharrock. (2012), explicitly uses a replica pedigree roll in Act 2, Scene 4.

expanded. My editorial focus on the minutia of the text gave way to a greater appreciation of these manuscripts' place in material culture, their function as a historical record visually and textually germane to other legal and administrative documents, and even their dramatic impact in political ceremony.²

But if pedigrees serve as a symbol of sovereign power, they are also unstable signifiers, mutable, amendable, and open to subversive readings. In another of Shakespeare's history plays, *Henry the Sixth, Part Three*, the loyal Lancastrian Earl of Oxford and the Yorkist Earl of Warwick engage in a heated exchange at the French court. Warwick casts Henry VI as a usurper, and when Oxford invokes the achievements of the king's forebears, including John of Gaunt's battles in Spain and Henry V's conquest of France, Warwick brushes aside these foreign pretensions with a remark on the Lancastrian's short tenure. Warwick chides Oxford, "You told not how Henry the Sixth hath lost / All that Henry the Fifth had gotten" (89-90), highlighting the Lancastrian's selective historical memory, their use of past glory to prop up a weak king with "smooth discourse" (88). Warwick's argument is double-edged. On one hand, he strips the entire issue to the Yorkist right of succession by heredity, implicitly figuring usurpation as *deviance* from genealogy, against the Lancastrian claims of prescription (see above quote). Yet underlying Warwick's language is the suggestion that power lies in possession more than in histories, that pedigrees mean little if not backed up by force. In their verbal sparring match, Warwick figures Oxford's protests as a pedigree that shields him and veils the "truth" of York's claims: "Can Oxford, that did ever fence the right, / Now buckler falsehood with a pedigree?" (98-99). But underlying this language is a sense that on a battlefield a parchment pedigree will do no good as a shield against real swords. The many ironies of this scene are compounded by

² I am thankful to Christine Gottlieb for her correspondence regarding the use of props in Shakespeare and relevant critical materials: Frances N. Teague, *Shakespeare's Speaking Properties* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1991); Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, eds., *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580-1642* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Jonathan Gil Harris, and Natasha Korda, *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Warwick's swift shift of alliance back to the Lancastrian camp out of a sense of personal injury. "Proud setter up and puller down of kings" (157) Margaret of Anjou calls Warwick, whose character in the play reminds the audience of the power of great magnates in the inscription of pedigrees and the shaping of history.

Medieval pedigrees were historical documents, artistic renderings of universal and dynastic history, objects of power, and conveyers of propaganda. Though their scope and display seem monumental, they were often palimpsests, recorders of the unfolding contingencies of royal history. Their interwoven lines of descent, individual and linked roundels, and illuminated crowns constitute an iconographic system of history. Through a modern lens, they might appear as quaint signifiers of a bygone age—dismissible for their content and historiographical method. Yet, in an age of genetics and genomics, medieval genealogies can refract our own cultural investments in personal and national descent.

Stanford University recently launched *Kindred Britain*, a large-scale digital humanities project based on a network analysis of "luminaries" of British history. This digitally-configured British peerage exposes the intrinsic politics of social memory. In the case of *Kindred Britain*, British History amounts to the finite connected and collective biographies of outstanding individuals. By focusing on the dense web of ties between these so-called "luminaries," the project cannot help but focus on the concentration of power and social influence within the handful of intermarried families who determined, disproportionately, the fate of Britain and the geopolitical contours of the modern world. Who is included and who is excluded from this network underlies problematic issues of ethnic Englishness, insular culture, and imperial origins. With varying degrees of self-awareness, *Kindred Britain* selectively highlights or obscures the trans-Channel and trans-Oceanic mechanisms of cultural contact and exchange—pathways which are integral to the history of the country: between

London and Paris, Bristol and the Bay of Biscay, Calais and the Low Countries, East Anglia and Scandinavia—and even larger networks of economic and political ties between England and the Commonwealth countries. The project also sheds light on our own reliance upon genealogical modes of understanding the fabric of history itself, as well as our own sense of personal or cultural identity. As one current Anglo-American television show asks, “Who do you think you are?”—a question that only detective archivists can answer by consulting the documentary records of the past. There is an uncanny and sometimes troublingly un-ironic fascination with genealogy at the heart of contemporary identity politics and discourses of blood and belonging.

