# Imagery of the Natural World in Political Poetry Produced in England Between 1370 and 1415

By

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# Abbreviations

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| *DIMEV* | *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* |
| *DMLBS* | *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* |
| *MED* | *Middle English Dictionary* |
| *ODNB* | *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* |
| *OED* | *Oxford English Dictionary* |

# Note on Referencing Practice

References are given in the shortest intelligible form, with full references being provided in the Bibliography.

I have followed the guidance in *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors and Editors*, ed. by Brian Richardson and others, 3rd edn. (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013).

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# Abstract

This thesis explores the use of imagery of the natural world in political poetry produced in England between 1370 and 1415. The corpus of poetry examined in this thesis is designed to include both canonical works of political poetry, such as Gower's *Cronica tripertita* and Langland's *Piers Plowman*, and lesser studied texts. In this latter group I include *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger* as well as shorter texts such as 'O Deus in Celis' and 'Up on an Hylle'. This project adopts a critical approach which supports historically informed readings with the careful application of modern methodologies, and seeks to demonstrate the benefits of applying modern linguistic theories to medieval texts. Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Cognitive Integration Theory are used in combination to produce a flexible model which can provide new insight into the imagery of these poems.

After introducing the methodology employed in Chapter One, the next three chapters focus on the tradition of representing historical figures by their heraldic animal. Chapter Two explores the presence of this imagery in Gower's *Cronica tripertita,* analysing the *Cronica* in the context of historical and vaticinal discourse to determine the origin of Gower's imagery and the discourses his text participates in. Chapter Three considers the heraldic animal imagery in Passus II of *Richard the Redeless* and demonstrates that although it is similar to the imagery in the *Cronica*, it is derived from Richard's use of livery badges, rather than vaticinal literature. The fourth chapter considers a selection of shorter poems which also use heraldic animal imagery. It investigates the origins of this imagery, its political significance, and its relationship to the imagery of *Richard the Redeless* and Gower's *Cronica*. Chapter Five explores the use of the APIAN metaphor in *Mum and the Sothsegger* and the significance of the gardener who explains the imagery to the dreamer. This chapter aligns the gardener in *Mum* with the tradition of representing God as a gardener who tends the garden of man's heart or soul. The final chapter develops on the theme of the garden of man's heart or soul by examining how the self can be

represented as a landscape in religious discourse, and how these ideas can inform our understanding of the natural environments in the dream vision of *Mum*.

This project explores some of the striking and subtle ways in which imagery was used in political poetry in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. By examining the origins and associations of this imagery the thesis demonstrates how political poetry used features of different discourses and traditions to construct its political significance. The close analysis of the imagery provides greater insight into its meaning and significance, highlighting previously unnoticed features of its political commentary. This poetry does not provide a transparent statement of political fact but instead offers a nuanced commentary on the political turmoil seen in England at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, including the Appellants Crisis, the deposition of Richard II, and the problems faced during Henry IV's rule.

# Introduction

> Quia vero ea, quae sunt secundum artem, imitantur ea, quae sunt secundum naturam, ex quibus accipimus, ut secundum rationem operari possimus, optimum videtur regis officium a forma regiminis naturalis assumere.
>
> [Since art imitates nature and we learn from nature how to act in accordance with reason, it seems best to derive the duties of a king from the examples of government in nature.][1]

This quotation, taken from Chapter 12 of Aquinas' *De regimine principum*, suggests that by comparing human political systems to the natural world we can learn how these systems should be organised and operate. The form such comparison takes is imagery, most usually metaphor; following this quotation Aquinas uses a version of the APIAN metaphor to argue that monarchy is endorsed by the examples of nature, and hence by God, 'the Highest Ruler, the author of nature' [summo regente, qui est auctor naturae].[2] Imagery of the natural world is therefore shown in this chapter of Aquinas' work to have direct relevance to human politics, acting as a authorising source that Aquinas can appeal to in order to endorse monarchical rule. Part of the force of appealing to such 'examples […] in nature' [forma […] naturalis] lies in Aquinas' belief in the concept of natural law. However, that force must also come from the power of imagery and metaphor, which Aquinas perhaps fails to exploit fully owing to the limited use of metaphor in his work. However, Aquinas' comments point towards the possibility of using imagery of the natural world to comment upon human political systems and structures; in late-medieval England, numerous political texts engaged with such imagery to offer their perspectives on political problems, ideas, and structures, using figurative language to offer

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[1] Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, p. 15; Aquinas, *On Politics and Ethics*, p. 25. The APIAN metaphor draws comparisons between a hive of bees and human society, comparing their political and social structures. It is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

[2] *De regimine principum*, p. 16; *On Politics and Ethics*, p. 26. For a detailed discussion of the APIAN metaphor see Chapter Five.

highly original, creative, and nuanced discussion of these topics. This project discusses a number of these texts, focussing on political poetry produced in England in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, which engage with imagery of the natural world in order to investigate how such imagery is used to support the political purposes of these poems. I want to explore not only how ideas relating to natural law, as expressed by Aquinas and earlier thinkers, influence or inform the use of imagery in these poems, but also what other motivating factors may be in play, and what else may shape their use of imagery. First, though, I will outline the key elements of natural law and how it was understood, to provide a basis for how medieval English writers were using or developing its concepts.

The term 'natural law' has been subject to different definitions and interpretations throughout its long history; in order to clarify my use of this term I will now briefly explore the evolution of the concept of natural law from its classical origins to its medieval expressions. The idea of a law of nature, if not of natural law precisely, can be found in late fifth century BCE where philosophers began to question the relative values of *physis* [nature] and *nomes* [convention].[3] Practices which were grounded in nature were felt to be rooted in divine or natural forces and hence were valid regardless of human enactment. The first use of the '*law* of nature' in Greek prose occurs in Callicles, where he applies the word *νόμος*, which was usually reserved for human positive laws or conventions, to nature for the first time.[4] However, these early discussions are not natural law as we would recognise it. For the earliest examples of what we would recognise as the Western tradition of natural law we must look later, to the Middle Stoics, including Cicero.

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[3] Klosko, I, 28.

[4] Plato, pp. 386–7. I use the term 'positive law' to refer to human made laws which require or prohibit certain actions or behaviours. This law is often referred to in classical texts as the *ius civile* [civil law].

Cicero's *De legibus* and *De re publica* contain the earliest expression of beliefs and features which continue to be central to the conception of natural law from the first century BCE to the medieval period and beyond. Cicero's most detailed discussion of natural law occurs in Book III of *De re publica*:

> Est quidem vera lex recta ratio naturae congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna, quae vocet ad officium iubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat; quae tamen neque probos frustra iubet aut vetat nec improbos iubendo aut vetando movet. huic legi nec obrogari fas est neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet neque tota abrogari potest, nec vero aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus, neque est quaerendus explanator aut interpres eius alius, nec erit alia lex Romae, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac, sed et omnes gentes et omni tempore una lex et sempiterna et immutabilis continebit, unusque erit communis quasi magister et imperator omnium deus, ille legis huius inventor, disceptator, lator; cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet ac naturam hominis aspernatus hoc ipso luet maximas poenas, etiamsi cetera supplicia, quae putantur, effugerit.
>
> [True law is right reason in agreement with nature; it is of universal application, unchanging and everlasting; it summons to duty by its commands, and averts from wrongdoing by its prohibitions. And it does not lay its commands or prohibitions upon good men in vain, though neither have any effect on the wicked. It is a sin to try to alter this law, nor is it allowable to attempt to repeal any part of it, and it is impossible to abolish it entirely. We cannot be freed from its obligations by senate or people, and we need not look outside ourselves for an expounder or interpreter of it. And there will not be different laws at Rome and at Athens, or different laws now and in the future, but one eternal and unchangeable law will be valid for all nations and all times, and there will be one master and ruler, that is, God, over us all, for he is the author of this law, its promulgator, and its enforcing judge. Whoever is disobedient is fleeing from himself and denying his human nature, and by reason of this very fact he will

> suffer the worst penalties, even if he escapes what is commonly considered punishment].[5]

Ferando H. Llano Alonso highlights that in this passage 'three possible versions of Natural Law (divine, physical or naturalistic, and rationalist) coincide' which he attributes 'to the pantheistic tenet of Stoicism according to which God, Nature, and Reason are the same'.[6] Despite the obvious differences between Cicero's Stoicism and late-medieval Christianity there are many similarities between Cicero's conception of natural law and that of later thinkers, including the relevance of nature, reason, and God in natural law. This passage from *De re publica* highlights that natural law is an objective moral standard that applies in all situations for all time, since it is both 'eternal and unchangeable' [sempiterna et immutabilis]. It also suggests that natural law is binding, even though in Republican Rome only the *ius civile* [civil law] was binding.[7] Natural law's binding nature is derived, for Cicero, from its divine origins since God is its 'enforcing judge' [lator]. The relationship between *ius civile* and *ius naturale* is never conclusively decided in Cicero's writings; in *De Legibus* Cicero writes: 'ex quo intellegi par est eos, qui perniciosa et iniusta populis iussa descripserint, cum contra fecerint quam polliciti professique sint, quidvis potius tulisse quam leges' [From this point of view it can be readily understood that those who formulated wicked and unjust statutes for nations, thereby breaking their promises and agreements, put into effect anything but "laws."][8] In effect, a positive law which contradicts natural law is not law, but Cicero does not explore the implications of this, nor conclude as latter writers do that positive laws which contradict natural law are not binding. In Cicero's writings we see the beginnings of features which become essential to the Western tradition of natural law: its relationship to reason, nature and God; its

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[5] Cicero, *On the Republic,* pp. 210–1.
[6] Alonso, p. 159.
[7] Alonso, p. 160.
[8] Cicero, *On Laws*, pp. 384–5.

command to do good and avoid evil; its status as unchanging and everlasting; its binding nature. However, we must look to later thinkers to understand how these ideas were developed and transmitted.

One area where Cicero's thought seems less developed is the question of the relationship between *ius naturale*, *ius civile*, and *ius gentium* [law of nations]. Although Cicero was the first to use the term *ius gentium* he does not give a clear sense of its meaning or scope, at times seeming to conflate *ius gentium* with *ius naturale*.[9] Ulpian, in the third century, provides clear distinctions between the various types of law. *Ius naturale* corresponds with the concept of natural law, *ius civile* with positive law, which was applicable only in particular locations, and *ius gentium* with the law that applied throughout the Roman Empire. Ulpian explains the distinction:

> Jus gentium est, quo genres humanae utuntur. Quod a naturali recedere, inde facile itelligere licet, quia illud omnibus animalibus, hoc solis hominibus inter se commune est.
>
> [The law of nations is the law used by all nations of men. The difference between it and natural law can easily be gathered from the fact that natural law is common to all animate beings, while the law of nations is common only to men in their relations with one another.][10]

From this passage we can see that, for Ulpian, the difference between *ius gentium* and *ius naturale* lies primarily in their applicability; however, other differences may also be inferred. Importantly, Ulpian places greater emphasis on the naturalistic origin of natural law than Cicero, writing: 'Jus naturale est, quod natura omnia animalia docuit,' [Natural law is the law which nature has taught all animate beings].[11] What natural law teaches is therefore less

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[9] For a discussion of Cicero's treatment of *ius naturale*, *ius civile*, and *ius gentium* see Alonso, p. 163.
[10] *Manulae Juris Synopticum*, p. 8; Barker, p. 260.
[11] *Manulae Juris Synopticum*, p. 8; Barker, p. 260.

concerned with morality than with natural instinct. Ulpian says that natural law teaches about the union of male and female, procreation, and the education of children. Even wild animals share this knowledge.[12] In contrast, the *ius gentium* relates to the structure of human civilisations and institutions, as expressed in Hermogenianus: 'Ex hoc jure gentium introducta bella, discretae gentes, regna condita, dominia distincta, agris termini positie aedificia collocata, commercium, emptiones venditiones, locationes conductiones, obligationes instituatae' [It is from this law of nations that there have been introduced among us wars; the separation of nations; the foundation of kingdoms; the distinction of properties; the setting of boundaries to estates; the grouping of buildings together; commerce; buying and selling; letting and hiring; and the creation of obligations].[13]

From this arises the question: what happened before the *ius gentium* introduced these human institutions? To answer this, we must return to the Stoics who postulated that there once existed an idyllic state where natural law ruled: the myth of the Golden Age. Seneca provides an extended description of the Golden Age in his ninetieth epistle. According to Seneca an essential characteristic of the Golden Age was that there was no concept of property, rather everyone shared in 'common resources' [publicarum opum].[14] As there was no division of property everyone was wealthy, as Seneca observes: 'Quidni ego illud locupletissimum mortalium genus dixerim, in quo pauperem invenire non posses?' [Why should I not even call that race the richest among mortals, since you could not find a poor person among them?].[15] This bounty was provided by nature, which is described as plentiful and unspoiled by human intervention:

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[12] 'Videmus etenim cetera quoque animalia, feras etiam, istius juris perita censeri,' [Hence we see that other animals besides man, even those which are wild, are regarded as acquainted with this law]. *Manulae Juris Synopticum*, p. 8; Barker, p. 260.
[13] *Manulae Juris Synopticum*, p. 10; Barker, p. 261.
[14] Seneca, *Epistles*, pp. 424–5.
[15] Seneca, *Epistles*, pp. 424–5.

> Terra ipsa fertilior erat inlaborata et in usus populorum non diripientium larga. Quidquid natura protulerat, id non minus invenisse quam inventum monstrare alteri voluptas erat. […] Spiritus ac liber inter aperta perflatus et levis umbra rupis aut arboris et perlucidi fontes rivique non opere nec fistula nec ullo coacto itinere obsolefacti, sed sponte currentes et prata sine arte formosa, inter haec agreste domicilium rustica politum manu. Haec erat secundum naturam domus, in qua libebat habitare nec ipsam nec pro ipsa timentem.
>
> [The very soil was more productive when untilled, and yielded more than enough for peoples who refrained from despoiling one another. Whatever gift nature had produced, men found as much pleasure in revealing it to another as in having discovered it. […] The air, the breezes blowing free through the open spaces, the flitting shade of crag or tree, springs crystal-clear and streams not spoiled by man's work, whether by water-pipe or by any confinement of the channel, but running at will, and meadows beautiful without the use of art,—amid such scenes were their rude homes, adorned with rustic hand. Such a dwelling was in accordance with nature; therein it was a joy to live, fearing neither the dwelling itself nor for its safety.][16]

Such a celebration of nature seems to suggest that natural law prevailed in the Golden Age, which is reinforced by Seneca's description of the wealth being provided by nature itself and that men lived 'in accordance with nature'. The end of the Golden Age occurred with the advent of property and the introduction of division and greed into society.[17] We may infer that the introduction of the *ius gentium* and its associated institutions as described by Hermogenianus followed shortly afterwards.[18] In contrast, natural law applies to the almost pre-political society

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[16] Seneca, *Epistles*, pp. 424–9.
[17] 'Inrupit in res optime positas avaritia et, dum seducere aliquid cupit atque in suum vertere, omnia fecit aliena et in angustum se ex inmenso redegit' [But avarice broke in upon a condition so happily ordained, and, by its eagerness to lay something away and to turn it to its own private use, made all things the property of others, and reduced itself from boundless wealth to straitened need.] Seneca, *Epistles*, pp. 424–5.
[18] Hermogenianus himself describes 'the distinction of properties' [dominia distincta] as being introduced by the *ius gentium*.

described in Seneca's conception of the Golden Age.[19] Natural law was therefore an ideal which could only be uneasily applied to actual social circumstances. Klosko comments on this issue: 'The disparity between natural law and the law of nations allowed natural law to be preserved in an unjust world. As previously noted, the main historical function of natural law is to serve as a standard for assessment and criticism of existing political and social institutions' (p. 177). The distance between the *ius gentium* and the *ius naturale* was the same as the distance between actual society and the idealised version of society seen in the myth of the Golden Age.

However, such a distinction between the *ius gentium* and the *ius naturale* was not always maintained, even by classical figures. Gaius, a second century jurist, does not seem to recognise a distinction between the two as he viewed *ius gentium* as a law dictated by natural reason which was primitive; these characteristics are usually only applied to *ius naturale*.[20] Similarly, Isidore of Seville also differs from Ulpian's in his conception of *ius naturale*, and its relationship to *ius gentium*. Isidore offers the following definitions of the terms:

> Ius naturale est commune omnium nationum, et quod ubique instinctu naturae, non constitutione aliqua habetur; ut viri feminae coniunctio, liberorum sucessio et educatio, communis omnium possessio, et omnium una libertas, adquisitio eorum quae caelo, terra marique capiuntur.
>
> Ius gentium est sedium occupatio, aedificatio, munitio, bella, captivitates, servitutes, postliminia, fodera pacis, indutiae, legatorum non violandorum religio, conubia inter alienigena prohibita. Et inde ius gentium, quia eo iure omnes fere gentes utuntur.
>
> [Natural law is common to all nations, and, because it exists everywhere by the instinct of nature, it is not kept by any regulation. Such is the union of a man and woman, the children's inheritance and education, the common possession

[19] Seneca's conception of the Golden Age is not completely pre-political, though it appears that way when contrasted with Hermogenianus. According to Seneca during the Golden Age society was ruled by the wise. *Epistles*, pp. 396–9.
[20] Barker, p. 259.

> of everything, a single freedom for all, and the right to acquire whatever is taken from the sky, the earth, and the sea.
>
> The law of nations concerns the occupation of territory, building, fortification, wars, captivities, enslavements, the right of return, treaties of peace, truces, the pledge not to molest embassies, the prohibition of marriages between different races. And it is called the 'law of nations' because nearly all nations use it.][21]

Isidore's writings show clear knowledge of Ulpian, Gaius, and Hermogenianus. However, it is clear that Isidore differed sharply from Ulpian by viewing *ius naturale* as applying only to humans. According to Ulpian *ius naturalae* is common to 'omnibus animalibus' [all animate beings], and *ius gentium* is common to 'solis hominibus' [only men]. Isidore instead states that *ius naturale* applies to *natio* and *ius gentium* to *gens*, with both terms clearly referring to humans. The use of *animalia*/*homines* contrasts with Isidore's use of *natio/gens* and we must conclude that such a deviation from his sources was a conscious choice for Isidore. Given the similarity between *natio* and *gens* we must wonder how Isidore viewed the distinction between the two terms; Bart Wauters has investigated this issue and concludes: 'for Isidore, *natio* referred to "people" as some kind of prepolitical "togetherness", […] the term *gens* could imply the connotation of a political society, while *natio* did not' (pp. 541–2). Wauters' description of the prepolitical society denoted by *natio* has clear similarities with the Golden Age described by Seneca, including the lack of civil property rights (p. 542). In Isidore we see the idea that the *ius naturale* prevails in prelegal contexts, whereas the *ius gentium* is associated with civil institutions again. Natural law may appear as more limited and primitive, applying primarily to actions which are driven by instinct.

In the medieval period we see clear developments in the conception of natural law in Gratian's writings, which although influenced by Isidore express a very different conception

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[21] *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum*, I, V.iv–vi; *Etymologies of Isidore*, V.iv–vi, pp. 117–8.

of natural law. Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum*, most usually known as the *Decretum*, begins with the following passage:

> Humanum genus duobus regitur, naturali videlicet iure et moribus. Ius naturae est, quod in lege et evangelio continetur, quo quisque iubetur alii facere, quod sibi vult fieri, et prohibetur alii inferre, quod sibi nolit fieri.
>
> [The human race is ruled by two things, namely, natural law and usages. Natural law is what is contained in the Law and the Gospel. By it, each person is commanded to do to others what he wants done to himself and prohibited from inflicting on others what he does not want done to himself.][22]

Gratian, like Isidore before him, views natural law as applying to humans, rather than to all animate beings as in Ulpian's formulation. However, unlike Isidore, Gratian identifies natural law with the law of God as expressed in the Bible. In this we may see the first specifically Christian formulation of the Stoic idea that natural law originated with God. Further comparisons between Gratian and Cicero are possible: both describe natural law as superior because it is derived from reason and is everlasting and unchanging. Gratian writes: 'Naturale ius inter omnia primatum obtinet et tempore et dignitate. Cepit enim ab exordio rationalis creature nec variatur tempore, set immutabile permanet.' [Natural law receives first place among all others because of its age and dignity. For it began with the appearance of rational creatures and does not change over time, but remains immutable].[23] However, Gratian goes further in his comparison between *mores* and *ius naturale* because he concludes that any positive law which is contrary to natural law is not binding: 'Dignitate vero ius naturale similiter prevalet consuetudini et constitutioni. Quaecumque enim vel moribus recepta sunt, vel scriptis comprehensa, si naturali iuri fuerint adversa, vana et irrita sunt habenda.' [Now natural law similarly prevails by dignity over custom and enactments. So whatever has been

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[22] *Decretum Gratiani*, p. 1. Gratian, p. 3. See also, Winroth.
[23] *Decretum Gratiani*, p. 10; Gratian, p. 16.

either received in usages or set down in writing is held null and void if contrary to natural law].[24] Rufinus, one of Gratian's glossators, reminds us also of the role of human nature in natural law: 'Est itaque naturale ius vis quaedam humane creature a natura insita ad faciendum bonum cavendumque contrarium.' [Therefore natural law is a certain force innate in human nature so that they do good and avoid the contrary.][25] Gratian and Rufinus in some ways return to Stoic ideas that natural law originates in reason, nature, and God, though now in a specifically Christian way.

For the most influential articulation of natural law we must return to Thomas Aquinas. Klosko notes that 'within the history of political thought, his [Aquinas'] discussion is the *locus classicus* […] returned to repeatedly by subsequent medieval authors and modern thinkers as well' (p. 279). In Part II of his *Summa Theologiae* Aquinas states that there are four main kinds of laws: eternal, natural, divine, positive or human. Eternal law is 'God's ordination for the governance of things he foreknows,' [a deo ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecognitarum].[26] It is in essence God's plan for the universe, which is not fully knowable to humans. It is partially revealed to man through his reason and through divine revelation.[27] Natural law is the way in which intelligent creatures share in the eternal law.[28] Aquinas states that: 'quod omnis operatio rationis et voluntatis derivatur in nobis ab eo quod est secundum naturam,' [all activity of reason and will springs from us as being what we are in nature] (XXVIII: 22–3); from this we can see that familiar belief that natural law originates in God, reason, and nature. Aquinas also views natural law as only applicable to humans as non-rational

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[24] *Decretum Gratiani*, pp. 15–6; Gratian, p. 25.
[25] Rufinus, p. 6.
[26] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae,* XXVIII, 20–21.
[27] Klosko, p. 280.
[28] 'Unde patet quos lex naturalis nihil aliud est quam participatio legis aeternae in rationli creatura' [Accordingly it is clear that natural law is nothing other than the sharing in the Eternal Law by intelligent creatures] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, XXVIII: 22–3.

creatures do not perceive the meaning of law, and so do not follow it.[29] Natural law is abstract and general, and so human law is still necessary as it moves beyond the 'general principles' of natural law:

> Quod ratio humana non potest participare ad plenum dictamen rationis divinae, sed suo modo et imperfecte. Et ideo, sicut ex parte rationis speculativae per naturalem participationem divinae sapientiae inest nobis cognitio quorumdam communium principorum, non autem cujuslibet veritatis propria cognitio, sicut in divina sapientia continetur, ita etiam ex parte rationis practicae naturaliter homo participat legem aeternam secundum quaedam communia principia, non autem secundum particulares directiones singulorum, quae tamen in aeterna lege continentur. Et ideo necesse est ulterius quod ratio humana procedat ad particulares quasdam legum sanctiones.
>
> [The human reason cannot fully grasp the meaning of God's command, but partially holds it after its own fashion. The consequence is that just as the theoretic reason by its nature partakes of divine wisdom, and therefore we have from within an awareness of certain general principles, though not that proper knowledge of every single truth which divine wisdom comprehends, so on the part of practical reason we enter into the Eternal Law according to some general principles without knowing all individual directives, though these are comprehended in the Eternal Law. Hence the need for human reason to proceed further and sanction particular enactments of law.]
>
> (XXVIII: 26–7).

Human law is more specific than natural law. Klosko explores the example of stealing: natural reason and natural law tells us not to steal but human laws are required to specify exactly what constitutes stealing, or possible exceptions such as the right of a starving person to steal food in order to live (p. 281). Further, human law derives from the application of the 'general

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[29] 'In creatura autem irrationali non participatur rationaliter: unde non potest dici lex nisi per similitudinem' [Non-rational creatures do not hold law as perceiving its meaning, and therefore we do not refer to them as keeping the law except by figure of speech] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, XXVIII: 24–5.

principles' found in natural law, and so must be consistent with them. According to Aquinas human law that is not consistent with natural law is not binding. The final kind of law is divine law which concerns man's salvation: 'Sed oportet ut altiori modo dirigatur homon in ultimum finem supernaturalem. Et ideo superadditur lex divinitus data, per quam lex aeterna participatur altiori modo' [Nevertheless in order to be directed to their ultimate supernatural end men have to be lifted up, and through the divine grant of an additional law which heightens their sharing in the Eternal Law.] (XXVIII: 30–1). The divine law is twofold consisting of the Old Law and the New Law, corresponding to the Old and New Testaments. The Old Testament concerns temporal things, whereas the New concerns man's eternal life.[30]

According to Thomas Aquinas: 'Hoc est ergo primum praeceptum legis quod "bonum est faciendum et prosequendum, et malum vitandum"; et super hoc fundantur omnia alia praecepta legis naturae' [And so this is the first command of law, "that good is to be sought and done, and evil to be avoided"; all other commands of natural law are based on this.] (XXVIII: 80–1). This is similar to Cicero's conception of natural law as that which teaches us to do good and avoid evil. Aquinas specifies that there are three commands of natural law; which range from the general and specific and concern man as a substance, as an animal, and as a rational animal.[31] The first concerns the desire for self-preservation. The second concerns natural law as applicable to animals, showing the influence of Ulpian:

> Secundo inest homini inclinatio ad aliqua magis specialia secundum naturam in qua communicat cum caeteris animalibus; et secundum hoc dicuntur ea esse de lege naturali quae natura omnia animalia docuit, uet est commixtio maris et feminae, et educatio liberorum, et similia.

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[30] Klosko, p. 282, Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, XXVIII: 34–5.
[31] Rupert John Kicullen, 'Natural Law', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy* <https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1007/978-1-4020-9729-4> [accessed 30 June 2022].

> [Secondly, there is in man a bent towards things which accord with his nature considered more specifically, that is in terms of what he has in common with other animals; correspondingly those matters are said to be of natural law which nature teaches all animals, for instance the coupling of male and female, the bringing up of the young, and so forth.]
>
> (XXVIII: 80–3).

The third concerns precepts of natural law which relate to seeking God, living in a community, and shunning ignorance. Although Aquinas does not place these three commands in a hierarchy the majority of his discussion of natural law concerns the third command, so that the other two appear to be less important. If we compare this articulation of natural law with the quotation at the opening of this chapter, we can see that natural law as it applies to animals is only one part of natural law, and so the comparison with the 'examples […] in nature' [forma […] naturalis] seen in the *De regimine principum* is not representative of Aquinas' general conception of natural law. Aquinas generally places greater emphasis on natural law's origins in man's *ratio* and its associations with God, rather than its associations with the natural world.

From this survey of influential writers on natural law from the classical to medieval period, we can see some common features of natural law: its status as unchanging and everlasting, its instruction to do good and avoid evil, and its relationship to reason, God, and nature. However, despite this association with nature most thinkers rarely made explicit connections between natural law and the natural world. We have also seen that natural law functioned as normative moral standard to which human society may be compared. It is this version of natural law which was adopted by the political poets in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries to articulate their particular version of social commentary.

Helen Barr has explored the relationship between natural law and the natural world in a valuable article on the related poems *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger* and

argues that in these poems 'the theme of natural law is articulated implicitly rather than explicitly through the cumulative importance of recurrent imagery, analogies, proverbial references and loaded diction.'[32] Although Barr makes some reference to how these poems show knowledge of writings of Gratian, Rufinus, and Aquinas, most of her discussion is focussed on the more general concept of how 'political behaviour is measured against natural ordinance in the poems' (pp. 62, 55). Barr notes that 'one of the most important' ways this is achieved is by the use of figurative language (p. 55). Particular attention is paid to heraldic animal imagery in *Richard the Redeless*, which is used to 'show how men's actions flout the natural order of the created world by drawing analogies between topical events and the natural properties of beasts found in bestiaries' (p. 57). With regard to *Mum* Barr examines how the use of the APIAN metaphor shows that 'as in *Richard*, […] the properties of animals in the natural world are normative principles to which man's political behaviour ought to conform' (pp. 60–1) and how the natural world in the dream vision 'provides a moral speculum drawn to instruct man in the art of government' (p. 60). I respond to these ideas in this project: in Chapters Three and Four I explore the use of heraldic animal imagery in *Richard the Redeless*, Chapter Five considers the use of the APIAN metaphor in *Mum and the Sothsegger*, and Chapter Six discusses the presentation of the natural world in the dream vision of *Mum*. Throughout the project I evaluate the extent to which the imagery of the natural world is informed by the concept of natural law and the extent to which other factors inform or influence the use of imagery in these poems. Following Barr, I use the term *natural law* in a broad sense to refer to instances where nature is used as a normative moral standard to which man's social and political behaviour may be compared.[33] Additionally, I analyse other works of late-medieval

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[32] Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law', pp. 55.
[33] My use of *natural law* is also informed by Klosko's articulation of natural law according to Stoicism as the belief that 'because nature is intelligently directed towards certain ends, what is consistent with nature is objectively good or right, and what is inconsistent the opposite', p. 169.

political poetry both in relation to *Mum* and *Richard*, and as works in their own right. I focus on works of political poetry produced in England between 1370 and 1415. The relatively broad dating window was selected to allow for the inclusion of *Piers Plowman*, the B-text of which is dated to circa 1370, and the Digby Lyrics, which are the latest text considered in this study, dating from circa 1414. This project seeks to balance the analysis of lesser studied works of political poetry with an awareness and consideration of more canonical texts, including William Langland's *Piers Plowman* and John Gower's *Cronica tripertita*. I show that despite the importance of natural law as demonstrated by Barr's article, imagery of the natural world in political poetry from this period does not always rely on natural law and has diverse associations and implications which are worthy of the sort of nuanced study offered by this project.

Whilst Barr's work on natural law in *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger* is an important touchstone for this thesis, a number of other scholars have examined the complexities of late-medieval political poetry, and I engage with these throughout my work. In addition to Barr the works of Caroline Barron, David R. Carlson, Lesley A. Coote, Matthew Giancarlo, Frank Grady, and Paul Strohm have been particularly influential.[34] In what follows I wish to highlight some specific studies which have influenced the conception of the thesis as a whole. In addition to responding to Barr's work on natural law, my analytical approach has been influenced by her books *Signes and Sothe: Language in the Piers Plowman Tradition* and *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England.* This latter study, which combines the study of literary texts, including the application of close language analysis, with an examination of 'the kinds of sociological work performed by literary texts' (p. 8) has been particularly influential. I have combined this approach to textual analysis with a methodology which

[34] Full references are in the Bibliography.

incorporates elements of cognitive linguistics and metaphor analysis; this allows me to examine the figurative language in texts in greater detail. Like Barr, I seek to explore the 'sociological' and political work of the texts under consideration and how these are achieved specifically through the use of figurative language, which Barr addresses but which is not the primary focus of her work. By adopting this focus on figurative language and combining close reading of medieval texts with modern linguistic theories I believe that I can offer greater insight into the imagery of these texts.

Barr's *Socioliterary Practice* also aims to circumvent the 'dichotomies "literature and history", "text and context", and "form and content" (p. 7); I am interested in how to navigate these dichotomies too, particularly 'literature and history' as I have sought to ground my work in a clear historical understanding of the period,[35] and to explore how imaginative texts help to shape people's understanding of historical events, and influence their beliefs and actions. Several other critics have also addressed these issues. Jenni Nuttall examines Lancastrian political literature in the light of J.G.A. Pocock's textual matrices. Nuttall describes these textual matrices as incorporating 'many different linguistic elements including literary topoi, narrative structures and allusions to particular literary or historical archetypes' (p. 3). Following Pocock, Nuttall's work examines the 'creation and afterlife of two languages or specialized idioms' arising from the *demerita notoria* [notorious faults] which were used as a justification for Richard's deposition: the characterisation of Richard's household, and reciprocal exchanges of love and credit (pp. 3–4). Paul Strohm is also influenced by Pocock's concept of textual matrices, when he investigates what he terms the 'textual environment' of a text. [36] Strohm argues that considering a text's environment 'permits us to understand its social

[35] To this end the works of several historians, or critics whose work spans the fields of history and literature have been my guide particularly: J.M.W. Bean, Chris Given-Wilson, and Nigel Saul.
[36] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 66, n. 7.

function in a way that source study never could'.[37] Strohm defines this environment as 'the field of shared knowledge that allows an author to write in confidence of being understood. […] An environment embraces not just words and textual conventions, but also schemes or structuring ideas.'[38] Informed by this concept I seek to establish relevant features of such environments throughout my study: in Chapter Two I outline how the discourse of historical and vaticinal literature shapes our reading of Gower's *Cronica*; in Chapter Three I explore how Richard's use of livery and cultivation of his regal image affects the use of imagery in *Richard the Redeless*; in Chapter Five I highlight how features of the tradition of the APIAN metaphor inform the use of this metaphor in *Mum and the Sothsegger*; and in Chapter Six I analyse how religious images of the self as a garden or wilderness may be appropriated for political purposes by the *Mum*-poet. Like Strohm, I seek to go beyond source-based study by exploring the relationships and connections between works including those that may be connected through discourse, tradition, or environment. I believe that such an appreciation of textual environment facilitates a more detailed examination of the imagery a work contains; in particular, studying textual environments allows us to explore how writers created expectations for their readers which they could uphold, exploit, or subvert.

There are many aspects of modern criticism of late-medieval political poetry which have been of interest but which I have not been able to address owing to the constraints of this project. One of the most significant areas is the study of allegory, which has been the topic of many significant studies.[39] This project focuses on metaphor and related imagery in my corpus, and I do not explicitly consider these texts from the perspective of allegory. However, I would like to briefly address how the concept of allegory may be brought to bear on these texts, noting

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[37] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow,* p. 6.
[38] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 6.
[39] See for example Astell; Mann, 'Allegory and *Piers Plowman*', in *The Cambridge Companion to* '*Piers Plowman'*, ed. by Cole and Galloway; Zeeman.

relevant work in this field and the possibility of utilising my methodology in allegorical studies in the future. At its most basic level allegory refers to texts which have two meanings, texts which say one thing and mean another.[40] The term is Greek, derived from *allos* [other] and *agoreuein* [to speak in public] which gives the sense of 'other-speaking'.[41] The second component, *agoreuein*, is related to the *agora* which could refer to both an official assembly or to the open market, meaning that is has 'historical connections both with official, political address and with everyday, common speech.'[42] Combined with *allos* this gives the term allegory the sense of both something that is said in secret and something that is unworthy of the crowd.[43] It could therefore refer to guarded, secretive language, or language that was elite and restricted to a specialised audience.[44] Allegory is associated with many different rhetorical techniques and structures, and I am interested in the relationship between allegory and metaphor, which has long been recognised. The author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* observed that allegory can take the form of a sequence of connected metaphors.[45] Cicero distinguishes between the use of single metaphors and extended or related metaphors, writing: 'When there is a continuous stream of metaphors, a wholly different style of speech is produced; consequently the Greeks call it *ἀλληγορία* or "allegory."' [Iam cum fluxerunt

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[40] *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* provides the following brief definition: 'A story or visual image with a second distinct meaning partially hidden behind its literal or visible meaning.' Chris Baldick, 'allegory' in *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms (4 ed.)* <https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780198715443.001.0001/acref-9780198715443-e-30?rskey=ZDcUTy&result=9> [accessed 29 July 2022.]

[41] Copeland and Struck, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, ed. by Copeland and Struck, p. 2; Whitman, p. 265.

[42] Whitman, p. 265

[43] Whitman, p. 265

[44] Allegorical texts do not have to actually exclude any members of their audience from understanding their meaning. Ann Astell argues that works may retain their status as allegory even though they do not exclude members of the audience from discovering the poem's hidden meaning by 'employing an allegorical method that allows for the possibility of such exclusion'. Astell argues that this approach 'served rhetorically to increase cohesiveness, unity, mutual commitment, and delight of the listeners whom the poet thereby fashioned into an audience of initiates with a secret to share', p. 21.

[45] 'Per similitudinem sumitur cum translationes plures frequenter ponuntur a simili oratione ductae' [It [allegory] operates through a comparison when a number of metaphors originating in a similarity in the mode of expression are set together] Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, pp. 244–5.

continuae plures tralationes, [sic] alia plane fit oratio; itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant *ἀλληγορίαν*].[46] Quintilian makes a similar observation: 'a continued series of Metaphors produces Allegory' [*ἀλληγορίαν* facit continua *μεταφορά*].[47] Medieval writers were familiar with both this concept of allegory as 'other-speaking' and with the concept of allegory as a series of connected metaphors.[48]

If we adopt this understanding of allegory as a form of 'other-speaking' composed of a series of related metaphors we can infer that metaphor and allegory operate on different levels: a metaphor is a single image, which may operate at the level of a sentence or line of poetry; an allegory is a series of connected images, which operates on the level of the entire text so that the entire text means something other than what is said. Although of course this binary distinction is in practice more complex, by studying at the level of metaphor (which involves closer language analysis than allegorical readings) my project enables greater insight into specific images allowing for greater nuance and precision. Some of the metaphors I study are short, lasting for only a line or two. Others operate at an intermediate level, extending beyond single lines or sentences but often not occupying the focus of the entire text. Studying at the level of metaphor allows for the same approach and methodology to be applied regardless of how extended the metaphor may be, encompassing both brief images and lengthier sequences of related images. This flexibility of scale allows me to analyse a broader range of imagery than a strictly allegorical approach would permit.

The close relationship between allegory and metaphor suggests that similar methodologies may be applied to analyse both. This project uses a combination of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT), also known as Blending

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[46] Cicero, *Brutus, Orator,* pp. 374–5.
[47] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, IV, 374–5.
[48] Mann, p. 65.

Theory (BT), to analyse the metaphors considered in this project.[49] CMT is most suitable for the analysis of brief, unidirectional, and relatively conventional metaphors; although it may be applied to other rhetorical figures that are also unidirectional, such as metonymy and synecdoche, it cannot be usefully applied to more complex imagery. CIT can be used to analyse imagery that is more complex, multi-directional, and that encompasses numerous rhetorical figures including both metaphors – which are termed metaphorical blends in CIT-based analysis – and allegory. Michael Sinding has examined how cognitive studies may be applied to allegory and concludes that CIT can be productively applied to allegories as they are essentially 'extensively elaborated metaphorical blends'. Sinding's study demonstrates the applicability of CIT to allegories such as Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, which Sinding takes as his example, and Langland's *Piers Plowman* (pp. 510, 505). Further studies of allegory using CIT-based approaches may be a productive area for further study. My use of CIT to analyse elaborated metaphorical blends in my corpus contributes to this area of study. The most extensively elaborated metaphorical blends I analyse may be considered allegories, and although I consistently refer to them as metaphorical blends this reflects a linguistic rather than semantic difference. To the extent to which we can view allegories as extended metaphorical blends, and Sinding's study proves the legitimacy of this approach, my analysis encompasses both metaphorical and allegorical analysis depending on the extent of the elaboration of the blend. Nevertheless, I do not explicitly use the term 'allegory' and further research in this area, particularly work which includes elements of cognitive linguistics, would be productive. Jill Mann, Ann Astell, and Nicolette Zeeman, amongst others, have produced rich studies on the topic of allegory in late-medieval poetry; however, the area of allegory and cognitive linguistics remains largely unexplored.

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[49] I introduce these approaches in more detail in Chapter One.

As this thesis focusses on the application of cognitive linguistic theories to late-medieval poetry, also a largely unstudied area, modern linguistics theories have been more influential to the conception of the project than studies concerning late-medieval political poetry from a different methodological perspective. For this reason I provide a thorough review of the critical literature surrounding modern metaphor analysis and the impact of this work on my project in Chapter One, which outlines these theories and my methodology. I introduce the two approaches to metaphor (CMT and CIT) which will be used to analyse the metaphors considered in this project. After highlighting the benefits and limitations of each of these theories, I explain my motivations for using both theories and rationale for applying them throughout the thesis. I also consider how discourse-based analysis can complement these cognitive approaches to metaphor, before demonstrating the diachronic and historical application of my methodology. I analyse STATE IS A BODY imagery as an example, discussing the Digby lyric 'The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres' as a medieval example of this metaphor.

Having introduced my methodology, in Chapter Two I consider Gower's *Cronica tripertita*, with a particular focus on questions of discourse, authority, and the effect of these on the interpretation of the *Cronica*'s imagery. I consider how the *Cronica* positions itself as a work of historical discourse and uses authorising strategies consistent with later medieval historical texts. I then analyse how Gower has included elements of vaticinal discourse in his work, including in his use of imagery. I pay particular attention to the use of heraldic animal imagery in the *Cronica* and demonstrate that it is derived from the use of accidental designation in vaticinal discourse. I also briefly consider Gower's use of etymologised translation and sybilline imagery, as these are also commonly found in vaticinal texts and demonstrate Gower's use of this discourse in his work. I explore how Gower balances vaticinal and

historical discourse in the *Cronica*, and how an understanding of these discourses enriches our interpretation of the text and its imagery.

In Chapter Three, I explore the use of heraldic animal imagery in *Richard the Redeless* in order to demonstrate that although it is superficially similar to the heraldic animal imagery used in the *Cronica*, it differs in its origins, application, and effect. Heraldic animal imagery in *Richard* is shown to be closely related to Richard's use of livery badges, and so this chapter considers the historical context of livery badge distribution throughout Richard's reign. Related to this, I explore Richard's cultivation and promotion of his own regal image in order to demonstrate how the imagery in *Richard the Redeless* runs contrary to Richard's own use of image and symbol. In addition to Richard's use of livery, the Wilton Diptych is discussed in some detail, not only for its iconography but for the evidence this provides of Richard's own conception of his kingship and its sacral majesty. In the following analysis of imagery in *Richard the Redeless* I show that the poet develops a complex metaphorical blend from the image-system of livery. This metaphorical blend is shown to be widely understandable by a diverse range of audiences, capable of representing all members of the political community in England, and which all members of society could participate in. In these ways it differs from the imagery in the *Cronica* analysed in the preceding chapter.

Chapter Four explores the use of heraldic animal imagery in depictions of the deposition analysing its use in a corpus of shorter poems including 'There is a Busch that is Forgrowe', 'Up on an Hylle', Gower's 'H. aquile pullus', and the Latin 'O Deus in Celis'. I explore whether the images in these texts may be more closely aligned with the broadly accessible image system derived from livery discussed in Chapter Three; with the potentially more recondite imagery derived from vaticinal literature discussed in Chapter Two; or with other sources or origins. Throughout this chapter I seek to challenge the argument proposed by David R. Carlson that the shared used of imagery in these poems suggests that they formed part of a coordinated

scheme designed to legitimise the Lancastrian accession. I show that although the imagery in these poems may appear similar, they have diverse origins and associations, which suggests that they were unlikely to form part of a coordinated scheme. Additionally, through the application of CIT I seek to provide a more nuanced understanding of how this imagery creates meaning, demonstrating that the use of heraldic animal imagery in late-medieval political poetry went beyond establishing mere code names for political figures and in fact functioned to convey information about the behaviour, character, and motivations of these men.

Chapters Five and Six focus on the slightly later poem *Mum and the Sothsegger*, which may be seen as less topical than the poems considered in Chapters Two to Four as it was not written in direct response to the events of 1399. Chapter Five investigates how the tradition of the APIAN metaphor may influence the use of this imagery in the dream vision of *Mum*, considering how the *Mum*-poet adapts traditional elements of this imagery to offer topical commentary. I demonstrate that the *Mum* poet made use of Virgil's fourth *Georgic* as a source, which has not hitherto been conclusively proven. I explore how the king bee is used to convey general beliefs about the nature of good kingship as well as the ways in which the imagery responds to the deposition and the community's ability to select their own king. I evaluate the argument proposed by Helen Barr that the APIAN imagery in *Mum* encodes a specifically Wycliffite view of society, and the impact this has on our interpretation of the gardener. I conclude the chapter by arguing that the divine associations of the gardener have generally been undervalued, and that we should see the gardener in *Mum* primarily as a representation of God who nurtures the garden of man's soul.

I develop the idea that the garden in *Mum and the Sothsegger* represents the garden of man's soul in the final chapter (Chapter Six), which considers how to interpret the natural environments of the dream vision in *Mum*, arguing that these landscapes represent a reification of man's psyche in his search for truth. The chapter begins with a focus on how wildernesses

and gardens have been used to represent the self in various religious texts, including the idea that the soul may be represented first as a wilderness which becomes a paradisal garden when man finds truth and accepts Christ. Throughout this discussion I seek to make connections between the ideas expressed in religious texts and the depiction of landscapes in *Mum*. I argue that we can view the wilderness in the dream vision in *Mum* as representing the narrator's withdrawal from the encumbrances of the waking world into an internal landscape to pursue contemplation, and that the entry into garden represents further progress on this journey of contemplation. In the second half of this chapter, I explore how the highly conventional metaphors THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING are used to show that the narrator's movement through and perception of the dream environment represent thought. Finally, I show how this use of landscapes and metaphor allows us to find the Sothsegger within ourselves, and so resolve the ultimate quest and question of the poem.

Throughout my project I seek to achieve two related aims: to demonstrate that modern cognitive linguistic theories of metaphor analysis may be productively applied to late-medieval poetry, and to advance our understanding of the imagery used in these poems. Although traditionally cognitive approaches to metaphor analysis have focussed on modern, often non-literary, texts as the subject of their analysis there has been growing interest in the possibility of applying these theories to medieval texts. Often these studies focus on the application of CMT, such as Ryan Russell Judkins' study into hunting in late-medieval English literature, or Antje G. Frotscher's analysis of the economic metaphor, which depicts violence in terms of a financial transaction; some use CIT such as Craig Hamilton's work on Christine de Pizan's *City of Ladies*. My project develops upon this field of study and helps cement CMT and CIT as legitimate and useful approaches for the analysis of medieval poetry. I am unaware of any studies which combine the use of CMT and CIT, as I do in my project. I hope this project demonstrates the success of combining these approaches: after exploring their respective

strengths and weaknesses in Chapter One I show how the application of both can produce a more robust study than could be achieved through the use of one theory alone. By demonstrating the strengths of this combined methodology, I hope to provide a new model for analysing figurative language use which could be applied to other projects analysing imagery, both in medieval and non-medieval texts.

My second goal, that of advancing our understanding of the imagery in my selected corpus, is achieved through the application of this methodology. It may be felt that such an approach is not necessary, as we are often able to produce an intuitive sense of what imagery means without such rigorous and detailed analysis. However, by applying cognitive approaches to the analysis of this imagery I go beyond such intuitive understanding, and the surface-level insight it offers. Examining the interpretative process unlocks a deeper level of understanding; for example, in Chapters Two through Four my methodology allows us to differentiate the superficially similar heraldic animal imagery which is found in a range of texts, discerning that the metonymic code in Gower's *Cronica tripertita* functions differently from the elaborated metaphorical blend used in *Richard the Redeless*. Additionally, I demonstrate that these images have different associations, which may have served to limit their interpretability by their varying audiences. Imagery which may be indiscriminately grouped together or dismissed as uninteresting or uncreative is shown to be more richly varied and original than has previously been recognised.[50] This not only advances our understanding but also deepens our appreciation of texts which have too often been undervalued, and consequently understudied. Ultimately, my methodology provides a means of producing deeper, more nuanced analysis which allows us to interrogate the significance of the imagery in my corpus in a new way.

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[50] Ruth Mohl treats the imagery in *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger* quite dismissively as 'an occasional bit of beast or bird allegory, all pretty obvious to those at court', 'Theories of Monarchy', p. 27; similarly, Eric W. Stockton judges that the images in the *Cronica* 'are all too often mere labels, rather than effective instances,' *The Major Latin Works of John Gower*, p. 30.

One area of insight that this analysis facilitates is the relevance of natural law to late-medieval political poetry. Given the importance of natural law to medieval political theory, and existing work in this area, we may reasonably expect natural law to be an essential aspect of the use of imagery of the natural world in political poetry. My analysis provides evidence that natural law was an important factor in the use of such imagery. This is particularly apparent in Chapter Five where I draw connections between the use of the APIAN metaphor in works of political philosophy, including Aquinas' and Giles of Rome's respective *De regimine principum*, and the use of this metaphor in *Mum and the Sothsegger*. However, I also find that other factors may have motivated the use of imagery of the natural world in these poems: for instance, Gower's *Cronica* does not use nature imagery because he applies the normative moral principle of natural law; rather, his imagery is associated with vaticinal literature and the authorising power this offers to his work. I therefore explore not only the importance of natural law but also other factors which inform or influence the use of imagery in these poems. The selection and deployment of imagery of the natural world in these poems is shown to be informed by numerous factors, which are often highlighted by exploring the textual environments these texts were produced in.

This project considers the political importance and significance of imagery; although I am primarily focussed on how texts function as works of poetry, I also consider their role as political texts and their relevance to the political turmoil of late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century England. As an example of how I analyse the political dimension of texts we can consider Chapter Four where I evaluate the claim, made by David R. Carlson, that the shared imagery in a corpus of texts from 1399 suggests that they formed part of a coordinated scheme to legitimise the Lancastrian accession. I show that although the imagery in these texts appears to be similar, a nuanced analysis highlights significant points of variance; I go on to argue that this variance makes it unlikely that these poems formed part of a coordinated scheme as we

would expect the use of imagery to be more homogenous if it had been orchestrated in this manner. I seek to balance an analysis of the political and poetic throughout this study, using historically informed readings to analyse how poets used imagery to comment on, evaluate, and critique their society.

This project explores some of the striking and subtle ways in which imagery was used in political poetry in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. It achieves this through the application of a combination of CMT and CIT; employing this methodology is beneficial because it allows us to analyse how poets constructed metaphors, how these metaphors generate meaning, and how this use of imagery contributed to the political perspective developed by these poems. This methodology also provides a new model which could be used in other projects examining the significance of imagery. I offer an in-depth analysis of various factors which influence the selection and deployment of imagery in these poems, including natural law. Late-medieval political poetry is shown to use imagery of the natural world in creative and varied ways, an analysis of which advances our understanding and appreciation of these poems and the political environments in which they were produced and read.

# Chapter One

# Methodology

This project considers imagery of the natural world in late-medieval political poetry. Although imagery is broadly defined to include any form of figurative language, my principal focus is on metaphor, where one aspect of experience is understood in the terms of another. There are two main forms of metaphor analysis which are relevant to the current study: cognitive, and discourse-based, with cognitive approaches being most commonly adopted. In this chapter I offer an introduction to two cognitive approaches to metaphor – Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Integration Theory – before considering how discourse-based perspectives can inform a cognitive understanding of metaphor. I conclude by applying my methodology to a diachronic study of STATE IS A BODY imagery which demonstrates the benefits of the methodology and its suitability for this project.

## Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was first proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980).[1] It developed from the belief that metaphors were not an ornamental device or peripheral feature of language but rather a pervasive feature which could be used to structure our perceptions of reality. Fundamentally, CMT argues that metaphor 'is not just a matter of language, that is, mere words' and that 'human *thought processes* are largely

[1] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. ix. More recently many overviews of theories of metaphor have been published. Zoltán Kövecses' work provides useful introduction to CMT and should be consulted for a more detailed discussion than can be offered here. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*; *Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, pp. 1–21. *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* may also be consulted for discussion of alternative theories of metaphor.

metaphorical.'[2] A conceptual metaphor is therefore a mental process in which one domain of experience is understood in terms of another, conventionally being expressed in small capitals as CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B or, more rarely, CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A AS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B.[3] These domains are termed the 'target domain' and the 'source domain' with the target domain being understood in the terms of the source domain. In general, mappings go from a more concrete source domain to a more abstract target domain, allowing us to understand less tangible or accessible concepts from the perspective of a more tangible, accessible, or comprehensible domain. There are many conceptual metaphors we may use to demonstrate how CMT functions; however, it may be useful to begin with one of the most common and pervasive metaphors: LOVE IS A JOURNEY.

