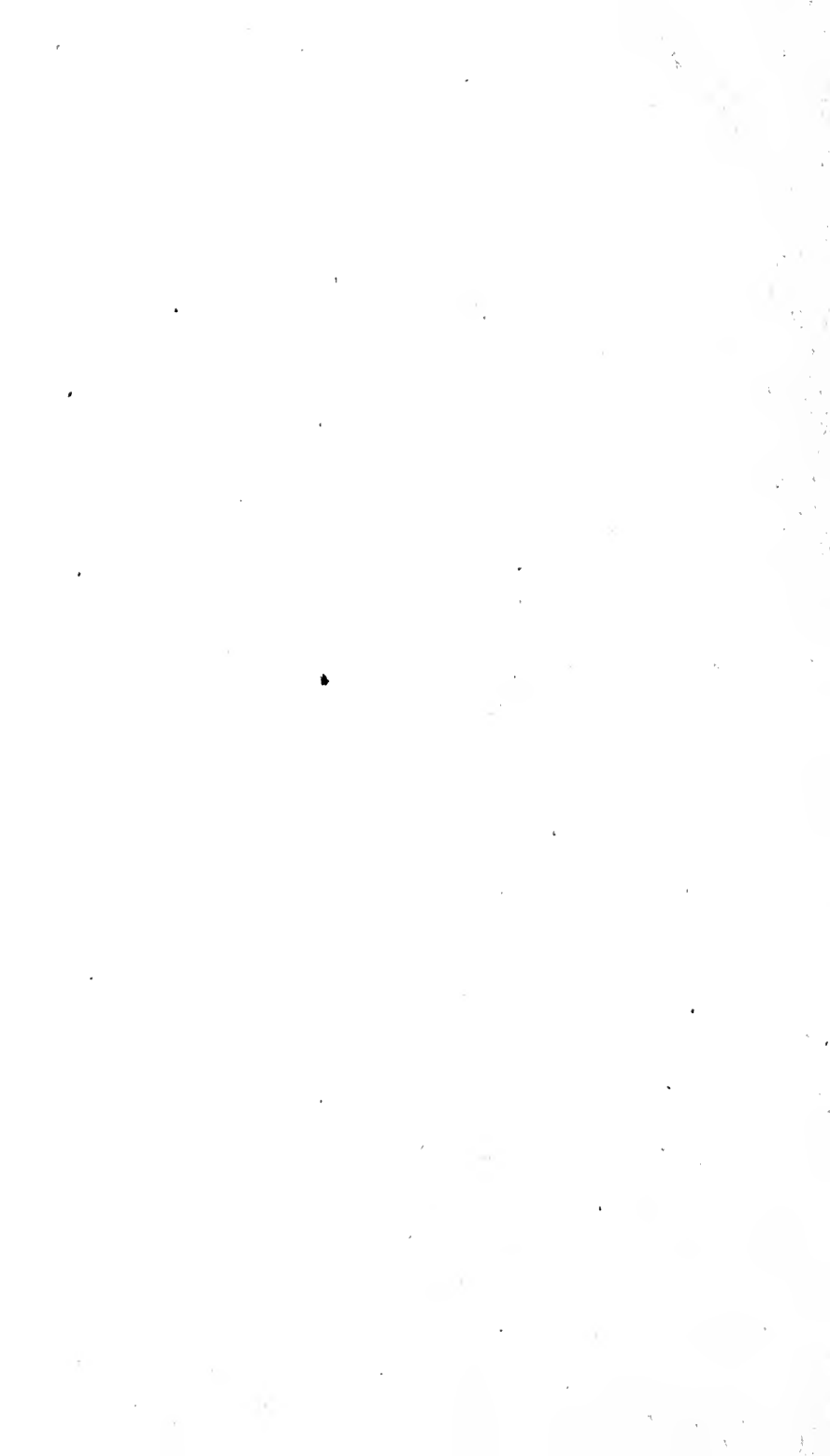


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TRANSACTIONS OF THE
CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

INCORPORATED A. D. 1799

VOLUME 21, PAGES 1-144

DECEMBER, 1916

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The Last Months
of
Chaucer's Earliest Patron

BY

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
IN YALE UNIVERSITY

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

1916

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THE
TUTTLE,
MOREHOUSE
& TAYLOR
COMPANY

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following titles are cited by the name or abbreviation which occurs first in the line:

Azarius. See Petrus Azarius.

Baillie-Grohman (ed.), *The Master of Game*.

Barnes, *History of Edward III*.

Benvenuto (Sangiorgio), *Chronicon* (*M. H. P.*, pp. 1337-1340).

Benvenuto (Sangiorgio), *Historia Montisferrati* (*R. I. S.* 23. 554-560).

Corazzini, *Le Lettere Edite e Inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*.

Cordey, *Les Contes de Savoie et les Rois de France* (*Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, Vol. 89).

Corio, *L'Historia di Milano*, Padua, 1646, pp. 468-471.

Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*.

De Noirmont, *Histoire de la Chasse en France*.

De Sade, *Mémoires pour la Vie de François Pétrarque*.

Florio, *World of Words*.

Fracassetti, *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca*.

Giulini, *Memorie Spettanti alla Storia . . . della Città e Campagna di Milano ne' Secoli Bassi*, Milan, 1856.

Grævius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum*, Vol. 3, Part 1.

Hutton, *Giovanni Boccaccio*.

Jovius, *Vita Duodecim Vicecomitum* (Grævius, *Thes. Antiqq.*, Vol. 3).

Knighton, *Chronicon* (Rolls Series).

Körting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*.

Lavisse, *Histoire de France*.

Leighton, *New Book of the Dog*.

Leo, *Geschichte von Italien*.

Le Roulx, *La France en Orient*.

Magenta, *I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia*.

Mézières, *Pétrarque*.

Michelet, *Histoire de France*, nouvelle édition.

Miller (William), *The Latins in the Levant*.

Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, Vol. 8, Milan, 1744.

Petrus Azarius, *Chronicon* (*R. I. S.* 16. 297-424).

Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia*.

Rosmini, *Dell' Istoria di Milano*.

Rossetti (Domenico), *Poesie Minori del Petrarca*, Vol. 3.

Rymer, *Fadera*.

Sandford, *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, London, 1707.

Sismondi, Eng., *History of the Italian Republics*, English abridgment.

Sismondi, Fr., *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1826.

Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, Vol. 4.

Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series).

Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*.

Alip. = Aliprando, *Cronica della Città di Mantova* (*Antiquitates Italicae Medii Ævi*, ed. Muratori, 5. 1187-91).

Annal. Med. = *Annales Mediolanenses* (*R. I. S.* 16. 738-740).

Chron. Plac. = *Chronicon Placentinum* (*R. I. S.*, Vol. 16).

Cron. Monf. = Galeotto del Carretto, *Cronica di Monferrato* (*M. H. P.* 1212-3, 1225-8).

Cron. Saluz. = Gioffredo della Chiesa, *Cronaca di Saluzzo* (*M. H. P.*, pp. 1013-5, 1025, 1027).

Fam. = Petrarch, *Epistolæ de Rebus Familiaribus*.

Frag. = *Fragmentum Historiæ Mediolanensis* (*R. I. S.* 16. 1051-4).

Hist. Background = Cook, *The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 20. 161-240).

Kervyn = Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove.

M. H. P. = *Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ* (unless volume and page are specified) Vol. 5 (*Script.* 3).

Morte Darthur, ed. Sommer.

R. I. S. = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori.

Romans = Paulin Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*.

Sen. = Petrarch, *Epistolæ Rerum Senilium*.

Var. = Petrarch, *Epistolæ Variæ*.

The numbered column of a double-columned page is here designated as 'page.'

I. INTRODUCTION

In my paper, *The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 20. 161-240), I touched upon Chaucer's relations with Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and incidentally discussed (pp. 182-6) the statement reported by Speght to the effect that Chaucer had been present at the marriage of Lionel and Violante, daughter of Galeazzo II of Milan. It has seemed to me that a more detailed account than has hitherto appeared in print of Lionel's journey to Italy in 1368, of the circumstances attending his marriage, and of his brief life thereafter, might especially help, whatever its value to the biographer of Lionel, or to the student of England's relations with Italy in the 14th century, to determine the probability of Chaucer's visit to Italy on the occasion in question. The men and manners that he would have observed on the journey, even as a humble attendant of Prince Lionel, appeal so powerfully to the imagination, and would have contributed so significantly to his poetic education, that the student of Chaucer's life can hardly remain satisfied until the teasing question has been answered, or the impossibility of answering it has been in a measure demonstrated. It is with primary reference to Chaucer, then, that this study has been undertaken. The poet is never, it is true, in the foreground of the picture. At best he is a somewhat shadowy figure in the background. How far he can be said to emerge, it is left for the reader to determine. Meanwhile, certain other characters—knights, squires, men-at-arms, fair ladies, poets, statesmen, and even kings—will at least troop across the page, to some extent in their habits as they lived.

II. ITALY AND THE VISCONTI

The house of Visconti, Lords of Milan, and constant aggressors on neighboring states, large and small, had attained a degree of opulence and consideration which incited them to aim at alliances with royalty, not merely for their present satisfaction, but also thereby to attain their ulterior ends—the more rapid annexation of other lordships, and perhaps in time the complete subjugation of Italy. In order to understand something of what lay before Lionel when he should have crossed the Alps, it will repay us to glance at the situation of affairs in northern Italy, and at the character of the ambitious family which for more than a century had been rising from comparative obscurity to a certain eminence.

I. ITALY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Italy in the 14th century is thus characterized¹ by Sismondi, Fr.:

Le quatorzième siècle est une époque brillante pour l'Italie: dans aucun temps les lettres n'ont été cultivées avec plus d'ardeur, les savans accueillis, honorés avec plus d'enthousiasme; dans aucun temps de plus grandes lumières n'ont été acquises et généralement répandues parmi les hommes; dans aucun temps de plus nobles monumens du génie créateur, ou du travail opiniâtre de l'homme, n'ont été transmis à la postérité. Le renouvellement des lettres grecques et latines, la création de la langue italienne et de la poésie moderne, l'art d'enseigner la politique dans l'histoire, et de présenter aux hommes, par le récit des événemens, une leçon non moins attrayante qu'instructive, le perfectionnement de la jurisprudence, les progrès rapides de la peinture, de la sculpture, de l'architecture, et de la musique, sont dus plus particulièrement aux hommes du quatorzième siècle. Mais cette période, qui, à tant de titres, mérite une étude particulière, ne fut point heureuse pour l'humanité. Plusieurs des vertus qui relèvent le caractère des hommes, qui, en s'alliant à leurs passions, les ennoblissent, avoient presque absolument disparu: et des vices rebutans, des vices qui dégradent l'histoire que nous écrivons, avoient pris leur place. Dans les cours des princes, la bassesse rampante, la lâche flatterie, l'intrigue et le vice, étoient les moyens les plus assurés de parvenir. Les petits souverains donnoient

¹ 6. 1-3 (chap. 38).

l'exemple de tous les crimes; une débauche grossière régnoit dans l'intérieur de leurs palais; le poison et l'assassinat étoient employés chaque jour par eux, comme les sauvegardes de leur gouvernement: des troupes d'assassins étoient entretenues à leurs gages; et une protection entière étoit assurée aux brigands, en retour des services qu'ils rendoient. Dans les familles des princes, la passion de régner n'étoit arrêtée par aucun crime; et elle excitoit des révolutions fréquentes, presque toujours préparées par une noire perfidie, et accomplies par des forfaits atroces, ou prévenues par une effrayante cruauté. Dans les tribunaux, un pouvoir arbitraire et souvent injuste faisoit de la punition des crimes un revenu pour le prince: soupçonneux par avarice, il acquéroit des preuves par la torture, et punissoit les coupables par d'horribles supplices. Dans la politique, une ambition qui employoit la trahison plutôt que les armes, comme moyen de vaincre, détruisoit toute confiance dans les traités, toute sûreté dans les alliances, tout lien d'amitié entre les peuples. Dans la guerre, des troupes mercenaires, perfides et cruelles, sacrifioient leur souverain à l'ennemi qui vouloit les acheter, mettoient leur honneur à l'enchère, et, épargnant les armées qu'elles avoient à combattre, ne ruinoient que les campagnes paisibles et les citoyens innocens.

Elsewhere Sismondi, Fr., says²:

Dans le quatorzième siècle, les individus se détachent davantage de la foule; ils attirent sur eux l'attention; ils la commandent par leurs hauts faits, leurs talens ou leurs crimes: mais l'on ne voit point la nation à laquelle ils appartiennent s'avancer dans aucune carrière; et tandis qu'eux-mêmes, comme des lumières errantes, brillent et cheminent en tous sens, les divers peuples qu'ils devoient guider s'égarèrent dans les sentiers tortueux de la politique; ils avancent et reculent tour à tour: les uns marchent à la liberté, les autres au despotisme; l'immoralité et la religion, la superstition et la philosophie, le courage et la pusillanimité dominant tour à tour, et l'on ne sauroit affirmer, après la révolution de tout le siècle, si aucun progrès a été fait dans aucun sens.

Macaulay says (*Essay on Machiavelli*):

The Crusades, from which the inhabitants of other countries gained nothing but relics and wounds, brought to the rising commonwealths of the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas a large increase of wealth, dominion, and knowledge. The moral and the geographical position of those commonwealths enabled them to profit alike by the barbarism of the West and by the civilization of the East. Italian ships covered every sea. Italian factories rose on every shore. The tables of Italian

² 8. 3 (chap. 57).

money-changers were set in every city. Manufactures flourished. Banks were established. The operations of the commercial machine were facilitated by many useful and beautiful inventions. We doubt whether any country of Europe, our own excepted, have at the present time reached so high a point of wealth and civilization as some parts of Italy had attained four hundred years ago [written in 1827]. Historians rarely descend to those details from which alone the real state of a community can be collected. Hence posterity is too often deceived by the vague hyperboles of poets and rhetoricians, who mistake the splendor of a court for the happiness of a people. Fortunately, John Villani has given us an ample and precise account of the state of Florence in the early part of the fourteenth century. The revenue of the Republic amounted to three hundred thousand florins; a sum which, allowing for the depreciation of the precious metals, was at least equivalent to six hundred thousand pounds sterling: a larger sum than England and Ireland, two centuries ago, yielded annually to Elizabeth. The manufacture of wool alone employed two hundred factories and thirty thousand workmen. The cloth annually produced sold, at an average, for twelve hundred thousand florins; a sum fully equal, in exchangeable value, to two millions and a half of our money. Four hundred thousand florins were annually coined. Eighty banks conducted the commercial operations, not of Florence only, but of all Europe. The transactions of these establishments were sometimes of a magnitude which may surprise even the contemporaries of the Barings and the Rothschilds. Two houses advanced to Edward the Third of England upwards of three hundred thousand marks, at a time when the mark contained more silver than fifty shillings of the present day, and when the value of silver was more than quadruple of what it now is. The city and its environs contained a hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants. In the various schools about ten thousand children were taught to read; twelve hundred studied arithmetic: six hundred received a learned education.

2. LOMBARDY AND TUSCANY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Sismondi, Eng., thus describes the condition of Lombardy and Tuscany:

Before thus entering within the walls of the principal cities, it is right to give a sketch of the general aspect of the country, particularly as the violent commotions which it experienced might give a false idea of its real state. This aspect was one of a prodigious prosperity, which contrasted so much the more with the rest of Europe that nothing but poverty and barbarism were to be found elsewhere. The

open country, designated by the name of *contado*, appertaining to each city, was cultivated by an active and industrious race of peasants, enriched by their labor, and not fearing to display their wealth in their dress, their cattle, and their instruments of husbandry. The proprietors, inhabitants of towns, advanced them capital, shared the harvests, and alone paid the land-tax: they undertook the immense labor which has given so much fertility to the Italian soil—that of making dikes to preserve the plains from the inundation of the rivers, and of deriving from those rivers innumerable canals of irrigation. The Naviglio Grande of Milan, which spreads the clear waters of the Ticino over the finest part of Lombardy, was begun in 1179, resumed in 1257, and terminated a few years afterwards.³ Men who meditated, and who applied to the arts the fruits of their study, practised already that scientific agriculture of Lombardy and Tuscany which became a model to other nations; and at this day, after five centuries, the districts formerly free, and always cultivated with intelligence, are easily distinguished from those half-wild districts which had remained subject to the feudal lords.

The cities, surrounded with thick walls, terraced, and guarded by towers, were, for the most part, paved with broad flagstones; while the inhabitants of Paris could not stir out of their houses without plunging into the mud. Stone bridges of an elegant and bold architecture were thrown over rivers; aqueducts carried pure water to the fountains. The palace of the podestà and *signorie* united strength with majesty. The most admirable of those of Florence, the Palazzo Vecchio, was built in 1298. The Loggia in the same city, the church of Santa Croce, that of Santa Maria del Fiore, with its dome, so admired by Michael Angelo, were begun by the architect Arnolfo, scholar of Nicolas di Pisa, between the years 1284 and 1300. The prodigies of this first-born of the fine arts multiplied in Italy: a pure taste, boldness, and grandeur struck the eye in all the public monuments, and finally reached even private dwellings; while the princes of France, England, and Germany, in building their castles, seemed to think only of shelter and defense. Sculpture in marble and bronze soon followed the progress of architecture: in 1300, Andrea di Pisa, son of the architect Nicolas, cast the admirable bronze gates of the Baptistery at Florence; about the same time, Cimabue and Giotto revived the art of painting, Casella music, and Dante gave to Italy his divine poem, unequalled in succeeding generations. History was written honestly, with scrupulous research, and with a graceful simplicity, by Giovanni Villani, and his school; the study of morals and philosophy began; and Italy, ennobled by freedom, enlightened nations till then sunk in darkness.

³ But the chronicles of Piacenza and Milan say that the Naviglio, running from Milan to Pavia, was constructed by Galeazzo in April, May, and June, 1365 (*R. I. S.* 16. 508, 735), at a price named. See also Magenta i. 284.—The notes here, and throughout this section, are mine. A. S. C.

The arts of necessity and of luxury had been cultivated with not less success than the fine arts: in every street, warehouses and shops displayed the wealth that Italy and Flanders only knew how to produce. It excited the astonishment and cupidity of the French or German adventurer, who came to find employment in Italy, and who had no other exchange to make than his blood against the rich stuffs and brilliant arms which he coveted. The Tuscan and Lombard merchants, however, trafficked in the barbarous regions of the west, to carry there the produce of their industry. Attracted by the franchises of the fairs of Champagne and of Lyons, they went thither, as well to barter their goods as to lend their capital at interest to the nobles, habitually loaded with debt; though at the risk of finding themselves suddenly arrested, their wealth confiscated, by order of the king of France, and their lives, too, sometimes endangered by sanctioned robbers, under the pretext of repressing usury. Industry, the employment of a superabundant capital, the application of mechanism and science to the production of wealth, secured the Italians a sort of monopoly through Europe: they alone offered for sale what all the rich desired to buy; and, notwithstanding the various oppressions of the barbarian kings, notwithstanding the losses occasioned by their own often-repeated revolutions, their wealth was rapidly renewed. The wages of workmen, the interest of capital, and the profit of trade, rose simultaneously, while every one gained much and spent little; manners were still simple, luxury was unknown, and the future was not forestalled by accumulated debt.

3. THE COMPANIES OF ADVENTURE

Sismondi, Eng., says:

The most immediate cause of the sufferings of the kingdom of Naples, and of all Italy, was the formation of what was called 'companies of adventure.' Wherever tyrants had succeeded to free governments, their first care had been to disarm the citizens, whose resistance was to be feared; and although a little industry might soon have supplied swords and lances, yet the danger of being denounced for using them soon made the subjects of these princes lose every military habit. Even the citizens of free towns no longer thought of defending themselves: their way of life had weakened their corporeal strength; and they felt an inferiority too discouraging when they had to oppose, without defensive armor, cuirassiers on horseback. The chief strength of armies henceforth was in the heavy-armed cavalry, composed of men who had all their lives followed the trade of war, and who hired themselves for pay. The emperors had successively brought into Italy many of their countrymen, who afterwards passed into the service of the tyrant princes.

The Visconti and Della Scalas had sent for many to Germany, believing that these men—who did not understand the language of the country, who were bound to it by no affection, and who were accessible to no political passion—would be their best defenders. They proved ready to execute the most barbarous orders, and for their recompense demanded only the enjoyments of an intemperate sensuality.

But the Lombard tyrants were deceived in believing the German soldier would never covet power for himself, and would continue to abuse the right of the stronger for the advantage of others only. These adventurers soon discovered that it would be better to make war and pillage the people for their own profit, without dividing the spoil with a master. Some men of high rank, who had served in Italy as *condottieri* (hired captains), proposed to their soldiers to follow them, make war on the whole world, and divide the booty among themselves. The first company, formed by an Italian noble at the moment that the Visconti dismissed their soldiers, having made peace with their adversaries, made an attack suddenly on Milan, in the hope of plundering that great city; but was almost annihilated in a battle, fought at Parabiago, on the 20th of February, 1339. A German duke, known only by his Christian name of Werner, and the inscription he wore on his breast of 'enemy of God, of pity, and of mercy,' formed, in 1343, another association, which maintained itself for a long time, under the name of 'the great company.' It in turns entered the service of princes; and, when they made peace, carried on its ravages and plunderings for its own profit. The duke Werner and his successors—the count Lando, a German; and the friar Moriale, knight of St. John—devastated Italy from Montferrat to the extremity of the kingdom of Naples. They raised contributions by threatening to burn houses and harvests, or by putting the prisoners whom they took to the most horrible tortures. The provinces of Apulia were, above all, abandoned to their devastations; and the king and queen of Naples made not a single effort to protect their people.

There now remained no more than six independent princes in Lombardy. The Visconti, lords of Milan, had usurped all the central part of that province; the western part was held by [the Counts of Savoy and⁴] the Marquis[es] of Montferrat, and the eastern by the Della Scala, lords of Verona, Carrara of Padua, Este of Ferrara, and Gonzaga of Mantua. These weaker princes felt themselves in danger, and made a league against the Visconti, taking into their service the great company; but, deceived and pillaged by it, they suffered greater evils than they inflicted on their enemies.

⁴So Sismondi, Fr., 8. 27.

4. THE HOUSE OF VISCONTI

The dynasty of the Visconti is thus⁵ characterized by Sismondi, Fr.:

Cette dynastie eut l'avantage presque inouï d'avoir successivement six⁶ chefs également distingués. La couronne ne passa point des pères aux enfans, et n'entretint point une mollesse héréditaire; la dissimulation, l'égoïsme et le vice, ne formèrent point l'éducation nécessaire des légitimes successeurs du grand Othon; la même lutte, les mêmes vicissitudes de fortune qui développèrent son énergie, agirent tout aussi puissamment sur son frère et ses neveux: tous les six avoient tour à tour lutté avec la fortune; et l'archevêque Jean Visconti, qui mourut le dernier, en 1354, avoit appris, comme ses devanciers, à connoître les hommes, lorsqu'il étoit persécuté et exilé. Il soumit à son pouvoir Gènes, Bologne, et presque toute la Lombardie; il tenta d'envahir la Toscane et l'état de l'Eglise, et peut-être fut-il plus près qu'aucun autre prince du quatorzième siècle, de s'assurer la souveraineté de toute l'Italie. Cependant il excita la défiance de ses voisins, par sa dissimulation et sa perfidie, plus que par ses conquêtes; et les vices par lesquels il croyoit vaincre, arrêtaient ses victoires et mirent obstacle à sa grandeur.

L'archevêque Jean Visconti fut le dernier des princes de cette famille qui eut quelque magnanimité dans le caractère: mais la passion des conquêtes, le désir insatiable de dominations nouvelles demeurèrent à ses successeurs, quoiqu'ils n'héritassent point aussi des qualités plus brillantes de ce prince. La maison Visconti, jusqu'à son dernier rejeton, ne renonça point aux projets que ses premiers chefs avoient formés, pour asservir l'Italie; elle employa désormais les arts de la foiblesse au lieu de ceux de la force, la perfidie et l'intrigue de préférence aux armes; mais elle tendit constamment au même but.

Bernabos, Galéaz son frère, et Jean Galéaz, fils du dernier, qui leur succéda, étoient des hommes timides autant qu'ambitieux; leur cruauté, leur avarice et leurs exactions, les rendirent odieux à leurs sujets; ils causèrent la ruine des provinces qui leur étoient soumises, par les guerres continuelles qu'ils entretenirent: le commerce fut détruit, les manufactures furent abandonnées, l'agriculture elle-même fut négligée; et plusieurs de ces fertiles campagnes de la Lombardie, qui promettent au travail de si riches récompenses, demeurèrent désertes. Les dévastations des gens de guerre, et le poids des impositions, étouffèrent toute industrie. Cependant Bernabos et Jean

⁵ 8. 23-26 (chap. 57).

⁶ Otto, Matteo I, Galeazzo I, Azzo, Luchino, Giovanni (1349-54). These were followed by Matteo II (1354-5), with Galeazzo II (1354-78), and Bernabò (1354-85); to Galeazzo II succeeded Gian Galeazzo (1378-1402).

Galéaz, si mauvais économistes de la fortune de leurs peuples, savoient maintenir l'ordre dans l'administration de leurs propres finances : et ce fut la cause principale de leurs succès. Ils disposèrent en tout temps d'un plus ample revenu qu'aucun de leurs adversaires ; et ils l'employèrent, d'une main libérale, à récompenser leurs serviteurs fidèles, à maintenir le dévouement des petits états qui s'étoient attachés à eux, enfin à se procurer des partisans ou des traîtres dans les conseils de leurs voisins ou de leurs ennemis. Tandis qu'ils ne ménageoient point leurs trésors pour atteindre le but de leur politique, ils n'avoient garde de les dissiper par une prodigalité insensée ; aussi se trouvoient-ils prêts au combat lorsque leurs adversaires avoient déjà épuisé toutes leurs forces, et se sentoient-ils presque assurés de vaincre toutes les fois qu'ils gagnoient du temps.

Tant que Galéaz avoit vécu, et qu'il avoit partagé avec son frère Bernabos l'administration des affaires, ses vices particuliers avoient mis obstacle au progrès des armes du seigneur de Milan ; car il étoit étranger à la sage économie de son frère et de son fils : l'amour de la pompe et d'une grandeur apparente, détruisoit ses forces réelles ; il dépensa des sommes prodigieuses pour élever des bâtimens somptueux ; il en prodigua de plus grandes encore pour allier sa famille, par d'illustres mariages, aux monarques de l'Europe. Mais lorsque Jean Galéaz, son fils, après avoir réuni ses états à ceux de Bernabos, eut rétabli l'ordre dans les finances, il étendit dans tous les sens les limites de sa domination ; et il auroit infailliblement asservi toute l'Italie qui n'avoit plus de force pour lui résister, si une mort inattendue n'avoit tout-à-coup arrêté sa carrière.

Sismondi, Eng., says :

Azzo Visconti, the son of that Galeazzo who had been so treacherously used by Louis of Bavaria, had, in 1328, purchased the city of Milan from that emperor, and soon afterwards found himself master of ten other cities of Lombardy ; but he died suddenly, in the height of his prosperity, the 16th of August, 1339. As he left no children, his uncle Luchino succeeded him in the sovereignty. Luchino was false and ferocious, but clever, and possessed in war the hereditary talent of the Visconti. He was called a lover of justice, probably because he punished criminals with an excess of cruelty, and maintained by terror a perfect police in his states. He died, poisoned by his wife, on the 23d of January, 1349. His brother John, Archbishop of Milan, succeeded him in power. The latter found himself master of sixteen of the largest cities in Lombardy ; cities which, in the preceding century, had been so many free and flourishing republics. His ambition continually aspired to more extensive conquests ; and on the 16th of October, 1350, he engaged the brothers Pepoli to cede to him Bologna. . . .

He [John Visconti] died on the 5th of October, 1354, before he could renew attacks [on Florence] ; and his three nephews, the

sons of his brother Stephen, agreed to succeed him in common. The eldest, who showed less talent for government, and more sensuality and vice, than his brothers, was poisoned by them the year following. The two survivors, Barnabas and Galeazzo, divided Lombardy between them; preserving an equal right on Milan, and in the government. . . .

The two brothers Visconti, masters of Lombardy, had at their disposal immense wealth and numerous armies; and their ambition was insatiable. They were allied by marriage to the two houses of France and England; their intrigues extended throughout Italy, and every tyrant was under their protection. At the same time, their own subjects trembled under frightful cruelties. They⁷ shamelessly pub-

⁷ The edict was due to Galeazzo alone, so far as appears (*R. I. S.* 16. 410), and is assigned by Sismondi, Fr., who wrongly attributes it to Bernabò (6. 302-3), to 1359. For an account of these tortures, see Sismondi, Fr., 6. 302-3; Leo 3. 311-2. The following account is directly from the original.

The tortures, which were to be inflicted on traitors and their accomplices, that is, according to Rosmini (2. 113), on all who had opposed him in the recent war, or favored his enemies, were to extend over a period of 41 days, and terminate in death. All the even days of the series were to be spent in recuperating from the agonies inflicted on the odd days, so that there were 21 days of active torment. Only specimens will be here described. They began with the strappado, which consisted of attaching a rope to the condemned, perhaps typically to his hands joined behind his back, and letting him fall, but not to the ground, the length of a rope suspended from a beam. This was done five times a day for days 1, 3, 5, and 7. On days 9 and 11, lime, vinegar, and water were given him to drink. On day 15 the soles of the feet were flayed, and the wretch walked upon peas, the walking to be repeated on day 17. On days 19 and 21, the rack. On day 23, one eye gouged out; 25, the nose cut away; 27, one hand chopped off; 29, the other hand; 31, one foot, etc. On the last day, the sufferer was laid on a cart, and his flesh torn with pincers: following which, he was broken on the wheel ('inténaglietur super plastro, et postea in rota ponetur'). If we reflect how easily the stigma of treason could be fastened on a person, that there was no appeal from a sentence, that these punishments were actually inflicted on numbers of persons in 1362 and 1363 (*R. I. S.* 16. 411), and that Galeazzo was the less sanguinary of the two brothers, we shall be in a position to estimate one aspect at least of the character of the Visconti.

For Galeazzo's character in general, see *R. I. S.* 16. 402-5; cf. Muratori 8. 382; Rosmini 2. 140-143; Leo 3. 323-4. He has been called the wealthiest and most magnificent Italian of his epoch (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 15. 38). For the pious foundations which he established on March 27, 1374, see Giulini 7. 240-243. He died on Aug. 4, 1378, aged 59 years (*Corio*, p. 495).

lished an edict, by which the execution of state criminals was prolonged to the period of forty days. In it the particular tortures to be inflicted, day by day, were detailed, and the members to be



Galeazzo Visconti.

(From Rosmini 2. 80; cf. Grævius, p. 312.)

mutilated designated, before death was reached. On the other hand, their finances were in good order; they liberally recompensed their partisans, and won over traitors in every state inimical to them. They pensioned the captain of every company of adventurers, on con-

dition that he engaged to return to their service whenever called upon. Meanwhile, these captains, with their soldiers, overran, plundered, and exhausted Italy, during the intervals of peace; reducing the country to such a state as to be incapable of resisting any new attack. All the Ghibelines, all the nobles who had preserved their independence in the Apennines, were allied to the Visconti. The march of these usurpers was slow, but it seemed sure. The moment was foreseen to approach when Tuscany would be theirs, as well as Lombardy; particularly as Florence had no aid to expect either from Genoa or Venice. . . .

Urban V, on his arrival in Italy, endeavored also to oppose the usurpations of the Visconti, who had just taken possession of San Miniato, in Tuscany, and who, even in the states of the church, were rendering themselves more powerful than the Pope himself. Of the two brothers, Barnabas Visconti was more troublesome to him by his intrigues. Urban had recourse to a bull of excommunication, and sent two legates to bear it to him; but Barnabas forced these two legates to eat, in his presence, the parchment on which the bull was written, together with the leaden seals and silken strings.⁸ . . .

⁸The story here told (from *R. I. S.* 17. 160, 162) is assigned to a quite different period by *R. I. S.* 16. 800-801, according to which the Pope was Innocent VI, and Urban was one of the two legates; cf. Rosmini 2. 104, note 2; Leo 3. 310. Giulini (5. 465-6) would date the occurrence in 1361. For a story still more scandalous, see *R. I. S.* 15. 911.

The long list of Bernabò's crimes and cruelties may be found in *R. I. S.* 16. 794-801. See also *R. I. S.* 16. 397, 399-400, 735-6, 742-3; Corio, pp. 486-7; Matteo Villani (in *R. I. S.*, Vol. 14) 6. 28; 7. 48; 9. 50; cf. Muratori 8. 413; Giulini 5. 550, 559, 653; Rosmini 2. 115, 153-4. A few particulars may be mentioned: his notorious edict concerning the maintenance of his 5,000 hunting dogs (*R. I. S.* 16. 794; Rosmini 2. 115; Leo 3. 312); he hanged those who caught partridges (*R. I. S.* 16. 794, 795); burned to death four nuns (*ib.*, p. 795); had his jugglers or buffoons burn to death in an iron cage an Augustinian monk (p. 795); would frequently ask those about him, 'Do you not know that I am God on earth?' (p. 795); ordered that no official should receive his salary till he had caused one or more poachers of partridges to be beheaded (p. 796); had a wife burned to death by her own husband (p. 796); had a man's eyes put out, because he was found on Bernabò's private street (p. 796); had a man hanged because he had not fully paid a woman for two capons (p. 796); had two of his chancellors shut up in an iron cage with a wild boar till they died (p. 796); had a country fellow killed because he crossed a street with a dog (p. 796); in December, 1384, had a boy's eye put out, and his hand cut off, because he had dreamed that he had taken and burned a wild boar belonging to Bernabò (p. 797); caused a Doctor of Laws, an excellent man, who had declined to obey an unjust order of his, to be beaten severely with rods, then

Barnabas, grown old, had divided the cities of his dominions amongst his numerous children.⁹ His brother, Galeazzo, had died on the 4th of August, 1378, and been replaced by his son, Gian Galeazzo, called Count de Virtus, from a county in Champagne, given him by Charles V, whose sister he had married. Barnabas would willingly have deprived his nephew of his paternal inheritance, to divide it among his children. Gian Galeazzo, who had already discovered several plots directed against him, uttered no complaint, but shut himself up in his castle of Pavia, where he had fixed his residence. He doubled his guard, and took pains to display his belief that he was surrounded by assassins. He affected, at the same time, the highest devotion: he was always at prayers, a rosary in his hand, and surrounded with monks; he talked only of pilgrimages and expiatory ceremonies. His uncle regarded him as pusillanimous, and unworthy of reigning. In the beginning of May, 1385, Gian Galeazzo sent to Barnabas to say that he had made a vow of pilgrimage to our Lady of Varese, near the Lago Maggiore, and that he should be glad to see him on his passage. Barnabas agreed to meet him at a short distance from Milan, accompanied by his two sons. Gian Galeazzo arrived, surrounded, as was his custom, by a numerous guard. He affected to be alarmed at every sudden motion made near him. On meeting his uncle, however, on the 6th of May, he hastily dismounted, and respectfully embraced him; but, while he held him in his arms, he said, in German, to his guards, 'Strike!' The Germans, seizing Barnabas, disarmed and dragged him, with his two sons, to some distance from his nephew.¹⁰ Gian Galeazzo made several vain attempts to poison his uncle in the prison into which he

forced to cut out another man's tongue, and finally to drink a cup of poison (p. 797); and tried to have Gian Galeazzo poisoned (p. 798). See also pp. 48-9. In the very year of Lionel's marriage, Bernabò issued a mandate that when he rode through the streets of Parma, every one should bow the knee, and do him reverence (*R. I. S.* 16. 740-741).

For an amusing story of Bernabò's encounter with a rustic, see *R. I. S.* 16. 393-6, cf. 743.

The little good that could be said of him will be found in *R. I. S.* 16. 801; Corio, p. 509.

⁹Lodovico (see pp. 109-110) received Lodi and Cremona (*R. I. S.* 16. 800; Corio, p. 498, cf. 507).

At one particular time Bernabò is reported to have had 36 children, and 18 women to have been with child by him (*R. I. S.* 16. 800). He is accused, when already advanced in years, of keeping a regular harem (16. 799).

¹⁰*R. I. S.* 15. 510, 1082; 16. 543, 784-5, 853; 17. 497-9, 1126-7; 18. 92-3, 195-6, 525-6; 19. 785-6; Corio, p. 506; cf. Muratori 8. 412-4; Giulini 5. 653-5; Rosmini 2. 153-5; Leo 3. 327-8; Symonds, *Age of the Despots*, chap. 2.

had thrown him; but Barnabas, suspicious of all the nourishment offered him, was on his guard, and did not sink under these repeated efforts till the 18th of December of the same year.¹¹



Bernabò Visconti.

(From Rosmini 2. 144; cf. Grævius, p. 316.)

¹¹ *R. I. S.* 15. 512; 16. 544, 800, 854; 17. 499; Corio, p. 509; Muratori 8. 416; Giulini 5. 659; Rosmini 2. 157; Leo 3. 329. Bernabò died, at the age of 66, in the castle of Trezzo, a little more than half way (12

All Lombardy submitted, without difficulty, to Gian Galeazzo. His uncle had never inspired one human being with either esteem or affection. The nephew had no better title to these sentiments. False



Gian Galeazzo.

(From Rosmini 2. 156; cf. Grævius, p. 320.)

miles) from Monza to Bergamo. The ruined castle is still standing (Bædeker, *Oberitalien*, 18th ed., p. 24). After his death, Lodovico and Rodolfo, his two sons, who had been imprisoned in S. Columbano, near

and pitiless, he joined to immeasurable ambition a genius for enterprise, and to immovable constancy a personal timidity which he did not endeavor to conceal. The least unexpected motion near him threw him into a paroxysm of nervous terror. No prince employed so many soldiers to guard his palace, or took such multiplied precautions of distrust. He seemed to acknowledge himself the enemy of the whole world. But the vices of tyranny had not weakened his ability. He employed his immense wealth without prodigality; his finances were always flourishing; his cities well garrisoned and victualled; his army well paid; all the captains of adventure scattered throughout Italy received pensions from him, and were ready to return to his service whenever called upon. He encouraged the warriors of the new Italian school: he well knew how to distinguish, reward, and win their attachment. Many young Italians, in order to train themselves to arms, had, from about the middle of this century, engaged in the German, English, and French troops, which inundated Italy; and they soon proved that Italian valor, directed by the reflection and intelligence of a highly civilized nation, who carried their arms as well as tactics to perfection, had greatly the advantage over the brute courage of barbarians.¹²

The influence of Gian Galeazzo in overthrowing the last remains of liberty in Italy has been thus described¹³:

L'esprit de liberté sembloit s'éteindre dans toute l'Italie. . . . Cette terre, autrefois si fertile en citoyens et en héros, sembloit désertée par toutes les vertus et tous les sentimens élevés. Un tyran lâche et perfide prenoit à tâche de détruire chez les Italiens tout ce qui portoit encore l'image de la loyauté et de l'honneur: il n'attendoit des succès qu'en proportion des vices des peuples; et il se réjouissoit de voir un gouvernement adopter sa politique frauduleuse, assuré dès-lors qu'il parviendroit bientôt à le dominer. Tels étoient les funestes présages qui accompagnoient la fin du quatorzième siècle. La peste enfin se déclaroit en même temps dans plusieurs parties de l'Italie; et les peuples, effrayés de tant de fléaux, y reconnoissoient les châtimens qu'ils avoient mérités, et se courboient devant la majesté divine, pour implorer sa miséricorde.

Lodi (*R. I. S.* 16. 786; Giulini 5. 659; Rosmini 2. 157), were kept at Trezzo, where they were well treated, but closely guarded (*R. I. S.* 16. 545, 800, 855; Giulini 5. 662; Rosmini 2. 157; Leo 3. 329).

¹² Cf. Corio, p. 562; Rosmini 2. 207-212; Symonds, *Age of the Despots*, chap. 2. He was rather less than 51 years old when he died (Oct. 15, 1351-Sept. 3, 1402).

¹³ Sismondi, *Fr.*, 7. 394-5 (chap. 55).

III. THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH DETERMINED THE ALLIANCE

The negotiations for the marriage of Lionel with Violante were perhaps begun by Amedeo, Count of Savoy.¹ Cordey, referring to the cession of three towns to Amedeo by Galeazzo on Nov. 22, 1366, adds: 'C'était peut-être un encouragement,

¹See p. 34. De Sade says (p. 720) that the English in Galeazzo's pay suggested the idea of the alliance, and helped him to secure it, and Rosmini (*Dell' Istoria di Milano* 2. 119-120) speaks of 'quest' alleanza segnatamente da Galeazzo contratta per conciliarsi l'affetto, e valersi dell' opera della famosa compagnia degl' Inglesi condotta da Giovanni Aucud'; to a similar effect Sismondi, *Fr.*, 7. 21-2; Leo 3. 318. It is no doubt true that the relations of Hawkwood and Bernabò began as early as the summer of 1365 (Temple-Leader and Marcotti, *Sir John Hawkwood*, p. 47), and very likely the success of the English in their recent wars may have inspired a wholesome respect in the breasts of the Visconti. We have only to think of Poitiers (1356) and the Peace of Bretigny (1360), for instance. The ransom required for the release of King John has the credit of having brought to pass the marriage of Gian Galeazzo to Isabella of France (cf. below, pp. 36, 49), which cost Galeazzo 600,000 florins (Körting, p. 349; Lavissee 4¹ 159-160; Delachenal 2. 231-7), Piacenza alone paying 25,000 of this amount (*R. I. S.* 16. 512).