This dissertation began several years ago as a wide-ranging study of points of contact between late medieval England and Spain. Over the course of my archival research, which focused on Lancastrian pedigree rolls, the project began to coalesce around genealogical themes from fifteenth-century manuscripts and chronicles. Much of the original material from early stages of the project—on royal pageantry, pilgrimage, and romances—was necessarily put aside to allow the project a greater focus on the historiographical legacies of John of Gaunt and his descendants. By way of conclusion, I will outline directions for further study, focusing especially on three major themes: a reassessment of fifteenth-century English “Lancastrian” literature, a source-study of sixteenth-century English historical drama, and an investigation of the reception of English-provenance texts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iberia.

One major avenue for research would be a comprehensive study of the materials for Lancastrian history and propaganda, one that transcends court-sponsored and encomiastic works and encompasses the shifting terrain of political loyalties during the three Henrician reigns.³ Paul

³ Keith Dockray, *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses: A Source Book* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), offers an overview of sources from the period. On fifteenth century English historical writing, see also Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols., II (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 257–61; L. M. Matheson, ‘Historical prose’, *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick: Rutgers

Strohm, Lee Patterson, and Maura Nolan have contributed enormously to our understanding of the vexed politics of Lancastrian-era texts, yet the pervasive focus on major works of Thomas Hoccleve and John Lydgate has left other relevant authors understudied.⁴ In English literary studies, the oft-maligned “long fifteenth century” is characterized as being saturated with tropes of dullness and its literary production suffers from critical neglect.⁵ At worst, it is portrayed as the hollow drum between Chaucer and Shakespeare in which John Lydgate’s labored verse and, later, Skelton’s skeltonics, rattle.

More of the surviving texts from this period—poetry, chronicles, advice for princes compendiums, carols, travel accounts of well-heeled diplomats and political agents—deserve reconsideration as literary and historical artifacts.⁶ Both pro-Lancastrian texts, such as *Somnium Vigilantes* and *The Ship of State* (1458) and pro-Yorkist ones offer rich quarries of propagandist political symbolism and polemic.⁷ Bringing such works into the orbit of current scholarly discussion may yield new insights into the historical imagination and international vistas of fifteenth-century

University Press 1984), 209-248, 224–5; E. D. Kennedy, *A manual of the writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, Vols. 1-9, 11; *Chronicles and other historical writings* xiii, ed. A. E. Hartung et al. (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967); and Charles L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).

⁴ Claire Sponsler’s edition of Lydgate’s dramatic writings makes accessible an interesting sub-corpus of Lydgate’s prolific oeuvre: John Lydgate, *Mummings and Entertainments*, ed. Claire Sponsler (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010).

⁵ Douglas Gray, Helen Cooper, and Sally Mapstone, eds., *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). See also David Lawton, “Dullness and the Fifteenth Century” *ELH [English Literary History]*, Vol. 54, No. 4 (Winter, 1987): 761-799.

⁶ On fifteenth-century writers John Lydgate, Thomas Hoccleve, John Capgrave, Osborn Bokenham, Peter Idley, George Ashby and John Audelay, see Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, eds., *A Companion to Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013). See also Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Ian R. Johnson, eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

⁷ Both *The Ship of State* and *Somnium Vigilantes* are mentioned in Dockray, *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses*, xii-xiii, as examples of pro-Lancastrian writing. For *The Ship of State*, see Rossell Hope Robbins, *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), no. 78, 191-193, and John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 22n.45. On *Somnium Vigilantes*, possibly written by Sir John Fortescue, see John Watts, ‘Ideas, Principles and Politics’, in *The Wars of the Roses*, ed. A. J. Pollard (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988), 128-9, and *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 43-46. On Yorkist propaganda, see Introduction to this dissertation, as well as Dockray, *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses*, xi-xiii; and Charles Ross, “Rumour, Propaganda and Public Opinion during the Wars of the Roses,” in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1981), 23.