In the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY the target domain love is understood in terms of the source domain of a journey. This conceptual metaphor gives rise to many metaphorical linguistic expressions, sometimes termed linguistic metaphors, which are expressions of the conceptual metaphor in language.[4] Lakoff and Johnson offer the following metaphorical linguistic expressions as examples of this metaphor:

> Look *how far we've come*.
> We're *at a crossroads.*
> We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
> We can't *turn back now*.
> I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.
> *Where* are we?
> We're *stuck*.

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[2] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 6.
[3] Throughout this project I have used the CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B format for consistency. Conceptual metaphors will sometimes be expressed using different formats; there is no significance to these differences, and they are attributable only to the personal preferences of different metaphor theorists.
[4] Conceptual metaphors are not solely expressed in language. They can also be expressed visually, or in gestures. Cienki, and Müller, 'Metaphor, Gesture, and Thought', in *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*, ed. by Gibbs; Forceville, 'Metaphor in Pictures and Multimodel Representations,' in *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*, ed. by Gibbs; Forceville, *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*; Refaie.

It's been a *long, bumpy road*.
This relationship is a *dead-end street*.
We're just *spinning our wheels*.
Our marriage is *on the rocks*.
We've gotten *off the track*.
This relationship is *foundering*.[5]

These are intuitive examples created by Lakoff and Johnson themselves and are not drawn from naturally occurring language use.[6] However, we can find examples of this metaphor in naturally occurring language use as well by consulting a relevant corpus:

(1) His mother would introduce him as 'my darling son, Nigel -- he's such a talented writer, you know, and his marriage is *on the rocks*, poor dear.' (Fiona Pitt-Kethley, *Misfortunes of Nigel*, 1991)

(2) Herta and I are officially on our honeymoon now but in fact *we're going nowhere*. Except back to Berlin, for the wedding. (Martin Amis, *Time's Arrow*, 1991).

(3) I know he was tricked into it by his father and brother, that marriage, but he […] surely wouldn't have *gone through it* if Bertha hadn't appealed to him. (Appreciation of literature: lecture and discussion, 1992).

(4) Marriage is, after all, a *crossroads* that most of us *come to*, some of us more than once. (*Daily Telegraph*, electronic edn. of 11th April 1992)

(5) Much as she liked him, much as she would miss his companionship, it seemed to her that the relationship had reached a *dead end.* (David Lodge, *Nice Work*, 1988).[7]

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[5] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, pp. 44–5.
[6] One of the most common criticisms of CMT is that CMT theorists often focus on such created examples and do not pay enough attention to real data of metaphor use. Deignan; Pragglejaz Group.
[7] All of these examples are drawn from The British National Corpus (BNC) a corpus of British English language use created by Oxford University Press. It contains 100 million words from a range of different discourses. I have added italics to emphasize the metaphorical language in each source.

In CMT metaphors are conceived of as a unidirectional relationship between the two domains in which elements of the source domain are mapped onto elements of the target domain. In the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor the following mappings might be employed:

| *Source*: *JOURNEY* | | *Target*: *LOVE* |
|---|---|---|
| the travellers | ⇒ | the lovers |
| the vehicle | ⇒ | the love relationship itself |
| the journey | ⇒ | events in the relationship |
| the distance covered | ⇒ | the progress made |
| the obstacles encountered | ⇒ | the difficulties experienced |
| decisions about which way to go | ⇒ | choices about what to do |
| the destination of the journey | ⇒ | the goal(s) of the relationship[8] |

Not all of these mappings are used in every linguistic expression of the metaphor. We can see all of the above examples from discourse use the Travellers Are Lovers mapping, but only example (4) uses the Decisions About Which Way To Go Are Choices About What To Do mapping. Other mappings are also possible: these examples and mappings are illustrative, not exhaustive. The mappings of a particular conceptual metaphor may shape or create our conception of the target domain. People who use the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor may be more likely to view a love relationship as a collaborative effort where both parties agree on what they want and how to achieve it, or metaphorically: where to go and how to get there together. On the other hand, people who use the metaphor LOVE IS WAR might view relationships as conquests, expect one party to fight for and win the affections of another, or view a someone as defending themselves from lascivious advances.[9] The analysis of metaphor not only allows us to understand how we conceive of the target domain, but how this conception may shape and constrain our thought.

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[8] Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, p. 9.
[9] For examples of the LOVE IS WAR metaphor see Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By,* p. 49.

## Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT)

Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner have proposed an alternative theory, known as Blending Theory (BT) or Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT), which can be used as an alternative to CMT when analysing metaphor. The title of Fauconnier and Turner's leading work on CIT, *The Way We Think*, gestures towards the fact that CIT aims to explain far more than metaphor. They explain that conceptual blending, sometimes simply termed *blending*, is 'a great mental capacity that, in its most advanced "double-scope" form, gave our ancestors superiority and […] made us what we are today' (p. v). Fauconnier and Turner attribute language, art, religion, culture, science, mathematics, music, and much more to the human capacity for blending (pp. xiv, 171–194). A full exploration of CIT and its implications is beyond the scope of this project; in what follows I introduce the basic process of conceptual blending, explain how it may be used to analyse metaphor, and explore the benefits of CIT versus CMT.

The foundation of CIT is the network model of conceptual integration which allows us to understand how conceptual blending occurs. The network model is structured around 'mental spaces', which are 'small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for the purposes of local understanding and action.'[10] In the basic model of conceptual integration there are typically four mental spaces[11]:

> *Input Spaces*. These are the spaces which contribute information to the blend. In the basic model there are two input spaces. Input spaces contain meaningful elements and relations between these elements.
>
> *Generic Space*. This mental space maps onto each of the input spaces and contains what the inputs have in common.

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[10] Fauconnier and Turner, p. 40.

[11] 'This is a minimal network. Conceptual integration networks can have several input spaces and even multiple blended spaces', Fauconnier and Turner, p. 47. This basic model serves as a useful introduction to CIT, and is generally sufficient for analysis of metaphorical blends.

*Blended Space*. This is also known simply as 'the blend'. In this space elements from the input spaces are projected and combined. Blends contain the generic structure that is found in the generic space but also contain elements and structure not found in the other spaces.

*Cross-Space Mappings* establish relationships between elements in the input spaces; elements which are connected in this way are termed 'counterpart elements'. Superficially these are similar to the mappings in CMT which connect target and source domain. These relationships can be represented in diagrams, in which circles are used to represent mental spaces, points represent elements in a space, solid lines represent cross-space mappings between input spaces,

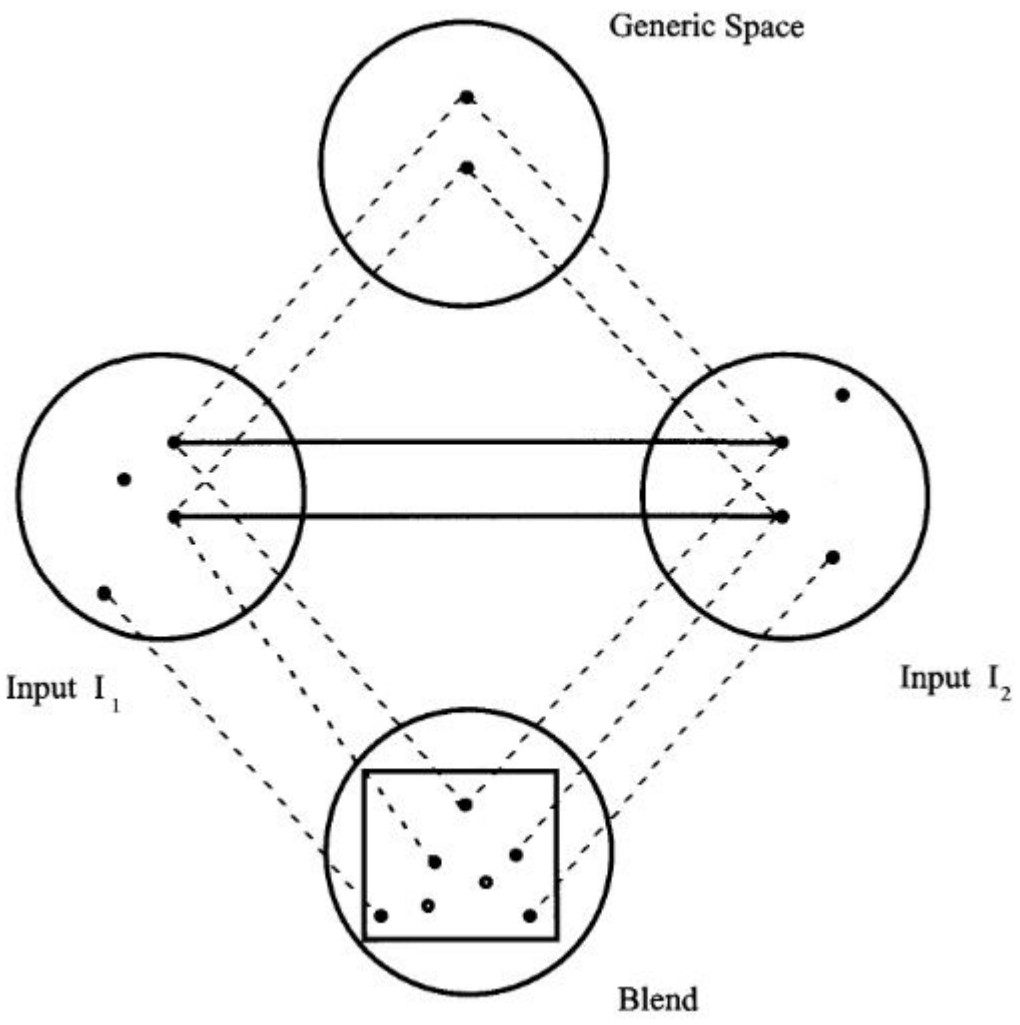


Figure 1.1: The basic model of conceptual integration, from Fauconnier and Turner, p. 46.

and dotted lines represent the connections between input spaces and the generic and blended spaces. Figure 1.1 represents the basic model of conceptual integration.

As we can see from the diagram the blend contains the elements from the generic space, as well as elements which are found in only one of the input spaces. It does not contain all elements from the input spaces, some of which are not projected to the blend owing to the process known as selective projection. It also produces new elements and relations which are not found in any of the other spaces. The combination of elements and relations in the blend produces emergent structure; this creates meaning which did not exist in either of the input spaces independently. Emergent structure is represented by the solid square in the above diagram. Emergent structure is produced through three processes: composition, completion, and elaboration. Composition involves creating new relations between elements from the input spaces. Counterpart elements can be included separately in the blend, or can be mapped onto a single element in the blend, a process known as fusion. Completion refers to the process by which we recruit background knowledge to our understanding of the blend. We consider the blend in the context of a familiar frame and use information from that frame to supply elements or relations from the frame that are not found in the input spaces.[12] Finally, elaboration, also called 'running the blend', involves imaginatively considering the blend as a simulation. There are many possible lines of elaboration and the process can be run and re-run as often as desired. Noting this Fauconnier and Turner argue that the 'creative possibilities of blending stem from the open-ended nature of completion and elaboration' (p. 49). Emergent structure allows us to illustrate how metaphors can create inferences which are not present in either the source or

[12] A frame is 'a portion of background knowledge that (i) concerns a particular aspect of the world, (ii) generates expectations and inferences in communication and action, and (iii) tends to be associated with particular lexical and grammatical choices in language.' Semino, Demjén, and Demmen, p. 627.

target domain, explaining some of the complexity of figurative language which the CMT model cannot account for.

Joseph E. Grady, Todd Oakley, and Seana Coulson have explored how CIT can be applied to metaphor and provide a detailed example which illustrates how emergent structure enriches our understanding of metaphor. The selected example is the metaphor 'this surgeon is a butcher.' This can be understood according to CMT with the following mappings:

| *Source*: *BUTCHERY* | | *Target*: *SURGERY* |
|---|---|---|
| butcher | ⇒ | surgeon |
| animal (cow) | ⇒ | human being |
| commodity | ⇒ | patient |
| cleaver | ⇒ | scalpel |
| abattoir | ⇒ | operating room |
| cutting meat | ⇒ | cutting flesh |

However, this CMT-based approach does not explain why we understand from this metaphor that the surgeon is incompetent. Butchers are not incompetent and require specific and developed skills to perform successfully in their role. The concept of incompetence therefore does not exist in the source domain, and thus can not be produced by the source-target mappings of CMT. When we analyse the same metaphor according to CIT we can understand where the notion of incompetence comes from. This integration network can be illustrated as in Figure 1.2 below where Surgery is Input Space 1 and Butchery is Input Space 2; the cross-space mappings between these two inputs mirrors the source-target mappings from the CMT model. The dotted lines show how these elements are projected into the blended space: some of these elements are fused, as in the surgeon-butcher element of the blended space; some appear as separate elements, as when only the operating room is projected to the blend and the abattoir element is not projected; and others are not projected at all, as in the cleaver/scalpel element which is not specified in the blend.

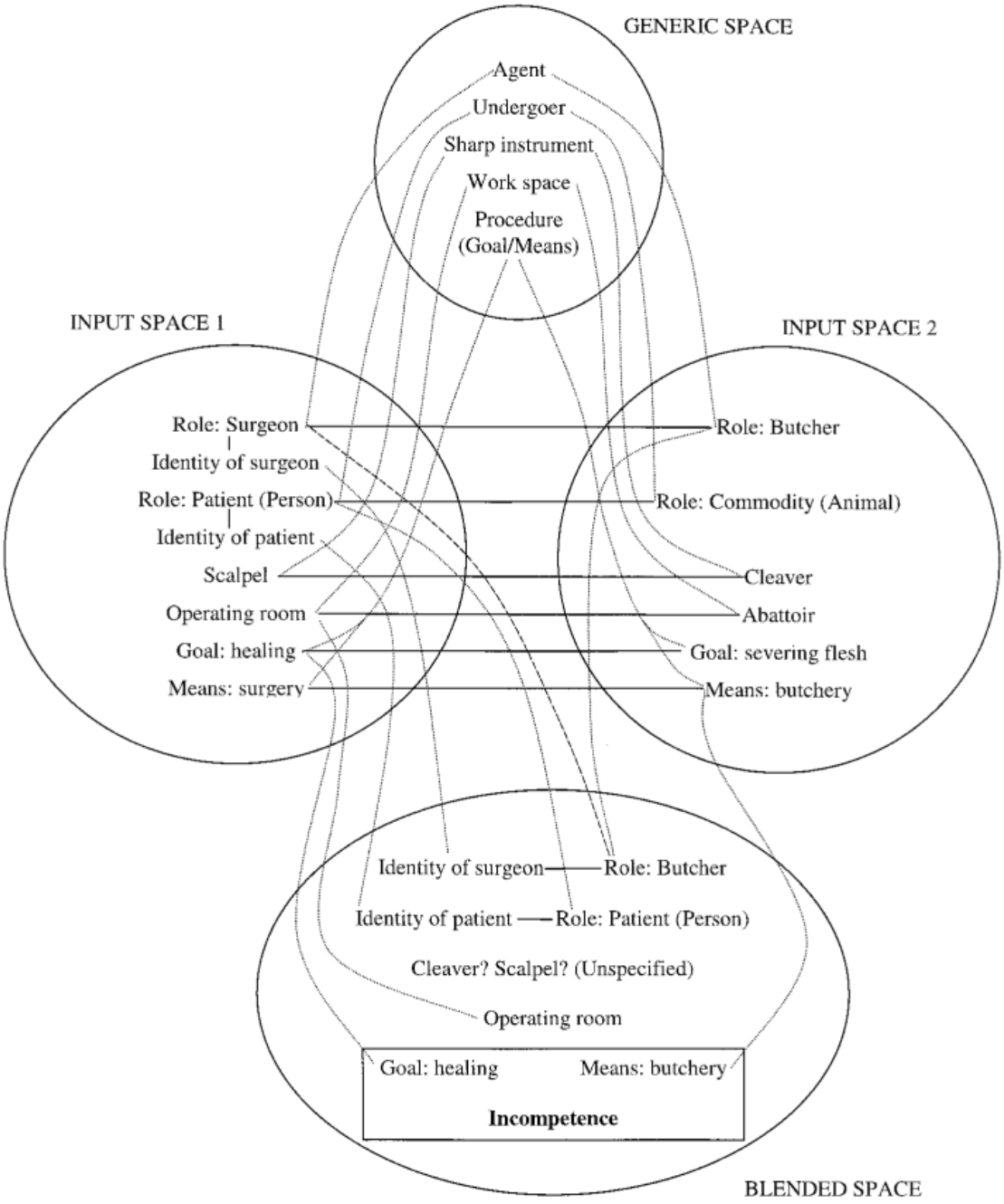


Figure 1.2 Conceptual integration network: surgeon as butcher, from Grady, Oakley, and Coulson, p. 105.

The emergent structure of the blended space produces the meaning that the surgeon is incompetent. Grady, Oakley, and Coulson explain this emergent structure as follows:

> In butchery, the goal of the procedure is to kill the animal and then sever its flesh from its bones. By contrast, the default goal in surgery is to heal the patient. In the blended space, the means of BUTCHERY have been combined with the ends, the individuals and the surgical context of the SURGERY space. The incongruity of the butcher's means with the surgeon's ends leads to the central

> inference that the butcher [sic] is incompetent […]. This emergent property of the blend cannot be captured so explicitly within a CMT-style analysis focusing on correspondences and projections from source to target (p. 106).

This example illustrates one benefit of the CIT-based approach for metaphor analysis which is not found in the CMT model. However, Zoltán Kövecses has reconsidered this example in his analysis of CIT versus CMT and has argued that the metaphor can be fully understood via CMT. Kövecses uses evidence from the Merriam-Webster dictionary definition of 'butcher' which includes sense 3: 'one that bungles or botches'.[13] Kövecses therefore argues that incompetence is a feature of the source domain, based on the view that butchers are inherently incompetent, and that therefore the incompetence of the surgeon is simply mapped from the incompetence of the butcher in the source domain. This is not entirely satisfactory as it relies on circular evidence: the sense of 'butcher' meaning 'one that bungles or botches' is derived from the common metaphor of 'this surgeon is a butcher' which has been lexicalised so that butcher=incompetent. This definition of 'butcher' therefore cannot be used to help us understand the metaphor, since it is itself ultimately derived from this metaphor.[14] It seems inaccurate, and arguably unfair to many skilled butchers, to view incompetence as existing in the source domain of butchery. For this reason, Kövecses' argument is not convincing and we can conclude that the example of the surgeon as butcher integration network effectively demonstrates how emergent structure in CIT can be used to explain aspects of metaphorical meaning which are not explored in the CMT framework. This is one of the reasons to prefer

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[13] Kövecses, *Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, p. 139; 'butcher noun' in *Merriam-Webster* <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/butcher> [accessed 6 January 2022.]

[14] That this definition is derived from the metaphor cannot be readily established from *Merriam-Webster* as the dictionary does not provide quotations. However, it is amply demonstrated by the definition and quotations in the *OED* sense 3a: 'A doctor or surgeon, *esp.* one who is incompetent or too readily inclined to operate on patients.' 'butcher, n.' in *OED* <https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2446/view/Entry/25324?rskey=4KCl4K&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed 6 January 2022.]

CIT to CMT when analysing complex metaphors where emergent structure may provide useful insight.

Another reason for preferring CIT to CMT for metaphorical analysis is that CIT is better suited to the analysis of novel and complex metaphors. Metaphors are often categorised according to whether they are 'conventional' or 'novel'. Conventional metaphors are well known and widely used within a certain speech community. Both LOVE IS A JOURNEY AND SURGERY IS BUTCHERY are conventional metaphors, although we may speak of a cline or continuum of conventionality, with LOVE IS A JOURNEY being more conventional than SURGERY IS BUTCHERY. Linguistic metaphorical expressions may also be more or less conventional. The metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a highly conventional conceptual metaphor and may produce conventional linguistic metaphorical expressions: for example, 'I'm at a *crossroads* in life.' However, Robert Frost's poem 'The Road Not Taken' provides an extended and novel expression of the conventional LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, demonstrating that even conventional conceptual metaphors can produce fresh metaphorical linguistic expressions.[15] CMT primarily focusses on conventional metaphors and as a result, it can be difficult to apply CMT to discourses or texts which contain a high proportion of novel metaphorical expressions or novel conceptual metaphors. Lakoff and Turner have demonstrated how CMT can be used to analyse poetry, which contains a high proportion of novel metaphorical expressions, by seeing these novel expressions as merely combinations of conventional conceptual metaphors. However, their work, and CMT more generally, is hard to apply to novel conceptual metaphors. CIT is much better suited to the analysis of novel metaphors because mental spaces are produced 'online', that is in the process of understanding. This means 'mental spaces can be

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[15] Robert Frost, 'The Road Not Taken', in *Poetry Foundation* <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44272/the-road-not-taken> [accessed 10 January 2022]. This example is drawn from Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, pp. 33–6.

used generally to model dynamic mappings in thought and language'.[16] In contrast, the concept of 'domains' in CMT is much more rigid, being derived from 'more general and more stable knowledge structures'.[17] For example, in CMT we often talk of the domain of a journey, in CIT we might use input spaces which are more specific (e.g. a car journey, a train ride, a pleasant trip on a small sailing boat) and which can therefore better describe the specifics of any novel expression. The 'short-term' nature of mental spaces which are produced in real-time as we think and talk allows CIT to examine novel and unique metaphorical blends which are not produced from conventionalised cross domain mappings, and which cannot be adequately studied through the use of CMT alone. For these reasons, I use CIT in this project when analysing metaphors, or metaphorical blends, which are either highly novel or in which emergent structure has significant importance. I use CMT when analysing more conventional conceptual metaphors or when existing critical work using CMT provides significant insight into the metaphor being analysed.

In practice, it is often unnecessary to choose between CIT and CMT as both theories can accomplish the goal of elucidating the meaning and function of metaphors. Kövecses highlights the similarities between the two theories and notes that in some applications they provide effectively the same results; he demonstrates that the theories may simply produce 'terminological variants' rather than substantially different results or insights.[18] Given this terminological variance I have used only one theory for the discussion of any given metaphor so that the methodology and terminology do not distract from the analysis offered. Grady, Oakley and Coulson's article explores the similarities and differences between the two theories. CMT is shown to be focussed on the analysis of conventional and recurring patterns in

[16] Fauconnier and Turner, p. 40.
[17] Grady, Oakley, and Coulson, p. 120.
[18] Kövecses, *Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, p. 138.

figurative language; this focus contrasts with CIT's focus on 'online' processes and the specifics of individual metaphor use. From this they conclude that the theories are 'complementary' because 'they tackle different aspects of metaphoric conceptualization' (p. 120). This supports my approach of using CIT for the analysis of individual or novel metaphors, and CMT for the analysis of more conventional metaphors. Throughout this project I have signalled which theory I am applying in my analysis, and explained further theoretical concepts as and when they are relevant.

## Metaphor in Discourse

Before considering discourse-based approaches to metaphor I shall define what is meant by the term 'discourse' as it can be subject to differing, conflicting, or overlapping definitions. Two definitions of 'discourse' are relevant to the present discussion: the linguistic, and the social-theoretical definition.[19] In linguistics 'discourse' is used to refer to samples of either spoken or written language use. When using 'discourse' as a non-count noun in this sense Elena Semino, one of the leading discourse-based metaphor theorists, defines the term as 'naturally occurring language use: real instances of writing or speech which are produced and interpreted in particular circumstances and for particular purposes' (p. 1). Other terms such as 'naturally occurring language use' or 'real linguistic data' may also be used to refer to this definition of 'discourse'. In contrast, 'discourse' is used by social theorists 'to refer to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice.'[20] Semino defines 'discourse' when used as a count noun in this sense as 'ways of speaking or writing about particular topics (e.g. medical discourse) or in particular settings (e.g. classroom discourse), usually from particular perspectives' (p. 29). It is important to recognise the political significance of this definition of

[19] These two approaches to discourse are explored in detail in Fairclough.
[20] Fairclough, p. 3.

discourse as 'discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains and changes power relations and the collective entities […] between which power relations obtain.'[21] Both definitions of 'discourse', the linguistic and the social-theoretical, are used in this project which considers the social and political implications of metaphors in real samples of language use.

One of the most significant criticisms of CMT in particular, and of cognitive approaches to metaphorical analysis more generally, is that by focussing on metaphors on a cognitive or conceptual level one risks viewing linguistic metaphorical expressions as expressed in discourse as secondary. Semino argues this results in 'a general lack of consideration for the textual manifestations of metaphor and for the authenticity of the linguistic data that is adduced as evidence' (p. 10). This is particularly true for cognitive studies which either do not make use, or make limited use, of real linguistic data and instead use artificially constructed examples to support their claims. Semino suggests that this neglect of real linguistic data 'casts doubts on the reliability of claims about conventional conceptual metaphors, and on the exhaustiveness of the CMT account of metaphor in language' (p. 10). Semino seeks to address the weaknesses in CMT by supporting her metaphor analysis with evidence from language corpora and paying close attention to specific metaphorical expressions. Although it has not been possible to support the analysis of medieval metaphors with reference to a relevant corpus, the attention paid to specific metaphorical linguistic expressions in this project means that there is no risk of linguistic metaphorical expressions being treated as secondary, or of the 'lack of consideration for the textual manifestations of metaphor' (p. 10) which Semino identifies. Additionally, as CIT relies on the analysis of real data (linguistic or otherwise) in the construction of conceptual integration networks, the limitations of CMT identified by Semino may be avoided by simply applying CIT instead of CMT. I hope to mitigate the issues identified

[21] Fairclough, p. 67.

in cognitive approaches to metaphorical analysis by using approaches derived from discourse-based studies to inform my work.

In addition to highlighting the need to analyse real linguistic data in metaphor studies, discourse-based approaches have highlighted new perspectives on metaphor which can be combined with a cognitive approach to broaden our understanding. One of the most important insights that has arisen from discourse-based approaches is the importance of 'frames' and 'scenarios' in multilevel analysis of metaphor. The concept of 'framing' is important to both cognitive and discourse-based approaches to metaphor; however, it is 'defined in different ways and at different levels of generality' leading to a lack of consensus on how to apply the concept to metaphor analysis.[22] At its broadest level 'framing' explains how metaphors have the ability to shape and constrain different ways of conceiving of experience. In the earlier discussion of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor I gestured towards how framing our understanding of LOVE in this way leads to a very different perception of LOVE from those who frame their perception in terms of the LOVE IS WAR metaphor. Similarly, Semino, Demjén, and Demmen explore how people with cancer may frame their experience of their illness either in terms of a JOURNEY or a WAR, and the ways these different ways of framing 'reflect and reinforce different ways of conceiving of as well of as experiencing the illness' (p. 626). From a CMT perspective this concept of framing captures how the selection of a source domain highlights some aspects of the target domain whilst hiding others. The selection of the WAR source domain highlights the adversarial aspects of the target domain whilst hiding others, such

[22] Semino, Demjén, and Demmen, p. 626.

as the cooperative aspect of LOVE highlighted by the JOURNEY domain.[23] CMT therefore discusses 'framing' without making use of the concept of 'frames'.

Recent studies have applied the concept of 'frames' to CMT based analysis; when used in this sense 'frames' are contrasted with 'domains' to refer to sub-domain structure.[24] In this context 'frames' are pre-existing chunks of knowledge which are recruited to provide 'script-like' structure to a particular situation, object, or event which may be invoked by a domain.[25] Frames are more structured than domains: they typically have elements, roles, and relations between roles. For instance the Exercise frame has the following elements: the Exerciser (Role), the body or body part(s) being exercised, effortful movement of the body (Means), and strengthening or improving the body (Purpose).[26] Domains include multiple frames: for example, the BODY domain includes the following frames: Ingestion, Exercise, Medical Conditions, and so on. Barbara Dancygier and Eve Sweetser argue that frames are useful for metaphoric analysis because frames have known structure, whereas domains do not have such structure. They note that it is this structure which is mapped from source to target in metaphor, and so the use of frames to specify sub-domain structure is useful as 'the more we know about the structure of the source and the target, the more precisely we can define and motivate the mappings' (p. 19). For example, the MIND IS BODY metaphor could evoke the many different frames associated with the BODY domain. If the Exercise frame is evoked this suggests that mental fitness is physical fitness, as in 'brain training' apps which claim to give your mind a

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[23] The use of WAR-based metaphors in oncology has been subject to criticism as it is felt to frame the illness in such a way that patients are implied have failed if they do not succeed in their 'battle'. Kate Granger emphasised this criticism of the metaphor in her article in the *Guardian*: 'I do not want to feel a failure about something beyond my control. I refuse to believe my death will be because I didn't battle hard enough.' Kate Granger, 'Having cancer is not a fight or a battle', *Guardian*, 25 April 2014, < https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/apr/25/having-cancer-not-fight-or-battle#:~:text=%22She%20lost%20her%20brave%20fight,others%2C%20not%20as%20a%20loser> [accessed 28 March 2022].

[24] Semino, Demjén, and Demmen, p. 628; Sullivan; Dancygier and Sweetser.

[25] Sullivan, p. 18.

[26] Sullivan, p. 18.

'workout'. From our knowledge of the Exercise frame we know which elements will be mapped from the source domain to the target domain: the Exerciser is the Thinker, the body part being exercised is the brain, effortful movement of the body is the effortful use of the brain, strengthening or improving the body is strengthening or improving the brain. Frames can therefore be used in CMT to facilitate multilevel analysis of metaphor, which might help to better explain which elements of the source domain are mapped on to elements of the target domain.

In particular, recent discourse-based studies have developed the concept of 'scenarios', a specific kind of frame, which have been shown to facilitate metaphorical analysis. Andreas Musolff defines a 'scenario' as:

> a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about "typical" aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the "dramatic" storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc.[27]

Since a scenario is a specific type of frame, many of the benefits of frame-based analysis also apply to scenario-based analysis. Like frames, scenarios specify sub-domain structure which allows for metaphorical analysis which goes beyond the level of generality associated with domain-based analysis. Additionally, since the domain-level study of conceptual metaphor is best suited to the analysis of stable and conventional metaphors, scenario-based analysis allows for the study of less conventional or entrenched metaphorical expressions. Scenarios place greater emphasis on the narrative and evaluative features of the source-domain than the minimal, schematic information provided by frames. For example, metaphors might use the source domain of FAMILY, which might evoke the Marriage frame. This frame features two

[27] Musolff, 'Metaphor Scenarios', p. 28.

spouses, a legal relationship between the spouses, financial implications, other family relationships (e.g. in-laws), and so on.[28] The frame specifies roles and relationships between the roles but offers nothing beyond this schematic information. However, scenarios provide more developed narratives which contain evaluative implications. For example, Andreas Musolff considers a metaphor where the EU is depicted as a family, which uses several mini-narratives or scenarios, which Musolff likens to 'drama or soap opera plots'.[29] Rather than the minimal structure of the Marriage frame Musolff describes the following scenario: 'MARRIED LIFE of the EU *couple* (i.e. France and Germany, with Britain often seen as a third partner in an potential *ménage à trois*)' which includes 'all manner of MARRIAGE PROBLEMS from ADULTERY, SEPARATION, DIVORCE, to MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE and RENEWED NUPTIALS'.[30] These narratives provide an evaluative framework, for instance depicting Britain as a mistress to the EU Franco-German couple places Britain as a destructive and unwelcome influence that threatens to break-up the happy marriage. The Married Life scenario therefore has negative evaluative connotations for the euro-sceptical Britain.[31] Metaphor scenarios therefore provide a theoretical framework to understand not only how we conceptualise metaphorical expressions but also how we assess them against our normative moral principles. Several studies have shown how CMT-based analysis can be supplemented by reference to the concept of scenarios, especially when the evaluative insight scenarios offer is important to understanding, as in the analysis of political metaphors or public discourse.[32]

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[28] Dancygier and Sweetser, p. 18.
[29] Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis*, p. 31.
[30] Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis*, pp. 31–2, formatting in original.
[31] This negative evaluative position was noted by Timothy Garton Ash in his column for the *Guardian*: 'An adviser to Chirac says *the Franco-German marriage* remains fundamental to French European policy; many Germans agree. So long as they stick to *the marriage metaphor*, this makes Tony Blair either *lover or mistress*. That's a good reason for abandoning the metaphor, *not the threesome*.' Timothy Garton Ash, 'Who Rules Europe?', *Guardian*, 19 February 2004, < https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/feb/19/eu.world> [accessed 5 April 2022]. Italics indicate metaphorical expressions and are reproduced from Musolff, 'Metaphor Scenarios', p. 24.
[32] Musolff, 'Metaphor Scenarios'; Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis*; Semino, pp. 219–222; Semino, Demjén, and Demmen.

Frames and scenarios may also be used in CIT-based analysis; however, owing to the similarities between frames and mental spaces the usefulness of frames or scenarios to CIT-based analysis is more limited than their application to CMT-based approaches. Mental spaces, like frames, have structure including elements, roles, and relations between roles. The key benefit of using frames in CMT-based analysis to specify sub-domain structure is therefore achieved in CIT by the structure of input spaces, without reference to frames. Indeed, the similarity between frames and spaces has resulted in these terms sometimes being used interchangeably, and whilst most CIT theorists use 'space' following Fauconnier and Turner some use the term 'frame' to refer to spaces.[33] Fauconnier and Turner make a distinction between mental spaces and frames:

> Mental spaces are connected to long-term schematic knowledge called "frames," such as the frame of walking along a path, and to long-term specific knowledge, such as a memory of the time you climbed Mount Rainier in 2001. […] Mental spaces are very partial. They contain elements and are typically structured by frames. They are interconnected, and can be modified as thought and discourse unfold. Mental spaces can be used generally to model dynamic mappings in thought and language.

'Frames' in CIT therefore refer to 'long-term schematic knowledge' which is recruited to structure the blended space through the process of completion. When a CIT-based approach is used I will use 'frame' to refer to long-term knowledge which is recruited to help understand the blend. For instance, many of the metaphorical blends considered in this project implicitly rely on the concept of natural law, as discussed in the introduction, which can be considered a specific example of the Morality evaluation frame, wherein what is 'natural' is evaluated to be morally good.[34] Frames are useful to a CIT-based analysis of metaphorical blends not for the

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[33] Dancygier and Sweetser, p. 78.
[34] 'Morality_evaluation', in *FrameNet Data* <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/frameIndex> [accessed 31 March 2022].

insight they offer into the metaphorical mappings between elements but for the theoretical framework they provide to explain how background and schematic knowledge may be recruited to aid the understanding, elaboration, and interpretation of the blended space. 'Scenarios' are also compatible with a CIT-based approach to metaphor analysis. We can view a 'scenario' as a specific form of frame which is recruited during the process of completion to structure the blended space, and which provides a narrative which guides the process of elaboration.[35] The benefit of a CIT-approach is that the processes of completion and elaboration provide a theoretical framework to explain how and when scenarios are recruited to aid our understanding of the blended space. Although scenarios have been studied in conjunction with CMT-based approaches, they can be used to inform a CIT-based analysis of metaphorical blends.

I have used these insights from discourse-based approaches to metaphor to inform the methodology of my project; in particular, this is achieved by consistent reference to real linguistic data as well as multilevel analysis of metaphor which includes a consideration of frames and scenarios. In addition to considering discourse in this linguistic sense this project considers the role of metaphor in discourse from a social-theoretical perspective. I am interested in why particular metaphorical choices and patterns occur in particular texts, genres, and discourses.[36] The answer to this question involves reference to the textual environment of the texts, which includes a consideration of what discourses these texts participate or claim to participate in. Chapters Two to Four pay particular attention to these issues and demonstrate that similar imagery, in this instance, heraldic animal imagery, is shown to function differently

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[35] Fauconnier and Turner use 'scenario' in this sense when discussing the processes of completion and elaboration (p. 48); however, 'scenario' does not have a precise definition in their work and can be used to refer to either knowledge recruited to structure the blend or to the blend itself which is sometimes referred to as a 'imaginative blended scenario', p. 19.

[36] Semino also considers this question, p. 31.

with differing significance depending on the discourses the texts claim to participate in or be related to. In Chapter Six I consider how ideas from religious discourse may be appropriated for use in political poetic discourse and the effects this has.

The status of political poetic discourse is of particular interest to this project as all of the texts studied sit at the intersection of political and poetic discourses. Andreas Musolff considers poetic and political metaphors to have essentially different and mutually exclusive purposes:

> Poetic metaphor aims first and foremost to achieve artistic effects, and this requires sustained and sophisticated interpretative work. If subtle and/or profound enough, interpretation may change the recipients' understanding of the world and of their human existence in it. But such a communicative effect is typically multifaceted and fosters contemplation rather than specific, short-term changes of opinions and attitudes.[37]

The use of metaphor in poetic discourse is contrasted with the use of metaphor in political discourse:

> Political discourse, on the other hand, is characterized by competitive debate and dispute because its participants aim to gain a power advantage over each other, […]. Its dominant functional type is not poetic but polemical and interactional: influencing others' beliefs and attitudes and suggesting new courses of action. Political metaphor thus serves primarily as a means to change meanings, and hence, to change social and political attitudes.[38]

If we adopt this perspective of poetic and political metaphor what should we expect from metaphors in political poetry? Can political poetic metaphors also serve to change social and political attitudes? Or should we expect political poetry to be primarily concerned with

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[37] Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis*, p. 136.
[38] Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis*, p. 136.

producing artistic and aesthetic effects? In this project I aim to explore the tension between these two themes in political poetry, exploring how artistic concerns are balanced with political motivations. Ultimately, I show that metaphor in political poetry can be used to change 'social and political attitudes'; however, following Musolff I find that images in political poetry may require more 'sustained and sophisticated interpretative work' than metaphors in non-poetic political discourse. This project undertakes such work to unlock the political commentary offered by these texts, including their attempts to shape the attitudes of their audience(s). Analysis of one aspect of metaphor in political poetry cannot be achieved without consideration of other aspects; it is not possible to consider the artistic effects of imagery in political poetry without considering how this imagery seeks to change the attitudes of the audience(s), and vice versa. This project undertakes such analysis and shows that political poetic texts are a particularly rich area of study, which always combine both political and poetic aims in their use of imagery.

## The Diachronic and Historical Study of Metaphor: Exploring the STATE IS A BODY Metaphor Through Time

Having introduced my methodology, including cognitive approaches to metaphor and the ways in which discourse-based approaches have influenced my study, I shall now offer an example of my approach in practice. In particular I wish to demonstrate the suitability of my methodology for the diachronic and historical study of metaphors. The majority of modern studies which use either CMT or CIT to analyse metaphors or metaphorical blends focus on contemporary texts, particularly those produced in the twentieth century or later. However, these theories can also be used to analyse historical texts, and to produce diachronic studies of a single metaphor, both of which are of central importance to this project. To illustrate that this methodology is applicable to historical and diachronic study I wish to explore the STATE IS A

BODY metaphor as an example. In the STATE IS A BODY metaphor the state or nation is mapped onto a body, with this resultant figure often being referred to as the Body Politic. The metaphor has been the subject of extensive study and there are many useful overviews of the history of the image from classical sources to the present day; including recent studies which use CMT in their analysis of this imagery.[39] In what follows I offer a diachronic overview of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor focussing on the use of the Fable of the Belly scenario and related scenarios in classical, medieval, renaissance, and modern texts.

'The Fable of the Belly' pre-dates the STATE IS A BODY metaphor. In early versions the fable concerns the stomach/belly and the feet;[40] however, in later versions the fable concerns a dispute between the belly and all the body parts. The body parts are angry that the belly takes all the nourishment and does not work, and as a result they go on strike and refuse to eat. The body parts suffer due to this lack of food, and the belly demonstrates that he fulfils an essential purpose: if the belly does not first receive and redistribute the nourishment, all of the body will starve. The original fable does not establish any mappings between the body and political structures, and can be read simply as a warning not to rebel against a superior (in any context) without first considering how you are dependent upon them. However, the fable invites political readings, as Musolff observes: 'the belly seems to occupy a ruling position, which would also allow a reading that politicises the body'.[41] The fable was adapted to apply to political disputes, often being cited as part of a speech by the Roman senator Menenius Agrippa. It is in this context that the fable appears in Livy's *History of Rome* and Plutarch's *Life of Coriolanus*.[42] In the middle of a revolt by the plebians against the senate Agrippa is sent

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[39] Kantorowicz; Musolff, *National Conceptualisations of the Body Politic*, pp. 15–33; Hale, pp. 18–47. For the application of CMT see Ringmar, 'Metaphors of Social Order' in *Political Language and Metaphor* ed. by Carver and Pikalo; Musolff, 'Metaphor in the History of Ideas and Discourse' in *Metaphor and Discourse*, ed. by Musolff and Zinken.
[40] Aesop.
[41] Musolff, *National Conceptualisations of the Body Politic*, p. 18.
[42] Livy, pp. 324–5; Plutarch, pp. 130–1.

to the plebians to help resolve the tension between the two sides and legitimise the senate's continued rule. He recounts the Fable of the Belly; however, there are now clear mappings between the state and the body, which ultimately resolves the dispute between the plebians and the senate:

> Comparando hinc quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.
>
> [Drawing a parallel from this to show how like was the internal dissension of the bodily members to the anger of the plebs against the Fathers, he prevailed upon the minds of his hearers.][43]

This version of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor, in which the Fable of the Belly is applied to a state, is found in many classical sources. It continues to influence the application of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor into the medieval period and beyond. However, the Fable of the Belly is not an essential feature of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor, and it is not found in all early texts which feature the metaphor.[44] It may be helpful to think of the Fable of the Belly as a scenario which can be recruited during the process of completion of the STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend. There is no requirement to recruit this knowledge, and one may productively run the blend without including the Fable of the Belly scenario. However, using CIT to analyse STATE IS A BODY imagery gives a useful framework to understand how and why contextual information such as the Fable of the Belly scenario may be recruited to shape our interpretation of this imagery.

There are many medieval versions of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor. Notably, the Fable of the Belly scenario was not the only scenario which might be recruited to complete this

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[43] Livy, pp. 324–5.
[44] A crucial early source which uses the STATE IS A BODY metaphor, but not the Fable of the Belly frame is St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians, '1st Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians, 12:14–30' in *The Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Bible* <http://www.drbo.org/chapter/53012.htm> [accessed 21 February 2022].

metaphorical blend; more commonly medieval versions of the STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend relied on the Hierarchy scenario where the relative importance of a political institution was conveyed by the role of its corresponding body part. This scenario often depicted the members of the body under the rule of the head which was commonly associated with the king, as in Gower's *Vox clamantis* VI.vii.497–8, 'Quicquid delitant reges, plectuntur Achiui, | Nam caput infirmum membra dolere facit:' [The people must atone for whatever errors the great commit, since a weak head makes the members suffer.][45] It was difficult to reconcile the Hierarchy scenario with the Fable of the Belly scenario, as in one the body was ruled by the head and in the other the body was ruled by the belly. Even though the two scenarios are incompatible, medieval writers sometimes attempted to use both in their works: John of Salisbury sacrificed consistency in his treatment of the imagery in order to use both scenarios, identifying the king with both the belly and the head as required.[46] It is clear from the frequent use of this imagery that the metaphor had significant currency in medieval political discourse. The STATE IS A BODY metaphor required no explanation or authentication but was available as a source of lucid and recognisable imagery to explain the power dynamics of the country. The Digby lyric 'The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres' provides an extended treatment of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor, which is worthy of analysis. This text is particularly useful to this study because the opening of the poem explicitly explains how the different instruments of the state are mapped onto the members of the body, as in the following examples:

> The heued Y likne to a kyng –
> For he is lord souereyn of al;
> […]
> I lykne þe nekke, moche of myȝt,
> Þat body and heued togydre knyt

[45] *The Complete Works of John Gower*, IV, 243; *The Major Latin Works of John Gower*, p. 231.
[46] John of Salisbury, pp. 66, 69, 135–6.

To a iustice þat demeþ ryȝt,
[…]
Now I lykne mannys brest
[To] presthod is good degre;

(9–10, 17–9, 25–6)

The mappings here are especially clear, as the verb 'liknen' is used to establish the comparisons between the two domains or input spaces. We can see that the poet used the Hierarchy scenario to guide his mappings, as the importance of each estate corresponds with the importance of the bodily member, under the rule of the sovereign head. We can summarise the mappings used in this poem according to CMT as follows:

| *Source*: *BODY* | | *Target*: *STATE* |
|---|---|---|
| Head | ⇒ | King |
| Neck | ⇒ | Justices |
| Chest | ⇒ | Priests |
| Shoulders | ⇒ | Lords |
| Backbone | ⇒ | Lords |
| Arms | ⇒ | Knights |
| Hands | ⇒ | Squires |
| Fingers | ⇒ | Yeomen |
| Ribs | ⇒ | Lawyers |
| Thighs | ⇒ | Merchants |
| Legs | ⇒ | Craftsmen |
| Feet | ⇒ | Ploughmen |
| Toes | ⇒ | Labourers |

The same mappings could be shown in a conceptual integration network, mapping between the body input space and the state input space, with the resultant blend containing the Body Politic. Both CMT and CIT provide adequate models to analyse the fundamental structure of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor, including the cross-space/cross-domain mappings involved. However, as

subsequent analysis will demonstrate, CIT provides a more robust model for analysing the nuance of the imagery in ‘The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres’.

Like most medieval articulations of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor, the emphasis of the image in ‘The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres’ is on the mutual dependence of the members of the body, and their contribution to the good of the corporate whole. The following lines summarise this sentiment: ‘While all þys lymes arn wel at on, | Þe body in good plyt it stondes’ (39–40). The Digby lyric also contains extensive discussion of the dangers the body faces when its members are divided against itself, which it achieves by incorporating a version of the Fable of the Belly scenario. After establishing the mappings discussed in the preceding paragraph in lines 1–80, we are introduced to one final bodily member/political institution: the belly, which is mapped onto ‘botemeles purs þat moche doþ take’ (82). Hitherto all the mappings have established connections between estates of people (priests, lords, knights, squires, yeomen, etc.) and so this mapping, which does not depict an estate, is set apart as a departure from the established pattern. The introduction of the stomach in this way prompts a medieval audience, who would doubtless have been aware of the Fable of the Belly, to recruit this knowledge to their understanding of the STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend, and it primes them to expect a retelling of the fable in the second half of the poem. However, these expectations are subverted as the poem does not follow the usual structure of the Fable of the Belly: in ‘The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres’ the stomach joins the eyes, ears, hands, and feet in a revolt against the mouth, effectively presenting a modification of the familiar Fable of the Belly scenario wherein the mouth fulfils the role usually assigned to the belly. The motivations for this change are not entirely clear, especially since the poet, who has carefully established mappings for all the other members of the body, does not provide a similar mapping for the mouth. However, it is clear that the mouth is associated with the king who is mapped onto the head and ‘haþ foure to his gouernyng; | Mouþ, and nose, and eyen wiþal,’ (11–2). As such the alteration of the Fable of

the Belly scenario to emphasize the importance of the mouth may have been introduced to show that loyalty was owed to the king, whilst maintaining the previously established Head ⇒ King mapping derived from the Hierarchy scenario. In this way, 'The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres' resolves conflicts and inconsistencies seen in John of Salisbury's use of these scenarios in his deployment of the metaphor. The STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend in 'The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres' therefore requires its audience to recruit some knowledge concerning the Fable of the Belly scenario but to mediate this knowledge by considering the relationships established by the Hierarchy scenario. This produces a blend in which the king has ultimate authority over the body, being associated with both the head as the source of counsel and guidance, and with the mouth which controls the flow of nourishment through the body and gives the other members the strength they need to function. CIT provides a model to understand how knowledge is recruited to inform our understanding of metaphorical blends, how this relates to the mappings and relationships of the blend itself, and how this produces emergent structure and, ultimately, meaning.

By modifying the Fable of the Belly scenario to give the mouth, which is governed by the king, the role typically assigned to the belly, the Digby-poet navigates the difficulties surrounding representing the king, the head, and the belly present in other medieval versions of the STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend. However, these tensions become more pronounced in later depictions of the metaphor, and may contribute to the reduced use of the Fable of the Belly scenario in later articulations of STATE IS A BODY imagery. This tension between king, head, and belly is of central importance in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*. In Act 1, Scene 1 Menenius Agrippa addresses the mutinous citizens and begins to tell them the Fable of the Belly. However, he is interrupted by the Second Citizen, who questions why the other members of the body, including the 'kingly crownèd head' (I.i.98), 'Should by the cormorant belly be restrained, | Who is the sink o'th'body,' (I.i.104–5). David G. Hale suggests the contrast

between the nobility of the other bodily members, including the head, and the belly shows that the Second Citizen 'both tries to deny the applicability of Menenius' analogy and affirms the anthropomorphic analogy in general as a way to approach social problems.'[47] In essence the Second Citizen affirms the applicability of the STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend, but rejects the recruitment of the Fable of the Belly scenario in favour of the use of the Hierarchy scenario.[48] The Fable of the Belly scenario seems to have marked limitations: usually Menenius' use of the fable is able to quiet the mutinous citizens and reconcile them with the Roman Senate; in *Coriolanus* Menenius admits failure and the focus of the scene moves away from the fable.

STATE IS A BODY imagery is used throughout the first three acts of *Coriolanus* even if the Fable of the Belly scenario is no longer being evoked, showing that the metaphor is still relevant even if this scenario is abandoned in the first scene. Instead, the play focusses on how the state is a diseased body that requires treatment with the tribunes and Coriolanus each identifying the other with the source of the sickness. References to an ailing Body Politic are concentrated in Act III Scene I which concludes with a discussion of Coriolanus:

SICINIUS He's a disease that must be cut away.
MENENIUS O, he's a limb that has but a disease –
Mortal to cut it off, to cure it easy.
[…]
SICINIUS The service of the foot,
Being once gangrened, is not then respected
For what before it was.
BRUTUS We'll hear no more.
Pursue him to his house and pluck him thence,
Lest his infection, being of a catching nature,

[47] Hale, *The Body Politic*, pp. 100–1.
[48] The competing scenarios in this passage from *Coriolanus* are considered in Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis*, pp. 55–7.

Spread further.

(III.i.300–302, 311–316)[49]

Here the fluidity of the imagery – Coriolanus is a disease, then a diseased limb, then a gangrenous foot, then a contagious infection – shows how productive the Sickness scenario is when recruited as a frame in the STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend. Hale views this fluidity of the imagery as evidence of 'ambiguity and uncertainty' which leads him to the conclusion that '*Coriolanus* clearly shows the failure of the metaphor of the body politic.'[50] Hale argues that the metaphor declines after the seventeenth century; in his book-length study of the metaphor Hale offers an epilogue which provides an overview of post-renaissance applications of the metaphor which he describes as 'brief, unoriginal, and void of any implications rising from the analogy.'[51] What Hale's epilogue reveals is not necessarily the decline of the metaphor, but rather its changing focus away from the Fable of the Belly scenario towards more productive scenarios such as Sickness and Healing. Post-renaissance applications of the metaphorical blend recruit different knowledge during the process of completion which in turn produces blends with different structure and significance. A brief overview of modern applications of STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blends show how the blend may be completed or elaborated in a variety of ways which ensures it remains a source of productive and original imagery even up to the present day.