In 1361 Petrarch was sent to Paris to condole with King John on his misfortunes and to return a ring which he had lost at the battle of Poitiers, and which had been redeemed by the Visconti (Mézières, *Pétrarque*, p. 322). This mission caused him to realize the power of the English, as is apparent from a letter written not long afterwards (*Fam.* 22. 14):

'When I was in my teens the English were considered the least courageous of all the barbarians [Corio, p. 462, calls the English 'questi Barbari'], but now this most warlike people have so frequently and unexpectedly defeated the French, long famous for military exploits though they had been, that they who had shown themselves no match for even the contemptible Scots [Bannockburn, 1314; Berwick, 1318] have so wasted the whole realm with fire and sword—not to speak of the ill-fortune of the French king [John], which I can not call to mind without a sigh—that, when I lately made a journey thither on public business, I could hardly persuade myself that I was looking at the same kingdom. Everywhere was solitude, devastation, and sadness; everywhere fields untilled and neglected; everywhere houses in ruins and abandoned, save as they

ou une récompense anticipée.' I should be more inclined to suppose that it was what lawyers call a refresher, rather than a retainer, seeing that already on July 30 of that year a formal

were protected by the walls of cities or castles; everywhere the melancholy traces of the English, and the fresh and horrible scars left by their swords' ('Adolescentulo me, Britanni, quos Anglos sive Anglicos vocant, omnium barbarorum timidissimi habebantur; nunc bellicosissima gens Gallos diu bellica gloria florentes stravit tam crebris insperatisque successibus, ut qui modo vilibus Scotis impares fuerant, præter miserabilem et indignum summi regis casum, quem sine suspirio meminisse non possum, sic regnum omne igne ferroque contriverint, ut mihi nuper illuc iter ex negotio agenti vix persuaderi posset regnum illud esse quod videram. Sic ubique solitudo infelix et mœror et vastitas; sic ubique horrida et inculta arva, sic dirute desertæque domus, nisi quæ cinctæ arcium mœnibus aut urbium evasisent, sic demum omnibus locis Anglorum mœsta vestigia et recentes fœdæque cicatrices gladiatorum extabant').

For the customs and modes of war practised by the English in Italy, see Temple-Leader and Marcotti, *Sir John Hawkwood*, pp. 20, 21, 39-42. The following account is translated from Filippo Villani, chap. 81 (*R. I. S.* 14. 746), and was published in the *Bibl. Topograph. Brit.* 6 (1790). 43-44:

'These English were all lusty young men, most of them born and brought up in the long wars between the French and English; warm, eager, and practised in slaughter and rapine, for which they were always ready to draw their swords, with very little care for their personal safety, but in matters of discipline very obedient to their commanders. However, in their camps or cantonments, through a disorderly and over-daring boldness, they lay scattered about in great irregularity, and with so little caution that a bold, resolute body of men might in that state easily give them a shameful defeat. The armor of almost all were cuirasses, their breasts covered with a steel coat of mail, gauntlets, and armor for the thighs and legs, daggers, and broad swords; all of them had long tilting-lances, which, after dismounting from their horses, they were very dextrous in handling. Every man had one or two pages, and some of them more, according to their ability to maintain them. On taking off their armor, it was the business of their pages to keep them clean and bright, so that when they came to action their arms shone like looking-glass, and thus gave them a more terrifying appearance. Others among them were archers, their bows long, and made of yew. They were very expert and dextrous in using them, and did great service in action. Their manner of fighting in the field was almost always on foot. The horses were given in charge to the pages. The body they formed was very compact, and almost round; each lance was held

commission had been issued by Edward III to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Sir Nicholas Tamworth, to treat with Galeazzo concerning a marriage between Lionel² and Violante.³ According to a parallel commission, Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, Edward's fifth son, might be substituted for Lionel. Lionel and Edmund, as younger sons, had to be provided for, the Black Prince, the heir to the throne, having already a realm of his own in Aquitaine. Ireland was not a realm to content Lionel, so he was seeking a more desirable province abroad, as John of Gaunt did in Spain.⁴

If the Green Count was instrumental in the earliest stage of the negotiation, then it must have been before July, 1366. That the advances were made from the Italian side is definitely stated

by two men in the same manner as the spear is handled in hunting the wild boar; and thus close embodied, with their lances pointed low, and with slow steps, they marched up to the enemy with terrible outcry, and very difficult was it to break or disunite them. But after all, experience has shown they were more fit for night-expeditions and plundering villages than for keeping the field; and their success was more owing to the cowardice of our own men than their valor and military virtue. They had very curious ladders in pieces, the biggest of which was of three steps, and one piece socketed into the other like so many trumpets, and with these they were able to mount the top of the highest towers.'

Muratori (8. 343) says that, in the death of Lionel, Galeazzo lost the hope of assistance from the King of England, and Sismondi (*op. cit.* 7. 22) that it severed his alliance with the companies of adventurers.

² Rymer.

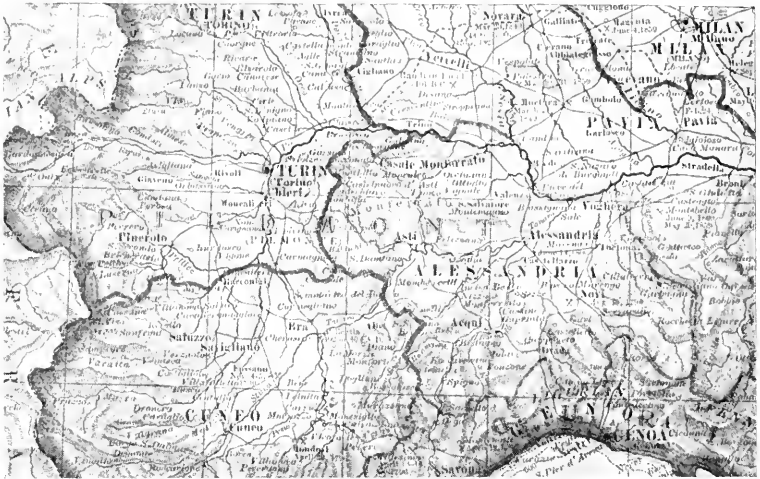
³ Cf. *Hist. Background*, pp. 182-3. On July 18 Hereford (1341-1373) had appointed an attorney, in view of his approaching trip abroad; and he was still absent from England on Nov. 28 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*). Of him Froissart wrote (*Buisson de Jonccc* 263-4):

Aussi dou conte de Herfort
Pris une fois grant reconfort.

He was the father-in-law of Henry, Earl of Derby, had headed the escort of Pierre I, King of Cyprus, from Dover to London, early in November, 1362 (Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 179), and had been with Pierre at Satalia and Ayas (Chaucer's 'Lyeys') in 1367 (*Hist. Background*, pp. 182, 232-3).

⁴ Cf. Michelet 6. 4.

by the *Chronicle of Montferrat*,⁵ and is no less clear in the light of an offer drawn up by Galeazzo at Pavia on Jan. 19, 1367 (Rymer). In this offer, made as a basis for a marriage-contract,



Piedmont and the Adjacent Regions.

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⁵ 'Cereò anchora questo signor Galeatio Visconte de dar in matrimonio Violante . . . al signor Leonetto,' etc. Cf. Corio: 'Galeazzo fece amicitia col Re d'Inghilterra.' It is interesting that the Visconti, as Counts of Angiara, 'did not blush to be called English (*Angli*), as descended from Anglo, reputed to be the son or grandson of Æneas' (Carlo Mulletti, p. 15 of Preface to *Gioffredo della Chiesa*; Corio, p. 9). Gian Galeazzo's three sons were Gian Maria Inglese, Filippo Maria Anglo (both afterwards Dukes of Milan), and Gabriele Anglo (Corio, p. 561, cf. 543, 568), while a daughter of Bernabò was named Inglese (*R. I. S.* 17. 499), or Anglesia (Corio, p. 509). An odd theory to account for these names is that of Rawdon L. Brown (*Cal. of State Papers and Manuscripts* . . . in the *Archives and Collections of Venice* 1. 252, note): 'It seems probable that the Visconti family had been naturalized by Edward III in 1365 [*sic*], when Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married Violante Visconti.' Mulletti refers to the apocryphal genealogy given in *M. H. P.*, pp. 866-870; cf. his Preface, as above, and p. 871, note.

Galeazzo refers to earlier negotiations.⁶ The terms offered in the draft are briefly these:

(1) The gift as dowry of Galeazzo's Piedmontese territories—*(a)* the city of Alba, and the towns of Cherasco, Mondovì, and Cuneo, without qualification; *(b)* the overlordship of Centallo and Carru,⁷ which had already been granted as a fief by Galeazzo to Pandolfo Malatesta, some time his captain-general.⁸ These towns are guaranteed to produce a yearly net income of 24,000 florins of Florence.

(2) The dowry is also to include an annual income in cash of 50,000 florins, payable in Milan, Calais, or London. If this sum seems insufficient, the amount may be determined by the Earl of Hereford⁹ and Giovanni de' Pepoli, or their substitutes.

(3) If Edward and Lionel do not care for the towns, but prefer a lump sum, Galeazzo offers 250,000 florins, payable as above.

(4) Violante is to be sent at Galeazzo's expense, with a splendid outfit, from Milan or Pavia to Calais.

⁶ 'Cum . . . aliqua verba et tractatus sint mota et incepta de contrahendo parentellam et matrimonium, videlicet de copulando, legitimo matrimonio, præfato domino Leonelo illustrem Violantem,' etc. (Rymer). By this time, then, the choice had fallen upon Lionel. Perhaps the latter's return from Ireland in November, 1366 (*Hist. Background*, p. 180) points to the same conclusion.

⁷ According to the Italian chroniclers, the towns were Alba, Mondovì, Cherasco, Cuneo, Demonte, Centallo, Cavourro (Cavour), Roccasparviera, and Brà, besides others not named. The first three named above are mentioned by all the original authorities; Cuneo is omitted only by Benvenuto; Demonte is mentioned by *Annal. Med.*, *Cron. Monf.*, and *Chron. Plac.*; Brà (Braida) only by Corio, and Centallo and Cavourro only by *Cron. Monf.* Petrus Azarius (quoted by Benvenuto), *Cron. Monf.*, and *Cron. Saluz.* specify that the territories ceded include all those possessed by Galeazzo in Piedmont, *Cron. Saluz.* subjoining: 'et altre ancora.' Benvenuto adds to his list: 'et reliqua oppida'; *Annal. Med.*: 'plura alia loca'; *Chron. Plac.*: 'et plura alia.' Cf. Gabotto, in *Misc. di Stor. Ital.* 33. 168; Corio, p. 448; Sismondi, *Fr.*, 7. 21.

According to *Cron. Monf.*, Alba was rated at 549 gold florins; Cherasco at 429; Cuneo and Demonte together at 419; Centallo at 25; Cavourro at 30; while Roccasparviera is not rated.

Carru is mentioned by *Cron. Saluz.* (*M. H. P.*, p. 1018, cf. p. 996) as belonging to Galeazzo in December, 1369.

⁸ See *R. I. S.* 16. 404.

⁹ See *Hist. Background*, pp. 182, 230, 232-3.

The definitive marriage-treaty was made at Westminster on May 15, 1367,¹⁰ the terms being much the same as in the draft (Rymer). For example, (1) is the same,¹¹ except that Galeazzo retains the overlordship of Piedmont, so that Lionel and Violante, and their heirs, owe him fealty and homage; for (2) is substituted the transfer of a lump sum of 100,000 florins,¹² payable

¹⁰ Barnes, Sandford, and the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* say that on April 25, 1368, the marriage-treaty was signed at Windsor, and the 100,000 (Barnes, 10,000) florins paid; but by this time Lionel was well on his way to Italy.

¹¹ Walsingham (I. 306; so *Chron. Angl.*, p. 62) says that Lionel was to obtain half of Galeazzo's dominions. Hardyng is more extravagant (pp. 332-3):

The duke of Milayn, hight sir Bernabo,
The lord Mantowe & the marques Ferrar,
The lord of Mountpollestrme then also,
The lordes of Jene, of Pyse that then were,
The lordes of Venis and Florence there,
To kyng Edward sent ambassiate,
By commen assent of papall senate,

For Lionell his soonne with them to send
The duke his doughter of Melayn for to wed,
Promisyng then hym so to recommend
That of Itale the rule sholde all be led
By hym and his frendes of Italye bred,
And in short tyme to joye and bere the croune
Of all Italye the royal region.

This is bombastically paraphrased and amplified by Barnes, p. 718.

¹² This is confirmed by Petrus Azarius and *Cron. Saluz.* Corio (p. 468) and Jovius say 200,000 (and Barnes 2,000,000!). Corio comments that such a dowry was, so to speak, the final ruin of Galeazzo's state, and Petrus Azarius has the phrase, 'cum infinito dispendio.' Jovius (*op. cit.* 3. 313), in deploring Galeazzo's fatal extravagance, associates the marriage of Violante with that of Gian Galeazzo to Isabella of France (see below, p. 49):

'Eo modo pace parta, et Barnaba nihilo secius pertinaci studio Bononiæ principatum, tanquam sibi fraude ereptum, validis armis repetente, Galeacius externas affinitates, decoras quidem regio fastu, sed sibi et posteris damnosas et fere exitiales quæsit, Isabella scilicet, Caroli Galliæ Regis sorore, Joanni Galeacio filio expetita, Leonatoque Clarentio, Britannicæ Regis filio, in generum adscito: huic enim ex nuptiis Violantis, quum ducenta millia aureorum nummum dotis nomine recepisset, Mons etiam Regalis atque Alba Pompeia urbes cesserunt. Isabella autem, quæ Mediolanum venerat, usque adeo socero gravis fuit, ut ducentis millibus aureorum constiterit; quan-

to Edward III at London or Calais, of which 50,000 may be paid down at once. Minor details are subjoined. The first of these resembles (4): Violante is to be amply provided with clothes and furniture, and to be sent in honorable state to Calais within six years, if the king so wishes. Further, if Violante should die without an heir, neither the king nor Lionel is to be held to restoration of the money, or of Violante's personal belongings. Should Lionel die, Violante shall keep her jewels, and inherit one-third of the real property of which he shall die seized. Should Lionel die without leaving a child by Violante, the lands assigned as dowry shall revert to Galeazzo or his heirs. If the king needs Lionel, he is to be free at any time to return from Lombardy. If Lionel is made prisoner, while serving with Galeazzo against the latter's enemies, Galeazzo is to provide his ransom. The Black Prince is to be consulted regarding this treaty; if he has no objection, it is to be considered as binding. Galeazzo is to be adjured to add to the territories promised. His ambassadors disclaim any power to bind Galeazzo as respects the treaty, which, in all its articles, is to be referred to him for his final approval and consent.

What was promised by treaty was not, in fact, all that the wedded pair received. The *Chronicle of Montferrat* specifies the following gifts made to them on the day of their marriage:

quam Virtutis oppidi ditio, honestissimæque appellationis titulus, novo sponso nomine dotis accessisset.'

The collection of the 100,000 florins was entrusted on March 1, 1368, to Sir Thomas Dale and Walter de Barde(s)—one of the Bardi, bankers of Florence (Rymer, March 11, 1363)—master of the mint at Calais and the Tower of London. Kervyn (I. 161) says that Dale received the money between February (March?) and April, at Bruges, but gives no authority.

If a florin of Florence equaled three shillings English, 100,000 florins = £15,000 = approximately \$1,125,000 (at the arbitrary rate of £1 = \$75; cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 165). Of this sum nearly four-ninths (exactly nineteen-forty-fifths) seems to have been expended for Lionel's journey to Italy (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, March 5, 1369). Probably the journey cost much more, for we know of a single separate item of £178 13 4 = \$13,400, merely for transporting Lionel's 457 men and 1280 horses from Dover to Calais (Rymer, May 10, 1368). This sum is made up of £173 6 8 for 39 ships and 13 boats, besides £5 6 8 for the 'pontage' of the horses. The hire of the ships was at the rate of £3 13 4 each, and that of the boats £2 6 8 each.

(1) To Violante, 100,000 gold florins¹³ [in addition to the dowry already paid].

(2) To her chamberlain, 1282 florins, for the furnishing of her house.

(3) To Lionel, 10,000 florins.

(4) To Lionel, as provision for himself and his company, 10,000 gold florins a month for June, July, August, [September],¹⁴ October, and half of November—(say) 55,000 florins.¹⁵

(5) To Lionel, six pieces of cloth of gold made up into various garments—mantles, doublets, *turche*, and hoods—all thickly set with pearls; every one of these being carried away to England.

(6) For other expenses of Lionel and his company, 20,000 gold florins.

Here, then, we have a total of 186,252 florins (not to speak of the cloth of gold), or, let us say, \$2,095,335, to add to the \$1,125,000 mentioned above.

The ornaments provided for Violante were two crowns of gold, set with numerous sapphires, emeralds, balas rubies, and large pearls; eleven jewels, with pearls and other gems; thirty-five garments of various fashions, made of silk and gold, and embroidered with pearls and precious stones; a large number of collars and necklaces; innumerable ornaments for fastening the hair; together with 294 vessels of silver and gold of various shapes.

IV. LIONEL'S JOURNEY TO ITALY

I. DOVER TO PARIS

Lionel left England early in April,¹ but we can not be sure of the exact day. Froissart² informs us that Lionel spent Easter,

¹³ Perhaps Corio and Jovius include this in their 200,000.

¹⁴ Omitted, but almost certainly through inadvertence.

¹⁵ The chronicler complains that, since Lionel died on Oct. 15 (wrong for 17), he had been overpaid by 10,000 florins.

¹ Walsingham (I. 306) merely says 'mense Aprilis.'

² Froissart's account of the whole journey is subjoined (from Kervyn 7. 246-7), with interpolations of the chief variants from his second redaction:

'En ce temps fu tretiés li mariaiges entre monseigneur Lion, duc de Clarence, fil au roy Édouwart d'Engleterre et à le royne, et la

April 9, at Abbeville.³ As Abbeville is about 60 miles in a straight line from Calais, where the expedition landed, and as 457 men⁴ and 1280 horses⁵ would have proceeded rather slowly, four days—April 5, 6, 7, and 8—are none too many to allow for this part of the journey,⁶ especially since the cavalcade only reached Paris, 87 miles in a direct line from Abbeville, in time for the next Sunday, April 16.⁷ If we assume that they covered

fille monseigneur Galéas, seigneur de Melans, qu'il avoit de madame Blanche, serour au conte Amé de Savoie, liquels mariaiges se parfist et conferma, et se parti messires Lions, dus de Clarence, d'Engleterre moult estofféement et en grant arroy [accompagniés grandement de chevaliers et d'escuiers d'Engleterre], à bien II^m chevaux. Si estoit ses compains en ce voiaige ungs grans bannerès d'Engleterre et riches homs durement, que on nommoit messire Édouwart le Despensier. Si tint li dessus dis dus ses Pasques en le bonne ville d'Abbeville, qui estoit au roy son père, et puis s'en parti et chevaucha tant par ses journées qu'il vint à Paris, où li roys Charles de Franche estoit, et li dus de Berri, li dus de Bourgoingne, si frère, li dus Loéis de Bourbon [et li sires de Couci] et li contes de Savoie ossi, et rechurent le dit monseigneur Lion et festyèrent grandement, et li donna li roys Carles de Franche grans dons et biaux jeuiaux et à tous ses chevaliers ossi. Puis s'en partirent et chevauchièrent parmy Bourgoingne, et puis entrèrent en le conté de Savoie. Si rechupt li dis contes à Chambéry monseigneur Lion d'Engleterre et ses gens moult grandement, et les festia et honnoura durement, ensi que bien le savoit faire, puis s'en partirent [et passa li dessus dis dus parmi le royaume de France et vint en Savoie, où li gentils contes de Savoie le rechut très-honnerablement en Chambéri, et fu là II jours en très-grans reviaus de danses, de caroles et de tous esbatemens. Au tierc jour, il parti] et passèrent outre en Lombardie, et estoient de bonne ville en bonne ville trop grandement festy et honnouret. Si acompaignoit le dit monseigneur Lion li gentils contes de Savoie, et l'amena à Melans. Là fu-il grandement festyés de monseigneur Galéas et de monseigneur Bernabo. Si espousa la ditte dame le lundi apriès le jour de le Trinité, l'an de grâce mil CCC et LXVIII, en le bonne cité de Melans.'

³ Abbeville at this time belonged to England. A year later (April 29, 1369), it was captured by the French (Kervyn 7. 309-12, 537; cf. 17. 469).

⁴ These particulars in Rymer, under date of May 10; cf. above, p. 29, note 12.

⁵ A couple of thousand, according to Froissart (see above, note 2).

⁶ As they very likely would not have traveled on Good Friday, April 7, another day may well have been required.

⁷ *Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Paulin Paris, 6. 251.

87 miles in six days⁸—Monday to Saturday—this would be at the rate of 14½ miles a day, which corresponds pretty nearly to what we have assumed for the journey, Calais to Abbeville. Now the ferriage across from Dover to Calais would have required a day, April 4. At the rate of 14½ miles, it would require a day from Canterbury to Dover, and four more for a leisurely progress from London to Canterbury.⁹ On the basis of this calculation, the array may have left London early on Wednesday, March 29, arrived at Canterbury on Palm Sunday, April 2, and thus reached Dover on April 3. If, however, they made a leisurely and showy progress from London, they may easily have consumed more time on the road, and thus have made an earlier start, perhaps as early as Monday, March 27.

At Paris, or rather St. Denis,¹⁰ Lionel was met by the brothers of King Charles V (1337-1380), the Dukes of Berry¹¹ (1340-1416) and Burgundy¹² (1342-1404); the king's brother-in-law,

⁸ Froissart says: 'chevaucha tant par ses journées.' Albert von Stade (13th century) reckons five days from Abbeville to Paris (*Jahrbuch für Schweiz. Gesch.* 4. 284-6).

⁹ See *Hist. Background*, p. 166, note 3.

¹⁰ There at least by the two brothers of the king (*Grandes Chroniques*, as above).

¹¹ John, Duke of Berry, was hostage in England 1360-66; in 1396 he negotiated a truce with Richard II, and arranged for the latter's marriage with Isabella, his niece, then only a child of six; when the future Henry IV was banished in 1398, a match was considered between him and Berry's daughter, and Berry was deep in his counsels respecting his return to England (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 26. 34). At his death he left vast treasures of jewelry, objects of art, and especially illuminated MSS., many of which have been preserved, one of the finest being his *Livre d'Heures* (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 3. 809). At the time of Lionel's visit, he was on leave from Edward III to June 24 of that year (Kervyn 7. 517). Cf. Froissart, *Dit dou Florin* 317-330.

¹² Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, had distinguished himself at Poitiers (1356); on the defeat of his father, King John, he accompanied him (1357) into captivity in England, where he mostly remained till his release in 1360. After the death of Charles V in 1380, Philip for a time occupied the most powerful position in France. A contemporary described him as kindly and amiable to men of every degree, liberal and magnificent. His splendid tomb is in the museum of Dijon (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 24. 403). Cf. Froissart, *Dit dou Florin* 317-330.

Louis de Bourbon¹³ (1337-1410); Enguerrand,¹⁴ Lord of Coucy (1338-1397), brother-in-law of Lionel, and Count Amedeo VI¹⁵

¹³ Bourbon was a hostage in England 1360-66 (Kervyn 7. 517-8). Though, on the death of Charles V, he, with the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, assumed the guardianship of Charles VI, he had never had the opportunity to play a part befitting his high birth (Le Roulx, p. 170), until, in 1390, he assumed command of the expedition directed against Mehediah, in northern Africa (see the account in Le Roulx, pp. 166-200; cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 200, notes 5 and 6). See Froissart, *Buisson de Jonece* 291-3.

¹⁴ Sometimes known as Ingelram de Coucy. The pride of his house appears in the well-known lines:

Je ne suis roi, ni prince aussi;
Je suis le seigneur de Couci.

He was related to the Green Count by their common descent from Amedeo V of Savoy (d. 1323), of whom Coucy was the great-grandson, and Amedeo VI the grandson. He was married to Isabella (1332-1379), eldest daughter of Edward III, in 1365, she being six years older than her husband; in the same year he received the Order of the Garter. 'On the eve of the renewal of the war between England and France in 1368, Enguerrand, unwilling either to break with his father-in-law or to fight against his lord the French king, went to Italy, and served in the wars of Urban V and Gregory XI against the Visconti' (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 20. 68; cf. Muratori 8. 361; *R. I. S.* 15. 497; 16. 518; Giulini 5. 559, 560), remaining there till about 1374 (see also Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 149-153; Kervyn 7. 419-420). Cf. Kervyn 14. 3, 4; Froissart, *Dit dou Florin* 442-4; *Buisson* 278-281; Le Roulx, Index; *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 25. 168-186.

¹⁵ Symonds (*Age of the Despots*, chap. 2) says that the rulers of Savoy and Montferrat are in the highest class of despots, and Gabotto (*Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 34. 215) calls Amedeo 'that giant among the sovereigns of Savoy' (from which, of course, the reigning house of Italy is descended). Referring to his exploits in the East in 1366 (see below), Gregorovius (*Gesch. der Stadt Athen.* 2. 163) speaks of 'how much a heroic man could accomplish, even with meagre forces.' For the romantic story of the origin of his name (the Green Count) in 1348, see Cordey, pp. 100-101, and *M. H. P.* 3 (*Script.* 1). 275-8. (For a Spanish green knight at the siege of Tyre by Saladin in 1187, see *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Mas Latrie, pp. 237-8, 251-2; Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 468; for seven green knights who tourneyed in 1305 on the site of the Isthmian games, see Miller, p. 203; Rodd 2. 54; *Chronique de Moréc*, ed. Longnon, p. 397; in Malory there is a green knight, Sir Pertilope, besides a black (see also Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*), a red, and a blue knight; Tristram is a green knight in Tennyson's *Last Tournament* 169-170). For the

of Savoy (1334-1383), the uncle of Lionel's betrothed, and the one who had perhaps been chiefly instrumental in arranging the marriage.¹⁶ Lionel was provided with a richly adorned apartment at the Louvre,¹⁷ where the king was in residence. On Sunday he dined and supped there; on Monday he dined with

account of his heroic expedition to free his cousin, John Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, in 1366, see Kervyn II. 233-4; *M. H. P.* 3 (*Script.* 1). 300-370; Datta, *La Spedizione in Oriente di Amedeo VI* (Turin, 1836); Le Roulx, pp. 141-158; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands* 2. 300, 320, 322; C. Hopf, *Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, in Ersch und Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie* (Leipzig, 1868), Part 86. pp. 14-15 (it is interesting that in Mantua, on his return from the East, he had with him, according to Datta, three falcons and a small lion; cf. *Hist. Background*, pp. 171, 174). His itineraries on his return are given by Datta (pp. 162-3, 170-171), who notes that he reached Pavia Nov. 14, and Chambéry Dec. 10.

For Amedeo in general, see Froissart, *Dit dou Florin* 330-339, and cf. pp. 23-5, 36, 49, 59, 85, 90, 100, 102, 107.

¹⁶ So Cordey, p. 183: 'His [Violante's father and mother] s'adressèrent sans doute au Conte de Savoie. . . . Il fut assez heureux pour décider Édouard III à marier son fils Lionel, duc de Clarence, avec la princesse milanaise.' On Nov. 22, 1366, Galeazzo had transferred to Amedeo three towns—a fact which Cordey regards as significant in this connection.

Amedeo came to Paris to meet Lionel, but this was not his sole motive. We find that on the very day of Lionel's arrival, Amedeo received the promise of 50,000 gold florins from the king by way of indemnity for the war of Faucigny in 1355; and we have even a list of his expenditures for a variety of costly articles, among the rest for a hat adorned with a ruby and large pearls, destined for the king, which cost 1000 florins (Cordey, pp. 184-5). At Paris he met Guillaume de Machaut, then 70 years old, who presented him with a romance (perhaps his *Livre du Voir Dit*, composed a few years earlier), and received by way of gratuity the by no means inconsiderable sum of 300 golden francs (Cordey, p. 185).

It is therefore possible that here Machaut, Froissart, and Chaucer met; this conjecture is of interest in view of Chaucer's imitation, in the *Book of the Duchess*, of Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*, which itself imitates Machaut's *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse* (Kittredge, in *Eng. Stud.* 26. 336; cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 30. 1). For imitations by Chaucer of Machaut, see Wells, pp. 620, 629, 633, 634, 638, 668; Kittredge in *Mod. Phil.* 7. 465 ff.; *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 30. 1-24.

¹⁷ Hare, *Walks in Paris*, pp. 36-37: 'On the site of a hunting lodge, . . . Philippe Auguste in 1200 erected a fortress, to which St. Louis added a great hall, which was called by his name. The fortress was used as a state prison, and its position was at first outside the city,

the queen¹⁸ at the king's hostel near St. Pol,¹⁹ where she was staying. 'et y fist l'en très grant feste.' After dinner, when

in which it was enclosed in 1367. . . . The Louvre was greatly enlarged by Charles V, who added many towers, and surrounded it with a moat which was supplied from the Seine. He made the palace into a complete rectangle, always preserving the great central dungeon tower. In spite, however, of his additions, space was wanting in the labyrinthine apartments of the Louvre for his splendid receptions, . . . so he only



Jeanne de Bourbon, Wife of Charles V.
(From Racinet, *Le Costume Historique*, Vol. 4.)

inhabited the fortress for a short time, and devoted himself principally to building the Hôtel St. Paul.'

¹⁸ Whom Delachenal (I. 44) calls one of the most gracious figures of the 14th century. As to her picture, her cote-hardie has the color and the arms of France; only on ceremonial occasions was it cut so low in the neck. The crown is of gold, set with precious stones. See also p. 50.

¹⁹ Cf. Hare, *Walks in Paris*, pp. 201-2: 'Every preceding king had held his Court either in the Cité or at the Louvre, but Charles now bought, near the Port de St. Paul, the hotel of the Conte d'Étampes. . . . In 1363 he added to his purchase the hotel of the Archbishop of Sens, with gardens which reached to the Port. . . . By an edict of July, 1364, Charles V, after coming to the throne, declared the Hôtel de St. Paul

they had danced and played—the king's brothers being always

to be for ever part of the domain of the Crown—the hotel where “he had enjoyed many pleasures, endured and recovered from many illnesses, and which, therefore, he regarded with singular pleasure and affection.” No plan of the Hôtel de St. Paul has come down to us, but we know that it was rather a group of palaces than a single building, the Hôtel de Sens being the royal dwelling-place, . . . the Hôtel d'Étampes being called Hôtel de la Reine. . . . The palace as a whole was surrounded by high walls, inclosing six meadows, eight gardens, twelve galleries, and a number of courts. . . . The garden walks were shaded by trellises covered with vines. . . . In their shade Charles V amused himself by keeping a menagerie, and many accounts exist of sums disbursed to those who brought him rare animals. Here the queen and her ladies appeared in the new dress of the time, in which their own arms were always embroidered on one side of their gown, and their husbands' on the other.' Cf. Michelet 5. 43-4. From this residence Charles could see, two years later, the flames of the villages which the English were burning (Michelet 5. 31; Lavissee 4.¹ 235).

Add *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 18. 189: ‘He [Charles V] robbed the Louvre to some extent of its military equipment, in order to make a convenient and sumptuous residence; his open-work staircases and his galleries are mentioned in terms of the highest praise by writers of the time. This did not, however, remain always his favorite palace; having built or rebuilt in the St. Antoine quarter the mansion of St. Paul or St. Pol, he was particularly fond of living in it during the latter part of his life, and it was there that he died in 1380.’

These reunions must have had much the air of a family party. There were present Lionel's brother-in-law and his prospective uncle. Then, since the king's sister, Isabella, had been married, eight years before—she was now only 19 years old—to Gian Galeazzo (a marriage probably negotiated by Amedeo; cf. Cordey, p. 155), the brother of Lionel's betrothed, that would make her sister-in-law to Lionel, and thus tend to create a fraternal feeling with Berry, Burgundy, and the king, and more remotely, through the king, with the queen and her brother, Bourbon. Moreover, since Amedeo had married Bonne de Bourbon in 1355 at the Hôtel St. Pol, he was at table with his sister-in-law, the queen (once almost betrothed to him; Delachenal 1. 26-27), and his brother-in-law, Louis de Bourbon, by whom the Green Count's wife was much beloved (Kervyn 1.¹ 163, note).

These ties would be strengthened by the residence of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon in England, where, though they were detained as hostages, they can have known little of the horrors of imprisonment. The father of the three royal brothers, King John (1319-1364), after his defeat at Poitiers, was in England as a captive for three years (1357-60), yet, after more than three years of liberty, while his ransom was still unpaid,



Bonne de Bourbon, wife of Amedeo VI of Savoy.
(From Cordey, frontispiece.)

in his company—they retired, and afterwards supped with the

he voluntarily returned to England (January, 1364) in the spirit indicated by the following quotations from Froissart (Kervyn 6. 387, 389, 390, 392, 393; second redaction in square brackets):

'Li roys Jehans avoit proupos et affection d'aller en Engleterre veoir le roy englès, son frère, et madame le royne, sa soer (enssi s'appelloient-il par le tretiet de le pès), et ordonnoit toutes ses pourvéances et ses besoingnes à Boullouingne. Si le conseilloit bien li aucun de Franche qu'il ne volsist mies aller, et que c'estoit ungs grans périls sus le veu et promesse qu'il avoit fait, et que on le poroit là détenir pour le somme de se rédemtion qui estoit encorres à payer; mès li roys Jehans respondoit qu'il avoit trouvet ou roy d'Engleterre, en madame le royne, en tous leurs enfans et ens ès barons d'Engleterre tant d'onneur, d'amour, de courtoisie et de loyauté, qu'il ne s'en doubtoit en riens et qu'il ne cesseroit jammais, si y aroit esté et yaux veus, et ossi ses amis qui là estoient hostagiers pour lui. . . .

Quant il fu venus à Eltem [Eltham], en l'ostel dou roy englès, il y fu rechups à grant joie, che puet-on moult bien croire, et tout chil qui avoecq lui estoient, pour l'amour de lui. Là eult grans festes, grans sollas, grans esbatemens, belles danses et belles carolles de seigneur, de dame et de damoiselle [et là estoit li jones sires de Couci qui s'efforçoit de bien danser et de canter quant son tour venoit], et s'efforchoit chacuns de festyer et de jouer pour le cause dou roy de Franche. Quant il eut là estet, je croy II jours, il s'en parti et vint à Londres, où il fu requeilliés moult honorablement et menés et aconvoyés de ses cousins les enfans dou roy englès, jusques à l'ostel de Savoie qui estoit ordonnet pour lui, qui siet sus le Tamise au dehors de Londres. Là le laissièrent-il, et là se tint li roys Jehans et tout son hostel. Si avoit dallés lui chiaux de son sanch, le duch de Berri, son fil, le ducq d'Orlyens, son frère, le conte d'Allençon, Robert d'Alençon et Gui de Blois, ses cousins, qui adont estoient jone damoisel, ossi le ducq de Bourbon et le conte de Saint-Pol et les seigneurs qu'il avoit là amenés de Franche. Si tenoit là li dis roys et tint là l'ivier grant estat et grant hostel, et estoit souvent visetés dou roy englès et de ses enfans [et le visetoient souvent li rois d'Engleterre et si enfant li dus de Clarence, li dus de Lancastre et messires Aymons]. Si donnoient chil roy grans disners et grans soupers li uns à l'autre, et jeuoient et esbatoient ensemble et parloient et consilloient de leurs besoingnes. . . . Enssi passoient li roy le temps, et veoient souvent l'un l'autre, et donnoient et envoioient li uns à l'autre grans dons, biaux jeuiaux et riches présens pour nourir entr'iaux plus grant amour.'

Here it is explicitly related that he was often visited by Lionel (named first), John of Gaunt, and Edmund.

king.²⁰ On Tuesday, the two dukes entertained him and his knights at dinner and supper at the Hôtel d'Artois.²¹ Among those present at the banquet, besides the nobles mentioned above, the Counts of Armagnac, Eu, and Étampes, Robert d'Alençon, Coustable of France, the Archbishop of Sens, and the Bishop of Nevers.²² That night he slept at the Louvre, and on Wednesday dined and supped again with the king, who bestowed upon

In Lionel's visits to King John, with whom were the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the Counts of Eu and Tancarville (see Kervyn 6. 388), and Robert d'Alençon (the last three mentioned below), there would have been only a renewal of the graceful courtesy he, in conjunction with two of his brothers, had shown the king in 1360, on his release at Calais. King John's first act then was one of devotion. Grateful for his deliverance, he decided to perform a pilgrimage, barefoot, to the shrine of Notre Dame at Boulogne (where the future Charles V offered, July 2, 1362, five candles, each weighing 32 pounds; Delachenal 2. 312; cf. Michelet 5. 28), twenty miles distant. Immediately Lionel, then 21 years of age, the Black Prince (30), and Edward III's fifth son, Edmund (19), offered themselves as his companions. They started on the morning of Oct. 27 (Coville, in Lavisse 4.³ 156, says that King John left Calais on Sunday, Oct. 25), and, all barefoot alike, walked the distance so briskly that they were at Boulogne before dinner. The religious ceremony over, they abandoned themselves to merry-making. The next morning early the three princes returned to Calais, where their father was awaiting them, and whence they sailed for Dover on Oct. 31 (Kervyn 6. 320-1).

Another bond uniting these table-mates was their youth. The eldest, the Green Count, Lionel's future uncle by marriage, was only four years older than Lionel; the king and Bourbon were a year older; the queen and Coucy of the same age; Berry, two years younger; and Burgundy, four years younger. Thus everything must have favored a joyous abandonment to the pleasure of the moment. Yet Michelet (5. 22-23) points out that at this moment the English companies of adventure were ravaging Champagne, and from there to the very suburbs of Paris. Elsewhere (5. 34, 35) Michelet speaks of the egregious pride and ambition of the English.

²⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, as above. For the festivities in France at this period, see De Noirmont (1. 93): 'Malgré les désastres de Crécy et de Poitiers, le règne des premiers Valois [1328-1380] fut l'apogée de la royauté féodale. Leur cour était une fête éternelle, une brillante imitation de la Table ronde du roi Arthus. Dans les intervalles des grandes guerres, banquets, tournois, et chasses splendides s'y succédaient sans interruption.'

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 251-2.

²² Cordey, p. 184.

him and his companions gifts²³ to the value of more than 20,000 florins.²⁴

2. PARIS TO CHAMBÉRY

On Thursday Lionel left Paris, accompanied by Jean de Melun, Count of Tancarville²⁵ (d. 1382), as far as Sens, some 60 miles distant; from this point other knights attended him to the boundary of France,²⁶ probably Châlon-sur-Saône.

Froissart seems to say, in his first redaction,²⁷ that the Green Count accompanied Lionel from Paris to Milan. This, however, would be an error. Amedeo preceded Lionel, probably by only a single day, taking the route by which he had come, and which Lionel no doubt followed—by Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, Auxerre, and Châlon-sur-Saône, where France bordered on Franche-Comté, to which point, about 180 miles from Paris, a herald of the king accompanied him.

Lionel followed, as we have seen, on April 20. He must have arrived at Chambéry, about 290 miles from Paris, either May 11 or 12.²⁸ On his route, after Mâcon and Pont-de-Veyle, lay Bourg-en-Bresse (made famous by Matthew Arnold's *Church of Brou*), where he may have arrived on May 8.²⁹ Here he was doubtless feasted for a day or more, after which he proceeded by way of St. Rambert and Belley to Chambéry (about 30 miles from Bourg).³⁰ Messengers had been sent out in various direc-

²³ *Grandes Chroniques*, p. 252.

²⁴ Reckoning the florin at 3 shillings, this amount equals £3000, which, somewhat arbitrarily reckoned on the basis of £1 = \$75 (see *Hist. Background*, p. 166), = \$225,000.

²⁵ A famous hunter, brother of the Archbishop of Sens (Delachenal 2. 84), grand master of the royal household, and of the woods and waters of France.

²⁶ *Grandes Chroniques*, p. 252.

²⁷ See p. 31.

²⁸ Messengers had been awaiting his arrival at Mâcon for some time in April, and several days in May.

²⁹ On that date payment was made to several workmen who had been making preparations for Lionel's reception in that town.