England. For instance, the speeches of delegate Thomas Polton (*d.* 1433) at the Council of Constance preserve a fascinating record of English sovereign self-articulation in an international venue.⁸ Soldier, professional chivalric adventurer, and diplomat Ghillebert de Lannoy (1386–1462) worked for both the Burgundian and English courts and travelled widely throughout Europe and the Levant, occasionally leaving written accounts of his activities.⁹ A figure like de Lannoy not only embodies the breadth of the Lancastrian and Burgundian rulers' scope of political interest, but also serves as a kind of touchstone (or even archetype) of late medieval chivalric culture as described by Johan Huizinga in the *Autumn of the Middle Ages*.¹⁰

In both chronology and affiliation, many fifteenth-century authors expose the instability and limitations of the term “Lancastrian.” Writers active during the Lancastrian dynasty often survive into the Yorkist era: such are the cases of George Ashby and William Worcester, two under-studied figures. Authors who wrote during Henry VI's reign (perhaps for the king himself) and later offer laudatory praise for his Yorkist usurper serve as particularly interesting case studies for the slipperiness of such dynastic terminology. One such writer is John Capgrave (1393–1464), prior of the Augustinian friary at Bishop's Lynn, who wrote *De illustribus Henricis* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 408) and whose idiosyncratic fabrication of dynastic history out of disparate chronicle

⁸ For Polton's speech, see C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 110-26. The diplomatic success of the English at Constance, and later at Siena, reflects the ascendancy of Lancastrian political power in France. On the Council of Constance, see introductory pages of Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

⁹ Ghillebert Lannoy, *Œuvres De Ghillebert De Lannoy: Voyageur, Diplomate Et Moraliste*, eds. Charles Potvin and Jean-Charles Houzeau (Louvain: Impr. de P. et J. Lefever, 1878). De Lannoy is traditionally attributed with writing the *Enseignement de la vraye noblesse*, one copy of which (with the title changed to the *Imaginacion de vraye noblesse*) was created by Henry VII's royal librarian Quentin Poulet and prefaced with a dedication to the king (BL, Royal MS 19 C VIII). See *British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, online resource, accessed September 20, 2014, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7942&CollID=16&NStart=190308>. For more on later fifteenth-century Anglo-Burgundian cultural relations, see Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague: Published for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute [by] Leiden University Press, 1977).

¹⁰ On late medieval chivalry, see Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996 [originally published in a Dutch text of 1919]). See also David Morgan, 'From a view to a death: Louis Robessart, Johan Huizinga and the political significance of chivalry', *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), 93–106; R. Aries, "Un seigneur bourguignon en terre Musulmane au XV^e siècle: Ghillebert de Lannoy," *Moyen Age* 83 (1977): 283-302.

materials is strikingly international in focus. Capgrave's text begins with the Henries of the Holy Roman Emperors and includes encomia of Danish, Flemish, and French individuals along with English kings. Later in his career, Capgrave shifts his alliance and writes a pro-Yorkist dedicatory preface to his *Abbreniacion of Cronicles* on the accession of Edward IV.¹¹ Two other, more well-known texts that highlight the contingency of dynastic labels for historical writing are the early-Yorkist *Warkworth's Chronicle*, known for its political neutrality, and the polemical and often-spurious chronicle of John Harding.¹² Moreover, the strong interest in Edward III as a precursor and model for Edward IV ensures the continued recopying, recompiling, or retelling of historical narratives from the mid-fourteenth century, such as Jehan de Wavrin's *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre*. Edward IV owned a beautifully-illuminated copy of the chronicle produced c 1470- c 1480 that features scenes from the Iberian campaigns of John of Gaunt.¹³ Some of these historical

¹¹ John Capgrave, *The Book of the Illustrious Henries*. Ed. Francis Charles Hingeston. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858); *John Capgrave's Abbreniacion of Cronicles*. EETS Series, no. 285, ed., Peter J. Lucas. (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1983). Peter J. Lucas, 'Capgrave, John (1393–1464)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4591>, accessed 8 July 2014]: "Another work completed c.1462–3 was the Abbreniacion of Cronicles. On the accession of Edward IV in 1461 the dedicatory preface was added, in which Edward was compared favourably with the failed Henry VI." See Shannon N. Gayk, "John Capgrave's material memorials" in *Image, Text, and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 123-154; Karen A. Winstead, *John Capgrave's Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Peter J. Lucas, *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1997). Much of the work on John Capgrave's writings focuses on his hagiographical output, for example, Sarah Stanbury, *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), ch. 1 (on the Life of St Katharine), or on *Ye Solace of Pilgrims*, for example Jennifer Summit, "Topography as Historiography: Petrarch, Chaucer, and the Making of Medieval Rome," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30.2 (2000): 211-246.