Modern texts show that there are several scenarios which can be recruited to structure the STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend, and which may show greater or lesser degrees of continuity and difference from the STATE IS A BODY imagery seen in earlier texts. Although the Fable of Belly scenario is no longer popular, Hierarchy, Sickness, and Healing scenarios all

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[49] This may recall similar imagery from the earlier *Second Part of King Henry IV* in which King Henry and Warwick describe Northumberland as a disease, III.i.37–43.
[50] Hale, '*Coriolanus*', p. 202.
[51] Hale, *The Body Politic*, p. 131.

remain in use. The Hierarchy scenario is perhaps the most commonly used scenario as it is used in lexicalised terms such as *head of state*, *head of government*, or *long arm of the law*.[52] Sometimes there is tension over which member of the body should be at the top of the hierarchy; this is often seen in images where the Body Politic must choose between rationality and emotion in the Head/Heart dichotomy.[53] The heart can also be used to indicate centrality or importance as in the phrase *at the heart of*. British Prime Minister John Major famously spoke in 1991 of the related metaphor EUROPEAN UNION AS A BODY, announcing Britain's intention to 'work "at the very heart of Europe"'; Andreas Musolff has examined the images and scenarios associated with this phrase.[54] Sickness and Healing scenarios have become increasingly popular in applications of the STATE IS A BODY metaphorical blend after the seventeenth century.[55] Sickness scenarios have been used to present immigrants, foreigners, or other groups of people as a disease which threatens the health of the state. Nazi propaganda depicted Jewish people as infections to Germany's body and encouraged Germans to support the holocaust as a means of ridding their country of metaphorical health risks.[56] More recently, metaphors which depict immigrants as parasites or viruses have been used in American political discourse to encourage support for anti-immigration policies.[57] The use of this imagery has been shown to increase anti-immigration attitudes, which demonstrates the powerful effect of metaphorical framing on our thoughts and behaviour.[58] The breadth of studies of modern applications of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor demonstrate that the metaphor continues to be

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[52] Andreas Musolff's corpus based analysis shows the popularity of Hierarchy scenarios in English language use. *National Conceptualisations of the Body Politic*, pp. 68–71.
[53] Musolff*, National Conceptualisations of the Body Politic*, pp. 69–70.
[54] Musolff*, Political Metaphor Analysis*, pp. 39–53. John Major was the Prime Minister of Great Britain between November 1990 and May 1997; during his time as Prime Minister Major struggled to manage the relationship between Britain and the European Union, in part because his own party, the Conservatives, contained many 'Eurosceptic' members.
[55] Hale, *The Body Politic*, pp. 131–7.
[56] Andreas Musolff, *Metaphor, Nation and the Holocaust.*
[57] Cisneros; Gerald V. O'Brien.
[58] Brown and others, p. 347; Landau, Sullivan, and Greenberg.

productive up to the present day, as well as highlighting how cognitive and discourse-based approaches to metaphorical analysis can furnish useful insights.

This diachronic survey of the STATE IS A BODY metaphor demonstrates the applicability of CMT and CIT to historical and modern texts. Although CMT can produce useful insights, and is particularly useful when considering other studies which also use this methodology, CIT may be more helpful when considering the nuance of certain, less conventional, applications of the metaphor. For example, CIT produced more useful insight in the analysis of 'The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres', showing how both the Fable of the Belly and Hierarchy scenarios are recruited during completion of the blend. The Fable of the Belly scenario is modified by the Hierarchy scenario to produce emergent structure. This results in a blend in which the king has authority over the body, as he is associated with the head as the source of governance (Hierarchy scenario), and the mouth which controls nourishment and which the body parts are all dependent on (Fable of the Belly scenario). Scenarios are shown to be useful to understanding how the use of the metaphor changes over time, including which aspects of the domains or input spaces are focussed on by particular users at particular times. This shows how ideas from discourse-based approaches to metaphor analysis can supplement cognitive analysis.

The methodology of my project uses a combination of cognitive approaches to metaphor analysis – including CMT and CIT – supplemented by consideration of discourse-based approaches to metaphor. I primarily use CIT as it is suitable for the analysis of complex and original imagery which is not based on conventional metaphors; most of the images analysed in this project fit into this category such as the LIVERY BADGE metaphorical blend considered in Chapter Two, the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend considered in Chapter Four, and the APIAN metaphorical blend considered in Chapter Five. I use CMT to analyse more

conventional metaphors, as well as other rhetorical figures that are also unidirectional, such as metonymy and synecdoche; in Chapter Two I use CMT to understand the metonymic code used in Gower's *Cronica tripertita*, and in Chapter Six I use CMT to analyse the conventional metaphors THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING and their use in the dream vision of *Mum and the Sothsegger*. In response to the criticism of CMT from discourse-based metaphor theorists I use images drawn from real linguistic data throughout the project, and consider the importance of individual metaphoric linguistic expressions as well as the conceptual structures which underlie them. I also consider the importance of discourse from a social-theoretical perspective throughout my project, highlighting the ways in which discourse can affect the particular metaphorical choices made in individual texts. This methodology shows that a flexible combination of theories can be applied critically according to the particular image(s) being considered; this approach is more productive than the application of any single theory would be. I hope to show that my methodology can serve as a useful model which may be applied to future studies concerning the use of figurative language in poetry, both in medieval and non-medieval contexts. Having established the methodology used throughout this project I will first consider Gower's *Cronica tripertita*, analysing how the text positions itself in discourse, and how this affects our interpretation of the imagery it contains.

# Chapter Two:

## Historical and Vaticinal Discourse and *The Cronica tripertita*

The imagery in John Gower's *Cronica tripertita* shows the clear influence of vaticinal discourse.[1] Gower uses a combination of imagery derived from accidental designation, etymologised translation, and sybilline imagery to refer to political figures in his work; all of these methods are strongly associated with vaticinal discourse, although they may be found in other contexts.[2] The use of such imagery encourages us to associate the *Cronica* with vaticinal discourse, and by extension imbues Gower's work with the authority of prophecy. However, if we adopt this reading of the *Cronica* we must question why the text is primarily presented as a work of historical discourse, with the authority of a historical text. This chapter explores the tension between historical and vaticinal discourse in the *Cronica tripertita*, including how these discourses affect Gower's use of imagery in his work and the interpretability of such imagery. The chapter begins by demonstrating that the *Cronica* presents itself as a work of historical discourse, and was perceived as such by its earliest readers. I also consider whether or not the *Cronica* claims vatic status for itself, as has been asserted by both Helen Barr and Steele Nowlin. I conclude that the *Cronica* is primarily positioned as part of historical discourse and suggest that Gower framed his text in this way because it allowed him to assert the 'truthfulness' of his version of events. In the second section I consider the imagery in the *Cronica*, focussing on its associations with vaticinal discourse and what this might suggest about the interpretability of the imagery. I use CMT to show that the use of heraldic animal

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[1] Vaticinal discourse includes any texts which claim to predict the future, or which contain references to prophecies or portents. This chapter is interested in works of political prophecy and as such religious prophecies, or texts relating to the tradition of the biblical prophets will not be considered here. For a discussion of the *Vox Clamantis* and its relationship to the tradition of the biblical prophets see Burke; Minnis, pp. 168–77. For clarity the term 'vaticinal', which may be read as a shorthand for 'political prophecy', has been used throughout this essay to avoid the association with biblical prophets that may attach to the term 'prophetic'.

[2] Coote, p. 36.

imagery in the *Cronica* functions as a metonymic code, which is sometimes combined with metaphorical imagery to produce blends. To conclude, I consider what Gower's use of both historical and vaticinal discourse in the *Cronica* suggests about the text and its imagery, as well as the effects this may have had on the text's audience.

## *The Cronica tripertita* and its Position in Discourse

*The Cronica tripertita* was written in 1400, shortly before Gower lost his sight.[3] It describes events between 1387 and 1399 in three sections: the first covers 1387–8, describing the Lords Appellant's actions and the 'Merciless Parliament'; the second part resumes in July 1397 with the arrest of the Appellants and the actions of the 'Revenge Parliament'; the final part covers 1398–9, focussing on the banishment, disinheritance and subsequent return of Henry Bolingbroke, concluding in early 1400 with details of Richard II's death and burial. In this section I wish to consider the *Cronica* and its position in discourse. Understanding what discourses the original audience of the poem would have seen the text as employing, and what discourses the text itself claims to participate in, allows us to gain some insight into who could understand it and participate in its political commentary, and how the audience would have been primed to interpret the text's imagery. In this section I consider the *Cronica*'s position in discourse by first analysing the extant manuscripts of the poem, and what these might imply about its original audience. I will then examine what sources of authority the *Cronica* claims for itself and the available textual evidence which shows what discourse(s) the *Cronica* appears to use. In the following section I consider how the audience are primed to respond to the text and its imagery.

[3] For details of Gower's life see Fisher, pp. 37–69.

The full text of the *Cronica* survives in five manuscripts, and quotations from the *Cronica* exist in another manuscript. The manuscripts which include the full text are:

> Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian MS T.2.17;
> London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.IV;
> London, British Library, MS Harley 6291;
> Oxford, All Souls College, MS 98;
> and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 92.[4]

The first four of these are similar: they contain the *Vox Clamantis*, the *Cronica tripertita* and some of Gower's minor Latin poems. Macaulay argued that these manuscripts were 'evidently contemporary with the author', suggesting (based on the pattern of correction and scribal activity) that the All Souls MS was 'written and corrected under the direction of the author, and remained for some time in his hands, receiving additions from time to time.'[5] Aage Brusendorff agreed with Macaulay's position arguing that 'Gower [...] issued several editions of various works from his own *scriptorium* in carefully corrected copies.'[6] More recently Malcom Parkes analysed these manuscripts and concluded:

> The patterns of scribal activity in the revision and augmentation of these copies suggest that the circumstances in which this was carried out are not those of a 'scriptorium', but patterns which reflect the activities of a few 'neighbourhood scribes' who were employed *ad hoc* on commissions from Gower's earliest readers and admirers.[7]

Parkes suggests that some or all of these manuscripts were made for Gower's friends and associates, 'who perhaps shared his political sympathies and formed the first audience for his Latin works' (p. 96). Parkes identifies two potential early readers of these texts, Sir Arnald

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[4] *The Complete Works of John Gower* IV: lix–lxv; Pearsall, 'The Manuscripts and Illustrations', in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. by Echard, p. 78.
[5] *Complete Works of John Gower*, IV, lix, lxi.
[6] Brusendorff, p. 56.
[7] Parkes, 'Patterns of Scribal Activity' in *New Science Out of Old Books* ed. by Beadles, and Piper, p. 98.

Savage and William 'Denne' who were listed among the executors of Gower's will. Savage was an MP, who became the Speaker for the House of Commons in the parliaments of 1401 and 1404. He served on the continual council of Henry IV. As a member of Gower's circle Savage would have had access to the *Cronica*, and his parliamentary background might have made him particularly interested in the text. Parkes suggests that 'the reference in the *Cronica tripertita* to the pleasure that would be felt by the friends of Lord Cobham when he returned from his exile [...] might well incorporate an allusion to Savage's close links with Cobham' (p. 97).[8] Parkes identified the William 'Denne', canon of the King's chapel, referenced in Gower's will with William Donne who was canon of the King's Free Chapel of St Stephen within the Palace of Westminster from 1399 to 1414. Parkes suggests that Donne's interest in the *Cronica* would have been influenced by his position in the Palace of Westminster and its community of civil servants (p. 97). The evidence from these four manuscripts therefore suggests that the initial audience of the *Cronica* were men like Gower, who were living in London and actively participating in the political sphere. These manuscripts suggest an 'intimate audience' for the text and may suggest that 'the *Cronica* had little influence and few medieval readers knew the work outside of Gower's London circle'.[9] We may expect this audience to be familiar with both historical and vaticinal discourse and to have interpreted the *Cronica* in relation to these discourses. This audience would also be able to identify, understand, and interpret even recondite imagery, which may be relevant when considering the imagery used in Gower's text.

However, the remaining manuscript evidence suggests that the *Cronica* circulated beyond the intimate audience of the four manuscripts analysed by Parkes, and may have had more influence as a work of political poetry than these manuscripts imply. The final extant

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[8] The referenced section of the *Cronica* is II.231–2. Gower, *Poems on Contemporary Events.* All subsequent references to the *Cronica* are from this edition.
[9] Moll, p. 153.

manuscript of the complete text of the *Cronica* dates from the early fifteenth century, and contains the *Cronica* as well as other Latin texts, including: a tract by Maurice of Kirkham against the Salomite heresy; a prose summary of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; John of Garland's commentary on Ovid's text; and a series of sentences, proverbs and fables.[10] As the manuscript is a Latin miscellany these accompanying texts may not be helpful when determining what discourse(s) the *Cronica* may participate in. However, Stephanie L. Batkie has suggested that all the texts in this manuscript place emphasis on exemplarity, and that this is furthered by the scribal prologues to the *Cronica* in the Hatton manuscript which 'substitutes a moralizing heuristic through a doggedly anagogical turn, mitigating the specificities of the chronicle-form with the immediate establishment of a larger temporal frame.'[11] Additionally, the manuscript provides evidence that the *Cronica* circulated separately from the *Vox*.[12] This independent circulation suggests that despite all of Gower's conscious fashioning of the *Cronica* as the continuation and conclusion of the *Vox*, the text could be viewed independently, and should be considered as more than the *Vox*'s 'coda'.[13] This becomes important when considering what authority the *Vox* and *Cronica* claim for themselves, and how the *Cronica*'s relationship with the *Vox* affects and mediates the *Cronica*'s position in discourse.[14] In terms of audience, the

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[10] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 92 is a composite manuscript of which only the first part, which contains the copy of the *Cronica* is of interest here. 'MS. Hatton 92', in *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries* <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6108> [accessed 6 April 2020].

[11] Batkie, 'Looking for Richard', in *John Gower in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. by Driver, Pearsall, and Yeager, p. 52.

[12] Gower, *Poems on Contemporary Events*, p. 6.

[13] Carlson characterises the *Cronica* in this way, *Poems on Contemporary Events,* p. 6.

[14] Against the *Cronica*'s seeming independence in the Hatton manuscript must be set the fact that in the manuscript the text of the *Cronica* is still accompanied by the standard introduction which refers to the missing *Vox*: 'Postquam in quodam libello qui vox clamantis dicitur quem Iohannis Gower nuper versificatum composuit super hoc quod tempore Regis Ricardi secundi anno Regni sui quarto vulgaris in anglia populus contra ipsum Regem quasi ex virga dei notabiliter insurrexit manifestius tractatum existit, iam in hoc presenti Cronica, que tripertita est, super quibusdam aliis infortuniis' [After in which little book which is called Vox Clamantis that John Gower recently composed in verse concerning the fact that during the reign of King Richard II, in the fourth year of his reign, the common people in England notably rose up against that King, like from the rod of God. A clearer tract exists, now in this present Chronicle, which is in three parts, on some other misfortunes.] *Complete Works of John Gower*, IV, lxxi. On the relationship between the *Vox* and *Cronica* in the Hatton manuscript in particular see Batkie, 'Looking for Richard', in *John Gower in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. by Driver, Pearsall, and Yeager, pp. 38–46.

Hatton manuscript provides evidence that the text circulated beyond Gower's immediate circle; however, we cannot infer from this that the text circulated broadly or among a diverse range of people. The Latin literacy required to appreciate the Hatton manuscript supports the suggestion that the *Cronica* was predominantly read by men like Gower: members of the middle estates who would be literate in Latin but perhaps would not have been wealthy enough to commission or own a more ornate manuscript.

Quotations from the *Cronica* are also found in another manuscript. London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 204 is the only extant manuscript of the First Version of John Hardyng's *Cronica*. The manuscript dates from circa 1457, when the text was completed and presented to the king, with C. L. Kingsford suggesting that this manuscript may be the presentation copy.[15] The manuscript contains on fols 196$^{v}$ and 204$^{r}$ two verses from Gower's poem added in the margins of the text.[16] Additionally, there is a reference to the *Cronica* on fol 197v which uses Gower's work as an authoritative source to support the accuracy of Hardyng's own chronicle: 'Veez Pole & Neuile per mare tunc transierunt in alias tera qua meliuscule potuerunt secundam cronicam Gower metrificatam de tempore huius Regis Ricardi' [See, Pole and Neville then crossed over the sea into other lands whereby they could fare better, according to Gower's metrical chronicle of the time of this King Richard].[17] The writer of these quotations clearly viewed Gower's work as a reliable historical document which could be used to authorise the historical details in Hardyng's own *Cronica*. In fact, Gower's text may have been the source for some of the details in Hardyng's text. Macaulay highlighted several instances where the two texts agree, which Moll suggests is because 'Hardyng derives these

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[15] Kingsford, p. 469.
[16] The manuscript is digitised; see *British Library Digitised Manuscripts* <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Lansdowne_MS_204> [accessed 20 April 2022]. Richard Moll has analysed the references to the *Cronica* in the manuscript. See also Peverley, pp. 152, 165, n. 13.
[17] Moll, p. 155.

details from Gower' (p. 158). This provides considerable evidence that Gower's text was not only seen as a historical text, but that it was used as such to authorise other historical works by early readers. As the Lansdowne version of Hardyng's text was written for Henry VI, with a strong Lancastrian bias, this may suggest that the *Cronica tripertita* was read by those who were interested in historical accounts which offered a Lancastrian version of the events of the late-fourteenth century.

Previously it had been thought that London, British Library, MS Additional 35287 also contained a quotation from the *Cronica*. This manuscript contains a copy of the B text of *Piers Plowman* produced in London. There are numerous jottings on its final leaf fol. 104$^{v}$. These jottings include a quotation from John of Bridlington's *Prophecy*, 'decepit multos fallax dilectio stultos | Si modo plus dicam, faciam mihi tunc Inimicam,' [deceitful love has ensnared many fools | If I simply say more, I will then make an enemy for myself] and a line which Lawrence Warner claimed to be a quotation from the *Cronica* 'Tristia post leta. post trista sepe quieta' [Grief often follows mirth, but grief then yields to glee] (III.1).[18] Eric Weiskott has recently identified that while this line does occur in the *Cronica*, it is also found in Bridlington's *Prophecy*, meaning that MS Additional 35287 actually includes two quotations from Bridlington's text (p. 160). This discovery means that MS Additional 35287 cannot be used to provide evidence of the *Cronica*'s circulation and readership. However, it does suggest that the *Cronica* should be read in the context of vaticinal discourse. As Weiskott suggests 'by placing a line from Bridlington's *Prophecy* in a prominent position in *Cronica tripertita*, Gower enacts a subtextual allusion to the poem and its literary genre, inviting broader comparisons between his poetry and political prophecy' (p. 160).

[18] Warner, p. 130.

The available manuscript evidence therefore suggests that both historical and vaticinal discourses should be considered when analysing the *Cronica*, as well as providing evidence of the readership and circulation of the text. It is clear from this evidence that the earliest readers of the *Cronica* associated the text more closely with historical, rather than vaticinal, discourse, and treated it as an authoritative historical document. These manuscripts show that the *Cronica* was read from the date of its composition until at least the sixteenth century.[19] They would still support the theory that the *Cronica* was read by members of the clerical or lay elites, who had an interest in historical and political texts. They do not suggest a broad or diverse readership for the text, though they do provide evidence that the text circulated beyond Gower's immediate circle and that it may have circulated separately from the *Vox*, a claim which David Carlson supports.[20] Beyond the manuscript evidence Gower's decision to write in Latin would also serve to limit the audience to people in either the middle estates, like Gower himself, or else the elite classes. Parkes observes that writing in Latin allowed Gower to express his political views more 'freely, and avoid the wider dissemination of those views that might have led to the kind of widespread popular dissension that he dreaded' (p. 96). We can conclude that the *Cronica* was written for a fairly narrow readership of people from the middle to upper estates, who may also have had a particular interest in political, historical, or vaticinal texts. Understanding the audience of the *Cronica* is important when considering the text's position in discourse; however, when considering what discourse(s) the *Cronica* is related to we should also consider available textual evidence, and Gower's own attempts to shape the perception and reception of his work.

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[19] The Hatton manuscript contains marginal material in a sixteenth century hand. Batkie, 'Looking for Richard', in *John Gower in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. by Driver, Pearsall, and Yeager, p. 38
[20] Gower, *Poems on Contemporary Events*, p. 6.

Although the *Cronica* contains elements of vaticinal discourse, Gower sought to present his text primarily as a historical document. This is perhaps unsurprising given the insistent presentation of the text as a historical work: the term *cronica* is used to refer to the work on at least thirteen occasions.[21] Additionally, Gower sought to exercise control over how the *Cronica* was perceived when he described the *Vox* and the *Cronica* in the colophon describing his three major works, edited as 'Quia unusquisque' by R. F. Yeager. [22] In this text Gower subsumes the *Cronica* into the *Vox*, presenting the two texts as a continuous historical account:

> Secundus enim liber, sermone Latino compositus, tractat de variis infortuniis tempore regis Ricardi secundi in Anglia contingentibus: unde non solum regni proceres et communes tormenta passi sunt, set et ipse crudelissimus rex, suis ex demeritis ab alto corruens, in foveam quam fecit finaliter proiectus est. Nomenque voluminis huius *Vox Clamantis* intitulatur.
>
> [The second book, composed in Latin verse, deals with the various misfortunes that occurred in England during the reign of King Richard II, when not only were tribulations suffered by the magnates and commons of the realm, but also the cruel king himself, falling from on high because of his own misdeeds, was finally cast into the ditch that he had dug. And the volume is entitled with the name of *The Vox Clamantis*.]

This colophon suggests a closer relationship between the two texts than internal evidence attests, as the two differ in significant ways. The *Vox* was composed in elegiac couplets from 1378 onwards. Books II–VII of the *Vox* were completed before the Peasants' Revolt in 1381.[23] Gower then wrote Book I, sometimes treated separately as the *Visio Anglie*, in response to these

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[21] The term *cronica* or its derivatives occur at Pro.2, thrice in the Incipit, p. 248, I.9, once opening of Book II, p. 266, in the marginal note to II.1, at II.4, at the opening of Book III, p. 292, in the marginal note to III.1, at III.478, III.489, and at the conclusion of the text, p. 328.
[22] Gower, *The Minor Latin Works*, pp. 38–9.
[23] Although these books were completed prior to 1381 Gower made some later revisions. Notably Gower revised Book VI.545–80 and VI.1159–1200 to be more critical of Richard II, attributing ultimate blame for the country's misfortunes to the king himself rather than his advisers as in the original version. *The Major Latin Works of John Gower*, p. 13.

events.[24] The *Cronica* was written almost twenty years later, and is composed in a more ornate style using disyllabically rhymed hexameters. The relationship between the *Vox* and the *Cronica* is therefore extra-textually constructed through Gower's colophon and the *Cronica*'s manuscript context, including the incipit to Book I which refers to the *Vox*. However, this relationship is important despite its artificiality because it positions the *Cronica* in relation to the *Vox*, and this relationship mediates the *Cronica*'s position in discourse. It is therefore necessary to establish not only how the *Cronica* is positioned in discourse, but also how the *Vox* is positioned and what this may imply about the *Cronica*. I will first address the *Vox clamantis*, and what discourses it claims to participate in.

Owing to the differences between Books I and II–VII of the *Vox* it is necessary to treat them separately as they rely on different authorising conceits and participate in different discourses. Book I presents itself as a dream vision in which Gower sees three visions which foretell the events of the Peasants' Revolt. The dream vision frame makes some limited use of vatic elements. Gower affirms the truth of dreams in the Prologue (1–6), and invokes the visions of Daniel, Joseph (Pro.7–8), and, later, St John (Pro.57–8). Towards the end of Book I he is called by a voice from heaven, 'vox celica', to record his dream vision, as 'sompnia sepe futurum | Indicium reddunt,' [dreams are often signs | Of what's to come] (2049–50). The use of the dream vision frame therefore suggests that Book I of the *Vox* participates in vaticinal discourse, because its form is associated with the premonitory dreams of the Biblical prophets. The text could be read as claiming to predict rather than record the events of 1381. If interpreted in this way Book I of the *Vox* would seem to be more closely related to vaticinal, rather than

[24] Book I is first termed the *Visio* by Maria Wickert. See also Rigg and Moore, 'The Latin Works', in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. by Echard; Gower, *Poems on Contemporary Events*.

historical, discourse. However, as the dream vision frame is not used in the *Cronica* these observations may not aid our interpretation of this later text.

Books II–VII of the *Vox* are best understood as complaint literature. They depict the faults faced in contemporary England primarily structured as a critique of the three estates. As such these books have also been considered as estates satire. Notably these books rely on a different authorising conceit from the dream vision used in Book I. These books claim that Gower is not speaking for himself but is instead recording the sentiments of the *vox populi*:

> Est nihil ex sensu proprio quod scribe, set ora
> Que mihi vox populi contulit, illa loquar
>
> (IV.i.19–20)
>
> [Nothing that I write is my own opinion; rather, I shall speak what the voice of the people has reported to me.][25]

Gower's use of this motif allows him to claim greater authority for his work. According to the proverb *vox populi vox Dei* [the voice of the people is the voice of God], as Gower observes in the *Vox*: 'Vox populi cum voce dei concordat,' (III.1267) [The voice of the people agrees with the voice of God].[26] By ventriloquizing the people Gower claims divine authority for his text; the criticisms presented in the *Vox* are therefore not the narrow perspective of a single man, but criticisms from the people, and by extension from God. By seeking a source of authority beyond himself, Gower hints that he does not think his own voice was sufficient for the kinds of critique he wanted to use in the *Vox*. The *Cronica* constructs a very different relationship to Gower's authorial voice and the *vox populi*, and the question of voice and authority looms large

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[25] *The Complete Works*, translation from *Major Latin Works of John Gower*, p. 165
[26] *The Complete Works*, translation from *Major Latin Works of John Gower*, p. 144.

in this text. The use of authority and voice in the *Cronica* is used to position the text in relation to historical discourse.

The *Cronica* is presented as both a spoken and written text, and so the authority it claims is not solely reliant on the authority of a voice, but also on its status as a written document. In the passages which present the *Cronica* as a spoken text it is generally depicted as being composed in Gower's own voice. For example, at the opening of Book II Gower seems personally distressed by the act of composition:

> O dolor in mente, sed prodolor ore loquente!
> Heuque mee penne, scribam quia facta gehenne!
> Obice singultu, lacrimis, pallenteque vultu:
> Vix mea lingua sonat hec que michi cronica donat.
>
> [O grief of mind and grief, alas, of tongue as well;
> Alas for pen, for I must write the deeds of hell.
> A tearful choking gulp my pallid face distorts!
> My tongue can scarcely say what history reports.]
>
> (II.1–4)

The *Cronica* seems therefore to be written in Gower's own voice; rather than the *vox populi*.[27] One of the reasons Gower may have been more comfortable relying on the authority of his own voice is because the *Cronica* positions itself as a primarily historical text where Gower's own authority and his ability to mediate 'what history reports' can be trusted. This mediation was a common feature of the chronicle form; Frank Grady observes: 'the chronicle, allying itself to the putatively irrefutable authority of the documentary record, typically insists that its readers

[27] It is possible Gower wants to claim his own voice represents the *vox populi* in the *Cronica*. Such a claim would also be in line with authorising strategies used in historical texts from this period; in his overview of post-conquest historical writing in England Andrew Galloway notes chroniclers often claimed to speak '(however inauthentically) for the community of the realm.' Galloway, 'Writing History in England', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Wallace, p. 258.|

accept the immanence of that authority in the chronicler's disembodied voice.'[28] However, Gower goes beyond such mediation in a 'disembodied voice' and relies more on the personal experience and feelings of the chronicler than is found in other historical works. The above quotation provides a clear description of Gower's personal grief, and this is embodied in his 'ore' [mouth] and 'lingua' [tongue], and even more emotively in his pale face [pallenteque vultu]. The *Cronica* claims both the authority of the spoken text which records Gower's voice and experience, which is at times emotive and deeply personal, and the authority of a written document which compiles and mediates other sources of history. Again, this is consistent with the authorising principles found in historical texts from this period. The fourteenth century witnessed an increasing emphasis on 'immediate and personal history' which was authorised by the writer's personal experience as well as authoritative documentary sources.[29] The use of voice and authority in the *Cronica* is perhaps, therefore, designed to strengthen this presentation of the text as a historical work, using the authorising principles which were commonly found in late fourteenth-century historical discourse.

This depiction of the text as a historical work is continued through the fiction that the work is being written as events unfold, which Frank Grady terms Gower's 'conceit of reportage' (pp. 209–10).[30] Grady argues that Gower adopts this conceit because he is 'in search of some sort of authorizing conceit beyond that of simple memorial reconstruction'. Again, Gower achieves this by asserting the authority of his own voice: his text is informed not only by the documentary tradition he mediates but by his personal experience. At the end of Book II Gower claims to be writing soon after September 1397:

Anno bis deno primo, de sanguine pleno,

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[28] Grady, 'The Generation of 1399', in *The Letter of the Law,* ed. by Steiner and Barrington, p. 208.
[29] Galloway, 'Writing History in England', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Wallace, p. 274.
[30] See also David R. Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, pp. 124–6.

> Septembris mense feritas dominatur in ense!
> Tristis vt audiui, carmen scribendo subiui.
>
> [King Richard's reign, twice ten and one, a bloody year,
> September's moon – then sword and savagery ruled here!
> At this sad news to write my song I took my pen.]
>
> (II.340–42)

This passage shows Gower's 'conceit of reportage', as well as Gower's attempt to position his text as a documentary work, part of historical rather than vaticinal discourse. Gower's depiction of himself as writing in response to his witnessing of events may suggest that Gower used his own personal experience of the events described as a source of evidence and authority in his poem. David R. Carlson's analysis of the sources of the *Cronica tripertita* shows that although the 'Record and Process', the official Lancastrian account of the deposition, was his main source, Gower likely also used evidence he had access to as a more or less direct witness to events.[31] In particular, Carlson analyses Gower's description of the 'Revolt of the Earls' in III.436–49 of the *Cronica* and concludes from the similarities between Gower's depiction and those found in other near-contemporary sources 'that Gower had access to talk: informal reports [...] to which the other writers had the same access as Gower'.[32] Gower is therefore not simply claiming to write history, he is actively participating in the recording of historical events. This provides strong evidence that Gower's work is properly a part of historical discourse, a claim which is strengthened by its use as a historical source in Hardyng's *Cronica*.

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[31] The "Record and Process" is the parliamentary record of the proceedings which deposed Richard II and installed Henry Bolingbroke as the new king. Its contents were carefully constructed to support the Lancastrian regime. It was an important piece of propaganda which was circulated widely: it was included in the parliament roll, copied into chronicles, and there is evidence of a 'newspaper-like recirculation' of the document in ecclesiastical circles. An English language version of the document was produced to circulate the material to people who were not literate in Latin. For more details of the "Record and Process" see Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, pp. 181–2, and Carlson, *The Deposition of Richard II*.

[32] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, pp. 115–20.

Gower's text therefore not only mediates the documentary historical tradition, but becomes part of this tradition, a valuable historical document in its own right.

Perhaps the most important feature which marks the *Cronica* as a historical text is its relationship to time. Even when Gower is claiming to be writing as events unfold, he still positions the events as part of recent history. He does not claim to be describing events which *will* happen, but rather recording events which have *already happened*. This is important because both historical and vaticinal discourse are characterised by their relationship with time. Historical texts claim to provide an authoritative and truthful account of events which have already happened. They predominantly use verbs in historic tenses to show that they are dealing with past events. In contrast, owing to their claim to foretell the future vaticinal texts are usually written in future tenses, or in the subjunctive mood. Prophecies were often written *ex eventu*, after the events which they claim to foretell. Prophecies are therefore often not predictive, but instead present a commentary on contemporary events which maintains a fiction of prior composition. It is important that this fiction is maintained for a text to be considered vatic. The *Cronica* does not maintain a fiction of prior composition and uses predominantly historic tenses; these features align the text with historical discourse. Nevertheless, the *Cronica* does contain some elements of vaticinal discourse which merit consideration.

One feature that is commonly found in vaticinal discourse is the use of coded dating formulas. For example, a vaticinal text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 56 contains the line: 'Mens curtor cupiunt cristi lex vera jocunda,' [The mind is (?) shortened; they desire the pleasant and true law of Christ].[33] This is not intended to make sense; instead the audience are expected to take the first letter of each word to produce MCCCLVI, or the date 1356. This date may prompt the audience to interpret the prophecy, which refers to the victory of a red

[33] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 56, fol. 35$^{r}$, quoted in Coote, p. 31.

dragon over a white dragon, in association with the battle of Poitiers, which occurred in 1356. Although such dating formulas are often found in vaticinal discourse they are common in other Latin poems from this period, particularly those which concern historical events.[34] A similar, though more obvious, allusion to the dating of the text occurs at the opening of the *Cronica tripertita*:

> Tolle caput mundi; C ter et sex lustra fer illi;
> Et decies quinque cum septem post super adde:
> Tempus tale nota, quia tunc fuit Anglia mota.
>
> [Take Mundus's head, three C's, six fives, and add to these
> Five tens, and then another seven if you please;
> Now mark this time when England was embroiled and moved.]
>
> (I.1–3)

This formula gives 1387, as *caput mundi* = M = 1000, *C ter* = CCC = 300, *sex lustra* = 6 x 5 = 30, *decies quinque* = 5 x 10 = 50, and *cum septem* = 7. The shared use of such dating formulas is an example of the similarities between historical and vaticinal discourse, and the occurrence of this formula in the *Cronica* supports a reading of this text in relation to these discourses. However, there is a contrast in the way dating formulas and other allusions to time are treated in historical and vaticinal texts. Vaticinal texts are often imprecise with regards to when they were composed and when the events they claim to predict will occur. Even the use of such dating formulas can be misleading. Coote notes that the formulas could refer to numerous different years, and although modern audiences are inclined to read the formula as an allusion to the number of years since the incarnation, i.e. to 1356 CE, this is by no means the only

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[34] David R. Carlson, 'Introduction' in, Maidstone, *Concordia*, ed. by Carlson, trans. by Rigg, p. 33, n. 92. Examples include Richard Maidstone's *Concordia*; four of John Whethamstede's poems on the War of the Roses, written 1455–61; and the poem on the Battle of Crécy in *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, I, 52–3.

possibility. Dating formulas could also be used to count 'from the beginning of the world', or 'ab urbe condita' [From the founding of the City], an allusion to the putative foundation date of Rome.[35] Coote reminds us: 'what is at first sight a formula for dating these "future events" is not as exact or as revealing as it seems' (p. 32). Additionally, even when vaticinal texts refer to specific years they were often decontextualized from these to be appropriated as vatic evidence for a later event.[36] References to time in vaticinal discourse often depended on the interpretation of the audience, and may be subject to appropriation or reinterpretation. Historical discourse does not allow such flexibility: a chronicle of the events of 1387 can only be read as a record of these events, however biased and partisan the account may be. The dating formulas in historical Latin poems are more precise than the equivalent use of such formulas in vaticinal works, and Gower's own use of a dating formula aligns more with this historical usage than with the use of dating formulas in vaticinal discourse.

Despite the considerable evidence which suggests that the *Cronica* positions itself as a primarily historical work, and was viewed as such by its earliest readers, some critics have viewed the text as vatic. This is usually because of the following section from the opening of Book I:

> Principio regis oritur transgressio legis,
> Quo fortuna cadit et humus retrograda vadit.
> Quomodo surrexit populus, quem non bene rexit,
> Tempus adhuc plangit super hoc, quod cronica trangit.
> Libro testante, stat cronica scripta perante.
> Est alibi dicta, transit nec ab aure relicta.
> Audistis mire, vulgaris que tulit ira:

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[35] Coote, pp. 31–2.

[36] Paul Strohm discusses an example of this from a Bridlington prophecy concerning the battle of Crécy, where a line 'Bis dux vix feriet cum trecentis sociatis,' [Twice the leader will scarcely strike with 300 companions] is shown in the accompanying commentary to work out to 1346, the date of the battle. This prophecy is later decontextualized by Adam Usk to refer to Henry Bolingbroke's landing at Ravenspur, removing all the number symbolism this line had in the original. Strohm, *England's Empty Throne,* pp. 10–12.

Omnibus in villis timuit vir iustus ab illis.

[As Richard's reign began, the law was set far back,
When fortune fell and earth went backwards in its track.
The people then rebelled, for he had ruled them ill;
The chronicles report these deeds, we mourn them still.
The book attests, this chronicle was told before;
It's said elsewhere, but ears retain it evermore.
You've heard what peasant rage achieved, their fearful deeds;
In all the towns the just man flinched from such as these.]

(I.5–12)

The crucial line concerning the possibility of reading the *Cronica* as a vatic text is the claim 'cronica scripta perante' [this chronicle was told before] (I.9). Some critics have treated the text as a vatic work in response to this line. Helen Barr cites these lines as evidence of the 'pseudo-prophetic nature of the entire work.'[37] Steele Nowlin also asserts that 'the *Cronica* moreover presents itself as prophecy, a genre that purports to record, via its own internal logic, a kind of history of the future.'[38] However, if Gower meant to position his text as participating in vaticinal discourse, he did not make a consistent effort to do so. Line I.9 is the only instance where one could consider the text as presenting itself as vatic, and this provides weak evidence when contrasted with the consistent depiction of the text as a historical work, recording the history of the very recent past. Further, it is possible that reading I.9 as a claim that Gower wrote the *Cronica* before the events it claims to record is a misreading of the Latin. Maria Wickert views lines 1.9–10 as a reference to the *Vox clamantis*, arguing that they are 'a direct reference to the arrangement of the manuscript' where the *Vox* appears *perante* [before, in front of] the *Cronica* (p. 24).[39] Carlson adopts a similar position, writing that I.9 is 'often adduced

[37] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice,* p. 72.
[38] Nowlin, 'Gower and the Forms of History' in *The Routledge Research Companion to John Gower*, ed. by Sáez-Hidalgo, Gastle, and Yeager, p. 253.
[39] Wickert also notes that the *Vox* is called a 'cronica' in the incipit to two manuscripts, p. 24.

[…] erroneously' as evidence that the *Cronica* maintains a fiction of pre-deposition composition, but that 'the reference of *liber* and *cronica* must be to the *Vox clamantis*'.[40] This view is supported by the clear references to Book I of the *Vox* in I.7, 11–12. Given the considerable evidence that Gower consciously sought to position his text as participating in historical discourse I adopt Wikert and Carlson's interpretation of these lines. Although the *Cronica* may contain some elements of vaticinal discourse it presents itself primarily as a historical work and claims the authority of a historical account.

The *Cronica tripertita* insistently presents itself as a historical text. Gower tried to shape the perception and reception of his work so that it was treated as historical, and the available manuscript evidence suggests he was largely successful: the earliest readers of the *Cronica* viewed the text as a history, and it was even used as an authoritative source in Hardyng's *Chronicle*. We must ask what purposes aligning the *Cronica* with historical discourse would have served, and what Gower might have hoped to achieve by claiming to write a history. The most obvious reason is that historical writers were able to make claims about the 'truthfulness' and accuracy of their works which were not available to those writing in different discourses.[41] In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, historical discourse was also a popular vehicle for political commentary; such politically motivated histories were often centred around the legitimacy of the deposition, and might display either Lancastrian or Ricardian bias.[42] The combination of these factors, which allowed one to present a highly partisan version of events while asserting its 'truthfulness' and authority, may be why Gower sought to present his work as a historical text. However, despite the clear positioning of the

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[40] Carlson, 'English Poetry, July–October 1399', p. 381, n. 12.
[41] Gervase of Canterbury, writing in the thirteenth century, addresses the 'truthfulness' of 'historians' and 'chroniclers' who he views as producing different types of historical works. However, both produced texts which we would consider part of historical discourse and, according to Gervase, 'both eagerly pursue truth' [uterque veritati intendit]. *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I (1879), 87; Galloway, 'Writing History in England', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Wallace, p. 256.
[42] For an overview of such works see *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 4–11.

*Cronica* in relation to historical discourse the text still contains some elements of vaticinal discourse. The influence of vaticinal discourse is even more apparent when we consider the imagery of the text; in the next section I examine this imagery in detail, considering what effects it has and what impact associating the *Cronica* with vaticinal as well as historical discourse has.

## Referential Imagery in Vaticinal Literature and the *Cronica tripertita*

Like historical discourse, vaticinal discourse constituted an important vehicle for political commentary in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. For an example of how vatic material may be used for political purposes we may consider Adam Usk's *Chronicle* where, when recording the details of Richard II's death, Usk recalls previously unmentioned portents of the king's downfall.

> In coronacione istius domini, tria regalitatis insignia tria sibi infortunia portentebant: primo, in processione unum de coronacionis sotularibus perdidit, unde et primo plebei, contra ipsum insurgentes, ipsum post per totam uitam suam detestabantur; secundo, unum de calcaribus aureis ab eo cecidit, unde et militares secundo sibi rebellando aduersabantur; tercio, in prandio subitus uenti impetus coronam a capite deposuit, unde tercio et finaliter a regno depositus et per regem Henricum supplantatus fuit.
>
> [At this lord's coronation, three symbols of royalty had foretold three misfortunes which would befall him: firstly, during the procession he lost one of the coronation shoes, so that to begin with the common people rose up against him, and for the rest of his life hated him; secondly, one of his golden spurs fell off, so that next the knights rose up and rebelled against him; thirdly, during the banquet a sudden gust of wind blew the crown from his head, so that thirdly and finally he was deposed from his kingdom and replaced by King Henry.][43]

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[43] *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 90–1. Of these portents only the loss of a shoe is recorded elsewhere in the *The Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 414–6.

These three portents can be associated with three periods of Richard's rule. The first refers to the Peasants' Revolt in 1381; the second to the actions of the Lords Appellant against Richard's favourites in 1387–8; and the final portent refers to the deposition of Richard in 1399. We can see that historical, vaticinal and political discourse may be interrelated. Usk's *Chronicle*, itself a historical text, interrupts its narrative to include a brief section of vatic material, which is related both to the recent political history of Richard's rule and Usk's current discussion of Richard's death and deposition. Usk's claim that Richard's downfall was predicted clearly suggests that vaticinal discourse has some power or authority that his historical narrative was lacking. By presenting Richard's misrule and eventual downfall as being already 'foretold' or predicted by these portents Usk suggests that Henry's accession was not truly a usurpation, but the fulfilment of God's will as communicated through prophecy and portent.

Paul Strohm has examined the use of vaticinal discourse by Lancastrians to support Henry's claim to the throne, as well as attempts by those opposing Henry to mobilise prophecy to their particular purposes. Strohm concludes that Lancastrians engaged in the 'vindicatory or triumphalist use of prophecy, in which past prophecy is stripped of its capacity to cause or make things happen and is recruited to bear fitful witness to a current inevitability.'[44] In the 'vindicatory' use of prophecy an existing prophecy is reinterpreted to apply to current political events. However, the Lancastrian use of prophecy was not restricted to the reinterpretation of existing texts; men like Usk may claim to have 'recalled' vaticinal texts which were actually invented or written *ex eventu* to serve the political purposes of the new regime. From these uses of prophecy and portent we can see the importance of the interpretation and reinterpretation of vaticinal material from this period. It is less important what a prophecy says, than what it was interpreted to have said. Lesley A. Coote highlights this in her study writing that the emphasis

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[44] Strohm, *England's Empty Throne,* p. 14.

in studying political prophecy should be 'less upon the writer and his text, than upon the audience and their interpretation of texts. It was their interpretation which made prophecy "political"' (p. 15). Although John Gower's *Cronica tripertita* does not claim to be a vatic text it makes extensive use of elements of vaticinal discourse, most particularly in its use of imagery. By using elements of vaticinal discourse Gower's text accrues to itself some of the authority of vaticinal discourse; additionally, patterns of interpretation that applied to vaticinal texts may also be applied to the *Cronica tripertita*. In this section I explore the imagery of the *Cronica*, including how it is related to vaticinal discourse and how it may have been interpreted. I also consider what Coote terms the 'hermeneutic' language of prophecy, and consider how these ideas can be applied to inform our understanding of the imagery in Gower's *Cronica*. Ultimately, I show that Gower used imagery derived from vaticinal discourse in his work as a way of engaging his audience in the interpretation of the text, whilst at the same time constraining the possible interpretations his audience could produce.

There are strong similarities between the use of imagery in vaticinal literature and in Gower's work, particularly in the use of referential imagery, that is imagery used to refer to historical figures such as Henry IV, Richard II, and the Lords Appellant. Vaticinal literature uses several types of imagery to refer to the persons it discusses. John Erghom's second commentary on the 'Bridlington' Prophecies identifies and discusses ten different methods of obscuring the prophecy's meaning that were used in English vaticinal texts from this period; this system of classification has been the main scheme used to analyse imagery in vaticinal literature since Rupert Taylor used Erghom's commentary as the basis for his analysis of imagery and 'prophetic disguise' in his influential study (pp. 5–6). Of these ten, two are used in Gower's text to refer to historical figures: accidental designation and etymologised translation. Additionally, Gower also makes use of sybilline imagery to refer to Henry IV and Richard II. As sybilline imagery was rarely found in English prophecies it is not included in

Erghom's commentary. Sybilline imagery was, however, commonly used in European prophecies from this period.[45] This section is structured around these three types of imagery, considering their use in vaticinal literature and in the *Cronica* in turn. I show that all of these images served a similar purpose in engaging the audience of Gower's text in the interpretative process, whilst also restricting the sorts of readings the audience could produce.

## Accidental Designation and Metonymic Imagery

The first type of imagery that is found in both the *Cronica* and vaticinal literature is accidental designation. John Erghom explains accidental designation in his commentary on the 'Bridlington' prophecies:[46]

> in accendentali designatione propter aliquod accidens competens alicui in moribus vel dispositione corporali, vel ex nomine vel cognomine, vel ex armis sibi convenientibus
>
> [in denomination by accidental, by means of some accidental appropriate to a person, in respect of habit or bodily deposition, or from the person's Christian or family name, or from the blazons the person uses by convention.][47]

An example of accidental designation is seen in the use of a leopard to refer to the king of England, derived from the Royal Arms of England which features three leopards. Similarly, the lily was used to represent the king of France, whose coat of arms featured silver lilies or the fleur-de-lis.[48] The use of accidental designation in the *Cronica* is concentrated in Books I

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[45] Taylor, p. 3.
[46] John Erghom was a friar at the Augustinian convent at York, where he became prior in 1385. Erghom was a avid book collector, who possessed what Curley described as 'one of the largest personal libraries of occult literature in the fourteenth century,' including a significant number of vaticinal texts. He wrote the commentary on the 'Bridlington' prophecies between 1362 and 1364, which included a preamble which explained the 'occulations' used to obscure meaning in the prophecies. Although Erghom's commentary was specific to the 'Bridlington' text the schema he established has been used to analyse other English prophecies as well owing to its use for this purpose in Taylor's influential study. Curley, p. 367; Rigg; Taylor, pp. 5–6. Helen Barr observes the potential power such encoding may have, noting Erghom's text 'reads almost as an instruction manual of ways to encode subversive political meaning in poetry', *Signes and Sothe*, p. 74.
[47] *Political Poems and Songs*, I, 126. Translation from Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 130.
[48] Taylor, p. 112; Coote, p. 35.

and II, in which Gower uses animals to refer to the Lords Appellant. This imagery is first introduced in the incipit to Book I:

> Et notandum quod hii predicti quiibet eorum suo proprio vocabulo quasi sub figura cognominabatur, scilicet Cignus, Equus, Vrsus, sub quibus vero vocabulis nomina eorum per totam cronicam specialius designantur.
>
> [Be it noted, moreover, that each of these persons aforesaid is surnamed specially, by particular figurative denomination - respectively, Swan, Horse, and Bear - these being the terms, in fact, by which they are individually called throughout the chronicle.]
>
> (pp. 248–9)

These images were derived from the heraldic badges of the three Lords, with Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester; Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; and Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick being represented respectively by the swan, the horse, and the bear.[49]

To understand how this imagery functions we may consider it in the light of modern linguistic theory. At first glance the imagery may appear to be metaphorical as one domain of experience is understood in terms of another: here political figures are being understood in terms of the animals of their heraldic crests. However, if this imagery was metaphorical we would map the characteristics from one domain onto the other. For example, when Warwick is referred to as a bear we would impute 'bear-like' qualities onto Warwick, or expect him to behave like a bear. This is not the case with the imagery in the *Cronica*.[50] Further, understanding these images as metaphoric does not capture the relationship between the person and their heraldic badge which is the origin of the image. Instead, we may consider these

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[49] *Heraldic Badges,* I, 92–3. These figures are represented in the same way in *Richard the Redeless* which will be discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

[50] This has attracted criticism: Stockton noted that the images in the *Cronica* 'are all too often mere labels, rather than effective instances,' *Major Latin Works of John Gower*, p. 30.

images as examples of metonymy. Metonymy involves 'the use of some entity A to stand for another entity B with which A is *correlated*.'[51] More specifically the *Cronica* uses a part-whole metonymy where a part is mentioned as a way to refer to the whole of which it is part, which is a form of frame metonymy.[52] In the *Cronica*, and in accidental designation more generally, an aspect of a person's appearance or clothing, in this case their heraldic badge, is used to refer to the person themselves. Similar clothing-based part-whole metonymies are used in modern English: a woman can be called a *skirt*, a businessperson may be called a *suit*. Accidental designation was an established form of metonymic code which was commonly used in vaticinal discourse; the heraldic animal imagery in the *Cronica tripertita* was derived from this familiar metonymic code.

The metonymic code used in the *Cronica* is quite straight forward and would be easy to understand, especially for an audience who was already familiar with the use of accidental designation in vaticinal discourse. However, Gower feigns that his images would be mysterious to the audience of the *Cronica*:

> Si non directe procerum cognomia recte
> Hec tamen obsura referam, latitante figura;
> Scribere que tendo si mistica verba legendo
> Auribus apportant, verum tamen illa reportant
>
> [I'll tell these nobles' names, but not direct, out loud;
> I'll tell them in a riddle, veiled beneath a shroud.
> The words I plan to write may seem mysterious
> For ears to read, but still they're true and serious.]
>
> (I.45–8)

[51] Dancygier and Sweetser, p. 100.
[52] A frame metonymy involves a metonymic relationship between parts of the same frame. For a more extensive discussion of metonymy see Dancygier and Sweetser, pp. 100–126, especially p. 101.

Having established that this imagery is a straightforward metonymic code derived from accidental designation which was commonly found in vaticinal discourse, and that the original audience of the *Cronica* would have been familiar with vaticinal discourse, it is difficult to view this claim by Gower as anything more than a rhetorical feint. The audience of the *Cronica* would have been able to understand such imagery with ease, in part because the metonymic code is itself transparent, in part because of its close association with vaticinal discourse. However, critics are divided as to whether such imagery would be understood by people outside of the relatively narrow audience of the *Cronica* identified in the first section of this chapter. Carlson views such images as recondite, arguing they would not have been readily understood by a broad audience.[53] Helen Barr and Frank Grady believe that the imagery would be easily understood, in part because similar imagery is found in two other poems from the same period, 'There is a Busch that is Forgrowe' and *Richard the Redeless*.[54] In Chapters Three and Four I demonstrate that the imagery in these poems functions differently from the imagery in Gower's text, and as such it is potentially reductive to suggest, as Grady and Barr do, that because similar images are found in three poems from the same period such images must be easily understood. I will consider the question of how widely understood heraldic animal imagery was in greater detail in subsequent chapters. For now, it is sufficient to establish that even if such images were recondite they would have been intelligible to the relatively narrow audience of the *Cronica* we have identified. We must therefore question why Gower claims his imagery was mysterious to his audience when there is little evidence to support this, and how this rhetorical claim supports the political purposes of his text.

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[53] *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 135.