³⁰ Isabella of France, traveling southwards in September, 1359, spends two days at Pont-de-Veyle (Sept. 6-8), reaches Bourg on the 8th, and Belley on the 10th, whence she was conducted by way of Hautecombe and Bourget to Chambéry (Gabotto, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 5. 8. 85).

tions to ascertain and report to Amedeo the arrival of Lionel at his various stopping-places,³¹ and no doubt also to invite the nobility of Savoy to the festivities at Court. There must have been brilliant receptions of Lionel at various towns through which he passed,³² but of these we know nothing in detail. It is certain, however, that all these were surpassed by the gayety and splendor at Chambéry, which, according to Froissart, lasted two days.³³ He it was who, as a spectator and participant, not only characterized these 'revelries of dance, roundelay, and all manner of game' in his prose,³⁴ but has left us a detailed account of them in his *Prison Amoureuse*.³⁵ There were present a hun-

³¹ Cordey, p. 186.

³² Froissart, above, p. 31.

³³ Above, p. 31. If Lionel arrived at Chambéry on Friday, May 12, then the feasting must have occupied Saturday and Sunday, the 13th and 14th, leaving him free to depart on Monday, the 15th. But as Froissart elsewhere says (*Prison Amoureuse* 384) three days, this is perhaps quite as likely, in which case we may assume that the days so spent were Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, May 12-14. Holinshed (*Chronicles*, London, 1807-8, 2. 685-6), following, or mistranslating, a text of Froissart, even says, 'there he remained foure daies'; but this may be meant to include the day of arrival or departure, or both.

³⁴ See above, p. 31.

³⁵ I subjoin lines 354-423 (*Poésies*, ed. Schéler 1. 221-4), though only lines 364^b-411(?) refer to the festivities at Chambéry:

Là estoient li menestrel,
 Qui s'aquitoient bien et bel
 A piper, et tout de nouvel,
 Bones danses teles qu'il sceurent.
 Et si trestost que cessé eurent
 Les estampies qu'il batoient,
 Chil et chelles qui s'esbatoient
 Au danser, sans gaires attendre,
 Commenchierent leurs mains à tendre
 Pour caroler. Là me souvint
 D'un tamps passé: jà il avint
 En Savoie, en le court dou conte,
 De qui on doit bien faire compte,
 Car il est nobles et vaillans,
 D'onneur faire aigres et taillans,
 Celle grasce li portent tuit.
 L'an mil CCC sissante et uit
 Fu que passa parmi sa terre

dred and twenty beautiful young women, wives and daughters of knights, richly clothed. For the dances and carols Froissart himself supplied words. When the minstrels ceased, the ladies never stopped, but continued their roundelays hand in hand. Hardly had one lady finished a virelay than another began a new one, for new and good were many of these songs.

Li uns des enfans d'Engleterre,
Lions, fils Edouwart le roi,
En très noble et poissant arroi;
Et li contes que j'ai nommé,
Qu'on clame ou qu'on clamoit Amé,
Honnourablement le rechut.
Là fu bien, qui l'estat conchut,
Et l'ordenance et le maniere
De la court qui fu moult pleniére,
Les disners, les belles assises,
Les tables ostées et mises,
Les vins, les viandes, les més.
Trois jours dura la feste; mès
Il y eut danses et carolles,
Pour quoi j'ai empris les parolles,
Car bien .VI^{ix}. jones et belles,
Toutes dames et damoiselles,
Filles de chevaliers ou fames,
Dou pays les plus frices dames,
Moult ricement et bel arrées,
Très noblement et bien parées
En draps de canjans et de soie,
Plus rices deviser n'osoie,
Drut perlées et orfrisies,
Dont le mieuls estoient prisies,
Y peuïst on adont veoir,
Cure n'avoient de seoir,
Mès de danser à l'estrivée;
Toute joie y ert arivée,
Et quant li menestrel cessoient,
Les dames pas ne se lassoient,
Ains caroloient main à main
Tout le soir jusqu'à l'endemain.
Et quant chanté li une avoit
Un virelay, on ne savoit
Encores s'il avoit fin pris,
Quant uns aultres estoit repris
Ou de dame ou de damoiselle,
Mainte canchon bonne et nouvelle

3. CHAMBÉRY TO PAVIA

From Chambéry on, Lionel was accompanied by Amedeo of Savoy.³⁶ They must have begun their journey on Monday, May 15, since we find them at Aiguebelle, 23 miles from Chambéry, on May 16.³⁷

On y chanta et respondi.
 A celle fin je le vous di:
 A la feste ossi où j'estoie,
 Quant avoec celles m'esbatoie
 Et chiauls de qui la compagnie
 Estoit moult bien acompagnie,
 L'une apriès l'autre sans detri
 Chantoient si com par estri.
 Là fu mon virelay cantés
 Et moult volentiers escoutés,
 Mès à painnes peut il fin prendre,
 Quant ma dame en volt un reprendre
 Qu'onques mès je n'avoie oï.

³⁶ Kervyn, 7. 247; see above, p. 31.

³⁷ Cordey, p. 187, note 1. Cordey says they went by the Mont Cenis, but strangely enough adds that they had a guide as far as Aosta, which, if true, would indicate that they crossed by the Little St. Bernard. That the passage was regularly made by the Mont Cenis is clear enough. Thus the French princess, Isabella, crossed by this route (Gabotto, *Rendiconti*, p. 87): Sept. 15, Montmélian and Aiguebelle; 16, Aiguebelle; 18, St. Michel; 19, Les Fourneaux; 20, Lanslebourg; 21, Susa, the distance from Chambéry to Susa being 83 miles. In 1359, the Green Count traveled as follows (Gabotto, p. 80): Sept. 11, Chambéry; 11, Montmélian; 13, Aiguebelle; 13-15, La Chambre, St. Michel, Les Fourneaux, Lanslebourg. In 1303, Henry, Earl of Derby, traveled in the opposite direction (*Derby Accounts*, ed. L. T. Smith, p. lxxviii): May 25, Susa; 26, Lanslebourg; 27, St. Michel; 30, Aiguebelle; 31, Chambéry. Ruskin walked from Susa to Lanslebourg, 23 miles, in one day, Sept. 1, 1858 (see Library Edition 35. 498); for his description of the scenery at Lanslebourg, June 2, 1841, see *op. cit.* 35. 296-7, cf. I. xli; for his description of the country about Susa, 36. 231-2 (letter to Miss Siddal of Jan. 27, 1856). Summing up the foregoing itineraries, we have: Isabella's journey, Chambéry to Susa, 6 days, besides one day for rest, apparently; Amedeo's journey, Chambéry to Lanslebourg, 5 days, with one to spare for Susa; the Earl of Derby's, Susa to Chambéry, 7 days. We might therefore assume that Lionel would have been at St. Michel on May 18, at Lanslebourg May 21, and at Susa May 22, though it must always be remembered that his party was large, and that he might therefore have been delayed. However, May 22 is none too early, considering

From Susa the English probably advanced by way of Vercelli and Novara³⁸ to Pavia.³⁹ Here they would have been entertained at the Castello, which had been begun by Galeazzo in 1360, and completed in 1367. The earliest historian of Milan calls this building 'the first in the world,'⁴⁰ and Symonds declares⁴¹ that it was 'the noblest dwelling-house in Europe.'⁴² It is particularly interesting in its possible relation to Chaucer, who, if we may credit the statement of Gioffredo della Chiesa, writing between 1430 and 1440, may have seen painted on its walls the story of Griselda.⁴³ For the tower of Boethius, see Magenta, opp. p.

that from Susa to Pavia, even by way of Turin, is not less than 120 miles, and that from Pavia to Milan is 20 miles more. Now we know that on Saturday, May 27, Lionel's train entered Milan.

Cordey (as above) assumes that the journey over the Mont Cenis occupied May 15 to 18. Gabotto, on the other hand, says explicitly (*Misc. di Stor. Ital.* 33. 168-9) that Lionel was at Susa on May 17, from which place Amedeo issued summonses to the communes of Savoy and Achaia (here meaning Piedmont) to send representatives to Rivoli with reference to a reform of the country. Cordey (1911) writes later than Gabotto (1895), and then Gabotto is sometimes inaccurate: thus he assigns April 6, instead of 16, for Lionel's arrival at Paris.

³⁸ At least this was the route pursued by Isabella (see p. 42) in 1360 under the same guidance (*R. I. S.* 16. 405); the Bishop of Novara may also have joined them at that city (see p. 59). Vercelli and Novara were among the cities inherited by Galeazzo in 1354 (*R. I. S.* 16. 337).

³⁹ *So Chron. Plac.*

⁴⁰ Corio, p. 466.

⁴¹ *Age of the Despots*, chap. 2. The hand of man has since dealt harshly with it; see Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 3d ed., 1847, pp. 206-7. For a remarkable duel which took place in its courtyard on June 24, 1399, see Magenta I. 242-5.

⁴² See the delineations of it in Magenta, opp. p. 74; for its magnificent park, several miles in circumference (cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 186, note), see Magenta, opp. p. 118; cf. Rosmini 2. 116.

⁴³ *M. H. P.*, p. 861: 'La historia de Griselidis, Marchexa de Salucio, he [è] stata depinta ab antiquo nel Castello di Pavia, la quale era sedya regale di coloro.' Gioffredo's statements dispose of Westenholz's denial (*Die Grisclidis-Sage in der Literaturgeschichte*, p. 4). The question arises, however, whether these walls were those of the new castle, or those of the older one built by Matteo I between 1315 and 1322 (*R. I. S.* 16. 379, 696). However, Chaucer may easily have seen both, for the old castle was left standing when the new one was built (*R. I. S.* 16. 379: 'Apud Castrum antiquum, erectum per quondam Dominum Matthæum, aliud Castrum mirabile fecit de novo erigi'). Which castle we suppose

162. For other sights in Pavia, see pp. 80, 92. A plan of the city in 1590 is in Magenta, opp. p. 1.

4. PAVIA TO MILAN

By the time Lionel left Pavia for Milan, his retinue would doubtless be composed, in addition to the 457 men with whom

Gioffredo to have meant depends upon the interpretation we assign to the words 'ab antiquo.' If he wrote in 1437 (say), might he have regarded a period two generations earlier, in 1366, as ancient, or must we assume that he would have reserved this designation for a date (say 1316) 50 years earlier? That the story of Griselda did not gain its earliest currency from the classic form into which it was cast by Boccaccio and Petrarch is suggested by Gioffredo's statement that he himself was acquainted with it in three languages—Latin, Italian, and French (*op. cit.*, p. 861: 'La quale se trova in historia, et in Latino et in Franzoso e Italiano, che noi medemy habiamo veduta in questy tre idioma'). It is of course possible that he is here referring to Boccaccio's narrative, Petrarch's version, and a French translation (perhaps that of 1414). Against this hypothesis it may be urged that, since he is arguing for the Germanic origin of such names as Walter and Griselda, and therefore stressing the notion of antiquity (*ib.*: 'Et eredemo che ly marchexi di Salucio che erano in anty fussenno ancora discesi da quely Saxony et Longobardy. Et molte cosse presumere me lo fano: prima, questy nomy come Manfredo, Adalayda, Valterio, Griseldis, e simily nomy che tirano sopra quely nomy di coloro, e sono inusitati'), he is not likely to have appealed to a version as modern as Petrarch's in support of such a theory. That there were earlier accounts than Boccaccio's is clear from the fact that Petrarch testifies (*Sen.* 17. 3) that he had often heard the story long before 1373, and that one of his reasons for translating Boccaccio's account was to render it accessible to people who knew no Italian ('Cogitatio supervenit, fieri posse ut nostri etiam sermonis ignaros tam dulcis historia delectaret, cum et mihi semper ante multos annos audita placuisset, et tibi usque adeo placuisse perpenderem, ut vulgari eam stilo tuo censeris non indignam'), the context making it perfectly evident that he is referring, not to Boccaccio's literary reproduction, but to a popular tale, such as might be related by minstrels.

There always remains the possibility that Galeazzo, after Petrarch had written his Latin version by June 8, 1373, and before his own death in 1378, had these frescoes executed, out of regard for Petrarch's memory. There is nothing in the relations between the ruling house of Saluzzo and the Visconti to discredit such a supposition, seeing that in April, 1365, Federigo II, Marquis of Saluzzo (d. 1396), acknowledged that he held his marquisate of Bernabò (*M. H. P.*, pp. 1010-11), and that ten years later he looked to Galeazzo and Bernabò for defense against his

he started from Dover,⁴⁴ of a comparatively few persons who had gone to Italy on his business in the months immediately preceding,⁴⁵ and in large measure of detachments from the bands of Englishmen then serving as mercenaries in Italy. One proof of the latter is that so many of his followers were armed with great bows⁴⁶ and shields,⁴⁷ which is somewhat easier to understand of the local forces than of those which had come with him from England; another is that *Cron. Monf.* (p. 1212) speaks of the English in Lionel's train (presumably such mercenaries) as having greatly prevailed against the resistance of the Emperor Charles,⁴⁸ and as having done infinite damage in the lands of the state of Milan.⁴⁹

enemies (*M. H. P.*, p. 1023). But if the frescoes were executed after 1373, out of regard for Petrarch, would Gioffredo be likely to characterize them as ancient, and seem to know nothing of the story as told by Petrarch after Boccaccio?

It therefore appears (1) that if Gioffredo's 'ab antiquo' means any time between 1316 and 1367, Chaucer—supposing him to have been in Pavia—might have seen the frescoes; (2) if Gioffredo's 'ab antiquo' refers to a date after 1367 (or the earlier months of 1368), Chaucer might have seen the frescoes if he visited Pavia during his mission to Lombardy in 1378, or if perchance he made the two days' trip (*Petrarch, Sen.* 5. 1) from Genoa to Pavia in 1372-3. If in 1378, and the execution of the frescoes was due to the authority of Petrarch's version—for Boccaccio's direct influence need not be considered—Chaucer would undoubtedly have learned of Petrarch's agency in the matter, and would thus have been led to the latter's version, a copy of which, considering Galeazzo's relations with him, would surely have been in existence at Pavia.

⁴⁴ See p. 31.

⁴⁵ See *Cal. Pat. Rolls* for Nov. 23 and 30, 1367; Jan. 9 and Feb. 9, 1368.

⁴⁶ On these bows, see *R. I. S.* 16. 380.

⁴⁷ *Annal. Med.*: 'inter quos erant multi cum arcibus et targhettis'; *Frag.*: 'molti con gli archi grandi in forma d'una terretta' (*sic*); *Corio*: 'tra i quali molti haveano archi.' These archers, like the others, must have been on horseback, if we are to take literally *Corio's* 'dismontarono nella corte.'

⁴⁸ Temple-Leader and Marcotti (*Sir John Hawkwood*) assign this to the month of May. They say (pp. 61-2):

'This prince had erected a new bastion at Borgoforte on the Po, and stationed an Italian garrison there, which by reason of old rancors had disagreed with the German mercenaries in Visconti's pay, and was reduced to evil case, so that Bernabò had to ride in great

On May 27,⁵⁰ the stately little army swept up from Pavia to Milan, about twenty miles, probably by way of Binasco. Some notion of the low meadows through which they passed may be

haste to the place, where—order being restored—he placed the bastion under the charge of Hawkwood's Englishmen. Then the Emperor Charles IV came down from the Alps, and made common cause with the d'Estes and other Italian princes against the Visconti, persuading them to attack Borgoforte. It must be noted that what between the Imperials (Bohemians, Slavonians, Poles, Grisons, and Swiss), d'Este's Italians, those of Malatesta, and of Queen Joanna: and the Church party, which consisted of Bretons, Gascons, and Provençals: as many as twenty thousand combatants presented themselves before that fortress. In the army of Visconti were Germans, English, Italians, Burgundians, all with the firm determination to defend the bulwarks; in those days a small place, well provisioned and manned with a spirited garrison, might defy even "an army sufficient to subjugate Italy." To intercept succor, the d'Este party had launched on the Po a fleet of galleys and other boats, and the river being much swollen by the melting of the snows, the Imperialists bethought themselves of breaking the banks above Borgoforte; but the garrison knew how to save itself from the inundation, and returned it by breaking the banks towards the valley by night, thus flooding the plains of Mantua and the entrenchments of the Imperial camp. Charles IV was obliged to raise his camp, and shut himself up in Mantua; after which, on account of the damage he had suffered, and of the scarcity of provisions, he hastened to agree to Bernabò's terms.'

⁵⁰ This seems to be a reminiscence of an earlier condition of things. In a sketch of the earlier operations of the English adventurers—the White Company and others—Temple-Leader and Marcotti (*ib.*, pp. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17) say:

'Here then we behold the great English band marching towards the sea; attempting in vain to take Marseilles, they set fire to her suburbs, and pass by the Riviera to Nice; cross the Maritime Alps by the feudal estates of Malaspina, favored by Simon Boccanegra, doge of Genoa, and enemy to the Visconti; and thus descend into the valley of the Po. . . . The fact remains that Piedmont was devastated by the Hungarians, the Germans, and lastly by the newly arrived English. . . . The "Chronique de Savoie" says coldly, almost excusing them, that, being many, they could not live in Piedmont without spoiling the country, so that Conte Verde, who had imprudently counselled the Marquis of Montferrat to employ the English, repented, and took arms to defend himself. . . . By forfeiting the sum of 180,000 florins, Conte Verde obtained the restitution of his lands, and the English passed on to fight the

gathered from the following description of the route (reversed) which travelers followed in the first half of the nineteenth cen-

Milanese under the Marquis of Montferrat, making their headquarters at Sicciano near Novara. . . . Conte Verde proposed an alliance with Galeazzo Visconti, with the object of driving out the English from their states, and dividing Montferrat between them, but it must be admitted that the undertaking to rout the English seemed very difficult to Visconti, for he was at the same time attempting to make a treaty of peace with them. Albert Sterz feigned to consent, by which means the English succeeded in making a fierce incursion, passing the Ticino, and pushing on to within six miles of Milan. It was night, and people in the castles and villages were keeping the New Year's festivities, while the Milanese nobles were having a merry time, playing at *tabulas et scaccos* (draughts and chess) unsuspecting and undefended, so that they were unable to prevent the robbers from taking anything and everything they chose. . . . They made prisoners of over 600 nobles, and would have taken more if ropes and time had not failed them. Some of the gang dragged behind them as many as ten nobles, together with their cattle; they could not save them all, because they were attacked by Visconti's boats in recrossing the Ticino, but it is said that with the money paid for ransoms, they pocketed about 100,000 florins.'

Among those in attendance on Lionel was very probably the famous *condottiere*, John Hawkwood, of whom Temple-Leader and Marcotti write (p. 60):

'In 1368 he had returned to the pay of Bernabò Visconti, together with William Boson [Bosson, *R. I. S.* 23. 555], conducting four thousand Englishmen. His passage into Lombardy was probably connected with the arrival there of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III of England, who came to celebrate his marriage with Violante, daughter of Galeazzo Visconti and niece of Bernabò*; and it is very likely that he went to pay homage at the court of his own Royal Prince, for we already know that all the English adventurers in Italy stipulated a clause in all their contracts affirming their loyalty to the King of England.'

The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (25. 237) speaks of Hawkwood as drawn to Milan by the marriage, and adds: 'Shortly after the ceremony he, with four thousand men, entered the service of Bernabò Visconti.' The Milanese annalist says (p. 741) that this was in August. We know that Bernabò, as soon as Lionel's wedding was over, took some of the latter's men,

*The Milanese annals say in general terms that Lionel was accompanied by about 2000 English, amongst whom were many archers. Gioivo and Litta positively affirm that Hawkwood was in the Duke's party, and the heraldic book of Samson Lennard, *Bluemantle*, confirms the fact.

tury (Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 3d ed., 1847, p. 203):

Quitting Milan by the Porta Ticinese, the road enters what may be termed the most Flemish portion of the plain of Lombardy. Meadows, rich in clover, yield two or three crops a year; thick rows of willows and poplars bespeak the humidity of the soil, luxuriant even to rankness. On either side are frequent transverse or longitudinal cuts and canals. Of these the largest is the Naviglio⁵¹ di Pavia, completed by the French, which joins the Ticino at Pavia. The road skirts this canal all the way.

As the festal company approached Milan, there issued from the Ticinese Gate a gorgeous procession to meet them.⁵² This procession was headed by Galeazzo.⁵³ First came Bianca,⁵⁴

and returned to Guastalla, and thence went by boats to Borgoforte, which he captured and destroyed (Corio, p. 471). Borgoforte is on the northern shore of the Po, 7 miles south of Mantua; Guastalla on the southern bank of the Po, midway by rail between Mantua and Parma, and a dozen miles from Borgoforte.

⁵⁰ So *Annal. Med.; Frag.* Corio says May 17 (XVII for XXVII), but provides the means of correction by adding that it was the vigil of Pentecost.

⁵¹ Cf. p. II.

⁵² *Annal. Med.; Corio; Frag.*

⁵³ According to Magenta (I. 156), following Jovius, Galeazzo was strong and handsome, tall, with fair and curling locks, friendly but keen looks, a white and delicate skin, and lofty bearing. Symonds says (*Age of the Despots*, chap. 2): 'Galeazzo was distinguished as the handsomest man of his age. He was tall and graceful, with golden hair, which he wore in long plaits, or tied up in a net, or else loose and crowned with flowers.' See his portrait on p. 17. For his character, cf. p. 16.

⁵⁴ Bianca (1336-1387), now 32 years old, was herself the daughter of a Violante (second child of Theodore Palæologus, Marquis of Montferrat), married to Aimon of Savoy (*Arch. Stor. Lombardo* 34. 6). Beautiful at the time of her marriage in 1350 (*M. H. P.*, p. 1180; Corio, p. 438), Bianca's character remained beautiful till her death. Magenta (I. 178-9) speaks of her ready intellect and unspeakable goodness of heart. Amid agitating vicissitudes, in victory and defeat, through all the excesses and crimes perpetrated by her husband and her son, she remained meek and untroubled, an exemplary wife and mother. Her native sweetness led her to innumerable works of charity, and, as far as in her lay, she mitigated the sufferings which Galeazzo inflicted (cf. *R. I. S.* 16. 550). Notwithstanding, Bernabò sent one of his creatures from Milan to Pavia to assassinate her when she should be walking in the park accompanied by none but her ladies, merely because she had tried to reconcile her brother with her husband (*R. I. S.* 16. 797). When the assassin returned

sister of the Green Count, and wife of Galeazzo; Isabella⁵⁵ of France, wife of Gian Galeazzo; and Ricciarda, wife of Andrea de' Pepoli.⁵⁶ These, and 80 ladies beside, were all dressed alike in cote-hardies⁵⁷ of scarlet,⁵⁸ with sleeves of white cloth⁵⁹ embroidered in trefoil-designs, and with gilded belts about their loins of the value of 80 golden florins. Next followed, under

without having accomplished his purpose, Bernabò promptly had him hanged.

⁵⁵ Isabella was 19 years of age, having been born on Oct. 1, 1348 (Delachenal 2. 233, note 5). She was just over 12 when she was married to Gian Galeazzo on Oct. 8, 1360. It was she of whom Matteo Villani said (*R. I. S.* 14. 617-8; cf. Delachenal 2. 232, note 1): 'Who could have dreamed, considering the greatness of the crown of France, and the insignificance of the King of England compared with him who wore it, that he would be reduced to sell, as it were, his own flesh at auction?' The marriage, like that of Violante, had been brought about by Amedeo (*R. I. S.* 16. 505-6; Delachenal 2. 235). Villani (*R. I. S.* 14. 608) thus speaks of her demeanor on that 8th of October: 'Her attire and bearing were royal as she received homage from the [two] lords and their ladies; but she would not endure the cloth upon her head, and thus she stood until she was wedded. Then, laying aside her royal dignity and her nobility of blood, she did reverence to Galeazzo, Bernabò, and their ladies.' She was not to live long: four years after Violante's wedding (September, 1372), she died in childbed of her third son, Charles (Delachenal 2. 237). Her first child, a daughter, Valentina, was born in May, 1366 (Magenta 1. 129). The *Chronicle of Piacenza* (*R. I. S.* 16. 512, and so 748) calls her a noble woman, good, wise, humble, God-fearing, and virtuous, the mother of several excellent children, and declares that when she died, her like was not left upon earth. See also p. 110.

⁵⁶ See p. 27.

⁵⁷ See the pictures of Jeanne and Bonne de Bourbon, on pp. 35, 36, and cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 7. 238. In the picture of Iseult (see p. 50), her gown is skyblue, edged with crimson bands at neck and elbow. The precious stones of her crown and pendant, and of the knight's garter, are probably rubies. Iseult's hair is golden. The knight's doublet is crimson.

⁵⁸ It is uncertain whether 'scarlatta' here denotes a color or not; *Frag.* has 'cotardia di scarlatta, con maniche dentro di scarlata bianca.'

⁵⁹ Such contrasting colors were also found in men's clothing at this period. Thus we are told (*Encyc. Brit.*, as above): 'A gentleman would have his coat parted down the middle in red and white, with hose of white and red to match.' And in the first reference that we have to Chaucer, April 4, 1357 (Kirk, *Life-Records of Chaucer IV*, pp. xiv, 153), he is down for a pair of red and black [breeches, probably]. See especially Chaucer, *Parson's Tale* 422-7. For some centuries before Shakespeare's time, the robes of serjeants at law were parti-colored, the

the leadership of Gian Galeazzo,⁶⁰ 30 knights and 30 squires, all dressed alike, and mounted on powerful tilting-steeds, with tilting-saddles. Then followed, mentioned by name, two of

right-hand side one color, and the left another (*Shakespeare's England*, 1916, I, 396-7). On the costume a little earlier, see Michelet 4, 226.



Iseult and a Knight of the Garter.

(From Racinet, *Le Costume Historique*, Vol. 4, reproducing an Italian manuscript of the 14th century.)

⁶⁰ Gian Galeazzo was now 16 years old, having been born at Milan on Oct. 15, 1351 (*Arch. Stor. Lombardo* 16, 923-938; 34, 61 ff.; Delachenal 2, 234, note 1; cf. *R. I. S.* 15, 468; 16, 723). Magenta describes him (I, 292) as tall, with light hair, broad forehead, and sparkling (*vivo*) eyes; his manner was at once grave and amiable, his speech easy and

Galeazzo's chief councilors,⁶¹ and four of his vicars, arrayed like the preceding, but with belts of less value. Then five treasury-officials (*rationatores, ragionati*), also named, with their attendants: these were similarly arrayed, but with belts of silver. Finally, there was a bishop, with many clergy.

As they entered the old and famous city, the attention of the foreigners would naturally have been drawn to many a strange or renowned building. The procession would first pass S. Eustorgio, then lying outside the city-wall. Here, if any one had had the curiosity, he might have seen the sarcophagus which, until Frederick Barbarossa sent them to Cologne in 1164, had

measured, and his temper mild; his plans exhibited a blending of magnificence, firmness, and eagerness; he displayed an ardent love for the beautiful and the sublime, and remarkable subtlety in divining the thoughts of others. For his character, see pp. 21-2.

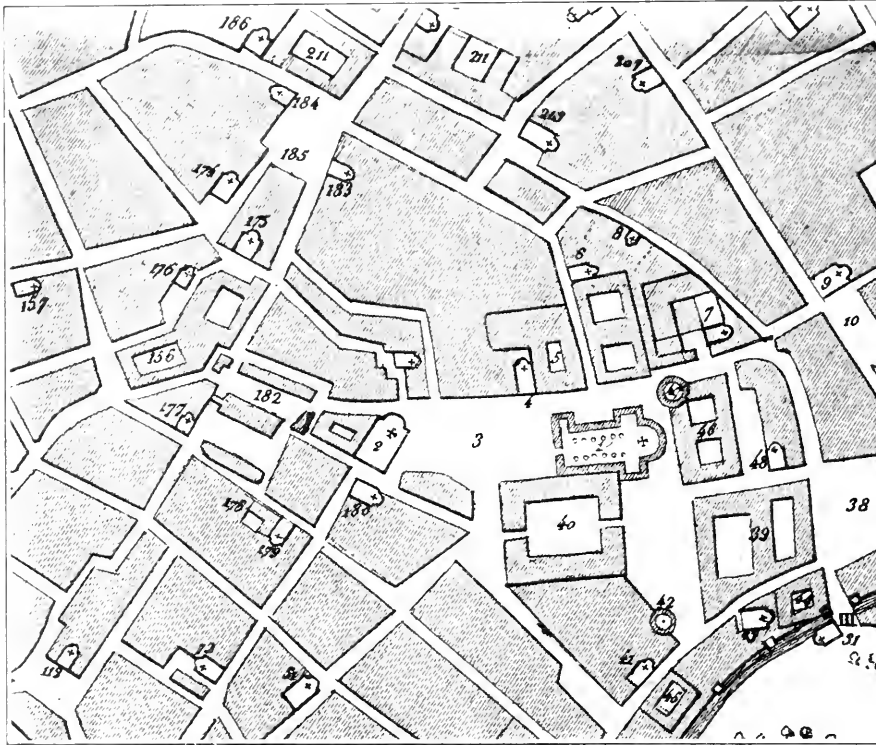
⁶¹It may seem strange that one of these was Manfredo di Saluzzo. What should a member of the reigning house of Saluzzo be doing here, serving Galeazzo in the administration of his state?

It came about thus. This Manfredo was the eldest son by a second marriage of Manfredo IV of Saluzzo (d. 1340), whose heir, by his first marriage, was Federigo I (d. 1336), who predeceased his father. The latter had sought, at the instigation of his second wife, to supersede Federigo by Manfredo, but the latter had been established by 1332-3 in the succession to the marquisate, which he left on his death to his son Tommaso. Meanwhile, Manfredo, on the death of his father, sought to oust his nephew, Tommaso, from the marquisate. At the end of the first six months Tommaso was deposed (April, 1341); Manfredo (now Manfredo V) was in possession till March 27, 1344; then Tommaso till May 13, 1344; then Manfredo till September 6, 1346; then Tommaso till Aug. 15, 1357, when he died (Cappelli, *Cronologia*, p. 357), to be succeeded by his son, Federigo II. At some time after he had ceased to reign (probably in 1354, or soon after; *M. H. P.*, p. 991), Manfredo resorted to Milan, where he was made much of by Galeazzo, who appointed him a councilor. At his own instance, or by his own fault, he retired from Galeazzo's court, Azarius says in 1362 (*R. I. S.* 16. 405; cf. *M. H. P.*, p. 968). He did not die till after Aug. 5, 1389 (*M. H. P.*); and he must have been born, one would think, at least 70 years before, since his father contracted his first marriage in 1303, and he himself was probably of age when he contested his nephew's succession in 1340. If he were born (say) in 1318, he would have been 50 years old at Lionel's marriage. How he came to be councilor then, if Azarius is right, is difficult to see; either Azarius is mistaken in the year, as seems most probable, or else Galeazzo had taken him back. The chroniclers call him a handsome man, wise, prudent, and upright.

For Galeazzo's councilors in general, see *R. I. S.* 16. 403.

contained the relics of the Three Magi, besides the splendid Gothic monument to Peter Martyr,⁶² erected some thirty years before.⁶³

Entering at the Porta Ticinese, the guests of Galeazzo would next have seen, on the right, the most striking piece of Roman architecture in the city, a porch of sixteen Corinthian columns,



Plan of Milan near the Cathedral.

(From Giulini 7. 335.)

just behind which rose the oldest church of Milan, S. Lorenzo. Turning into the present Via Torino through the Porta Ticinese of the inner, or Roman wall, the procession would have passed

⁶² Figured in Venturi, pp. 547-561.

⁶³ Here every year, beginning with 1336, at the Feast of the Epiphany (Twelfth Night, Jan. 6), the following ceremony took place (Giulini 5.

near the church of S. Giorgio, with the adjoining palace belonging to Galeazzo (Corio, p. 438), the palace and baths named after Trajan and Maximian (near the present Palazzo Trivulzio), and the church of S. Satiro, finally reaching the Summer Metropolitan Basilica of Santa Tecla⁶⁴ (Pl. 2), facing the Via Torino in such a way as to require a detour just where the street now debouches into the Piazza del Duomo. Thence by Santa Maria Maggiore (Pl. 1) to the Archiepiscopal Palace (Pl. 39), where at least the chief guests were to be lodged.⁶⁵ Somewhat south of west lay S. Ambrogio, and, some distance south of that, S. Vincenzo in Prato.⁶⁶

243): Three men, attired as kings, and followed by servants and apes, rode from the Carrobbio, where the Corso Porta Ticinese now joins the Via Torino, out to S. Eustorgio. On the way they were stopped by Herod and the scribes, who were seated near the Roman columns in front of S. Lorenzo, and asked whither they were going. Arrived at S. Eustorgio, they deposited their gifts on the high altar, which represented the manger at Bethlehem, and lay down to sleep. After a time, they woke with a start, as if by a divine impulse, and continued their journey through the Porta Romana (outside of which was a Roman triumphal arch).

⁶⁴ See p. 57, note 2.

⁶⁵ Corio; *Annal. Med.; Frag.*; Giulini 5. 511.

⁶⁶ Milan was as yet poor in sculpture and painting. Had the English visitors been in Florence, they might have admired Giotto's paintings in the Peruzzi and Bardi chapels of Santa Croce; the frescoes of the Spanish Chapel (see Ruskin's *Mornings in Florence*); the Orcagnas of the Strozzi chapel in Santa Maria Novella, and his richly carved tabernacle in Or San Michele; Taddeo Gaddi's work in the Baroncelli (Giugni) chapel of Santa Croce; besides Gaddi's Ponte Vecchio, and Giotto's Campanile. Had they been in Pisa, there were the frescoes of the Campo Santo; or in Padua, Giotto's frescoes in the Scrovegni chapel (we are reminded that Francesco da Carrara, the ruler of Padua, received six years later, as a bequest—dated April 4, 1370—from Petrarch, a Madonna by Giotto, whose beauty, according to the poet, whatever the ignorant might think of it, was sure to be admired by the masters of art: 'Quia . . . ego nihil habeo dignum se, dimitto tabulam meam sive iconam Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, operis Joctii pictoris egregii, . . . cujus pulchritudinem ignorantes non intelligunt, magistri autem artis stupent'). We shall hardly be far wrong in assuming that the art of the period was somewhat too austere to have suited the taste of the joyous guests. Magnificence was the note of the Visconti: the Castello at Pavia (cf. pp. 43, 80) had just been built, and the new Cathedral of Milan was to be begun in 1386. Painting and sculpture, however, were not to flourish in Milan during the rest of the century (cf. Giulini 5. 661).

V. LIONEL AND VIOLANTE

As the day for the wedding approached, the thoughts of every one would turn more and more to the chief actors in the scene, Lionel and Violante.

I. LIONEL

Lionel was too young to have played a very important part on the world's stage, being not yet 30 years old. For the chivalric imaginings which presided at his birth and christening, see Appendix A. It would have been a long forecast which could have seen that he should get kings, though he were none—that from him, through his first marriage, should lineally proceed a monarch who should revive and surpass, on the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520), the splendors of Lionel's second marriage. He himself had been most conspicuous in the service of England during his five years' residence in Ireland as viceroy¹ (1361-6), an office the importance of which has been thus set forth by Camden²:

Their jurisdiction and authority is really large and Royal: they make war and peace, have power to fill all Magistracies and other Offices, except some very few; to pardon all crimes but those of high treason, and to confer Knighthood, etc. . . . Whether we consider his jurisdiction and authority, or his train, attendance, and splendor, there is certainly no Viceroy in Christendom that comes nearer the grandeur and majesty of a King.

As for Lionel's appearance, Hardyng³ tells us little except that he was tall:

In all the world was then no prince hym like
Of hie stature and of all semelynesse;
Above all men within his hole kyngrike
By the shulders he might be seen, doutlesse;
As a mayde in halle of gentilnesse,
And in all other places sonne to rethorike,
And in the felde a lyon Marmorike.⁴

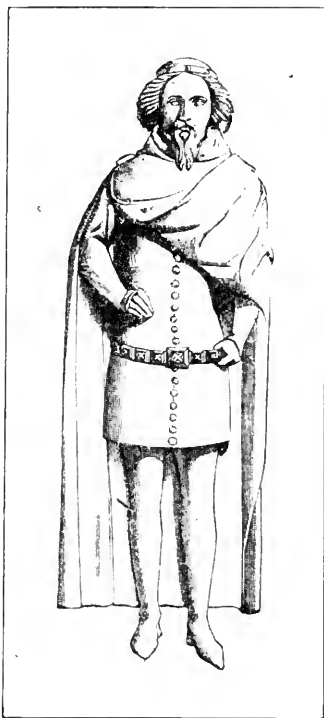
¹ See *Hist. Background*, pp. 179-181.

² *Britannia*, ed. Gibson, 1695, p. 974.

³ *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, p. 334.

⁴ Belonging to Marmarica, the modern Barca, in northern Africa.

On the other hand, as Lionel's is among the effigies surrounding the tomb of Edward III in Westminster Abbey, which is one of the finest works of its kind belonging to the 14th century,⁵ we may turn to that with some confidence to gain a notion of Lionel's face and form,⁶ though presumably it is only the effigy



Effigy of Prince Lionel.
(From Gardiner, *History of England*, p. 264.)

of the king himself which can be absolutely depended upon for faithfulness.⁷

⁵ *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 24. 494.

⁶ It is figured in Carter, *Specimens of Ancient Painting and Engraving in England*, new edition, 1887, plate lxii (the third figure), and in Gardiner, *Student's History of England*, p. 264, from which it is here reproduced.

⁷ However, the drooping mustaches of the Black Prince, in the effigy from his father's tomb (Gardiner, p. 264), agree with those on his own

2. VIOLANTE

As she was born in 1355, or at earliest near the very end of 1354,⁸ Violante can hardly have been much more than 13 years old⁹ on June 5, 1368. She is called beautiful by the chroniclers.¹⁰ It must have been a blonde beauty, one would think, like that

tomb at Canterbury (Gardiner, p. 256); but allowance must be made for the fashion of the time (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 3. 576). See the picture of Edward III's tomb in Gardiner, p. 263; cf. Shakespeare, *Richard II* 3. 3. 105-6.

⁸Deduced from the statement of *Chron. Plac.* (*R. I. S.* 16. 546-7), where she is described as dying in November, 1386, and as not having 'ultra annos XXXII.' If she had been born at any time before November, 1354, she would have been over 32; her birth must consequently have been later than that date. The Milanese annalist says (*R. I. S.* 16. 778): 'anno ætatis suæ XXXII,' but mistakes the year, calling it 1383. That the latter is not correct is shown (1) by the carelessness of this document in other respects (e. g. 'in paucis diebus habuit tres viros'), (2) by the fact that *Chron. Plac.* is approximately right in saying that she died after her third husband had been in prison two years, or thereabouts (he was actually taken prisoner in May, 1385; cf. *R. I. S.* 16. 784-6, 853), since the time was actually a year and a half.

⁹'Tenera dy etade' (*Cron. Saluz.*, p. 1013); 'tenera sua figliola' (*Cron. Monf.*, p. 1212). She was about the age of Lionel's own daughter Philippa, who was married to Edmund Mortimer just before Lionel left England for Italy (*Cont. Eul. Hist.* 3. 333; cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 39. 119). Lionel's first wife, Elizabeth, was nine when he was contracted to her, and he three.

Violante is called Galeazzo's *only* daughter by the chronicles of Piacenza and Milan (*R. I. S.* 16. 510. 738), but there had been a younger one, Maria, born in 1357, and dying in May, 1362 (*M. H. P.*, p. 1336; Corio, p. 462).

Boccaccio, too, had had a daughter Violante, for whom see p. 81. The name occurs in the *Decameron* (5. 7).

There had been earlier Violantes, especially in the houses of Montferrat and Saluzzo; so, for example, one who married, toward the close of the 13th century, Andronicus Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, and thus became the great-grandmother of Secondotto (*M. H. P.*, pp. 932, 1325; cf. below, pp. 108-9); and another, the second daughter of Manfredò IV of Saluzzo (d. 1340) by his second wife, who in 1327 married Luchino Visconti (*M. H. P.*, p. 969).

The name, owing to confusion, is sometimes written Yolande, or Yolante.

¹⁰*Chron. Plac.* (*R. I. S.* 16. 510) and *Annal. Med.* (*R. I. S.* 16. 738), in an identical passage, say 'juvenem et formosam.'

of other members of her family¹¹—beauty naturally suggested by the name 'English,' which was attaching itself to the Visconti.¹²

Her character at this time can only be inferred from the impression it produced in her maturity. When we consider that most women would have found her sorrows and trials unendurable,¹³ it is no slight thing to have deserved the praise of the Milanese annalist, that she was kind, intelligent, devout, and chaste.¹⁴

VI. THE WEDDING

After an interview of nine days, the wedding took place on Monday, June 5.¹ The wedding-ceremony itself was performed—probably on a staging or balcony specially erected—over the portal, or central doorway, of the Cathedral of Milan, or rather of what was called the Winter Metropolitan Basilica.²

¹¹ Cf. pp. 48, 50. Of Azzo (d. 1339) we are told (Giulini 5. 273) that he was of a rubicund complexion, and that his hair was so fair as to be almost white, but that it shone like gold.

¹² See p. 26.