¹² J. Warkworth, *A chronicle of the first thirteen years of the reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, *CS*, old ser., 10 (1839), ix–xxvii. Dockray, *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses*, xvii, writes of *Warkworth's Chronicle*, "Less partisan to the Yorkists and showing more interest in northern England than most chronicles, it should perhaps be described as critical of Edward IV rather than overtly Lancastrian." See also J. A. F. Thomson, "Warkworth's Chronicle' Reconsidered" *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 116, No. 467 (Jun., 2001): 657-664; and Lister M. Matheson, ed., *Death and Dissent: 'The dethe of the kyng of Scotis' and Warkworth's chronicle* (Rochester: Boydell, 1999), 61–92. Henry Ellis, ed., *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng* (London: Printed for F.C. and J. Rivington, 1812; includes the continuation of Richard Grafton).

¹³ British Library, Royal MS 14. E.iv, f. 236r, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, receiving a letter from the King of Portugal (book 4, chapter 36). f. 244v, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster dining with the King of Portugal (book 4, chapter 44). See also Royal 15 E IV, which contains volume 1 of *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre*. Scot McKendrick, "The Manuscripts of Edward IV: The Documentary Evidence", in *1000 Years of Royal Books and Manuscripts*, eds. Kathleen Doyle and Scot McKendrick (London: The British Library, 2013): 149-77, esp. 165, 172; Margaret Kekewich, "Edward IV, William Caxton, and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England," *The Modern Language Review*, 66 (1971): 481-87, 484; Janet Backhouse, "Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts," in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. David Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 23-42, esp. 25, 39; Livia Visser-Fuchs, "Waurin, Jean de (*b.* 1399/1400, *d.* in or after

texts, such as Wavrin's, were printed by Caxton and thus speak to cultural continuity across dynastic divides. A greater study of such texts will allow us to reconsider the scope of the Lancastrian canon and its relationship with Yorkist writing.

The Tudor uses of Lancastrian history offer another rich avenue of inquiry. The chronicles of Hall and Holinshed served as the major textual sources for Shakespeare's English history plays; both these texts and the late medieval historical texts they compile merit further study. Hall in particular is central to establishing an understanding of the Wars of the Roses as a dynastic conflict, and emphasizes its great effect on England's noble families:¹⁴

What miserie, what murder, and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the deusion and discencion of the renoumed houses of Lancastre and Yorke, my witte cannot comprehende nor my tounge declare nether yet my penne fully set forthe.

FOR what noble man liueth at this daie, or what gentleman of any auncient stocke or progeny is clere, whose lineage hath not ben i[n]fested and plagued with this vnaturall deusion.¹⁵

Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy has long received scholarly attention, but the Henry the Sixth plays and other, non-Shakespearean Elizabethan history plays are less-fully explored. In a long-held scholarly view that needs nuancing, many history plays dating from the early 1590s are read as uncritical expressions of national sentiment, although their engagement with historical themes and political theology are often deceptively complex. Some (including those with John of Gaunt

1473/4),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed August 11, 2014, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54420/On Wavrin as a source for the Wars of the Roses \(and as an often pro-Yorkist commentator\), see Dockray, *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses*, xvii-xviii.](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54420/On+Wavrin+as+a+source+for+the+Wars+of+the+Roses+(and+as+an+often+pro-Yorkist+commentator),+see+Dockray,+Henry+VI,+Margaret+of+Anjou+and+the+Wars+of+the+Roses,+xvii-xviii.)

¹⁴ On the “dynastic approach” to the Wars of the Roses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Dockray, *Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou and the Wars of the Roses*, xxii-xxiv.

¹⁵ Edward Hall, *The Union of the two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and Yorke* (London: Rychard Grafton, 1550), A1.

references such as Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and *Henry the Sixth, Part Three*) are legible as responding to the looming threat or ultimate defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588). It would be interesting to put these plays into dialogue with the body of printed pamphlets and books discussing the Armada and subsequent Counter-Armadas, as well as topical drama like the Stuckley plays, as all operating within a cultural landscape marked by shifting discourses of sovereignty, just war, and crusade.¹⁶ Equally interesting would be a research project on the lives and reading practices of English Catholics abroad during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including the movement of recusant families and religious communities or the flow of contraband Catholic books into England.