[54] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 72, Grady, 'The Generation of 1399', in *The Letter of the Law,* ed. by Steiner and Barrington, p. 202. For 'There is a Busch that is Forgrowe' see *Medieval English Political Writings*, pp. 150–2, and *Political Poems and Songs,* I, 363–366. For *Richard the Redeless* see '*Richard the Redeless' and 'Mum and the Sothsegger'*, pp. 23–48, and *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, pp. 101–133. These poems are discussed further below.

Mysterious imagery, or imagery which claims to be mysterious, is a central feature of vaticinal discourse. Coote evaluates what status such mysterious imagery has in vatic texts:

> All of these devices create a mysterious language which is very involving for the reader. It is a hermeneutic language; it says 'Interpret me'. Most texts then guide the reader towards complicity in the writer's, or copyist's, own interpretation. By this means the writer gains control over the reader, and is able to place the reader in the relationship which he, the writer, wishes, to the subject of public affairs.
>
> (pp. 36–7)

The pretence that the imagery in the *Cronica* is mysterious functions in a similar way: it requires the audience to interpret it whilst severely constraining the possible interpretations the audience can produce. In so doing it requires the audience to adopt Gower's own perspective on the political and historical events the *Cronica* recounts. Sometimes the interpretation Gower wishes his audience to adopt is linked to the metonymic references he selects, as in the following line: 'Sunt Olor, Vrsus, Equs: stat eorum quilibet equs.' (I.49). Here the leonine rhyme of the line links Arundel's codename 'equs' [horse] with 'equs' [just] which is derived from 'aequus', reinforcing the nobility of each of the animals which represent the Lords. However, more commonly Gower simply presents positive value judgements of these men without associating it with their animals at all: the incipit to Part I describes the Lords Appellant as 'tres precipue regni nobiles' [three great peers of the realm], who 'proditores circa regem pessime consulentes delerent' [destroy a number of traitors wickedly giving counsel about the king], for 'dei laudem, regis honorem, regnique commodum' [the kingdom's well-being, the honour of the king, and the praise of God] (pp. 248–9). There does not need to be any connection between the 'mysterious' imagery used and the politically charged interpretation the audience is expected to adopt. The imagery serves to involve the audience in the interpretation of the text, and once they are engaged in this interpretation Gower presents them

with an evaluative perspective they must assume. In this way, Gower involves his audience in the interpretation of history and politics, requiring them to adopt, at least temporarily, a strongly Lancastrian view of history.

By comparing similar imagery in the *Cronica* and in vaticinal discourse we can demonstrate how this imagery contributes to what Coote identifies as the hermeneutic language of vaticinal discourse, and explore how its use in a truly vatic text differs from its application in the *Cronica* which is more closely associated with historical discourse.[55] A direct comparison is possible between I.77–96 of the *Cronica*, and a passage from the *Annales Ricardi Secundi*.[56] In the relevant section from the *Cronica* Gower describes the events of 1387 where the Earl of Oxford, who is represented by his heraldic animal the boar, flees from Gloucester at the battle of Radcot Bridge.

> De vulpis cauda velox Aper est vt alauda;
> Cauda ruit castra, que sunt numero velud astra.
>
> [From Fox's Tail the speeding Boar, like lark, flew fast;
> That tail bought down the castles, which the stars surpassed.]
>
> (I.87–8)

In the *Cronica* Gloucester is generally referred to as 'Cignus' or 'Olor' following the code established at the opening of Book I. However, Gower explains in a marginal note that he is termed 'vulpis cauda' [fox's tail] (I.87) in this portion of the poem as Gloucester 'tunc vulpis caudam in lancea gessit' [at that time bore the tail of a fox on his lance] (I.77m, pp. 156–7). As the 'fox's tail' is also a part of Gloucester's arms it is another version of a part-whole metonymy

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[55] Following Coote I consider any language which appears to be mysterious and which requires interpretation to be understood as constituting 'hermeneutic language'. The interpretation of this language does not always have to be constrained in the ways Coote suggests, although in practical terms this is often the case.

[56] For further discussion of the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* and its authorship see below, p. 165. A similar passage also occurs in the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey,' in *The Deposition of Richard II*, ed. by Clarke, and Galbraith, p. 169.

where one part of Gloucester, here the tail on his lance, is used to represent the whole person. This imagery functions in the same way as the rest of the metonymic heraldic animal imagery used throughout the rest of the text; it is also derived from accidental designation as found in vaticinal texts. This can be demonstrated by comparing this section of the *Cronica* with the vatic material in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi*.

The *Annales Ricardi Secundi* contains a prophecy which uses similar imagery. It is included after a description of the events of 1397.

> Impletaque fuit tunc prophetia comminatoria, metrice composita, et per decennium ante vulgata; quae talis est: –
>
> "Vulpes cum cauda caveat, dum cantat alauda,
> "Ne rapiens pecus simul rapiatur, et equus."
>
> [Then was fulfilled that monitory prophecy composed in verse and published a decade earlier, reading:
>
> "Let the tailed fox beware while the lark is singing, lest the devouring beast be devoured along with him, and the horse as well."][57]

Here the embedded text is clearly marked as being part of vaticinal discourse: it is described as 'prophetia comminatoria' [*lit*. threatening prophecy], it maintains a fiction of being composed before the event it predicts, and is written in the subjunctive mood. There is nothing in the prophecy itself to connect it to the historical events of the late-fourteenth century, or to the arrests of the Lords Appellant specifically. Superficially, it may appear to be truly mysterious. However, we can see that this imagery is designed to involve the audience, producing its political meaning through the audience's interpretation. The audience is expected to interpret the reference to the tailed fox as an allusion to Gloucester, the devouring beast as a

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[57] *Annales* in *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde …Chronica et Annales*, ed. by Riley, p. 206, translation from Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 132.

reference to Warwick, and the horse as representing Arundel. This interpretation is made explicit in the explanatory passage which follows the prophecy:

> "Vulpem cum cauda" vocauit Ducem, quia semper ferebatur super hastam, in ejus praesentia, cauda vulpis. "Dum cantat alauda" dixit, quia mane ad cantus alaudae, prout contigit, capiendus fuit; quo capto, imminebat et raptus pecudis rapientis, id est, Comitis Warwici; et equi, id est, Comitis Arundeliae; quia alter pro signo ferebat ursum, alter equum.
>
> [It calls the duke "tailed fox" because he was in the habit always of having borne before him a fox's tail atop a spear. "While the lark is singing," it said, because in the morning, at lark's song, as it happened, he was to be arrested; and when he was arrested, seizure threatened "the devouring beast" too, namely, the earl of Warwick, as well as "the horse," namely the earl of Arundel; for the one bore a bear for his device, and the other a horse.][58]

It is the audience's interpretation, and the accompanying explanation, which connects the prophecy to the events of 1397 and imbues the prophecy with political import. The primary purpose of the explanatory passage is not to gloss the imagery but to connect the prophecy with Gloucester's arrest in Calais. The explanation also serves to constrain interpretation so that the prophecy can only be viewed as an allusion to the events of 1397 and cannot be interpreted in any other way. Such constrained interpretation is essential to giving the prophecy political significance.

When we contrast this passage with the *Cronica* we can see that although the imagery functions in the same way the role and importance of interpretation varies. The imagery itself is near identical across the two texts. The metonymic code is the same in the vatic material in the *Annales* as it is in the *Cronica,* with the exception of referring to Warwick as 'rapiens pecus'

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[58] *Annales* in *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde …Chronica et Annales*, ed. by Riley, p. 206, translation from Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 132.

[devouring beast] instead of the more commonly used *Vrsus*. The explanatory passage makes it clear that 'rapiens pecus' is still derived from Warwick's use of the bear as his 'signo' [device]. It is clear that Gower's use of such imagery recalls its application in vaticinal discourse and would prompt his audience to associate his work with vatic material and interpret it in this light. However, the importance of audience interpretation varies between the vatic material in the *Annales* and Gower's *Cronica*. With the truly vatic material in the *Annales* there was nothing to connect the prophecy with historical events until it was interpreted in this way. Superficially, it was an enigmatic description of some animals. However, the *Cronica*, as a primarily historical work, is always connected to specific historical events and does not require the audience to produce these links through their interpretation.[59] For example, in the section which describes the Battle of Radcot Bridge there are several allusions which connect Gower's verse to the historical events he describes: Gower specifies that the battle took place in Oxford (I.83), near the river (I.85), and that it resulted in the Earl of Oxford fleeing (I.91–6). These details serve to connect the passage with the battle of Radcot Bridge, and these connections only become clearer when the audience interprets the metonymic imagery. The interpretation of imagery does not produce connections, it reinforces them. The political message of the *Cronica* is not solely produced in the act of interpretation as it was for the truly vatic material of the *Annales*. Nevertheless, Gower constrains interpretation to guide his audience into adopting a particular perspective on the events he describes.

Heraldic animal imagery, which is informed by the 'hermeneutic language' of vaticinal discourse, is therefore used in the *Cronica* to engage the audience in interpretation and to constrain the possible interpretations the audience can produce. As another example of how this process works we can examine how marginal notes are used in the *Cronica* to constrain

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[59] One of the ways the *Cronica* connects its material to historical events is the specificity of dates, especially those which detail when events take place or when the text was putatively written.

the possible interpretation of the metonymic imagery. The *Cronica* is accompanied in all manuscripts, including the Hatton manuscript, which was not directly associated with Gower, by a systematic set of marginal notes. These are consistent from manuscript to manuscript, with only minor grammatical variation which does not affect sense. The consistency and systematicity of the notes strongly suggests that they are authorial, and this view has been supported by Batkie.[60] Not all of the notes serve to constrain the interpretation of the imagery. Some of the notes are similar to notes which accompany other historical works from the period, helping the reader to locate what part of action is happening in a particular section of the text. For this reason, they often begin 'qualiter' [how], for example:

> Qualiter statim post fugam dicti comitis Oxonie Alexander de Neuill tunc Eboracansis archiepiscopus, qui eciam cum rege in suis erroribus particeps erat, tunc metu ductus consimili fuga per mare reus euasit.
>
> [How, straightaway following the flight of the said earl of Oxford, Alexander Neville, who was then archbishop of York, as well as being a partaker with the king in his wrong-doings, driven by fear, made his escape too, guiltily, by sea.]
>
> (I.97m, pp. 256–7)
>
> Qualiter Michael de la Pole, Comes Southfolchie, qui tunc regis cancellarius erat, dum se culpabilem sentiit, trans mare eciam nauigando ad sui salutem alibi se muniuit.

[60] Batkie, 'Looking for Richard', in *John Gower in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. by Driver, Pearsall, and Yeager, p. 47. The notes in all the manuscripts were added after the completion of the main text of the *Cronica*, by a different scribe using different ink. There is little evidence to help us determine how soon after the completion of the main text the notes were added, and indeed this may vary from manuscript to manuscript. Batkie observes of the Hatton manuscript: 'It appears that the scribe of the main text and the scribe of the annotations were working close to the same time,' p. 48, n. 26. In his analysis of the All Souls manuscript Parkes dates the stint in which the marginal notes were added to the *Cronica* to after 1408 observing: 'this would mean that the notes to the *Cronica* were added some considerable time after the text, but, as far as I can see, there is no further evidence to indicate whether or not there was such a delay,' p. 89.

> [How Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who was then the king's chancellor, acknowledging his own guilt, betook himself to his own safety elsewhere, likewise passing over the sea.]
>
> (I.105m, pp. 258–9)[61]

> Qualiter hii tres proceres, vt cume rege, quem dolosum sciebant, securiorem pacem habere possent, concordie cartas ab ipso impetratas optinuerunt.
>
> [How, in order to be able to enjoy a surer peace with the king, whom they knew to be deceitful, these three nobles obtained charters of concord sealed by him]
>
> (II.10m, pp. 268–9)

> Qualiter predictus nobilis Henricus in partes Francie, vt ibi moraretur tempore exilii, animo constanti viriliter se transtulit.
>
> [How the aforesaid noble Henry, of steadfast purpose, conducted himself manfully in France, there to pass his time of exile.]
>
> (III.97m, pp. 300–1)

As we can see from this sample of notes, many of the notes to the *Cronica* primarily serve to help the readers orient themselves in relation to the text, aiding them in locating relevant passages or providing summaries of the events described so that they can navigate the text more easily. Nevertheless, they still present a strongly partisan perspective and are not value neutral as we can see from the descriptions of Pole and Neville's guilt, Richard's deceitfulness, and

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[61] These first two notes are of particular importance because they are referenced in the Lansdowne manuscript on fol. 197$^{v}$ where a marginal note reads: 'Veez Pole & Neuile per mare tunc transierun in alias tera qua meliuscule potuerunt secundam cronicam Gower metrificatam de tempore huius Regis Ricardi.' [See, Pole and Neville then crossed over the sea into other lands whereby they could fare better, according to Gower's metrical chronicle of the time of this King Richard.] (quoted in Moll, p. 155). Moll observes: 'both the rubric to Hardyng's text, which also speaks of trips "per mare", and the text itself seem to have been influenced by Gower's own marginal notes.' p. 155. This provides further evidence that the *Cronica* circulated with a consistent set of marginal notes, as the unknown manuscript Hardyng consulted clearly included them. It may even indicate that the notes were afforded the same authoritative and textual status as the poetry of the *Cronica* itself as Hardyng's text seems to be more influenced by the notes than by the verse at this point.

Henry's nobility. These explanatory notes do not engage the audience in the interpretation; however, they do present an explicit evaluative position which the audience is required to adopt. In contrast, some of the notes do engage the audience in the interpretation of the texts, whilst also constraining possible interpretation.

The notes which are used to gloss the metonymic images used in the *Cronica* function in this way, and these notes are particularly concentrated in the earlier sections of the text when such images are first introduced.

> Qualiter Thomas, alio nomine Vrsus, tunc Comes de Warwyk, a regis satellitibus Londoniis captus et in carcerem missus immunis culpe patiens succubuit. Super quo suum parliamentum apud Westmonasterium in proximo pronunciandum rex tirannus decreuit.
>
> [How Thomas, earl of Warwick (at that time), also called Bear, seized at London by the king's minions and thrown in jail, suffered in patience, though he bore no guilt; and the tyrant king decreed that his own next parliament to come at Westminster would pass sentence on him.]
>
> (II.65m, pp. 272–3)

Carlson views the presence of such an apparatus as evidence that the audience of the *Cronica* would require help to understand the imagery of the poem. Carlson considers that even the narrow and educated audience of the *Cronica* we have identified would still struggle: 'evidently, however, Gower believed that even the Cronica's relatively adept audience, already impressed with his obscurity, might yet want help.'[62] However, the presence of such an apparatus is not evidence that such help was required. We may expect a reader to be able to navigate the text without the notes which help them locate relevant passages discussed in the preceding paragraph. The notes are helpful, but by no means required. We may view the notes

[62] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 129.

which gloss the metonymic imagery similarly. I argue that the primary purpose of such notes is not to explain the imagery to an audience who would doubtless be familiar with the sort of code Gower adopts, rather they serve to guide and constrain interpretation so that the audience is forced to adopt a particular perspective on the events described. An interpretation which views the Bear as representing anyone other than Warwick risks rendering the text nonsensical, and the marginal notes serve to further preclude such an erroneous interpretation. Metonymic imagery is included in this section of the text not to render the representation of Warwick obscure, but to involve the reader so that they become complicit in the version of history presented: one where Warwick stoically 'suffered in patience', even though he is innocent. The marginal notes provide an explicit example of how the heraldic animal imagery in the *Cronica* is used to engage the audience in the interpretation of the text in such a way as to require the audience to adopt Gower's particular perspective on the political events described.

Although I have so far focussed on the use of heraldic animal imagery in the *Cronica*, Gower also uses non-animal symbols to represent political figures in his text. These non-animal symbols were also related to the tradition of accidental designation and are thus also part of the 'hermeneutic language' of vaticinal discourse which Gower adopts in his use of imagery. The following passage combines animal and non-animal images:

> Sunt olor, Ursus, Equs: stat eorum quilibet equs.
> Non hii diuisi, sed in vnum sunt quasi visi.
> Penna coronata tribus hii fuit associata;
> Qui gerit 'S' tandem turmam comitatur eandem,
> Nobilis ille quidem - probus et iuuenis fuit idem –
> Sic quasi de celis interfuit, ille fidelis;
> Hac sub fortuna presens aquilonia luna
> Non fuit ad sortem, sequitur sed mente cohortem.
>
> [Each one is fair and just, a Bear, a Horse, a Swan;
> They are not split apart but, as it were, as one.

A Feather with a Crown was allied to the press
Of Three, who soon were joined by him who bears an S.
This one was noble, also young and valiant;
He joined their company, as though from heaven sent.
The Northern Moon was not at hand among that group
By fortune's cast, but in his mind he joined their troop.]

(I.49–55)

As in the earlier passage which introduces Warwick, Arundel, and Gloucester, the identities of the other lords are explained in marginal notes. The Feather and Crown represents Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham and the Earl Marshal; Henry Bolingbroke, then Earl of Derby, was the one who bore the S; and Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, was represented by the Northern Moon. These images are also derived from the heraldic badges of these figures and are thus also related to accidental designation. Gower seems to have deliberately chosen to use non-animal symbols for these men, as they all also used heraldic animals as part of their devices and these animal symbols could have been used to represent them. The lords Mowbray were often represented by a white lion, and the Percys used a lion as well as a crescent moon.[63] The allusion to 'him who bears an S' refers to Henry's livery collar of linked SS; these collars sometimes featured pendants, with Henry and other Lancastrians using the eagle or the swan for these.[64] Adam Usk also records Henry's 'livery of linked collars of greyhounds'[liberatam callariorum leporariis conueniencium].[65] In contemporary poetry Henry is often represented by a heraldic animal: in 'There is a Busch' he is represented as an eagle, and in *Richard the Redeless* Henry is represented by both the eagle and the greyhound.[66] The fact that Gower

[63] *Heraldic Badges,* II.2, 199–201, 224–8.
[64] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 71.
[65] *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 52–3.
[66] Although Henry also used the swan as a heraldic device this is never used to represent him in poetry from this period, with this symbol being reserved for representations of the Duke of Gloucester. These images are discussed further in subsequent chapters.

chose non-animal signs when heraldic animal devices were available suggests that Gower did not seek to create a coherent metaphorical blend in which all relevant political figures are represented by animals who interact with each other. This directly contrasts with the imagery found in *Richard the Redeless*, and to a lesser extent in 'There is a Busch', highlighting a crucial distinction between the images found in these three poems. The metaphorical blend found in *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch' will be discussed further in the following chapters. Gower primarily confines himself to metonymic images which involve the reader, but which do not require the sort of sophisticated analysis needed to understand complex metaphorical imagery. The metonymic code used in the *Cronica* is useful to Gower because it lends itself to producing limited interpretations which are both engaging for the reader, but limited in how they may be applied or understood. However, Gower does occasionally use metaphorical imagery, the interpretation of which also furthers his political message. Notably, the interpretation of the metaphorical imagery is not constrained in the same way as the interpretation of the metonymic imagery and so it may produce more fluid or variable readings.

## Metaphorical and Metonymic Imagery

Gower sometimes combines the metonymic code discussed thus far with metaphorical imagery in the *Cronica*. The inclusion of metaphorical imagery required a careful balancing act as, in contrast to the metonymic imagery considered thus far, metaphors could produce more fluid imagery which could be interpreted in numerous ways. This potentially offers more scope to Gower to convey his political message with greater nuance and subtlety; however, it also introduces the possibility of the metaphors being interpreted in ways which run counter to the Lancastrian bias of Gower's text. In this section I explore how metonymic and metaphorical imagery is combined in the *Cronica*, analysing the various interpretations which may have been available to readers.

In the opening of Book I light imagery is used to describe Richard which combines elements of metonymic imagery with the conventional metaphoric associations of light. Gower does not refer to Richard's livery of the white hart, which was widely used in the latter half of Richard's reign, instead referring to Richard's badge of the sun.[67]

> Qui solem gessit tenebrosus lumina nescit,
> In Troie metas dum vendicat ipse dietas:
> Troia fuit prima, per quam sol tendit ad ima.
> Pallet in eclipsi populus, quia non fauet ipsi:
> Obsistunt turbe Phebo, ne scandat in vrbe,
> Dumque suis alis Cignus fuit imperialis.
>
> [But he is dark and knows no light, who bears the Sun,
> When he for lodgings Troy's domain attempts to dun:
> Troy was the first place where the Sun slid in descent.
> Eclipsed, the people pale, for holding back assent:
> Lest Phoebus climb inside their town, the crowds withstand,
> And so, with wings outspread, the Swan assumed command.]
>
> (I.57–62)

Here Richard is 'qui solem gessit' [who bears the sun] drawing on his use of the sun as a heraldic device.[68] This metonymic image is combined with the metaphorical associations of light. The traditional conceptual metaphors LIGHT IS GOOD and DARK IS BAD encourage the reader to interpret Gower's depiction of Richard as dark and shadowy as an indication that the king is in some way evil or morally wrong. This interpretation is captured in the contradictory leonine line: 'Qui solem gessit tenebrosus lumina nescit,' [But he is dark and knows no light, who bears the Sun] (I.57). Allusions to vaticinal discourse are not restricted to the metonymic imagery: Richard seeks assistance from Troy, which was a common way to refer to London in

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[67] Helen Barr sees the omission of the hart badge as highly significant arguing that it represents a 'calculated snub,' *Socioliterary Practice*, pp. 73–5.
[68] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 230–3.

vaticinal discourse;[69] the description of the sun 'tendit ad ima' [slid in descent], evokes the 'world turned upside down' topos which was commonly used in vaticinal discourse to describe when events would take place.[70] These allusions, combined with the metonymic imagery, encourage the audience to interpret the text in the light of vaticinal discourse and to engage with the 'hermeneutic language' of the text. The imagery serves to highlight that Richard's moral turpitude cannot be reconciled with his badge of the sun, so the sun counterintuitively becomes a source of darkness. Similar imagery is also seen in the description of Richard in Book III when Gower describes 'Dum stetit ad plenum, steterat sibi tempus amenum, | Sed cum descrescit, lucem tunc nebula nescit;' [While he was at the full, the skies were always blue, | But when his star had waned, his light fell into shade;] (III.231–2). Metaphorically, darkness and shade are associated with Richard's declining fortunes. By associating Richard with dark and shade Gower presents the king as unnaturally afflicting his subjects who are forced to seek shelter under the metaphorical 'wing' of the Duke of Gloucester. The combined metaphorical and metonymic imagery reinforces the interpretation that Richard is unsuitable for rule, perhaps authorising his subsequent deposition. Although the metaphoric imagery could be subject to more varied interpretations than the metonymic imagery, Gower's use of metaphor in this passage still encourages readings which advance and support the pro-Lancastrian political perspective conveyed throughout the rest of the text.

The light imagery in Book I uses conventional conceptual metaphors and so involves less imaginative engagement from the audience than would be required by a more complex

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[69] Coote notes that the use of such terms which associate contemporary England with the island's past 'invoke the authority of the island's legendary past, linking together the present and the prophetic future with the *origines gentium* myth of the English people', p. 33. For a thorough exploration of the relationship between prophecy and place see Flood, *Prophecy, Politics and Place in Medieval England.*

[70] Coote, p. 31.

metaphorical blend. For an example of a metaphorical blend, we can consider the following passage from Book II, which describes the punishment of the earl of Warwick.

> Iam refrenato violenter Equoque grauato,
> Vrsum querebant, quem tunc agitare volebant;
> Pestiferique canes aderant tunc regis inanes,
> Vndique latrando pacem nec habent aliquando.
> Ad latus omne terunt, sed ad hoc quod plus potuerunt
> Non magis attendit, quin rex sua recia tendit.
>
> [The Horse reined in and weighted down, they sought the Bear
> And hoped to stir him up and drive him from his lair.
> The king's dumb curs were there, a deadly pest;
> They barked and bayed around and granted him no rest.
> They snap on every side, but Richard does not care
> What else they might inflict; he's busy with his snares.]
>
> (II. 159–64)

Here the metonymic description of Warwick as a bear contributes to the construction of a metaphorical blend in which Warwick's persecution is presented as a bear hunt. Richard's followers become dogs, not through any metonymic association between these men and the animal, as in the description of Warwick as a bear, but through a metaphorical construction. These men are to be understood as behaving like dogs in their cruel treatment of Warwick, which is shown through the use of 'latrando', derived from 'lātrāre' which means to bark.[71] This description is dehumanising and derogatory, highlighting the immense cruelty of Richard's followers; this negative presentation means the image of bear hunting appears not as an instance of sporting entertainment but as a form of cruel torment. Representing Richard's followers as dogs could produce more positive interpretations, as they are skilled animals who

[71] 'latrare' in *DMLBS* <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2156/dmlbs/Default.aspx> [accessed 04 February 2020]

form an essential aspect of a noble pastime. However, the use of 'pestiferi' degrades both the dogs/followers and the activity they participate in, meaning that the audience is required to adopt a negative interpretation. The description of Richard's indifference implies that Richard should deplore this activity and intervene to stop it; however, he does not do so because he is busy planning to trap Warwick himself. On a metonymic level Richard's treatment of the Lords Appellant is presented as unacceptable; Gower's use of metaphoric imagery serves to deepen and advance this perspective as the imagery further highlights the injustice and cruelty of Richard and his followers. The metaphorical blend is even more involving for the reader than the metonymic imagery as it requires them to engage imaginatively with the scenario of the blend. The audience is encouraged to elaborate the blend by considering the immense cruelty, viciousness, and inhumanity of hunting a man like a bear, producing interpretations which are strongly condemnatory and emotionally charged. In this way the metaphoric imagery in the *Cronica* develops the political perspectives already presented by the metonymic imagery.

In these examples, Gower uses metaphorical imagery in ways which complement and develop his use of metonymic imagery. However, Gower also uses metaphorical imagery which disrupts the metonymic code he generally uses. For an example, we can consider the descriptions of Robert de Vere and Richard II transforming into hares. In Book I after de Vere's defeat at the battle of Radcot Bridge Gower writes: 'Sic Aper in leporem mutatus perdit honorem, | Amplius et certus locus est sibi nullus apertus.' [The boar became a hare, now changed and losing face; | No longer did he have a sure and certain place.] (I.95–6). The depiction of de Vere as a boar is derived metonymically from his heraldic badge. In contrast, the imagery of the hare is metaphorical, as we understand that by fleeing de Vere is behaving like a hare. The hare was selected because one of the animal's conventional associations was with timidity. Isidore of Seville observes that 'it is a speedy animal and quite timid,' which is

also included in some medieval bestiaries.[72] When metonymic imagery is combined with the metaphorical image of de Vere as a hare the audience may reconsider the original metonymic image in a metaphoric light, considering de Vere as a boar, an animal which was known for its fierceness and cruelty. De Vere's characteristics are no longer reconcilable with the boar's nature, which results in the loss of his heraldic symbol and his metaphoric transformation into a fleeing hare. It is clear from the image of de Vere that the loss of his heraldic symbol is associated with a loss of the status his heraldic sign represents, as is shown in the allusion to 'perdit honorem' [losing honour] (I.95). Similar themes are present in a subsequent description of Richard: 'Tunc rex Ricardus lepus est et non leopardus; | Quem timor astrinxit alibi sua roboa finxit.' [Then Richard, Leopard-like no more, became a hare, | Transfixed with fear; his strength, he feigned, was now elsewhere.] (III.160–1). Here the reference to the leopard is derived from the fact that Richard used the leopard as one of his heraldic symbols, as referenced at line III.478: 'qui scepta tulit leopardi' [the leopard's arms he bore]. In both of these images the metonymic heraldic image is displaced by the metaphorical image of the timid hare to highlight the fear of de Vere and Richard. Such displacement suggests that these men no longer deserve the status associated with their heraldic symbol, which justifies their subsequent loss of power. In these passages, Gower disrupts the metonymic code which is used throughout the *Cronica* in ways which further the political purposes of the poem by presenting de Vere and Richard as unworthy.

At times Gower abandons the metonymic code completely and uses metaphors or related images on their own to refer to political figures. For example, at the beginning of Book III Gower describes Richard as a mole, which is not related to Richard's heraldic symbols in any way.

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[72] *The Etymologies of Isidore*, p. 248. For a discussion of the hare's associations see Dines, p. 75.

Sicut humum fodit euertens talpa que rodit,
Vunde caret requie, sic alter nocte dieque,
Vt magis euertat regnum quod demere certat.

[Just as a mole that turns and digs the earth and bites
And knows no rest, so Richard strives both days and nights
To overthrow the realm – its ruin is his aim].

(III.17–9)

Here Gower uses a simile to describe how Richard behaves like a mole and undermines the security of the realm. Like metaphors, similes establish cross domain/space mappings, and so can be understood in CMT and CIT as functioning like metaphors or metaphorical blends.[73] This is a relatively straightforward image: Richard is compared to a mole because he undermines and ruins the realm in the same way, and with the same unstinting energy, as a mole. However, the selection of a mole is particularly interesting because the mole has particular associations with vaticinal literature from this period. *The Prophecy of the Six Kings to Follow John*, which dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, was interpreted during this time as a historical list of the kings to follow king John. These kings are referenced as animals: the lamb rules first, followed by the dragon, the goat, the boar, and the ass who is deposed by the mole.[74] Henry IV was often associated with this mole, an association which he would be keen to resist as, according to the prophecy, the mole was a bad king whose rule would end when a dragon, a wolf of the west, and a lion of Ireland joined together to oppose him. Strohm has analysed the ways in which this prophecy may have been interpreted to apply to Henry IV, including its use by Glyndwr in his attempts to convince Irish and Scottish lords

[73] Semino, p. 16. For our purposes similes can be treated as a particular linguistic expression of a metaphor; however, there are some distinctions between metaphors and similes, see Chiappe, Kennedy, and Smykowski.
[74] Flood, p. 87. The use of animal images here is not an example of accidental designation, as the kings did not use these animals as their devices. Rupert Taylor calls the use of such animal names 'arbitrary names' as 'the animal names are purely arbitrary and mean nothing', p. 110. However, Coote notes that the selection of animal names was not arbitrary: 'all of them [these names] are associated with particular qualities of a prophetic hero, or an aspect of his rule, which has a bearing on what he does', p. 35. These animals are therefore selected for their metaphoric associations.

to join forces with him against Henry.[75] By describing Richard as a mole the *Cronica* forestalls a potentially negative association of Henry IV with the mole from the *Six Kings*, instead presenting the mole as a representation of Richard. Strohm highlights that Lancastrians could not control prophecy completely nor prevent themselves from being subject to interpretations of vaticinal material that ran counter to their aims. In the image of the mole in the *Cronica* we may see evidence that even vaticinal material which was anti-Lancastrian may be appropriated and reinscribed to produce a version which would be more acceptable to the new regime.

These passages offer examples of how metaphorical imagery in the *Cronica* may be used to further Gower's political aims. Although the interpretation of metaphor may be less constrained or more nuanced than the interpretation of the metonymic code, both types of imagery serve the same purpose: they involve the reader in the interpretation of the text, and encourage the reader to adopt a specific political perspective on the events described. In general, Gower uses metaphoric imagery to go further than would be possible with metonymic imagery alone. The use of metaphor may engage the audience more imaginatively, allowing them to develop interpretations which may be more personal to them, more emotionally charged, or otherwise more convincing. In all instances the audience is required to produce interpretations which support the Lancastrian version of history, in ways which are reminiscent of the 'hermeneutic language' of prophecy described by Coote. Even in the use of metaphoric imagery the influence and effect of vaticinal discourse on the *Cronica* is clear.

## Etymologised Translation

The *Cronica* also uses two other forms of referential imagery that are derived from the imagery of vaticinal texts: etymologised translation and sybilline imagery. The use of these forms of

[75] Strohm, *England's Empty Throne*, pp. 15–18.

imagery are not as developed as the use of the accidental designation imagery used to refer to the Lords Appellant; however, I wish to consider them briefly as their use demonstrates that Gower expected his audience to be familiar with the imagery of vaticinal literature, and expected them to use this knowledge to aid their interpretation of the *Cronica*.

In Book I the passage which describes the actions of the Merciless Parliament consistently uses etymologised translation to refer to Richard's favourites who were punished by the parliament. Etymologised translation is defined in John Erghom's commentary on the 'Bridlington' prophecies: 'consistit in dictionum expositione quando ex dictione vel dictionibus expositis aliquod nomen constituitur,' [consists in the exposition of sayings when from a word or words that are set out is formed someone's name].[76] Most commonly this takes the form of literally translating someone's name into the language of the prophecy. For example, in the 'Prophecia Galfridi Eglyne' Richard is expelled by the 'taurus in torente', or the 'bull in brook', which uses etymologised translation to refer to Henry Bolingbroke.[77] In the *Cronica* those punished by the Merciless parliament are referenced in this manner, for example Gower describes how 'Corruit in fata gladdi vestis stragulata' [That 'burel cloth' fell to the sword, such was his fate;] (I.140); here the 'burel cloth', a kind of coarse woollen cloth, denotes Sir Simon Burley by literally translating into Latin a version of Burley's surname.[78] Richard's chancellor, Michael de la Pole, who fled abroad to escape punishment, receives similar treatment in Gower's text: 'Sic deus in celis mala de puteo Michaelis' [The ills of Michael's Well were purged by God] (I.109). Here, the literal rendering is 'Michael of the Pool' hence

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[76] *Political Poems and Songs*, I, 127.
[77] Fulton, p. 78.
[78] 'burel n.(1)' in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED6315/track?counter=1&search_id=3169364> [accessed 17 April 2020]. Sir Simon Burley was Richard's former tutor and was executed by the Merciless Parliament.

the allusion to Michael de la Pole. The *Cronica* also describes the former mayor of London Nicholas Brembre:

> Maior erat Ville - Tribulus dictus fuit ille –
> Qui proceres pungit regisque dolos magis vngit
>
> [The city had a mayor, and Bramble he was called;
> He scratched the nobles, but spread balm on royal fraud.]
>
> (I.154-5)

Brembre's surname could be alternately spelled 'bember', a term which in Middle English was used to refer to the bramble plant; in the *Cronica* 'Brembre' is translated literally into the Latin *tribulus* [bramble].[79] In contrast to the other examples of etymologised translation, this description of the bramble scratching the Lords Appellant gives these lines metaphorical significance as Brembre is understood to behave like a bramble bush. The lines capture the contradictory nature of the bramble, which could harm with its thorns or be used for medicinal purposes. Brembre is similarly contradictory: scratching the nobles but soothing Richard.

Etymologised translation is closely related to punning, and we could consider these images as examples of interlingual puns; however, viewing these images as puns obscures the connections between these images, etymologised translation, and vaticinal discourse. The use of etymologised translation in the *Cronica* is another example of the use of the 'hermeneutic language' of vaticinal discourse in the text. As these images would not be difficult to interpret, they may have been less involving for the reader than the metaphorical and metonymic imagery we have already considered. However, the use of etymologised translation functions in a similar way to these images, and further demonstrates the influence of vaticinal discourse on

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[79] 'brember n.' in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED5915/track?counter=1&search_id=3169364> [accessed 17 April 2020]; 'tribulus', in *DMLBS* <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2855/dmlbs/pages/QuickSearch.aspx> [accessed 8 September 2022].

the imagery of Gower's text. The importance of etymologised translation will be considered further in Chapter Four, which considers its use in other poems concerning the deposition, including how these poems may make use of elements of vaticinal discourse.

## Sybilline Imagery

The final type of referential imagery derived from vaticinal literature used in the *Cronica* is sybilline imagery. This imagery first appears in the *Oracula Sibyllina*, and involved referring to characters by using only their initials.[80] Book III ends with a long passage of such imagery:

> O quam – pensando mores variosque notando –
> Si bene scrutetur, R. ab H distare videtur!
> Clarus sermone, tenebrosus et intus agone,
> R. pacen fingit, dum mortis federa stringit.
> Duplex cautelis fuit R., pius H.que fidelis.
> R. pestem mittit, mortem pius H.que remittit.
> R. seruitutem statuit. pius H.que salutem.
> R. plebem taxat, taxas pius H.que relaxat.
> R. proceres odit et eorum predia rodit;
> H. fouet, heredesque suas restaurat in edes.
> R. regnum vastat vindex et in omnibus astat;
> Mulcet terrorem pius H.que reducit amorem.
>
> [If you weigh their different lives, noting how they vary,
> R. to H., if scrutinized, clearly is contrary.
> R. was clear in outward words, inside dark and gloomy;
> R. pretended peace and love, binding fetters deadly.
> R. was double-faced with tricks; pious H. was trusty.
> R. sent plague and pestilence; pious H. showed mercy.
> R. established servitude; pious H. gave freedom.
> R. placed burdens on our backs; pious H. relieved them.

[80] Taylor, p. 3.

R. disliked nobility, great estates devouring;
H. with love looked after them, heirs to homes restoring.
R. despoiled and raped the realm, vengeful, always vicious;
Pious H. calmed down our fears, bringing love to keep us.]

(III.462–77)

This passage functions as a summary of the text which highlights the ways in which Henry and Richard vary. The repeated construction of a description of Richard in the first half of the line, followed by a contrasting description of Henry in the second half of the line is highlighted by the internal rhyme of the Latin metre. This metre may also explain why Gower chose to use sybilline imagery here: the metre does not allow for the full names of Richard and Henry to be included and so some means of shortening their names was required. The referential imagery used here is a straightforward and transparent code, and its significance is derived not from the code itself but from its association with vaticinal literature. The use of sybilline imagery in both Gower's text and vaticinal literature provides further evidence that the *Cronica tripertita* should be interpreted in the context of works of political prophecy. We may conclude by considering what effect this association with vaticinal discourse has, and how it relates to the positioning of the *Cronica* as a work of historical discourse as discussed in the opening of this chapter.

## Conclusion

In the *Cronica tripertita* Gower engages extensively with both historical and vaticinal discourse. The *Cronica* presents itself as first and foremost a work of history, insisting on its status as a historical document and using authorising strategies which are consistent with late medieval historical discourse. Most crucially, Gower never claims that his text predicts events, nor does he consistently maintain a fiction of prior composition; for these reasons the *Cronica* cannot be considered a truly vatic text, and must be viewed as a history. By presenting his work

as part of historical discourse Gower is able to make claims about the 'truthfulness' and accuracy of his narrative which were not available to those writing in other discourses. Many historical texts were produced in the years immediately following the deposition; these texts present a version of history which authorises or undermines the legitimacy of the deposition and the new regime, depending on the bias of their writers. Historical writing was a contested area with both Ricardian and Lancastrian texts seeking to establish themselves as the authoritative version of events. The *Cronica* participates in this contested space, seeking to establish a Lancastrian history of recent political events which shows that Richard's deposition was justified because of his failings as a king.

Gower also includes elements of vaticinal discourse, including imagery derived from accidental designation, etymologised translation, and sybilline imagery. When used in vaticinal texts such imagery may appear 'mysterious' as there may be no clear connections between the imagery and the persons these images refer to. The imagery therefore requires the audience to interpret it in order to produce the political meaning of the text; this was demonstrated by the analysis of vatic material in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi*. Lesley A. Coote describes this as 'hermeneutic language', language which requires the audience to interpret it to produce meaning. This language involves the reader, and often the possible interpretations are constrained by the writer or copyist so that the audience is required to produce readings which support a particular political viewpoint. The imagery itself was not difficult to interpret, or recondite. The use of referential imagery in the *Cronica* functions in the same way, showing the clear influence of vaticinal discourse on Gower's use of imagery.

As in vaticinal discourse, the imagery in the *Cronica* was not actually 'mysterious' or difficult to interpret. Certainly the relatively narrow audience of the *Cronica* identified in the first half of this chapter would have been easily able to interpret such imagery. However, Gower pretends that his imagery is mysterious in order to highlight that his images are a form

of 'hermeneutic language', which like the referential imagery of vaticinal discourse requires the audience to interpret the image to produce meaning. The interpretation of the referential imagery in the *Cronica* is always constrained. The audience is not able to freely interpret the text; rather the imagery has an intended interpretation, which the audience is required to adopt. Sometimes Gower uses metaphorical imagery, which is not derived from vaticinal discourse, and which may produce more fluid or variable readings; however, even metaphorical imagery is shown to produce pro-Lancastrian interpretations. The imagery in the *Cronica* is designed, like the 'hermeneutic language' of vaticinal discourse, to involve the reader in the interpretation of the text and to make them active participants in meaning creation. This process makes them complicit in producing, and adopting, a Lancastrian perspective on the events described.

By understanding what discourse the *Cronica* participates in, and how Gower includes elements from other discourses in his text, we gain an appreciation of how Gower uses discourse to further the political purposes of his work. My analysis has shown that Gower's use of historical and vaticinal discourse in the *Cronica* works in complementary ways. From historical discourse Gower derives the authority of his text; writing in historical discourse allows Gower to present his text as a 'truthful' and accurate version of events. From vaticinal discourse Gower adopts imagery which reflects the 'hermeneutic language' of prophecy; this language involves the reader in interpretation and makes them complicit in producing a Lancastrian version of history. By analysing imagery in relation to discourse we can understand not only the meaning of the imagery, but how it was interpreted and how this interpretation renders the text political.

# Chapter Three:

# The White Hart of Richard II: Imagery Associated with Livery in *Richard the Redeless*

Richard II's badge of the white hart was one of the most widely promulgated heraldic badges of the late medieval period. Richard had the symbol incorporated in clothes, jewels, painting and sculpture. The symbol became closely intertwined with Richard's promotion of his own regal image and his self-fashioning as a distant ruler elevated above the concerns of his subjects. Additionally, Richard used the symbol as one of his livery badges which he distributed broadly, including to members of his exceedingly unpopular Cheshire *vigilia*. After discussing the historical context of livery this chapter will explore Richard's attempts to construct his regal image through the use of symbols, including Richard's use of the white hart and other royal badges. This will highlight the tension between how Richard wanted his symbols to be perceived, and how they were actually perceived by those that encountered them through Richard's use of livery. I will then consider *Richard the Redeless,* which devotes the majority of Passus II to a discussion of the excessive distribution of livery in the latter portion of Richard's reign. Through close analysis of the imagery in *Richard the Redeless* I will demonstrate that the images are based on a coherent sign system of livery and that the poet's use of this sign system produces a broadly accessible system of imagery, which was capable of representing all members of society and which could be understood by anyone. Livery is shown to be a powerful source of image and symbol, which interacts with themes of perception, power, and allegiance.

Before discussing Richard II's use of livery badges and their depiction in *Richard the Redeless* it will be helpful to discuss the historical context of livery, its relation to the practice of maintenance, and the attempts to control the distribution of livery in the late fourteenth

century. Livery was first and foremost a sign of a relationship between a lord and his retainers. J.M.W. Bean has described livery as 'a public indication that the recipients enjoyed [the lord's] support and protections.'[1] In addition to this it imposed a 'group identity' on those that wore the livery, making them into members of the lord's affinity rather than individual actors.[2] There were three distinct types of livery during this period: livery of hats and hoods, livery of cloth, and livery badges, which all functioned in different ways. Hoods were a lesser livery which were not distributed by lords or magnates but by lesser men; as such they rarely feature in the discussion of or legislation against livery in this period. Liveries of cloth were distributed to the closest members of the lord's affinity, to those who served in a specific capacity rather than to retainers. Although Richard perhaps distributed liveries of cloth too widely the distribution of liveries of cloth was rarely complained about.[3] Most of the complaints regarding the distribution of livery focussed on livery badges, and it is specifically the use of livery badges which is criticised in *Richard the Redeless*. This chapter will therefore focus on the distribution of badges, and liveries of cloth or hoods will only be discussed incidentally.

Livery badges were usually small designs which featured a heraldic animal or symbol of the lord. Badges could be worn on the arm, chest, headwear, or around the neck as a livery collar.[4] Brian Spencer notes that livery badges were often 'deliberately simple' so that they could be 'easily recognised and quickly become a matter of common knowledge' making them more recognisable than other, more complex, forms of heraldic identification.[5] Badges could be made from a variety of materials, including embroidered textiles, silver or silver-gilt, or pewter. The majority of surviving badges are made from pewter and have integral clasps to

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[1] Bean, pp. 22–3.
[2] Saul, 'The Commons', p. 306.
[3] Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 236–8.
[4] Chris Given-Wilson notes that livery collars were equated with livery badges in the livery legislation from this period, *Royal Household*, p. 237.
[5] Spencer, p. 95.

allow them to be attached to clothing or caps.[6] A number of pewter badges of the white hart as well as a mould for making base metal hart badges have survived, see Figures 3.1 and 3.2.[7] These crude devices reflect that badges were the easiest type of livery to mass produce, meaning low quality badges could be easily distributed to a large number of a lord's rank and file supporters.[8] Higher quality livery badges and jewels of heraldic animals were also made for more distinguished followers and were worn by the lord himself; these badges may have resembled the badges and jewels of the white hart worn by the angels and Richard II in the Wilton Diptych, which is discussed further below. Although no enamel white hart jewels are known to survive, a badge of the white hart from c.1377–99 made from copper alloy, silver and enamel has survived which demonstrates how the badges distributed to more significant followers differed from the simple pewter badges worn by Richard's ordinary followers, see Figure 3.3.[9]

The lower quality livery badges were more likely than other forms of livery to be distributed to unruly retainers whose behaviour reflected poorly on the lord. This is because badges committed the lord and retainer to relatively little. Saul observes, a badge 'simply conferred the gift of good lordship in return for the promise of service.'[10] Livery badges were 'given informally by local officials, and often were unaccompanied by fees' and so were significantly less costly than retaining a man for life and granting him an annuity.[11] Livery badges produced a less formal relationship between the lord and retainer which, combined with

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[6] Spencer, p. 96.
[7] Notably, not all of these harts are associated with Richard II, with the hart and tree motif being associated with Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. In addition to Figures 3.1 and 3.2 there are badges in *Salisbury Museum*, on which see Spencer, pp. 97–99, acquisition numbers 195l/1987, 205c/1987, 225k/1987, and 209c/1987. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain images of these badges.
[8] Saul, 'The Commons', pp. 302, 309.
[9] Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, p. 31. *Art of Chivalry*, p. 524, Cat. 725.
[10] Saul, 'The Commons', p. 309.
[11] Saul, 'The Commons', p. 313



Figure 3.1 A livery badge of the white hart, antlers missing, c. 1390–9, lead alloy, London, British Museum, 1856,0627.117. <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1856-0627-117> [accessed 31 May 2022]



Figure 3.2 Mould for making hart badges, c.1390–1400, limestone, Walsingham, College of Guardians of the Anglican Shrine, on loan to Norwich, St. Peter Hungate Museum, L 1976. 27. Picture reproduced from Art of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400, ed. by J. Alexander, and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), pp. 394–5, Cat. 448.



Figure 3.3 Badge of the white hart, c.1377–99, copper alloy and enamel, Troyes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 871.6.1. Photo reproduced from Michael Carter, 'Morse Decorated with the Crucifixion and the Monogram of Abbot Walter Clifton of Warden Abbey' <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/index/article-index/morses/issue-3/1990s/page/7> [accessed 31 May 2022]

the inexpensive cost of producing and distributing these badges, meant that they were often distributed broadly and rapidly, to those on the fringes of a lord's retinue. These retainers were also least likely to respond to a lord's attempt to control them. Although the relationship between the lord and the man receiving the livery badge was looser, the badge still associated the retainer and the lord so that the lord could be seen as responsible for the retainer's actions. This is because the retainer still enjoyed the lord's protection, and it was the abuse of this protection which was the focus of most complaint.

The protection offered by a lord could often be abused through a practice known as maintenance. Maintenance became a recognized legal term in the late thirteenth century, meaning 'wrongful or officious interference in others' law suits, especially by a lord or his followers trading on his political influence'.[12] Retainers were more likely to act unlawfully because they were confident that if they faced legal proceedings for their actions their lord would intervene on their behalf and secure a pardon for them.[13] Early actions concerning livery specifically referenced the association between livery and maintenance. The October 1377 petition of parliament complained of lesser men distributing livery 'to support them in disputes' [pur eux mayntenir en quereles,] to which Richard responded that 'no livery of hoods, nor any other, shall henceforth be given for the maintenance of lawsuits, or any other confederacy, on pain of imprisonment and heavy forfeiture' [nulle liveree de chaperons, n'autrement, soit desormes donee, pur maintenance des quereles, n'autre confederacie, sur peyne d'emprisonement et grevouse forfaiture.][14] This resulted in the first legislation against livery, although it had significant limitations. The statute was targeted at the distribution of livery by

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[12] 'maintenaunce n.' in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED26546/> [accessed 28 May 2020]; Rose, p. 4.
[13] Rose, p. 271; Harriss, p. 190.
[14] 'Richard II: October 1377', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. by Given-Wilson and others, in *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/october-1377.> [accessed 7 August 2020], section 92.

the gentry or lesser gentry, or as the statute termed them 'people of small revenue of land, rent, or other possessions' [gentz de petit garrison de tere rent ou dautres possessions] and it did not extend to livery awarded by the nobility, magnates, or king.[15]

In 1384 there was another petition at parliament where the Commons complained of:

> conquesti super potentes homines in partibus dominantes, scilicet quomodo per dominos regni signis quasi ornamentis diversis prediti ac eorundem favore protecti et profecto ex hoc nimis elati pauperes et inopes in patria minus juste opprimunt.
>
> [the tyranny of certain locally powerful persons who, furnished with badges (taking various forms of embellishment) by lords of the realm and sheltered by their favour, and having in natural consequence an exaggerated conceit of themselves, unjustly oppressed and dismayed the poor].[16]

This complaint was dismissed on the grounds that it was made in too general terms. John of Gaunt also implied that this issue should be dealt with by the lords since 'every lord was competent and well able to correct and punish his own dependants for such outrages' [quilibet dominus satis sufficiens est et potens suos ad se pertinentes pro talibus excessibus corriegere et punire.][17]

There were two further notable complaints regarding the distribution of livery in 1388. In February there was the first complaint specifically referencing the king's distribution of livery badges. The Appellants asserted that Robert de Vere, Michael de la Pole, Robert Tresilian and Nicholas Brembre:

> firent le roi de faire grande retenance de novel des diverses gentz, et de doner as eux diverses signes autrement qe ne soleit estre d'auncien temps par ascuns

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[15] Rose, p. 274; *The Statutes of the Realm*, II (1816), 3.
[16] *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 80–3.
[17] *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 82–3.

> des rois ses progenitours, al effect pur avoir poair pur perfourner lour faux treson avauntdite.
>
> [caused the king newly to create a large retinue of divers men, and give them divers badges such as were not customarily used in ancient times by any of the kings his predecessors, to the end of giving them power to perform their false treason aforesaid.][18]

This issue was returned to in September when the Commons petitioned that livery badges should be completely abolished, including both the badges of lords and of the king. Richard in fact volunteered to give up his badges on the proviso that the lords would also abolish theirs.[19] However, the lords would not agree to this proposal, and the matter was postponed for discussion at the next parliament.[20] The issue was raised at the parliament of January 1390, which eventually produced the Ordinance of 12 May 1390.

This Ordinance was one of the most significant pieces of anti-livery legislation of the late medieval period. It ordered that no one could wear a livery badge unless they were retained by the lord for life. No one below the rank of esquire could wear a livery badge unless they were a genuine household servant of the lord. Additionally, no person below the rank of banneret was allowed to distribute livery badges.[21] It also required that lords eject any 'maintainour, instigator, barettour, procurour, or embraceour of quarrels and Inquests in the Country' [maintenour menour baretto peuro ou embraceours] from their retinues.[22] Richard responded to this ordinance by retaining more men for life and by recruiting more men into his household.[23] It is unclear how effective this legislation was. Saul has described it as 'unenforced

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[18] 'Richard II: February 1388, Part 2', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. by Given-Wilson and others, in *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/february-1388-pt-2> [accessed 13 August 2020].
[19] Saul, *Richard II*, p. 201.
[20] Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 238–9.
[21] Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 239.
[22] *The Statutes of the Realm*, II, 75.
[23] Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 239.

and unenforceable,' arguing that instead of resolving the issue the ordinance merely 'encouraged the Commons to return to the subject later'.[24] Storey has criticised the ordinance on the basis that it made no provisions for its enforcement, noting that 'as an instrument against "livery and maintenance" it appears to have had little if any effect.'[25] It is clear that this ordinance did not resolve the issue, as there were further complaints that lesser men were wearing livery badges in January 1393 and February 1397. Problems relating to the distribution of livery in fact worsened after this ordinance, with Richard embarking on an aggressive policy of retaining from 1397 onwards, including the recruitment of the unpopular Cheshire *vigilia*.