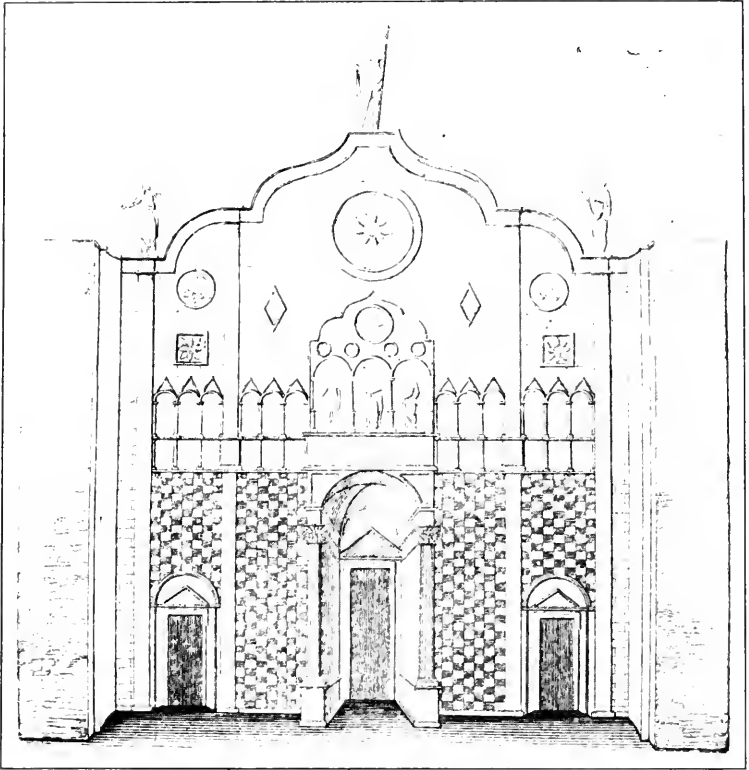
¹³ For her subsequent history, see pp. 107 ff.

¹⁴ So I translate 'bona, sapiens, pia, et honesta' (*R. I. S.* 16. 546).

¹ So *Annal. Mcd., Frag., Cron. Monf.* Corio says June 15, being wrong here, as concerning the date of Lionel's arrival at Milan. Kittredge (*Eng. Stud.* 26. 326, note 8) says May 28; Barnes, May 29, 1367; Holinshed (2. 686), June 15, 1367 or 1368.

² Directly across the square from its façade was the small Summer Metropolitan Basilica of Sta. Tecla (No. 4 on plan). The Winter Basilica, or Santa Maria Maggiore, was so much smaller than the present Cathedral that a great part of it was for many years included, with room on every side, within the walls of the present building. It was restored in 1170, the ladies of Milan having devoted their jewels to this purpose. In 1353 it was damaged by the fall of its high campanile, which destroyed several houses. It was at once restored by the archbishop, but could still be described, when it was a question of the erection of the present Cathedral, as ruined and dilapidated (*consumptam et dirupatam*). The basilica was much shut in by other buildings, but had an enclosed space, or court, in front (Boito, *Il Duomo di Milano*, p. 11). A good deal of red marble (a speckled sort, brought from near Verona) was used in the old basilica (cf. Boito, pp. 186, 209), and there still remain eight statues of apostles on the wall of the north aisle of the Cathedral, on which Lionel and Violante may have looked (four of them figured in Boito, Pl. 38; cf. pp. 53-4). A description of the old façade, so far as we are informed

This occupied a part of the site of the present Cathedral—which was not begun till 1386—and faced the same way as the latter. A great number of knights, clergy, and other notables were in



Façade of Santa Maria Maggiore, Milan.

(From Rosmini 2, 212.)

about it, is given by Boito (p. 134), and other particulars concerning the basilica are scattered throughout his book (see the index on p. 315). New doors for it had recently been constructed by order of Galeazzo, from the proceeds of a tax laid upon the merchants of Milan. They were of marble, lined (*intus*) with beautiful reliefs (*intaliis*), and were very costly (*R. I. S.* 16. 403-4). Some notion of the façade may be gained from the illustrations below, the first, and perhaps the more trustworthy,

attendance.³ According to custom, the bride was supported by two of her kin, who gave her away, as it were, and one of whom held her finger for the placing of the ring. The two kinsmen were in this case the uncles of the bride, Bernabò Visconti⁴ and Amedeo of Savoy,⁵ the former of whom is described as holding her finger.⁶ As the Bishop of Novara,⁷ Oldrado,⁸ celebrated high mass in the basilica with great solemnity,⁹ and accompanied by numerous clergy,¹⁰ it is probable that it was he who performed the ceremony of uniting the couple.



Façade of Santa Maria Maggiore, Milan.

(From Boito, *Il Duomo di Milano*, title-page.)

being from Rosmini (2. 212), and the second from Boito (as above, title-page).

³ Corio; *Annal. Med.*; *Frag.*

⁴ Who had unexpectedly come from Guastalla, with a picked body of nobles (Corio, p. 469); cf. pp. 47-8.

⁵ *Annal. Med.*

⁶ Corio; *Annal. Med.* Perhaps we may understand that both did. Corio mentions only Bernabò; *Annal. Med.* mentions Bernabò, 'qui tenuit digitum sponsæ una cum Comite Sabaudizæ avunculo suo, videlicet ambo a lateribus sponsæ.'

⁷ Corio; *Annal. Med.*; *Frag.*

⁸ So Giulini 5. 511.

⁹ Corio. *Annal. Med.*: 'in pontificalibus.'

¹⁰ *Frag.*

VII. THE BANQUET

On the day¹ of the wedding a magnificent banquet² was served. What may be called the classic account of this was written by Paulus Jovius (1483-1552) long after the event, though no doubt reposing on good contemporary authorities. His description is as follows:

Leonati porro adventu tantæ opes admirabili liberalitate profusæ sunt, cum et nuptiale epulum daret, et equestres ederet ludos, et Britannos ex generis comitatu supra ducentos eximiis donis adornaret, ut opulentissimorum Regum splendorem superasse censeretur. In convivio enim, in quo Franciscus Petrarcha inter principes convivas discubuit, singulos ferculorum missus, qui supra triginta fuere, totidem inusitate magnificentiæ, munera sequebantur: ea omnia Joannes Galeacius, delectæ juventutis Princeps, ad mensam perducens Leonato obtulit.

Fuere in uno tantum missu septuaginta³ equi insignes argenteis et sericis ephippiis strati⁴: in aliis vero vasa argentea,⁵ hierofalcones,⁶ venatici canes,⁷ equestria arma,⁸ nobiles loriciæ, solidoque ferro splen-

¹ Corio; *Annal. Med.*; *Frag.* Gabotto (*Misc. di Stor. Ital.* 33. 169) says the banquet took place on the *evening* of the wedding-day ('quella sera vi fu un convito'). Giulini (5. 512) represents the company as proceeding directly from the basilica to the banquet.

Cron. Monf.'s 'la dominicha nella dispensatione' must be a mistake, one would think. The wedding took place on June 5, which was a Monday. The previous day was Trinity Sunday, and of course the next Sunday was June 11. Presumably the wedding-feast would not be held before the wedding, and an interval of six days would have been too great.

² Corio: 'un splendidissimo convito'; *Annal. Med.*: 'in prandio fecit maximum convivium'; *Frag.*: 'uno grande desinare.' Cf. that when Gian Galeazzo was made duke in 1395 (Corio, p. 539), and see the eulogy of this one in *Cron. Monf.* (p. 1225).

³ Cf. p. 73.

⁴ Cf. pp. 68, 71, 72.

⁵ Cf. p. 69.

⁶ Cf. pp. 66, 67.

⁷ Cf. pp. 66, 67.

⁸ Cf. pp. 68, 71, 72.

⁹ In 1360, the Green Count sent as a present for the wedding of Gian Galeazzo and Isabella of France five suits of armor which he had had made specially, and which cost 145 florins (Cordey, *Les Comtes de Savoie*, p. 157). The original account runs (*ib.*): 'Item a Jacob Lo Platier pour v payres de plats par mon seigneur [Gian Galeazzo?] et par monseigneur

didi thoraces,⁹ galeaque¹⁰ item et cassides præaltis conis exornatæ, indumenta margaritis picta,¹¹ balthei militares¹²; postremo præstantes aliquot gemmæ¹³ aureis emblematis insertæ, et aureæ¹⁴ purpureæque telæ ad viriles vestes vis ingens.¹⁵ Is porro convivii apparatus fuit, ut relatæ a mensa dapés, decem millibus hominum abunde sufficerent.

The whole passage is thus rendered by Barnes,¹⁶ who, it will be seen, is indebted in part to Stow:

Galeache et mosse Barnabo, VII^{xxv} flor.' According to this, a suit of this armor would have cost not less than \$400 (cf. p. 29). Henry, Earl of Derby, the future Henry IV, in preparation for his combat in the lists with the Duke of Norfolk (Sept. 16, 1398), sent to Gian Galeazzo for special armor (cf. Shakespeare, *Richard II* 1. 3. 28, 'Thus plated in habiliments of war'; 1. 3. 73, 'Add proof unto mine armor with thy prayers'). Froissart's account of this is as follows (Kervyn 16. 95-6; cf. *Archæologia* 20. 102; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 26. 34; 39. 234; Adam of Usk, p. 23): 'Et envia le conte d'Erby grans messages en Lombardie devers messire Galléas, duc de Milan, pour avoir des armures à son point et à sa volenté. Le dit duc descendy moult lyement à la prière du conte d'Erby, et mist à chois ung chevallier, qui se nommoit messire Francois, que le conte d'Erby avoit là envoieé, de toutes ses armures pour servir le dit conte. Avecques tout ce, quant le chevallier dessus nommé eut advisé et choisy entre toutes les armures tant de plates comme de mailles du seigneur Galéas de Milan, le dit seigneur de Milan, d'abondance et pour faire plaisir et amour au conte d'Erby, ordonna à quatre des meilleurs armoieurs qui fuissent en Lombardie, à aller jusques en Angleterre avec le dit chevallier pour entendre à armer à son point le conte d'Erby.' The Milanese armor of this period, it will be seen, included mail as well as plate.

⁹ Cf. pp. 68, 71.

¹¹ Cf. p. 72.

¹² Cf. pp. 72, 73, 74.

¹³ Cf. p. 72.

¹⁴ Cf. pp. 69, 73.

¹⁵ In the romance (stanzas 71, 72) of *The Siege of Melayne* (1350-1400) we are told of a gift which included 60 steeds, ridden by as many knights, each bearing a falcon and a cup of gold, and with a greyhound and a rache for each. Cf. also the description in Boccaccio, *Teseide* 6. 8, 9:

A chi prender volea davano assai:
Cani, falconi e astor di gran prodezza
Usavano a diletto.
Vestivan robe per molto oro care,
Con gran destrier, cavalli e palafreni,
E nulla si lasciavano a donare,
Sì eran d'ogni gran larghezza pieni.

¹⁶ P. 719.

Duke Galeas in Honour of this his Son-in-Law is said to have spent such abundance of Treasure, as seem'd to surpass the Magnificence of the most Wealthy Monarchs. For not to mention all the Sumptuous Feasts, Balls, Justs, and Tournements, and other stately and divertive Spectacles, set forth on this occasion; nor to summ up the great and large Gifts, which were given to the Lord Edward Spencer, and more than 200 other English Gentlemen, who came out of England to wait on the Prince; the Marriage Feast alone was so extraordinary, that We may by that Conjecture the Largeness of Duke Galeas his Soul, the full satisfaction he had in this Match, and the Abundance of his Coffers. For in that One Feast, where Francis Petrarch, the Laureate Poet of Italy, was present, being for Honour of his Learning seated among the Guests of the Highest Quality, there were above 30 Courses of service upon the Table, and between every Course, as many Presents of unusual Magnificence, intermixed; all which John Galeas, the Duke's Son, and Prince of the Chosen Youth, that waited that day, presented unto Prince Lionel, as they were brought up to the Table.

In one Course were presented Seventy Good Horses, richly Adorned and Caparizon'd with Silk and Embroider'd Furniture; and in the other Courses, came up Vessels of Silver, Ger-Falcons, Hounds, Armour for Horses, Costly Coats of Mail, shining Breastplates of Massy Steel, Corslets, Helmets, and Burganets adorned with High and Rich Crests and Plumes: Surcoats embroider'd with costly Jewels, Knights Girdles, and lastly, Pictures of Gold, beset with Gems, and Purple and Cloth of Gold for Mens Apparel in Great Abundance. And such vast Provision was there at this Feast, that the Meats, which were brought from the Table, would have plentifully sufficed 10000 Men.

The second paragraph was thus translated by Stow, *Annales*, 1592, p. 416¹⁷:

There were in one onely course seventy goodly horses, adorned with silke and silver furniture: and in the other silver vessels, falcons, houndes, armour for horses, costly coates of mayle, breastplates glistening of massive steele, helmets, and corselets [*sic*] decked with costly crestes, apparell distinct, with costly jewelles, souldiors girdles, and lastly certaine gemmes, by curious art set in golde, and of purple, and cloth of golde for mens apparell in great abundance. And such was the sumptuousnesse of that banquet, that the meates which were brought from the table, woulde sufficiently have served 10000. men.

¹⁷ Sandford is indebted to both Stow and Barnes; thus, for example, 'glistening of Massie Steel.' Jovius' account is also the basis for the description by G. P. R. James, *History of Edward the Black Prince*, 2d ed., 2. 311. Cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 186.

The feast was held in the courtyard which occupied the centre of the public square adjoining the basilica. This square was known as the Piazza dell' Arengo,¹⁸ Place of Harangue, or Forum, where in ancient times the people of the city assembled to listen to their leaders, and deliberate on public questions. The palace situated on this square (Pl. 40; see p. 52) had been burned down during the rule of Matteo Visconti I, and rebuilt by him (1295), with the addition of a tower.¹⁹ It was in the court of this edifice²⁰ that the banquet was served,²¹ perhaps in the marble loggia built by Matteo I in 1316 (*R. I. S.* 16. 698),

¹⁸ Also called Broletto Vecchio (Giulini 7. 336). The Broletto, or Palazzo Arengario, at Monza, still exists.

¹⁹ Giulini 4. 467. 772.

²⁰ The present royal palace occupies nearly the same spot. The church or chapel of S. Gottardo belonged to the old palace; its apse and beautiful campanile (pictured in Giulini 5. 216), the latter dating from 1336, are still to be seen in the Via del Palazzo Reale. The monument to Azzo Visconti (1328-39), by the sculptor of the monument to Peter Martyr (see p. 52), Balduccio of Pisa, which was formerly in S. Gottardo, is to be seen in the Palazzo Trivulzio (it is figured in Giulini, opp. 5. 274).

²¹ Giulini 5. 512. Corio has 'nella sua corte, sopra la piazza dell' Arenga'; *Annal. Med.*: 'in Curia magna Arengi'; *Frag.*: 'nella Corte, sive nello Stallo suo grande per mezzo l'Aringo, sive Piazza del Duomo.' *Corte* would here naturally be interpreted as 'courtyard,' but it seems sometimes to have been employed for 'palace.' I assume that it here means the courtyard of the palace, rather than the interior of the building itself. However, Aliprando, who wrote his *Chronicle of Mantua* nearly fifty years after this event, and who must therefore be used with caution (for example, he dates the wedding in May, 1366), speaks of the hundred principal guests as banqueting in one hall (*sala*), while the rest were accommodated in other halls, since there was not room in a single one for all. Aliprando adds certain particulars, which are at least well invented, though we have no confirmation of them save such as may be gathered from the customs of the time. At the beginning of the feast, there was a blast of trumpets which made conversation impossible. Then the sewers, Galeazzo (wrongly Jovius, p. 60, above) on horseback at their head (this hardly suggests indoors), first bring wine and confections, and then proceed to the kitchen to serve in the courses. Violante was first served by a sewer of noble blood on horseback:

Quello barone
Che lo taglier de la sposa portava
A caval già.

Aliprando often varies from the other chroniclers with regard to

while the spectators may have been accommodated as groundlings below. Two tables were spread, one for the men, and one for the women, there being fifty-seven guests in all.²²

details of ornament, but of these I make no account, nor of such praise as
Più belli cani non fu mai veduto.

Sismondi, *Fr.* (7. 21, note 2), has no warrant in the chroniclers (except Aliprando) for saying: 'La cour était distribuée à plusieurs tables, selon le rang des personnages.'

²² So *Cron. Monf.* The other three chroniclers seem to be confused. Corio mentions as being at the first table Lionel, Amedeo, and Despenser, with many other barons, besides the Bishop of Novara, Matteo and Lodovico (see pp. 109 ff.), sons of Bernabò, Petrarch, and other Pisan citizens; *Annal. Med.*: Lionel, Amedeo, the Bishop of Novara and another Bishop, Marco (not Matteo; Marco was Petrarch's godson, and the latter wrote a Latin poem on his baptism) and Lodovico, Petrarch, with many other knights and nobles of Pisa and other cities; *Frag.*: Lionel, Amedeo, Despenser, and many other barons, [] and Lodovico, Petrarch, and certain other knights and gentlemen of Pisa and other cities. The name of the other son of Bernabò seems to be accidentally omitted in *Frag.*

At the second table were seated Bernabò's wife, a Scaliger of Verona, by compliment called Regina, with many other ladies (Corio: 'honorable matrons'). At this point the difficulty begins. Corio says: 'honorable matrone per taglieri cinquanta'; *Annal. Med.*: 'cum multis dominabus, quæ deferebant per quinquaginta incisoria infrascripta cibaria'; *Frag.*: 'con altre donne per taglieri cinquanta.' Giulini (5. 512) renders: 'con molte delle principali dame, le quali portavano in tavola i piatti alla prima mensa, cioè per ciascuna portata cinquanta piatti, detti dall' annalista *incisoria*, e dal Corio *taglieri*, perchè vi si tagliavano sopra le vivande.' This I interpret to mean: There were fifty guests at each table, and each course was presented to the men of the first table by the ladies of the second, a lady to each dish (*literally*, trencher). This seems to me unlikely, for the following reasons: (1) Each course was double, consisting of fish and flesh, and there were eighteen courses, so that the task would have been none of the lightest; (2) one can hardly think of Regina della Scala being thus occupied for a good part of a summer's day; (3) there would have been little opportunity for the ladies to partake of the banquet; (4) the Milanese annalist expressly says that Despenser served the first table, assisted by many other magnates; (5) the *Fragment* says that fish and flesh were served for the Duke's table, and for the table where was seated Madonna Regina.

There remains the question of the total number of guests. Were there (1) fifty-seven guests in all, as *Cron. Monf.* says, or (2) fifty guests at each table, or (3) fifty-seven at the first, and fifty at the second? I incline to (2). It is not likely that space was lacking, since at the nuptial feast following the return of Galeazzo I and Beatrice d'Este from Modena, where they had been married on June 24, 1300 (the journey from Milan



Tomb of Bernabò Visconti (ca. 1370).
(From a photograph in possession of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

The details of the banquet are described by Corio, the *Annals of Milan*, the *Chronicle of Montferrat*, and the *Fragment* (besides Aliprando; see p. 63, note 21). These four accounts are in substantial agreement, but vary in particulars. Where they differ, I have endeavored to harmonize them as best I could, and have generally effected a condensation. Here and there I have been unable to translate a word, and in other cases have not been quite certain of the rendering. It will be observed that presents were offered to the guests with each course.

to Modena, June 15-21; from Modena to Milan, June 26-July 3), a thousand persons sat down (Giulini 4. 801). At this earlier feast, open house was kept at the Eroletto for eight days; great numbers of actors, jugglers, and buffoons were present; and every one of the thousand guests at the banquet received a suit of raiment (Giulini 4. 801). Moreover, in the year 1277, the greater part of the population of Milan stood in arms at one time within the enclosure (Giulini 4. 636); in 1355 there were 16,000 armed men in Milan (Mézières, p. 279), but the population may well have increased in the interval between 1277 and that year. There would therefore have been room for many spectators at the wedding-banquet of Lionel and Violante.

Regina (b. ca. 1336 or 1337), whom we have mentioned above, seems to have gained this name on account of her regal bearing (Leo 3. 296, note 2; 325, note 1), her Christian name being properly Beatrice (but Giulini, 5. 645-6, says Caterina, and is supported by *R. I. S.* 15. 503). She was the daughter of Mastino II of Verona (d. 1351), whose equestrian statue under a canopy, near the Piazza dei Signori, attracts the eye of every traveler at Verona. She was married to Bernabò in September, 1350, at a tender age (*M. H. P.*, p. 1180), and died June 18, 1384, after having borne him 15 children (Corio, p. 509), her last son, Mastino, having apparently been born in 1375 (*R. I. S.* 17. 499; Muratori 8. 415; otherwise Giulini 5. 651). Her epitaph in verse may be read in Corio (p. 504) and *Annal. Med.* (*R. I. S.* 16. 778), where she is called Regina Beatrix. Her tomb is still to be seen in the Archæological Museum of the Castle of Milan, while in the adjoining room is that of her husband, Bernabò, originally erected (1370), 15 years before his death, in S. Giovanni in Conca (Pl. 52), whence it was removed (1814) to the church of Brera (Rosmini 2. 157, note 2). The latter tomb has a life-size marble equestrian statue of Bernabò (see *R. I. S.* 16. 544-5, 800, 854; Corio, p. 509), accompanied by Fortitude and Justice (see the picture opposite); it is to be compared rather with the nearly contemporary one of Can Signorio (cf. Venturi, p. 590) at Verona than with the bronze statues of Gattamelata (1447) at Padua, and Colleoni (1481) at Venice. Regina built (1381), perhaps with 400,000 golden florins received from the della Scalas in 1379, the church (*R. I. S.* 16. 777) of Santa Maria della Scala (sup-

1. The first course was served double for the duke's table—meat and fish. There were sucking pigs, gilded, with fire in their mouths; the fish were porcelain-crabs [or perhaps sea-snails], also gilded. — The gifts were two greyhounds,²³ with velvet²⁴ collars²⁵ and silken leashes.²⁶ Also twelve brace of *sausi*,²⁷ six brace to a leash, their chains being of gilded brass, their collars²⁵ of leather, and their leashes of silk.²⁸

2. The second meat-course was of hares, gilded. The fish-course was of pike, gilded. — The gifts were twelve brace of greyhounds, with silken collars, buckles²⁹ of gilded brass, and six silken³⁰ leashes; besides six goshawks,³¹ with as many

pressed in 1776), on the site of which stands the theatre of that name (Rosmini 2. 147, note 1; Leo 3. 325, note 1).

²³ See No. 2. But here, where the other chroniclers have 'levr(i)eri,' 'livr(i)eri,' Aliprando has 'liopardi.' This, after all, is probably the right reading, since (1) there are only two of these, whereas at the second course there are 24; (2) we are told of Gian Galeazzo that though he, like his uncle Bernabò, quartered large numbers of dogs upon his subjects for his use in hunting, he preferred the leopard (cheetah) for this purpose (Religieux de Saint-Denys, ed. Bellaguet, 3. 132; cf. De Noirmont 3. 332-8; *Hist. Background*, p. 174; *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 5. 368; 6. 22).

²⁴ De Noirmont (2. 300) tells of a Frenchman who received from an Englishman (in 1550) six greyhounds, with velvet collars embroidered with gold.

²⁵ See Nos. 2, 3, 4.

²⁶ See Nos. 2, 3, 4.

²⁷ *Frag.*: sauxi. This seems equivalent to the M.H.G. *sûse*, defined by Lexer (*MHD. Handwörterbuch*) as 'eine Art Jagdhund'; Florio: 'a Hound, a Spaniell.'

²⁸ Cf. De Noirmont 2. 298: 'Dans les comptes de dépenses du roi Jean, Pierre des Livres, orfèvre, reçoit 19 écus pour 4 marcs, 6 onces, 10 *estellins* d'argent, "à faire la garnison de deux grands colliers garnis de grandes pièces d'argent dorées et faites d'orbevoyes et d'esmaux sartiz à cerfis enlevés à manteaux esmaillés des armés dudit seigneur pour deux grans chiens alans." Les alans de Louis XI avaient aussi des colliers de cuir de Lombardie garnis de clous dorés de fin or et soudés d'argent.'

²⁹ Spranghe. I have not been able to distinguish in all cases between 'buckle' and 'clasp.' See Nos. 3, 6, 7, 11, 12.

³⁰ The romance of *Partonope* (ca. 1450) has (Univ. Coll. 2235-8):

Coupled with sylk and not wyth heere,
Lemours aboute her nekkes bere
Her lees were as softe as sylk,
And therto whyte as ony mylk.

³¹ Astori. See Nos. 4, 5.

creances,³² and silver buttons enameled with the devices of Galeazzo and the duke, besides buttons.³³

3. The third meat-course was a large calf, gilded. The fish-course was of trout, gilded. — The gifts were six alaunts,³⁴ and six large *striv(i)eri*,³⁵ with velvet collars, buckles³⁶ and rings (links ?)³⁷ of gilded brass, and six silken³⁸ leashes.

4. The fourth meat-course was of quails and partridges, gilded. The fish-course was of roasted trout,³⁹ gilded. — The gifts were twelve sparrow-hawks,⁴⁰ with bells⁴¹ of gilded brass, creances and branching cords⁴² of silk, and buttons of gilded silver, enameled with the arms⁴³ of Galeazzo and Duke Lionel; besides twelve brace of setters,⁴⁴ with gilded⁴⁵ collars, twelve chains of gilded brass, and six leashes of silk.

5. The fifth meat-course was of ducks and herons,⁴⁶ gilded. The fish-course was of carp, gilded. — The gifts were six⁴⁷ peregrine falcons, with hoods of velvet, having pearls on top, and buttons and rings (links ?)⁴⁸ of silver, wrought with the

³² See Nos. 4, 5. Another name is *loigne* (*loyn, lune, lewin*). The Italian is (plur.) *longole(-i)*, *longare*, *longhe*.

³³ *Cron. Monf.*: of pearl.

³⁴ *Annal. Med., Cron. Monf., Alip.*: cani alani; Corio, *Frag.*: cani. Florio defines as 'a mastive dog.' See Appendix B, pp. 128 ff.

³⁵ Florio defines as 'a blood- or lime-hound, a setting dog'; Palsgrave, as 'great hounde.'

³⁶ Fib(b)ie.

³⁷ Maglie (macchie). See No. 5.

³⁸ *Alip.*: of black silk.

³⁹ *Cron. Monf.*: temeri; *Alip.*: temoli (graylings).

⁴⁰ See the mention in Magenta 2. 88. On other occasions, Galeazzo and Bernabò made gifts of sparrow-hawks and dogs. Cf. Gabotto, in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Ser. 5, Vol. 8, p. 81.

⁴¹ 'Somtyme Bellis of Melen were calde the best, and thay be full goode for thay comunely be sownden with silver and solde ther after' (Berners).

⁴² Branchette (breghette, braghette).

⁴³ See Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 12.

⁴⁴ Bracchi.

⁴⁵ De Noirmont (I. 113), referring to the Count de la Borde's *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, Preuves, tells of 'colliers de chiens garnis d'argent doré et d'émail, que gants à *faulconner* de velours vermeil, brodés de perles, sonnettes et vervelles dorées et émaillés, chaperons d'oiseaux, jets et longues ornés de semence de perles.'

⁴⁶ But *Alip.*: cisoni (see p. 72, note 93). Cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 185.

⁴⁷ *Alip.*: twelve.

⁴⁸ *Cron. Monf.*: enameled.

arms of Galeazzo and the Duke of Clarence; and with silken creances, having buttons of pearls at the top.

6. The sixth meat-course was of beef, and of fat capons with sauce of garlic and vinegar. The fish-course was of sturgeons in water.⁴⁹ — The gifts were twelve steel corslets⁵⁰ without collars, of which two, for the duke in person, had the buckles⁵¹ and bosses⁵² of gilded silver, wrought with the arms of the lords aforesaid, while the others were of gilded brass.

7. The seventh meat-course was of capons and meat⁵³ in lemon-sauce. The fish-course was of tench⁵⁴ in lemon-sauce. — The gifts were twelve tilting-panopies, including saddles,⁵⁵ lances, *saiti*,⁵⁶ and helmets.⁵⁷ Two of the panopies and saddles, for the duke in person, were adorned with enameled silver, wrought with the arms of the duke,⁵⁸ the buckles,⁵⁹ bosses, clasps,⁶⁰ and hooks⁶¹ being gilded. The others had ornaments of gilded brass.

8. The eighth meat-course was beef-pies,⁶² served with cheese. The fish-course was of large eels in pies.⁶³ — The gifts were twelve war-panopies⁶⁴; two, for the duke, being ornamented with his arms in silver gilt, while the others had trimmings⁶⁵ of gilded brass.

9. The ninth meat-course was of meat-aspic.⁶⁶ The fish-course

⁴⁹ But *Cron. Monf.*: alesati. Cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 185.

⁵⁰ Panzeroni, panzere. Florio defines *pancierone* as 'a bellie-piece of armour.' See p. 62.

⁵¹ Fibbie.

⁵² Mazzi, maz(i)i.

⁵³ Alip.: veal.

⁵⁴ Tenconi; pesce.

⁵⁵ See Nos. 11, 12.

⁵⁶ Saette, 'darts'(?).

⁵⁷ See Nos. 11, 12.

⁵⁸ *Cron. Monf.*: of the lords named; *Frag.*: of the aforesaid lord and duke.

⁵⁹ Fib(b)ie; schive, schibbe. See Nos. 7, 11, 12.

⁶⁰ Spranghe.

⁶¹ Ronchette; rocchetti; domenini.

⁶² Alip.: the dough kneaded up with cheese and sugar.

⁶³ Alip.: sugared, and with good spices!

⁶⁴ See No. 7.

⁶⁵ See Nos. 11, 12.

⁶⁶ Alip. adds: and chicken-aspic.

was of fish-aspic. — The gifts were twelve⁶⁷ pieces of cloth of gold, and as many of silk.⁶⁸

10. The tenth meat-course was of meat-galantine. The fish-course was galantine of lampreys. — The gifts were two large bottles of gilded and enameled silver, one filled with the choicest vernaccia,⁶⁹ and the other with the choicest malmsey; besides six bowls⁷⁰ of gilded and enameled silver, with goblets to match.

⁶⁷ *Frag., Cron. Monf.*: ten.

⁶⁸ *Alip.*: colored silk, except one of white.

⁶⁹ If Chaucer learned of the details of this feast, it is not surprising that, when his liberal and luxurious young monk of Paris comes to St. Denis to visit his 'cousin,' the merchant, he should bring with him as a present precisely these two wines (*Shipman's Tale* 70-71):

With him broghte he a jubbe of Malvesie,
And eek another, ful of fyn Vernage.

Malvoisie, or malmsey, was a Greek wine, brought from Monemvasia, or (Napoli di) Malvasia, on the east coast of the Morea, the wine itself being produced not there, but in Crete, which was one of the chief sources of supply (Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels* 1. 309; Pashley, *Travels in Crete* 2. 54-56), and in the Cyclades. Vernaccia, or vernage, on the other hand, was an Italian wine, white, strong, and sweet, originally, and perhaps typically, coming from the Genoese Levant, especially from the Cinque Terre of the sheltered Riviera near Spezia, a territory which includes the towns of Vernazza and Corniglia. The vernaccia of Corniglia is mentioned by both Boccaccio (*Dec.* 10. 2) and his contemporary, Franco Sacchetti, who speaks of having it brought from Portovenere, a little further down the coast. This southern part of the Riviera di Levante is thus described by Petrarch (*Africa* 6. 842-4, 848-853):

Sensim turgescere colles
Cedriferi, nullique cedens his saltibus ora
Incipiunt, raræque virent per littora palmæ. . . .
Parte alia sinuosa patent convexa Siestri;
Hinc solis vineta oculo lustrata benigno,
Et Baccho dilecta nimis, Montemque Rubentem,
Et juga prospectant Cornelia palmite late
Inclyta mellifluis, quibus haud collesque Falernos
Laudatamque licet Meroen cessisse pudebit.

(Now gradually rise the cedared hills along the shore, and here and there grows a palm tree. Near the curved beach of Sestri, vineyards flourish in the sun—Monterosso, and the heights of Corniglia—famous for honey-sweet wine, excelling even those from the Falernian hills and much-praised Meroe.) Monterosso, two miles from Vernazza, and four from Corniglia, produced a wine which we find mentioned as Montrose in the *Manière de Langage* of 1396 (*Revue Critique* of 1870, Paris, 1873), p.

II. The eleventh meat-course was of roasted kids. The fish-

392 (cf. *Squyr of Lowe Degre* 756): 'Item de vins doucetes, comme de vin de Grece, Ipocras, *Montrose*, Rumney [Roumania], Vernage, Malvoisin, Osey [Alsace], clarrey et pycement.' The vines of the Cinque Terre grow in some cases against perpendicular rocks, and must be reached by means of ladders or ropes (Bædeker, *Oberitalien*, 18th ed., p. 512).

Fra Salimbene, writing late in the 13th century, speaks of Chiavari, 26 miles from Corniglia in the direction of Genoa, as being not far from the place where an abundance of vernaccia was produced—a wine so good that to it might well be applied the lines of a certain goliard (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.* 32. 572, cf. 642), thus translated by Coulton (*From St. Francis to Dante*, p. 209):

O precious juice of the vine, what gift hath life like thine?
 If two sorts come to the feast, then fill me a cup of the best!
 Small is the profit to me if I suck down less than three;
 Sweet is the fourth full bowl, and deep is the calm of my soul;
 But the fifth cup sets me adaze, and my memory all in a maze;
 With the sixth I desire no more, but sprawl full length on the floor.

According to Gower (*Conf. Am.* 6. 218-9), vernage and piment were the standard of sweetness in wines. According to an account alluded to by Dante (*Purg.* 24. 24), Pope Martin IV died of eating too many eels, either drowned or cooked in vernaccia. Benvenuto Rambaldi, a commentator on the passage, informs us: 'La vernaccia è un ottimo vino, che viene dai monti di Genova'; similarly Buti: 'Vernaccia è vino che nasce ne la riviera di Genova, millior vino che si trova.' Chaucer refers to it as an aphrodisiac (*Merchant's Tale* 563-4; the scene is in Pavia):

He drinketh ipocras, clarree, and vernage,
 Of spyces hote, t'encrenen his corage.

What wine could better suit our monk as a present to his friend's beautiful and revelous wife? It was sweet, and it was strong.

As the best of wines (see Buti, above), it must have been, one would think, costly; yet the monk is represented as bringing a jubbe of it, and a jubbe of malmsey, when the *New Eng. Dict.* defines a jubbe as 'a large vessel for liquor.' This must certainly be true of those that held four gallons (according to the quotation in the *New Eng. Dict.*); but was this the only sort, the only size? Levins, in 1570, defines it as *cantharus*, *scyphus*, and the Middle English *Destruction of Troy* (11,940) speaks of 'jobbes of gold,' in conjunction with gems and jewels. Even the jubbe of the *Miller's Tale* (441-3) held only ale enough for a day, presumably for one person; here Hertzberg translates 'jubbe' by 'Krug,' and in the *Shipman's Tale* by 'Fläschchen.' It is easy to see, then, that the 'bottazzi (botacii),' 'fiaschi,' of the chroniclers, gilded and enameled though they were, may very well be represented by Chaucer's jubbes, and that it would not be strange if Chaucer remembered them when he was sketching the portrait of the free-living and free-handed monk.

⁷⁰ Alip.: e sei bronzini.

course was of roasted garfish.⁷¹ — The gifts were six beautiful little coursers,⁷² with gilded saddles and trimmings, six lances,⁷³ six beautiful shields,⁷⁴ painted and gilded, six hats⁷⁵ of polished steel—two with bosses and clasps⁷⁶ of silver gilt and enameled, for the duke himself, and the rest with clasps of gilded brass.

12. The twelfth meat-course was of hares and kids in chive-sauce⁷⁷ or pickle.⁷⁸ The fish-course was of various fish in chive-sauce. — The gifts were six great coursers, with gilded saddles and trimmings, wrought with the arms of Galeazzo and the duke—two with clasps and bosses of silver gilt for the duke, and the rest of gilded brass; besides six lances, six shields, and six [steel] hats gilded and wrought as above—two for the duke with clasps⁷⁹ and bosses of silver gilt, and the rest of gilded brass.

13. The thirteenth meat-course was of venison and beef in moulds.⁸⁰ The fish-course was of fish turned inside out (?).⁸¹ —The gifts were six beautiful little steeds,⁸² with gilded headstalls,⁸³ with reins⁸⁴ and caparisons⁸⁵ of green velvet, and rosettes,⁸⁶ buttons, and tassels⁸⁷ of crimson silk attached to the caparisons.⁸⁸

⁷¹ Agoni (*Cron. Monf.*: papari; Alip.: pavari, besides agoni).

⁷² See Nos. 12, 13, 14, 18.

⁷³ See No. 12.

⁷⁴ See No. 12.

⁷⁵ See No. 12.

⁷⁶ Fibbie. Alip. substitutes here: a hat elaborately decorated with pearls.

⁷⁷ Ziverio (civiere, civerio), certo sapore. *

⁷⁸ *Cron. Monf.*: salza; Alip.: acinerio zuccherato[!]

⁷⁹ Fibbie.

⁸⁰ Alip. adds: with sauce of sugar and lemon.

⁸¹ *Cron. Monf.*: pesci riversati; Corio: pichi reversati; *Annal. Med.*: pechii reversati; *Frag.*: pighi reversati; Alip.: tinche grosse roversciate, con altri pesci.

⁸² See No. 11.

⁸³ Briglie; brene.

⁸⁴ See No. 14.

⁸⁵ See No. 14.

⁸⁶ Fiocchi.

⁸⁷ Pendagli, pendoli.

⁸⁸ The four accounts do not altogether agree, and the details are somewhat obscure to me.

14. The fourteenth meat-course was of capons and fowls in red sauce and green, with oranges. The fish-course was of tench turned inside out. — The gifts were six great tilting-steeds with gilded headstalls,⁸⁹ reins of crimson velvet, and housings of crimson velvet, adorned with buttons, bosses, and tassels, all of gold.

15. The fifteenth meat-course was of peacocks,⁹⁰ with cabbage, French beans, and pickled ox-tongue. The fish-course was of carp. — The gifts were a doublet and hood of satin covered with pearls, and with a large flower wrought of pearls on the hood. Over all was a cloak lined with ermine, as was the hood, and also covered with pearls.⁹¹ All these garments were carried to England.⁹²

16. The sixteenth meat-course was of roasted rabbits, peacocks, fieldfares(?),⁹³ and ducklings. The fish-course was of roasted eels. — The gifts were a beautiful great silver basin, with an emerald, a clasp,⁹⁴ a ruby, a diamond, a large pearl set in a ring, and five silver belts (including one given after the day of the feast), gilded and enameled.⁹⁵

17. The seventeenth course was of junkets and cheese. — The gifts were twelve splendid fat cattle.

18. The eighteenth course was of fruit, including cherries. — The gifts were two handsome coursers belonging to the Count of Vertu (Gian Galeazzo), one of which was named Lion, and the other Abbot. On the barons and gentlemen of the Duke

⁸⁹ This is the realization of a poetic fiction (Virgil, *Æn.* 8. 168):

Frenaque bina meus quæ nunc habet aurea Pallas.

Cf. Chaucer, *K. T.* 1648-9:

The fomy stedes on the golden brydel
Gnawynge.

⁹⁰ But *Cron. Monf.*: pipioni; *Alip.*: piccioni.

⁹¹ *Cron. Monf.* extends this: 'Poi fu presentato uno mantelletto suffulto et fodrato d'armellino, uno farsetto et uno capucio di raso, quali tutti erano coperti de pelle [i. e. perle], poi uno manto et uno capucio facti a fascie, ornati de perle.'

⁹² So only *Cron. Monf.*

⁹³ Cesani, cisoni.

⁹⁴ *Alip.* has: a clasp of diamond and ruby, with a pearl.

⁹⁵ *Cron. Monf.* adds: two beautiful jewels wrought of pearls, balas rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and other costly gems.

of Clarence were bestowed seventy-six⁹⁶ horses. All these were presented by the magnificent and noble lord Galeazzo Visconti, who was the steward of the feast, and who was accompanied throughout by twelve knights.⁹⁷

Aliprando adds that after the ladies and gentlemen had washed, wines and confections were served; that Bernabò distinguished himself by his liberality, so that a song was made upon it; and that Galeazzo distributed robes, and Bernabò money, to the mountebanks, minstrels, and acrobats.

The *Chronicle of Montferrat* proceeds to detail the gifts made to seven of the chief men of the retinue, ending with the statement that the other seventy fared similarly.