This dissertation also points toward the rich opportunities to reconceptualize a multilingual corpus of literature responding to the Hundred Years War, from chronicles, such as those of Pero López de Ayala, to chivalric biographies like the Chandos Herald's *Vie du prince noir* and Cuvelier's *Chronique de Bertrand Du Guesclin*, to lyric poetry and poetic complaint to ludic entertainment and royal entries.¹⁷ Both within this international context and within Peninsular traditions, fifteenth-century

¹⁶ On Stukeley plays, see George Peele, *The Stukeley Plays: The Battle of Alcazar by George Peele; the Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley*, ed. Charles Edelman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). See also Joseph Candido, "Captain Thomas Stukeley: the Man, the Theatrical Record, and the Origins of Tudor 'biographical' Drama," *Anglia: Zeitschrift Fur Englische Philologie* 105 (1987): 50-68; Brian C. Lockett, "Elizabethan Cosmopolitan: Captain Thomas Stukeley in the Court of Dom Sebastian," *English Literary Renaissance* 40.1 (2011): 3-32; Joanne W. Roby, "Turning Catholic: Peele's the Battle of Alcazar and Captain Thomas Stukeley," *Parergon* 28.1 (2011): 25-42; Eric J. Griffin, "'Spain Is Portugal/and Portugal Is Spain': Transnational Attraction in the Stukeley Plays and the Spanish Tragedy," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10.1 (2010): 95-116; Emily C. Bartels, "Enter Barbary: The battle of Alcazar and 'the World'" in *Speaking of the Moor: From Alcazar to Othello* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Juan E. Tazón, *The Life and Times of Thomas Stukeley (c.1525-78)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

¹⁷ On literature of the Hundred Years War, see Ardis Butterfield *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) and Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002). Major studies of the Hundred Years War include Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991-2009); Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Malcolm G. A. Vale. *The Origins of the Hundred Years War: The Angevin Legacy, 1250-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); C. T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c. 1300-c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Desmond Seward, *The Hundred Years War: The English in France, 1337-1453* (New York: Atheneum, 1978); John Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society: Social Values in the Hundred Years War, 1337-99* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974); Nicholas Wright, *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998); Remy Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); L. J. Andrew Villalon and Donald J. Kagay, eds., *The Hundred Years War: A Wider Focus* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) and *The Hundred Years War (Part II): Different Vistas* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

Iberian historiography offers rich historical and narrative accounts of political life. The Portuguese chroniclers Fernão Lopes, Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Rui (or Ruy) de Pina, and (in the sixteenth century) João de Barros are all largely responsible for the creation of Avis dynastic memory, just as the Castilian chroniclers Pero López de Ayala and, a generation later, Alonso de Palencia, Diego de Valera, the author of the *Crónica anónima de Enrique de Castilla*, and conciliarists Alfonso de Cartagena and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo contributed to a particularly Trastámaran vision of Castilian history. Beyond the scope of my dissertation, but relevant to a study of fifteenth-century Iberian historiography, are the late medieval documentary culture and chronicle traditions of the Crown of Aragon, which include the *Dietari del Capellá d'Alfons V el Magnànim*, attributed to Melchor Miralles.¹⁸

Surveying late medieval and early modern Anglo-Iberian cultural relations from a Peninsular perspective would be an intuitive complement to my own study, which has focused largely on historical figures and texts of English origin. Barbara Fuchs, Joyce Boro, and Alexander Samson have contributed to a rich body of work on print translations of Spanish texts in early modern England.¹⁹ Further studies of the Golden Age Spanish literature on English themes, such as Lope de Vega's plays featuring Sir Frances Drake, *La dragontea*, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca's play about Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, *La cisma de Inglaterra*, would no doubt enrich the scholarly dialogue on the material and textual exchange, and at times, political antagonism, of the Tudor and Habsburg monarchies.²⁰ Travel accounts of knights, diplomats, and recusant Catholics moving

¹⁸ Jaume Aurell i Cardona, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Alan Ryder, *The Wreck of Catalonia: Civil War in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁹ José Francisco Ruiz Casanova, *Aproximación a una historia de la traducción en España* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000).