Richard's abuse of his livery from 1397–9 resulted in stricter legislation concerning the distribution of livery badges being introduced in the Statute of October 1399. This statute forbade lords of any degree from giving badges, with the sole exception of the king, who was in turn forbidden from giving badges to anyone below the rank of esquire.[26] Further, knights and esquires receiving livery badges had to be life retainers of the king or members of the royal household. These men were not to wear their badges in their own localities. Lords were still allowed to distribute liveries of cloth but these were strictly regulated. The early years of Henry IV's reign saw some discussions of liveries in the 1401 and 1404 parliaments. The result of these were that Prince Henry was allowed to distribute his livery of the swan in the same way his father distributed the livery of the collar, and that knights and esquires could wear the king's livery both in his presence and when coming to or going from the royal household. After January 1404 the distribution of livery badges ceased to be an important issue in parliament, and the discussion of liveries moved to focus instead on liveries of cloth and hoods. Given-

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[24] 'The Commons', p. 303. Given-Wilson is also sceptical of the success of the statue stating: 'it is evident that the statue was by no means entirely effective', *The Royal Household*, p. 239.
[25] Storey, 'Liveries and Commissions of the Peace 1388–90' in *The Reign of Richard II,* ed. by Du Boulay, and Barron, p. 146–7.
[26] Saul, 'The Commons', p. 303; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 240.

Wilson concludes that 'it does seem likely that livery badges were not a major issue after the early years of Henry IV's reign, even if the evils which they symbolised were.'[27]

## Richard's Use of Livery Badges and the Cultivation of his Regal Image

Having established the historical context of livery distribution and regulation in this period we can now turn to Richard's own use of livery and his cultivation of his own regal image. Particularly relevant to our discussion of *Richard the Redeless* is Richard's use of white hart imagery in the latter portion of his reign. Richard may have chosen the white hart as his personal device because of the pun on his name, more evident from the French spelling 'Richart'. The white hind was also the device of Richard's mother Joan of Kent, which may also have contributed to Richard's adoption of the sign. Richard first began to distribute white hart livery at a tournament in Smithfield in 1390; however, his use of the white hart as a personal symbol can be traced to as early as 1378–9. At this time Richard purchased two items featuring harts from Nicholas Twyford, a London goldsmith. Additionally, an inventory of royal jewels and plate of 1378–9 records another two items decorated with harts.[28] In 1380 Richard owned three brooches of harts set with rubies.[29] Richard had a gown of red velvet embroidered with elaborate harts for the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin in 1386.[30] Later that year Richard and Anne both had gowns of blue velvet made which were embroidered with white harts lying beneath trees of gold and silk.[31] The Smithfield Tournament is notable as the white hart is specifically described as the king's livery:

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[27] Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 241.
[28] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 137. For more on Richard's jewels and plate see Campbell, '"White Harts and Coronets"', in *The Regal Image of Richard II*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam, pp. 95–114.
[29] Mathew, p. 27; Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, pp. 64–5.
[30] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 138; Helen Barr also references this gown but dates it to a year earlier in 1385, *Socioliterary Practice*, pp. 65–6. More on Richard's robes and dress can be found in Staniland, 'Extravagance or Regal Necessity?', in *The Regal Image of Richard II*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam, pp. 85–93.
[31] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 138.

> And þay of the kinges syde were all of on sute: her cotis, her armyour, schelde3, & her hors & trapure, alle was white herties, with crowne3 about her nekkis, and cheyne3 of golde hangyng þere vp-on, and þe croune hangyng lowe before þe hertis body; þe which hert was þe kinge3 lyverary þat he yaf to lorde3 & ladie3, kny3tis and skquiers, for to know his housholde from oþer peple.[32]

This passage draws attention to the use of a white hart as a publicly legible sign: its function is to distinguish members of Richard's household from 'oþer peple'. Our attention is also drawn to the majesty of the spectacle; beyond identifying members of Richard's retinue the badges become a form of adornment which decorate every aspect of the knights' attire so that 'alle was white hertis'. This elevation of the white hart so that it serves as a symbol not only of a retainer's relationship with Richard but as a sign of Richard's own majesty and kingship is worthy of examination. Investigating the use of white hart imagery and other forms of symbolism from this period provides insight into the image context to which the *Richard*-poet was responding, and into Richard's own attitude to imagery and kingship.

The best-known example of Richard's use of image and symbol to promote his idea of kingship is found in the Wilton Diptych. The Diptych dates from the last five years of Richard's reign, most likely being painted between the summer of 1394 and the autumn of 1395.[33] John H. Harvey argues based on internal evidence from the painting that it was produced according to Richard's 'personal dictation' for his own use, suggesting that 'the painting is then a reflection of Richard's mind during the last five years of his reign.'[34] The Diptych is a small, portable altarpiece, measuring 53 × 37 cm, which closes like a book and which can be opened and displayed upon the altars of chapels for the king's personal devotion. The exterior panels feature secular images of heraldic emblems: one side depicts the white hart lying amongst

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[32] *The Brut*, II, 343.
[33] Clarke, 'The Wilton Diptych' in *Fourteenth Century Studies,* ed. by Sutherland and McKisack; Harvey, pp. 13–5, 24.
[34] Harvey, pp. 16–7.

flowers and rosemary branches, and on the other there is a lion, with a red cap of maintenance, a silver helmet, and the royal arms of England impaled with the arms of Edward the Confessor.[35] The internal panels feature on the left-hand side an image of Richard kneeling in front of three saints: St. Edmund, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. John the Baptist. Richard is being presented to the Virgin and Child, depicted on the right-hand side of the diptych, surrounded by eleven angels, one of whom holds a white banner with a red cross.[36]

The Diptych is notable for its extensive use of white hart imagery. In addition to the large white hart depicted on the exterior panel, Richard's symbol of the white hart appears on the interior panels of the Diptych. Richard wears a red gown decorated with harts and rosemary, surrounded by circles of broomcods, all stippled in gold. Richard also wears a badge of the white hart which has been painted in layered white lead paint, to give a raised, jewel-like appearance. The eleven angels all wear a slightly simpler version of Richard's badge of the white hart lodged on a green oval background.[37] Whilst the white hart was the most personal of Richard's emblems, being clearly the sign which he promoted and distributed most widely, he also used numerous emblems in his livery and to celebrate his kingship. Also featured in the Diptych are crowns, which Richard used as his lesser livery from 1387 onwards, as well as rosemary which Richard adopted as part of his livery after his marriage to Anne of Bohemia in 1381, and broomcods which Richard used as his livery following his second marriage to Isabella of France in 1396. The Diptych is therefore relevant as it witnesses not only Richard's use of the white hart but also his use of other symbols and images, both secular and religious, to convey how he conceived of his kingship and how he wanted to cultivate his regal image. For this reason, the Diptych is worthy of some extensive examination.

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[35] Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, pp. 21, 25, 28.
[36] Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, pp. 21, 26–7. For a complete description of the Diptych see Scharf.
[37] Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, p. 49.

The Diptych combines religious and secular imagery; such a combination is to be expected from a medieval artefact as these two arenas were inextricably linked throughout the Middle Ages. However, the combination of religious and secular images in the Diptych also points us towards a key feature of Richard's conception of his kingship: its sacral majesty.[38] We can examine Richard's conception of sacral kingship by examining features of the Diptych, including the depiction of the three saints, the significance of the banner and the associations with the dowry of Mary, and the depiction of the angels.

Beginning with the depiction of the three saints, we can see in their selection and portrayal certain aspects of kingship which Richard wanted to associate with himself and his rule.[39] The leftmost saint depicted in the Diptych is Saint Edmund, who was the last king of East Anglia. Edmund was martyred in 869 by the Danes when he refused to deny his Christian faith. Edmund was believed to have been killed by being shot with arrows, and so he is appropriately shown in the Diptych holding an arrow, a visual sign of his martyrdom and his commitment to his faith. Richard wanted to be viewed as having an analogous commitment to Christianity, and by extension to show the theocratic origins of his own kingship. Shelagh Mitchell has also highlighted the 'authority implicit in the cult of a sanctified king' and has suggested that Richard's attempt to have his great-grandfather Edward II canonized and his desire to associate himself with Saint Edmund is evidence of his desire to use the authority of a sanctified king to 'safeguard' his own position (p. 119).

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[38] Several scholars have discussed Richard II's conception of sacral kingship, see Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, Chapters 3 and 4; Saul, 'Richard II's Ideas of Kingship', in *The Regal Image of Richard II*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam; Staley, Chapter 2. The term 'majesty' was not used to refer to English kings until Richard II when the terms 'majesty' and 'highness' began to be used regularly. The introduction of the term 'majesty' is notable because it conveys the 'essentially sacral character' of Richard's kingship, see Saul, 'Ideas of Kingship', p. 31.

[39] For an overview of Richard's associations with these saints see Mitchell, 'Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints', in *The Regal Image of Richard II*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam, pp. 115–24.

Next to Saint Edmund stands Saint Edward the Confessor, a king known for his piety and wisdom. Richard's relationship with the Confessor is also attested to on the exterior panel of the Diptych, which shows Richard's arms impaled with the arms of the Confessor. The impaling of arms signified a close personal relationship, often a marriage, and it has been suggested that Richard strengthened his connection with the Confessor following the death of his first wife Anne of Bohemia in 1394, following which he began to use the impaled arms from 1395 onwards.[40] Richard may have wished to be associated with Edward the Confessor to further strengthen the associations between kingship and religion. However, Richard may have also wished to model himself after Edward as a king known not for martial prowess (which Richard was sadly lacking after his defeats in the war with France) but for piety. Both Saint Edmund and Saint Edward wear crowns, emphasising their position as sanctified kings. The depiction of these two kings standing with Richard as the third king kneeling before them may have evoked associations with the Magi, as it was this arrangement that was the position of the kings in depictions of the adoration of the Magi.[41] Richard has further associations with the Magi as it was believed that his birth was also attended by three kings who presented Richard with gifts.[42] The depiction of the kings in the Wilton Diptych is clearly intended to strengthen Richard's position by evoking associations with sanctified kings and the Magi, in order to suggest the sacral nature of Richard's kingship and his unassailable majesty.

The final saint depicted is Saint John the Baptist, Richard's patron saint, who presents the kneeling Richard to the Virgin and Child with a hand on the king's back. Richard's connections to the Baptist began at his birth, as he was born on 6th January, the feast of the Baptism of

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[40] Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, p. 54, Mitchell, 'Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints', in *The Regal Image of Richard II*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam, p. 117.
[41] Thurston, pp. 30–1.
[42] Bowers, p. 117; Thurston, p. 31; Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, p. 57; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 12

Christ.[43] Richard subsequently became king on the eve of the Baptist's nativity. In addition to the Diptych there are other records of Richard's devotion to the saint. Circa 1393 a new stained-glass window was erected in Winchester College which depicts Richard kneeling before the Baptist.[44] Richard also chose to include the Baptist in the epitaph for his tomb which reads: 'O clemens Christe – cui devotus fuit iste; Votis Baptiste – salves quem pretulit iste' [O merciful Christ, to whom he [Richard] was devoted, save him through the prayers of the Baptist, who presented him].[45] This closely mirrors the depiction of the Baptist in the Diptych, where he presents Richard to Christ. The depiction of the Baptist in the Diptych has significance beyond portraying Richard's devotion to the saint. Mitchell suggests that the choice to depict the Baptist in the Diptych shows the messianic aspects of his kingship:

> At a time when he needed to sustain his position in the face of opposition Richard utilized the cult of saints to manifest a kingship both sacral and messianic; sacral because of the obvious connections to the English royal saints, and messianic because of connections to John the Baptist.
>
> (p. 121)

Through the emphasis on messianic kingship Richard becomes a Christ figure, a perception which Richard was keen to cultivate. Richard employed clergymen who were willing to articulate the ideas of divine kingship, including '*rex imago Dei*, the King as Christ the Lord.'[46] The choice of saints depicted in the Diptych emphasizes both the sacral and messianic aspects of Richard's kingship, and these in turn suggest the theocratic origins of Richard's rule and his closeness to God. This contributes to a regal image which emphasizes sacral majesty, and which elevates Richard above the everyday concerns of the majority of his subjects.

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[43] Saul, *Richard II*, p. 309. Richard's birthday also has implications for his connection with the Magi as 6th January is Epiphany, when the Magi were said to have visited Christ.
[44] Bowers, p. 85; Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, p. 35, plate 16; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 309.
[45] Saul, *Richard II*, p. 309.
[46] Bowers, p. 109.

When we consider the depiction of the banner in the Diptych we can see that the symbolism used shows Richard's rule of England as being supported and blessed by both the Virgin and Child. The banner can be viewed as central to the narrative of the Diptych: Richard kneels after presenting the banner to the Virgin and Child, and the Child is shown blessing the banner before it will be returned to Richard. At the top of the banner is a small orb, approximately 1 cm in diameter, in which is painted a castle on a green island surrounded by a silver sea. This island is thought to represent Britain. Dillian Gordon has suggested that Britain is being symbolically presented to Mary, drawing parallels between the Diptych and a lost altarpiece which was in the English College at Rome in the seventeenth century. This lost five-panel altarpiece had the Virgin and Child at the centre with Saints John the Baptist and two other unknown saints, possibly Edward the Confessor and Saint Edmund, presenting Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. Richard and Anne are offering the island of Britain to the Virgin, with the inscription: 'Dos tu, Virgo pia | Haec est, quare rege, Maria' [This is your dowry, O holy Virgin, wherefore O Mary, may you rule over it].[47] Based on its connection to this altarpiece Gordon suggests that the Wilton Diptych also presents Britain being presented to the Virgin as her dowry. The promised return of the banner signifies that Richard is to rule Britain 'under the protection, and with the blessing, of the Virgin.'[48] This tiny detail would only have been relevant to those who knew it was there, presumably the king and whomever he commissioned to paint the Diptych. A clearer symbol of the divine nature of Richard's rule can be seen if one views the banner itself as representing the banner of Saint George. Gordon concludes that the banner represents both the banner of the Resurrection and the banner of Saint George.[49] Nigel Morgan also views the banner as being the banner of Saint George, although he takes a less

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[47] This summary is based on the description of the lost altarpiece made by Silvester de Petra Sancta which is provided in Coupe, p.229; Gordon, 'A New Discovery', p. 666.
[48] Gordon, 'A New Discovery', p. 667
[49] Nigel Saul reminds us that the banner in the Diptych is 'of the type normally borne by Christ in scenes of the Resurrection.' *Richard II*, p. 305

equivocal position than Gordon and does not see in the banner a connection to the banner of the Resurrection.[50] Morgan views the banner as a symbol of Richard and his authority. The blessing and return of the banner conveys 'divine authority to this symbol of the King's rule, authority and military power over England'(p. 185). The banner therefore signifies Richard's divinely sanctioned rule, in both highly coded and more overt ways.

Like the banner the combination of secular and religious symbols in the depiction of the angels contributes to the overall impression that Richard's rule is divinely supported. At the most basic level the angels represent, by virtue of their wearing Richard's livery of broomcod collars and white harts, the allegiance of the kingdom of heaven and their support of Richard's rule. The Angels may also represent the English people, based on the well-known pun made by Pope Gregory the Great when he saw English slaves in a Roman market: 'non Angli sed angeli' [not Angles but angels].[51] Helen Barr uses this pun as evidence that the Diptych suggests 'that the allegiance of the court of heaven and the loyalty of Richard's English subjects are equivalent.'[52] If the Angels do represent Richard's English subjects in this way it is worth considering what this implies about Richard's subjects, and how he conceived of his subjects in relation to his kingship. By depicting the Angels as the King's subjects the Diptych suggests that these subjects are also invested in the projection of Richard's sacral majesty, and that they support the King's special relationship with the Virgin and Child. This is at odds with the reality of the majority of Richard's actual subjects, who neither wore livery badges like the Angels in the Diptych, nor enjoyed the closeness between King and subject suggested by the Wilton Diptych. In fact, Richard's cultivation of his regal image sought to distance himself from his subjects by positioning himself closer to God. This has been noted by Nigel Saul,

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[50] Morgan, 'The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptcyh', in *The Regal Image of Richard II*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam, p. 180.
[51] Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, p. 58.
[52] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 67.

'Richard had presented a picture of himself to his subjects as a distant and remote ruler, far removed from his people's everyday concerns.'[53] Saul also notes that this attempt to distance himself from his subjects was undermined by Richard's distribution of livery badges. Richard effectively flooded the realm with symbols of his relationship with his retainers, and 'through the activities and misdeeds of his retainers he became involved in the everyday affairs of his subjects to a greater degree than any of his predecessors had.'[54] These concerns regarding the proliferation of Richard's livery and the relationship between Richard and his retainers livery represents is central to the imagery of Passus II of *Richard* which I consider in the next section of this chapter.

This discussion of the Wilton Diptych has highlighted key features of the Diptych which give us insight into how Richard conceived of his kingship, and how he used image and symbol to encode these ideas. It is important to recognise that whilst these ideas can be decoded from our own historical analysis of the Diptych the original purpose of the piece was not to promote or publicly convey these ideas. It was a small altarpiece intended for observation and contemplation only by Richard and his immediate circle. Nigel Morgan warns us to consider this when discussing the Diptych: 'In no sense can any interpretation of the iconography stressing a public, propagandistic and political function be suitable for such an object' (p. 181). Therefore, whilst we can use the Diptych to gain insight into Richard's personal conceptions of his regal image and kingship we must look elsewhere for evidence of the publicization of these ideas.

This evidence can be found in the court culture Richard cultivated in the latter portion of his reign. Caroline Barron notes that Richard's cultivation of his court was not solely for his own satisfaction and enjoyment: 'he was also trying to obliterate what had happened to him in

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[53] Saul, 'Richard II's Ideas of Kingship', p. 31.
[54] Saul, 'Richard II's Ideas of Kingship', pp. 31–2

1386–8; to buy men to defend him and magnificent accessories to create the image of unassailable kingship.'[55] Richard's promotion of his court and cultivation of his regal image took many forms, including public displays of wealth and power. Gervase Matthew has written extensively about Richard's court, including the 'passion for jewelry in the court circles'(pp. 38–9.) John M. Bowers also discusses Ricardian court culture in his study of the anonymous poem *Pearl.*[56] Often Richard's cultivation of his court went hand in hand with the promotion of his heraldic badges. In addition to promoting his heraldic badges in the plate, jewels, clothes and livery mentioned above Richard also included his badges in architectural and sculptural projects. From 1393 onwards Westminster Hall was remodelled under Richard's instruction. Although this remodelling was sorely needed Christopher Wilson has suggested it was prompted not solely by need but also by Richard's vanity, arguing that it was 'deplorable' to a 'prestige-conscious and fastidious king' such as Richard that his main palace was so antiquated.[57] In 1394 Richard ordered the construction of an elaborate double tomb for himself and Anne in the south side of the Confessor's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. In both of these projects Richard's fondness for his royal badges was displayed. Carvings of the white hart are found throughout the inside and outside of Westminster Hall, most prominently in the cornice between the roof corbels.[58] Richard's robes in his effigy feature three of his badges: the white hart, the sun, and the broom plant.[59]

Most relevant to the current discussion is how Richard distributed his livery and how he used his affinity to support the regal image he attempted to cultivate. As discussed above

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[55] Barron, 'Richard II: Image and Reality', in *Making & Meaning*, ed. Gordon, p. 18.
[56] Bowers, Chapter 6, pp. 77–132.
[57] Wilson, 'Rulers, Artificers and Shoppers', in *The Regal Image of Richard*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam, p. 42.
[58] Wilson, 'Rulers, Artificers and Shoppers', in *The Regal Image of Richard*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam, p. 54.
[59] Lindley, 'Absolutism and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture' in *The Regal Image of Richard*, ed. by Gordon, Monnas, and Elam, p. 69.

Richard's distribution of livery badges was not restricted to the distribution of white hart badges. Richard also used the livery badge of the crown and surviving pewter badges of the broomcod suggest that this symbol was also distributed by Richard to his followers.[60] Of Richard's badges the crown and the white hart feature most prominently in contemporary sources. The crown badge was in use before the introduction of the white hart badge in 1390. *The Westminster Chronicle* records Richard's distribution of livery of the crown in the summer of 1387. [61] At this time Richard was seeking support against the restrictions imposed on him by the commissioners of 1386, so Richard 'continually took into his personal service men of the country through which he travelled' [semper retinuit penes se homines ejusdem patrie pervagate]. [62] It is not specified whether these men received livery badges of the crown or otherwise. Richard also sent a serjeant at arms into Essex, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk to persuade the gentry in those areas to swear their allegiance to him. These men 'were to be given badges, consisting of silver and gilt crowns, with the intention that whenever they were called upon to do so they should join the king, armed and ready' [datisque eisdem signis, scilicet coronis argenteis ac deauratis, ut ad dominum regem cum eorum armis parati venirent quandocumque inde fuerant requisiti].[63] According to the Westminster Chronicle the sergeant at arms was arrested near Cambridge and committed to prison. It is doubtful that he successfully recruited many men to serve Richard. In December 1387 at the battle of Radcot Bridge Richard's forces did not receive support from newly retained men, instead Richard had to rely on his core of Cheshiremen who were unable to defeat the Appellants' army.[64]

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[60] Gordon, *Making & Meaning*, p. 53.
[61] *An English Chronicle* p. 6; *Historia Vitae et Regini Ricardi Secundi*, p. 132.
[62] *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 186–7.
[63] *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 186–7.
[64] Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 213–4, 223–4.

The badge of the crown continued to be used after the white hart badge was introduced in 1390. *The Dieulacres Chronicle* records that both badges were worn in 1399 when 'those royal badges both of the hart and of the crown were hidden away,' [signa regalia tam cervi quam corone sub abscondito posita] after Henry's victory.[65] James Gillespie views this as evidence that the two badges cannot be treated interchangeably. Gillespie argues that Richard's archers did not wear white hart badges, noting that the patent rolls and the enrollments of Chester only record archers as receiving the livery of the crown, whereas it specifies that knights and esquires received 'liveree de le serf' [livery of the stag] or 'liberatam nostram cervi' [our livery of the deer].[66] Gillespie concludes: 'it thus would appear unlikely that any of Richard's archers wore the livery of the stag,' arguing that Richard's archers exclusively wore the badge of the crown.[67] This would suggest that the distinction between Richard's royal badges was one of rank, with the white hart being distributed to those of the rank of esquire and above and the crown being distributed to lesser men. However, it is impossible to prove that the white hart badge was not worn by lesser men as well as knights and esquires. Chris Given-Wilson and Caroline Barron support the view that it was worn by lesser men as well, including Richard's Cheshiremen.[68]

Such a distinction, if it existed, between white hart and crown badges might suggest that the criticism of livery badges in *Richard the Redeless* was intended to exclude Richard's archers. This seems unlikely given that many contemporary sources record the actions of Richard's Cheshiremen as a key source of his unpopularity in the latter part of his rule. Adam Usk writes of Richard's bodyguard of Cheshiremen:

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[65] *Chronicles of the Revolution 1397–1400,* p. 155; 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey, 1381–1403' in *The Deposition of Richard II*, ed. by Clarke, and Galbraith, p. 51.
[66] Gillespie, 'Archers of the Crown', p. 18; Gillespie, 'Richard II's Cheshire Archers', p. 5.
[67] Gillespie, 'Archers of the Crown', p. 18.
[68] Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 239. Barron, 'The Tyranny of Richard II', p. 17.

> Rex continue usque ad eius ruinam, inter cetera grauamina regno suo per ipsum accumulata, habuit secum in familia sua quadringentos excessiuos uiros de comitatu Cestr', utique malignissimos et subditos ubique inpune affligentes, pulsantes et depredantes, […] quos rex in tantum fouebat ita ut nullum contra eos querelantem audire dignaretur, ymmo illum tamquam exosum pocius dedignaretur, quod fuit causa ipsius ruine maxima.
>
> [The king, meanwhile, ever hastening to his fall, among the many burdens which he inflicted upon his realm also kept about him in his following four hundred supernumeraries from the county of Cheshire, men of the utmost depravity who went about doing as they wished, assaulting, beating, and plundering his subjects with impunity; […] yet so inordinately did the king favour them that he would not listen to anyone who complained about them, indeed he regarded such people with loathing; and this was the chief cause of his ruin.][69]

Given the intense unpopularity of Richard's Cheshiremen it seems unlikely that the *Richard*-poet did not intend his criticism to extend to these men. It is more probable that the *Richard*-poet simply chose not to include any distinction between Richard's livery badges in his poem, and intended his criticism of the livery of the white hart to extend to all who received livery badges from Richard II, regardless of the nature of the badge. This is perhaps supported by the fact that the white hart badge was associated with the esquires who led the archers. The *Dieulacres Chronicle* records that Richard's seven esquires from Cheshire, each of whom commanded between forty-four and forty-six archers, wore 'on their shoulders […] the royal badge of the white hart resplendent' [signa regalia in scapulis album cervum quasi resuregentem deferebant].[70] The *Dieulacres Chronicle* also records the unpopularity of these men: 'among the common people there was much talk of the extortions practised by them.

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[69] *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 48–9
[70] *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 154; 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey' in *The Deposition of Richard II*, ed. by Clarke, and Galbraith, p. 50.

Because of this the innocent king was, through no fault of his own, held in fatal odium by his ordinary subjects' [Ab eis siquidem mala fama extorcionum in populo ventilabatur. Ob quam rem rex innocens in odium suorum communium letalieter sine merito inciderat].[71]

This quotation from the *Dieulacres Chronicle* draws attention to the fact that the perception of Richard's heraldic badges among Richard's subjects was not in line with the regal image Richard attempted to develop through his own use of these signs. Far from promoting and elevating Richard's status as king, the use of the white hart in livery badges undermined the regal image Richard sought to cultivate, and caused him to be disliked by his subjects. Most importantly the passage from the *Dieulacres Chronicle* draws attention to the fact that the people's perception of Richard was subject to change owing to their perception of his livery badge. This in turn shows that people were willing to draw associations between the liveried retainers who wear badges and the King himself. The ability of livery badges to signify this relationship between lord and retainer, and for the perception of a lord to be altered based on the behaviour of his retainers will be shown to be of central importance in the subsequent discussion of *Richard the Redeless*. Richard made extensive use of his heraldic signs, most particularly that of the white hart, to cultivate a regal image that emphasised the sacral nature of his kingship and his position of unassailable authority, elevated above the concerns of his citizens. However, the majority of Richard's subjects would not have encountered Richard's royal badges in the painting, clothes, plate, jewels, architecture or sculpture which Richard commissioned. Instead, they would have seen the badges as worn by Richard's liveried retainers and it is this image context which the poet of *Richard the Redeless* is responding to.

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[71] *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 154; 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey', in *The Deposition of Richard II*, ed. by Clarke, and Galbraith, p. 50.

## Imagery derived from Livery in *Richard the Redeless*

Before discussing the imagery of *Richard the Redeless* (*Richard*) I wish to briefly introduce the poem, and the related work *Mum and the Sothsegger* (*Mum*).[72] *Richard* survives in a single paper manuscript, Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll iv.14, which was written in the early half of the fifteenth century. It contains on fols. 1r–107$^{r}$ a version of the B-text of *Piers Plowman*, and on fols.107$^{v}$–119$^{v}$ the incomplete text of *Richard* which breaks off after the beginning of Passus IV. The remaining forty-one folios contain a treatise on arithmetic, in English prose; a treatise on philosophy and astronomy, also in English prose; a table of the arguments of the Psalms, in Latin distiches; a collection of Latin aphorisms rendered in English verse; a glossary to *Piers Plowman*; and a poem in English by Piers of Fulham about Fishing and Fouling. With the exception of the treatise on arithmetic these items were added in a later hand.[73] Thomas Wright first edited the poem as *Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II* in 1838; at this time *Richard* was treated as a continuation of *Piers Plowman* with some believing it was written by William Langland.[74] In 1928 the manuscript containing the poem now known as *Mum and the Sothsegger* was discovered; this manuscript was purchased by the British Library and is now London, British Library, MS Additional 41666. When this manuscript was discovered scholars believed that this poem formed a continuation to *Richard*; Mabel Day and Richard Steele edited the two fragments together as a single poem under the title *Mum and the Sothsegger* in 1936.[75] Part of the basis for treating the two poems as a single work comes from an entry in John Bale's *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* where a poem entitled

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[72] For a more detailed introduction to each poem see *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, pp. 14–30, and Dean's edition, pp. 7–15, 75–80. Quotations from these texts are taken from Dean's edition.
[73] *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts,* IV (1861), 66–8.
[74] The editor of the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts* wrote that *Richard* was 'apparently intended as a continuation' to *Piers Plowman*, IV, 67; *Alliterative Poem*. Walter Skeat viewed *Richard* as being written by Langland and included it with his version of the C-text. Skeat was also the first to give the poem *Richard the Redeless*, *The Vision of William*.
[75] Throughout this project *Mum and the Sothsegger* or the shortened form *Mum* refers to the poem in the British Library manuscript.

'Mum, Soth Segger' is summarised by a Latin translation of the opening lines of *Richard*. MS Additional 41666 also contains an inscription on the cover which reads: 'The lyff off kyng Rychard the ij'; this was also used as evidence to link the two poems. *Richard* contains no mention of either Mum or Sothsegger; Richard II is not mentioned anywhere in *Mum*. Despite this, the two poems were treated as a single work until this connection was questioned by Dan Embree in 1975.

In his short but highly influential essay Embree argued that based on the narrative differences between the two poems it was unlikely that the two fragments formed a single poem. Embree suggests that Bale's note may have referred to a codex which contained the two distinct poems which may have been placed together in a manuscript 'by reason of single authorship or even because of the similarity of their subjects' (p. 11). In 1990 Helen Barr performed computer aided analysis and concluded: 'a close stylistic analysis of the two fragments supports Embree's belief that they do not form a single, organic poem. But the analysis also suggests that they may be connected, not as continuous text, but by continuous authorship.'[76] It is now generally accepted that the two poems are distinct pieces that were mostly likely written by the same author. Further evidence in support of shared authorship was presented by Simon Horobin who analysed the dialectal evidence and concluded that it provides 'powerful support to the theory of shared authorship' (p. 152).[77] Horobin also localised the author's dialect to Bristol. I believe that the two poems were written by the same author, with *Richard* being written sometime in 1399, and *Mum* in Henry's IV reign between 1406–9.[78]

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[76] Barr, 'The Relationship of *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*'.
[77] Although I believe that *Mum* and *Richard* were written by the same I author I refer to alternatively to this poet as either the *Mum*-poet or *Richard*-poet depending which poem is being discussed.
[78] On the dating of *Mum* and *Richard* see *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, pp. 16–7, 23. I would date *Richard* earlier than Barr as I do not believe II.17 to be a reference to the Epiphany uprising, on which see below, pp. 152.

Helen Barr has suggested that the poems are connected with the circle of Sir Thomas Berkeley of Gloucester.[79] This is based on various evidence including: the dialectal evidence analysed by Horobin and the association between Berkeley and Bristol; the knowledge of the poet which suggests close access to politics and legal affairs, which an association with Berkeley would facilitate; and the poet's knowledge of Trevisa's translations of *De propietatibus rerum* and Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, which are also connected with Berkeley's circle. Unfortunately, the connection between *Richard* and *Mum* and Berkeley cannot be more than conjectural; however, even if these poems were not specifically produced in Berkeley's circle they were certainly from this sort of provenance. The poems were likely written by a cleric from Bristol who enjoyed the patronage of a wealthy baron and had close connections with London's political atmosphere through this connection with his patron. The use of the alliterative form in both poems is especially suited to such a baronial audience; James Hulbert suggests in relation to alliterative poetry that these works aimed 'as part of the baronial opposition, […] not to arouse readers against the royal administration, but to contribute to a cultural development independent of the court and make the barons' castles centers of social activity.' [80] The poet of *Richard* and *Mum* may have chosen the alliterative form as it allowed him to produce poetry that at least claimed to be distinctively 'English', as opposed to the French-influenced poetry produced for the London court. The available evidence concerning the provenance of *Richard* and *Mum* suggests that the poems were produced for a baronial audience, and that the form and content of the poems may have been influenced by these provincial origins.

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[79] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 161–164; see also Hanna, 'Sir Thomas Berkeley and His Patronage'.
[80] Hulbert, p. 412. Hulbert is not responding to *Mum* or *Richard* here but to poems of the alliterative revival more generally. For more on alliterative poetry see Salter, 'The Alliterative Revival'; Salter, *Fourteenth-Century English Poetry,* pp. 52–85.

Turning now to the imagery of *Richard the Redeless* we can clearly see that the poet is responding to Richard's distribution of livery in the latter portion of his reign. In Passus II of *Richard the Redeless* the poem complains of the negative impact the distribution of livery badges has had on England, in particular Richard's own distribution of his livery of the white hart. The poem places emphasis on the physical signs of livery. It is clear that in order to understand the significance of these badges, and the image-system the poet develops based upon them, one simply has to see these badges and make connections between the badges and the people who wear them. In *Richard the Redeless* this gives rise to a complicated metaphorical blend; however, this blend is accessible and understandable to all because it is based upon livery badges, a publicly recognisable system of signs which the entire community is able to participate in, to some degree. This section will demonstrate the accessibility of the sign system based on livery badges before analysing the metaphorical blend the *Richard*-poet develops from these signs. This will demonstrate that livery badges produced a broadly accessible system of signs, which is capable of representing all members of the political community, and in which all members can participate in creating meaning.

At the most basic level livery badges simply had to be seen to be understood. The relationship between lord and retainer which they represent is conveyed by wearing the badge, and by others seeing the badge being worn. Livery was 'a visible sign that a man belonged to his lord's affinity' and its significance was reliant on the recognition of this 'public indication' that the retainers enjoyed the lord's support and protection.[81] Saul notes that 'to be effective, of course, it [a livery badge] had to be easily recognized: it had to be bold enough to impress itself on the memory and distinctive enough not to be confused with others of the kind.'[82] M.V.

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[81] Bean, pp. 22–3.
[82] Saul further notes that 'very little is known about the operation of liveries' including about how publicly recognizable they were, 'The Commons', p. 307.

Clarke emphasizes the relative ease Richard's subjects had understanding heraldic signs by reminding us that they 'could read a coat more easily than they could read a letter.'[83] In order for a livery badge to function it had to be a publicly legible sign, which conveyed meaning not only to those who were members of the political elite but also to those outside of these power structures. This supports the view that imagery derived from livery badges was more broadly understood than the imagery derived from vaticinal literature discussed in the previous chapter. The imagery used in Gower's text required knowledge of vaticinal discourse in order to be understood; a livery badge only had to be seen for its significance to be perceived. From this we can infer that livery badges were capable of producing a system of signs which everyone could understand and participate in to a degree.

The publicly recognisable nature of livery badges is addressed in *Richard the Redeless* where the retainers 'schewed her signes for men shulde drede | To axe ony mendis for her mysdedis' (II.32–3). Here the effect of wearing a badge, in this case its ability to ensure the wearer receives a favourable judgment in legal proceedings owing to the practice of maintenance, is achieved simply by displaying the badge to be seen. Later the poet describes how:

> That comounes of contré had costis aboughte
> Sholde knowe be hir quentise that the kyng loved hem
> For her privy prynte passinge another
>
> (II.106–8)

Here the king's livery badge is described as a 'quentise' which denotes either a livery badge or similar device, especially when these were elaborate or ornamental.[84] The retainers' wearing

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[83] Clarke, 'The Wilton Diptych' in *Fourteenth Century Studies,* ed. by Sutherland and McKisack, p. 272
[84] 'queintĭs(e n.' in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED35510/> [accessed 03 June 2020]

of this livery is used to signify the relationship between the king and the retainer, in a way which is interpretable by the commons simply by sight. 'Quentise' can also reference cunning or deceit which gives the alternate reading of this line: 'should know by their cunning that the king loved them', although this reading is less relevant to our purposes as it places the emphasis on the retainer's trickery rather than on their heraldic badge. The subsequent line returns the focus to the heraldic badges by describing them as 'privy prynte'; 'prynte' clearly denotes signs or badges. The heraldic badge is not secret as 'privy' may suggest as it is presented as visible and interpretable by all. As such we might read 'privy' here to denote the special nature of the mark, and perhaps evoke an association with *prive man* meaning 'retainer' or even *prive meine* referring to a lord's household, retinue, or band or retainers.[85] The poem depicts livery badges as signs which only have to be seen to be understood, and which any member of society was capable of interpreting. The poem suggests imagery derived from livery badges was easily interpretable as it was based upon symbols which anyone may see and understand. The lack of historical evidence makes it impossible to ascertain the extent to which this was true, but as livery badges were required to be recognisable to be effective we can infer that the superficial significance of these signs was not difficult to perceive.

It is important to note that the *Richard*-poet is not critical of livery itself, nor of the sign system it creates. Rather the poet's focus is on criticising the distribution of livery and the associated problems of maintenance. This distinction is seen in a passage from later in Passus II in which the poet outlines conditions which would make a man worthy to receive livery, II.77–91. This passage focusses on the practice of maintenance and the fair enforcement of the law. The speaker begins by stating his belief that 'no manere meyntenour shulde merkis bere | Ne have lordis lyveré the lawe to apeire,' (II.78–9), referencing the practice of maintenance

[85] 'privȩ adj.(1)' in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED34713/> [accessed 03 June 2020].

through the use of 'meyntenour' which is a specific term in legal discourse. This focus on the legal problem of maintenance is reflected in the poet's use of legal diction: 'apeire' is also a legal term meaning: 'II. to make worse; to damage (something); to harm or injure, as by slander, deprivation, etc'.[86] The speaker continues by outlining how serving the law results in one being worthy of receiving livery. A man must 'lette for no lordschep the law to susteyne | Whane the pore pleyned' (II.86–7). This assertion that the poor do not receive fair treatment in legal proceedings because of maintenance is a recurrent theme in the texts from the *Piers Plowman* tradition. To facilitate this the man should live off his own income, 'levyd by his owen,' (II.83) which is perhaps aided by the speaker's assertion that he should receive 'a signe and sumwhat be yere' (II. 89) in recognition for his services. Such an income is necessary as it ensures the man will not be tempted by any 'manere mede' (II.84) to favour one side over another in legal proceedings. Barr comments upon this passage and observes: 'the narrator's solution to the problems of livery and maintenance is that it should be abolished and that judges should be provided with a regular salary.'[87] However, it is worth drawing a distinction between livery and maintenance, as it is clear that the poet supports the abolition of the latter only. According to the speaker, judges are to be awarded with 'a signe and sumwhat be yere' (II.89), with the award of the 'signe' showing that the speaker was not advocating for the abolition of livery badges. Indeed, in the preceding lines he says that livery should not be awarded to maintainers, nor 'bragger ne boster' (II. 80) but he does not forbid others from receiving livery. Although he only discusses the merits of awarding a 'signe' to judges it does not seem his criticism extends to advocating for the complete abolition of livery. Rather his criticism is responding

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[86] Alford, p. 7; *MED* does not mark 'apeiren' as a legal term where it has the more precise definition 'To make worse: (a) to damage (sth.); to spoil or ruin (sth.)'. This highlights the difficulty in determining when the poet was using specialised legal terminology or when he was using non-specialised terms in everyday use. This can ultimately only be resolved by considering the context of a word's use, which in this case would suggest that 'apeire' should be read as a legal term. 'apeiren v..' in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED1816/> [accessed 28 May 2020].

[87] Barr, *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 264, n. 77.

to the excessive distribution of livery badges and the problems of maintenance this engenders. This perspective is consistent with the political positioning of *Richard the Redeless*, which is generally conservative – advocating for the reform of existing structures rather than wholesale change.

The poet uses two forms of imagery to discuss the problems caused by the excessive distribution of livery badges: metonymy and metaphor. The metonymic image is very similar to the metonymic code used in Gower's *Cronica tripertita* discussed in the preceding chapter. Here, the retainers are depicted as animated versions of their badges, so that the badges themselves perform the actions described. We may call this the LIVERY BADGE FOR PERSON metonymy, which is seen in the following passage which describes how the badges have spread throughout the country:

> Or serve hem with signes that swarmed so thikke
> Thoru-oute his lond in lengthe and in brede,
> That ho-so had hobblid thoru holtes and tounes
> Or ypassid the patthis ther the prynce dwellyd,
> Or hertis or hyndis on hassellis brestis,
> Or some lordis lyveré that the lawe stried,
> He shulde have ymette mo than ynowe
> For they acombrede the contré and many curse served.
>
> (II.21–8)

As we can see this differs from the metonymic imagery discussed in the previous chapter because the people are not represented as animals, but as animated badges or 'signes'. These lines do not depict the actions of harts, hinds or other animals, but rather the movement of 'signes' and the destruction enacted by the badges of 'hertis or hyndis on hassellis brestis' or of another 'lordis lyveré'. In this way the imagery is inseparable from the physical signs of livery.

Both Nick Ronan and Paul Strohm have noted the use of metonymic imagery in *Richard the Redeless*. Nick Ronan notes that the signs seem to have a life of their own as they 'swarm about the country oppressing the poor, spilling their soup and throwing their crockery into the fire' (p. 313). The signs are therefore beyond Richard's control which Ronan argues is evidence that:

> Richard seems to have lost control of the signifying process he has instituted with these signs, [...] Richard has lost control of the signifiers of his authority and his power is eroded by the unlimited semiosis he has wantonly spread around the country.
>
> (p. 313)

Ronan sees Richard as no longer in control of the signifying process which he began by distributing his livery, which Ronan argues results in 'polysemantic chaos' (p. 314). He suggests that the badges are 'a plague of free-floating signifiers, available for appropriation by all and sundry, impossible to marshall into a legible text' (p. 314). Ronan's initial point that Richard (according to the *Richard*-poet) has lost control of the signs which he distributed throughout the country is undoubtedly true; however, it is less clear whether Ronan's subsequent conclusions follow from this initial observation. Whilst the signs are 'available for appropriation by all and sundry' it is not clear whether such an appropriation would be productive. I argue that these signs could not be appropriated from their original context of signifying a relationship between king and retainer, because if this appropriation were to occur the signs would be rendered meaningless. Livery relies on its signifying process to be consistently and publicly legible. When this signifying process is disrupted livery ceases to have significance as a system of signs. Since livery is a functioning sign-system in *Richard the Redeless* it is clear that the badges' ability to signify a relationship between king and retainer is maintained and not appropriated in this text. Whilst the livery badges metonymically have a

life of their own which suggests that they, and by extension, the retainers who wear them, are beyond Richard's control, the signifying process of livery remains consistent. Through the use of metonymy, and later metaphor, the *Richard*-poet is able to use these signs to form a legible text, which maintains the signifying process of livery badges whilst being critical of them.

Paul Strohm's discussion of these images in *Richard the Redeless* begins by noting Ronan's observations of the metonymic action in Passus II of the poem. However, Strohm goes further by identifying the metaphoric implications of the imagery in the passus. Strohm writes that the harts and hinds 'provide the poet with a tool of thought and elaboration: rather than imagining the behavior of harts to reflect that of the men who bear them, the poet finds the men to exhibit hartlike behavior.'[88] Although Strohm does not explicitly describe this imagery as metaphorical we can see from his description of 'hartlike behavior' an implicit recognition of the metaphoricity of this imagery. When we consider the distinction between metaphor and metonymy we can see that 'metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another'.[89] In a description where a person is understood in terms of his 'hartlike behavior' we can see he is being conceived in the terms of an animal, making this image metaphorical. However, Strohm does not provide any extended discussion of this metaphorical imagery in *Richard the Redeless*. I will analyse this metaphorical imagery in more detail in the next section of this chapter. Strohm concludes his discussion of *Richard the Redeless* by returning to the metonymic aspects of the livery badges writing: 'For all their metonymic vitality, these signs are finally empty signifiers, which point to no established relationship, to nothing beyond themselves.'[90] This is again at odds with the fundamental nature of livery as a system of signs. Its significance is exclusively derived from its ability to signify, in a consistently publicly

[88]Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 183.
[89] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 35.
[90] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 184.

legible fashion, a relationship between retainer and lord. For the harts and hinds to provide the *Richard*-poet with a 'tool of thought and elaboration' these signs must be able to consistently point beyond themselves and the retainers who wear them to a relationship with Richard who introduced and distributed them. We can see this in the poet's use of a metaphorical blend to discuss the badges, the liveried retainers and how these relate back to Richard.

## The LIVERY BADGE Metaphorical Blend

*Richard the Redeless* develops a metaphorical blend to depict the problems caused by the excessive distribution of livery badges. This blend has two input spaces, the space of politics and the space of nature. It is a single-scope network as the organizing frame of the nature input space, the framing input, is projected to organize the blend, and to provide insight into the

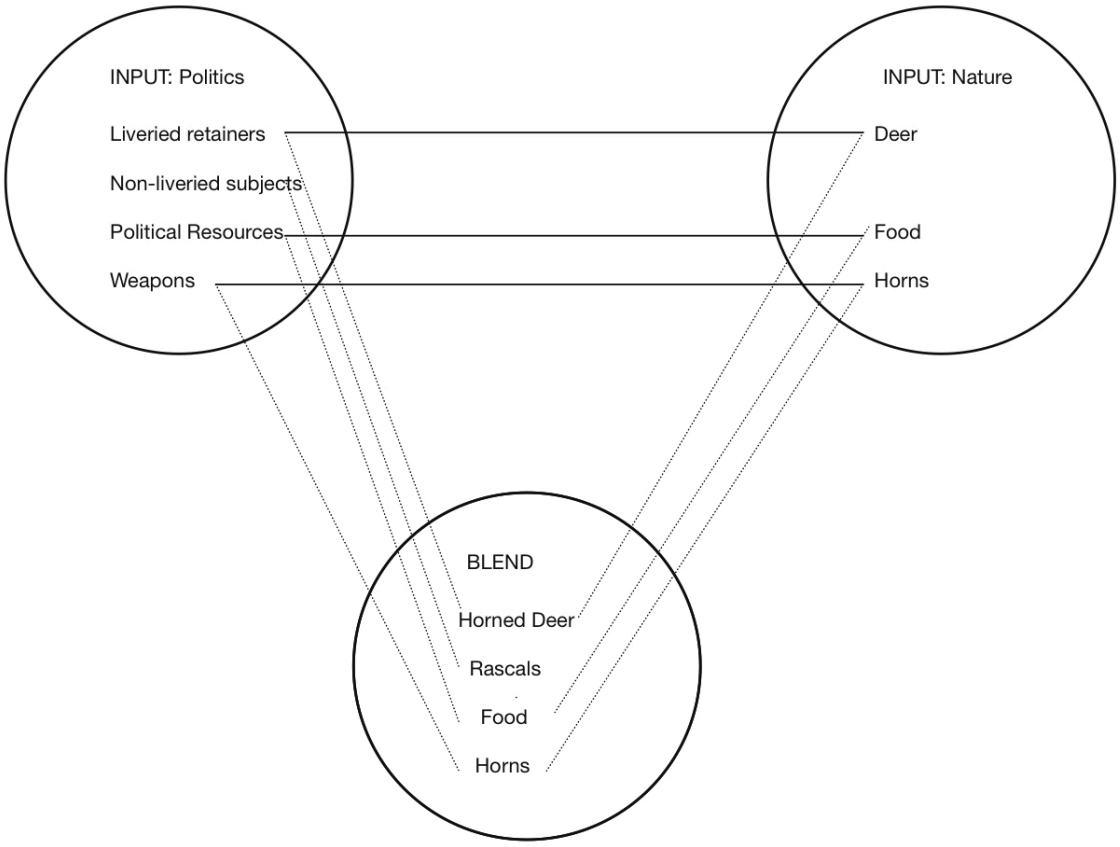


Figure 3.4 The LIVERY BADGE Metaphorical Blend

politics input space, the focus input.[91] Elements of the politics input space are mapped onto elements from the nature input space which are then projected to the blend: liveried retainers who wear the badge of the white hart are mapped onto white harts in the nature input space; the political resources enjoyed by these retainers are mapped onto food; the military strength of the retainers is mapped onto the deer's horns. These mappings are illustrated in Figure 3.4. This produces a blend in which the liveried retainers are depicted as deer who populate the country. Aspects of the deer, such as whether they are healthy and well-fed, or able to grow horns, map onto aspects of the retainers' lives, as will be discussed in more detail below. We may call this image the LIVERY BADGE metaphorical blend, or more simply the LIVERY BADGE metaphor. This image is the principal image which is used throughout the Passus to describe the problems caused by the distribution of livery badges.

We can see an example of this blend in action at the opening of Passus II. In this passage a simile is used to describe the liveried retainers as harts who run throughout the country:[92]

> Of youre large lyverey to leodis aboughte
> That ye so goodliche gaf but if gile letted,
> As hertis yheedyd and hornyd of kynde,
> So ryff as they ronne youre rewme thoru-oute,
> That non at youre nede youre name wolde nempne
> In fersnesse ne in foltheed but faste fle awayward.
>
> (II.2–7)

Here we can see the liveried retainers being mapped onto harts, through the cross-space mapping which connects the harts in the livery badges, from the politics input space, with the

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[91] Metaphorical blends are usually based upon single scope integration networks as Fauconnier and Turner note: 'Single-scope networks are the prototype of highly conventional source-target metaphors. The input that provides the organizing frame to the blend, the framing input, is often called the "source". The input that is the focus of understanding, the focus input, is often called the "target"', p. 127.

[92] As shown in the preceding chapter, similes establish cross domain/space mappings and can be understood as functioning in the same way metaphors or metaphorical blends.

animal itself, from the nature input space. In this image the retainers are harts running rampant throughout the country; the number of retainers is suggested by the use of 'ryff' and the images of the running and 'faste fle' suggest by the energy of their movement that they are out of control. Richard also suffers a loss of power because none of the retainers will answer to him when he needs them. This loss of power is represented as a loss of name and identity as 'non at youre nede youre name wolde nempne'. Thus although the livery badge points to a relationship between the retainers and Richard, the retainers themselves are unwilling to meet the demands of this relationship, and will not answer to Richard when he needs them. The metaphorical blend creates an image in which a vast herd of deer afflict the country by running rampant throughout the land. In contrast with the metonymic imagery discussed above, the retainers are no longer represented by badges or 'signes' which are animated through metonymy; rather they are depicted as animals through the metaphoric blend.

One aspect of the blend worthy of particularly close examination is the consideration of how to represent people who did not receive livery badges and who do not have their own heraldic sign. In the previous chapter we saw that etymologised translation could be used to represent people who do not have a heraldic animal in a similar image system which was also based on representing people as their heraldic animal. However, this still only allowed for the representation of a select few powerful individuals, and there was no way to represent the commons or other less powerful people. This imagery required knowledge of vaticinal literature to be understood and as such it could only be read and interpreted by a relative minority of people with this specialised knowledge. In contrast the imagery derived from livery badges does not require specialised knowledge for people to understand and participate in it. Additionally, the blend is structured in such a way that even those with no heraldic sign can be represented.