The seven men were Sir Edward Despenser (called the Seneschal), Sir Edward Contenaim, Lord Bassett, Sir Hugh Despenser, Sir Thomas Granson, Sir Robert Assheton, and Sir John of Bromwych (Broncio). The typical gifts—one to each man—were (1) silver belts, gilded and enameled⁹⁸; (2) pieces of cloth of gold; (3) jousting-steeds; (4) coursers. Individuals were distinguished by additional articles, or by more than one of a kind. Thus Edward Despenser⁹⁹ had two coursers, instead of one, and two pieces of gold brocade, with two pieces of silk brocade of Bagdad (*baldachino brocato*), instead of one piece of cloth of gold. Contenaim had one piece of gold brocade, and his cloth of gold (three and a half ells) was wrought with coronets, besides which he had three and a half ells of woolen cloth, wrought with the arms of Bavaria. Bassett, who was, next to Bromwych, the most shabbily treated of those named, had the belt, the cloth of gold, and a beautiful and valuable courser. Hugh Despenser's¹⁰⁰ cloth of gold was like Contenaim's, and he had three and a half ells of woolen cloth (*de Baucia*,

⁹⁶ So Corio; *Cron. Monf.*; but *Annal. Mcd.*: 77. Jovius (p. 60) has the round number, seventy, and Aliprando a hundred and fifty, besides robes and jewels according to the rank of each. Cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 185.

⁹⁷ Corio; *Annal. Mcd.*

⁹⁸ See *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 7. 238. Devon (*Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 170) mentions a belt garnished with rubies, emeralds, and pearls, for which £18 (= \$1350) was paid (July 6, 1359).

⁹⁹ See pp. 104 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Hugh Despenser and Lionel were brothers-in-law, having married two daughters of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, Lionel the first, and Despenser the second (Knighton 2. 31).

which I cannot interpret). Granson¹⁰¹ was distinguished by an additional courser, and two more when he went to England—four in all. Assheton¹⁰² had two belts, one presented the day of the wedding, and one afterwards. Finally, Bromwych¹⁰³ had only a belt, and a fine courser when he went to England.

There must have been tilting,¹⁰⁴ as was customary on these splendid occasions, for the *Chronicle of Montferrat* records that for furnishing 30 jousters with everything requisite to make a becoming appearance (*de tutto quello che ricerca una degna giostra*) Galeazzo disbursed 72,430 florins.¹⁰⁵ Aliprando declares that every day—but does not say for how long—there were jousts and tourneys, band pitted against band. As for the ladies, they took pleasure in playing, singing, and dancing. He ends with comprehensive praise of

quella corte grande,
A' Visconti perpetual' onorare.

VIII. PETRARCH AT THE BANQUET

The chroniclers¹ all record the presence at the first table, among the civil and military magnates there assembled, of Petrarch,²

¹⁰¹ Granson is subsequently mentioned in Rymer: May 8, 1369; July 1, July 8, Nov. 26, 1370; Oct. 29, 1372; Oct. 28, 1375; practically always as being in the king's service.

¹⁰² Assheton (called Aston Feb. 11, 1366) was chancellor of Ireland from Oct. 24, 1364 till some time in 1366; was one of three to pay a sum of money to Lionel on Oct. 29, 1366, for the wages of his forces in Ireland (cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 188, note 1); had protection to accompany Lionel abroad, March 13, 1368; with Thomas de Dale, who had been associated with him in Ireland, had charge of arrangements for transporting Lionel's company from Dover to Calais in the spring of 1368; was admiral of the western fleet in 1371; justiciary of Ireland, 1372-3; in the train of John of Gaunt to go abroad, 1374; treasurer of England, 1376; chamberlain of England, 1377.

¹⁰³ For Bromwych, see pp. 97-8.

¹⁰⁴ See p. 60.

¹⁰⁵ Say \$815,000; cf. p. 29.

¹ See also Magenta I. 131-2.

² For the baseless story of Petrarch's Academy of thirty members at Linterno, all of whom were invited to the wedding and regaled the company with as many epithalamiums, see De Sade, pp. 722-3; Giuliani 5. 516. Cf. *F. Petrarca e la Lombardia*, p. 109.

who was generally regarded as the greatest man of his age.³ Petrarch was there, Froissart was there, and perhaps Chaucer was there.⁴ Froissart, then, probably saw Petrarch, and possibly Chaucer did; but is either one likely to have become personally



Petrarch.

(From Nolhac, *Petrarque et l'Humanisme*.)

acquainted with him? In attempting to answer this, we must reflect (1) that Froissart does not speak of such a meeting; (2)

³ Magenta 1. 109, note 4; Mézières, pp. 377-8; Hutton, p. 154. On Sept. 4, 1362, the governing body of Venice declared that there never had been a moral philosopher or Christian poet to compare with Petrarch (Körting, p. 362; Mézières, p. 378).

⁴ Cf. *Hist. Background*, pp. 182-4.

that Petrarch was at the summit of his reputation, an ambassador to the courts of kings, an adviser and exhorter of popes, sought out by princes,⁵ scholars, ecclesiastics, and poets of eminence; (3) that he was nearly 64 years old, and in failing health⁶; and (4) that Froissart was 30 years of age, and Chaucer still younger, young men with nothing but unconsidered trifles to recommend them,⁷ the works by which they are universally known lying still far in the future.

⁵ Cf. Mézières, p. 377.

⁶ Körting, pp. 418, 437, 439, 442; cf. 405 ff. He wrote from a bed of pain (*doloris in lectulo*) on Jan. 13, 1368, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning (Körting, p. 418).

⁷ *Hist. Background*, p. 184; De Sade 3. 722.

How wide was the difference between Chaucer's and Petrarch's judgments of literature may be shown by one or two examples.

Chaucer alludes with respect in the *House of Fame* (655 ff.) to the *Anticlaudianus* of Alain de Lille, an author from whose *Complaint of Nature* (see Moffat's translation) he draws in *Parl. of Foxes* 316 ff. Petrarch, on the other hand, referring in his *Apologia contra Galli Calumnias* to Alain's *Anticlaudianus* and to Jean de Hauteville's (fl. 1184) *Architrenius* (printed in Wright's *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*; cf. his *Biog. Brit. Lit.: Anglo-Norman Period*, pp. 250-256), says of the *Architrenius*: 'Of all that ever I read, nothing was ever more tedious than that *Architrenius* [wrongly printed as *Architrenicio*]. . . . It gives the reader a nausea; it gives him a headache; it makes him laugh. . . . The *Anticlaudianus* is only a shade less wearisome than the *Architrenius*. Both these barbaric poets pour out floods of verbosity; both twist and struggle to no effect' (cf. Nollhae, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 2d ed., 2. 226-7).

The best authorities assign Chaucer's translation (cf. *Prolog. L. G. W.* 255: 324) of the *Roman de la Rose* to his early manhood (Kittredge, *Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 60; Legouis, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, p. 10; Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 56; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer* I. lxii; Wells, p. 650), and so much of it as he translated ('apparently entire,' Kittredge says) he had probably done before Lionel's journey. Of the *Roman* he must have known long passages by heart (Kittredge, p. 61) before he wrote the *Book of the Duchess* in 1369. Nothing more is necessary to prove how highly Chaucer regarded the poem at this time. What was Petrarch's estimate of it? Between 1360 and 1369 he addressed a poetical epistle to Guido Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua (*Mantua domino*), who had requested Petrarch to send him the foremost work of French literature. Petrarch thus characterizes the poem (translation condensed):

'How far Latin surpasses all other tongues, Greek perhaps excepted, you can learn from this little book, which France extols to the skies,

But there are other reasons which render an interview unlikely. In the first place, Petrarch, journeying from Padua, whence he

and compares with the greatest ever written. In it a certain Frenchman tells his dreams to the multitude—the demands (*poscit*; al. *possit*) of Jealousy and of Love, how fire feeds the passions of the young man, what sport is plied by the crone, with what arts of Venus the mad lover arms himself against the plagues that stand at the door, what are his distress and sorrow, what his rest knit up with labor, what his alternations (reading *vices*) of laughter and lament, how floods of tears bedew his infrequent joys. How could there be greater scope for poetic eloquence? Yet the poet, in the very act of telling his dream, is himself lost in a dream, and his waking can hardly be distinguished from sleep. How much better did Virgil set forth the passion of love in the death of Dido, and how superior are Catullus, Ovid, and Propertius, not to speak of other Italians, ancient and modern! Nevertheless, since you are bound to have something in an outlandish (*pergrina*) vernacular, do not despise this gift of mine, since France and Paris proclaim it their best.'

Cf. Nolhac 2. 228; 1. 165-172.

The little book (*libellus*) must mean only Guillaume de Lorris' part, one would think, for the following reasons: (1) the complete poem, a manuscript of over 22,000 lines (in the whole of Petrarch's Italian verse there are fewer than 10,000 lines, while his Latin epic, *Africa*, is now less than one-fourth as long as the *Roman*, and, even had it been completed to scale, would have been less than one-third as long), could hardly be described as a little book; (2) Petrarch mentions one author (*Gallus*), not two; (3) there is nothing in his description which cannot be accounted for by Lorris' fragment, since the old woman, though her part is developed at much greater length by Jean de Meun, is introduced by Lorris (ed. Michel, p. 130); (4) he would have been slow to despatch the work of so immoral and indecent a poet as Jean de Meun (cf. Langlois, in Petit de Julleville's *Hist. de la Langue et de la Litt. Fr.* 2. 149) to a friend, since he calls Ovid's *Art of Love* an 'insane work, deserving to have been the cause of his exile' (Nolhac 2. 179-180; Körting, p. 486); (5) the allusion to the *Roman* in Petrarch's *Trionfo della Castità* is clearly to the earlier part (Nolhac 2. 227-8).

That Petrarch had no very high opinion of English scholarship in 1337 is clear from his statement (*Fam.* 3. 1) that, being curious concerning the location of Thule, he had asked Richard de Bury about it (this was at Avignon, in 1330), who had promised to look the matter up in his books when he returned to England, but, though frequently reminded, had never answered a word; 'ita,' adds Petrarch, 'mihi Tyle amicitia Britannica nihil notior facta est.' A few years later, as he tells us in the same letter, Gerald de Barri's book, *The Wonders of Ireland*, fell into his hands, but the author, after citing the opinions of several earlier writers, confesses that he thinks the island mythical, or that it is far away in the

had not started till May 25,⁸ did not arrive till the 29th⁹ or 30th,¹⁰ two days after Lionel, and then at Pavia. Secondly, he was suffering about this time, and for six weeks after, from an injury to his shin, which kept him under the care of physicians.¹¹ Thirdly, the chief purpose of his visit was not to attend the

Arctic Ocean. Not much more flattering is the view of English learning expressed by Boccaccio in his verses written on Petrarch's *Africa* (Corazzini, p. 250):

Hispanus et Gallus, *studiis tardusque Britannus.*

⁸ *Sen.* II. 2.

⁹ So De Sade 3. 719; Fracassetti I. 187.

¹⁰ So Körting, p. 437; but Magenta (I. 133) says May 31. Petrarch's letter says: 'VI illuc die, hora tertia, perveni.' This would seem to indicate 9 o'clock, or earlier, on May 30.

¹¹ Writing on July 21 to Francisco Bruni, he speaks of this affliction (*Sen.* II. 2): 'Illico rediturus fueram, non obstante tibie collisione, qua in parte corporis a pueritia parum felix fui, et quæ me tum sæpe olim, tum per hos dies complusculos afflixit, invisasque [Petrarch had no opinion of doctors] inter medicorum manus usque nunc detinet.' This was not the first time he had suffered from an injury to his left leg. In 1350, when he was traveling to Rome for the fifth time, the horse of one of his companions, an old abbot, came up on his left side, and, lashing out with his heels at Petrarch's horse, struck the poet instead, just below the knee. This happened between Bolseno and Viterbo, and it took him three days more to go from Viterbo to Rome (54 miles). The bruise festered, and when he wrote to Boccaccio on Nov. 2, he had already been in bed with it fourteen days, which seemed to him fourteen years, since his mind grew torpid when he could not stir about (*Fam.* II. 1.) In 1359 a stranger incident befell him. He had a large volume of Cicero's letters, copied by his own hand some time before. This he kept on a shelf just beside the door of his library. On this particular occasion, as he entered the room, a flap of his garment caught on the book, and brought it down on the same left leg, this time just above the heel; the next day the same thing occurred again, and it was not till the book had fallen a third and a fourth time that he changed its place. Petrarch went about his affairs as usual, hoping the bruise would heal, but again it festered, and he had to submit to fasting, frequent fomentations, and absolute repose. He adds: 'It seems as though my many pains and aches had always, since my childhood, fastened upon this unfortunate left leg, and now it forces me to stay in bed, which I detest' (*Fam.* 21. 10). This was written on Oct. 15, but the accident must have occurred much earlier, for on Aug. 18 of the next year (1360) he writes from Milan to Boccaccio that a year after the mischance, finding things grow from bad to worse, he had dismissed the doctors and taken matters into his own hands; he had never suffered so much in his life, he says, but was now slowly recovering

wedding,¹² but to comply with the solicitations of Galeazzo, who had been urging him to confer with the Cardinal Anglicus de Grimoard, brother of Urban V, with reference to composing the strife between the Pope and the Visconti.¹³ Fourthly, on the

(*Var.* 25; Fracassetti 5. 301-2). Whether this leg suffered in his flight from Parma in 1345, when his right arm was injured, we do not know (cf. Fracassetti 4. 374). In any case, Novati (*F. Petrarca e la Lombardia*, p. 49) is convinced that it was an old wound, never entirely healed, and now aggravated by the long horseback ride, that was troubling him in 1368; but he supposes that it was received in the flight from Parma, apparently knowing nothing of the certain injuries.

¹² Novati (p. 49) exclaims: 'Behold him here amid the uproar of the wedding festival, under the necessity of taking part in interminable ceremonies, and of being present at no less interminable banquets. . . . Who can tell what Messer Francesco was thinking of, as all this Pantagruelian feast unrolled itself before his eyes?'

¹³ Levati, *Viaggi di Francesco Petrarca* 5. 295-6; De Sade, pp. 718-9; Fracassetti 2. 240, 261; Körting, p. 437; Novati, p. 49; *R. I. S.* 15. 489-490; 17. 911. Cf. Petrarch, *Sen.* 11. 2:

'Scito igitur, me hinc [from Padua] . . . abiisse, magnis enim precibus et repetitis literis Ticinum [Pavia] iterum atque iterum evocabar, et quamvis naturæ meæ infesta æstas adventaret, meque hinc quietis amor stringeret, illinc status præsens et suspectum latrunculis deterreret iter, vigente tamen hinc ingrati metu, honestique inde specie animum attrahente, quod scilicet ad tractatum tantæ pacis evocatum me sentire, si fortassis ulla ex parte bono publico utilis esse possem, parui,' etc.

It must be remembered, however, that Petrarch had spent the summers of 1363-7 at Pavia (Fracassetti 1. 185; 2. 240; 5. 490; *Sen.* 5. 1; Hutton, pp. 209-210; cf. Körting, p. 404; according to Boccaccio's letter, quoted below, he must have been there in 1367 from ca. March 24 to ca. June 30; cf. Corazzini, pp. 123, 129), where his daughter and son-in-law (for Petrarch's attachment to him, see *Sen.* 5. 7; 10. 4) must have been residing at least temporarily, in 1368, since they regularly formed a part of his household as long as he lived (Rossetti, App. 3, p. 66; Mézières, p. 163; Bædeker, *Oberitalien*, 18th ed., Leipzig, 1911, p. 199; Magenta 1. 109); after 1368 he never returned (Giulini 5. 517). That he was fond of the place is shown by his famous letter to Boccaccio (*Sen.* 5. 1, written in 1365), a part of which I quote from the translation by Robinson and Rolfe (*Petrarch*, pp. 323-5):

'You would find the air of the place very salubrious. I have now spent three summers here, and I do not remember to have experienced ever anywhere else such frequent and plentiful showers with so little thunder and lightning, such freedom from heat, and such steady, refreshing breezes. You would find the city beautifully situ-

very day¹⁴ of Lionel's wedding, Petrarch's little grandson¹⁵ died

ated. . . . Commandingly situated on a slight elevation, and on the margin of gently sloping banks, it raises its crown of towers into the clouds, and enjoys a wide and free prospect on all sides, one which, so far as I know, is not exceeded in extent or beauty by that of any town which lies thus in a plain. By turning one's head ever so little, one can see in one direction the snowy crest of the Alps, and in the other the wooded Apennines. . . . Lastly, in order of time, though not of importance, you would see the huge palace, situated on the highest point of the city; an admirable building, which cost a vast amount. It was built by the princely Galeazzo, the younger of the Visconti, the rulers of Milan, Pavia, and many neighboring towns, a man who surpasses others in many ways, and in the magnificence of his buildings fairly excels himself. I am convinced, unless I be misled by my partiality for the founder, that, with your good taste in such matters, you would declare this to be the most noble production of modern art. . . . I leave here shortly, but very gladly return to pass the summer months—if fate grant me more summer months.'

¹⁴ So Corio, p. 471: 'In questo dì medesimo, in Pavia morì,' etc.; cf. Giulini 5. 516; Fracassetti 2. 262; Mézières, p. 164. The date of May 19 (XIV Kal. Jun.; others read XIII) is rejected by Körting (p. 365, note 3), though, following Corio, he assigns June 15, instead of June 5 (the nones of June), as the date of the wedding.

¹⁵ Corio says son (*fanciullo*), though the Francesca whom he names as the mother was certainly Petrarch's natural daughter, probably born in 1343 (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 21. 311; Körting, p. 143) and married in Milan to Franceschino d'Amicolo da Brossano (called Borsano by Corio, and see below; Hutton, p. 213: 'Franceschino da Brossano di Amicolo'; Rossetti, p. 66: 'Franceschino Amicolo da Brossano'; Fracassetti 2. 260: 'Franceschino d'Amicolo di Brossano della Porta Vercellina'; Petrarch's will: 'Franciscolum de Borsano, filium quondam domini Amicoli de Borsano, civem Mediolani Portæ Verzelinæ') in 1361 (Körting, p. 365; Rossetti, App. 3, p. 66). A daughter, Eletta, must have been born to them in 1362 or 1363, since Boccaccio, writing to Petrarch on June 30, 1367, of his visit to the little family in Venice, after he had praised the charm of the father and mother, goes on (Hutton, pp. 213-4; cf. Corazzini, p. 124):

'Presently we were talking in your pleasant little garden with some friends, and she offered me with matronly serenity your house, your books, and all your things there. Suddenly little footsteps—and there came towards us thy Eletta, my delight, who, without knowing who I was, looked at me smiling. I was not only delighted, I greedily took her in my arms, imagining that I held my little one (*virgunculam olim meam*) that is lost to me. What shall I say? If you do not believe me, you will believe Guglielmo da Ravenna, the physician, and

in Pavia, a circumstance which filled him with unspeakable sorrow.

our Donato, who knew her. Your little one has the same aspect that she had who was my Eletta, the same expression, the same light in the eyes, the same laughter there, the same gestures, the same way of walking, the same way of carrying all her little person; only my Eletta was, it is true, a little taller when at the age of five and a half I saw her for the last time. Besides, she talks in the same way, uses the same words, and has the same simplicity. Indeed, indeed, there is no difference save that thy little one is golden-haired, while mine had chestnut tresses ('aurea cesaries tuæ est, meæ inter nigram rufamque fuit'). Ah me! how many times when I have held thine in my arms, listening to her prattle, the memory of my baby stolen away from me has brought tears to my eyes—which I let no one see.'

Hutton proceeds to comment: 'It is perhaps in that letter we see Boccaccio better than in any other of his writings; the greatest man then in Italy playing with a little child, obliged in his poverty to accept assistance from one who was almost a stranger' [Franceschino had pressed upon him a considerable gift at parting].

Students of the Middle English poem, *The Pearl* (see Osgood's edition), will not need to be reminded of Boccaccio's *Eclogue XIV* (about 1360, according to Osgood), with its vision of his little daughter (d. 1355; see Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, p. 84), Violante (there called Olympia, but here, in compliment to Petrarch, designated as 'my Eletta').

By February, 1366, another child, this time a son, was born to the pair. This happened at Venice, according to Körting (p. 365), Fracasetti (2. 240), and Mézières (p. 164). His epitaph, however, calls him 'Mediolanensis.' and to this there seems no objection, since Petrarch was accustomed to pass the summers of 1363-7 at Pavia (see p. 79), and we know, according to *Sen.* 9. 2, that he—and therefore probably his daughter (see p. 79)—was in the country near Milan on Nov. 1, 1366, and do not know of his presence at Venice (*Sen.* 6. 1) in that year later than Jan. 25, while he had been at Padua (*Sen.* 5. 1) as late as Dec. 14, 1365. The child was christened Francesco, a name suggestive at once of his father, mother, and grandfather. Petrarch's son, Giovanni, who had been a great disappointment to him, had died of the plague in 1361, so that all his domestic affections were concentrated on his daughter's family. This is clear from the letter (*Sen.* 10. 4) written after the grandson's death. In this he declares that the child was dearer to him than if it had been his own, since it was born of two whom he so greatly loved, and that he doubted whether he had ever loved anything more. Hardly was the babe a year old before friends remarked on its resemblance to Petrarch. It was a melancholy satisfaction to the poet that Galeazzo, who had seen the death of his own infant with dry eyes but a short time before, could scarcely even hear of the death of the little Francesco without tears. Petrarch

Petrarch arrived at Pavia, then, where he was doubtless the guest of Galeazzo at the Castle, two or three days after

had, he tells his friend, erected at Pavia a marble memorial to the child on which six elegiac distichs of his own composition were inscribed in golden letters—a thing which he would hardly have done, he says, for any one else ('Bustum ego marmoreum illi infantulo, apud Ticini urbem, his sex elegis inscriptum, literisque aureis exaratum statui, quod vix alteri facerem, et mihi ab altero fieri nollem. . . . Hoc ultimum et inane tribuerim obsequii genus; et si non sibi utile, gratum mihi, hoc illi igitur sacrum volui, non causam lachrymis, ut Maro ait, sed memorizæ, non tam mezæ, cui nec saxo nec carmine opus erat, quam eorum quos illuc casus attulerit, ut sciant quantam ille suis ab ipso vitæ principio charus fuit').

These lines have fortunately been preserved. The memorial was erected in the church of San Zeno (one of the 101 churches standing in 1320 within the walls of Pavia, a city which now boasts something like 30,000 inhabitants; see *Rer. Ital. Script.* II. 9), which was suppressed in 1789. Thence it found its way to the collection of Marquis Luigi Malaspina di Sannazaro (Fracassetti 2. 262), who published the verses (p. 43) in his collection of lapidary inscriptions (*Uscrizioni Lapidarie*, in two parts, Milan, 1830-32, folio; cf. Giovanni Voghera, Tav. XIII of his *Antichità Pavese*, Fasc. 1-16, Pavia, 1827, folio), and is now preserved on the wall of the staircase of the Museo Civico, which was formerly the Palazzo Malaspina (Bædeker, *Oberitalien*, 18th ed., Leipzig, 1911, p. 199; but G. Natali, *Pavia*, pp. 136 ff., says that the Palazzo Malaspina is on the site of San Zeno, and next door to the Museo Civico), in the immediate vicinity of the former church (there is a Vicolo San Zeno near, with a bust of Boethius, on the spot where his prison is supposed to have stood). The date is 'MCCCLXVIII, XIV. Kal. Iunias, hora IX' (Fracassetti 2. 262), and the child is described as 'pulcher et innocens.' The inscription is in a square Gothic character. A copy of the verses, in Roman letters, is also to be found, without the date, in the lower cloister of the Cathedral of Treviso, where Francesca, the child's mother, died on Aug. 2, 1382 (*Poesie Minori*, p. 67). There are slight differences between the two inscriptions, that at Treviso having been evidently made from the earlier one at Pavia. The Pavian copy follows (from Rossetti, App. 1, Epigraphe 4; see also Mézières, pp. 166-7; Fracassetti 2. 262; De Sade, pp. 723-4; Magenta I. 133, note 2), with the variants of the Trevisan:

Vix mundi novus hospes iter [eram], vitæque volantis
 Attigeram tenero limina dura pede.
 Franciscus genitor, genetrix Francisca; secutus
 Hos, de fonte sacro nomen idem tenui.
 Infans formosus, solamen dulce parentum,
 Nunc [Hinc] dolor; hoc uno sors mea læta minus:
 Cætera sum felix, et veræ gaudia vitæ
 Nactus et æternæ, tam cito, tam facile.

Lionel and his retinue had arrived at Milan. At Pavia he would have had every reason for staying until (say) June 4, when he would almost necessarily have arrived at Milan, against the wedding of the following day. Among these reasons would have been his dislike of summer heat,¹⁶ his love of quiet,¹⁷ his general predilection for Pavia,¹⁸ the condition of his leg,¹⁹ his desire to be with his daughter's family as much as possible, his occupation with Galeazzo's affairs (Galeazzo's seat was primarily Pavia, as Bernabò's was Milan), and very possibly also the illness of the little Francesco, whom we need not assume to have died on the very day he fell sick. We may suppose him to have planned to return on June 6 from Milan to Pavia, for most of the reasons which have been detailed, and not least that he might be with his daughter and her husband in their sorrow, and assist in the preparations for the funeral. This, however, was not to be (see p. 85). In fact, we know that it was nearly a month before he could leave Milan. Writing from Pavia to Giovanni da Mandello on July 6, he tells his correspondent that he had left Milan on July 4, though he had not yet recovered, because he wished to escape from the noise and confusion, but that the horseback ride to Pavia had again aggravated his sore. He is

Sol bis, Luna quater, flexum peragraverat orbem,

Obvia mors, fallor, obvia vita fuit.

Me Venetum terris dedit urbs, rapuitque Pavia;

Nec queror, hinc [hic] cælo restituendus eram.

This may be translated:

'A newly arrived guest of the world, I was but just beginning my journey, and had scarcely touched with my tender feet the rough threshold of the life that hastens away. My father was Francis, and Frances my mother; from them did I receive my name at the baptismal font. I was a beautiful child, the lovely solace of my parents, but now their grief. On this account alone is my lot less joyous, since for the rest I am happy, having attained thus early and easily the joys of the true life, the life eternal. Twice had the sun measured the orbit of the world, and four times the moon, when death—nay, rather life—stood before me. Venice gave me to the earth, and now Pavia has snatched me away; but I mourn not, since it was fitting that from here I should be restored to heaven.'

¹⁶ See p. 79.

¹⁷ See p. 79.

¹⁸ See pp. 79-80.

¹⁹ See pp. 78-9.

hardly able to rise from bed, he says, and then is all of a tremor. On his journey by boat, with Venice as his destination, he hopes to see the Emperor (Charles IV), who had permitted him to come, and now commands him to return.²⁰

Petrarch talks of returning to Venice, but he actually proceeded to Padua, arriving there on July 19. On July 21 he wrote²¹ that he would have returned much sooner, notwithstanding the injury to his leg, had it not been that the land-route (by which he had almost certainly come; cf. Novati, p. 49) had been rendered impracticable by the prevailing military activities, and that he had the utmost difficulty in persuading a boatman to convey him down the Po for love or money,²² over a month having been passed in this quest²³ and in overcoming a variety of obstacles.²⁴

Thus, ignoring the age and eminence of Petrarch, and the youth and comparative obscurity of Froissart and Chaucer,²⁵ and ignoring the fact that neither Froissart nor Chaucer alludes

²⁰ Novati, pp. 61-3, quotes the letter in full from which the subjoined extracts are taken: 'Tibia sinistra, vetus hostis mea, per hos me dies exercuit et in lectulo detinuit, unde vix adhuc tremebundus assurgo. . . . Nondum nempe convalui; nam strepitum licet ac tumultum confusionemque multiplicem perosus, majore nudius tertius urbe dimissa, in hunc cupide quasi portum ex procellis commigraverim, ulcus tamen meum illud equitando recruduit. . . . Mox Venetias, unde nuper abii, secundo alveo reversurus sum, salutato interim Imperatore, nisi castra permoverit procul a Padi ripa. Illo enim permittente veni, illo jubente redeo, hiis Ligurum dominisque utrumque probantibus.' Since we know that the Emperor was at Bologna on July 14 and 15 (*R. I. S.* 18, 181), and since Petrarch, after his return to Padua, says nothing of having met him, it is fairly probable that he did not.

²¹ *Sen.* II. 2; see p. 78.

²² 'Ulla prece vel pretio.'

²³ 'Mense ibi integro, et amplius, inter navis inquisitionem et difficultates rerum varias absumpto.'

²⁴ Petrarch's main fear, he tells us, was of chance robbers, for his love of peace was so well known to both parties that he felt he had no danger to apprehend from the regular combatants. His friends endeavored to dissuade him from what they considered his insanity, but he persevered, and finally found a boatman who was reassured by his calmness. The river was full of armed boats, and the shores were lined with armed bands; but, while any one else would have been captured, killed, or at least robbed, his vessel was loaded with wine, game, fruit, and spices by the generosity of those who intercepted him, and his progress was only delayed by their friendly assiduities.

²⁵ In Petrarch's eyes a 'barbarian'; see pp. 23, 77.

to such a meeting, we see that there are reasons enough in the bodily infirmity of Petrarch, and his preoccupation with state-affairs, to render such a meeting unlikely. Moreover, as he went straight to Pavia from Padua, did not arrive till May 30, presumably had no occasion to be in Milan till the eve of the wedding (while Lionel's retinue had arrived on May 27), must have watched over a sick-bed up to the moment of his departure for Milan, and thenceforth, as soon as the wedding-day was over, lay languishing with his festering wound until July 4, unable to return to Pavia, the probability of a meeting between Petrarch and the two young versifiers would seem to be excluded. And had they met, it would have been the meeting of a grave and aging student with sentimental and somewhat conventional rhymesters, of the companion and idol of princes with a yeoman of the king's household, and an amuser of noble leisures by rather tinkling minstrelsy, dependent for his livelihood upon chance doles and irregular patronage.²⁶ If Lionel's followers were admitted into the courtyard of the Broletto, and allowed to see the noble company at their magnificent feast, then, from afar off, Froissart and Chaucer may have had sight of Petrarch; but a closer acquaintance than this is against all the probabilities.

²⁶ In the *Buisson de Joncée* (230-369) he gives a list of his benefactors and benefactresses, among whom were Philippa of England; Blanche of Lancaster; the Lord and Lady of Coucy; Edward III (100 florins); the Earl of Hereford; Edward Despenser; the Duke of Bourbon; Charles V; the Duke and Duchess of Brabant; Pierre I, King of Cyprus (40 ducats); David Bruce; the Earl of Douglas; etc. Notable, in this connection, is his mention of the Green Count (339-347):

Amé, le conte de Savoie,
 Je ne sçai se nommé l'avoie,
 Mès à Melans, en Lombardie,
 Une bonne cote hardie
 Me donna de .xx. florins d'or;
 Il m'en souvient moult bien encor,
 Pour un tant que moult me valirent;
 Car onques cil ne me fallirent
 Jusqu'à tant que je vine à Romme.

In 1366 he received a gift of six golden muttons, when a great concourse of minstrels came together at Brussels: 'uni Fritsardo, dictori qui est cum regina Angliæ, dicto die, VI mottones.' A year or so after Queen Philippa's death, he is glad to receive 16 francs (the franc then had the intrinsic value of 13.38 modern francs) from the Duchess of Brabant ('uni Frisardo dictori') for a new book in French.

IX. LIONEL'S REMAINING LIFE

The Milanese annalist tells us that Lionel, after the consummation of the marriage, remained in Milan for some days, and then left for Alba. The chronicles of Saluzzo and Montferrat agree in stating that after the wedding Violante left for Pavia, while Lionel, with his retinue, betook himself to Alba. Before he had finished what he had to do there, he fell sick, and returned to Pavia, where he spent a few days. Thereupon he went back to Alba, and there died.¹ We have, in all, four months and twelve days to account for between his marriage (June 5) and his death (Oct. 17). As he was able to take part in a tourney on Aug. 16,² it is probable that he did not return to Pavia before that time; and as his will was made on Oct. 3, he must have been ill before then. With respect to the cause of his malady, Jovius³ ascribes it to excessive feasting in a country where he was not yet acclimated, and intimates that while this was in

¹ Petrus Azarius (quoted by Benvenuto) concurs with these two chroniclers in saying that Lionel left Violante at Pavia—where she would naturally be most at home. In the next sentence there seems to be a corruption, for it runs: 'Nec umquam prædictus dominus Leonotus prædictis peractis Papiam redivit, sed, parva mora in Pedemontio protracta, Albam reversus diem clausit extremum.' But how could Lionel, after delaying a short time in *Piedmont*, return to Alba, seeing that Alba was itself in Piedmont? Perhaps the 'nec umquam' should be construed with 'peractis,' for *Cron. Saluz.* has: 'Ancora non habiando finito le cosse soe [*Cron. Monf.*: le cose predette], se amalo e ritorna a Pavia' (similarly *Cron. Monf.*). On this supposition, we might translate Azarius: 'Lionel, though he had never finished up the matters referred to above [but they were *not* referred to], returned to Pavia; but, making only a short stay here [reading *Papia* for *Pcdemontio*], he went back to Alba.' This would then agree with the chronicles of Saluzzo and Montferrat, which evidently deserve our confidence.

² See p. 88.

³ He writes: 'Sed non multo post Leonatus quum novæ nuptæ operam daret, intempestivisque conviviis ad patrii moris disciplinam, alieni cæli ignarus, intemperantius uteretur, ad Albam morbo consumptus interiit.' Thus translated by Stow: 'But not long after, Leonel living with his new wife, whilst after the manner of his owne Countrey, as forgetting or not regarding his change of ayre, hee addicted himselfe overmuch to untimely banquettings, spent and consumed with a lingering sickness, dyed at Alba.'

progress he was living with Violante. However, his feasting in Milan can hardly have been the cause of his death; and, while there may have been banqueting at the Castle after his return from Alba, it must be remembered that he was ill before this return, that his illness seems to have been the cause of the return, and that in any case he stayed at Pavia but a few days. On the whole, it seems most reasonable to assume that he saw but little of Violante during their married life, being called away by the care of his province; that the sickness which caused his death was of no very long duration, and yet not excessively sudden in its operation; and that his return to Pavia would therefore naturally have fallen in September, perhaps late in the month. As the lingering illness which terminated in the death of the Black Prince seems to have originated in digestive disorders contracted during his sojourn in Spain, it is not unreasonable to assume that Lionel may have indulged overmuch in eating and drinking—consider his wedding-banquet!—and that the heat of a Piedmontese summer, his military exercises, and the labors and perplexities incident to his rule amid an alien people, and surrounded by open or secret enemies, are responsible for the rest, or would even have been sufficient of themselves. As for feasting, he does not seem to have been prostrated by that at Paris or at Chambéry; but in both these places the weather must have been cooler, and Lionel had then nothing to do but give himself up to the pleasure of the moment.⁴

⁴ Knighton (2. 123; cf. *Chron. Angliæ* 61) affirms that his death was due to poison ('intoxicatus veneno interiit'), but then Knighton knows Galeazzo as Goliath ('filium Goliath')—hardly a compliment, by the way—and calls Milan 'Meletum.' Moreover, his statement is contradicted by those of the Italian chroniclers, for Petrus Azarius and *Cron. Monf.* say that Galeazzo and all the Lombards lamented greatly over Lionel's death; and *Annal. Med.* that Galeazzo was beside himself ('effectus est velut demens') with excessive grief. This grief was natural enough, considering the hopes that Galeazzo had built upon this marriage, and the disorders which immediately followed (see below, pp. 104 ff.).

Hardyng confirms, on the whole, the statements of Jovius and the chronicles (p. 334):

In whiche meane tyme his justes & his excesse,
 His great riot and wynes delicacie,
 His ghoste exiled out [of his corps] doutlesse,
 Afore the daye set of his regence,
 For whom was made great mone through Italic.

Of the adventures in which Lionel may have been engaged between his marriage and his death, we catch sight of only one. A branch of the house of Savoy had acquired what proved to be the merely nominal title of Princes of Achaia, through the marriage of Filippo of Savoy to Isabella of Villehardouin⁵ (her third marriage) on Feb. 13, 1301, she having by her second marriage become the mother of Mahault of Hainaut.⁶ From this Filippo descended Filippo II, who succeeded to the Piedmontese dominions of his father Giacomo on May 7, 1367, though the latter, having regard to his evil conduct, had left the principality to his younger son, Amedeo, to whom Filippo was to do homage.⁷ On March 17, 1368, Filippo made formal claim to the principality,⁸ his brother being then, and until 1377, under the guardianship of the Green Count, Amedeo VI of Savoy. Strife having arisen between the two parties, Filippo challenged the Green Count to a tournament near Saluzzo, where, on a specified day, fifty were to encounter fifty. The Green Count, with Lionel, Giovanni II of Montferrat (ruled 1338-1372), and certain men sent by Galeazzo, arrived at Fossano on the day appointed, probably Aug. 16; but the craven Filippo repudiated his engagement,

For Hardyng's 'wynes' we should perhaps read 'wyues,' i. e. 'wife's' (cf. Jovius); then 'delicacie' would mean voluptuousness. His 'regence' refers to the extravagant statement with which he had ended a previous stanza:

In citees all he helde well vnitees,
 Greate justes ay and joyus tournementes,
 Of lordes & knightes he made great assemblees
 Through all the lande by his wyse regimentes;
 They purposed hole by theyr commen assentes
 To crowne hym kyng of all [great Italie,]
 Within halfe a yere for his good gouernaly.

On an earlier page Hardyng had said:

And all the rule he had by counsell wyse,
 Fro mount Godard vnto the citee [of] Florence,
 And well beloved was for his sapience.

Barnes seems to go back to Froissart (see p. 104): 'Not without suspicion of being poisoned, by some subtle Italian trick, to prevent that Glory, which perhaps some Envy'd, that he should attain.'

⁵ See Rodd 2. 39-58.

⁶ See pp. 124-5.

⁷ *Cron. Saluz.*, p. 1014.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 1012.

whereupon, after some fine skirmishes, Amedeo VI and his company went to Savigliano to pass the night, and thereupon each division went home. Filippo, being judicially condemned in December of that year, was publicly drowned in one of the three small lakes near Avigliana, by order of Amedeo (*Cron. Saluz.*), while his brother ruled till 1402.⁹ So we see Lionel, having left Alba in the August heats, repairing on horseback to Savigliano, and thence to Fossano, on Aug. 15, to pitch camp against the following day; from Fossano returning to Savigliano for the night, and so back to Fossano, arrayed in armor for the tourneying, and once more, after the fruitless preparations, going back to lodge at Savigliano.

⁹ The two authorities are the chronicles of Savoy and Saluzzo. The former runs (*M. H. P.* 3 (*Script.* 1). 320-321):

‘En soussi furent messire Philippe de Savoye et le marquis Frederich de Saluces quant sentirent venir le conte contre eulx, car ilz navoyent que pou de gens darmes, et, pour rompre la chevauchie du conte, messire Philippe luy manda ung herault, disant que sil osoit combattre sa querelle luy cinquante hommes darmes, que luy a tout aultres cinquante le combateroit corps a corps en la gallee [vailee?] entre Saluces et Escarnefis a un jour qui nomma. Entendant le conte les parolles du herault, respondit: “Vatant a ton maistre, et luy dist que a layde de Dieu je seray au lieu et en la place au jour que tu dis, accompaignie moy cinquantieme de hommes darmes pour combatre corps a corps noz querelles.” A celle responce sen tourna le herault; et le conte, accompaigne du duc de Clerance, du marquis de Monferra, et des gens de messire Galliache, ensemble les cinquante hommes darmes, vindrent devant Fossan, en requirant que le gage se tenist entreulx comme il estoit ordonne. Mais messire Philippe refusa la bataille et la promesse qui avoit faite; le refus estre fait, eut la de belles escarmuches, qui durerent tout le jour de deux pars, et vers la nuyt le conte et sa compaignie se partirent de devant Fossan, et se alla logier a Savillian, et le duc de Clerance, le marquis de Monferra, et les gens de messire Galliace se retrayrent en leur pays. Et apres ne demoura gueyres que messire Philippe de Savoye fut mort, dont le pays de Piemont resta en grant pacifficacion.’

The latter is as follows (*M. H. P.*, pp. 1014-5):

‘A 15 di Augusto esso Conte Ame dy Savoya cum exercito, una cum el Marchexe dy Monferrato e la gente soa, e missere Lioneto dy Anglaterra (el quale ancora non era morto, ma mory quello anno), andorono a Savigliano, poy de ly a Fosano, per piantarly el campo. Pur tornorono quello giorno medemo a Savigliano, cum lo exercito loro. Poy, il giorno da presso, tornorono tuty a Fosano, dove era el signor Filippo, fratello del Principe dy Achaya.’