²⁰ Lope de Vega, *La dragontea*, ed., Antonio Sánchez-Jiménez (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007) and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La Cisma De Inglaterra*, ed., Francisco Ruiz Ramón (Madrid: Castalia, 1981), and translated into English by Ann L. Mackenzie, *The Schism in England; La Cisma De Inglaterra* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1990). On Calderón's play see also Pedro Ribadeneyra and Eusebio Rey, *Historias De La Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1945); Maria C. Quintero, *Gendering the Crown in the Spanish Baroque Comedia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012); Charles Oriel, "Calderón's *La cisma de Inglaterra* and the Ethics of Erasure" in *Writing and Inscription in Golden Age Drama* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1992); Anita Howard, *The King Within: Reformations of Power in William Shakespeare and Pedro Calderón De La Barca*

between England and Iberia similarly provide interesting perspectives on cultural contact and negotiation.²¹

In the literary realm, a body of twentieth-century scholarship exists on the wide dissemination of Arthurian romance in Iberia, attested by works such as the *Baladro del sabio Merlin*, the Portuguese pseudo-Boron cycle, and the Mallorcan poet Guillem de Torroella's fourteenth-century Arthurian romance *La faula*.²² Studies of Vulgate and Post-Vulgate materials in Iberia help illustrate the development of chivalric discourse and literature on the Peninsula rather than constitute an exploration of direct English-Iberian cultural contact (as these materials were disseminated largely through French-language and provenance sources).²³ References to the prophecies of Merlin appear in unexpected places in Iberian texts, for instance, as part of a narrative episode involving Pedro of Castile in Lope García De Salazar's fifteenth-century *Libro De Las Bienandanzas E Fortunas*.²⁴ Moreover, many of these romance motifs overlap with those of travel

(Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010); and Braulio Fernández Biggs, *Calderón y Shakespeare: Los Personajes En La Cisma De Ingalaterra y Henry VIII* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2012).

²¹ Martín Riquer, *Caballeros Andantes Españoles* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967).

²² See Anna Maria Compagna's online edition of *La faula* (Rialc, 2000), <http://www.riale.unina.it/179.1.htm/> See also Sara Vicent Santamaria, "La faula de Guillem de Torroella: ¿Literatura o política?" *Res publica*, 17, 2007, pp. 341-356

²³ On Arthurian material in Iberia see J. B. Hall, "La matière arthurienne espagnole: The Ethos of the French Post-Vulgate *Roman du Graal* and the Castilian *Baladro del sabio Merlin* and *Demanda del Sancto Grial*," *Revue de littérature comparée* 56:4 (Oct./Dec., 1982): 423-436; J. Conde de Lindquist, "Rethinking the Arthurian Legend Transmission in the Iberian Peninsula," *eHumanista* 7 (2006): 72-85; William J. Entwistle, *The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula* (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1925) and "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Spanish Literature," *Modern Language Review* 17:4 (1922): 381-91; David Hook, "Domnus Artus: Arthurian Nomenclature in 13th-c. Burgos," *Romance Philology* 44 (1990-91): 162-64; Hook, *The Earliest Arthurian Names in Spain and Portugal* (St. Albans: Fontaine Notre Dame, 1991) and Hook, "Further Early Arthurian Names from Spain" *La corónica* 21. 2 (1993): 23-33.

²⁴ Harvey L. Sharrer, ed. *The Legendary History of Britain in Lope García De Salazar's Libro De Las Bienandanzas E Fortunas*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979); Lope García de Salazar, *Las Bienandanzas E Fortunas: Códice Del Siglo XV*, ed. Angel Rodríguez Herrero, intro. Marques de Arriluce de Ybarra (Bilbao: Diputación de Vizcaya, 1967); Lope García de Salazar, *Libro XI De La Istoria De Las Bienandanzas E Fortunas*, ed. Consuelo Villacorta (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, Servicio Editorial, 1999). For the editorial history of the work, see Harvey L. Sharrer, "The *Irmandiño* Movement and Revolt of 1467-69 according to Lope García de Salazar's *Libro de las bienandanzas e fortunas*" in *Estudios Galegos Medievais*, eds. Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, Giorgio Perissinotto, and Harvey L. Sharrer, (Santa Barbara: Centro de Estudios Galegos, Dept of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2001), 133-154, 147 n. 2.

literature, coloring the spatial imagination of fifteenth-century explorers and writers in the early decades of the age of exploration.²⁵

One further direction for future research merits brief mention. Beyond the scope of this study, but germane to it in spirit, is the cosmopolitanism of the English Angevin and early Plantagenet courts, a topic beautifully explored by Elizabeth Salter in *English and International*. One author related to these thirteenth-century royal itineraries and cultural contacts is Rusticiano da Pisa (collaborator of Marco Polo's travelogue), who composed an Arthurian romance supposedly derived from a book belonging to Edward I as he journeyed through Italy en route to the Holy Land in 1272.²⁶ In particular, the life and legacy of Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I of England, in contemporary and later historical writing, from the chronicles of Matthew Paris to the broadside poems of early seventeenth-century London, offers a lens through which to view the connectivities between England, Iberia, Italy, and the eastern Mediterranean crusading culture of the Levant.