People who do not wear livery badges exist as an element in the politics input space. This element has no cross-space mapping with the deer in the nature input space, because there is no correspondence between them and an animal, as there is between the badges of harts which liveried retainers wear and between the animals themselves in the nature input space. As a result people who do not wear livery badges are projected into the blend with no corresponding element from the nature input space. However, the poet instructs us to construct a blend in which people who do not receive livery badges are projected onto deer as well, so that all of Richard's subjects can appear as harts. This feature of the blend is conveyed in the following lines:

> For frist at youre anoyntynge alle were youre owen,
> Bothe hertis and hyndis, and helde of non other;
> No lede of youre lond but as a liege aughte.
>
> (II.47–9)

This idyllic state of affairs where all deer lived under Richard as loyal subjects continues until Richard distributed his livery badges, which privileged some members of the political community over others. The petitions against livery from this period sought a return to this idealised situation; the petition from parliament in 1401 placed emphasis on the king treating everyone as '*entier comyn*'. Saul describes the sponsors of the petition as 'looking back somewhat nostalgically to a lost golden age when kings had governed their subjects loyally and peaceably without discriminating between them on grounds of either *"signes"* or any other livery.'[93] It is this 'lost golden age' which is evoked by the image of deer living peaceably under Richard as his loyal subjects.[94]

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[93] Saul, 'The Commons', p. 303.
[94] This imagery may also recall, in less direct ways, Seneca's conception of the Golden Age and its relationship to the concept of natural law, as discussed in the Introduction.

There is still the issue of how to distinguish those who receive livery badges from those who do not, as in the blend they are both projected onto deer. It is necessary to preserve a distinction between the different types of deer in the blend, as this conveys important information about the politics input space – that is, that when Richard began to distribute his livery badges he created two classes of people: those who received his livery and enjoyed associated privileges, and those who suffered as a result of being excluded from this practice. To represent this distinction in the LIVERY BADGE metaphor the poet continues to depict everyone as deer and distinguishes between 'heed-dere' (II.117) and 'rascaile' (II.119). 'Heed-dere' are horned deer, who correspond to those that received Richard's livery; their horns indicate that they have received sufficient support from Richard that they have been able to grow to full maturity and that they have physical strength. In contrast, 'rascaile' or rascals are young deer who have not had the opportunity to grow to maturity. In the blend they represent those who did not receive Richard's livery, particularly the commons. We are able to establish the projections between liveried retainers/horned deer and non liveried people/rascals because we recruit knowledge about the differences between these different kinds of deer through the process known as *completion*. This is complemented by our *elaboration* of the blend when we use the background knowledge of deer and the relationships between the elements we have established to imagine further features of these deer and how they may interact and behave in the blend.

Further elaboration of the blend is seen in the following passage, which describes how the rascals have not grown to maturity because they have been denied resources by the mature deer:

> I wondir not hyly, though heed-dere thou failid;
> For litill on youre lyf thee list for to rewe
> On rascaile that rorid with ribbis so lene,
> For faughte of her fode that flateris stelen,

> And evere with here wylis and wast ofte they hem anoyed,
> That poverte hem prickid full prevyliche to pleyne,
> But where, they ne wyste ne ho it wolde amende.
>
> (II.117–23)

In this blend feeding corresponds to receiving favour and resources from Richard. The rascals remain 'lene' because the 'food' or resources they should receive are stolen by those who flatter Richard. Here resources such as wealth, land or political favour from the input space of politics are mapped onto food from the animals input space so that in the blend the deer's access to food corresponds to the people's access to resources they need to develop and flourish. In this passage images from the blend are mixed with images which are derived from the input space of politics so that, for example, the rascals are presented as fighting for food not from other animals, as they would in the blend, but from 'flateris' which are the courtiers who flatter Richard from the input space of politics. This imagery of horned deer and rascals captures the division caused by Richard's distribution of livery, and this blend is developed to convey greater nuance about the political situation of the time.

Imagery related to food is developed into images of feeding and nurturing to depict Richard's role in the distribution of resources. Unlike food in the animals input space, which is freely available and which all animals are able to acquire for themselves, food in the blend, like the political resources it represents, is limited and concentrated in the hands of the powerful, specifically the king. In order to receive the food they need to survive, the deer must be fed and nurtured by Richard. Richard chooses to feed only a few, neglecting his other subjects:

> Ye fostrid and fodid a fewe of the best,
> And leyde on hem lordschipe a leyne uppon other,
> And bereved the raskall that rith wolde thei hadde,
> And knewe not the caris ne cursis that walkyd.

(II.135–8)

Again images which correspond to the politics input space are mixed with images from the blend, so that in one line the poet discusses how Richard 'fostrid and fodid' a select few deer, which clearly derives from the blend, and then in the subsequent line the poet discusses the distribution of 'lordschipe' and 'leyne' which are from the politics input space.[95] This reference to 'lordschipe' and 'leyne' also provides us with more specific insight into what resources the food in the blend represents: these resources included the land and money which was associated with the titles Richard awarded. Richard's failure to provide food for the rascals results in them having to scavenge for the food that is still available, which is described as 'roots': 'Thus be the rotus youre raskall endurid' (II.140). If we imagine the quality of roots as food (tough, woody, non-nutritious and difficult to digest) we can see how much the rascals suffered when compared to the well-fed horned deer.

Access to food directly impacts the health of the deer, and so in the blend the health of the deer corresponds to how people suffered or prospered under Richard's rule. We have already seen that a lack of access to food keeps the rascals from developing as they should so that they do not reach the mature growth of horned deer, and remain lean and malnourished. This lack of growth also prevents the rascals from growing horns. As deer use their horns to fight we can see that in the blend the rascals' lack of horns represents the people's lack of strength and ability to defend themselves. Richard eventually suffers because of the powerlessness of the rascals:

> So whanne youre hauntelere-dere where all ytakyn,
> Was non of the rasskayle aredy full growe

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[95] The meaning of 'leyne' is not obvious. Barr suggests that the lines 'means that Richard stacked lordships on his favourites, one after another' with 'leyne' drawing from 'leine n.(2)' in the *MED* meaning 'layer, stratum'. *Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 267, n.128–36; 'leine n.(2)' in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED7534> [accessed 12 June 2020].

To bere ony breme heed, as a best aughte,

(II.128–30)

Here the rascals represent not the commons but rather the nobles who Richard neglected in favour of promoting his favourites. When Richard loses his favourites, for example when Bussy, Scrope and Green were beheaded at Bristol castle on 29th July 1399, no other nobles had the strength, or perhaps more accurately, the inclination, to aid Richard as loyal subjects should. Richard's actions deprive him of his subjects' allegiance, which the poet represents as being against nature as the rascals cannot act 'as a best aughte'. In this way Richard's actions have led to a perversion of nature which is directly contradictory to the idyllic image of the entire population under Richard from earlier in the Passus: 'Bothe hertis and hyndis, and helde of non other; | No lede of youre lond but as a liege aughte,' (II.47–9).

Imagery relating to horns is also seen at the start of the Passus when the poet describes the moulting of the deers' horns.

And also in sothe the seson was paste
For hertis yheedid so hy and so noble
To make ony myrthe for mowtynge that nyghed.
That bawtid youre bestis of here bolde chere;
They severid and sondrid for somere hem faylid,
And flowen into forest and feldis aboughte,
All the hoole herde that helde so togedir;
But yet they had hornes half yere after.

(II.10–7)

Although deer actually lose their horns in spring the poet places the moulting season in the summer. This slight deviation from the natural moulting cycle of deer does not undermine the message of this passage, which is to present the deer's loss of horns as part of a natural process. The poet is referring to the events of the summer of 1399 which ultimately led to Richard's

capture by Henry at Flint castle on 16th August. Deprived of their horns and thus of their means to defend themselves, Richard's deer hide in fields and forests, which alludes to the desertion of Richard's army in August 1399. By referencing the natural process of moulting the poet depicts the desertion of Richard's army as a natural course of events, as Barr has observed.[96] This undercuts the cowardice of Richard's army as they are only behaving as they should. Their flight into forests and fields is analogous to deer's behaviour according to Bartholomaeus' *De proprietatibus rerum*:

> And for the herte is an horned beste among bestes þe hert haþ þis proprete, þat he chaungeþ his hornes euerych ȝeere in springynge tyme. And þanne for he is armureles he secheþ him by day priue place and huydeþ him forto his newe hornes growe efte and forto he haue hornes and armure.[97]

Barr sees the reference to Richard's followers having 'hornes half yere after' as an allusion to 'the Christmas-tide 1399–1400 revolt against Henry' which leads Barr to date the poem to early 1400.[98] In contrast, Carlson argues that 'the roundly vague dating-phrase "half yere after" sounds formulaic' and does not see an allusion to the Epiphany Rising. Instead Carlson sees this line as an allusion to Henry's merciful treatment of Richard's former followers in October 1399. This leads Carlson to date the poem to early autumn 1399, which would mean that the poet's conceit of writing the poem as a work of counsel for a still living Richard may not be entirely discreditable.[99] I slightly favour Carlson's interpretation over Barr's for contextual reasons; however, the imagery of this passage does not provide any evidence to favour one reading over the other. The emphasis of the imagery of this passage is on the declining power of Richard's followers and their desertion in the summer of 1399.

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[96] *Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 261, n. 10–16.
[97] *On The Properties of Things,* II, 1176.
[98] *Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 261, n. 17; p. 16.
[99] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, pp. 145–6.

A final image of the rascals' suffering is conveyed through the use of weather imagery. Poor weather in the blend corresponds to poor circumstances which would make it harder for the people the deer represent to prosper. Initially Richard is presented as the source of this poor weather:

> Thus ye derid hem unduly with droppis of anger,
> And stonyed hem with stormes that stynted nevere,
> But plucked and pulled hem anon to the skynnes,
> That the fresinge frost freted to here hertis.
>
> (II.124–7)

In both the blend and the animals input space weather corresponds to external circumstances which may make it easier or more difficult for an animal to prosper. In the blend poor weather is partially responsible for the rascals' suffering and lack of development, as when the 'fresinge frost freted to here hertis'. Weather usually represents contextual circumstances, which are caused by God or nature and which lack a human origin. However, the use of direct address in these lines makes it clear that these actions are being performed by Richard, and that he is the cause of the rascals being 'stonyed […] with stormes'. 'Stonyed' has obvious associations with the practice of stoning a person or animal to death, and this image could be read as depicting a violent Richard continuously throwing stones at those that he did not reward with political favour. However, the poet does not consistently make Richard the cause of extreme weather events. These lines suggest Richard causes his subjects to be battered by storms, perhaps complete with hailstones hence the reference to 'stonyed'. However, Richard is not depicted as responsible for the 'fresinge frost' in line II.127. This shows that weather in the blend can show both how Richard's opponents suffered from their circumstances as well as representing Richard's direct mistreatment of his opponents.

The next depiction of weather also lacks a human origin:

> So wyntris wedir hem wessh with the snowis,
> With many derke mystis that maddid her eyne.
> For well mowe ye wyttyn and so mowe we all,
> That harde is the somer ther sonne schyneth nevere
>
> (II.131–4)

Barr sees these lines as an allusion to the philosophy of natural law, writing:

> the afflictions of the weather on the deer link the people's oppression with Richard's disregard for the principles of natural law. The hailstorms, freezing frost, snows and mists are not just descriptive of misery; crucially [II.134], they occur in summer. The perversion of the natural course of the seasons mirrors Richard's perversion of the office of protective kingship.[100]

The unseasonable weather represents Richard's deviation from the natural order of things. Richard's deviation from natural law is in essence a deviation from God, as God was the ultimate origin of natural law.[101] As we saw in the preceding discussion of Richard's cultivation of his regal image Richard sought to stress the sacral nature of his kingship and by extension the support he received from God and the court of heaven. We can see the weather as an articulation of God's attitude towards Richard and his subjects. By evoking the theme of natural law in the depiction of unnatural weather in the passage the *Richard*-poet is effectively undermining the image of sacral kingship Richard sought so hard to convey, as the unnatural events show that Richard has lost God's favour. *Richard the Redeless* uses its rich combination of metonymy and metaphor to undermine Richard's regal image in a number of ways: whether

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[100] *Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 266, n. 124–34.

[101] Evidence of the belief that natural law was derived from God can be found in Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum*, a book which Richard's tutor Simon Burley owned, and which Richard was likely familiar with. Giles states that: 'For ȝif al kynde comeþ of God þat is cheef prince and kyng of kynges and reweleþ al þe worlde and kynde moste riȝtfulliche, by rewelyng þat we seen springe in kyndeliche thinges and of þat rewelynge scholde springe þe rewlinge þat scholde be itauȝt in art of reweling of kyngis, for art folweþ kynde.' *The Governance of Kings and Princes*, p. 336. l. 3–7; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 16; Helen Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law' pp. 53–55.

it is via livery badges or imagery of natural forces. Richard, the poem suggests, has failed to fulfil the duties of kingship, and this failure means he has lost the support of God too.

To conclude our discussion of the imagery in *Richard the Redeless* we may consider how the LIVERY BADGE metaphor is used to represent Henry Bolingbroke. The LIVERY BADGE metaphor involves mapping the animal represented in livery badges onto the men who wore them. It can also include depicting the lord who awarded the badges as the animal depicted in his badges, as these lords also wore badges and jewels depicting their own animal. For this reason we find Henry Bolingbroke depicted as a greyhound:

> Thus were ye disceyved thoru youre duble hertis,
> That nevere weren to truste, so God save my soule!
> But had the good greehonde be not agreved,
> But cherischid as a cheffeteyne, and cheff of youre lese,
> Ye hadde had hertis ynowe at youre wille to go and to ride.
>
> (II.113–5)

These lines continue the LIVERY BADGE metaphor by first depicting Richard's followers as harts. Barr notes the polysemic nature of the image 'duble hertis' noting that the use of 'duble' meaning both 'twice as much, great' and 'false, deceitful' and the pun of harts and hearts shows 'both the increasing numbers of the retainers and their disloyalty.'[102] The 'good greehonde' is Henry Bolingbroke, who Adam Usk recalls should be associated with the dog, in part because he wore greyhound livery:

> merito canis, propter liberatam calloriorum leporaroos conueniencium, et quia diebus canicularibus uenit, et quia infinitos ceruos, lieratam scilicet regis Ricardi in ceruis excistentem, penitus a regno affugauit.

[102] *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 265, n.111.

> [He should rather be the dog, because of his livery of linked collars of greyhounds, and because he came in the dog-days, and because he drove utterly from the kingdom countless numbers of harts—the hart being the livery of King Richard].
>
> (pp. 52–3)

Hounds were used to hunt deer, and this association between harts and hounds may be why the poet chooses to represent Henry as a greyhound here, over the other animals used in his heraldic badges.[103] A similar blend of Henry's hounds hunting Richard's harts is seen in the *Dieulacres Chronicle*:

> Tunc quidem erant signa regalia tam cervi quam corone sub abscondito posita, unde creditur quod armigeri ducis Lancastrie deferentes collistrigia quasi leporarii ad destruendum insolenciam invise bestie albi cervi per annum presignati sunt quodam presagio futurorum.
>
> [Then indeed were those royal badges both of the hart and of the crown hidden away, so that some said that the esquires of the duke of Lancaster, wearing their collars, had been pre-ordained by a prophecy to subdue like greyhounds in this year the pride of that hated beast the white hart.][104]

Like the LIVERY BADGE metaphor this image is derived from the 'royal badges' of Richard II; with the hart and crown both being used as livery badges by Richard in the latter part of his reign. The reference to the 'prophecy' shows how this imagery may be closely associated with the vaticinal imagery discussed in the preceding chapter.

In addition to the association between harts and hounds, the greyhound image may have been selected because it does not represent Henry as Richard's rival. Through the use of the

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[103] Michael Powell Siddons records the heraldic badges borne by or attributed to Henry IV; the animals depicted in these badges include an antelope, a lion or leopard, an eagle, a swan, a falcon, and a panther in addition to the greyhound. *Heraldic Badges,* II, 14–5.

[104] *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 155; 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey', in *The Deposition of Richard II*, ed. by Clarke, and Galbraith, p. 51.

subjunctive this passage depicts the role Henry could have had in Richard's government: 'But had the good greehonde be not agreved, | But cherischid as a cheffeteyne, and cheff of youre lese'. 'Cheffeteyne' is often used to denote a class of political leader who serves under a king, and the use of the indefinite article and the reference to Richard's 'lese', that is the 'establishment, or department of the king's household, for the keeping of coursing hounds' presents Henry as one potential leader among many depicting the role Henry could have had under Richard's rule.[105] The greyhound presents Henry as a servant to Richard's mastery, and this passage warns of the consequences losing Henry's support has for Richard. As a result of Richard's mistreatment of Henry he has been 'disceyved' and does not have command of his supporters. It is not until later in the poem where Henry is presented as a rival king that he is depicted as an eagle. In contrast to the eagle imagery, depicting Henry as a dog presents Henry as a noble servant-animal, who offers loyal support for his master. It is not until Richard's actions make him unworthy of the role of king that Henry starts to be represented as the destructively powerful eagle. The significance of the eagle and other heraldic animal imagery in *Richard the Redeless* and related poems will be examined in detail in the following chapter.

The *Richard*-poet used the publicly legible system of signs provided by livery badges to criticise Richard's behaviour and practices. Although the metaphor that the *Richard*-poet develops from this system is at times complex and nuanced it is still based on the fundamental sign system of livery, particularly livery's ability to signify a relationship between lord and retainer. This basis allows for the creation of a democratic sign system which anyone may decode and participate in. If we examine attempts to control the display of heraldic signs we

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[105] 'chevetain(e n.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED7534> [accessed 14 March 2019]; 'les(se n. (1).', in *MED* < https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED25224> [accessed 14 March 2019].

can see how powerful these symbols were, and how everyone was able to participate in their meaning creation.

We can consider John Catesby's account of the destruction of heraldic symbols at Warwick Castle for evidence of the powerful significance of these signs. John Catesby was a lawyer from Warwickshire who wrote a brief account of Bolingbroke's progress from Ravenspur to London in 1399. Catesby describes how:

> Thomas de Holand, count de Kent et puis duc de Surreie, fait par le roi Richard secounde, lan de soun regne xxj, avoit mis sur les portes del castel de Warr' un cerf de piere, corone, qestoit al hure la livre de dit roi Richard, et une blaunche bise, qestoit al hure la livre del dit duc mesme, le dit duc de Lancastre comaunda de les abatre, et issint fut.
>
> [Thomas Holand, earl of Kent—and, by creation of King Richard in his twenty-first year, duke of Surrey—had placed above the gates of Warwick castle a crowned hart of stone, which at that time was the said King Richard's livery, and a white hind which was at that Time the said duke's livery. The duke of Lancaster ordered them to be knocked down, which was done.][106]

The hart is a clear symbol of Holland's allegiance to Richard, and the depiction of the hart and hind together, that is of the combination of Holland and Richard's livery, signified the relationship between the two men. By ordering the destruction of these Henry was effectively eradicating evidence of Holland's loyalty to Richard, and materially damaging the relationship between these men. Helen Barr has examined this account and concluded that 'because Richard's adversaries attached such symbolic importance to the destruction of his material signs of power, smashing the stone hart is as powerful an action as imprisoning Richard and eliminating his supporters.'[107] I would argue that although the symbolic action is not quite as

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[106] *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 135–6. Post, p. 323.
[107] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 69.

powerful as direct action against Richard or his supporters its resonance and importance is clear. J.B. Post saw the destruction of the hart as 'the earliest known overt indication that Lancaster was threatening the crown rather than claiming only his duchy'.[108] The destruction of the material symbols of Richard's allegiance deprives Richard of power, and more particularly, of the loyalty which he relied on as a foundation for his power.

We may conclude by considering in more detail the image from the *Dieulacres Chronicle* which has been discussed above in connection to Richard's use of crown and hart badges, and the association between harts and hounds in imagery from this period. This passage presents the replacement of one form of livery with another, so the greyhound livery of Henry overtakes the country and rids England of white hart badges. This shows the allegiance of the country has shifted to favour Henry over Richard. However, the treatment of Richard's royal badges is worthy of particularly close examination: they are 'sub abscondito posita' [placed in a secret place], but the more relevant question is who performs this action. The nature of 'hiding' a sign suggests that the liveried retainers make the decisions to hide their badges themselves. Henry's retainers do not actually rid the country of white hart badges, instead the retainers who originally wore them choose to no longer wear them. This shows that Richard no longer enjoys the allegiance of these people, as they no longer wish to associate themselves with him. It also shows in the retainer's own decision to wear or not wear a badge the ability of people to participate in the meaning creation of livery badges themselves.

Richard's badge of the white hart continued to have significance after the deposition when it was used as a symbol by those who rebelled against Henry IV. Before the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 'Henri Percy and alle his men wered and were araid in the liverey of the hertis, the whiche was king Richardis liverey.'[109] The next year the Countess of Oxford spread

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[108] Post, p. 323, n. 357.
[109] *An English Chronicle*, p. 28; *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 136.

a rumour that Richard was alive and intended to reclaim the throne. She 'fecitque fabricari cervos argenteos et auratos plurimos, signa videlicet quae Rex Ricardus conferre soldebat suis militibus, scutiferis, et amicis' [caused many silver and gold deer to be made, that is to say, the signs which King Richard was used to give to his knights, squires, and friends].[110] These examples show that the white hart had currency as Richard's symbol even after his death. The badges were capable of signifying a relationship with and allegiance towards Richard even when not distributed by him or directly connected to him in anyway. This suggests that the signifying process of these badges was particularly powerful, capable of enduring even after Richard's death.

This chapter has examined many themes connected to livery and its distribution by Richard II in the later portion of his reign. In addition to considering how symbol and image were used by Richard to cultivate his regal image, I have discussed how the distribution of livery worked contrary to these aims and frustrated Richard's efforts to distance himself from his subjects. The imagery of *Richard the Redeless* has revealed the importance of livery as a publicly legible system of signs, which always points back towards a relationship between retainer and lord. The development of a metaphorical blend based upon the sign system of livery has shown that this imagery was broadly accessible, capable of representing all members of society, and which all members of society could participate in. Livery badges only had to be seen to be understood, but the far-reaching implications of their ability to symbolise relationships, allegiance, and power requires careful examination to be fully comprehended.

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[110] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 262; *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 136. Translation is my own.

# Chapter Four:

# Heraldic Animals in Images of the Deposition in *Richard the Redeless* and Related Poems

The preceding two chapters have analysed the use of heraldic animal imagery in the two longer poems the *Cronica tripertita* and *Richard the Redeless*. I have shown that the heraldic animal imagery in Gower's text is associated with the use of accidental designation in vaticinal literature; conversely, the images of Richard's white hart in *Richard the Redeless* are clearly derived from Richard's use of the hart in his livery badges during the latter portion of his reign. Consequently, the imagery in *Richard the Redeless* was more easily understandable than the imagery in the *Cronica*, and was capable of representing the commons as well as the political elites, unlike the imagery in Gower's text. We may now turn to a corpus of shorter poems produced in 1399 which makes use of shared imagery to represent the deposition and Henry's ascent to power. These poems are 'There is a Busch that is Forgrowe', 'Up on an Hylle', Gower's 'H. aquile pullus', and the Latin 'O Deus in Celis'. Like the *Cronica tripertita* and *Richard the Redeless* all of these poems, with the exception of 'Up on an hylle', use heraldic animal imagery to refer to historical figures depicting Henry IV and the Lords Appellant in this fashion. *Richard the Redeless,* 'There is a Busch', 'Up on an hylle', and 'O Deus in Celis' also make puns on the surnames of Richard's favourites when referencing the treatment John Bussy, Henry Green, William Bagot, and William Scrope received from Henry Bolingbroke before he assumed the throne. This chapter will consider how these poems use heraldic animal images in their presentation of the deposition, the potential origin of such imagery, and what this use of shared imagery may suggest about the poems' political significance.

This group of poems has previously been considered by David R. Carlson who examines them in light of the suggestion that poems from this period may have formed part of

a Lancastrian scheme to legitimise Henry's accession to the throne. Carlson considers the similarities between the poems, including their depiction of the killings of Bussy, Green, and Scrope in July 1399 and their use of a shared allegorical idiom, and concludes that these poems are not 'popular effusions' and are 'more likely to be evidence again of the Lancastrian regime's labour of public self-fashioning and disposition to manipulate the verbal record'.[1] Carlson asserts that:

> the poems' shared disposition of the same deliberately veiled manner of speaking, in riddling and opaque allegories of specialised type – not popular, but recondite, restricted in use to specialists purpose-trained in such idioms' vagaries – suggests co-ordination, at a culturally advanced level.[2]

Carlson's thesis has significant implications for the current investigation into the use of imagery of the natural world in these poems. Most crucially we must question whether such imagery was 'recondite', and to answer this we must first establish whether such imagery was based on livery (which was readily understood by non-specialists), or on imagery from vaticinal literature (which was less broadly understood), or on some combination of sources which may be either recondite or well understood. If the imagery is shown to be recondite this will support Carlson's assertion; however, if more popular or common origins can be found for this imagery this will weaken the claim and may suggest that a diverse group of poets instead chose to make use of an established and well-known tradition of imagery in their poems. In addition to providing a more detailed analysis of the imagery found in these poems than previous studies have provided, this chapter will investigate the origin of the imagery of the natural world in these poems in order to interrogate Carlson's claim that the shared imagery 'suggests co-ordination, at a culturally advanced level'. In investigating the possibility that

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[1] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 152. See also, Carlson, 'English Poetry, July–October 1399'.
[2] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 135.

these poems represent a scheme of poetry to promote the Lancastrian claim to the throne I will analyse what this may suggest about the poems' purpose, readership, and significance.

Before analysing them in detail, I shall introduce the shorter poems in the corpus. 'There is a Busch that is Forgrowe', also edited under the title 'On King Richard's Ministers' by Thomas Wright in 1859, is a short poem consisting of fifteen six-line stanzas, rhyming aabccb.[3] The manuscript of this poem, known as the Deritend House MS, is currently missing, having been lost at some point in the nineteenth century.[4] The text recounts the events of 1397–1400, with a particular focus on the actions of Sir John Bussy, Sir Henry Green, and Sir William Bagot, describing these individuals through puns on their surnames which make them into features of the natural world. Bussy appears as 'a busch that is forgrowe' (1), Green is represented by 'the long gras that is so grene,' (4), and Bagot is depicted as a 'grete bagge' (7). The Lords Appellant are represented through heraldic animal imagery; however the poem deviates from the scheme seen in the *Cronica tripertita* and *Richard the Redeless*, since Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, is depicted as a 'bereward' rather than as a bear. This difference will be discussed further below. As well as detailing the treatment of the Lords Appellant the poem also alludes to Henry's return to England and the support he received upon his return. James M. Dean dated the poem to 'about 1400'.[5] It is possible, however, to suggest a more precise date from internal evidence. The poem depicts Gloucester's widow and son as being still alive:

> The swan is ded, his make is woo,
> Her eldest bryd is taken her fro

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[3] *Medieval English Political Writings*, pp. 150–2, all subsequent quotations are from this edition; *Political Poems and Songs,* I (1859), 363–366; 'DIMEV 5569: There is a bush that is foregrow', in *DIMEV* <https://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=5569> [accessed 3 November 2020]; I have also consulted the edition by William Hamper, who at one point owned the manuscript.
[4] *Medieval English Political Writings*, p. 126.
[5] *Medieval English Political Writings*, p. 126.

In to an uncod place.

(31–3)

Gloucester's only son, Humphrey, was taken to Ireland by Richard in 1399, which is presumably the 'uncod place' referred to. Henry ordered Humphrey to return to England in August 1399 but he died before he was able to return.[6] Gloucester's widow died shortly after her son in October.[7] As the poem also references Henry's landing in Ravenspur in line 44 we can be reasonably confident that the poem was written between July and August 1399.[8] It is possible that this poem was more broadly distributed than some of the other texts discussed in this chapter. Notably, it is written entirely in English, unlike the other short poems, which would enable it to be read by those outside the lay and clerical elites who would have been literate in Latin. Carlson describes the poem as 'strongly marked for generic popularity, broad-side ballad-like in its length, line, and rhyme'.[9] Given that the poem seems to have been intended for popular circulation it seems unlikely that the imagery it contained would have been difficult for its original audience to interpret and understand, though the evidence is not conclusive.

'Up on a Hylle' is also written in English, though it is accompanied by a Latin gloss in the only extant manuscript. It is a short verse of 7 lines rhyming abcddee which is found in the bottom margin of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 7, fol. 47$^{r}$.[10] As in 'There is a Busch'

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[6] Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas [Thomas of Woodstock], duke of Gloucester' in *ODNB* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27197> [accessed 3 November 2020].
[7] *Historia Vitae*, p. 155, n. 440–1, pp. 207–8.
[8] The poem could have been written after this dating window; however, the inclusion of historical details in the poem makes this date most likely. It is possible that the poem was written after August 1399 and that the poet included the details concerning Gloucester's family to retrospectively position his poem as a topical work of mid-1399.
[9] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 126.
[10] 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 007: Chronicle and Register of Benefactors of the Monastery of St Albans' in *Parker Library On the Web* <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fm985xq3462> [accessed 4 November 2020]. The poem has not been published in an edition, and it does not appear in *DIMEV*; however, it has been reproduced in Clark, p. 845, n. 84, and Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 134.

the poem depicts Bussy, Green and Bagot via puns on their surnames, though in slight contrast to 'There is a Busch' Green is represented as a 'greene' (1) rather than as green grass. Unlike the other poems considered in this chapter, the poem does not make use of heraldic animal imagery. It is also significantly harder to date because of its brevity, though the use of the past tense when describing the punishment of Green and Bussy suggests it may have been written after the killing of these men in Bristol in July 1399. Against this must be countered by the fact that Bagot is described as 'y-schake' (6) which is difficult to reconcile with the fact that Bagot escaped Bristol without punishment. This may suggest that the description of the punishment Green, Bussy, and Bagot received is not based upon specific knowledge of their particular treatment. Nevertheless, a date of late Summer 1399 seems most accurate. 'Up on an Hylle' appears at the bottom of a folio containing the text of the chronicle edited in the Rolls Series under the title *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*.[11] Although the *Annales* was thought to have been written by Thomas Walsingham, James G. Clark has recently argued that there is 'a strong possibility' that the text was misattributed. Clark notes that the *Annales* contains a more detailed account of the end of Richard II's reign than Walsingham's *Chronica maiora* and that the two texts differ in style and tone with 'the voice of the Annales author seem[ing] especially politically charged.'[12] Clark's assertion finds support from Michael Twomey who notes that the manuscript once belonged to William Wintershill, Walsingham's contemporary and a senior chaplain at St. Albans, who might have witnessed the events described in the *Annales*, and who could plausibly have written the text.[13] Whatever their identity, the author of the *Annales* was clearly deeply interested in the material which surrounded the deposition; Clark suggests 'the apparent susceptibility of the author to this kind of material appears to be

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[11] *Annales* in *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde …Chronica et Annales*, ed. by Riley.
[12] Clark, p. 845.
[13] Michael Twomey, 'Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici quarti' in *Encylopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Graeme Dunphy, and Cristian Bratu <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2197/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_000425> [accessed 4 November 2020].

confirmed' by the presence of 'Up on an Hylle' in the manuscript.[14] The manuscript evidence suggests that the poem was added to the manuscript after its completion, although likely not at a substantially later date, as it is written in a larger early fifteenth-century hand which differs from the more cramped, less legible hand of the main body of the chronicle.[15] An early scribe or owner may have noticed the *Annales'* interest in recording materials relating to the deposition and thought to copy down a short verse he recalled on the topic, possibly supplying his own explanatory gloss. Considered in this light 'Up on an Hylle' might appear as a popular, 'sub-literary' verse which may have circulated primarily, and perhaps near exclusively, in the oral tradition amongst both literate and non-literate people. The chance survival of such an ephemeral text in this manuscript context might suggest that similar texts circulated in the early fifteenth century which have not survived. However, it is difficult to develop theories based on the putative existence of texts now lost, and so we may only confidently base our analysis on 'Up on an Hylle' as it has survived to us.[16]

Turning to the Latin poems in the corpus we may begin with Gower's 'H. aquile pullus' of which more is known than about the anonymous 'O Deus in Celis'. 'H. aquile pullus' is a four line poem written in Leonine hexameter.[17] It represents Henry as 'aquile pullus' [son of the eagle] (1), and 'aquile' [the eagle] (3).[18] It is considered to be part of the 'laureate poems', a group of poems Gower wrote between 29th September 1399 and the end of 1401 which also includes 'Rex celi deus', 'O recolende', *In Praise of Peace*, the *Cronica tripertita*, the *Cinkante*

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[14] Clark, p. 845.
[15] Clark, p. 845; 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 007' in *Parker Library On the Web* <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fm985xq3462> [accessed 4 November 2020].
[16] For the context of political pamphlets, bills and 'clamour writing' in the later fourteenth century see Scase, Chapter 3.
[17] *Minor Latin Works*, pp. 46–7, 77–8.
[18] In addition to this heraldic animal imagery this poem uses sybilline imagery when it refers to Henry through the use of his initial, a variety of imagery which is derived from vaticinal literature, and which is discussed more extensively in Chapter Two.

*Balades* and some Ovidian elegiacs on Henry's glorious revolution.[19] R. F. Yeager views 'H. aquile pullus' as likely the latest of this group of poems as it discusses the coronation oil Henry was anointed with, a detail Gower would not have known about prior to Henry's coronation on 13th October 1399. Further, Yeager suggests that the poem's 'immediate inspiration' was either the elevation of Henry's son to Prince of Wales, his creation as Duke of Aquitaine on 23rd October, or as Duke of Lancaster on 6th November, or some combination of the three.[20] This suggests a date for the poem of autumn 1399, making it the latest of the poems considered here. The poem is extant in six manuscripts:

> Oxford, All Souls College, MS 98;
> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 92;
> London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.iv;
> London, British Library, MS Harleian 6291;
> London, British Library, MS Additional 59495 (Trentham MS);
> and Glasgow, Hunterian Museum, MS T.2.17.[21]

All of these, except for the Trentham MS, also contain the *Cronica tripertita*, and are discussed in greater detail in the preceding Chapter on Gower's work. The Trentham manuscript, so called because it was housed in the library at Trentham Hall when consulted by G. C. Macaulay, contains exclusively works by Gower, including the only extant copies of *In Praise of Peace* and the *Cinkante Balades*.[22] A former owner of the manuscript, Thomas Fairfax, summarised the contents of the manuscript on the first folio: 'Sir John Gower's learned poems: the same

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[19] Fisher, p. 99.
[20] Yeager, 'Chaucer's "To His Purse"', p. 403.
[21] Gower, *The Minor Latin Works,* pp. 77–8.
[22] A full description of the manuscript is available in *The Complete Works* I: The French Works, lxxix–lxxxiii. See also, Livingston, 'In Praise of Peace: Introduction', in *The Minor Latin Works*, ed. and trans. by Yeager, pp. 102–5; 'JOHN GOWER. Vol. I. The Trentham Manuscript' in *The British Library Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts* < http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001997872> [accessed 5 November 2020].

booke by himself presented to Kinge Henry the Fourth before his coronation.'[23] Whether or not the manuscript was prepared as a presentation copy for the newly crowned king, or whether it was a draft or master copy from which a presentation edition was prepared has been the subject of debate.[24] In any case it is clear that 'H. aquile pullus' was written for a royal audience. Although not directly addressed to Henry like *In Praise of Peace* the presence of the poem in a manuscript that seems designed for Henry, coupled with the fact that Gower composed the poem as part of a wider group to praise Henry and the Lancastrian advent suggests that he was writing 'H. aquile pullus' for his patron. Gower's poem may have been a commissioned work, designed to legitimise the Lancastrian claim to the throne, though whether this may suggest that it, along with the rest of the poems in the corpus, was part of a wider scheme of poetry to promote Henry's rule is unclear.

The final poem in the corpus, 'O Deus in Celis', is a forty-two line poem composed in Leonine hexameters. It survives in one imperfect manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A.429, fols. 94$^{r}$–95$^{v}$, and it has been edited by Thomas Wright, under the title 'On the Expected Arrival of the Duke of Lancaster', and by David R. Carlson.[25] The text makes use of imagery derived from vaticinal literature, including the use of etymologised translation to refer to Green and Bussy, though notably not Scrope and Bagot in 'Scrope, Bagge, Ver, Dumus, tormentorum parit humus' [A soil of torments engenders Scrope, Bagot, Spring-Green, and Thorn-Bush] (22).[26] The poem has further associations with vaticinal literature, as it presents Henry's redemption of the country as something that is predicted which has not yet come to

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[23] , Livingston, 'In Praise of Peace: Introduction', in *The Minor Latin Works*, ed. and trans. by Yeager, pp. 102–3; 'MS Add 59495: The Trentham Manuscript' in *The John Gower Society Website* <https://www.wcu.edu/johngower/Trentham/Index.html> [accessed 5 November 2020].
[24] *The Complete Works*, I, lxxxi; Fisher, p. 72; Yeager, 'John Gower's French', in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. by Echard, p. 145; Bahr; Sobecki, pp. 932–3.
[25] *Political Poems and Songs*, I, 366–368; Carlson's edition and translation is in Carlson, 'English Poetry, July–October 1399', pp. 410–8, all subsequent quotations are from this edition, with critical apparatus silently removed.
[26] For more on etymologised translation see the Chapter Two on its use in Gower's *Cronica tripertita*, and below p. 207–17.

pass. The use of the future tense in 'O Deus in Celis' marks the poem as a vatic text, the implication of which will be considered below. Vatic texts were often written *ex eventu*, that is after the events which they claim to predict, so we may infer that 'O Deus in Celis' was written after Henry's return to England. The poem may be dated to late summer 1399, although I can find no evidence that would preclude a later date. The original audience of the poem were likely those who were literate in Latin and who were interested in vatic or political texts. We may therefore infer that 'O Deus in Celis' had a similar audience to Gower's poems: the rising middle to upper estates, although without the royal audience that 'H. aquile pullus' may have enjoyed. Carlson suggests that the text was suited to 'the simplest sort of hand-to-hand circulation,' restricting the audience to 'the clerically learned'.[27] This is supported by Helen Fulton's assessment that vatic texts in Latin circulated amongst the 'clerical and political elites'.[28]

The original audience of 'O Deus in Celis' and of Gower's poems may have been different from the audiences of the 'sub-literary' 'Up on an Hylle' or the more popular, vernacular texts in the corpus. The literacy in Latin required to read and appreciate these texts would have significantly limited their potential audience. Carlson views this as evidence that 'the poetry seems designed to reach out to a range of concerned niche-like audiences in England [...] in effect justifying, for non-noble outsiders, what the Lancastrian regime was doing to put itself in power'.[29] It seems difficult to reconcile Carlson's assertion that the shared allegorical idiom of these texts was recondite and inaccessible to non-specialists with his assessment that these texts were read by a range of audiences, including non-specialists. Further, if the purpose of these poems was to justify Henry's usurpation it is difficult to see how the use of shared

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[27] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 126.
[28] Fulton, p. 64.
[29] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 127.

imagery advanced this aim, and why such imagery would be used if it would only detract from the usefulness of such propaganda. The following analysis provides a more detailed understanding of the origins and significance of the imagery in these poems, which in turn gives us insight into why such imagery was used and what this may suggest about the purpose of these poems.

## An Examination of the Origins of Eagle Imagery in the Corpus

All of these poems, with the exception of 'Up on an Hylle', depict Henry as he claims the kingdom for his own. These poems use heraldic animal imagery in their depictions, representing Henry as an eagle who punishes Richard's former favourites, nurtures the mistreated English people, and redeems England from its misrule. The eagle images in these poems do not have a single shared origin as the imagery has different associations in each of the texts. In *Richard the Redeless* the depiction of Henry IV as an eagle is closely associated with the depiction of Richard II as a white hart; the two animals are presented as equivalents which suggests that both of the images are derived from the use of these animals in Henry and Richard's livery and heraldic badges. In contrast, the eagle imagery in 'O Deus in Celis' is clearly derived from the tradition of accidental designation in vaticinal literature, as the poem presents itself as a vatic text. Gower's 'H. aquile pullus' seems to derive its imagery from another origin. The eagle in this poem is associated with the holy oil of Saint Thomas of Beckett used to anoint Henry in his coronation, which was stored in a stone eagle. This section will explore the potential origins of eagle imagery in these poems, and what this may imply about the intelligibility of the imagery and the relationship between the poems. I will then consider what the eagle imagery implies about Henry's character, motives, and behaviour. This analysis will give us greater insight into the political significance of these poems, and whether they might have been intended to legitimise Lancastrian rule.

As analysed in the preceding chapter, the heraldic animal imagery in Passus II of *Richard the Redeless* is derived from Richard's use of the white hart in his livery. In this poem Henry is initially presented as a greyhound, which is apparently derived from Henry's 'livery of linked collars of greyhounds' [liberatam callariorum leporariis conueniencium] as Adam Usk records in his chronicle (pp. 52–3). However, this image is not developed in the poem, occurring only once in a brief reference to Richard's treatment of Henry. Instead of developing the image of Henry as a greyhound, the poem introduces Henry again, this time by depicting him as an eagle. The eagle acts in opposition to the white hart which represents Richard, taking over the allegiance of Richard's subjects and punishing his former favourites. The equivalency between the hart and the eagle in *Richard the Redeless* suggests that the eagle may have been used because it, like Richard's badge of the white hart, was associated with Henry's use of the animal in his livery badges or as a heraldic badge in non-livery contexts.[30]

There is evidence that Henry used the eagle as one of his heraldic badges. During his reign Henry replaced many of Richard's badges with his own, which included the eagle.[31] Henry redecorated Westminster Hall and the royal palaces with eagles, which mirrors Richard's use of the white hart in similar situations.[32] Richard's joint tomb with his first wife Anne of Bohemia featured their heraldic badges, including Richard's badges of the sun, the broom plant, and the hart. Similarly, Henry's tomb with Joan of Navarre featured their heraldic badges with Henry's being a crowned eagle volant.[33] However, Henry did not use the eagle

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[30] A livery badge was a heraldic badge which was specifically distributed to a lord's retainers, as such livery badges and heraldic badges overlap to a large degree. However, 'heraldic badge' is a more general term which refers to a heraldic image which may have been displayed in various contexts, including being worn by a lord's retainers, friends, or by the lord himself. It was also used on a lord's standard in the field, and as decorative motif on belongings or in buildings. For more on what constitutes a heraldic badge see London, p. 4; *Heraldic Badges,* I, 1–2.

[31] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 92.

[32] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 92.

[33] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 92; The tester featuring the eagle is reproduced in Gough, II, part 2, 32. Henry's tomb may be seen in Canterbury Cathedral, Canterbury.

badge as extensively as Richard used the white hart. In fact, none of Henry's heraldic badges were treated equivalently to Richard's badge of the white hart; Richard used the white hart more widely than any other royal figures used their badges. The white hart became a public sign of Richard's regality, and was closely related to the cultivation of his regal image.[34] This suggests that if the eagle imagery in *Richard the Redeless* is derived from Henry's use of the eagle in his badges this imagery would not have been as publicly legible or broadly understandable as the hart imagery, owing to Henry's much more restricted use of the symbol.

Henry also did not distribute his livery as broadly as Richard distributed his. Henry primarily distributed livery collars of linked Ss, known as the SS collar or the collar of esses. Livery collars were equated with livery badges in the livery legislation from this period; the Parliament Roll for January 1401 records a petition that livery badges should be abolished, with the exception that Henry's retainers 'puissent user la livere nostre seignur le roy de la coler' [should be able to wear the livery of the collar of our lord the king].[35] The SS collar was originally John of Gaunt's livery, being used as early as 1371.[36] Henry distributed SS collars while he was still Earl of Derby; the earliest references to livery collars in Henry's accounts date to the year 1387–8.[37] Henry continued this practice after the deposition, awarding SS collars to those who joined him when he returned to England from exile in France.[38] SS collars could also, like the livery badges discussed in the preceding chapter, be distributed to large numbers of people to build support during times of crisis.[39] Although the collar of SS could function in the same way as Richard's livery badges there is no evidence to suggest that Henry

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[34] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 65; Evans, pp. 64–7.
[35] Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 237; 'Henry IV: January 1401', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. by Given-Wilson and others, in *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/january-1401.> [accessed 13 November 2020], section 110.
[36] Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses', in *The Age of Richard II*, ed. Gillespie, p. 191.
[37] Mortimer, p. 384.
[38] Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses', in *The Age of Richard II*, ed. Gillespie, p. 192.
[39] Walker, p. 95.

abused his livery in the same way that Richard did. As discussed in the preceding chapter there were numerous complaints about Richard's distribution of livery in both the parliament records and contemporary chronicles. Equivalent material concerning Henry's distribution of livery is more limited. There is evidence to suggest that in 1401 parliament requested the abolition of all livery badges, including the king's; however, the legislation of 1401 in fact granted concessions concerning the king's livery, firstly, allowing it to be worn both in the king's presence and by those travelling to or from his household, and secondly, allowing Prince Henry to distribute his livery of the swan in the same manner as his father distributed the collar.[40] The commons also reminded Henry in 1401 that he had agreed in 1399 to abolish his lesser livery of the crescent and star, equivalent to Richard's livery of the crown, and asked him to do this.[41] These complaints are minor when compared with the complaints made throughout Richard's rule. Livery badges did not continue to be a subject of parliamentary complaint during Henry's reign, and this must be in part attributable to Henry not distributing his collar as excessively as Richard distributed his badges.

Henry's livery nevertheless has some associations with the imagery seen in the poems discussed here. Most notably John Gower chooses not to use heraldic animal imagery to refer to Henry in the *Cronica tripertita*, instead referring to him as 'qui gerit "S" ' [he who bears an S] (I.52), a clear reference to SS collars. There is some association between livery collars and eagles. The collars sometimes featured pendants which became increasingly popular during the early fifteenth century. These pendants could take the form of metal clasps, jewellery or a heraldic badge with Henry and other Lancastrians using the eagle or swan as pendants.[42] The monument of Oliver Groos features an SS collar with an eagle pendant.[43] The ceiling of the

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[40] Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 240.
[41] Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 241.
[42] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 71. Ward, p. 23.
[43] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 71. An image of the collar is available in Hope, p. 182, fig. 180.

canopy over the tomb of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre features three SS collars with eagle pendants.[44] A base metal badge survives which shows an eagle surrounded by a collar of SS, which suggests that badges associated with both eagles and SS collars may have been distributed to Henry's 'rank and file' supporters.[45] This demonstrates that there was a sufficiently strong association between Henry's livery badges and the eagle to support the interpretation that the eagle imagery in *Richard the Redeless* was derived from Henry's use of the eagle in his livery and heraldic badges. This argument is supported by the fact that the hart imagery in the poem is clearly derived from Richard's use of the animal in his livery badges, and it seems sensible to infer that these similar images, which are treated by the poet as being analogous, are derived from the same origin. Even accepting that the eagle imagery in *Richard the Redeless* is derived from Henry's use of the eagle in his livery we must conclude that these images were not as easy to interpret as the white hart imagery, owing to Henry's much more restricted use of symbol and livery.

Although Henry is never depicted as a swan in these poems, with that image being used to refer exclusively to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Henry used swans in his livery as often as he used eagles. When he was Earl of Derby Henry had an SS collar with esses in the shape of feathers and a swan pendant.[46] Henry also distributed collars with swan pendants to his supporters: for example, John Gower's effigy in Southwark Cathedral features an SS collar with a swan pendant.[47] The eagle and the swan are equally well attested in Henry IV's livery and heraldic badges, and the poets of these poems could have chosen to represent Henry as either bird. The eagle may have been preferred because the swan was also used by

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[44] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 71; Gough, II, part 2, 32
[45] *Heraldic Badges*, I, plate 53; II.1, 72.
[46] Jenkins, p. 62.
[47] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 72; 'John Gower' in Blore, p. 16.

Gloucester, making it a more ambiguous image which may have been harder to interpret, or because the eagle had regal associations which the swan lacked.

We may now consider the associations between the eagle imagery in these poems and vaticinal literature. Henry was explicitly associated with the eagle or eaglet in political prophecy in this period. This is seen most clearly in part of a collection of three vaticinal texts known as the *Prophecy of the Eagle* or the *Prophecies of Merlin Silvester*. Victoria Flood dates the *Prophecies* to the early-mid 1210s, as the text responds to anxieties concerning a potential invasion of England by the King of France.[48] As the titles suggest this text was associated with two prophetic authorities: Merlin Silvester, and an eagle. Merlin Silvester is the second of the two Merlins identified by Gerald of Wales: Gerald claims that he lived in the sixth century in the Caledonian Forest. The first Merlin was Merlin Ambrosius, who prophesied to King Vortigern and is the prophet of the *Prophetiae Merlini*.[49] Despite the differences between the two Merlins the *Prophecies of Merlin Silvester* are associated with Merlin Ambrosius, often being copied together with the *Prophetiae Merlini* or the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. In the seventeen manuscripts surveyed by Victoria Flood, the *Prophecies of Merlin Silvester* follow the *Prophetiae Merlini* in five manuscripts, they follow the *Historia* in three manuscripts, and a further four manuscripts of the *Prophecies* contain the *Prophetiae* or the *Historia* elsewhere in the manuscript.[50] In some manuscripts the *Prophecies* are attributed to an eagle: this is the eagle who spoke to King Lud Hudibras whilst the city walls were built in Shaftsbury, an episode which appears in the *Historia,* although Geoffrey does not record the eagle's words.[51] The component texts are 'Arbor fertilis' (a vision of the Norman invasion and the succession of Henry II); 'Sicut rubeum draconem' (a king list from William I to John); and 'Mortuo leone'

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[48] Flood, 'Prophecy as History', p. 547.
[49] Putter, p. 92; Flood, 'Prophecy as History', p. 549.
[50] Flood, 'Prophecy as History', p. 549.
[51] Flood, 'Prophecy as History', p. 550.

(which concerns the reign of Stephen and the succession of Henry II).[52] It is in this final text where the reference to an eaglet, which was later considered to be Henry IV, occurs.

'Mortuo leone' concerns the state of Britain under the rule of the white king. When the prophecy is reinterpreted to apply to Henry IV this white king represents Richard II. This supports the Lancastrian claim to the throne because 'Mortuo leone' presents the white king as a bad ruler:

> Tunc congregabitur eius examen & namen pro eo capiet, & tunc fiet mercatio uelut de equo & boue, & queretur emendatio set nulla surget nisi caput pro capite, & tunc alius uadet ubi sol oritur & alius ubi sol occidit. Post hec dicetur per Britanniam: Rex est & rex non est.
>
> [Then his followers will band together and dispossess people on his behalf and men will be sold like horses and cattle, and reform will be sought, but none will be found, except a head for a head, and then one will go where the sun rises and the other where the sun sets. After that it will be said throughout Britain: he is king and he is not king.][53]

It is possible to draw some parallels between the white king and Richard II. Richard's use of the white hart could offer a plausible basis for interpreting a white king as a reference to Richard. Additionally, the criticism of the white king's followers here could be connected to criticism of Richard's liveried retainers, as discussed in the preceding chapter. Some aspects of the vatic material cannot be readily applied to Richard; nevertheless, the links are close enough that this prophecy could be easily interpreted to apply to Richard and Henry to legitimise Henry's claim to the throne. Most importantly the suggestion that the white king/Richard 'Rex est & rex non est' [he is king and he is not king] questions the fundamental

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[52] Flood, 'Prophecy as History', p. 547.
[53] The Latin text is from *Brut y Brenhinedd,* pp. 225–6. The translation is from Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, pp. 353–4. As these editions are based on different manuscripts I have checked Sutton and Visser-Fuchs' translation against Parry's edition; I have also made minor corrections to the punctation of Parry's edition for clarity.

legitimacy of Richard's rule, and supports the Lancastrian idea that Henry could claim the throne because it was vacant. After this an eagle's chick [pullus aquilae] comes across the sea from the South to oppose this king, and take Britain for his own.[54] This eaglet was originally a reference to Henry II but it was later applied to Henry IV.[55] The association between Henry and the eaglet is flattering for Henry; he redeems the kingdom from the misrule of the white king and continues to rule the kingdom for some time after this deposition. Henry may have wished to cultivate the view that 'Mortuo leone' was a prophecy of his deposition of Richard II. By claiming that the deposition was predicted by a prophetic authority in the twelfth century Henry's usurpation appears as a divinely ordained and legitimate redemption of the country from an unqualified ruler.