This meeting with Filippo at Fossano was not the first time that Lionel encountered him. While the duke was at Pavia or Milan, we are not certain which, but probably the former,¹⁰ he had heard Filippo called traitor and felon by the Green Count in the presence of himself and Galeazzo. Amedeo having demanded justice against Filippo, Lionel personally arrested the latter, and cited him to appear before his tribunal on May 30. Here he seems to have pronounced a decision unfavorable to Filippo, who thereupon announced his intention of appealing to the parliament—if so it may be called—which was to be held at Rivoli,¹¹ and thereupon returned.¹² It is somewhat curious that even a purely nominal lord of Clarentza, in Greece, should be cited before the tribunal of a Duke of Clarence, his feudal superior, in Italy, considering that this Duke of Clarence was a royal prince of England.¹³

X. LIONEL'S DEATH AND BURIAL

The date of Lionel's death was certainly Oct. 17,¹ 1368, though even the *Dictionary of National Biography* has it wrong.²

¹⁰ Since Lionel would hardly have cited him on May 27, or later, to a tribunal held on May 30. *Cron. Saluz.* (p. 1013) says that Filippo and his brother went to Milan and Pavia in April, but, as it adds that they made many demands on the one side and the other, and were finally reconciled by Galeazzo, it is possible that they may have remained in those parts till toward the end of May.

¹¹ See p. 43.

¹² Gabotto, in *Misc. di Stor. Ital.* 33. 109.

¹³ Cf. pp. 122 ff.

¹ The *Inquisitio post Mortem* (43 Edw. III, File 208, No. 23, Public Record Office), dated July 12, 1360, says, under the county of Somerset: 'Dicunt [the jurors] quod idem Dux obiit decimo septimo die Octobris, anno regni Regis nunc Anglie quadragesimo secundo' (adding that his daughter Philippa was 13 years old on Aug. 16, 1368); under the county of Essex: 'Dicunt quod idem Dux obiit xvii die Octobris ultimo elapsi' (similarly as to Philippa). In the *Annals of Ireland (Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin)*, ed. Gilbert, 2. 397) we read: 'In vigilia Sancti Luce Evangeliste, Dominus Leonellus, Dux Clarencie, obiit apud Albe in Pymond.' Walsingham has (1. 306): 'circa festum Nativitatis Beate Mariæ.' i. e., Sept. 8. *Cron. Monf.* has Oct. 15.

² Correctly given in Dugdale, *Baronage* 2. 167-8; Barnes; Sandford, p. 223.

As to the disposition of Lionel's body authorities differ. According to Froissart,³ it was embalmed, and sent home to England by Galeazzo.⁴ The *Annals of Ireland*⁵ (as above) declare that he was first buried in the church of S. Pietro Ciel d'Oro in Pavia,⁶ and afterwards⁷ in the Augustinian monastery of Clare,⁸ in Suffolk. On the other hand, Capgrave⁹ relates that Lionel, when dying, ordered his attendants to convey his heart and bones to Clare, and to bury the rest of his body (*carnibus suis cum visceribus*)¹⁰ in front of the tomb of St. Augustine, where Henry, Earl of Derby, saw his resting-place

³ Kervyn 7. 251-2.

⁴ So also *Annal. Med. (R. I. S. 16. 740)*; cf. Kervyn 7. 251: 'Toutesfois messires Galéas envoya le corps embaumé de monseigneur Lion, duc de Clarence, par un évesque, arrière en Angleterre; là fu-il enseveli.' The *Chron. Plac.* makes the astonishing statement that his body was in that year carried to Apulia (*R. I. S. 16. 510*).

⁵ 'Primo sepultus in civitate Papie juxta Sanctum Augustinum Doctorem [see *Hist. Background*, p. 195], deinde sepelitur apud Clare, in conventu Augustinensium in Anglia.'

⁶ Petrus Azarius, as quoted by Benvenuto: 'Et ipso mortuo in Papia [sic] portato, Papie traditus fuit sepulturæ'; *Cron. Saluz.*: 'fu portato a Pavia.'

⁷ So Beltz, *Mem. of the Order of the Garter*, p. 131; Sandford, p. 223 (copied by Rapin, *Hist. of England*, 1743. 1. 439; cf. Nichols, *Wills*, 1780, p. 91). Sandford seems indebted to Barnes, p. 720: 'Tho for the present he was deposited in the Chief Church of Pavia, a City of Milain, yet soon after, according to his Testament, his Body was brought over into England by Thomas Newborne Esquire [whom Barnes makes one of his legatees], and others of his Domesticks, and interred in the said Church of the Augustine-Fryars, at Clare aforesaid, near unto the Body of his First Wife, Elizabeth de Burgh.'

⁸ Probably founded in 1248, and the first settlement of the Augustinians in England; suppressed in 1538 (*Vict. Hist. of Suffolk* 2. 127-8). In 1821 the church was at the northeast side of the friary, and used as a barn (R. C. Taylor, *Index Monasticus*, quoted in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1849. 6.³ 1600).

⁹ *De Illustribus Henricis*, quoted in *Derby Accounts*, p. cxi; so Kervyn 21. 2, 3.

¹⁰ Professor Tout, speaking of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, remarks (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 39. 121): 'According to the directions in his will, March's body was interred on the left hand of the high altar of Wigmore Abbey (Nichols, p. 104). An Irish chronicle speaks of his being buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Cork, but this probably only refers to the more perishable part of his body.'

in 1393¹¹; but there is nothing of this in his will,¹² which orders that his body shall be buried before the high altar in the choir of the abbey church at Clare. Galeotto del Carretto,¹³ the

¹¹The remains of Augustine were, according to tradition, carried in 406 from Hippo to Sardinia, and thence removed by Liutprand to Pavia in 723. The beautiful shrine which stands behind the high altar, and bears the date of 1362, was probably executed between 1360 and 1380, and therefore was not completed at Lionel's death in 1368 (Natali, *Pavia e la sua Certosa*, Pavia, 1911, pp. 34-5; *Le Chiese di Pavia*, Part I (in the series entitled *L'Italia Monumentale*), Milan, 1913, pp. 35-9; cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte* 4. 592-605). In Magenta (p. 164), where, as in the preceding, the shrine is represented, there is a fuller account of its history. Magenta declares that the shrine was begun on Dec. 14, 1362, that the foundation was laid in the sacristy of the church, and that it was completed in 1370. It remained in the sacristy at least till after 1461, at which time the bones of the saint were reputed to lie in a chapel of the crypt; they were, however, not rediscovered till 1605 (*op. cit.*, pp. 163-4). It is therefore no doubt in the crypt that the earlier resting-place of Lionel's remains is to be sought, if we assume that Capgrave is to be believed (but cf. p. 95).

As the resting-place of Boethius (see the picture of the tower where he is supposed to have been imprisoned, in Magenta 1. 162), S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro was celebrated by Dante (*Par.* 10. 127-9), where he speaks of the philosopher's soul:

Lo corpo ond' ella fu cacciata giace
Giuso in Cieldauro, ed essa da martiro
E da esilio venne a questa pace.

('The body whence it was chased forth lieth down below in Ciel d'Oro, and itself from martyrdom and exile came unto this peace.')

In a famous letter of Petrarch's to Boccaccio, written probably in 1365 (cf. p. 79), he thus refers to S. Pietro: 'You would have seen where St. Augustine is buried, and where Boethius found a fitting place of exile in which to spend his old age and to die. They now repose together in two urns, under the same roof with King Liutprand, who transferred the body of St. Augustine from Sardinia to this city. This is indeed a pious and devout concourse of illustrious men.' Boccaccio also refers to the church (*Dec.* 10. 9). An Augustinian monastery was erected at the right of the church in 1327 (Natali, p. 33).

¹²Though Kervyn says otherwise (21. 2-3).

¹³*M. H. P.*, p. 1212: 'De la cui morte Galeatio e tutti gli Lombardi molto se dolsero, et portato morto in Pavia cum infinite spese, et in parte mandato in la patria, fu sepellito in Pavia.' Magenta (p. 135) says expressly: 'Morì il 15 [but see above, p. 90] ottobre del 1368, gettando in un profondo duolo la nostra Corte, che diede alle ceneri di lui sepoltura nella basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro.'

mediæval chronicler of Montferrat, confirms the statement of Capgrave. What is certain is that the whole, or some part, of his body was buried at Clare before 1377, for on Sept. 12 of that year the prior of Clare and brother Robert of the same monastery come to an agreement respecting the sum of ten marks, to be paid by the said Robert in satisfaction of the expenses¹⁴ incurred for the funeral of Lionel.¹⁵ Moreover, we have the testimony of a manuscript, in English and Latin, formerly belonging to Augustine Vincent (1584?-1626), and quoted by John Weever (1576-1632) in his *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (folio, 1631). This manuscript, or its prototype, was written in the lifetime of Richard, Duke of York,¹⁶ father of

¹⁴ *The Vict. Hist. of Suffolk* says (2. 128): 'The sum of ten marks was paid to the prior and brethren, in the chapter house, on 12 September, 1377, for their share in the funeral expenses.'

¹⁵ The instrument, from the Registrum Chartarum Monasterij Heremitarum S. Augustini de Clare, follows from Harl. MS. 4835, fol. 42^b, last paragraph, with contractions expanded:

'Hec indentura testatur iudicium et finalem concordiam inter priorem conventus Clare, ordinis Sancti Augustini, ex una parte, et fratrem Robertum de Clare, ejusdem ordinis et conventus, ex alia parte, de expensis factis per predictum fratrem Robertum circa funeralia nobilis domini Domini Leonelli quondam Ducis Clarence—quod a die confectionis presentium predictus conventus assignabit fratrem vel fratres ad satisfaciendum per missas, seu alia divina obsequia, pro X marcis per predictum Robertum providendis, quas sibi removebunt pro completa solutione pro expensis omnibus omnibus [*sic*] circa predicta funeralia factis aprius [MS. ap'us] usque ad diem confectionis presentium; unde se prefectus predicti conventus adquietat, et se obligat omnibus et singulis personis extra conventum predictum degentibus satisfactorum ad rationem expensarum supradicti funeris vindicantibus. Predictus vero conventus, ex altera parte, istam conditionem sibi promittit adimplere, ac eum adquietat de omnibus receptibus ratione et nomine predictorum funeralium aprius [MS. ap'us] usque ad diem confectionis presentium. Illa vero concordia judicialis fuit comprobata per fratrem Johannem Ergom, Sancti Thome doctorem permissorium ordinis et provincie, commissarium fratris Henrici, prioris provincialis ejusdem ordinis et provincie, in hanc causam specialiter deputatos [-um?], anno Domini M.CCC.LXXVII, die xii mensis Septembris, in loco capitulari conventus supradicti. In quorum omnium testimonium sigilla predicti commissarii, ac supradicti conventus, et fratris Roberti, huic indenture alternata sunt apposita.'

¹⁶ Prominent in the Shakespearian 2 and 3 *Henry VI*.

Edward IV and Richard III, and therefore before 1460.¹⁷ The lines in question are (Weever, p. 735):

Fuit Elisabeth sibi nata
 Altera, que egregio post . . . Leonello,
 Ed. ter. innato, post fataque sic tumulto,
 Ut vides, exigua pro tanto principe tumba,
 Inque chori medio.

And in English (p. 738):

Q. Had she ony Issue? *A.* Yea sir sikerly.
Q. What? *A.* a doughtur. *Q.* what name had she?
A. Liche hir modir Elisabeth sothely.
Q. Who evir the husbonde of hir might be?
A. King Edwards Son the third was he,
 Sir Lionel, which buried is hir by,
 As for such a Prince too sympilly.

This makes it clear that Lionel was buried, as his will provided, in the middle of the choir; and that he rested by his wife, Elizabeth de Burgh, in a tomb which must have formed a striking contrast to that of his brother, the Black Prince, at Canterbury, for which the latter made such lavish provision in his will. It is equally clear that Lionel's body was not brought to England the year of his death, for we have a document,¹⁸ written in December, 1368, on the part of Edward III, in which Edward Despenser and John of Bromwych are instructed that they are on no account to transport the body of Lionel to England, because of the grief it would occasion his relatives, but to give it solemn interment in Italy:

Item, ils dirront as dits sire Le Despenser et monseigneur Johan coment le roi voet et leur prie qu'ils ordenent en toutes manières que le corps mon dit seigneur de Clarence soit solempnement enterrés par delà, sicome affiert à tieu seigneur, tant pur l'onour du roi come de lui, sans faire carier par deccà le corps ou nulle partie d'ycel, pur le doel et tristesse que le roi son pière, madame la roine se mière, messeigneurs ses frères et mes autres seigneurs et dames de son lignage ent prendroient.

As the Council of Trent (1545-1563) ordered the removal from S. Pietro of all the tombs but those of saints¹⁹ (not excepting that of the Lombard king, Liutprand), Lionel's, if any trace

¹⁷ Cf. Weever, p. 739; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 48. 176, 184.

¹⁸ Brit. Mus. Cott. Claud. D. III, quoted by Kervyn 18. 490.

¹⁹ Magenta, p. 163.

of it remained, must have disappeared with the others. As late, however, as 1590, an inscription to his memory was placed against a column near the chapel of St. Appian on the right side of the church,²⁰ as being the site of his tomb. The inscription was due to Charles Parker (b. Jan. 28, 1537), who also erected in the cloister at Pavia monuments to Francis, Duke of Lorraine, and Richard de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who had been slain at the battle of Pavia in 1525. Having entered the Roman Catholic church, he went to Pavia in 1560,²¹ and there remained in exile for thirty years.²²

The inscription reads²³:

D. O. M. Leonello Clarentize Duci Edouardi tertii Regis
 Angliæ Fil. ducta Violanta Joannis Galeatii primi Ducis
 Mediolani sorori Albæ mortuo atque hic anno salutis MCCCLXIIIX
 Honorificentissime in arca condito sublata postea
 Concilii Tridentini decreto Carolus Pacherus de Morley
 Anglus Clarentium stirpe ortus anno salutis MDXC
 Exilii vero sui pro fide catholica XXX p.

By 1464 the place of his sepulture was in doubt in England, for Hardyng says²⁴:

Some sayen he is buried at Melayn,
 And other some saye at Clare certayn.

²⁰ Bossi, in his unpublished *Memorie Ticinenses*, p. 86, quoted by Magenta, p. 135: 'In columna sive pila prope sacellum S. Appiani in latere dextero Templi.'

²¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 43. 239.

²² How baseless was his claim to belong to the descendants of Clarence may be gathered from the following genealogical notes.

Charles' mother was, before marriage, Alice St. John, whose father was Sir John St. John, whose mother was Margaret St. John, *née* Beauchamp. By her second marriage, to John, first Duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt, she had a daughter, Margaret Beaufort, who, by her marriage to Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, became the mother of Henry VII. Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Edward IV, who was the son of Richard, Duke of York, who was the son of Anne, Countess of Cambridge, who was the daughter of Roger, Earl of March, who was the son of Philippa, daughter of Lionel.

The inscription, as printed, gives his name as 'Pacherus,' doubtless for 'Parkerus,' since he was a younger son of Henry Parker, himself son of Henry Parker, Baron Morley.

²³ Magenta, p. 135.

²⁴ *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, p. 334.

XI. LIONEL'S WILL

Lionel's will was drawn up at Alba, Oct. 3, 1368, just two weeks before he died. The bequests are¹:

¹The will itself, from Nichols, *Wills of the Kings and Queens of England*, pp. 88-90, is as follows:

'In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Leonellus, Dux Clarencie, sanus mente licet eger corpore, volensque debitum mortis prevenire, testamentum meum condo in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam Deo et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis, et corpus meum ad sepeliend' in eccl'ia fratrum Augustinensium de Clare in choro ante magnum altare. It'm lego eccl'ie eorundem fratrum nigrum vestimentum meum cum toto apparatu. It'm lego eid'm eccl'ie pannum meum nigrum broud-atum. It'm Violente uxori mee rubeum vestimentum meum cum coronis aureis cum toto apparatu. It'm eidem uxori mee omnia jocalia mea exceptis subscriptis. It'm d'no Joh'i de Bromwych militi unum dextrarium qui vocatur Gerfacon'. It'm lego d'no Ric'o Musard militi unam zonam de auro cum uno dextrario qui vocat' Maunge- neleyn. It'm lego Barthe'o Pycot duas zonas de argento & deaurat'. It'm lego D'no Joh'i de Capell capellano meo unam zonam de auro ad faciend' unum calicem in memoriam anime mee. It'm eidem D'no Joh'i melius portiforium meum notatum. It'm eidem Joh'i unum par vestimentorum pauleatum cum albo & rubeo. It'm lego mag'ro Nich'o de Haddeleye unum parvum portiforium non notatum. It'm lego D'no Joh'i Wayte capellano unum portiforium notatum. It'm lego Thomæ Waleys unum circulum aureum, quo circulo frater meus et dominus creabatur in principem. It'm Edmundo Mone lego illum circulum quo in duem fui creatus. It'm lego mag'ro Nich'o de Haddeley supradicto duo monilia de auro, blodio & viridi colore anamat'. It'm lego Nich'o Bekennesfeld unum monile de auro cum duabus manibus inclusis. Item lego eidem Nich'o decem marcas annui redditus in manerio de Bremmesfeld ad totam vitam suam percipiend'. Et lego Rob'to Bardulf unum monile de auro ad modum cordis factum. It'm volo quod omnes annuli distribuantur inter valetos camere mee secundum dispositionem executor' meor'. It'm volo et executoribus meis injungo q'd nulla fiat bonorum meorum seu terrarum mearum saltim quas vendere seu donare possum aliquibus deliberacio seu dissipacio exceptis legatis supradictis, quousque debita mea secundum quod facultates mee ad hoc suppetunt plene persolvantur, et si quod residuum fuerit, volo quod sit in disposic'one executorum meorum. Hos vero constituo & facio hujus testamenti mei seu ultime voluntatis mee executores, videlicet Violentam uxorem meam, Barth'm Pycot et D'n'm Joh'm de Capell' capellanum, quibus adjungo D'n'm Joh'em de Bromwyche militem coadjutorem, non tanquam executorem.

To the church at Clare, a black suit with all the appurtenances, and a piece of embroidered black cloth.

To his wife, Violante, his scarlet robe embroidered with golden coronets, with all the appurtenances, and all his jewels except as otherwise devised.

To Sir John of Bromwych,² knight, a war-horse, named Ger-falcon.³

Acta sunt hec anno ab incarnatione D'ni millesimo tricentesimo sexagesimo octavo, indictione septima, mentis Octobr' die tertia, pont' sanctissimi in Xp'o patris ac d'ni n'ri d'ni Urbani divina providencia pape quinti anno sexto, in camera ip'ius d'ni ducis, infra muros civitatis Albanen' situat'; presentibus Nich'o de Bekennesfeld, Rob'to Bradwaye, Joh'e Bray, et aliis.

Et ego Nich'us de Haddeleye, clericus Miden' dioc' publicus auctoritate apostolica notarius, premissis omnibus et singulis supra'dictis dum sic ut premitit' agerent' et fierent una cum prenominat' testibus presens interfui, eaq' omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi, scripsi, publicavi, et in hanc publicam formam redegei, signoq' meo consueto signavi rogat' in fidem et testimonium premissor'.

Probatio dicti Testamenti coram Will'mo Cant' Archiep' 6to Idus Junii 1369, apud Lambeth.

Regist' Witlesey, fol. 100.a.b. in the
Archiepiscopal Registry at Lambeth.'

²In his earlier manhood, John of Bromwych must have been of a wild and heady disposition, for on March 8, 1353, the constable of the Tower of London was ordered to release him without delay, on the understanding that he was in due time to make answer to 'the things which the king wishes to say against him' (*Cal. Close Rolls*); while on Feb. 7, 1357, he was pardoned 'with respect to the death of Walter of Bromyard, late burgess of Hereford' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*). Feb. 16, 1361, he had a wife, Elizabeth (*Cal. Close Rolls*), probably the same as the Elizabeth, widow of Richard Talbot the elder, whom he is described as having taken to wife by Oct. 20, 1370 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*), and who on Feb. 10, 1357 (cf. Jan. 26 and Feb. 8, 1358) was already the widow of Talbot (*Cal. Close Rolls*). By April 1, 1373, she was already dead (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*). Mar. 15, 1361 (so also Feb. 10, 1362), he was important enough to be summoned, with Edward Despenser and others, to a council to consider the state of Ireland, and to prepare for supporting Lionel, whom the king then designated (Rymer), and by May 10 (so Dec. 20, 1363) he was on a commission (*ib.*). By Mar. 8, 1364 (so May 26, 1367), he was already associated with Edward Despenser in the commission of the peace (*ib.*), and on Feb. 10, 1367, was with him in a commission of array (*ib.*). On July 8, 1368, he was summoned, with others, to return to his estates in Ireland (Rymer). On Sept. 22, 1374, he obtained protection to go abroad

To Sir Richard Musard,⁴ knight, a golden girdle, and a war-horse, named Maungeneleyn.⁵

with Edmund, Earl of March (Rymer). On Aug. 26, 1379, he went to Ireland, accompanied by 60 men-at-arms, 120 archers, and several knights (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*), and on Sept. 22 received his appointment as justiciary for Ireland, an office which he still held on Feb. 14, 1380 (*ib.*). On July 2, 1383, he was still justice of the peace, as he had been much earlier (*ib.*). He is mentioned on Nov. 14, 1385, but had apparently died before Sept. 25, 1388 (cf. May 29 and June 26, 1389; all *Cal. Pat. Rolls*). His executors are named on Aug. 17, 1389, first in order being his (second) wife, Katharine (*ib.*).

Concerning his relations with Lionel, three things stand out. First, before and after Lionel assumed the viceroyalty of Ireland, Bromwych was appealed to concerning the affairs of that island. Secondly, he had been associated, before the journey to Italy, with Despenser, Lionel's cousin and close friend (both being of Gloucestershire), in the commission of the peace. Thirdly, the king treated him with especial kindness because of his devotion to Lionel. Thus, in the document quoted above (p. 94) we read:

'Item, ils remercieront à monseigneur Johan de Bromwyche du bon service qu'il fist à monseigneur le duc en sa vie, et de la diligence quele il mist pur la salvation del honour du roi et du duc ès parties de Lumbardie, à ce que le roi est bien vraiment enformés, dont le roi lui sciét très-bons grées.'

And as late as May 13, 1371, the king showed his favor on this account, as will appear from the following document of that date (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*):

'Whereas, because John de Bromwice, 'chivaler,' who held and holds for life the town of Banowe and other lordships and lands in Jeripont and Ederdrym, co. Wexford, held in chief, with reversion to Elizabeth, his wife, and her heirs, did not come to Ireland or send men in accordance with the late ordinance for the safety of that land, nor did the said Elizabeth do so, the said lands were taken into the king's hand as forfeit and are still in his hand; the king, in consideration of the fact that John has made continual stay from the time of the said ordinance until now, first with Lionel, duke of Clarence, in the parts of Lombardy during the duke's life, and afterwards with Edmund, earl of March, the king's son, on the king's service in France and England, has pardoned the said forfeiture and has restored the premises to him for life with reversion as above.'

To be, or to have been, a loyal servant of Lionel's seems always to have been a passport to Edward III's grace. A few instances follow (all *Cal. Pat. Rolls* except the first):

1363, March 1. Grant of £200 annually to the Countess of Ormond for her husband's labors and expenses in the Irish wars, especially from the coming to Ireland of the king's dear (*carissimi*) son Lionel (Rymer).

To Bartholomew Pycot, two girdles of silver gilt.

To his chaplain, Sir John of Capella, a golden girdle, to make a chalice in memory of his soul; his better portas [portable

1368, Aug. 1. William de Mundene is pardoned for the death of Geoffrey Elesbourne, 'the king being informed that he is staying in the parts of Ireland in the service of himself and his son Lionel.'

1369, Nov. 19. Haulus de Bohem, a minstrel, is granted sixpence (say \$2.00) a day for life, 'for good service to the king and to his son.'

1370, Nov. 7. John Pitteman is granted £5 yearly, 'for long service to Lionel, late duke of Clarence.'

1371, May 10. John Comyn, who, on June 4, 1363, had attended the Duchess of Clarence to Ireland, and then remained there with Lionel (Rymer), having forfeited his manor of Kynsale for failure to repair to Ireland, or send men for the defense of that land, when so commanded, this manor was restored to his heirs, (1) because of good service in the king's wars in Ireland and elsewhere, (2) because he had leave to be absent from April 9 to Nov. 11, to attend Lionel abroad, (3) because he kept the manor in order to reimburse himself for his expenses in Lombardy, (4) because he died before he could return at Martinmas.

1372, May 4. The office of chief sergeant of the county of Kildare is conferred upon John atte Vise, 'for good service to the king and Lionel.'

1372, Oct. 16. Robert Bron is granted the chief sergeancies of the counties of Louth and Carlow, 'for good service done in the company of the king's late son Lionel' (ratified Oct. 8, 1373).

1374, Nov. 14. Nicholas Curteys has allowances from Aug. 26, in consideration of his good service to the king's son, Lionel.

The bearing of all this upon Lionel's character, the attachment he inspired, the king's affection for him, and Edward's corresponding willingness to reward Lionel's faithful followers, is not without interest in relation to Chaucer's conjectural sojourn with the duke in Ireland and Italy, and the grant to Chaucer of June 20, 1367 (cf. *Hist. Background*, pp. 179, 182).

³ See *Hist. Background*, p. 72.

⁴ Sir Richard Musard was, it appears, for twenty-two years (1361-1383) a retainer of Amedeo VI of Savoy, the Green Count, a period ending with the count's death. He was probably attached to the person of Lionel only during the time of the latter's journey from Savoy to Milan, and the interval between then and his death. In becoming the liegeman of Amedeo in 1361, he had reserved his duty to the King of England; and Amedeo showed his attachment to Lionel, whose marriage he had doubtless negotiated (see pp. 23 ff.), by transferring to him the services of so devoted an homager and friend.

The known facts concerning Musard are as follows:

1361, between June 6 and Sept. 17, he was for 17 days at Susa, and afterwards on a trip to Germany, in the interest of Amedeo (Gabotto,

breviary], with musical notes; and a pair of vestments [trousers?], striped white and red.⁶

in *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 34, 226, note 1). At this time he was called the Black Squire (there is a Green Squire mentioned under the year 1309 in *M. H. P.*, p. 1018). On Sept. 17, at the Green Count's camp near Carignano, he became the vassal of Amedeo (Claretta, in *Atti*, as above, 19, 958).

1362, Feb. 10, the acknowledgement of a debt of 100 florins is made to him at Chambéry. His wife is called Johannina, and he still the Black Squire (Claretta, p. 960). Later in the same year he becomes the fifteenth charter-member of the Order of the Collar, afterwards called of the Annunciata, at its founding by the Green Count (Claretta, p. 953). In the original documents he is called 'ung vailliant chivallier d'Engleterre, bon et hardy' (*M. H. P.* 3 (*Script.* 1), 295), and 'bonus, valens, et audax' (*ib.* 1, 612). The order was instituted in honor of the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin. The collar was made of linked laurel-leaves, enameled in green, with a pendant of three love-knots, having in the middle the Count's motto FERT (cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 15, 865). The knights were to be without reproach, were not to forsake one another in life or death; and if any occasion of dispute arose between them, the disputants were to submit themselves to the judgment of the other members. Each knight was to recite every day fifteen Aves, and a monastery was founded for the salvation of the knights' souls, present and to come. On the occasion of the founding, a mass was first sung, and then a banquet set forth. The ordinances, which were proclaimed to the sound of trumpets and clarions, provided that an unworthy member should be expelled, that they should support widows and orphans, oppose false quarrels, and maintain loyalty. Then Savoy Herald proclaimed silence, and the Green Count said: 'My lords, know ye that I swear and promise to keep these laws, and I am the first to take this collar, not as lord, but as brother and companion, for it is an order of brethren.' After each had sworn his oath, and received his collar, John of Vienne, Admiral of France, being one, they all partook of the sacrament, kissed one another on the mouth, and sat down to the feast, the Green Count last of all (*M. H. P.*, as above, pp. 294-5). The rest shall be told in the words of the chronicler (pp. 295-6): 'Le service fust fait; la eust joye planyere; la furent dames et damoyelles; la fust cryee largesse; la eust acomplissement donneur, de joye et de liesse a comble mesure de tous instrumens, et ainsy dura celle feste trois jours, a joustes, a tournoys, a beours, a momeries a la nuyt jusques au jour. Lon ne soroit raconter les desduys et plaisances qui la furent faittes, et se il faisoit beau veoir les quinze chivalliers a tous leurz quinze colliers, tous vestus de mesmez, il ne le faut desmander, et ainsy fust encomencee lordre du noble collier de Savoye.'

1366, May 27, he was with the Green Count at Pavia, where Amedeo was one of the sponsors at the baptism of Valentina, daughter of Gian Galeazzo. At this time the Count was on his way to the East for the

To Master Nicholas of Hadley, a small portas, without notes, and two gold necklaces, enameled in red and green.

To his chaplain, Sir John Wayte, a portas, noted.

deliverance of John Pakeologus, Emperor of Constantinople (Claretta, p. 963; Le Roulx, p. 148). For the festivities on this occasion, when Amedeo gave Gian Galeazzo a charger worth 1000 florins, see Magenta I. 129-130. Between Aug. 17 and 23, Musard was present with his master at the successful siege of Gallipoli. The walls were undermined, and the assailants entered at the breach (Le Roulx, p. 151; Claretta, p. 963). The Turkish bowmen pierced the feet of the Christians, which placed them *hors de combat*. Huguin de Virier, being otherwise engaged, did not see an advancing Turk, who succeeded in stabbing him, but at this his squire transfixes the Turk with his spear. Nothing daunted, the Turk advanced along the spear, in order to come to close quarters with the squire, but died before he reached the middle. The Christians advanced in the face of Greek fire, and of stones dropped from the walls. The rear-guard being in danger, the count flew to the rescue, and with him his standard-bearer, Musard, of whom the chronicler relates (*M. H. P.*, pp. 307-8): 'La fust messire Richart Musar qui la banniere portoit du conte, le quel se mist sy avant et entra sy parfонт en lestour quil rompist la presse des Turcs; et tellement le suyvist lavant garde, que les Turcs furent bien esbays, et la furent faittes maintes belles appertizes darmes entre Cristiens et Turc.' The Turks outside were put to flight, and the next morning it was found that the defenders had abandoned the city, leaving behind only some Greek prisoners, who cried out to the Christians that they might now enter without fear.

1367, Sept. 12, Musard receives 6 florins at Ferrara for expenses, the Green Count having now returned from his expedition (Claretta, p. 964).

1368, Oct. 3, he is mentioned in Lionel's will.

1372, July, in arraying his army for battle at Asti, Amedeo entrusts the guard of his person to Musard and another knight (*M. H. P.* 3. 327).

1373, Oct. 22, Musard is in attendance upon the Green Count in the castle of Rivoli, where Amedeo is settling a dispute between two noble families of Susa (Claretta, p. 965).

1377, Musard is dispatched by Amedeo on an important mission to Biella (Claretta, p. 965).

1380, he and another member of the Order of the Collar are sent on an embassy to Bernabò Visconti (Claretta, pp. 965-6).

1381, Aug. 8, he is present on one of the most glorious occasions of the Green Count's life, when the latter pronounces his decree as arbiter between the contending cities of Genoa and Venice (Claretta, p. 966; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia* 8. 397; *M. H. P.* 4 (*Jur.* 2). 858 ff.; *R. I. S.* 15. 797).

1382, July, Musard is with Amedeo when he joins the forces of Louis of Anjou for the invasion of Neapolitan territory (Claretta, p. 966; Amedeo left Chambéry toward the end of May, Cordey, p. 240).

To Thomas Waleys, the golden circlet with which his brother⁷ was created prince.

To Edmund Mone, the circlet with which he himself was made duke.⁸

To Nicholas Beaconsfield,⁹ a gold necklace, enclosing two hands, and ten marks annual pension for life on the manor of Brimpsfield [Gloucester].¹⁰

To Robert Bardulf, a gold necklace in the shape of a heart.

To the valets of his chamber, all his rings, distributed as to his executors shall seem good.

All other property, real or personal, to be kept for the payment of his debts.¹¹ Whatever then remains to be apportioned

1383, March 1, Amedeo VI dies, and his body is transported to the seashore near Naples by Musard and others, who embark with it for the Ligurian coast. On April 23, Musard dies at Savona (Claretta, p. 967; cf. Cordey, p. 242, note 6; *M. H. P.*, p. 1029), and is buried in the church of St. John of Jerusalem (Claretta, *ib.*). In general, cf. Mugnier, *Lettres des Visconti*, pp. 20-23.

Gabotto (pp. 226-7) is tempted to identify him with Richard de la Vache, knight and chamberlain of Edward III, but this seems impossible (cf. Edith Rickert, in *Modern Philology* II. 210 ff.).

⁵ Can this have any relation to Gingelein, the 'fair unknown' of the Middle English *Libeaus Desconus* (ed. Kaluza, ll. 7, 13), referred to in Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* (189)? In that romance the prize of a contest is a gerfalcon (ll. 773, 787, 1023, 1030, etc.), and the hero is said (l. 1302) to have had adventures in Ireland (where Lionel had been viceroy).

⁶ Cf. Racinet, Vol. 4: 'Les seigneurs, les damoiseaux prirent l'habitude [from about 1340] d'habiller leurs jambes de deux couleurs différentes: l'une était blanche, jaune, verte, l'autre noire, bleue, ou rouge; on portait même des souliers de couleurs différentes.' Cf. p. 49, note 59.

⁷ The Black Prince (1330-1376). This was on May 12, 1343 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 17. 91).

⁸ On Nov. 13, 1362.

⁹ Beaconsfield was summoned to proceed to his estates in Ireland on July 28, 1368 (Rymer), along with Bromwych and John Comyn (see p. 99).

¹⁰ Cf. *Cal. Close Rolls* for Sept. 1, 1374.

¹¹ Lionel must have been deeply in debt, perhaps because of the expenses incurred in Ireland. Already on Feb. 10, 1362 (Rymer), Edward III speaks of Lionel's remaining in Ireland at great charges (*ad sumptus excessivos*), when he had been there less than five months. On April 24, 1364, Lionel, who had had his salary advanced to 13s. 4d. (\$50) a day on Nov. 12, 1362, when he was made duke, accepted a bond (but perhaps this is to be understood rather as an order on the treasurer) from Edward III for the whole of his stay in Ireland from the date

by the executors—Violante his wife, Bartholomew Pycot, and John of Capella,¹² to whom is added John of Bromwych, not as executor, but as coadjutor.

The witnesses were Nicholas Beaconsfield, Robert Bradway, John Bray, and others.

Nicholas of Hadley, clerk of the diocese of Meath, was the notary who drew the will, and affixed his seal.

The will was admitted to probate at Lambeth Palace, June 8, 1369, William Whittlesea being Archbishop of Canterbury.

last mentioned (Rymer). In December, 1368, the king sends word to Edward Despenser and John of Bromwych (see p. 97) to save everything possible for the discharge of Lionel's debts (Kervyn 18. 490):

'Item ils dirront as dits sire Le Despenser et monseigneur Johan et leur chargeront de par le roi qu'ils mettent leur peine et diligence que si bien les joiaix come monnoie, et tous autres biens et chateaux qui feurent à monseigneur le duc par delà, soient sauvement gardés et si entièrement come l'en purra par aucune voie, pur acquiter ses dettes en descharge de sa alme.'

On Feb. 17, 1370, the king speaks of the large sums Lionel owed to various creditors, during his lifetime and at his death ('in non modicis pecunie summis diversis creditoribus, dum vixit et tempore mortis suæ, tenebatur'). Cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 188, note 1. It cost \$13,400 merely to transport his retinue, on his journey to Italy, from Dover to Calais, 39 ships and 13 boats being required for 457 men and 1280 horses (Rymer, account of May 10, 1368). His total expenses for the journey to Milan were computed as \$475,000 (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 192); but it is true that Violante's dowry was, in money, 100,000 florins = £15,000 = \$1,125,000. The contrast between Lionel's poverty at his death and the property of the Black Prince will be apparent on consulting the latter's will (Nichols, pp. 66 ff.).

¹² Pycot (known also as Pygot) and Capella (also called Capell) are mentioned together as executors on Feb. 17 (Rymer) and Feb. 20, 1370, and on April 22, 1371 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*). On Jan. 19, 1367, Capella is mentioned as being near Paris (Rymer), and on Sept. 4, 1367, Pycot receives protection till Feb. 2 to go abroad on the king's service (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*).

XII. DESPENSER AND THE VISCONTI

After Lionel's death, Edward Despenser,¹ who was next in command,² established his headquarters at Alba, and declined to restore to Galeazzo the Piedmontese places which formed part of Violante's dowry.³ Thereupon Galeazzo declared war upon

¹ Despenser (b. 1336?) was the second cousin of Lionel's first wife. He fought at Poitiers, and was a Knight of the Garter. Edward III calls him 'our dear cousin' on Nov. 21, 1374 (Rymer). He distinguished himself in the service of Urban V (d. Dec. 19, 1370), if we may trust the testimony of Walsingham (i. 309; cf. *Cont. Murimuth*, pp. 206-7): 'Pro Papa vero militavit Dominus de Spenser, qui laudabiliter se gessit ibidem post mortem Ducis Clarentiæ.' He died in 1375, leaving a son, Thomas, who became Earl of Gloucester. Froissart spent three days with him at Berkeley Castle in September, 1366 (Kervyn 2. 86), and celebrates him in the following lines (*Buisson de Jonce* 269-277):

—'Et le grant seigneur Espensier,
 Qui de larghece est despensier,
 Que t'a il fait?'—'Quoi?' di je, 'assés;
 Car il ne fu onques lassés
 De moi donner, quel part qu'il fust:
 Ce n'estoient cailliel ne fust,
 Mès chevaus et florins sans compte;
 Entre mes mestres je le compte
 Pour seignour, et c'en est li uns.'

Elsewhere he calls him 'li plus jolis chevaliers, li plus courtois, li plus honnourables et amourcus qui fust en tout Engleterre' (Kervyn 2. 106); 'friche, gentil, et vaillant chevalier, et grant chapitainne de gens d'armes' (*ib.* 8. 280); 'gentil coers et vaillans chevaliers, larges et courtois' (*ib.* 8. 312). See also p. 73.

² 'Ipsius Leonoti gentium ductor' (Benvenuto).

³ This would seem quite unjustifiable, in the light of the marriage-contract (see p. 29), which explicitly provides that 'defuncto dicto domino Leonello sine hærede de dicta domina Violante procreando, dominium dictarum terrarum ad præfatum dominum Mediolanensem, et ejus hæredes, integre devolvatur' (Rymer). Despenser's action is attributed by Froissart to the suspicion (see p. 88) that Lionel had been poisoned (Kervyn 7. 251; cf. 8. 112-3, 208):

'Vous avés bien chy-dessus oy comment li dus de Clarence fu mariés en Lombardie à le fille monseigneur Galéas, liquels dus, assés tost apriès son mariage, trespassa de ce siècle [en Ast en Piémont], dont ses gens furent moult esmervilliet; car il estoit jones chevaliers, fors et appers durement. Si souppeçonnèrent que on ne l'eüst empoisonnet, et en fist guerre moult grande et moult forte li sires Despenser'

him, and dispatched a body of troops to Piedmont, under the command of Azino Caymo and Giacomo del Verme. The latter were taken prisoners in an engagement, carried captive to Alba, and only released on the payment of a heavy ransom. Plucking up heart, and obtaining some men-at-arms from Bernabò, Galeazzo again endeavored to wrest the territories from the English. However, after his capture of Cherasco and some other places,

siers as seigneurs de Melans et à leurs gens, par le confort d'aucuns chevaliers et escuiers et archiers d'Engleterre, qu'il avoit avoeq lui, et tint par le guerre les seigneurs de Melans moult court, et rua par pluisseurs fois ses gens jus, et y fu pris, dou costé des seigneurs de Melans, li sires de Montegnny-Saint-Christoffle en Haynau, et ossi messires Aimeris de Namur, fils bastars au conte Guillaumme de Namur, et fissent là li Englès une guerre moult honnerable pour yaux, et reboutèrent pluisseurs fois les Lombars et lors aidans.'

With reference to the suspicions of poison, Gian Galeazzo is reported never to have sat down with the nobles whom he feasted. He took his meals apart, and, 'ne more patrie inficeretur veneno,' first had every dish tasted by twenty of his officers (Religieux de Saint-Denys, ed. Bellaguet, 3. 134). On the effects of excess, particularly in relation to Lionel, see Michelet 5. 27; cf. 4. 160; 5. 118-120; Lavissee 4.¹ 303-5. *Chron. Plac.* (R. I. S. 16. 546) calls him 'non bene ordinatum,' which probably signifies a certain lack of self-control.

But a no less valid reason is to be found in the desire of the English to anticipate the birth of a posthumous heir to Lionel, in which event Galeazzo would forfeit his claim upon the towns. This is made clear by a communication addressed to Despenser by Edward III in December, 1368, and dispatched by William de Aldeburgh and Robert de Wykford, Archdeacon of Winchester, on the occasion of their going abroad to treat with Pope Urban V, their commission dating Nov. 29, 1368 (Rymer). The earlier part of this letter runs (Kervyn 18. 489-490; see also pp. 94, 98, 103):

'Premièrement ils dirront au sire Le Despenser coment le roi ad bien entendu ses lettres et la crédençe exposée de sa part à lui et à son conseil par Siffred son esquier, et coment le roi lui remercie du bon service qu'il fist à monseigneur de Clarence en sa vie et de les graunts diligence, peine et travalx, queux il mist pur la salvation del honour du roi et du sien ès parties de Lumbardie, et lui ent sciet molt espécialment bon grée, et pense par celle cause de lui faire et monstrier si bone seignourie en temps, avenir, ès choses qu'il avera affaire devers lui, qu'il soi ent tendra pur content, si Dieu plest.