This project has led me on an intellectual and archival journey through many countries, over many years, and like the manuscripts I study, it is on some subterranean level ultimately a story of

²⁵ Lorraine Attreed, "Henry VII and the 'New-Found Island': England's Atlantic Exploration, Mediterranean Diplomacy, and the Challenge of Frontier Sexuality," *Mediterranean Studies* 9 (2000): 65-78; Harvey L. Sharrer, "The Passing of King Arthur to the Island of Brasil in a Fifteenth-Century Spanish Version of the Post-Vulgate Roman Du Graal," *Romania* 92 (1971): 65-73; Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 10: "With Columbus we see another confluence of Matters and manners. The Matters of both the biblical and the secular Easts are brought into alignment here with the landscapes, atmospheres, and values of chivalric romance and classical pastoral." See also Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). One example of the grammar of romance informing the experience of New World exploration is the possible etymology of "California" from *Las Sergas de Esplandián* by García Ordóñez de Montalvo (Sevilla, 1510).

²⁶ Donald L. Hoffman, "Rusticiano da Pisa," in *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacy, et. al. (New York: Garland, 1991), 392; Edmund C. Gardner, *The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature* (London: Dent, 1930): 47-50; Eilert Löseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan* (Paris: Champion, 1891); Fabrizio Cigni, *Il romanzo arturiano di Rustichello da Pisa, Edizione critica, traduzione e note* (Pisa: Cassa di risparmio di Pisa, 1994); Marina Brownlee, "The Politics of an Arthurian Prequel: Rustichello, Palamedes, and Byzantium" in *"La Pluma Es Lengua Del Alma": Ensayos En Honor De E. Michael Gerli*, ed. José Manuel Hidalgo (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2011), 53-77.

origins. These origins are not entirely in England, or Iberia, or even the United States, but, appropriately, in the Atlantic waters between all these: on the shores of Columbus's Indies. Twenty years ago, on windy March afternoons, I would fly my kite over the ramparts of a sixteenth-century fortress, El Morro, in my hometown of San Juan, Puerto Rico, a fortress built to defend the city against English naval attacks. Treading over the stones laid by some of the earliest European soldier-settlers in the New World, my imagination teemed with stories of *los piratas ingleses*, always lurking ghost-like and ominous on the horizon.

Like the architectural remains of military fortifications, the institutions and cultural constructs which emerged from an era of imperial rivalries and colonial competition remain with us. Such conflicts, of long duration and great complexity, underlie the shared history of Britain, Spain, and Portugal in the Atlantic and ultimately the geopolitical contours of our modern world, producing both rich regional cultures and insidious histories of violence.²⁷

The field of English literature is moving past the nationalistic disciplinary divides of the language departments that obscure the legacy of cultural contact between different countries and language communities. In our University of California classrooms, where multilingual students fill English literature classrooms, research and teaching that explores these cultural connectivities will provoke inquiry of what it means to embrace multiple linguistic and cultural lineages or canons of literature—especially in places like California, where the ground is studded with stakes of different claimants to the land.

My own personal story is one of being positioned between the Anglophone and Hispanic worlds, and my experience of multilingualism informs both the project and my hopes for its

²⁷ To cite only one example, the anti-Spanish “Black Legend” endures in American political discourse, from the rhetoric of immigration reform and border policing to the “English-only” movement. On this topic, see Tony Horwitz, *A Voyage Long and Strange: Rediscovering the New World* (New York: Henry Hold and Co, 2008) and “Immigration — and the Curse of the Black Legend,” *New York Times online*. Op.ed., published July 9, 2006, accessed online July 26, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/09/opinion/09horwitz.html/>; and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadores: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

scholarly relevance. If I have contributed to scholarship on the longstanding and multidirectional nature of this Anglo-Spanish cultural contact, or on the depths of our connection with this shared, contrapuntal past, then I have succeeded in my undertaking.

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