Contemporary evidence that Henry IV was associated with the eagle in the *Prophecies of Merlin Silvester* during his reign can be found in a passage from the *Chronicle of Adam Usk*. This passage also gives us greater insight into how vaticinal literature used animals to represent people. Adam writes:

> Iste dux Henricus, secundum propheciam Merlyny iuxta propheciam, pullus aquile, quia filius Iohannis; set secundum Bridlintoun merito canis, propter liberatam callariorum leporariis conueniencium, et quia diebus canicularibus uenit, et quia infinitos ceruos, liberatam scilicet regis Ricardi in ceruis excistentem, penitus a regno affugauit.
>
> [According to the prophecy of Merlin, this duke Henry is the eaglet, for he was the son of John; following Bridlington, however, he should rather be the dog, because of his livery of linked collars of greyhounds, and because he came in the dog-days, and because he drove utterly from the kingdom countless numbers of harts—the hart being the livery of King Richard.]

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[54] Sutton, and Visser-Fuchs, pp. 353–4.
[55] Taylor, pp. 92; Strohm, *England's Empty Throne,* p. 7.

(pp. 50–3)

This passage reveals that associations between animals and historical figures in vaticinal literature could be formed from different connections. The tradition of accidental designation which was seen to be the origin of the heraldic animal imagery in Gower's *Cronica* is here used to associate Henry with the dog because he wore 'his livery of linked collars of greyhounds'. The above discussion of Henry's use of the eagle in his livery and heraldic badges suggests that accidental designation could also be used to represent Henry as an eagle, although this is not mentioned in Usk's text. Here Usk recognises that Henry is associated with the eaglet in 'Mortuo leone', which Usk refers to as 'the prophecy of Merlin', but suggests that this is derived from his relationship to John of Gaunt. John of Gaunt was associated with the eagle because he made some use of the eagle in his heraldic badges, but also because he shared a name with John the evangelist whose symbol was the eagle.[56] Most crucially this passage reveals the shifting nature of animal symbolism in vaticinal texts. Usk is willing to accept both representations of Henry, presenting neither animal as a more or less valid representation. The ability for vaticinal literature to represent the same historical figure as different animals, combined with the fact that the associations between figure and animal could be formed from numerous different connections, confirms that the animal symbolism in vaticinal literature could easily be adapted to suit the message and purpose of the people interpreting the prophecy.

As 'Mortuo leone' was reinterpreted in this period to view the 'pullus aquile' as a representation of Henry it is clear that eagle imagery in our corpus of poems could be derived from vaticinal literature. This is most evident in 'O Deus in Celis' which claims to be a vatic text. The majority of the poem does not make use of heraldic animal imagery, or imagery of

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[56] *Heraldic Badges*, II.1, 91.

the natural world; however, the poem ends with a passage which predicts the fate of England under the 'Aquila dux' [eagle-duke]:

> Scriptum draconis verbum spernit Salamonis
> Gallus cantabit causas; caulis latitabit.
> Aquila dux austro saluabit nos alabaustro
> Illius cetum prestet, Christe, fore letum!
>
> [The Dragon's script scorns the word of Salomon.
> The Cock will crow its causes; in the sheep-folds will it hide.
> The eagle-duke will save us from the alabaster-white south.
> May it come to pass, Christ, that this man's company fare well!]
>
> (41–44)

This passage is notable because of the consistent use of verbs in the future tense: 'cantabit' 'latitabit' 'saluabit'. No other poem in the corpus considered here makes similar use of the future tense. Indeed, even 'O Deus in Celis' makes limited use of the future tense, with the majority of the poem using the present and past tense to describe the dire situation in England and the actions which have caused this. The 'vatic' material is therefore concentrated in these lines which predict Henry's success as the 'aquila dux'. In addition to using the future tense these lines are also associated with vaticinal literature because the animal imagery used is more enigmatic than the imagery seen in other poems. For example, it is difficult to determine what 'Scriptum draconis verbum spernit Salamonis | Gallus cantabit causas; caulis latitabit' is meant to convey. 'Gallus' [The Cock] presumably represents France or the King of France, as it puns on the word Gaul.[57] It is harder to establish who the Dragon represents as this was a commonly used symbol which had numerous interpretations: the *Prophetiae Merlini* features the red and white dragons of the Britons and the Saxons, in the *Prophecy of the Six Kings* the Dragon

[57] Moranski notes that Gallus is used in a similar way to refer to the King of France in John Erghom's second commentary on the 'Bridlington' Prophecies, pp. 63. *Political Poems and Songs*, I, 126.

represents Edward I, and in 'Sicut rubeum draconem' from the *Prophecies of Merlin Silvester* the Dragon represents William I. For our purposes it is not necessary to establish an interpretation for these lines as they do not relate directly to Henry or the Lancastrian claim to the throne. They instead function as the sort of enigmatic dating phrases which are typical of vaticinal literature: they establish the conditions when something will happen but give no indication when this might be beyond it being in some future time. In this way they differ from the heraldic animal images found in the rest of the corpus, and further mark these lines as vatic material. In this context the eagle imagery in the following line appears as clearly derived from the tradition of accidental designation seen in vaticinal literature.[58] The reference to 'austro [...] alabaustro' [alabaster-white south] is clearly a reference to Richard, whose base in Southern England was contrasted with Henry's northern associations and landing in Ravenspur. The reference to alabaster could be a reference to whiteness which Richard's reign was associated with through the use of the white hart. Carlson also considers the possibility that 'alabaustro' is a form of '*arbalauster*' giving the possible translation 'The eagle-duke will save us from the south with his cross-bow'.[59] It is clear that the eagle imagery in 'O Deus in Celis' derives from traditions of imagery found in vaticinal literature as the final stanza of the poem presents itself as vatic material which concludes with a prayer for the success of the prophesied event.

We may finally consider the origin of the eagle imagery in Gower's 'H. aquile pullus'; this imagery is derived from Henry's anointment with the holy oil of Saint Thomas, which was stored in a stone eagle. The history of the holy oil was well recorded: it appears in association with Henry's coronation in four contemporary chronicles: Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, the *Ypodigma Neustriae*, the *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti,* and the *Eulogium*

[58] For more on accidental designation see Chapter Two.
[59] Carlson, 'English Poetry, July–October 1399', p. 418.

*Historiarum*.[60] An earlier prophecy of the oil existed without the Lancastrian associations. The earliest manuscript copy of this text dates from circa 1340, although the prophecy was known at least as early as 1319 when a papal letter in response to enquiries made by Edward II references the oil.[61] The *Annales* version includes the complete text of the earlier prophecy and is the version discussed here. This text details how Saint Thomas received the oil from the Virgin Mary, who appeared to Thomas while he was in exile in France. A significant portion of the text purports to record the words of the Virgin as she prophesies the future of the kings anointed with the oil, and about the first king to be anointed with the oil:

> Est autem Rex Anglorum futurus qui primo ungetur unctione ista, qui terram amissam a parentibus, scilicet, Normanniam et Aquitanniam, recuperabit sine vi. Rex iste erit maximus inter Reges, et ille est qui aedificabit multas ecclesias in Terra Sancta, et fugabit omnimodos Babiloniae infideles, et in eadem plures ecclesias aedificabit. Quotienscunque Rex portaverit aquilam in pectore, victoriam habebit de inimicis suis, et regnum ejus semper augumentabitur.
>
> [But the future King of England who is the first to be anointed with this oil, will recover the land which was lost by his predecessors, namely, Normandy and Aquitaine, without violence. This king will be the greatest among kings, and he is the one who will build many churches in the Holy Land, and will chase away all the Babylonian infidels, and at the same time will build even more churches there. Whenever this king wears the eagle upon his breast, he will have victory over his enemies, and his kingdom will always be increased.][62]

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[60] Wilson, 'The Tomb of Henry IV', in *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Contexts*, ed. by Fernie and Crossley, p. 183; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II (1864), 239–40; Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, p. 388; *Annales* in *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde …Chronica et Annales*, pp. 297–300; *Eulogium*, III (1863), 379–80.

[61] The earliest extant manuscript of the prophecy is London, British Library, MS Royal 12 C XII. Further details of the prophecy can be found in Sandquist, 'The Holy Oil of St. Thomas of Canterbury', in *Essays in Medieval* History, ed. by Sandquist and Powicke, pp. 331–4. The papal letter is printed in *English Coronation Records*, pp. 69–76.

[62] *Annales* in *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde …Chronica et Annales*, p. 298; translation is my own. All subsequent quotations are from this edition.

Several kings wanted to be associated with such a flattering prophecy. According to the papal letter of 1319 Edward II was offered the option of being anointed with the oil at his coronation but declined. He later asked the pope if he could be anointed with the oil as he felt the many misfortunes he had experienced during his reign were due to declining the oil.[63] However, according to the *Annales* the oil was not recovered from France until the reign of Edward III, when it was returned to England with the intention of being used to anoint the Black Prince. The eagle and ampulla were stored in a locked chest in the tower of London where they lay undiscovered until some way into Richard's reign.

The *Annales* author does not offer a precise date for this rediscovery, writing that it occurred: 'post multos annos transactos regni praedicti Ricardi' [after many years of the reign of the aforesaid Richard] (p. 299). Walsingham is more precise, saying the oil was rediscovered in 1399.[64] Richard found the chest and ordered it broken open, finding inside the eagle, the ampulla, and a written account of the prophecy associated with the oil. According to the *Annales* author Richard was much struck by the prophecy, because 'erat puerilis in moribus et gloriae cupidus' [he was immature in character and eager for glory] (p. 299) so he asked Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury to anoint him with the oil hoping that he would then fulfil the prophecy. The Archbishop refused to anoint Richard with the oil because he had already been anointed at his coronation. Richard, although dissatisfied, stopped asking to be anointed and settled for wearing the eagle everywhere so that he could enjoy the protection it offered. Richard apparently wore the eagle on his trip to Ireland in 1399. After Richard's surrender the archbishop took the oil from Richard and guarded it until it could be used to

[63] Further details on Edward II's association with the holy oil can be found in Phillips, 'Edward II and the Prophets', in *England in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Ormrod.
[64] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 239.

anoint Henry, who then became the first king anointed with the oil. The *Annales* account concludes:

> Quapropter pluribus credebatur, quod hic esset ille Rex electus a Deo, cui talis unctio miraculose servabatur; cui et tanta gratia promittebatur quanta nulli alii qui fuerat ante cum.
>
> [On the account of which it is believed by many, that he was that king selected by God, who will be protected by such a miraculous oil; and to whom so great a grace will be promised, greater than any who were before him.]
>
> (p. 300)

This makes it clear that the oil and, by association, the eagle were useful to the Lancastrians because they associated Henry with an established prophecy which predicted success for him in France and in a crusading context. Henry undoubtedly hoped that this prophecy would shore up his tenuous claim to the throne.[65]

The eagle imagery in 'H. aquile pullus' can be seen as combining the themes discussed thus far. The vatic associations of the eagle and the holy oil are evident. In addition, the imagery is derived from the stone eagle in which the oil was stored which mirrors the way that physical symbols, such as the badges discussed above, could inspire imagery, although this is not as developed as the vatic associations. In Oxford, All Souls College, MS 98 the scribe has inserted the word 'Prophecia' [Prophecy] in the margin next to 'H. aquile pullus'. However, despite the strong vatic associations the poem is not itself a prophecy, instead using the perfect tense to present the results of past actions:

> H. aquile pullus, quo nunquam gracior ullus,
> Hostes confregit, que tirannica colla subegit.
> H. aquile cepit oleum, quo regna recepit;

[65] For the use of the oil after Henry's coronation see Ullmann; McKenna.

Sic veteri iuncta stipiti nova stirps redit uncta.

[H. son of the eagle, than whom no one is ever more graceful,
Has broken his enemies, and subjugated tyrannical necks.
H. the eagle has captured the oil, by which he has received the rule of the realm;
Thus the new stock returns, anointed and joined to the old stem.]

(1–4)

Here the oil is referenced in connection with Henry's coronation; it is part of the process which confers kingship on him. The next line refers to Henry's son Henry, the newly created Prince of Wales, and is similar to a passage in the *Cronica*:

Henrici natus Henricus, honore beatus,
Est confirmatus heres princepsque vocatus.
Sic pars abscisa, summo de iudice visa,
Arboris est vncta veteri stipitique reiuncta.

[First, Henry, Henry's son, was blest with honour, since
He was confirmed as heir and given rank of prince.
The tree branch that the judge on high saw split in twain
Was blest and to its ancient stock rejoined again]

(III.352–5)

Carlson notes that this reference to the tree is another allusion to a prophecy, in this case the dream vision of Edward the Confessor. In this vision Edward saw two sainted monks who showed him the misery which England would experience. Edward asked when this misery would end, and the saints showed him the following:

> 'Tunc', inquiunt, 'si arbor uiridis a medio sui succidatur corpore, et pars abscisa trium iugerum spatio a suo deportetur stipite, cum per se et absque humana manu uel quouis amminiculo suo connectetur trunco, ceperitque denuo uirescere et fructificare ex coalescentis suci amore pristino, tunc primum tantorum malorum sperari poterit remissio.'

> ['At that time', they answered, 'when a green tree, if cut down in the middle of its trunk, and the part cut off carried the space of three furlongs from the stock, shall be joined again to its trunk, by itself and without the hand of man or any sort of stake, and begin once more to push leaves and bear fruit from the old love of its uniting sap, then first can a remission of these great ills be hoped for.][66]

Gower's application of the prophecy to Henry provides further vatic support for Lancastrian rule. Henry's rule is presented as divinely ordained, representing a break from the past, and a solution for the misery experienced under Richard. The prophecy is uneasily applied, as the reference to the tree being cut down in in the middle of its trunk was understood to refer to a time when the rule of the kingdom would pass from the existing royal family to a new family, which doubtless happened under the Lancastrian accession. The only way the prophecy could be comfortably applied to Henry is to accept that Henry was the true heir, as was suggested by the Crouchback legend. As few found this suggestion tenable at the time it is unlikely this carried much weight. The allusions to the prophecy of the holy oil of Saint Thomas and to the vision of Edward the Confessor in 'H. aquile pullus' show Gower applying specific prophecies to Henry's coronation, which provides further evidence of the vatic associations of the imagery in this corpus of poems.

The eagle imagery in these poems has been shown to originate from both the use of physical symbols in heraldic or livery badges and from the vatic associations of animal symbolism. Certain poems place greater emphasis on one or the other origin: 'There is a Busch' and *Richard the Redeless* seem to derive their imagery from the use of heraldic badges; 'O Deus in Celis' and 'H. aquile pullus' place emphasis on the vatic associations of their imagery. This is broadly in line with what we know about the original audiences of these texts: the more

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[66] *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 118–9.

popular poems use imagery which is understood without specialist knowledge, whereas the Latin texts rely on knowledge of vatic material to understand their imagery. Returning to a consideration of Carlson's thesis we can see that the differing origins of the eagle imagery in these poems means that these were not 'opaque allegories of specialised type' which only readers with knowledge of vatic material could understand.[67] This weakens the claim that these poems were part of a coordinated scheme to authenticate the Lancastrian accession.

## The Significance of the Eagle Imagery in *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch'

Having considered the origins of the eagle imagery in these poems I will now examine it in greater detail to explore what it suggests about Henry's character, behaviour, and motivation. I will also consider how coherent the imagery in these poems is, and will examine how the eagle imagery in *Richard the Redeless* relates to the LIVERY BADGE metaphorical blend discussed in the preceding chapter. As 'O Deus in Celis' and 'H. aquile pullus' only contain very brief references to Henry as an eagle this section will focus on *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch': these poems contain more developed imagery which will benefit from this sort of analysis.

The imagery in *Richard the Redeless* presents a coherent metaphorical blend in which all major historical figures are represented as animals who interact with each other. This metaphorical blend is consistent with the LIVERY BADGE metaphorical blend discussed in the preceding chapter, although the focus is shifted away from depicting retainers and subjects towards a greater emphasis on representing political leaders. This is the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend, which we can represent as in Figure 4.1 below. The similarities between

[67] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 135.

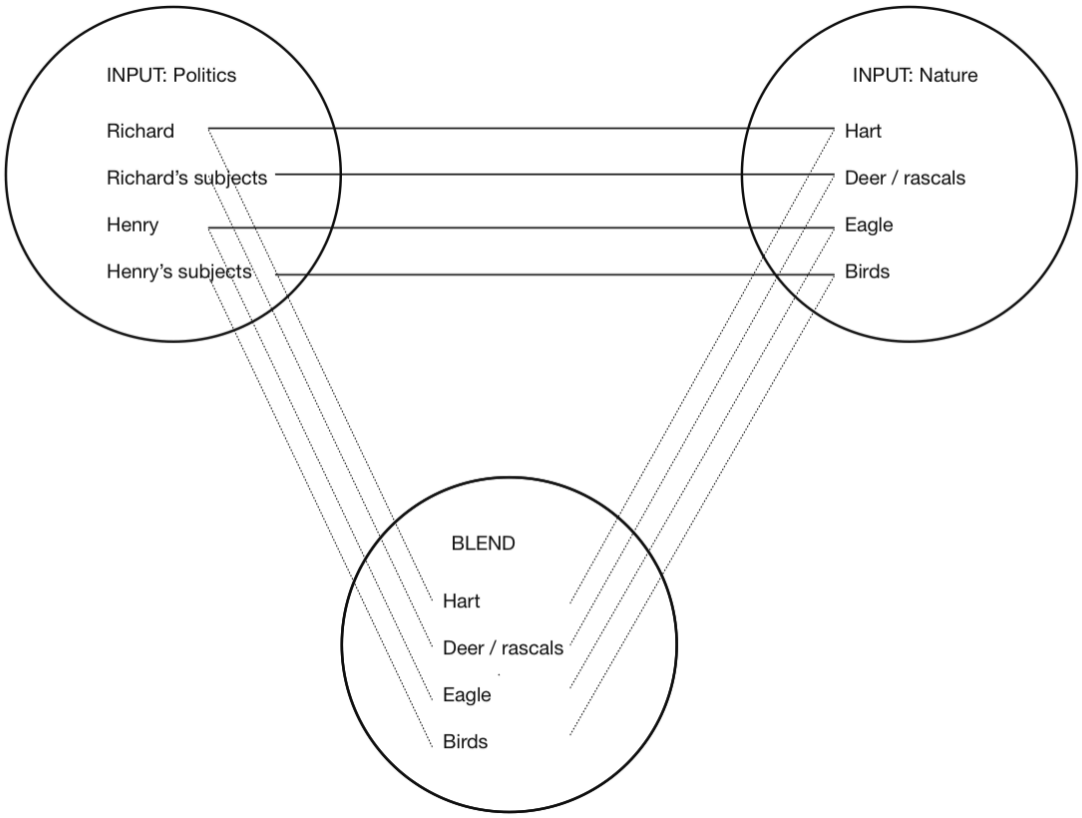


Figure 4.1 The HERALDIC ANIMAL Metaphorical Blend

the LIVERY BADGE metaphorical blend and the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend are evident; this is because the latter is an extension of the former. Consequently, they are both single-scope networks in which the organizing frame of the nature input space is projected to the blend, providing insight into the politics input space. The basis for establishing mappings between the two spaces is the same in both blends. Henry and Richard are mapped on to the animals represented in their heraldic badges, and their subjects are mapped on to animals in these badges, regardless of whether or not they wore or received such badges. In both metaphorical blends aspects of the animals' lives, such as whether they are healthy, well-fed, and prosperous, are mapped on to aspects of the people's lives. As we will see from the subsequent discussion the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend makes greater use of the nature input space, using details derived from the medieval understanding of these animals to inform features of the blend and provide a more nuanced representation of political figures and their subjects.

We can see that the images are consistent in the two metaphorical blends from the following passage, which introduces the eagle and bird imagery in *Richard the Redeless*:

> Thus be the rotus youre raskall endurid,
> Tyll the blessid bredd brodid his wyngis
> To covere hem from colde, as his kynde wolde.
> Rith as the hous-hennes uppon londe hacchen
> And cherichen her chekonys fro chele of the wynter,
> Ryth so the hende Egle the eyere of hem all,
> Hasteth him in hervest to hovyn his bryddis,
> And besieth him besely to breden hem feedrin.
>
> (II.141–6)

These lines begin with an image that is clearly derived from the LIVERY BADGE metaphorical blend as it represents Richard's mistreated subjects as rascals: young, hornless deer. Then Henry is introduced as a 'blessid bredd', which is later revealed to be an eagle, who protects these people from the cold. As discussed in the preceding chapter the cold represents the unfavourable circumstances endured by Richard's poor subjects as a result of his misrule and deviation from natural law. In contrast to Richard, who allowed his subjects to suffer, Henry nurtures and protects the English people, as shown by the homely simile of a chicken nurturing her chicks. This causes the English people to switch their allegiance from Richard to Henry, which effects a miraculous transformation: the people who were 'raskall' only six lines before become 'bryddis' who belong to Henry as his subjects. Representing the English people as birds depicts Henry's usurpation as a natural process, in which he receives the allegiance of the English people because it is both naturally owed to him and because he earns it through his actions.

By depicting Henry as an eagle the poet suggests that he is naturally owed the allegiance of the English people who are represented by birds; this is because according to the medieval

understanding of nature the eagle was the natural ruler of all the birds. We can see this from the depiction of the eagle in Guillaume le Clerc's bestiary which begins: 'Li aigles est reis des oisels' [The eagle is the king of the birds].[68] This belief is emphasized in the depiction of the eagle in *Richard the Redeless*. When the eagle is introduced he is described as the 'hende Egle the eyere of hem all'. According to this description the eagle has both noble qualities and is higher than all other birds. This gives the eagle authority to rule over the birds as his subjects; accordingly, the possessive is used in the following line so that they are 'his bryddis'. This description is repeated later in the poem when the eagle 'cried and clepid after his owen kynde briddis' (III.70). 'Kynde' is used throughout *Richard the Redeless* to refer to natural properties or the natural order of things. In this way it is closely related to the theme of natural law, which is the organising philosophy of the poem as Helen Barr observes: '"Kynde" is used by the poet as a normative moral principle. The topical events which most vex him are those which violate "kynde" order.'[69] According to the poet 'the moste myscheff upon molde on | Is demed the dede ydo ageins kynde' (III.9–10). The description of the eagle's 'owen kynde briddis' emphasizes that according to natural law only the eagle should rule over the birds and, by extension, only Henry should rule over the English people. The poet makes the explicit connection between the eagle's natural position as king of the birds and Henry's position as king of England in the following lines:

> To have the Egles helpe of harme that they hadde;
> For he was heed of hem all and hieste of kynde
> To kepe the croune, as cronecle tellith.
>
> (III.91–3)

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[68] *Le Bestiaire*, p. 249, l. 657; translation from *The Bestiary of Guillaume le Clerc*, p. 26, l. 657. This is supported by Bartholomaeus who writes: 'þe egle þat haþ principalite among foules [as queene of foules]' *On The Properties of Things*, I, 602.
[69] Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law', pp. 59.

Here the reference to the ‘croune’ makes the connection to the input space of politics apparent. It produces an image in the metaphorical blend of a crowned eagle which has the natural right, through the reference to ‘kynde’ and the nature input space, to rule over England. In this way we can see how the two input spaces interact to produce a blend in which Henry’s rule over England and the English people is presented to him as his natural right. As the poet will not countenance anything that is ‘ageins kynde’, any suggestion that Henry is not the rightful king is also untenable.

According to the poem Henry deserved to rule over England not only because it is his natural right, but also because he earnt his rule through his treatment of his subjects. This is conveyed through the depiction of leaders feeding and nurturing their subjects. As discussed in the preceding chapter Richard treated some of his subjects more favourably than others, in the blend Richard’s favourable treatment is depicted through an image of food which represents the political resources a person needs to prosper. Richard ‘fostrid and fodid’ (II.135) a select few deer allowing them to develop into strong, mature deer with fully developed horns. Others were deprived of the resources they needed and so were unable to develop. These deer are presented as rascals: young deer which have not grown horns. Henry treats these subjects better than Richard:

> Hasteth him in hervest to hovyn his bryddis,
> And besieth him besely to breden hem feedrin,
> Tyll her fre fedris be fulliche ypynned,
> That they have wynge at her wyll to wonne uppon hille.
>
> (II.149–52)

This repeats the image seen in the earlier simile of ‘hous-hennes’ where the eagle broods over the birds. The preceding image was strongly maternal referencing ‘her chekonys’; here it is made paternal, to correspond to Henry’s gender, as he ‘hovyn his bryddis’. Henry’s nurturing

treatment of his subjects allows them to develop to full health which is reflected in their plumage. The use of 'fre' in the description of the birds' feathers suggests that they have freedom which they did not have under Richard's rule. They are free to choose who they follow, suggesting that they remained loyal to Henry out of choice, rather than necessity. This reference to plumage mirrors a description from earlier in the poem, when Richard's liveried retainers 'plucked the plomayle from the pore skynnes,' (II.34). We have seen that when people are represented as either the heraldic animals of Richard or Henry the poet is articulating who they owe their allegiance to. When considered in the light of later lines this presentation of the poor as birds suggests that Henry had support from the citizens of England before his return from exile, which is depicted in lines II.141–2. However we interpret this earlier line, the subsequent depiction of Henry nurturing his birds until they develop full and healthy plumage shows that Henry deserved to rule not only because of 'kynde' but also because he treated the English people better than Richard did.

The nurturing treatment that the poor subjects receive from Henry is contrasted with his treatment of Richard's former favourites, who see the more vicious side of the eagle's nature. When the English people are represented as deer a distinction is made between the horned deer (those who receive Richard's livery), and the hornless rascals (the commons and people who were mistreated under Richard). A similar distinction is made when the English people are represented as birds under Henry's rule. Richard's former favourites are depicted as birds of prey which are attacked by the eagle:

> Thus foulyd this faukyn on fyldis aboughte,
> And caughte of the kytes a cartffull at ones,
> That rentis and robis with raveyn evere laughte.
> Yit was not the fawcon full fed at his likynge,
> For it cam him not of kynde kytes to love.
>
> (II.157–61)

The decision to represent Richard's liveried retainers as kites is prompted by this animal's characteristics, which we can understand by examining the medieval bestiary tradition. According to Isidore: 'Milvus mollis et viribus et volatus, [...] rapacissimus tamen et semper domesticis avibus insidiator.' [The kite is weak in both its strength and its flying, [...]. However, it is most rapacious and is always a predator of domestic birds.][70] The reference to domestic birds may recall the earlier image which likened the eagle to the 'hous-hennes' who 'cherichen her chekonys' (II.146–7), suggesting that the poor are to be seen as domestic birds which the kites prey upon. As in the preceding image of the 'heed-deer' and the rascals the power imbalance between Richard's favourites and the poor citizens is emphasized by representing the former as animals who are able to hunt and fight, and the latter as animals with no natural defences. Henry, as the eagle, becomes the natural figure to protect these animals, as is indicated in the reference to 'kynde' in 'it cam him not of kynde kytes to love.'[71] This passage blends features of both input spaces, with the politics input space being especially clear in the reference to 'rentis and robis'. This line could be seen as evidence that the metaphor is inconsistently applied, since it does not make sense to depict kites stealing robes and rents; however, when one considers the image as part of a blend instead of using the more rigid source-target metaphor framework the image is both intelligible and skilful. The poet's extensive legal knowledge is demonstrated here as 'raveyn' evokes both the sense of 'the criminal offence of taking goods by force' whilst also incorporating animal imagery, as the *Middle English Dictionary* defines 'raveyn' as the pursuit of prey specifically referring to the prey of animals and birds.[72] Thus the word 'raveyn' itself is capable of blending both input

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[70] *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum*, II, 16; *Etymologies of Isidore*, p. 268.
[71] Although Henry is named as a falcon in this passage he should still be interpreted as being an eagle. The *MED* defines falcon in both the specific sense of a 'peregrine falcon' and in the more general sense of any bird used in falconry, which would include the eagle, 'faucoun n.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED15358> [accessed 11 January 2021].
[72] Alford, p. 136; 'ravin(e n.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED36035> [accessed 11 January 2021].

spaces. The metaphorical blend in *Richard the Redeless* depicts Henry's actions in 1399 with particular emphasis on his execution of retributive justice by highlighting the eagle's nature as a hunting bird which can attack even other birds of prey.

Images of Henry's retributive attacks occupy much of the second passus, dominating lines II.152–92. In general, the depiction of the eagle emphasizes its natural role as a hunter, extending the previous discussion of 'kynde' to apply to the eagle's predatory nature. In addition to kites the eagle hunts crows (II.178) and magpies (II.192) which are chosen for their negative associations. Bartholomaeus records that the crow is a 'gangelinge bridde and vnmilde and greuous to men þere heo wonyeþ' which 'eteþ vnclene metis', a fact referenced in *Richard* which alludes to crows eating carrion.[73] Most crucially Bartholomaeus records that the crow is 'contrarye to þe egle' because of its greed; the eagle punishes the greed of the crow: 'But sche [the crow] hath not alwey profite of hire gredynesse, for somtyme aftir þat þe egle haþ made as þeyȝ heo rouȝte nouȝt, þe egle smitiþ þe crowe wiþ þe bile'(I, 620). This further emphasizes the implication that the eagle hunts the crows because that is what is natural, and by extension it is natural and right that Henry should punish those who prospered because of their greed under Richard. Nature is also emphasized in the image of the magpies:

> And evere hoved the Egle on hie on the skyes,
> And kenned clerliche, as his kynde axith,
> Alle the prevy poyntis that the pies wroughth.
>
> (II.190–2)

Here the poet chooses not to highlight specific features of magpies, who were known to be chattering birds, but rather focusses on features of the eagle's nature, specifically its eyesight

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[73] *On The Properties of Things*, I, 620.

and practice of hovering whilst hunting. Bartholomaeus references similar behaviour when the eagle hunts fish:

> houeþ aboue þe see so hihe þat vnneþe sche is iseye wiþ mannes siȝte, fro so greet hiȝnesse heo seeþ a smal fische swymme in þe see and falliþ doun anon as it were a stoon and takeþ sodeyneliche þe fische and drawiþ þe pray þat is so itake sodeinliche to þe clyue.
>
> (I, 602)

In *Richard* the eagle's extraordinary sight when hovering in the skies is depicted as natural knowledge which allows him to hunt and, eventually, to exact justice on the magpies. This hovering is referenced in an earlier passage which makes the connection between 'kynde' and God explicit: 'Thus hawkyd this Egle and hoved above | That, as God wolde that governeth all thingis,' (II.176–7). Because God governs all things all 'kynde' ultimately derives from God. Thus the eagle's hunting of the birds and consequently Henry's punishment of Richard's favourites is controlled and ordained by God. The eagle imagery in *Richard the Redeless* places significant emphasis on 'kynde', both in terms of the eagle's right to rule over the birds and his role in punishing the kites, crows, and magpies. Henry's position as king as well as his treatment of Richard's followers is therefore presented as natural and ordained by God, showing how the poem's use of 'kynde' supports the Lancastrian accession.

In contrast to the images of 'kynde' in *Richard the Redeless* the eagle imagery in 'There is a Busch' depicts the animals as acting outside the bounds of what is natural. The eagle is introduced in the poem through a depiction of Henry's landing in Ravenspur with the reference to the 'north contré' contrasting with Richard's southern power base:

> A eron is up and toke his flyt;
> In the north contré he is light
> (Thus here ye alle men saye).
> The stede colt with hym he brynges;

These buth wonder and y thinges
To se hem thus to playe.

The gees han mad a parlement,
Toward the eron are they went,
Mo then I con telle.
The pecokes that buth so fayr in syght,
To hym ben comen with alle hur myght,
They thenke with hym to dwelle.

(43–54)

Both James M. Dean and Carlson consider the 'eron' to be a heron, which represents Henry.[74] However, I interpret the 'eron' to be an eagle, as it is an attested spelling of 'ern' in the *Middle English Dictionary.*[75] The 'colt' is a reference to Thomas Fitzalan the son of Richard Fitzalan, the former Earl of Arundel who had been executed in 1397 for his role as one of the Lords Appellant. Arundel is represented by his heraldic badge of the horse earlier in the poem, and in Gower's *Cronica* and *Richard the Redeless*. The identity of the geese and peacocks is harder to determine: Dean views the geese as representing the Percies, and the peacocks as representing the Nevilles. Neither the Percies nor the Nevilles used geese or peacocks as their heraldic animals, and this may weaken Dean's suggestion that these families are represented by these birds.[76] The rest of the animal imagery in 'There is a Busch' uses heraldic badges to refer to historical figures, and it is perhaps strange that the poet would choose to depart from this formula if he wanted to represent the Percies and Nevilles. For this reason, I slightly favour William Hamper's interpretation who viewed the geese as representing the commons and the

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[74] *Medieval English Political Writings*, p. 126; Carlson, 'English Poetry,' p. 384.
[75] 'ern n.(1)' in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED14351/> [accessed 07 October 2020]. There seems little basis to support viewing the 'eron' as a heron, as Henry did not use the bird as a heraldic badge, and there is no other reason to support the selection of such an arbitrary symbol. The loss of the manuscript means all editions have been reliant on William Hamper's original transcription, and as such it is impossible to find material evidence to aid our interpretation of the 'eron'.
[76] *Heraldic Badges*, III, 209, 224–8.

peacocks as the lords. It is plausible that these birds were not selected because of their use as heraldic symbols but because they could serve as generic representations of 'common' and 'lordly' birds which could be used to represent the commons and lords respectively.

This passage from 'There is a Busch' emphasizes the unity between Henry's followers. The imagery of the eagle as the natural leader of the birds is similar to that seen in *Richard the Redeless*. The 'parlement' could be seen as a straightforward reference to parliaments which are a feature of the politics input space. However, it might also recall the literary tradition of bird debate poems such as Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* or Clanvowe's *Boke of Cupide*.[77] These texts feature anthropomorphic talking animals whose debate usually focusses on the topic of love. Evoking this literary tradition might mean that the birds in 'There is a Busch' do not appear as naturalistic representations. If we contrast this bird parliament with the natural hunting behaviour of the birds in *Richard the Redeless* we can see the birds in 'There is a Busch' appear unnatural, behaving more like humans than animals. This idea of unnaturalness is seen in the image of the eagle and the colt, which is described as a 'wonder' here and earlier as 'a wondur casse' (36). Whilst images of the eagle leading other birds can be seen as natural there is no natural basis for unity between the eagle and the horse. It is described as a 'wonder' which highlights the unnaturalness of the image, as 'wonder' denotes something beyond the natural order, possibly a miracle.[78] This aberration is viewed in a positive light, as 'wonder' has either neutral or positive connotations when used as an adjective.[79] The unity of Henry and

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[77] *The Parliament of Fowls* in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Benson, pp. 383–94; *The Boke of Cupide* in *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints*, ed. by Symons. See also *Middle English Debate Poetry*, pp. xxii–xxiv.

[78] 'wonder n.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED53375> [accessed 14 January 2021].

[79] 'wonder adj.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED53376> [accessed 14 January 2021].

his followers is presented as both an image of unnaturalness but also as a positive event, possibly a miracle.

*Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch' take opposing attitudes to authenticating Henry's rule: *Richard the Redeless* presents Henry's rule as a natural right, which is derived from God; 'There is a Busch' presents his rule as a miraculous occurrence, which is presumably similarly God-given. These differing approaches to legitimizing Lancastrian rule may weaken the claim that this imagery is evidence of a coordinated scheme of poetry, as poets who were using imagery that they had been instructed to use might be expected to employ it in similar ways. The diversity of imagery may instead suggest that individual poets made use of an established mode of representing political figures in diverse ways.

## Images of the Lords Appellant in *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch'

In addition to using eagle imagery to represent Henry IV these poems make use of heraldic animal imagery to represent the Lords Appellant, their families, and followers. This imagery is very similar to the metonymic code used to refer to these men in Gower's *Cronica tripertita*.[80] In *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch', as in Gower's text, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick are represented as a swan, a horse, and a bear or 'bereward' respectively.[81] These images are derived from the heraldic badges of these men, and so we may see this as a

[80] For a detailed discussion of this metonymic code and its relation to the metaphorical imagery in the *Cronica tripertita*, see the Chapter Two.

[81] For biographies of these men see Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas [Thomas of Woodstock], duke of Gloucester', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27197> [accessed 19 January 2021]; C. Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Richard, fourth earl of Arundel and ninth earl of Surrey', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9535> [accessed 19 January 2021]; Anthony Tuck, 'Beauchamp, Thomas, twelfth earl of Warwick', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1841> [accessed 19 January 2021]; Anthony Tuck, 'Lords appellant', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53093> [accessed 19 January 2021].

continuation of the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend discussed above, as the mappings between the two input spaces are the same.[82] The metaphorical blend in these poems contrasts with the images in Gower's text which are metonymic. The distinction between metaphorical and metonymic imagery consists in whether the animals function as code names, as they do in metonymic imagery, or whether they appear as animals behaving in naturalistic or preternatural ways, as they do in the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend. As with the eagle imagery in these poems it is not possible to determine whether the imagery was derived from the tradition of accidental designation in vaticinal literature or from the use of these symbols in heraldic or livery badges. The close interaction between this imagery and the eagle imagery, combined with the fact that *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch' make no other allusions to vaticinal literature as Gower's text does, may strengthen the suggestion that these images are influenced more by heraldic badges than by vatic material. In either case the metaphorical treatment of these images in these poems merits closer examination than has hitherto been offered.

Since the imagery of the Lords Appellant is part of the same metaphorical blend as the eagle imagery these images are consistent, functioning in similar ways. There is some evidence to suggest that, as in the preceding discussions of birds and deer, a Lord's animal could also be used to represent his followers. This is seen in *Richard* which depicts the reaction of the Duke of Gloucester's followers to his death: 'Thanne sighed the swymmers, for the swan failid, | And folwid this faucon thoru feldus and tounes,' (III.86–7). Rather than depicting the swan's followers as swans too, the poet opts for the more generic 'swymmers' which refers to waterfowl. As the swan's followers are also birds we can see this as an extension of the imagery of the eagle as the king and natural ruler of all birds. This imagery is seen in 'There is a Busch'

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[82] *Heraldic Badges*, I, 91–3.

where ‘The pecokes and the ges all so, | And odor fowles mony on mo,’ (64–5) benefit from the death of Bagot and, it is implied, support the eagle. The imagery of Warwick and his followers is treated differently; instead of presenting the earl as a bear which leads other bears he presents Thomas Beauchamp as a ‘bereward’ with the bears being his followers. ‘Bereward’ refers to someone who takes care of bears; since this conveys that the ‘bereward’ has responsibility for other bears it does not preclude an interpretation where the ‘bereward’ is himself a bear, simply one that cares for others.[83] However, the prevailing implication is that the ‘bereward’ is human. This disrupts the consistent metaphorical blend as it introduces a human figure into a metaphorical world which had previously represented all people as animals, potentially raising questions about the hierarchy of this metaphorical world and how the ‘bereward’ interacts with his bears and with the other animals. This metaphorical world had previously been self-governing as the eagle led the other animals; how might this change when a human is introduced to lead some animals? Would the ‘bereward’ still follow the eagle? Unfortunately, partially due to the length of ‘There is a Busch’, these issues are not explored in the poem. However, it does highlight a way in which the metaphorical world of ‘There is a Busch’ differs from the more coherent world of *Richard the Redeless* where the Lords Appellant are all represented as animals.

The imagery of the Lords Appellant in *Richard the Redeless* is focussed around a depiction of the hart hunting the animals which represent them. This passage is preceded by a section drawn from the medieval bestiary tradition outlining how the hart, which represents Richard, should restore itself when it suffers from age or infirmity.

> Her kynde is to kevere if they cacche myghth
> Adders that harmen alle hende bestis:

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[83] ‘ber(e-ward(e n.’, in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED4162> [accessed 14 January 2021].

> Thoru busschis and bromes this beste, of his kynde,
> Secheth and sercheth tho schrewed wormes
> That steleth on the stedis to stynge hem to deth.
>
> (III.17–21)

The repetition in these lines makes it evident that the poet continues his emphasis on the importance of 'kynde'. This passage refers to a well-established belief that deer could restore themselves by eating the venom of snakes, as recorded in Isidore:

> Hi serpentium inimici cum se gravatos infirmitate persenserint, spiritu narium eos extrahunt de cavernis, et superata pernicie veneni eorum pabulo reparantur.
>
> [They are antagonistic to serpents; when they sense themselves burdened with infirmity, they draw the serpents from their caves with the breath from their nostrils, and having overcome the malignancy of the poison, the deer are restored to health by eating the serpents].[84]

In this poem all of England's political community are represented as various animals which interact with each other, and the adders represent those who threaten the other animals. For this reason, we might infer that they represent Richard's liveried retainers, as the kites did in the previous passage focussing on birds. However, the depiction of the kites was focussed on the treatment of the poor and commons, whereas the adders' attacks are directed towards the 'hende bestis'. This could be read as a generic term which refers to any other animals in the metaphorical world of the poem; however, 'hende' may more specifically refer to the animals which represent significant nobles, specifically the Lords Appellant. This is supported by the subsequent reference to the 'stedis' which clearly represents the Earl of Arundel and his family or followers. The records of Arundel's trial for treason on 21st September 1397 therefore might

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[84] *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum*, II, 35; *Etymologies of Isidore*, p. 248. Further sources are listed in 'Stag', in *The Medieval Bestiary* <http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beast162.htm> [accessed 14 January 2021].

offer some clue as to the identity of these adders. The *Vita Ricardi Secundi* records that Arundel was accused of treason by the Duke of Rutland, the Earls of Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerset, and Salisbury, the Lord Despenser and William le Scrope.[85] In the following description of the trial Arundel was questioned by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, John Bussy, and Henry Bolingbroke, who was then Earl of Derby.[86] We cannot plausibly interpret the reference to 'adders' as an allusion to all of these men, especially since the Lancastrian connection to Henry and his father would have undermined the unity between the new king and the Lords Appellant which these poems seek to project. The most plausible interpretation is that these 'adders' represent Richard's ministers who were singled out for criticism elsewhere in these poems, namely: Bussy, Bagot, Green, and Scrope. These poets elected to omit the nuances of historical reality in favour of producing poetry with a coherent political message, which consistently aligned Henry with the Lords Appellant in opposition to Richard.

The hart in *Richard the Redeless* is depicted as being infirm, needing to hunt and eat these adders to restore himself to health. The hart represents Richard, meaning that the image of the hart being 'feblen in fleissh, in felle and in bones' (III.16) is used to convey that Richard is weak and vulnerable. This image prompts audiences to recall other metaphorical blends in which the health and strength of the king's body reflects the strength and security of the realm. When the king is weak, for example in the earlier description of Richard's limbs being 'so feble and feynte for faughte of youre lawe, | And so wankel and wayke, wexe in the hammes,' (II.63–4) we understand that this weakness doesn't represent the king himself being sick but is instead indicative of problems in the realm. This is made clear in this image by the phrase 'for faughte of youre lawe'.[87] The infirmity of the hart is caused by Richard's misrule and poor governance.

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[85] *Historia Vitae*, p. 142; *Chronicles of the Revolution,* p. 58.
[86] *Historia Vitae*, pp. 142–4; *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 58–60.
[87] These images are similar to the Body Politic imagery discussed in Chapter One.

He must rid the realm of 'adders' not only because the venom of these snakes will restore the hart according to the law of kynde, but also because these adders negatively impact the realm, and so cause the hart's weakness. Hunting the adders will restore the hart to health, resolving the problems of the realm and allowing Richard to continue to rule, or as the poem has it: 'to leve at more lykynge a longe tyme after' (III.25). However, instead of following this path the hart goes against kynde and hunts the animals which represent the Lords Appellant:

> This is clerlie hir kynde, coltis nat to greve,
> Ne to hurlle with haras, ne hors well atamed,
> Ne to stryve with swan, though it sholle werre,
> Ne to bayten on the bere, ne bynde him nother,
> Ne to wilne to woo that were hem ny sibbe,
> Ne to liste for to loke that her alie bledde;
> This was ageins kynde, as clerkis me tolde —
> And therfor the hertis here hele so myssid,
> And myghte nat passe the poynte of her prime age.
>
> (III.26–34)

Here we have the animals which represent the Lords Appellant: the horse, the swan, and the bear. In addition the reference to 'coltis' refers to Arundel's sons, particularly Thomas Fitzalan who would become his father's heir; Warwick and Gloucester's sons are alluded to in the reference to those 'that were hem ny sibbe'. The allies referred to in the following line are not specified though Helen Barr suggests that these might be Sir Thomas Mortimer and Lord John Cobham.[88] The 'ne to' anaphora in these lines closely links the treatment of all these men

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[88] *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 272, n. 31. Mortimer's arrest was ordered on 4th September 1397 for his role in the Lords Appellant's campaign where he fought at the battle of Radcot Bridge. Cobham was impeached on 28th January 1398, accused of being part of the commission of 1386 and of allowing the execution of Sir Simon Burley and Sir James Berners; he was sentenced to death but Richard commuted this to life in exile. I support reading these lines as an allusion to Cobham, in part because Cobham's trial and exile are detailed in *Cronica tripertita*, II.213–32, where Gower describes him as 'dignus, paciens, pius atque benignus' [a pious, patient man

together, which is then bookended by references to 'kynde'; the structure of these lines again highlights the importance of kynde, and the condemnation Richard earns for ignoring the tenets of natural law. The results of Richard's refusal to follow natural law is made clear as the hart 'myghte nat passe the poynte of her prime age'. This again reinforces the unnaturalness of the hart's, and by extension, Richard's, behaviour. According to medieval belief deer could live to be well over a hundred years old without becoming infirm. The hart which represents Richard suffers infirmity prematurely, whilst still in 'her prime age', and dies as a result. Richard's refusal to pursue those that were damaging the health of the realm, combined with his unnatural, and thus unjust, punishment of the Lords Appellant and their associates is therefore presented as a central cause for Richard's loss of the crown, and ultimately of his eventual death.

This passage makes a brief allusion to the treatment of the sons and heirs of the Lords Appellant, an issue which is treated in greater detail later in *Richard the Redeless* and in 'There is a Busch'. Since the Lords Appellant were convicted of treason all their estates and personal wealth were forfeited to the king. Several contemporary chronicles record this disinheritance including the *Vita Ricardi Secundi*, the *Continuatio Eulogii*, and the *Annales Ricardi Secundi.*[89] The *Annales* explicitly connects the disinheritance of the heirs of the Lords Appellant with Richard's elevation of the Duketti:

> Volens Rex magnificare personas quas dudum nominibus Ducum, Marchionis, vel Comitum, honoraverat, (quos vulgares derisorie vocabant, non "Duces," sed "Dukettos," a diminutivo,) contulit eis maximam partem terrarum Ducis

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[...] upright and kind]. The similarities between the two poems means it is plausible that the *Richard*-poet was alluding to Cobham in these lines. R. R. Davies, 'Mortimer, Roger, fourth earl of March and sixth earl of Ulster', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19356> [accessed 19 January 2021]; Rosamund Allen, 'Cobham, John, third Baron Cobham of Cobham', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5744> [accessed 19 January 2021].

[89] *Historia Vitae,* pp. 144, *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 61; *Continuatio Eulogii,* pp. 78–9; *Annales* in *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde …Chronica et Annales*, pp. 223, *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 73.

> Gloverniae, Comitum Arundelliae et Warwici, [et exhaeredavit omnem eorum sobolem de haereditatibus quae eos contingerent ex parte patris].
>
> [Wishing to aggrandise further those persons whom he had just dignified with the titles of duke, marquis, or earl – whom the common people nicknamed in derision, not 'dukes', but 'duketti', that is, the 'little dukes' – the king granted to them most of the lands of the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, thereby disinheriting all their children from the inheritances which they should have received from their fathers.][90]

Richard also used this opportunity to strengthen his own position: he transferred the sheriffdom of Worcester, which had belonged to Warwick, to the crown; the county of Chester grew owing to the inclusion of Arundel's former property on the Welsh marches, which Richard declared a principality and annexed to the crown.[91] Gower is critical of this disinheritance in the *Cronica*, specifically referring to the treatment of Warwick: 'Sed capit ex toto terras herede remoto.' [He seized all his estates and set aside the heir.] (II.202). Carlson notes that Gower is following the *Record and Process* here: 'terras et tenementa tam in feodo simplici quam in feodo talliato de se et heredibus suis, contra justiciam et leges regni sui et juramentum suum expressum, nequiter confiscando, et eorum appellantibus concedendo.'[wickedly confiscating their lands and tenements, both those held in fee simple and those held in fee tail, from them and their heirs, against justice and the laws of his realm, and his express oath, and granting them to their appellants.][92] Gower's *Cronica* was written with the intention of legitimising the Lancastrian accession, relying heavily on the *Record and Process* as its principal source. If *Richard the Redeless* or 'There is a Busch' placed similar emphasis on the disinheritance of

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[90] *Annales* in *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde …Chronica et Annales*, pp. 223, *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 73.
[91] McKisack, p. 484
[92] 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. by Given-Wilson and others, in *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/october-1399-pt-1> [accessed 20 January 2021], section 21.

the heirs of the Lords Appellant this might support the suggestion that these poems were also part of a coordinated scheme to support Henry's claim to the throne.

However, although these poems discuss the heirs of the Lords Appellant in detail they do not make specific reference to issues relating to inheritance. Instead the emphasis is placed on the treatment of these figures under Richard and their subsequent support of Henry. As discussed in the preceding discussion of the dating of the poem 'There is a Busch' references Gloucester's son Humphrey who was taken to Ireland with Richard in 1399, and who died before he could return to England after Henry's return in August. It also details how 'The stedes colt is ronnon a-way, | An eron hath taken hym to his praye' (34–5), detailing how later when the eagle returns to England 'The stede colt with hym he brynges' (46). These are both allusions to Thomas Fitzalan. After his father was executed the title of Earl of Arundel was given to John Holland, Duke of Exeter. Thomas was placed in Holland's custody but as alluded to in 'There is a Busch' he ran away, joining his uncle Archbishop Thomas Arundel in exile. Both men eventually joined Henry in Paris, and returned to England with him in 1399.[93] 'There is a Busch' therefore provides a fairly detailed and accurate account of Thomas' life, providing more historical detail than is generally found in these poems. Richard Beauchamp, Warwick's son and heir, receives similar, if slightly less detailed, treatment. The poem records that he was 'tendur of age; | He is put to mariage' (37–8); Richard married Elizabeth Berkeley sometime before 5th October 1397, when Richard would have been fifteen.[94] The poem records Richard's intention of reclaiming the loyalty of his father's followers, represented as 'beres':

Yut he hoputh, thorw myth and grace,

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[93] G. L. Harriss, 'Fitzalan, Thomas, fifth earl of Arundel and tenth earl of Surrey', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9536> [accessed 20 January 2021].

[94] Christine Carpenter, 'Beauchamp, Richard, thirteenth earl of Warwick', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1838> [accessed 21 January 2021].

With the beres to make solas,
And led hem at his wille.

(40–2)

These lines are less accurate than the treatment of Arundel's son as it seems to gloss over the fact that at this time Thomas Beauchamp was still alive and living in exile on the Isle of Man. The hope to regain the loyalty of the 'beres' presumably belonged to the still living father rather than to the son. Henry restored Warwick to his title and lands in 1399, granting him again control of the 'beres'. This is recounted in *Richard the Redeless*, detailing how Henry:

He blythid the beere and his bond braste,
And lete him go at large, to lepe where he wolde.
But tho all the berlingis brast out at ones,
As fayne as the foule that flieth on the skyes
That Bosse was unbounde and brouute to his owen.