Item, ils remercieront par espécial à meisme le sire Le Despenser de ce que puis la mort mon dit seigneur de Clarence, il soi ad tenus en païs de Pymond sur le gouvernement des terres qui feurent à mon-

a truce was arranged; the Marquis of Montferrat, Giovanni II (1338-1372), was invited to act as arbiter; and Despenser repaired to Pavia, where a treaty was to be negotiated. Just at this moment, the Marquis of Montferrat left for Pisa, to obtain certain privileges from Charles IV, and nothing further was done for the time being. Upon the Emperor's return to Bohemia in 1369, war again broke out between the Marquis and Galeazzo. With the assistance of Bernabò and Can Signorio della Scala of Verona, Galeazzo sent troops in July and August to the vicinity of Alessandria, and laid waste grain-fields and vineyards. By way of retaliation, the Marquis, assisted by the English, whom he had taken into his pay and persuaded still longer to retain the towns of Violante's dowry, burnt Blandrate and Garlascho, and carried off abundance of cattle. Luchino del Verme, in command of Galeazzo's army, took fright and ran away.⁴ While these things were in progress, Despenser found himself in need of money to defray the cost of the occupation, and, on Oct. 27, 1369, borrowed 26,000 golden florins from the Marquis of Montferrat,⁵ with the condition that he was to repay the sum in eight months. All the Piedmontese places were pledged as security, with the stipulation that the revenues derived from them in the meantime should be used to defray

seigneur le duc illoèques, et lui prie aussi de remercier depar le roi les gents demorants sur meismes les terres de la bone affection qu'ils ont au roi et de ce qu'ils désirent d'estre desous la seignourie et gouvernement de lui, sicome lui estoit monstrés parmy la dite crédençe, et dirront au dit sire Le Despenser coment le roi lui sciet graunts grées et se tient bien pur content de ce qu'il y ad ensi demorés, et voet et lui prie qu'il demoeere sur le gouvernement de meismes les terres sicome il ad fait, tanque l'en puisse savoir si madame la duchesse soit enceynte ou nom et tanque le dit sire Le Despenser en eit autre mandement du roi.'

From this letter it is plain (1) that Despenser had done Lionel good service in the duke's lifetime; (2) that Edward III approved of his having held the Piedmontese lordships; (3) and that the king was prepared to yield the properties as soon as it was established beyond doubt that Lionel was to have no posthumous heir by Violante.

⁴The basic account is that by Petrus Azarius, quoted by Benvenuto Sangiorgio (*M. H. P.*, pp. 1337-9 = *R. I. S.* 23. 559-560, cf. 554); cf. Galeotto del Carretto (*M. H. P.*, pp. 1212-4); Gioffredo della Chiesa (*M. H. P.*, p. 1013).

⁵Benvenuto (*M. H. P.*, p. 1337) says 'Secundoto,' but wrongly.

their running expenses, including the cost of the necessary measures of defense.⁶

The upshot of the whole matter is to be gathered from Froissart, who declares that Galeazzo cleared himself by oath of the imputation that he was in any way responsible for Lionel's death, and that Amedeo of Savoy, the astute diplomat and indefatigable negotiator, at length reconciled the contending parties (Kervyn 7. 252):

Li sires Despensiens s'apaisa à yaux, parmy tant qu'il s'escusèrent de le mort le duc de Clarence, et jurèrent que par yaux, ne par leur coupe, il n'estoit mies mors [en le fin, messires li contes de Savoie s'en ensomnia et les mist à acord].

From an independent source (*M. H. P.*, p. 1018) we learn that Galeazzo was in possession of several of the contested towns at the end of 1369 and beginning of 1370.

Barnes' account is characteristic (cf. Higden, *Polychr.* 8. 371):

But the Lord Edward Spencer, who doubted some foul play had been used towards him, tarried still in Italy, and together with Sr. John Hawkwood, and his Englishmen, called the White-Company, made fierce War upon the Dukes of Milain, in Revenge of his Masters Death; till at last he was fully satisfied of their Innocence as to that point, and their great and unfeigned sorrow for the untimely loss of so Noble a Kinsman.

XIII. VIOLANTE'S LATER LIFE

As we have seen, Violante was a widow before she was 14, after four months of marriage.¹ We hear nothing of marriage again until 1374, when she was sought by the widowed Albert, Duke of Austria, but without result, as the Pope had forbidden that any princely house should intermarry with the Visconti.² On Aug. 2, 1377,³ at the age of 22, she was wedded to a youthful

⁶ See the original mortgage, *R. I. S.* 23. 554-9.

¹ See p. 86. *Cron. Monf.* (*M. H. P.*, p. 1228) conceives of her as living for a time with Lionel in England, and then returning to her father's house.

² See Giulini 5. 567-8; 7. 243-4; Magenta 2. 38.

³ So *R. I. S.* 23. 594 (Azarius says May, *R. I. S.* 23. 597, and so *M. H. P.* 3. 1340). Negotiations to that end had been begun by Sept. 14, 1376, an agreement had been reached by March or April, 1377 (*R. I. S.* 23. 594;

monster, Otto, Marquis of Montferrat, commonly called Secondotto, then a lad of 15 to 18 years old.⁴ He lived a year and four months—at least once in that period inflicting a wound on Violante⁵—and died as a result of his own cruelty on Dec. 16, 1378.⁶

Corio, p. 491), and an instrument confirming it drawn up on June 15 (*R. I. S.* 23. 594; cf. Muratori 8. 377), the object of the whole being to put an end to hostilities between Galeazzo and Montferrat (cf. *M. H. P.*, p. 1025. The wedding took place in Pavia, 500 gentlemen being present. The marriage was not consummated till November, 1377 (*R. I. S.* 23. 596; cf. Corio, p. 492). After remaining for a few days with Violante at Pavia, after the manner of bridegrooms ('secondo il solito de i maritati'), he rode away to Asti, in charge of which he had left a brother of his guardian (*R. I. S.* 23. 596; Corio, pp. 492-3). Being instigated thereto by Galeazzo (*R. I. S.* 23. 596), the latter refused Secondotto admission. In hot haste the Marquis returned to Pavia, and requested help from Galeazzo, who sent 300 lances (900 men), under the command of Gian Galeazzo, to his assistance. The joint army advanced to Asti, which they entered on Feb. 6, 1378. In the end, as Gian Galeazzo remained in possession of the city, and would not yield it up to the Marquis, the latter betook himself to Pavia, and made complaint to Galeazzo. This application resulting in nothing, he left Pavia in high dudgeon (*R. I. S.* 23. 596-7; Corio, p. 493).

⁴ The evidence is somewhat contradictory: *R. I. S.* 16. 511, 541 (and so Giulini 5. 596), 762-3; *M. H. P.*, p. 1339 (and so Magenta 1. 136).

⁵ 'Etiam vulneravit dictam Dominam Violantem uxorem suam' (*R. I. S.* 16. 541).

⁶ Riding away from Pavia, as we have seen above, Secondotto directed his course toward Cremona, and thence into the diocese of Parma (*R. I. S.* 23. 597; Corio, p. 493), intending by that route to enter Montferrat (Corio; but Piedmont, *R. I. S.*, p. 770), in order to avoid passing through the territories of Galeazzo (Corio). Arrived at Lang(h)irano (*R. I. S.* 16. 770; 23. 597; but Mataleto, Corio), 15 miles south of Parma, he was about to hang, or strangle ('laqueo suspendere') a little lad of his suite ('infantem ejus ragazium,' *R. I. S.* 16. 770; Muratori 8. 383, 'un ragazzo di suo seguito'; Giulini 5. 596, perhaps without sufficient warrant, 'un ragazzo di un certo soldato Tedesco', and so Leo 3. 323), when a (*lit.* another, 'unus alter') German servant of his, roused to desperation, drew his sword, and struck Otto such a blow on the head that he died four days afterward. This is the account of the Milanese annalist (*R. I. S.* 16. 770), who explains that, carried away by an access of rage, the Marquis, as he passed along, was wont to slay with his own hands men, boys, and infants, and in this manner did actually kill considerable numbers. The *Chronicle of Piacenza* (*R. I. S.* 16. 541) says that as he was seeking to kill some of his servants, they, in defending themselves, gave him wounds of which

Thus a second time widowed, Violante returned to Pavia, this time to the care of her brother, Gian Galeazzo. He, terrified by the threats of his uncle Bernabò,⁷ wedded Violante, not more than 26 years old, to the latter's son, Lodovico, then 22,⁸ probably in April or May, 1381.⁹ On May 6, 1385, as has been stated above,¹⁰ her husband, with his father, Bernabò, and his brother, Rodolfo, was arrested and lodged in prison. In December of that year Bernabò died in confinement, having eaten, as was

he died in 15 (*sic*) days. Benvenuto (*R. I. S.* 23. 597) affirms that on the 11th of December he was struck on the head by one of his servants, and died on the 16th; Corio (p. 493) adds, 'in a stable.' Jovius' words are: 'quum Otho in montibus Parmensium ab agresti agasone confossus, ignobili fato perierit,' which Stow (see p. 62) renders: 'being in the hills of Pavia [*sic*], stabbed through of a base horse-keeper, where he likewise died obscurely.' His body was carried into Parma, and buried before the high altar of the Cathedral (Benvenuto; Corio; *Annal. Med.*), being strewn with spices, and lapped in lead (*R. I. S.* 16. 770: 'in quadam cassetta plumbea cum aromatibus').

⁷ Bernabò had prohibited Gian Galeazzo, his sons, and Violante, from contracting matrimony except with Bernabò's sons or daughters, and commanded his own sons to treat Gian Galeazzo as a deadly enemy if he disobeyed (*R. I. S.* 16. 797-8). The desire to placate Bernabò was at least partly responsible for the union of Lodovico and Violante (*R. I. S.* 16. 543), as well as for Gian Galeazzo's own marriage to Caterina, the daughter of Bernabò, on Nov. 15, 1380 (Rosmini 2. 149-150; Leo 3. 325-6).

⁸ He was born in September, 1358 (*R. I. S.* 17. 499 says he was 28 years old in 1385), and probably baptized Sept. 30 (Sunday, Oct. 1, according to *R. I. S.* 15. 484, but that was Monday); cf. Magenta 1. 170-171; Rosmini 2. 89-91; Giulini 5. 433-4. His sponsors, the lords of Ferrara, Mantua, and Bologna, purchased their peace with Bernabò with costly christening-gifts (Muratori 8. 309); thus Aldovrandino III, Marquis of Ferrara, presented the infant with a silver vase, containing a golden cup full of pearls, rings, and precious stones (*R. I. S.* 16. 729; Corio, p. 457), the whole being valued at 10,000 florins (*R. I. S.* 15. 484). The occasion was celebrated with jousts and tournaments (*R. I. S.* 15. 629; 16. 729; Corio, p. 457). Lodovico was the second son, Marco being the first (Corio, p. 509). In 1378 he had accompanied his sister Valentina to Cyprus (*R. I. S.* 16. 771; cf. Giulini 5. 605), to be married to Pierre II (cf. p. 118).

⁹ Corio, p. 500; *R. I. S.* 16. 543, 773-4; cf. Muratori 8. 395; Giulini 5. 623; Rosmini 2. 149; Magenta 1. 171. The wedding was at Pavia (*R. I. S.* 16. 774), and Gian Galeazzo gave her a dowry of 100,000 florins (Corio).

¹⁰ See p. 19.

believed, of a poisoned dish. Lodovico and his brother were removed to another prison, and she never saw him again,¹¹ since she died, as we have seen, in November, 1386.

Twice a papal dispensation had to be obtained to enable her to marry, the suitors being within the prohibited degrees of affinity.¹² The first of these was a violent madman.¹³ The second, Lodovico, so it is expressly said, she married against her will.¹⁴ In less than 19 years she was wedded and widowed three times, her marriage each time being from considerations of policy. She had no child by any of her husbands. Her father was scheming and ferocious; her uncle (also her father-in-law) was scheming and ferocious; her third husband was scheming and ferocious¹⁵; her second husband was ferocious, but unequal to successful scheming. The groans of the oppressed were to be heard on every side; battle, murder, and sudden death, were the incidents of daily life; all the cold and glittering splendor which marked the high days of her life was paid for with intolerable exactions, with coins wrung from the poor, with the tears and sighs of the overburdened. She herself was the plaything of politics, the tool of magnificent and unscrupulous tyrants, the most unfortunate of wives and widows; yet a modern historian can say¹⁶: 'She was a lady of sweet and honorable soul. It rarely happens that in one house are found three spirits so exquisite, so compassionate, and so swift to all goodness, as were Bianca of Savoy,¹⁷ Isabella of France,¹⁸ and Violante, between whom the slightest dissension never arose. They were noble souls in lovely bodies, and Heaven only knows what good they wrought in natures like those of Galeazzo and his son.'

¹¹ So *R. I. S.* 16. 546. She died in Pavia, and was buried in S. Pietro Ciel d'Oro (*R. I. S.* 16. 546, 778).

¹² *R. I. S.* 23. 594; *M. H. P.* 3. 1340.

¹³ 'Non bene sensatus' (*R. I. S.* 16. 541, cf. 546); 'qui sævis et difficilimis moribus erat' (*R. I. S.* 23. 597); 'un umor bestiale e quasi furioso' (*Muratori* 8. 383).

¹⁴ *R. I. S.* 16. 546, 778.

¹⁵ Lodovico and his two brothers, Carolo and Rodolfo, followed in the footsteps of their father. For the catalogue of their misdeeds, see *R. I. S.* 16. 799-800.

¹⁶ Magenta 1. 176.

¹⁷ See p. 48.

¹⁸ See p. 49.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

LIONEL'S NAME AND TITLE

Whence did Lionel derive his name, and his title of Duke of Clarence? Let us inquire into the name first, and then into the title.

As to the name Lionel, the following theories are suggested by Sandford, p. 221:

This Lionel, named in Latin, Leonellus, Lionellus, and Leonatus, which signifie, a Lioncel, or Diminutive Lion, had this Appellation either from being the Off-spring of that Lion of England King Edward the Third (alluding to the Royal Arms he bare) whose Third Son he was, or to revive the British Name Llewellyn, signifying Lion-like, being the same with Leominus or Leontius.

Here are two surmises: (1) Lionel means the son of Edward the Royal Lion; (2) Lionel is adapted from the Welsh Llewellyn. For the second of these there is nothing to be said. For the first, it is evident enough that Lionel is derived from 'lion,'¹ but there seems no sufficient ground for assuming that Edward III was, in 1338, before the battles of Sluys, Crécy, and Poitiers, known as the Lion,² in virtue of his personal prowess or the success of his arms, and as little for supposing that he derived this title from the animals on his shield, whether we call them lions or leopards.

These theories being rather unsatisfactory, let us ask ourselves whether we are bound to assume that the name was improvised for the occasion, or whether it already had a history. The French romance of *Lancelot*, in its prose form dating from about 1200,³ has a hero, Lionel,⁴ own cousin to Lancelot, the former

¹ Four manuscripts (N, R, C, M) of Murimuth (p. 87) read *Leonem* for *Leonellum*, as the name given to the prince at his birth, he is called Leo in the *Cal. Pat. Rolls* for May 20, 1343, and Froissart (Kervyn 7. 246-7), in his account of the journey to Milan, uniformly calls him Lion(s), Lyon; cf. the Lyons of *Agravain* (*Romans* 5. 303), and the Lyon of the *Vaux du Héron* (below, p. 120).

² In the poems of Laurence Minot, Edward is more than once alluded to under the figure of a boar, and in the prophecies of John of Bridlington as a bull. See *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Wright, Vol. I.

³ Gaston Paris, *Litt. Fr. au Moyen Âge*, 3d ed., p. 109 (*Romans* 4. 191, assigns to it a date 12, 20, or 30 years earlier). An earlier form was in

being the son of Bohor (compare Tennyson's Sir Bors), and the latter of Bohor's brother, Ban. The two brothers had neighboring kingdoms near Saumur, in what was later Anjou,⁵ which they held as vassals of King Aramont of Brittany. Aramont recognized Uther, and afterwards Arthur, as his suzerain. A certain Claudas of Bourges, declaring himself vassal of the King of Gaul, invaded the territory of Lancelot's father, who fled to England to implore the assistance of Arthur; but when he had departed, his castle was taken, and Ban soon after died. His brother, Bohor, survived Ban but a few days, and his kingdom, too, fell to the invader, Claudas. Lionel and his brother, named Bohor after his father, were left with their mother in Monteclair, the only castle that still remained of all that had belonged to their father; but even from this they were soon expelled by King Claudas.⁶ When Lionel and Bohor had grown to boyhood, an attendant tells them that by one of the sons of Ban and (the elder) Bohor the adventurous period of Great Britain shall come to an end, at which Lionel grows first red, then pale, and bursts into tears. This, he explains, is because Claudas still holds his father's territories, whereupon Lancelot tells him that he will never want for lands if only he lack not courage.⁷

Eventually, as we are informed in the romance of *Agravain*, Lancelot, who has regained his hereditary dominions, bestows upon Lionel the kingdom of Gaul.⁸

Anglo-Norman, and was carried to Vienna by Gui de Morville, one of the hostages for Richard Cœur de Lion (before 1194).

⁴ As does the Vulgate *Merlin* (ed. Sommer), and the Dutch *Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, pp. 228-230. See Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, pp. 52, 135-6, 143, 201.

⁵ Where the Angevin kings of England took the name of Plantagenets (Michelet 4. 191).

⁶ See *Romans* 3. 3-21.

⁷ *Romans* 3. 90-91; for other references to Lionel see pp. 27, 60-65, 67, 72, 84-80, 92-94, 110, 119, 127; 4. 1, 18-23, 45 ff., 76, 79, 141-5, 209 (dubbing of Lionel), 268-272, 320, 326, 330-332, 338-342; 5. 5-6, 118-120, 290-293, 295, 303, 314-5, 318-320, 323, 326, 334, 339, 351. (Cf. *Le Morte Darthur*, pp. 169, 170, 183-5, 190, 192, 196, 397, 585, 604, 612-3, 676-9, 682-6, 743-4, 818, 829, 855.) On p. 59 we are told: 'Lionel était le cœur d'enfant le plus démesuré que l'on pût voir; aussi Galehaut, le vaillant seigneur des Iles foraines, le surnomma-t-il *Cœur sans frein* [cf. 4. 270], le jour qu'il fut armé chevalier.'

⁸ *Romans* 5. 323; cf. *Le Morte Darthur*, pp. 829, 855.

There are two reasons for the association of this mythical Lionel with the king of beasts—the circumstances which gave him his name, and an exploit which he performed in the days of his knight-errantry. When Lionel was born, there was seen on his breast a red spot resembling a lion, with paws outstretched as if to embrace his neck.⁹ The exploit, which Lionel craved for himself on the occasion of his dubbing as knight, consisted in the strangling of the first Libyan lion ever seen in Great Britain. It was led in, with a crown on its head, by a damsel who held it by a golden chain, and the reward of the emprise was to be the hand of the damsel's mistress, the most beautiful and richest lady in the world.¹⁰ This exploit is of course to be disregarded in considering the reason why the Lionel of romance received his name.

But how can the Lionel of romance have influenced Edward III and Philippa in the bestowal of a name upon their third son? The answer to this involves a consideration of the circumstances and designs of Edward III in November, 1338, when Lionel was born. At that time one of the chief sources of England's wealth was wool, which was chiefly exported to Flanders, and there manufactured into cloth. The prosperity of both countries therefore depended upon a free and uninterrupted exchange of their products, which, during the earlier years of Edward's reign, was in danger of being prejudiced through French influence. To cultivate the friendship of the Low Countries, and to prevent the ascendancy of the French in that quarter, was a policy which was almost forced upon Edward at this period. He had married Philippa, daughter of the Count of Hainaut, who was also Count of Holland and Zeeland, and Lord of Friesland; and this alliance was of great political advantage to him in his enterprises against France. The situation is summarily described by Coville¹¹:

Édouard III, suivant le conseil qui lui fut donné dans son Parlement, chercha de tous côtés des alliés sur le continent, jusqu'en

⁹ See the quotation from Lancelot in Madden's edition of *Sir Gawayne*, p. 313: 'Et le varlet avoit à nom Lyonnell pource que une grande merveille advint à son naistre. Car sy tost comme il yssit du ventre Helayne, sa mere, l'en trouva au meillieu de son pis une tasche vermeille en forme de lyon, et avoit l'enfant embrassé parmy le col, ainsi comme pour l'estrangler.'

¹⁰ *Romans* 4. 272; 5. 290-293.

¹¹ Lavissee 4.² 37 (cf. p. 35). See a fuller treatment in Michelet 4. 149-186.

Norvège et en Espagne, mais surtout aux Pays-Bas. Il avait épousé une fille du comte de Hainaut, comte en même temps de Hollande et de Zélande et seigneur de Frise; il était devenu le beau-frère de l'empereur Louis de Bavière et du comte de Gueldre. En 1328, puis en 1330, il s'était assuré l'alliance du duc de Brabant, dont le duché commençait alors à prendre son grand essor industriel. Avec l'aide de la maison de Hainaut-Hollande, dont les domaines avaient une grande importance stratégique, Édouard espérait dominer tous les Pays-Bas. Il est vrai que Philippe VI, à partir de 1332, essaya de contrecarrer l'action d'Édouard dans cette région; il obligea le duc de Brabant à faire alliance avec lui et à marier son fils aîné à une fille de France, et en 1334 il acquit la seigneurie de Malines. Mais Édouard II reprit bientôt l'avantage aux Pays-Bas.

In October, 1337, Edward took the title of King of France, in order to quiet the scruples of the Flemish.¹² In July, 1338, he installed himself at Antwerp with Queen Philippa, and spent money lavishly, in hopes to gain more completely the friendship of the people.¹³ Now it was during this sojourn in Antwerp that Philippa gave birth, on Nov. 29, 1338, to the son who was called Lionel of Antwerp—just as his brother, born two years later, was known as John of Gaunt (Ghent)—after Edward III had been present at a parliament in that city, at which he granted to the Flemish great commercial privileges, and bestowed upon them the wool staple and a large subsidy.¹⁴

Meanwhile, Edward was not only embroiled with the King of France on the grounds indicated above, but also because restitution had not been made of a part of Guyenne which had been seized by the French toward the close of his brother's reign. After this encroachment, Edward's vassals, whenever they were dissatisfied with his rule, were prone to appeal, over his head, to Philip VI, King of France.¹⁵

Here, then, we have a situation sufficiently analogous to that outlined at the beginning of *Lancelot*—the vassals of an English

¹² Lavissee 4.¹ 39; Michelet 4. 185.

¹³ Lavissee 4.¹ 43. Froissart thus describes his prodigality (Michelet 4. 179-180): 'Et n'épargnoient ni or ni argent, non plus que s'il leur plût des nues, et donnaient grands joyaux aux seigneurs et dames et demoiselles, pour acquérir la louange de ceux et de celles entre qui ils conversoient; et tant faisoient qu'ils l'avoient et étoient prisés de tous et de toutes, et mêmement du commun peuple à qui ils ne donnoient rien, pour le bel état qu'ils menoient.'

¹⁴ Lavissee 4.¹ 44-45.

¹⁵ Lavissee 4.¹ 35.

king despoiled, and their territory appropriated, by the vassals of a French king; while, looking to the future, as in the romance the whole of Gaul, and not merely an individual fief, falls under the sway of the son (still an infant when the story opens) of a dispossessed lord, so, it may be inferred, when chivalry has done its perfect work, will this infant possess a heritage in the fair lands of France. The analogy seems to fail in one point, it is true; for who is the Lancelot at whose hands Lionel is to receive his appanage? But we do not expect, in these smiling forecasts, the strictest correspondence in every detail. The Lionel of romance is brave even to foolhardiness¹⁶; and he is represented as consumed with grief at the wrong that has been done to his father and himself.¹⁷ Would not a fond and ambitious father trust that his newborn son would thus conduct himself as he grew toward manhood?

But what reason have we to suppose that the *Lancelot* would be thus familiarly known, or that a mere tissue of chivalric imagination would thus influence grave statesmen and ambitious warriors? As to the former, we have the testimony implied in the lines of Chaucer¹⁸:

This storie is also trewe, I undertake,
As is the book of Launcelot de Lake,
That wommen holde in ful gret reverence.

¹⁶ *Romans* 3. 65.

¹⁷ *Romans* 3. 61: 'Ne vaut-il pas mieux mourir à honneur que d'abandonner à d'autres son héritage?' As he and his brother come riding to the court of Claudas, in obedience to his summons, they are thus met: 'À leur approche, tous les gens du palais sortent pour les voir. On les regarde avec intérêt, on pleure, on prie Dieu de les rétablir un jour dans leurs honneurs. . . . Lionel avançait la tête haute, promenant fièrement sa vue de tous les côtés de la salle, comme jouvenceau de haut et noble parage' (3. 63-64). When he is about to be made knight, Arthur, who had been sojourning at Dinadaron, gave rendezvous to his barons, for the feast of Pentecost, at his city of London, for he wished to dub young Lionel of Gannes knight in the presence of his whole court. 'Jamais il n'y eut une réunion si brillante de barons, de dames, et de demoiselles; on vint à Londres de toutes les villes non-seulement de la Grande-Bretagne, mais aussi de France, d'Allemagne, et de Lombardie' (4. 209).

¹⁸ *Nun's Priest's Tale* 391-3 (B 4401-3). Cf. *Squire's Tale* 279 (F 287):

No man but Launcelot, and he is deed.

In *Romans* 4. 371-3 attention is called to the fact that the *Lancelot* comprehends the *Galeotto* of Dante, mentioned in the episode of Paolo and

Significant, too, is the fact that on June 15, 1378, Luchino Novello Visconti, son of Luchino (Corio, p. 482; *R. I. S.* 16. 753; Giulini 5. 470), who was to sail early in July with Valentina, daughter of Bernabò, to marry Pierre II, King of Cyprus (see p. 109), wrote to obtain 'unum romanum loquentem de Tristano vel Lanzaloto, aut de aliqua alia pulcra et delectabili materia'; this was for pastime on the journey.¹⁹ As to the latter, we should remind ourselves that such seriousness in dealing with the matter of romance was by no means unexampled. Roger of Hoveden, writing at the beginning of the 13th century, tells us that Richard Cœur de Lion, being in Sicily in the spring of 1191, 'gave Tancred that best of swords which the British call Caliburne [Excalibur], formerly the sword of Arthur, once the noble king of England.'²⁰ The *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, the chief European account of the Third Crusade, says of Richard²¹: 'His was the valor of Hector, the magnanimity of

Francesca; that a subtitle for the *Decameron* was *Il Principe Galeotto* (cf. Hutton, p. 202, note); and that the *Amadis of Gaul* is largely indebted to the *Lancelot* (4. 371-3). One of Bernabò's sons (b. 1356) was called Leonello (*R. I. S.* 17. 500), or Lionello. Commenting upon this fact, Rajna (*Romania* 17. 184, note 8) thinks there is no doubt that this is a direct allusion to the romance, and adduces in support of his view the names of other children of Bernabò: Lancilotto, Sagromoro, Palamede (Palamidesse), Ettore (Astore), Galeotto; Isotta (Isolta), Ginevra (cf. Corio, p. 509; *R. I. S.* 17. 500). Even Galeazzo, according to Rajna (p. 182, note 2), is only another form of Galahad (which did not prevent the author of eight lines over the gateway of the Castello at Pavia from punning on the helmet there represented: 'Hac galea Galeaz castrum defendit et urbem'; so Jovius, in Grævius, p. 315).

¹⁹ Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 425, note 6; cf. *R. I. S.* 16. 771.

²⁰ Archer, *The Crusade of Richard I*, pp. 48-49. Archer remarks (p. 48, note): 'Though discarded by graver historians, such as William of Newburgh, the Arthurian stories soon worked their way deep down into the popular mind. In 1191, according to Ralph of Coggeshall, Arthur's tomb was discovered at Glastonbury with the inscription: "Here in the valley of Avallion lies buried the renowned king Arthur." The pervading influence of the legend may be seen in the fact that Arthur's name was given to the posthumous son of Geoffrey, the third son of Henry II.'

²¹ Archer, p. 6, who adds: 'The allusions here are to various *chansons de geste* which seem to have been favorite reading with this writer.' Elsewhere the *Itinerarium* speaks of the 'period we still hear sung of in the "Gestes" about the famous victory of Boemund, of Tancred, Godfrey de Bouillon, and other noble chiefs of highest renown' (Archer, p. 283,

Achilles; he was no whit inferior to Alexander, or less than Roland in manhood.' The chronicler Jean le Bel, whom Froissart follows in the earlier part of his work, when referring to the attack on Aiguillon, near Agen, by the elder Earl of Derby²² in 1346, compares it to the most famous sieges recounted in the stories of Alexander, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon.²³

Of the castle of Chalkis, in Eubœa, we are told²⁴: 'The local legend made it the abode of fairies, the enchanted fortress where the Lady of the Lake had held Gauvain captive.' And of Cephalonia,²⁵ on the authority of Froissart: 'Fairies and nymphs inhabited this ancient realm of Odysseus.' Elsewhere I have written²⁶: 'Mythical heroes are sometimes found in church-sculpture of the 12th century. Thus Arthur and other heroes of his cycle, recognizable by inscriptions, occur on the archivolt of the Peschiera doorway of the Cathedral of Modena (Venturi 3. 164; Michel 1.² 698), while on the portal of San Zeno of Verona, Nicholas represented Roland, with his sword inscribed *Durindarda*, and Oliver opposite (Venturi 3. 196; Michel 1.² 698). Even two episodes of the *Roman de Renard* occur on the lintel of the doorway of the Cathedral of Modena (Michel 1.² 698).' In the *Vows of the Heron*,²⁷ John de Beaumont says that when knights are in taverns, drinking strong wines, they seem to themselves to be conquering Oliver and Roland, but that when they are on horseback, benumbed with cold, and with their enemies approaching, it is quite a different matter.²⁸ According to Jorga (pp. 24-25), Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405), the

who says: 'The allusion here is to the great mediæval Chanson de Geste on the Siege of Antioch'). Again (Archer, p. 292): 'Out of all the "Gestes" of the ancients, and out of all the tradition of those who tell stories or write books from the most remote times, there never was a warrior of any creed who bore himself so nobly as King Richard did that day.' Finally, the *Itinerarium* refers to 'Richard, to whom Roland himself cannot be compared' (Archer, p. 311).

²² See *Hist. Background*, pp. 176-7, 203, 219, 221-7, 237.

²³ Lavisse 4.¹ 58.

²⁴ Miller, p. 366.

²⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 371-2.

²⁶ *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, p. 70, note 2.

²⁷ *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Wright, 1. 21.

²⁸ Michelet (5. 81) speaks of the future Charles VI as having (ca. 1380) his imagination spoiled by the romances of chivalry.

celebrated advocate of untimely crusades, shows, especially in his epistle to Richard II, much familiarity with the mediæval accounts of the Trojan war, the twelve paladins, and the exploits of Alexander the Great, and compares Richard and Charles VI of France to Roland and Oliver, Charlemagne and Arthur.

Coming closer to Lionel himself, we have his great ancestor, Edward I, invoking the authority of legend against the claims of Scotland, as urged by Pope Boniface VIII. After relating the voyage of Brutus to Albion, where, after conquering and slaying the giants who possessed it, he renamed it Britain, and built the city of Trinovant, now called London, the great legislator continues²⁹: 'Item Arturus, Rex Britonum, princeps famosissimus, Scotiam sibi rebellem subiecit, et pene totam gentem delevit: et postea quendam, nomine Anguselum, in Regem Scotiæ præfecit. Et cum postea idem Rex Arturus apud civitatem Legionum festum faceret celeberrimum [*sic*], interfuerunt ibidem omnes Reges sibi subjecti, inter quos Anguselus, Rex Scotiæ, servitum [*sic*] pro regno Scotiæ exhibens debitum, gladium Regis Arturi detulit ante ipsum.' Nothing could more clearly show how, in this century, the facts which history records may, on occasion, grow out of, or receive justification from, the legends which poetry invents.

But even Lionel in person was, so to say, cradled in romance. In a French poem, *The Vows of the Heron*, probably written soon after 1340, Queen Philippa is represented as looking forward to the birth of the future Lionel, and as making his very existence contingent upon the fulfilment of her husband's vow to pass through Hainaut by way of Cambrai to the neighborhood of St. Quentin, carrying fire throughout the country, and making war upon King Philip if he dared the encounter.³⁰ The following synopsis of the relevant portion of the poem is given by its editor³¹:

²⁹ Rymer, under May 7, 1301.

³⁰ Edward is represented as saying (cf. the remark of the Lionel of romance, above p. 114):

Me cuide-il dont tolrir mè terre et mon pays?

Edward swears by St. George and St. Denis, and refers to Hector, Achilles, Paris, and Alexander. See *op. cit. infra*, p. 7.

³¹ *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Wright, 1. xii-xv.

One day in the September of 1388, Robert Artois, who was at the court of King Edward at London, took his falcon, and went hunting on the banks of the river, till he caught a heron. Robert returned to the palace, where he went direct to the kitchen, and caused the bird to be immediately cooked and prepared for the table. Now that day King Edward sat at dinner with his courtiers, occupied only with thoughts of love and gallantry, and harboring only peaceful and indulgent feelings towards all his neighbors, not excepting the king of France. Robert of Artois suddenly presented himself in the hall, followed by three minstrels and two noble maidens, the latter of whom carried the heron ceremoniously laid between two dishes. Robert proclaimed that, as the heron had the reputation of being the most cowardly of birds, it was now destined for the greatest coward at the table, and that, he said, was King Edward, who submitted tamely to be deprived of the kingdom and crown of France, although he knew that they belonged to him by right. Having thus proclaimed his design, he presented the heron to the king, and, as was customary on such occasions, asked him to make a vow upon it. Edward, deeply stung by this reproach, made a vow that before the end of the year he would invade France with fire and sword, and that, if Philippe of Valois ventured to resist him, he would fight him, though he came with an army which was ten times the number of his own. Robert was overjoyed at the king's vow, and repeated to himself in undertones the hopes he had of revenging his own quarrel with King Philippe in the war which was about to commence; and then, after making his own vow, carrying the heron in the same ceremony, he proceeded to collect the vows of the other guests. . . . Robert of Artois presented himself in the last place before the queen of England. She first excused herself on the ground of being a married woman, but, on receiving permission from the king to do so, she uttered a vow which was not very remarkable for its feminine delicacy. . . . The heron was now carved, and shared among the guests; and soon afterwards the king made his preparations for his first campaign on the Continent. . . . The allusion to the captivity of the earl of Suffolk proves that it cannot have been composed before the year 1340.³²

The following lines are those which refer more immediately to Lionel³³:

Adonc dist la roine: 'Je sais bien que piecha
 Que sui grosse d'enfant, que mon corps senti la,
 Encore n'a il gaires qu'en mon corps se tourna;
 Et je voue et prometh à Dieu qui me crea,

³² *The Vows of the Heron* is modeled upon the *Vaux du Paon* (1310-1315), for which see Gaston Paris, *Litt. Fr. au Moyen Âge*, 3d ed., p. 80.

³³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

Qui nasqui de la vierge, que ses corps n'empira,
 Et qui morut en crois, on le crucifia,
 Que jâ li fruis de moi de mon corps n'istera,
 Si m'en arés menée ou pais par delà,
 Pour avanchier le veu que vo corps voué a.
 Et s'il en voelh isir, quant besoins n'en sera,
 D'un grand coutel d'achier li miens corps s'ochira;
 Serai m'asme perdue et li fruis perira.' . . .
 Adonc, quant che fu fait, li rois s'apareilla,
 Et fit garnir les nes, la roine i entra,
 Et maint franc chevalier avecques lui mena.
 De illoec en Anvers li rois ne s'arreta.
 Quant outre sont venu, la dame delivra:
 D'un bian fils gracieux la dame s'acouka,
 Lvon d'Anvers ot non quant on le baptisa.
 Ensi le franque dame le sien veu aquitta.³⁴

The theory we have sketched concerning the source of Prince Lionel's name derives an added plausibility when considered in the light of his title, Duke of Clarence. It has usually been supposed that this title was derived from the possessions of Lionel's first wife, Elizabeth, at Clare in Suffolk,³⁵ her uncle having been Gilbert, Earl of Clare and Gloucester. Thus Sandford³⁶: 'Duke of Clarence, as it were of the Country about the Town, Castle and Honour of Clare.'³⁷

The matter is complicated by the existence in the Middle Ages of a town called Clarentza³⁸ (Glarentza), on the coast of Elis,

³⁴ On April 16, 1358, the Dauphin Charles, afterwards Charles V, pays for the repair of a piece of tapestry, representing the vow of the heron (*panni lanci ad ymagines super voto Hardec*), which had been torn in his room by a favorite bear (Delachenal i. 64).

³⁵ See pp. 91 ff.

³⁶ P. 222. Sandford says that Clarencieux king-at-arms, being provincial herald for the region south of the Trent, was named from this duchy.

³⁷ So *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 33. 336; Paris 4. 77; Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, p. 333.

³⁸ Cf. Leake, *Travels in the Morca* 2. 173-4: 'Glaréntza, softened by the Italians into Chiarenza, once gave name to a Venetian duchy. . . . It is now only a desert harbor, where some rocks furnish a retreat for boats. There can be no doubt that Glaréntza is the ancient Cyllene.' Other particulars are given by Longnon (*Chronique de Morée*, pp. XCIX-CI): 'Clarentza was the port of Andravida, the capital of the principality of Achaia, and distant from it three leagues to the westward. The Franks created the new seaport (now filled up) on the site of the earlier St. Zacharia, and named it from the clear waters issuing from the fountain

nearly opposite the island of Zante (Corfu), from which some have supposed the title to have been derived. This opinion is thus combated by Leake³⁹:

An unfounded opinion has long prevailed, and has been repeated by some of the latest travellers, that the name of the English dukedom of Clarence was derived from Glaréntza or Klaréntza, the modern name of *Cyllene*. But no royal or noble family of England is known to have possessed any territory in the *Peloponnesus*, and there can be no question, that Clarentia or Clarenia was the district of Clare, in Suffolk. The title was first given in 1362, by Edward III., to his third son Lionel, when the latter succeeded to the estates of Gilbert, earl of Clare and Gloucester, uncle to his wife, who was heiress also to her father, William de Burg, earl of Ulster. On Lionel's death, the title became extinct for want of heirs, and was thrice renewed with the same result: in 1411, by King Henry IV., in favour of his second son, Thomas Plantagenet; in 1461, by King Edward IV., in favour of his brother, George Plantagenet; and in 1789, by King George III., in favour of his third son, William Henry. Κλαρέντζα, Γλάρεντζα, or Γλαράντζα, is a name found in other parts of Greece, and appears to be derived from the Romaic Γλάρος, a water-fowl so called. It is possible that this error as to the title of Clarence may have been partly caused by the identity of the Latin form of the name of the two places, although so widely distant from one another.

The views of Leake have been traversed by Sir Rennell Rodd⁴⁰:

It has been maintained that after the marriage of Florence of Hainault with Isabella Villehardouin, the family of the counts of Hainault took a title from the Achaian city of Clarenza, and that through Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III., it was revived in favour of her son Lionel.

of Cyllene. It was the place of disembarkation for reinforcements arriving from France and the kingdom of Naples, and destined for the Morea. It was, too, the resort of foreign merchants, especially the Venetians, and a place of considerable commerce; and its citizens formed a financial aristocracy. The local French fleet was under the control of an admiral, and the money coined here was esteemed throughout the Orient, as the weights and measures of Clarentza were recognized as standard in all Romania.' See also Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 210-211; Rodd i. 110, 141, 173-5, 266; 2. 3, 18, 30, 34; Miller, pp. 267-8, 272, 289, and Index s. v. Glarentza; Boccaccio, *Decameron* 2. 7; Ptolemy, *Geographia*, ed. Noble, 3. 16. 6 (where later manuscripts record that Cyllene was subsequently known as Klaréntza).

³⁹ *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 212.

⁴⁰ 2. 275-6.

Buchon, Hopf, and others have accepted the popular tradition. Colonel Leake, on the other hand, throws doubt upon it, maintaining that the English title of Clarence was derived from the district of Clare in Suffolk, and was borne by Prince Lionel on his succeeding to the estate of Gilbert, Earl of Clare and Gloucester, uncle to his wife (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 212). Leake found the name Γλάρεντζα or Γλάραντζα existing in other parts of Greece, and derives it from the Romaic name of a waterfowl, Γλάρος. The tradition, however, which connects an English prince with the adventurers of the thirteenth century in the Morea has a fascination which one is reluctant to abandon, and it is conceivable that the name had a double significance as bestowed on the son of Philippa of Hainault. . . .

Lionel, Duke of Clarence, died in 1369. If the title had been a new one created especially for this prince, and derived from Clare in Suffolk, it might be contended that a contemporary writer would hardly have chosen it to give to a knight of King Arthur's court. On the other hand, the legends which had gathered round the conquest of Morea and the acquisition of principalities in the Levant would more readily justify the association with the round table of a name derived from the crusading epoch which developed the spirit of adventure and chivalry crystallized in the Arthurian romance.

What shall we say to these opposing views? Was Lionel's title derived from Clare in Suffolk, or from Clarentza in the Peloponnesus? Those who advocate the latter opinion argue as follows⁴¹: The title to Clarentza descended from William of Villehardouin (1245?-1278) to his daughter Isabella⁴² (1289-1307), and from her to her daughter by Florence (Florent) of Hainaut, Mahault⁴³ (1313-8), from whom it passed (conjecturally) to Philippa⁴⁴ of Hainaut, queen of Edward III, who transmitted it to Lionel.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See Brockhaus, *Konv.-Lexikon*, 14th ed., 10. 390-391; cf. Meyer, *Grosses Konv.-Lexikon*, 6th ed., 11. 94; *Nouv. Larousse Illustré* s. vv. Clarence, Clarentza; *Grande Encyc.* 11. 541-2; 1. 369, 370.

⁴² Cf. Rodd 2. 2-3; Miller, pp. 205-6.

⁴³ Rodd 2. 19, 33, 143 ff., 148, 154-5, and Appendix III; Miller, pp. 190, 206, 252, 256-8.

⁴⁴ As Lionel named his daughter (and only child) Philippa, it may be surmised that there was a peculiar attachment between him and his mother. Lionel's daughter gave the same name to a daughter of her own (b. Nov. 21, 1375). Her next child, Edmund (b. Nov. 9, 1376), named a son Lionel.

⁴⁵ It is curious how a *nominal* Prince of Achaia was summoned by Lionel to appear before his tribunal in Milan, six days before his marriage. See p. 90.

Those who take the trouble to follow the career of Mahault of Hainaut to the end will see that it was only a barren title that she had to bestow, and that, such as it was, it could not have passed by direct and valid descent to Lionel of Antwerp. How far it was connoted, as a mere reminiscence, in the naming of the young prince, is another matter.

But even granting the reminiscence, we have still to inquire how a town in Greece came to have such a manifestly occidental name as Clarentza (for the derivation suggested by Leake evidently does not account for more than the first syllable, and is problematical enough for that). Here we are assisted by a piece of collateral evidence. The citadel of Clarentza, built in the first quarter of the 13th century,⁴⁶ a work which it required three years to construct,⁴⁷ was named Clairmont, a word which, by a transposition of its syllables, becomes Montclair, which at once reminds us of the castle of Monteclair where the mother of the mythical Lionel had taken refuge with her two sons when their country was ravaged by Claudas.⁴⁸ It need not surprise us, then, if the name of Clarentza recalls a personage of the *Roman de Lancelot*. Such a personage there was in the Duke of Clarence to whom we are introduced in the *Lancelot*, where, after the banquet on the occasion of Lionel's initiation into knighthood, four renowned knights of the Table Round take their way to the forest of Varannes, not far from the Thames, these four being Gawain, Ywain, Lancelot, and Galeschin,⁴⁹ Duke of Clarence, the son of Tradelinan, King of North Wales, brother of Dodinel⁵⁰ le Sauvage, nephew of King Arthur, and

⁴⁶ Rodd I. 132-3, 137; Miller, pp. 87-88.

⁴⁷ Miller, p. 87. See the descriptions in Rodd I. 135-7, 174-5 (with plan).

⁴⁸ *Romans* 3. 35, 37; cf. p. 114, above.

⁴⁹ Malory spells the name in a variety of ways, none closely resembling this: Chalannce, Challenge, Challyns, Chaleyns; cf. *Le Morte Darthur*, pp. 484-5, 491, 766, 790.

⁵⁰ Madden describes the Duke of Clarence (*Sir Gawayne*, p. 313) as 'son of Neutres, King of Garlot, by a sister of Arthur, and *cousin* of Dodinel. The duchy was given to him by Arthur, after his marriage with Guenever. The author of *Merlin* says of him, "Cest enfant fut le meilleur chevalier de deux centz cinquante chevaliers qui furent de la Table Ronde."

own cousin to Gawain.⁵¹ A knight of such noble lineage, thus accompanied and thus distinguished, might well become famous among the chivalrous readers of romance, and thus lend his name to a principality founded by invaders from France.⁵²

The Duke of Clarence and Lionel, as well as Lancelot, Bors, Bedivere, and the brother of the Duke of Clarence, Dodinel le Sauvage, are associated in *Gawain and the Green Knight*⁵³ 552-4:

Syr Doddinaval de Savage, þe duk of Clarence,
Launcelot, and Lyonel, and Lucan þe gode,
Syr Bors and Sir Bydver.

This, and the quotation from Chaucer with respect to the *Lancelot*,⁵⁴ may avail to show that, in the last half of the 14th century, the romance was well known in England, as we may infer that it was in the Morea in the first quarter of the 13th century. And these, together with the analogies adduced above,⁵⁵ will perhaps serve to establish the presumption that both the name and the title of King Edward III's son were derived from the *Lancelot*, at a period when the Table Round was strikingly recalled to men's minds by the establishment of the Order of the Garter (1348, or somewhat earlier).

But where, after all, was the original duchy of Clarence? Perhaps in faerie, or in a country sufficiently near to it; for the romancer,⁵⁶ apropos of Lancelot's battle-cry, 'Clarence!

⁵¹ *Romans* 4. 210. For Galeschin's adventures, see 4. 213-246, 293, 297, 309-311, 313, 328. He is described as short and stocky, but bold, alert, and of marvelous prowess.

⁵² Cf. Rodd 1. 176: 'By a strange irony of fate a Lombard marquis was warden of the pass of Thermopylæ, a knight of Flanders was lord in seven-gated Thebes, and a Venetian adventurer ruled over the Cyclades.' Miller (p. 87) quotes from the Venetian, Sanudo: 'He possessed a broad domain and great riches; he was wont to send his most confidential advisers from time to time to the courts of his vassals, to see how they lived and how they treated their subjects. At his own court he constantly maintained eighty knights with golden spurs, to whom he gave all that they required, besides their pay; so knights came from France, from Burgundy, and, above all, from Champagne, to follow him. Some came to amuse themselves, others to pay their debts, others because of crimes which they had committed at home.'

⁵³ Ascribed to about the time when Lionel received knighthood.

⁵⁴ Above, p. 117.

⁵⁵ Pp. 115-7.

⁵⁶ *Romans* 4. 76.

l'enseigne au roi Artus,' remarks: 'Clarence est une cité de Norgalles, grande et plantureuse, où jadis avait résidé le roi Taulas, aïeul d'Uterpendragon. De là le cri que ses descendants avaient conservé.'

The mythical Clarence of a legendary North Wales, the Clarentza of a chivalrous emprise in Greece, the Clare of Suffolk—are all these blended, then, in Lionel's title? However that may be, it would seem that, had it not been for the *Roman de Lancelot*, we should have known Chaucer's earliest patron neither as Lionel nor as the Duke of Clarence.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ See *Hist. Background*, p. 185.

APPENDIX B

CHAUCER'S ALAUNTS

In his description of Lycurgus, King of Thrace,¹ Chaucer tells us (*K. T.* 1290-94) :

Aboute his char ther wenten whyte alaunts,
Twenty and mo, as grete as any steer,
To huntun at the leoun or the deer,
And folwed him, with mosel faste ybounde,
Colers of gold, and torets fyled rounde.

What were these alaunts, and whence did Chaucer derive his acquaintance with them?

The first extended account that we have of this species of dog is contained in the treatise on hunting written by Alfonso XI of Spain, or under his direction, between 1342-50²:

Las fechuras que debe haber el alano para ser fermoso son estas; que haya la cabeza de talle de congrio, et bien cuadrada, et bien seca, et la nariz blanca, et bien abierto de boca; et las presas grandes, et los ojos bien pequeños, et que cate bien á la nariz; et las orejas bien enfiestas, et bien redondas; pero que esto de las orejas todo vá en el que lo faña en facergelas bien tajadas, ó mal; et que haya el cuello luengo; pero que se sigua bien, que non sea muy grueso, nin muy delgado; et que haya los pechos bien abiertos, et los brazos que los haya bien enfiestos, et non delgados, et la cuartiella pequeña, et las manos redondas, et altas, et el arca colgada et grande, et que non se le parezcan las tetas; et que haya el lomo bueno, et non cargado en las caderas, et que se le parescan á mala vez los huesos del espinazo; et la cola que sea mas contra gruesa que contra delgada, et que sea bien espigada, et que la traiga bien; et las corvas que las haya bien anchas, et bien arregazadas, et los piés que se siguan con las manos, et que sea de buen cabello, et blando, et de cuerpo que non sea muy grande sin razon. Et el alano que estas fechuras hobiere, será fermoso, et de razon debe seer tomador.

La alana que sea mas aguda de rostro, et que non haya tamaña boca como el alano; et que haya los ojos pequeños, et un poquiello

¹The home of Mars (cf. *K. T.* 114-6); see Homer, *Il.* 13. 301; *Od.* 8. 361; Sophocles, *Antig.* 970; Virgil, *Æn.* 12. 331 (cf. 3. 13); Statius, *Theb.* 7. 6 ff., 35 ff.; etc. Chaucer assigns to Thrace the hunting of the lion and the bear, where Statius (*Theb.* 4. 494-5) refers the hunting of the lion to Morocco (cf. Boccaccio, *Tes.* 7. 106, 119).

²Gutierrez de la Vega (see below), pp. XLII-XLIII. For Alfonso at Algeciras, see *Hist. Background*, pp. 217 ff.

longuetes, pero que cate á la nariz, et que sea mas luenga de costados, et que haya mayores caderas, et que non sea tan abierta de pechos, et en todo lo al que sea de las fechuras del alano.

Las mas finas colores que Nos fallamos de los alanos, et de las alanas son los blancos, et los grises escuros, et los prietos, et aun blancos manchados, en tal que hayan dos, ó tres manchas, et que sean grises, ó prietas, et que las hayan en la cabeza, ó sobre la cola; pero tambien de sabuesos como de alanos por non ser muy lindos de fechuras, nin de colores, acaesce á las veces que hay algunos que son buenos de bondat, empero mas de razon es comunmente de los que fueren lindos, et hobieren buenas fechuras, et buenas colores salir mas dellos buenos que non de los otros. Et á dó se ayunta la bondat et la fermosura, et ser lindo, es la bondat doblada.³

³ *Libro de la Monteria*, ed. Gutierrez de la Vega, pp. 115-8 (chap. 41). Another passage is (pp. 6-7):

‘Otrosí los alanos es cierta cosa que non toman por fambre nin por premia salvo por naturaleza derecha, que les dió Dios, et ardidez de corazon sobre todas las animalias. Et aun los muy lindos dellos con lealtad non tan solamente tomará el alano lindo cualquier venado á quel pongan; mas aun sil mandare tomar aquel á qui conosciere, á un home armado, tomarlo ha. Et probado fué muchas veces que muchos alanos ayudaron á los que los criaban contra sus enemigos et se defendieron dellos por ayuda de alanos. Et es verdat que tambien de sabuesos como de alanos, que si non fuese porque les faria mal el grant afan sobrel comer, que toda cosa que á ellos pertenesce de facer, farian mejor después que gobernados que antes. Et asi se prueba que todo lo que facen en su oficio, que lo facen por naturaleza de omecillio que puso Dios entrellos et los venados, et por talante que han de lo facer, et non por fambre, nin por otra premia ninguna.’

And still another has reference to the breeding of the alaunt (pp. 110-1; chap. 39):

‘Para haber buenos alanos, deben facer desta guisa. Cuando tovieren muy buen alano et bien lindo, et fermoso, et bien tomador, debel catar una alana que sea desa condicion mesma, et apartarlos ambos de la guisa mesma que de suso dice que aparten á los sabuesos, et facer á ella esa mesma guarda. Et de que pariere, dejarle dos, ó tres hijos, á lo mas, et los otros darlos á criar á otras alanas, ó á lebreras, ó á mastinas las mas lindas que fallaren. Et desde que hobieren medio año, criarlos sueltos, et non usarlos atar, porque se facen los brazos tuertos; pero guardarlos de andar lo mas que pudieren mientre son tiernos; et requerirlos con leche, porque los trae sanos et senciellos. Et cuando hobieren medio año, despuntarles bien las orejas, porque desde que son fañados, traenlas siempre mejor et mas en fiestas. Et criarlos desta guisa fasta que hayan un año. Et de un año adelante traerlos siempre consigo en palacio, para

It might be inferred from the foregoing that the home of the alaunt was in Spain, and this view is confirmed by the fact that in the time of Gaston de Foix (see below) it was proverbial that greyhounds came from Brittany, and alaunts and bird-dogs from Spain⁴; moreover, we are told by Commynes that Louis XI (1461-83) had alaunts brought from Spain.⁵

As Foix is so near to the Pyrenees, it is not surprising that the next authority on the alaunts is Gaston de Foix (1331-1391), surnamed Phœbus,⁶ son of the Gaston II who fought at Algeciras in 1343.⁷ That Gaston Phœbus was fond of the chase may be deduced from the fact that he kept 1600 hounds.⁸ The full title of his famous book, written between 1387 and 1391, is *Déduits de la Chasse des Bestes Sauvages et des Oiseaulx de Proye*. It has been published by Joseph Lavallée (Paris, 1854), as *La Chasse de Gaston Phœbus*.⁹ The part that concerns the alaunt here follows, with certain changes in punctuation (pp. 100-102):

Alanz est une nature et manière de chiens¹⁰; et les uns sont que on appelle alanz gentilz, les autres sont que on appelle alans veautres. Les autres sont alans de boucherie.

Les alans gentilz si doivent estre fez et taillez droitement comme un levrier de toutes choses fors de la teste, qui doit estre grosse et courte.¹¹ Et combien qu'il en y ait de chescun poill, le droit bon poil de alant, et qui plus est commun, si doit estre blanc, avec aucune

acostumbrarlos, et emponerlos en el tomar; pero guardarlos de grand afan, fasta que hayan dos años, ó año et medio á lo menos, que non lo lleven á monte.'

Cf. Leighton (p. 86) on the breeding of the Great Dane.

⁴De Noirmont 2. 294.

⁵*Ib.* I. 112.

⁶In 1373, according to Froissart, Gaston sent to the Duke of Anjou four coursers and two alaunts of Spain, fair and good (tr. Berners, reprint of 1812, Vol. 2, chap. 24). Froissart himself in 1388 took to Gaston from England four greyhounds—Tristan, Hector, Bren, and Rolland (Baillie-Grohman, p. xxx).

⁷*Hist. Background*, pp. 219, 223, 225-6.

⁸Baillie-Grohman, p. xxx.

⁹There is a cheap reprint, Paris, 1897.

¹⁰Cotgrave (*Dictionarie*, 1632) describes the Allan as 'a kind of big, strong, thicke headed, and short snowted dog, the brood whereof came first out of Albania.' To Florio it is simply 'a mastive dog.'

¹¹Cotgrave says it is 'like a Grayhound in all properties and parts, his thicke and short head excepted.'

tache noire environ l'oreille; les yeulz bien petiz et blans, et les narines blanches; les oreilles droites et agusiées, et aussi les y afaite¹² l'en.

Alan faut mieulz acoustumer que nulle autre beste, quar il est mieulz taillé, et plus fort pour fere mal, que nulle autre beste; et aussi de leur nature les alans sont volentiers estourdiz, et si n'ont mie si bon sens comme moult d'autres chiens ont: quar se on court un cheval ils le prennent volentiers, et vont aux buefz, ou brebis, ou pourcials, ou à autre bestiaill, ou aux gens, ou à autres chiens (quar j'ay veu alant qui tuait son maistre); et en toutes guises alans sont mal gracieux et mal entechiez, et plus foulz et estourdiz que autre manière de chiens. Et oncques je n'en vi trois bien entechiez et bien bons; quar bon alant doit courre si tost comme un levrier, et ce à quoy il ataint il doit metre la dent; et ce doit estre sans leissier, quart un alant de sa nature tient plus fort sa morsure que ne feroient trois lévriers—les meilleurs que on puisse trouver. Et pour ce est ce le meilleur chien que on puisse tenir pour prendre toutes bestes à tenir fort. Et quant il est bien duit et parfaitement bon, je tiens que c'est le souverain de tous les autres chiens; mes pou en trouve en de parfet.

Bon alant doit amer son maistre, et suyvir et luy aidier en tous cas, et fere ce qui li commendera, queuque chose que ce soit. Bon alant doit aller tost, et estre hardy à prendre toute beste sans marchander, et tenir fort sans leissier, et bien aconditioné, et bien à commandement de son maistre; et quant il est tel, je tiens, comme j'ay dit, que c'est le meilleur chien qui puisse estre pour prendre toute beste.

L'autre nature d'alans veautres si sont auques taillez comme leide taille de levrier; mes ils ont grosses testes, grosses levres, et granz oreilles¹³; et de cez si s'aide l'en très bien de chassier les ours et

¹² From Spanish *afeytar*, crop.

¹³ Cotgrave defines it as a 'great & ougly curre of that kind (having a big head, hanging lips, and slowching eares), kept onely to hunt the Beare and wild Boare.' Elsewhere (under *Vaultre*) he characterizes it as 'a mungrell betweene a hound and a mastife, or of a size between the Allan and great countrie curre; fit for the chase or hunting of wild Beares and Boares.' Godefroy (*Dict. de l'Ancien Français*, s. v. *Veltre*) defines it as a 'sorte de chien employé surtout pour la chasse de l'ours et du sanglier.' De Noirmont (2. 297) identifies this with the Spanish *alano* described below by Alonso Martinez de Espinar (*Arte de Ballesteria y Monteria*, 1644), the ancestor of the Cuban dogs, and of those which are trained by the Spaniards to fight with bulls: 'He is large, his limbs strong, his muzzle blunt, his forehead straight and broad, his eyes round and bloodshot, his aspect terrible, and his neck short and thick; his strength is such that he can conquer an animal as valiant and ferocious as the bull.'

For bear-hunting in the Pyrenees and in Spain, see De Noirmont 2. 481-4.

les porcs, quar ilz tiennent de leur nature fort; mes ils sont pesans et lez, et s'ils muerent d'un sanglier ou d'un ours, ce n'est mie trop grande perte. Et meslez avec levriers qui puissent, sont bons, quar, quant ils atainhent, ils lient la beste et la tiennent tout quoy; mes par eulx mesmes ils ne l'ateindroient jà, se leuvriers ne métoient la beste en destri. Donc tout homme qui vuelte hanter la chasse des ours et des porcs doit avoir et levriers et alanz veautres ou de boucherie (et mastins si n'en puelte avoir des autres), quar fort tiennent, comme j'ai dit, plus que lévriers.

L'autre nature d'alans de boucherie sont tels que vous pouvez veoir tousjours ès bonnes villes, les quicux les bouchers tiennent pour leur aidier à mener les bestaillz qu'ils achatent hors des bonnes villes; quar si un buef eschapoit du bouchier qui le maine, son chien le va prendre et arrester¹⁴ jusques tant que son mestre soit venu, et l'aide à ramener à la ville. Et sont de pou de despenz, qu'ilz menjent les ordures des boucheries; et aussi gardent ilz l'ostel de le mestre, et sont bons pour la chasse des ours ou des sangliers, ou soit avec levriers au titre,¹⁵ ou soit avec chiens courans aux abois dedenz les fourz; quar quant un sanglier est en 1 fort païs, jà de tout le jour par aventure ne le vuideroit pour les chiens courrans. Et quant on gete cieu mastinaille, ou ilz le prennent en my le fors, et le font tuer à aucun homme, ou ilz lui font vuider le païs, qu'il ne demourra gueres longuement aux abois. Et aussi sont ilz bons pour veautrer de nuiz, si comme je diray quant parleray du veneur.

As the original is somewhat repetitious and confused, a condensed summary, with a redistribution of the matter, is here presented:

There are three species of alaunts—gentle alaunts, veltres, and butchers' alaunts, the last being the least esteemed.

Nearly all alaunts have bad dispositions, and are harebrained and selfwilled. No other dog can equal an exceptional alaunt, if perfectly trained. A thoroughly good alaunt must be as fleet as a greyhound, fearless, fond of his master and close at call, obedient, prompt in seizing his prey, and tenacious of his hold. No dog is so well built, and none so strong to do harm; neither is any so ready to attack—whether it be horse, ox, sheep, hog, a human being, or another dog. Therefore, since an alaunt is as strong in the jaws as any three greyhounds, and has on occasion been known to kill his own master, it is evident that he needs the most thorough training. Even then,

¹⁴Cotgrave says it is 'like our Mastive, and serves Butchers to bring in fierce oxen, and to keepe their stalls.'

¹⁵The *titre* was an arrangement for so surrounding the game as to leave but one passage open, on issuing through which the animals were attacked by relays of hounds.

a man must have had a very large experience of dogs if he has seen three first-class alaunts in all his life.

The gentle alaunt is built exactly like a greyhound, except that he has a short, thick head.

The veltre is formed like an ill-shaped greyhound, only with a big head.

The butchers' alaunt is not particularly described as to his appearance.

The gentle alaunt has straight and pointed ears, rendered sharper by cropping. The veltre has large ears and large lips.

The gentle alaunt is preferably white, touched with black about the ears. Its nostrils are white, and its eyes white and very small.

The veltre serves a good purpose in the chase of the bear and wild boar, but is too heavy and slow for the pursuit, and therefore needs to be supplemented by the greyhound. The greyhounds come up with the quarry, and keep it at bay till the veltres seize it. In default of veltres, butchers' alaunts may be used for this purpose.

The chief use of butchers' alaunts is to capture and hold an animal, such as an ox, that is running away; they are also employed as watchdogs, and as a substitute for veltres in the chase.

In the book called *The Master of Game*, written by Edward, second Duke of York, probably between 1406 and 1413,¹⁶ the chapter on the alaunts is translated, with minor variations, from that by Gaston de Foix. This chapter¹⁷ is as follows,¹⁸ the chief variations being indicated by italics, the punctuation somewhat improved, and an occasional emendation suggested in square brackets:

Alaunt is a maner and nature of houndes, and þe *good* alauntz ben þe [þo?] which men clepyn alauntz gentil; other þer byn þat men clepyn alauntz ventrerres. Oþer byn alauntz of þe bocherie. Thei þat ben gentile shuld be made and shape as a greyhounde, evyn of alle þinges¹⁹ sauf of þe heved, þe whiche shuld be greet and short; and þouse ther [byn] alauntes of alle hewes, þe verrey hue of þe good alauntz þ^t is moost comon shuld be white, wiþ a blak spott about þe ceerys, smale [and white] eyne, and white stondyng eres and sharpe above.

Men shuld teche alauntz bettir, and to be of better custumes, þan eny oþer beestis, for he is bettir shape, and strengier for to do harme, þan eny oþer beest. Also comonly alauntz byn stordy²⁰ of here owyn

¹⁶ Ed. Baillie-Grohman, London, 1904. See Wells, pp. 427, 833.

¹⁷ Chap. 16.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 64-5.

¹⁹ Equally in all respects.

²⁰ Stubborn, headstrong, dogged, unruly; cf. 'sturdy beggars.' The alaunt has been compared to the Great Dane (see p. 136), of which Leigh-

nature, and have not so good witte as many oþer houndes have; for if a man prik an hors, þe alaunt wil gladly renne and bite þe hors; also þei renne at oxen, and at sheepe, at swyne, and to alle oþer beestis, or to men, or to oþer houndes, for *men han* seyn alauntz sle here maystire. And in alle maner wise alauntz byn july felle, and evel undirstondyng, and more foolish and more sturdy þan eny oþer maner of houndes. And *men seyn* never þre wel condicions [condiciond] and good, for a good alaunt shuld renne also fast as a greihounde, and eny beest þat he myȝt come to he shuld hold wiþ his sesours and nouȝt leve it, for an alaunt of his nature holdeth faster his biteng þan should iii greihoundes þe best þat eny man may fynde, and þerfore it is þe best hounde for to hold and for [to] nyme al maner beestis, and hold myȝtely. And whan he is wel condiciond and perfityly [good], *men* hold þat he is good amonge al oþer houndes; but men fynden but fewe þat doon [rather, byn] perfite. A good alaunt shuld love his maistire, and folowe hym, and helpe hym in alle cace; and what þing his maister wold hym comaunde he shuld do. A good alaunt shuld goo fast, and be hardy to nyme al maner beestis wiþout turnyng, and hold fast and not leve it, and wel condiciond, and wel at his maistris comaundement; and when he is soche, *men* hold, as I have saide, þat he is oon þe good²¹ hounde þ^t may be for to take al maner beestis.

That oþer [65] nature of alauntz is clepid ventreres. Almost þei bene shapon as a greyhounde of ful shap, [but] þei han grete hedes, and greet lippes, and greet eeris; and wiþ such men helpeþ hem²² at þe *baityng of a boole* and atte huntygne of a wilde boor. Þei holde fast of here nature, but þei byn [heavy] and foule, and [jif thei] ben slayn wiþ wilde boor or wiþ þe bulle, and [om.] it is not ful grete losse. And²³ wher þei may overtake a beest, þei biten and holden hure stille; but by hem self þei shuld nevyr holde þe beest, but jif þe greihoundes were withe hem, for to make þe beest tarye.²⁴

That oþer nature, of alauntz of þe bocher[i]e, is soch as ye may alle day see in good times [tounes], þat byn called *greet bochers houndis*, þe which bouchers holde²⁴ for to helpe hem to bryng here beestis þat þei byn²⁵ in þe cuntre; for, jif an oxe escapid from þe boochers þat leden hym, his houndes wold go take hym, and holde hym to²⁶ his master were come, and shuld helpe hym to benyng[e] [bryng]e] hym

ton says (p. 86): 'With almost the strength of a tiger he combines the excitability of a terrier, and no doubt a badly trained Great Dane is a very dangerous animal.'

²¹ The best.

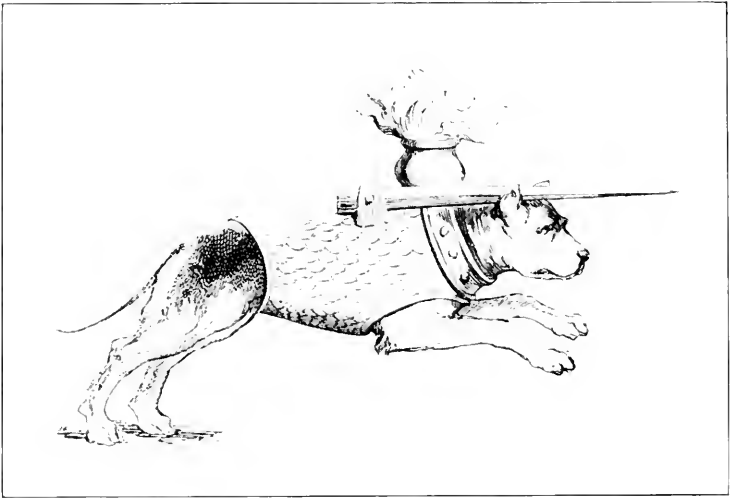
²² Themselves.

²³ A portion untranslated.

²⁴ Keep.

²⁵ Buy.

²⁶ Until.



The Maunt as a War-Dog.

agayn to þe toun. Þei byn of litel cost, for þei etyn þe foule þinges in þe boochiers rowe, and also þei kepen her maisters hous. Þei byn good for þe *batyng of þe bole* and huntynge of þe wild boore, whedir it be with greihoundis at trustre²⁷ or with rennyng houndis at abbay wip inne þe coverte; for whan a wilde boor is wipinne a strong hatte of wood, peraventure of [*om.*] alle þe day he wil not voide pennys for þe rennyng houndes. And whan men lat soche mestifis renne at þe boor, þei taken hym in þe thik spoyes²⁸ and make some men slee hym, or þei make hym come out of þe strenght, þat he ne shal abide long at abaies.²⁹

The following account of the alaunt is given by Baillie-Grohman (pp. 115-6):

A strong ferocious dog,²⁹ supposed to have been brought to Western Europe by a Caucasian tribe called Alains or Alani.³⁰ This tribe invaded Gaul in the fourth century, settling there awhile, and then continued their wanderings and overran Spain. It is from this country that the best *alans* were obtained during the Middle Ages, and dogs that are used for bull- or bear-baiting there are still called *Alanos*.³¹ Gaston de Foix, living on the borders of this country, was in the best position to obtain such dogs, and to know all about them. His description, which we have here, tallies exactly with that written in a Spanish book on hunting of the fourteenth century. This book, *Libro de la Monteria*, was written by Alphonso XI. Both Gaston and this Spanish king say that the body of the *Alaunt* was like that of a heavy greyhound, their eyes were small, they were square in the jaw, and that their ears were trimmed and pointed to make them look alert. The tail was rather large than small. They were of three colours, white, grey, and blackish, but that white with black markings near the head and above the tail were the best liked. Alauntes were used as war dogs,³² and it was said that when once they seized their

²⁷ Tryst.

²⁸ Coppice, thicket.

²⁹ De Noirmont (2. 538) divides hunting-dogs into three classes: (1) Powerful dogs (*chiens de force*), including the wolfhound, mastiff, and bulldog, as well as the alaunt; (2) Greyhounds; (3) Running hounds; (4) Bird-dogs.

³⁰ Diez (*Etym. Wbch.* 1. 12) thinks that alaunt means Albanian dog.

³¹ Similarly in the Spanish dictionary of Barcia, under the word Alano (I translate): 'The alaunt was so named because he was very fierce and bloodthirsty, like the barbarians who invaded Spain at the beginning of the fifth century. Hence this species of dog was employed in the hunting of wild boars.' Cf. Leighton, p. 511.

³² I insert a picture taken from the *Magasin Pittoresque* 23 (1855). 221, which reproduced it from the *Tractatus de Re Militari et de Machinis Bellicis* (1330-40) of Paul Savetinus Ducensis, a manuscript of the

prey they would not loose their hold. An Italian MS. of the fourteenth century says that *Alans* that are to be set on cavalry should be trained by their masters to be ferocious and "biting" (Ducange; Wynn, "Brit. Mastiff," p. 48; De Noir. ii. 398 [298]).

As to the general appearance of the *alan gentil*, De Noirmont³³ compares it to the Great Dane or German boarhound, to which he assigns a height of 30 to 32, or, exceptionally, 34 inches; but Chance, the Great Dane whose picture is here reproduced, 'stood fully 35 inches at the shoulder, and was perhaps the tallest dog of any breed, and at any time, whose measurements have been recorded,'³⁴ Vendetta having been 32½ inches in height.

The picture of alaunts reproduced below is from an illumination in the beautiful manuscript of Gaston de Foix's work which was executed in the early years of the fifteenth century. The reproduction has been made from Baillie-Grohman, Pl. XVIII, opposite p. 64 (with which may be compared Pl. XIV, opposite p. 42, lower left hand; Pl. XXVIII, opposite p. 80, upper left hand and lower right hand; Pl. XLVIII, opposite p. 240, bottom).

De Noirmont³⁵ says the alaunts always wore a muzzle, except in the chase.

The alaunt has not often figured in literature. One of the most notable occurrences of the word is in the *Orlando Furioso* (46. 138):

Come mastin sotto il feroce alano
 Che fissi i denti ne la gola gli abbia.
 Molto s'affanna e si dibatte in vano
 Con occhi ardenti e con spumose labbia.
 E non può uscire al predator di mano,
 Che vince di vigor, non già di rabbia.

National Library of France. These alaunts were sent against cavalry, bearing a brass pot of blazing pitch, ignited by means of alcohol, and trained to fierce biting of the enemy's horses. They were protected by leather coats from the effects of the fire or from kicks and blows.

³³ 2. 297.

³⁴ Leighton, p. 91, who knows of a mastiff (p. 29) somewhat over 33 inches, while De Noirmont (2. 300) refers to one as having been 37½ inches (.95 metre) in height; Leighton, by the way (p. 22), considers Chaucer's alaunt to have been a mastiff. The *New Eng. Dict.*, following Bailey, defines the word as 'wolf-hound'; Scott (below, p. 138) as 'wolf-greyhound'; Rose (below, p. 137) as 'deer-hound'; none of these seems correct.

³⁵ 2. 298.



Chance, a Great Dane, at the Age of Eight Months.
(From Leighton, *New Book of the Dog*, p. 85.)

which is thus translated by Rose :

As mastiff that below the deer-hound lies,
 Fixed by the gullet fast, with holding bite,
 Vainly bestirs himself and vainly tries,
 With lips besmeared with foam and eyes alight,
 And cannot from beneath the conqueror rise,
 Who foils his foe by force, and not despite.



Vendetta, a Great Dane.

(From Leighton, *New Book of the Dog*, p. 88.)

The *New English Dictionary* furnishes no instance between Chaucer and Berners' Froissart (1525).³⁶ In literature proper

³⁶ But in the *Sowdone of Babylone* (ca. 1400), we have (54-6) :

To chase the Bore or the Veneson,
 The Wolfe, the Bere, and the Bawson,
 With Alauntes, Lymmeris, and Racches free.

the most conspicuous later use of the word is perhaps that by Scott in the *Talisman* (chap. 6), where he is describing the tent of Richard Cœur de Lion:

Skins of animals slain in the chase were stretched on the ground, or extended along the sides of the pavilion, and upon a heap of these silvan spoils lay three *alans*, as they were then called (wolf-greyhounds, that is), of the largest size, and as white as snow. Their faces, marked with many a scar from clutch and fang, showed their share in collecting the trophies upon which they reposed, and their eyes, fixed from time to time with an expressive stretch and yawn upon the bed of Richard, evinced how much they marvelled at and regretted the unwonted inactivity which they were compelled to share.

We have endeavored to show what were the alaunts mentioned by Chaucer. There remains the question, Whence did Chaucer derive his acquaintance with them?

Baillie-Grohman (p. 116) thinks that Chaucer may have seen some alaunts 'recently imported from Spain or France.' But we have no indication that there ever was an alaunt in England. Again he suggests that Chaucer 'may possibly have gone for his models to the court of King John of France (1350-1364), who possessed some of these huge Alans.' Certainly Chaucer can not have gone to Paris before the end of 1360,³⁷ and we have no ground whatever for assuming that he was on the Continent in the years 1361-3, by the end of which year King John was on his way back to England. If the poet saw the court of France at all, the earliest date we can assign to the visit is 1368, when King John had been dead four years, and then it must have been in the train of Lionel.³⁸

It seems much more likely that the alaunts which he delineated in the *Knight's Tale* were those that he saw at the wedding-feast in Milan.³⁹ He has undoubtedly heightened the descrip-

³⁷ See *Hist. Background*, p. 179.

³⁸ See *Hist. Background*, pp. 182 ff.; above, pp. 30 ff.

³⁹ They are thus described in the chronicles of Montferrat, Milan, and Mantua, respectively (*M. H. P.*, p. 1226; *R. I. S.* 16. 739; *Alip.*, p. 1188):

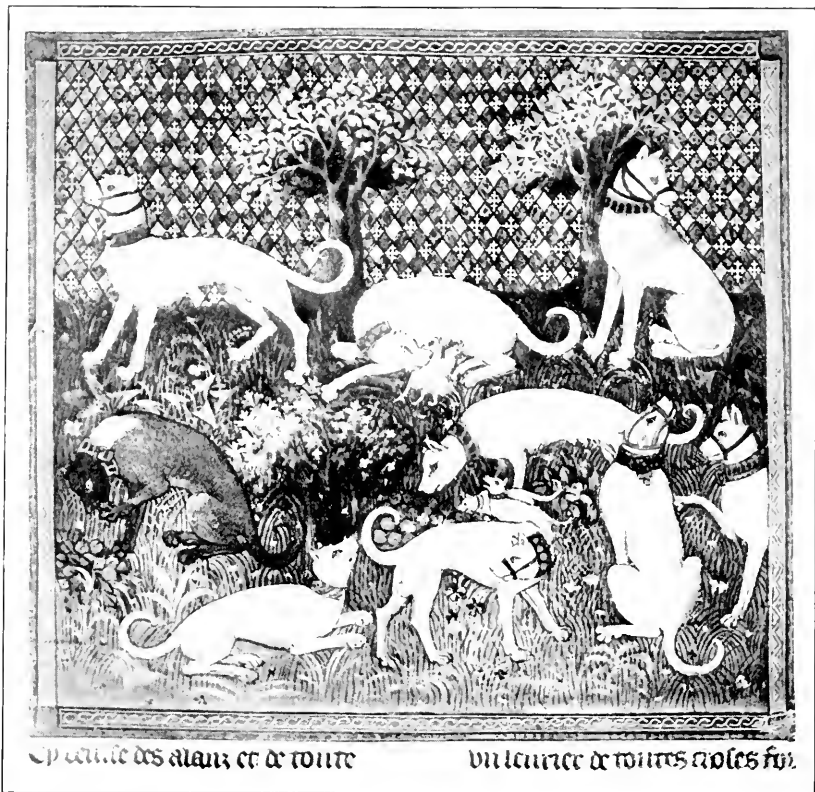
'Sei cani alani, et sei gran striveri cum collari de velluto, et fibie dorati, et lassi de seta.'

'Sex cani allani, et sei grandi striveri cum collari de velluto forniti de ricalcho dorato, et cum lassi de seta.'

E sei cani alani fur presentati,

Ancora sei stivieri [*sic*] in una schiera.

The other two chronicles refer to them merely as 'cani.' See p. 67.



Group of Alaunts.

tion, as he has done elsewhere.⁴⁰ The alaunts can not have been 'as grete as any steer,'⁴¹ since we hear of no dog measuring more than 35, or at most 37½ inches in height at the shoulder; Chaucer's have collars of gold,⁴² instead of velvet collars and silken leashes, with clasps of gilded brass; 'twenty and mo' replace the six which Chaucer may have seen; 'leoun' and 'deer' are inexact equivalents. On the other hand, the best alaunts were white,⁴³ and these dogs were regularly muzzled,⁴⁴ just as Chaucer says. In fine, when we consider the rarity of alaunts in that period, outside of Spain and the French territory immediately contiguous, neither of which Chaucer ever visited; that Lionel did not bring them back to England, and there is no indication that an alaunt was ever seen in England; that, so far as we know, Chaucer's only opportunity of seeing alaunts would have been either at Paris⁴⁵ or at Milan,⁴⁶ both of which

It is possible that the collars, leashes, and buckles appertained merely to the 'striveri'; but in a somewhat similar case, in the first course, the two kinds of furniture are mentioned separately (velvet collars and silken leashes: gilded brazen chains, leather collars, silken leashes).

⁴⁰ So in the 'ful ofte tyme' of *Prol.* 52 (cf. *Hist. Background*, pp. 209 ff.); 'no Cristen man *so ofte* of his degree' (*Prol.* 55); 'many a noble armee' (*Prol.* 60); freckles (*fraknes*) for pockmarks (*Hist. Background*, pp. 167, 170); 'an egle tame, as eny lillie whyt' (*K. T.* 1320; cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 171; in *Guy of Warwick* 823 and *Libeaus Desconus* 773, a gerfalcon is called white as a swan); 'an hundred lordes' (*K. T.* 1321; cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 172, note 1); 'dukes, erles, kinges' (*K. T.* 1324; cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 173, note 1); 'ful many a tame leoun and lepart' (*K. T.* 1328; cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 174, note 1).

⁴¹ Thus in *King Alisaunder*, composed before 1330 (Wells, p. 100), the author says of two greyhounds (5286).

Hy weren mychel als lyouns;

so in the *Avowynge of King Arthur* (1350-1400) we are told of a wild boar (49),

He is hejer thenne a horse.

⁴² In *King Alisaunder* (5284) there appear

In a cheyne of golde tweie greihoundes;

but 'golde' may here mean gilded brass, as in the gift at the first course at the wedding-feast (see above, p. 66).

⁴³ See above, p. 133.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 136.

⁴⁵ Hôtel St. Paul.

⁴⁶ Perhaps also in the park at Pavia; cf. *Hist. Background*, p. 186, note.

were visited in the journey of Lionel and his train; and that three of the outstanding characters⁴⁷ of the finest alaunts were included by Chaucer in his description—their bigness, their whiteness, and the fierceness which required that they should be kept muzzled; it seems most reasonable to suppose that he was present when the six alaunts were delivered over to Lionel, perhaps for his use in the chase, or perhaps to be employed in war.

⁴⁷Such as Chaucer could hardly have gleaned from books, seeing that we have no right to assume that he was acquainted with Spanish, that Gaston de Foix's treatise was not even begun till 1387, and that *The Master of Game* was not composed until after Chaucer's death. There remains the possibility that he might have learned of the alaunts from Froissart, who must have seen them on the journey, and again on his visit to Gaston de Foix at Orthez in 1388; but there is a directness in Chaucer's description which seems to point to personal observation.

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