(III.94–8)

The 'berlingis', meaning bear cubs certainly refers to Warwick's son Richard, though it may also imply Warwick's wife, Margaret Ferrers, who, along with Richard, had been placed into the custody of Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey, in 1397. Although the treatment of the Beauchamp family is more accurate in *Richard the Redeless* than in 'There is a Busch', both of these poems are able to include precise and detailed knowledge about the treatment of the families of the Lords Appellant. However, unlike in the *Cronica tripertita*, it is not possible to identify a source for these allusions. These poems did not use material from the Record and Process as Gower did and are less obviously propagandistic. For this reason, we may be less likely to conclude that these poems were part of an organised scheme to legitimise Henry's accession.

## Punning, Etymologised Translation and the Depiction of Richard's Ministers

Finally, we can consider the treatment of John Bussy, Henry Green, William Bagot, and William Scrope in this corpus of poems.[95] These figures are not represented using heraldic animal imagery, possibly because they were not noblemen with a tradition of using heraldic badges in the same way as Henry, Richard, and the Lords Appellant.[96] Instead these men are represented through either puns on their names or through the use of etymologised translation. Etymologised translation, discussed in more detail in the preceding chapter on the *Cronica tripartita*, is often found in vaticinal texts in Latin and consists in literally translating someone's name into Latin. Thus in 'O Deus in Celis' Green is called 'Ver' (22) from the Latin for spring, which Carlson translates as 'Spring-Green', and Bussy is 'Dumus' (22), meaning 'bush'. Notably Scrope and Bagot are also referenced but the poet does not use etymologised translation calling them simply 'Scrope, Bagge' (22). This method of representation is similar to the puns seen in the English poems in the corpus, especially when we consider representations of Bussy who is depicted as a bush in 'O Deus in Celis' (22), *Richard the Redeless* (II.152), 'There is a Busch' (1, 13, 55, 67), and 'Up on an Hylle' (2). Etymologised translation may be considered a form of interlingual punning, which is rendered as a simple pun in the Middle English poems. The similarity between puns and etymologised translation may suggest that the imagery of Richard's ministers in all of these poems is derived from

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[95] For biographies of these men see James L. Gillespie, 'Bussy, Sir John', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4172> [accessed 21 January 2021]; L. S. Woodger, 'Green, Sir Henry (c.1347-1399), of Drayton, Northants.', in *The History of Parliament* <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/green-sir-henry-1347-1399> [accessed 21 January 2021]; Linda Clark, 'Bagot, Sir William', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1040> [accessed 21 January 2021]; Brigette Vale, 'Scrope, William, earl of Wiltshire', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-249660> [accessed 21 January 2021].

[96] The exception to this is William Scrope who was created earl of Wiltshire in September 1397.

imagery found in vaticinal literature. However, this does not necessarily support Carlson's assertion that vaticinal imagery was recondite; the presence of such imagery in English texts, which were enjoyed by non-specialist audiences, suggests that vaticinal imagery was more widely understood than Carlson has suggested. This in turn weakens the argument that because these poems featured similar, recondite imagery they were part of a coordinated scheme.

As these images do not use heraldic animal imagery we may question how metaphorical they are, and how they relate to the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend seen in *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch'. In CMT, metaphors are distinguished by whether they further our understanding of the target domain by imputing qualities or characteristics from the source domain. This is also seen in the treatment of metaphors in CIT where the input which organises the blend, called the framing input, corresponds to the source domain. The framing input is used to facilitate understanding of the other input space, known as the focus input, which corresponds to the target domain. We can therefore determine if these images are metaphorical by establishing whether they affect our understanding of these historical figures. In essence: does likening Bussy to a thorn bush affect our understanding of Bussy's character? This is certainly the case in 'There is a Busch' which warns that:

> Ther is a busch that is forgrowe;
> Crop hit welle, and hold hit lowe,
> Or elles hit wolle be wilde.
>
> (1–3)

Here characteristics of the bush, for example that it is overgrown and wild, convey information about Bussy's character, here that he cannot be controlled and that his power has grown beyond what it ought to have been. Other examples might be considered as less obviously metaphorical, such as when the eagle attacks the bushes in *Richard the Redeless*: 'Thus baterid this bred on busshes aboughte,' (II.152). Here the reference to bushes does not convey any

information about Bussy's character, though it furthers our understanding in a different way. Likening Bussy to a bush here does not convey the qualities or characteristics of a bush onto Bussy; rather it creates an image in which Henry, whilst being depicted as an eagle, interacts with Bussy, which aids our understanding because it conveys information about how these historical figures were related. This image is therefore metaphorical, and part of the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend. The depiction of Richard's Ministers in *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch' is metaphorical, in part because these images operate within the metaphorical blends of these poems.

It is less clear whether the imagery in 'Up on an Hylle' or 'O Deus in Celis' is metaphorical because these poems do not feature developed imagery as is found in *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch'. In 'O Deus in Celis' the reference is restricted to a single line, and the etymologised translation essentially only provides a code-name for Bussy and Greene: 'Scrope, Bagge, Ver, Dumus, tormentorum parit humus' [A soil of torments engenders Scrope, Bagot, Spring-Green, and Thorn-Bush] (22). We can confidently conclude that these images are not metaphorical. 'Up on an Hylle', which I quote in its entirety, provides a less clear-cut case.

> Up on an hylle ys a greene.
> On the grene stondeth a busch.
> Up on the bussch hangeth a bagge.
> Wh<erefore> the grene ys y-mowe,
> And the bussch ouere throwe,
> And the bagge y-schake:
> Thenne yt ys tyme, Engelond, to wake.
>
> Hiis tres milites Buschey, Bagod et Grene, consiluerunt regi Ricardo ut transfectaret in Hyberniam ut ipsi regerent regnum ad firmam

> [These three sirs, Bussy, Bagot and Green, counseled King Richard to betake himself to Ireland, in order that they might rule over the kingdom themselves, as a fee-farm].[97]

This poem could be read as being metaphorical because it provides insight into the relationship between the three men. Bussy, Green, and Bagot are presented as being united, through the constructions using 'on', which present the image of a bag in a bush on a green. This image is not seen in the other texts where the bushes, bags, and greens never interact with one another. This image shows unity between the three men and suggests that they worked closely together. However, the imagery is not as developed as in *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch' and so these images could potentially be seen as non-metaphorical code names. The gloss perhaps supports the suggestion that these were code names that people needed help to understand. Carlson suggests in his discussion of the *Cronica* that the presence of a gloss suggests that the audience would not have understood the glossed imagery without the offered explanation.[98] As we have seen in Chapter Two a gloss does not necessarily indicate that an explanation was required, and can instead serve another purpose. Here the gloss does little to clarify the imagery but rather offers new information about Bussy, Bagot and Green. It was clear that these men, along with Sir William Scrope, had considerable control over the country whilst Richard was in Ireland, although the Duke of York was formally appointed as regent.[99] The gloss makes the influence of these men on the kingdom clear, whilst also suggesting they were responsible for Richard's journey to Ireland, which was not the case. The imagery in 'Up on an Hylle' is straightforward and undeveloped meaning that there is limited material to analyse. What imagery there is could be plausibly considered either metaphorical or not, as it

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[97] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 134.
[98] Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, pp. 129, 134.
[99] Scattergood, p. 110.

is clearly a marginal case. However the imagery is interpreted this poem provides further evidence of the topical treatment of these men and their wide unpopularity.

Looking at *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch', where the depiction of these men is clearly metaphorical, we can see that these two poems focus on different areas with 'There is a Busch' concentrating on the relationship between the Lords Appellant and Richard's Ministers, and *Richard the Redeless* depicting the fate of these men under Henry's new rule. 'There is a Busch' makes explicit connections between the three principal Lords Appellant and Bussy, Bagot, and Green. Bussy is responsible for Gloucester's death, 'Thorw the busch a swan was sclayn;' (13); Green is responsible for Arundel's death, 'The grene gras that was so long, | Hit hath sclayn a stede strong' (19–20); and Bagot was both elevated by Warwick and responsible for his death:

> A bereward fond a rag;
> Of the rag he made a bag;
> He dude in gode entent.
> Thorwe the bag the bereward is taken;
> Alle his beres han hym forsaken—
> Thus is the berewarde schent.
>
> (25–30)

Once again, the poet combines specific and detailed knowledge of these men with a degree of poetic licence. Most particularly the depiction of Bagot's relationship with Warwick was based on historical reality, as Linda Clark writes: 'Bagot owed his early political rise and growing influence in Warwickshire largely to the patronage of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick .'[100] This is reflected in 'There is a Busch' where Warwick creates a bag from a rag,

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[100] Linda Clark, 'Bagot, Sir William', in *ODNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1040> [accessed 21 January 2021].

reflecting his elevation of Bagot from less fortunate circumstances, denoted by the rag, to his political prominence, which is suggested by the bag. The use of 'bag' which puns on Bagot's surname suggests some of the honour associated from Bagot's name and reputation was conferred onto him by Warwick. However, the structure of each minister being responsible for the fate of a respective lord is derived more from a desire for a pleasing poetic structure than from historical reality. All three men were responsible for the treatment of the Lords Appellant, as all three men requested that the appellants' pardons be annulled, which led to the prosecution of these lords. Bussy, rather than Green, took a particular role in Arundel's trial and pushed for his execution. The poet was likely aware of these facts, especially given the evidence which suggests he had particular knowledge of Bagot's political rise, and chose not to include them in his poem in favour of the poem's structure.

*Richard the Redeless* does not place a similar focus on poetic structure, instead attempting to accurately record the punishment Richard's ministers received once Henry had returned to England. The poet incorporates historical details by dealing with the treatment of Bussy, Green, and Scrope (who were beheaded at Bristol) separately from Bagot, who escaped from Bristol and was called before Henry's first parliament. He describes Henry's treatment of Bussy, Green, and Scrope:

> Thus baterid this bred on busshes aboughte,
> And gaderid gomes on grene ther as they walkyd,
> That all the schroff and schroup sondrid from other.
> He mellid so the matall with the hand-molde
> That they lost lemes the levest that they had.
>
> (152–6)

Here the familiar puns of bushes and a green are used to refer to Bussy and Green. This is the only example in this corpus of a pun on Scrope's name; the poet opts for 'schroup' meaning

'rubbish', apparently a term of the poet's own invention synonymous with the preceding 'schroff'. Scrope seems to have been less widely criticised than Bussy, Bagot, and Green and so his inclusion here may be attributable to the *Richard*-poet's desire to accurately record who was beheaded at Bristol. That these men were beheaded is made clear by the line 'they lost lemes the levest that they had'. 'Leme', meaning 'limb' usually excludes the head as the *Middle English Dictionary* records.[101] However, W. W. Skeat has suggested at 'lemes' should be read as meaning 'heads' here as the head is the 'dearest', hence 'levest', limb.[102] These lines therefore read: 'he [Henry] so beat the metal with the hand-mould | That they lost the dearest limbs that they had.'[103] The image of the beaten metal appears to be an idiomatic image, although there are no other examples of its use, meaning 'he moulded events'.[104] By depicting Henry as orchestrating the execution of these men, rather than as directly causing it, the poet displaces some of the blame from Henry. This perhaps reflects the assertion, found in the *Annales*, that the executions were prompted by popular outcry: 'urgebat nempe dominos ad ferendum in eos tam repentinam sententiam clamor importunus communitatis, quae voluisset eos in frusta decerpsisse, si quomodolibet potuisset' [the importunate clamor of the community – having long hoped in vain for them to be cut off by any means possible – compelled the lords to execute the sentence on them that had so quickly been handed down].[105]

After detailing the treatment of Bussy, Scrope and Green, the poet turns to the treatment of Bagot, who escaped capture at Bristol. The *Richard*-poet records Bagot's escape:

But the blernyed boynard that his bagg stall,

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[101] 'lim n.(1)', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED25599> [accessed 25 January 2021].
[102] *The Vision of William*, II, 294.
[103] *The Vision of William*, II, 294.
[104] The image of an eagle beating metal with a hand-mould, which he would presumably find singularly useless having talons rather than hands, might be seen as incongruous image. It highlights that the poet seeks to convey information about political figures rather than natural creatures.
[105] *Annales* in *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde …Chronica et Annales*, pp. 246–7; translation from Carlson, *Poetry and Propaganda*, p. 144.

> Where purraile-is pulter was pynnyd full ofte,
> Made the fawcon to floter and flussh for anger
> That the boy hadd be bounde that the bagge kepte.
>
> (II.164–7)

Here the poet seems to have run up against the limits of the metaphorical blend he has established. He had hitherto represented all people as either animals or as features of the natural world which the animals could interact with, avoiding introducing human figures who might distort the hierarchy of this metaphorical world. However, he is unable to present the escape of the bag from capture without a human agent, which leads to the introduction of the 'blernyed boynard.' We can see similar themes in 'There is a Busch' where the 'bereward' is perhaps introduced because without a human figure it would be difficult or impossible to represent Warwick's elevation of Bagot, which is shown in the image of the 'bereward' making a bag from a rag. The depiction of *Richard the Redeless* contrasts slightly because the image of the bag is used in cooperation with the human agent, so the two operate as one and we understand both the bag and the man holding it to represent Bagot. The following description refers to the man, rather than the bag, but it is clear the poet is still referring to Bagot:

> But sone therafter, in a schorte tyme,
> As fortune folwith ech fode till his ende,
> This lorell that ladde this loby awey
> Overe frithe and forde for his fals dedis,
> Lyghte on the lordschepe that to the brid longid,
> And was felliche ylaughte and luggid full ylle,
> And broughte to the brydd and his blames rehersid
> Prevyly at the parlement amonge all the peple.
>
> (II.168–75)

The human agent is repeatedly referenced, under different terms which vary according to the alliteration of the line: ‘boynard’, ‘boy’, ‘fode’, ‘lorell’, ‘his’. The bag is referenced once as a ‘loby’, meaning ‘a bundle of clothing’ which alludes to the ‘purraile-is pulter’ which were kept in the bag.[106] The man is brought before the eagle’s parliament, reflecting the fact that Bagot was captured in Ireland and was brought before Henry’s first parliament. He received considerable clemency from Henry; although he was imprisoned in the Tower of London, he received an annuity of £100 per annum, and in February 1401 the Commons petitioned that Bagot be restored to his lands and possessions.[107] There is no record of the fate Bagot received in *Richard the Redeless* which may suggest that the poem was written sometime before his imprisonment.

‘There is a Busch’ also makes reference to the fate of Bussy, Green, and Bagot, again placing greater emphasis on poetic structure than *Richard the Redeless*. The poem employs a repetitive bush-green-bag structure where the poet deals with the three men in order. First the poet details the strength of the three men with the excessive size of the bush, grass, and bag being used to highlight the excessive power these men enjoyed under Richard’s rule. These images are combined with calls to restrict the power of these men:

> Ther is a busch that is forgrowe;
> Crop hit welle, and hold hit lowe,
> Or elles hit wolle be wilde.
> The long gras that is so grene,
> Hit most be mowe, and raked clene—
> For-growen hit hath the fellde.

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[106] ‘lob n.’, in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED25867> [accessed 26 January 2021].
[107] L. S. Woodger, ‘Bagot, Sir William (bef.1354–1407), of Baginton, Warws.’, in *The History of Parliament* <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/bagot-sir-william-1354-1407> [accessed 26 January 2021].

The grete bagge, that is so mykille,
Hit schal be kettord and maked litelle;
  The bothom is ny ought.

(1–9)

The poem then details how each minister was responsible for the death of one of the Lords Appellant, again following the bush-green-bag structure. The next four stanzas are devoted to the fate of the Lords Appellant and their families, as well as the eagle's return to England. The poem then returns to Richard's ministers, this time discussing how the eagle will treat them. The images are very similar to those found in *Richard the Redeless* except the poet again follows the bush-green-bag structure detailing Bagot's treatment alongside that of Bussy and Green:

Upon the busch the eron wolle reste,
Of alle places it liketh hym beste,
  To loke aftur his pray.
He wolle falle upon the grene;
There he falleth hit wille be sene,
  They wille not welle away.

The bag is ful of roton corne,
So long ykep, hit is forlorne;
  Hit wille stonde no stalle.

(55–63)

Notably these actions are presented as events which will happen in the future, using verbs in the subjunctive mood: 'wolle' and 'wille'. The poet uses the bush-green-bag structure one final time, detailing defects in these men and instructing the audience on how they should be treated: 'The busch is bare and waxus sere, | [...] | Now stont hit in no styde.' (67–9); 'The longe gras that semeth grene, | Hit is roton alle bydene' (73–4), 'Til the roton be dynged ought,' (76); 'The

grete bage is so ytoron,' (79), 'Hong hit up to drye!' (81). Here the verbs are predominantly imperatives, instructing the audience on the need to punish these ministers, and the poet again suggests that these men had not yet met their fates. It is unclear whether the poem was written before Bussy and Green's execution on 29th July 1399 or after, though the reference to Bagot's possible redemption, 'Wen hit is drye, then schalt thou se | Yif hit wil amended be' (82–3), suggests the poet is aware that Bagot escaped execution and that his fate was still to be determined. If we accept this reading it gives the poem a very narrow dating window of between 29th July and August 1399. Regardless of the actual date of the poem the suggestion that the punishment of these ministers has not yet happened aligns the text with vaticinal literature, strengthening the suggestion that the puns on Bussy, Green, and Bagot's name should be seen as the Middle English equivalent of etymologised translation.

The use of punning and etymologised translation in these poems suggests that these poets were aware of the conventions of imagery used in vaticinal texts and expected their audience to recognise this imagery in their political verse. The presence of similar imagery in both Latin and Middle English texts suggests that this imagery was more broadly understood than has been suggested as vernacular texts generally circulated among a wider audience, from diverse social strata. The treatment of Bussy, Green, Bagot, and Scrope in these poems provides further evidence that the poets had particular, detailed knowledge of the political events of the summer 1399 and sought to include this detail in their verse. Although these poems evidently support the Lancastrian accession their focus does not seem to be purely propagandistic; instead seeking to be topical and accurate. These factors weaken the suggestion that these poems were part of a coordinated scheme, although there are strong similarities between *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch'.

## Conclusion

This chapter has considered imagery of the deposition in a selection of poems from circa 1399. The different language, form, and style of these poems suggests diverse audiences, including both specialist and non-specialist readers. This diversity of audience weakens David R. Carlson's claim that these poems were part of a coordinated scheme. The analysis of the origins of imagery in this corpus suggests that vernacular texts such as *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch' used imagery derived from livery and heraldic badges, similar to the imagery discussed in Chapter Three, rather than imagery derived from vaticinal discourse. However, the use of puns to refer to Richard's ministers in these poems suggests that vatic literature still influenced the imagery in these texts. This in turn suggests that vaticinal discourse was more widely understood than has previously been suggested. The eagle imagery in 'O Deus in Celis' also shows the clear influence of vaticinal discourse; the use of the future tense in this poem marks this text as more closely associated with vatic material than even Gower's *Cronica tripertita*, which makes considerable use of imagery derived from vaticinal discourse, as discussed in Chapter Two. Gower's 'H. aquile pullus' sits at the intersection or these two traditions of imagery. Although it shows the clear influence of vatic material in its use of the prophecy of the holy oil of St Thomas, it also shows the influence of physical symbols as the imagery is derived in part from the stone eagle ampulla in which the oil was stored. In addition to analysing the different origins of the imagery this chapter has explored the meaning and significance of this imagery, focussing on the metaphorical blends in *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch'. The HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend was shown to be an extension of the LIVERY BADGE metaphorical blend discussed in Chapter Three. However, the HERALDIC ANIMAL metaphorical blend makes greater use of the nature input space, relying on information from the medieval bestiary tradition to inform the completion and elaboration of the blend. I also analysed how natural law influences imagery in Richard the Redeless, which makes

frequent reference to ‘kynde’. In particular, *Richard the Redeless* uses the theme of natural law to condemn Richard's treatment of the Lords Appellant. Richard's treatment of these men, combined with his failure to punish those who threatened the realm, is presented as the central cause of Richard's deposition, and his eventual death. Natural law is less important in ‘There is a Busch’ which emphasizes how the unity of Henry’s followers deviates from the natural order, presenting this as a wonder or miracle. Similarly, although the mistreatment of the Lords Appellant is criticised in ‘There is a Busch’, the poem does not rely on ideas relating to natural law to support or authenticate this criticism. The differing origins and applications of the imagery in this corpus do not support the suggestion that these poems formed part of a coordinated scheme. We would expect greater similarities if the use of imagery in these poems was coordinated at a culturally advanced level. Finally, there is further evidence which undermines this claim.

The strongest argument against Carlson’s claim comes from the fact that such imagery appears to be an established mode of representing political figures in vaticinal and topical verse that was used throughout the medieval period until at least the Elizabethan era. The tradition of using animal imagery in vaticinal literature dates from its use in the *Prophetiae Merlini* in the twelfth century and remains popular throughout the later medieval period. These texts clearly had an important political impact as monarchs sought to limit their distribution. In 1402 Henry IV’s parliament was critical of prophecies circulating in Wales since ‘les queux par lour divinaciones, messonges, et excitacions, sont concause de la insurrectioun et rebellioun q'orest en Gales.’ [for, by their divinations, lies and incitements, they are a cause of the present insurrection and rebellion in Wales.][108] These prophecies continued to be prevalent throughout

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[108] ‘Henry IV: September 1402’, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. by Given-Wilson and others, in *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/september-1402> [accessed 02 February 2021], section 90.

the fifteenth century so that by the mid-sixteenth century Henry VIII had enacted a statute against them, specifically referencing the use of heraldic animal imagery and sybilline imagery in these texts:

> If any persone or persones prynte or wryte, or elles speake, sing or declare to any other persone of the King or of any other persone, [...] any suche false Prophecies uppon occasion of any Armes feldes beastes, fowles, or other suche lyke thinges accustomed in armes cognisaunces, badges, or signetes, or by reasone of lettres of the name of the King or of any other persone to thintent to set furthe such prophecies, that thenne everye suche offence shalbe deamed Felonye.[109]

The law was re-enacted under Edward VI, and a similar law was enacted in Elizabeth I's reign.[110] These attempts to limit the spread of vaticinal texts is evidence that these texts were believed to have a significant impact on political events. We can infer that, in order for texts in this mode to threaten the ruling regimes, such prophecies must have been understood by a significant proportion of people, meaning that the imagery they contain cannot have been recondite or unusual.

Such imagery was not restricted to vaticinal texts and is also found in topical, political verse. In this corpus we see a group of poems using similar heraldic animal imagery to comment on specific events, in this case the deposition of Richard II and the accession of Henry IV. In the mid-fifteenth century we see another group of poems using heraldic animal imagery to comment upon topical events, in this case the Wars of the Roses. Unlike our corpus these poems do not date from the same time, they were written across the span of the second half of the fifteenth century, with dates ranging from 1449 to the 1490s.[111] Given the historical spread

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[109] *The Statutes of the Realm*, III (1817), 850.
[110] *Heraldic Badges*, I, 105.
[111] A collection of these poems can be found in *Heraldic Badges*, I, 94–102.

of these poems we must conclude that a variety of poets chose to make use of an established and well-known tradition of imagery in their verse because it was well suited to their purposes. It would be impossible for these poems to form part of a coordinated scheme, which in turn weakens the suggestion that the earlier poems were. Carlson is aware of this later group of poems, and argues that they represent 'another moment of intense partisan division within the ruling elite, which again did not have broader sociopolitical implications or ramifications'. Owing to this lack of broader socio-political implications Carlson views this imagery as relevant only to an elite few, meaning 'few, if any, could be expected to understand [the imagery] without help'.[112] If this was the case, the poets using this imagery did not seem to be concerned that their poetry would be unintelligible. They did not attempt to gloss or explain their imagery, with the exception of a poem from 1449, which includes the names of the figures associated with the relevant badges between the lines in the manuscript.[113] The evidence seems to suggest that the imagery was not recondite, and that parties interested in political verse would not have had any difficulty understanding it. This view is shared by Michael Powell Siddons, Frank Grady, and Helen Barr.[114] In sum, we must conclude that although our corpus of poems all legitimise Lancastrian rule, they were not part of a culturally coordinated scheme for this purpose.

In addition to examining the suggestion that this corpus of poems was part of a Lancastrian scheme to justify Henry's accession, this chapter has provided some new insights into the imagery in these poems, including its origins, meaning and significance. I have focussed primarily on *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch' as these poems both

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[112] Carlson, 'English Poetry, July–October 1399', pp. 387–8, n. 19.
[113] 'DIMEV 5453: The Root is dead the Swan is gone', in *DIMEV* <https://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=5453> [accessed 3 February 2021].
[114] *Heraldic Badges*, I, 90–1; Grady, 'The Generation of 1399', in *The Letter of the Law,* ed. by Steiner and Barrington, p. 202; Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 72.

establish developed metaphorical blends which organise the imagery in these poems into coherent metaphorical worlds. In these blends animals interact with one another and features of the natural world to convey information about the events and political climate in England at the end of the fourteenth century. Although there are similarities between the images in these two poems, they are clearly still independent productions, with each poet focussing on particular elements and themes. This is evidence that heraldic animal imagery was capable of producing interesting and original poetry, which went beyond establishing code names for political figures to conveying information about the behaviour, character and motivations of these men. Understanding and appreciating how this imagery functions allows us to appreciate the subtle and nuanced socio-political commentary in these poems.

# Chapter Five:

# The APIAN Metaphor and the Godly Gardener in *Mum and the Sothsegger*

So far this thesis has focussed on highly topical imagery which was used to present specific historical figures and comment on particular historical events. Imagery of the natural world could also be used to offer non-topical political commentary; such images do not comment on specific events but offer more general comment on the organisation of political communities. An example of such imagery occurs in the dream vision of *Mum and the Sothsegger* where the narrator encounters a gardener who tends a hive of bees (954–1090). The hive is a model for human society, with the implication that men might be able to solve their political problems if they followed the example of the bees a little more closely. This metaphor, in which comparisons are made between bees and the hive and human political systems, is called the APIAN metaphor. Unlike the images considered thus far in this thesis the APIAN metaphor has a long tradition, with similar images being found in many classical and medieval texts. For this reason, a different approach is needed to analyse the significance of the APIAN metaphor in *Mum* from that required by the more topical images considered in the preceding chapters. In this chapter I will consider mappings that are typically found in the APIAN metaphor and how these are expressed in classical and medieval sources. I will then consider how this tradition affects the use of the metaphor in *Mum*, with a particular emphasis on the sources which the *Mum*-poet used. I will demonstrate that in addition to using the named source of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum* the *Mum*-poet also made direct use of Virgil's fourth *Georgic.* A Virgilian source has been suggested by Thorlac Turville-Petre,[1] but I provide the

[1] Turville-Petre, p. 133.

first strong evidence that the *Mum*-poet had direct knowledge of Virgil's poem and was not reliant on aspects of Virgil's work that were transmitted via Bartholomaeus. After exploring the *Mum*-poet's use of sources I will examine how he adapts the APIAN metaphor to his own political purposes, exploring the use of imagery to comment upon the deposition and the possible presence of Wycliffite themes. Finally, I consider the role of the gardener who shares this imagery with the narrator. Previous scholarship has been equivocal on the role and significance of the gardener: Grady sees the gardener as 'a figure for Henry', Valerie Johnson has considered him as filling 'the parallel and hierarchical roles of beekeeper, sovereign king, and ultimately a face of God', and Barr has suggested that he has 'some Christ-like characteristics.'[2] I argue that the gardener's divine associations are stronger than has previously been considered, and that he should be read as primarily representing God. This reading does not preclude any of the alternative perspectives offered by critics but, I argue, makes most sense within the context of the dream vision and the gardener's environment. In this chapter, I deepen our understanding of the apian section of *Mum and the Sothsegger* and illustrate how the *Mum*-poet was able to adapt an existing metaphor, with an extensive tradition, to convey his own form of political commentary.

Comparing the political and social structures of bees and humans has seemingly always been popular. Some of the earliest evidence of these comparisons come from ancient Egypt, where the Egyptian word for bee (*bit*) came to metonymically mean 'king'.[3] Rachel D. Carlson's comprehensive study of apian imagery in classical literature traces the use of apian imagery to depict human interactions to the *Iliad*, where Homer compares the Greeks to bees and wasps.[4] In later classical texts, such as Varro's *De re rustica* and Virgil's fourth *Georgic*,

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[2] Grady, 'The Generation of 1399', in *The Letter of the Law,* ed. by Steiner and Barrington, p. 214; Johnson, p. 254; Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 172.
[3] Stephens, p. 1.
[4] Rachel D. Carlson, p. 72.

we see developed comparisons between the beehive and human society. These texts use shared mappings to establish connections between bees and humans, which allows us to group them together as examples of the APIAN metaphor. The similarity between bees and humans is central to Varro's discussion, who begins by observing that bees are social creatures like humans. Further Varro understands the structure of apian society through reference to human structures: 'Haec ut hominum civitates, quod hic est et rex et imperium et societas' [Their commonwealth is like the states of men, for here are king, government, and fellowship.][5] The similarity between men and bees allows bees to serve as a model for men: 'ab his opus facere discunt, ab his aedificare, ab his cibaria condere.' [it is from these that men learn to toil, to build, to store up food.] (III.16, pp. 500–1). According to CMT, metaphors are usually unidirectional, meaning that the target domain can be understood in terms of the source domain, but the metaphor cannot be reversed so that the source domain is understood in terms of the target domain. However, we can see from Varro's discussion that the APIAN metaphor is reversible, so that comparison with human society is used to develop our understanding of bees and their habits, whilst the beehive also serves as a model for human society. For this reason, CIT, in which the blend can be used to understand both input spaces, is the most appropriate tool for analysing the APIAN metaphor.

The APIAN metaphor has two input spaces: bees and humans, as illustrated in Figure 5.1. This also highlights some mappings which are commonly seen in the APIAN metaphorical blend; however, a given text may feature only some of these mappings or variations on them. In what follows I aim to give an overview of the tradition of the APIAN metaphor in classical sources; a more detailed examination of the political depiction of bees in classical texts can be found in Rachel Carlson's comprehensive study.[6] Most often the human input concerns the

[5] Cato, Varro, pp. 500–1.
[6] Rachel D. Carlson, Chapter Two, pp. 60–110.

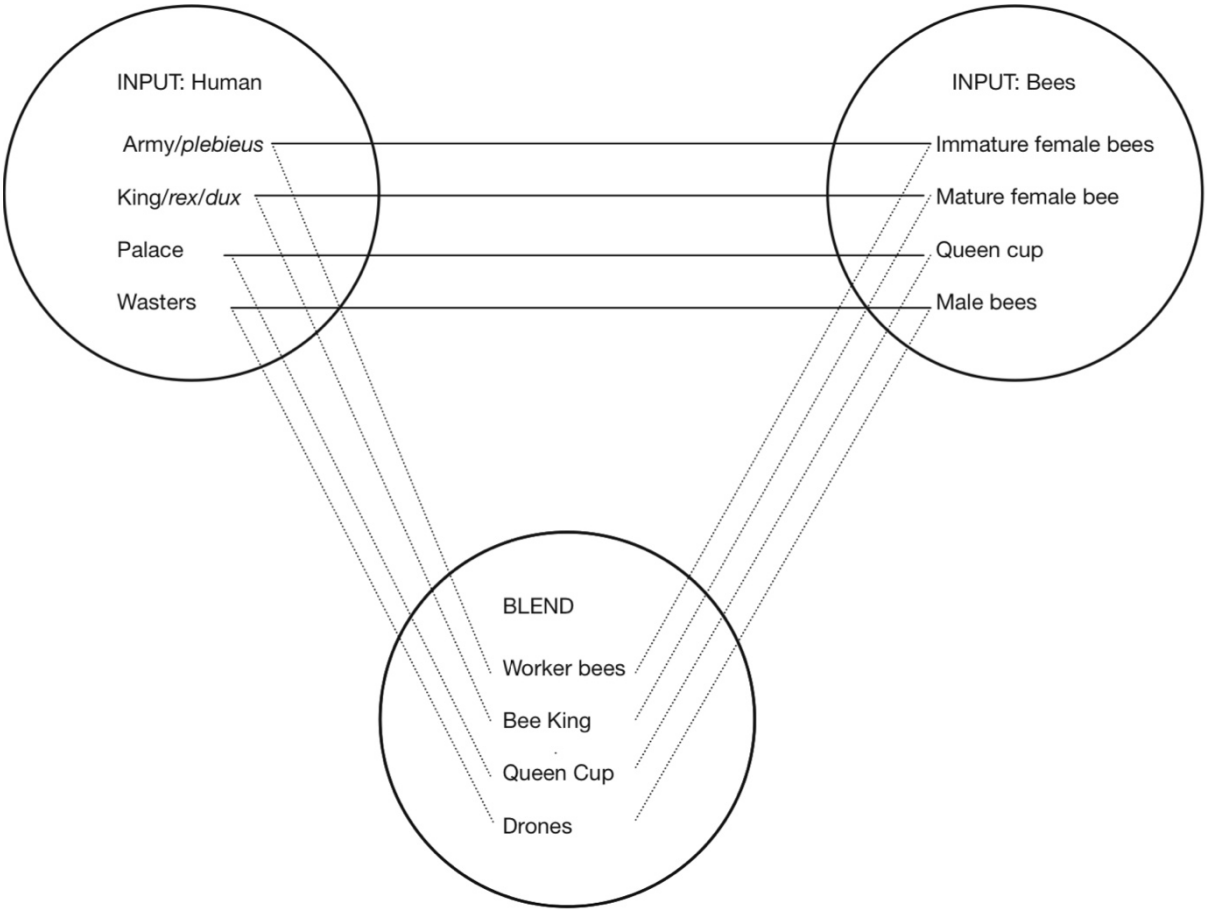


Figure 5.1 The APIAN Metaphorical Blend

structure of human society, as in the preceding example where Varro compares the hive to the 'hominum civitates' [the states of men]. Comparisons often focus on the distinction between the immature female bees and the mature female bee who is perceived as 'ruling' the hive. This is seen in Pliny's *Natural History* where a distinction is made between the immature female bees, which Pliny refers to using *plebieus*, and the mature female, which Pliny terms the *rex* or *king*.[7] Such metaphorical treatment is still used in modern discussions of bees. We typically call the immature females 'worker bees' and treat the mature female bee as royalty, although we now know she is a queen rather than a king. Sometimes the human input space is more specific, likening the bees to a human army rather than to society as a whole. Although most of Varro's discussion draws comparisons between bees and human society generally, he also

[7] Pliny, pp. 448–9.

writes: 'Omnes ut in exercitu vivunt' [They all live as if in an army] (III.16, pp. 502–3). Further, Varro likens the mature female bee to military leaders by using the term 'duces' from *dux* meaning *leader*, *commander*.[8] Writers also compare the buzzing of bees to the use of trumpets by soldiers, with this image being seen in both Varro (III.16, pp. 502–3, 516–17) and Virgil.[9] However, these images are less common and in *Mum and the Sothsegger* the APIAN metaphor focusses on societal level comparisons rather than on martial images.

In general, the APIAN metaphor focusses on the queen bee, rather than on the hive as a whole, drawing comparisons between the queen and human rulers. Most commonly, the queen bee is referred to as a king, as she was assumed to be male until Jan Swammerdam proved the gender of the queen in 1637–8.[10] However, other terms were used including *dux* and *ductor* both of which mean *leader* or *commander*, tying into the more martial comparisons discussed above. Aristotle was unique among early writers because he seemed to have some knowledge that the queen bee was actually female and involved in the reproduction of the bees, writing somewhat noncommittally: 'Some people call them "mothers," implying that they produce the young.'[11] The comparison between the queen bee and human leaders is a fundamental component of the APIAN metaphor, and sometimes the metaphor may not be extended beyond this comparison. For example, Seneca's *De Clementia* offers advice to the emperor Nero which presents the queen bee as a model which Nero ought to emulate. In particular, Seneca highlights the belief that the queen bee either did not have a sting or chose not to use her sting, from which Nero is expected to learn to be merciful.[12] It was common for the APIAN metaphor to be used

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[8] 'dux', in *DMLBS* <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2156/dmlbs/Default.aspx> [accessed 04 February 2020]

[9] Virgil, pp. 222–3, ll. 67–87.

[10] For more on the gender of the queen bee in classical sources see Hudson-Williams; Davies and Kathirithamby, p. 62. I use the term 'queen bee' to refer to the mature female bee in the hive, and 'bee king' or 'king bee' to discuss the literary representations of this bee.

[11] Aristotle, pp. 188–9.

[12] Seneca, *Moral Essays*, pp. 410–1.

as an exemplum in this way, often at the expense of accurate entomological description. Queen bees do in fact have a sting which they use to attack other queens.[13] Such inaccuracies can be attributed to the limited entomological knowledge that was available to classical writers, but it is also reflective of the writers' selective treatment. Only features which support the anthropomorphic treatment of bees and the writer's own beliefs about leadership and society are included in the APIAN metaphor.

This selective treatment is most clearly seen in the depiction of how the queen bee gains her position as the leader of the hive. Aristotle asserted that in the hive there were several leaders and that a hive will fail if it has either too many or too few leaders in it. Simon Byl has argued that this belief is derived from Aristotle's anthropomorphic conception of the bees and his tendency to prefer oligarchical leadership.[14] However, some later writers did not support oligarchical leadership and so do not depict there being multiple queens in a hive. Varro actually warns of the dangers of having multiple queens in a single hive, saying that the Beekeeper should prevent this from happening: 'Praeterea ut animadvertat ne reguli plures existant; inutiles enim fiunt propter seditiones.' [He should further see to it that several chiefs do not arise, for they become nuisances because of their dissensions.] (III.16, pp. 508–9). How the king bee gains his position as the ruler of the hive varies. Sometimes this is a meritocratic process, where multiple potential leaders fight to determine who most deserves the role, sometimes the king bee is born into the role, or created by Nature for the purpose.[15] During the medieval period society was generally organised under a single king and the treatment of bees reflects this: the queen bee is referred to as a king, rather than using the martial *dux* or *ductor*, and there is no suggestion that there should be multiple queens in a single hive. However, the

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[13] Bee Wilson, p. 9.
[14] Davies, and Kathirithamby, p. 63; Byl.
[15] Compare Seneca, *Moral Essays*, pp. 410–1, where the king bee is determined by means of a fight with Xeonophon's *Cyropaedia* where the queen bee is born to rule the hive, II, 14–5.

suggestion that the bees select their own king is still present, as is evident in the following passage from the Aberdeen Bestiary:

> Ipse sibi regem ordinant, ipse populos creant, et licet posite sub rege sunt tamen libere. Nam et prerogativum iudicii tenent, et fide devocionis affectum quia et tanquam a se substitutum diligunt, et tanto honorant examine.
>
> [They choose their own king, they appoint themselves his people; but although they are subject to the king, they are nevertheless free. For they have the right of selecting him and of offering him their loyalty, because they love him as one whom they have chosen and honour him with such responsibility.][16]

The tradition of the APIAN metaphorical blend does not provide a single, authoritative version of the blend which is passed from text to text. Rather, each text highlights certain features of bees and humans which are salient for the author's particular purpose, obscuring other potential mappings or points of comparison. When considering *Mum and the Sothsegger* in light of this tradition it is important to consider both how the tradition may have shaped *Mum*, as well as what specific sources the *Mum* poet may have used.

The *Mum*-poet only names one source in the apian section of the text: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, who is cited at lines 1028 and 1054. However, there is clear evidence which suggests that the *Mum*-poet used a Virgilian source, and that he was not solely reliant on material transmitted by Bartholomaeus. This evidence concerns the division of labour in the hive, which is often described using anaphora to highlight the diverse occupations the different bees engage in. In Virgil's *Georgics* the passage detailing the division of labour in the hive uses a sequence of clauses which begin with 'aliae' [some]:

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[16]'Folio 63v' in *The Aberdeen Bestiary* <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/ms24/f63v> [accessed 10 August 2021]. Entries concerning bees in medieval bestiaries almost always follow the text of *De bestiis et aliss rebus*, which Debra Hassig notes draws on the writings of Ambrose and Isidore. However, the passage dealing with the selection of the king bee is not derived from either of these sources. Hassig, p. 53, p. 215, n. 6; *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CLXXVII: *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, (1854), p. 54.

> namque aliae victu invigilant et foedere pacto
> exercentur agris; pars intra saepta domorum
> narcissi lacrimam et lentum de cortice gluten
> prima favis ponunt fundamina, deinde tenacis
> suspendunt ceras; aliae spem gentis adultos
> educunt fetus; aliae purissima mella
> stipant et liquido distendunt nectare cellas;
> sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti,
> inque vicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,
> aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
> ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent.
>
> [For some watch over the gathering of food, and under fixed covenant labour in the fields; some, within the confines of their homes, lay down the narcissus' tears and gluey gum from tree bark as the first foundation of the comb, then hang aloft clinging wax; others lead out the full-grown young, the nation's hope; others pack purest honey, and swell the cells with liquid nectar. To some it has fallen by lot to be sentries at the gates, and in turn they watch the rains and clouds of heaven, or take the load of incomers, or in martial array drive the drones, a lazy herd, from the folds].
>
> (158–68)

This sequence can be summarised as a series of discreet tasks: (1) the pursuit of food in fields, (2) the building of combs; (3) the supervision of the young; (4) the production of honey and nectar; (5) the watching of the weather; and (6) the killing or expulsion of the drones. In *Mum* we find a similar passage, using the repeated phrase 'and sum' to describe the division of labour in the hive:

> For sum, as thou sees, thay shape thaym to the feldes
> To souke oute the swettenes of the somer floures,
> And sum abiden at home to bigge up the loigges,
> And helpen to make hony of that thay home bringen,
> And doon other deedes thorough dome that is among thaym;

> And sum waiten the wedre, the wynde and the skyes,
> Yf hit be temperate tyme to travaylle or to leve.
>
> (1019–5)

Comparing the two passages we can see that *Mum* follows the content and structure of the Virgilian text, omitting only (3) the supervision of the young, and (6) the killing of the drones.[17] Otherwise, the order and nature of the tasks are the same in the two texts. In addition to these structural similarities there are linguistic parallels which may further suggest that the *Mum*-poet was aware of this passage in Virgil: 'agris'/'feldes'; 'domorum'/'home'/'loiggres'; 'mella'/'hony'; 'aquas'/'wedre'/'wynde'. These similarities provide evidence that the *Mum* poet had direct knowledge of the fourth *Georgic*, either through a manuscript of the *Georgics* or through reading a text which quotes the *Georgics* at length, such as John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. This is strengthened through a comparison of *Mum*, Virgil, and the *De proprietatibus rerum*. This comparison shows closer parallels between *Mum* and Virgil than exist between *Mum* and *De proprietatibus rerum*, suggesting that the Virgilian material was not transmitted to the *Mum*-poet via Bartholomaeus (or not solely via his work).

Trevisa's translation of *De proprietatibus rerum* includes two chapters on bees: Chapter 5 in Book XII, and Chapter 7 in Book XVIII. Both of these chapters feature similar passages describing the division of labour using the repetition of 'aliae' or 'sum':

> Some ficchiþ as it were in bataile in þe felde aȝenst oþir been; somme beþ besy aboute mete; and some aspyeþ comynge of rayne; and somme byholdeþ concours and metynge of dewes; and somme makeþ wex of floures; and somme makeþ celles.

[17] The killing of the drones is not found in the 'and sum' sequence although it does receive extensive treatment in *Mum*, on which see below. Since I am only looking at 'and sum' passages in this section I have not included this aspect in my comparison of Virgil and *Mum*.

(I, 610–11)

> And þanne somme gadereþ floures wiþ here feet, and somme water wiþ here mouþ, and bereþ dropes yfere wiþ al þe rowȝnesse of þe body. […] For here offices ben dyuerse; for somme makeþ hous; and somme clenseþ and highteþ þe huyue; and somme arrayeþ mete of þat þat is ybrought.

(II, 1143)

The second of these passage bears little similarity with the corresponding passage in *Mum* and so I will focus on the passage from Book XII. This passage can be summarised as (1) the fighting of bees in fields; (2) the production of food; (3) the watching of the weather; and (4) the building of combs. Comparing all three texts we can see closer similarities between *Mum* and the *Georgics* than exist between *Mum* and Bartholomaeus. Some of the same tasks are found in all three passages, specifically the pursuit of food, the building of combs, and the watching of the weather. These tasks appear in the same order in both Virgil and *Mum*, but are presented in a different sequence in Bartholomaeus' text. The passage from Book XII of Bartholomaeus also references fighting other bees which does not appear in the 'aliae'/'sum' sequences in the other texts. There are also fewer linguistic parallels, for example 'felde' is used not in the sense of an agricultural field as seen in *Mum* and Virgil but in reference to a battlefield which does not parallel the 'agris' (159) of Virgil's text. Similarly, there is no reference to 'mella'/'hony' as Bartholomaeus uses the more generic 'mete'. The close parallels in the 'aliae'/'sum' sequences in the *Georgics* and *Mum* suggest that the *Mum*-poet used a Virgilian source for these lines. The differences between these sequences in *Mum* and Bartholomaeus suggest that the *Mum*-poet did not rely on Bartholomaeus' text to transmit the Virgilian material he used, as has been suggested by Thorlac Turville-Petre.[18] Instead I argue

[18] Thorlac Turville-Petre, p. 133.

that the *Mum*-poet had either read the *Georgics*, or a text which quoted the relevant passage of Virgil's text.

Considering the transmission of Virgil in the late medieval period, either of these routes could be possible but it is difficult to establish which is more probable. Virgil was of course well known, possibly 'the most broadly known, cited, and invoked of all classical Latin authors' in medieval English literature.[19] Some of the *Mum*-poet's contemporaries, including Chaucer and Gower, show knowledge of Virgil's poetry in their works. However, Ziolkowski warns against taking such allusions at face value, since Virgil's poetry was embedded 'so deeply in literary culture' that 'not all of the testimonies in medieval literature that at first blush look Virgilian necessarily signal intimate or even passing acquaintance with his poetry'(p. 169). The treatment of bees in *Mum* indicates that the *Mum*-poet was familiar with a considerable portion of the *Georgics* rather than the 'bits and snatches' used as 'tags' which Ziolkowski identifies as being characteristic of authors who encountered Virgil through quotations and references (p. 169). However, the *Mum*-poet's more substantial knowledge of the *Georgics* does not necessarily imply that he had access to a manuscript of the complete poem. L. P. Wilkinson has observed that the *Georgics* was the least popular Virgilian text, and while 'most libraries contained at least one complete Virgil, […] there seem to have been fewer *separate* texts of the *Georgics* than of the *Aeneid*, let alone the *Eclogues*.'[20] While the apian section of the *Georgics* covers Book IV, lines 1–280 the evidence offered above only indicates that the *Mum*-poet had read Book IV, lines 158–68. It is therefore possible that the *Mum*-poet encountered Virgil's text in quotation, such as in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, which

[19] Ziolkowski, 'Virgil', in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception*, ed. by Copeland, p. 165.
[20] L.P. Wilkinson, pp. 274–5.

includes an extract from the *Georgics*, corresponding to Book IV, lines 153–218, which all the Virgilian aspects of *Mum* can be traced to.[21]

Understanding the tradition of the APIAN metaphor supports the analysis of the imagery in *Mum and the Sothsegger* by developing our understanding of the work's textual environment. This allows us to appreciate what knowledge the *Mum*-poet had access to, and now this may have affected his use of imagery, but also what knowledge the audience may have had and how this may shape the interpretation of *Mum*. In the next section I pay particular attention to how the *Mum*-poet uses the tradition of the apian metaphor to legitimise his political commentary and how features of this tradition may be included, adapted, or abandoned in *Mum*.

## Political Commentary in the Apian Section of *Mum*

The *Mum*-poet presents the hive of bees as the ideal society, which humans should emulate in order to resolve the problems of the realm. He adapts the tradition of the APIAN metaphor to provide topical commentary which responds to the political concerns of the early fifteenth-century. In particular the *Mum*-poet presents the king bee as the ideal ruler, drawing parallels between the king bee and Henry Bolingbroke. The depiction of the king bee not only offers general beliefs about the nature of good kingship but responds to the deposition and the ability of the community to select their own king. The *Mum*-poet also provides extended comment on the destructive influence of the drones on the hive. Helen Barr has argued that the 'bee analogy encodes a Wycliffite view of civic society,' particularly suggesting that the drones represent the clergy.[22] Later, I shall examine the possible Wycliffite implication of the depiction of the drones and what significance the destruction of the drones has. These issues have crucial

[21] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, pp. 127–9.
[22] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 169; these ideas are also explored in Barr's earlier work *Signes and Sothe*, pp. 105–9.

implications for our interpretation of the gardener, which I assess in the final section of this chapter. This section explores the political commentary offered by the apian passage, with a particular eye to the ways in which the *Mum*-poet uses the authority of the APIAN metaphor's long tradition to legitimise his political commentary.

The APIAN metaphor's ability to offer authoritative statements about the nature of good kingship is derived from the belief that natural law could be understood through reference to animals and the natural world. Comparisons with nature could therefore be used to adduce what forms of government God wished humans to follow. These ideas are expressed clearly in Aquinas' *De regimine principum* where he asserts 'optimum videtur regis officium a forma regiminis naturalis assumere' [it would seem best to deduce the duties of a king from the examples of government in nature], because God created and governs the natural world.[23] Aquinas cites the example of bees in the hive, drawing a comparison between humans and bees because they are both social animals which live in a community which, as we have seen, was the basis for comparison in Varro's *De re rustica*.[24] Aquinas compares the king's role governing society to the soul's governance of the body, and God's governance of the universe:

> Hoc igitur officium rex suscepisse cognoscat, ut sit in regno sicut in corpore anima, et sicut Deus in mundo. Quae si diligenter recogitet, ex altero iustitiae eo zelus accenditur, dum considerate ad hoc se postitum, ut loco Dei, iudicium regno exerceat.
>
> [A king, then, should realize that he has assumed the duty of being to his kingdom what the soul is to the body and what God is to the universe. If he thinks attentively upon this point he will, on the one hand be fired with zeal for

[23] Aquinas, *Selected Political Writings*, pp. 66–7.
[24] 'Apes non sunt solitaria natura, ut aquilae, sed ut homines.' [Bees are not of a solitary nature, as eagles are, but are like human beings.] Cato, Varro, pp. 500–1.

> justice, seeing himself appointed to administer justice throughout his realm in the name of God.]
>
> (pp. 66–7)

This emphasis on justice may remind us of Virgil's description of bees as being 'sub legibus' [under law] (IV.154, pp. 228–9), and of the emphasis on law seen in texts such as *Piers Plowman*. The relationship between law and kingship is central to the depiction of the deposition in *Mum*, as I will discuss further below. Unfortunately, as Aquinas' text was not known in England during the early fifteenth century, it is not possible for this discussion of bees to provide direct inspiration to the *Mum*-poet.[25] However, it is probable that he was aware of the discussions surrounding natural law, and the use of comparisons with the natural world to provide models for human government. Helen Barr suggests the *Mum*-poet may have been familiar with Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, which also asserts that men should learn governance from the examples found in nature.[26] Giles also uses an apian example in his treatise when discussing the merits of having single or multiple rulers:

> Also for it is kyndelich for bene to lyue in a companye, it is kyndelich for hem to be vnder oo kynge. […] And best rewelyng is monarchia þat is þe rewelyng of oon kyng, for þerinne is more parfite vnyte.
>
> (p. 327, ll. 33–4, 40–1)

Here again we might see connections with the classical tradition of the APIAN metaphor, concerning the possible presence of multiple queen bees in a single hive. We also see that bees are again viewed as a particularly apt point of comparison because they are social animals like humans. However, there are few direct connections between the discussion of bees in Giles' text and that found in *Mum*, which does not consider the question of monarchical/oligarchical

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[25] See further Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law', pp. 52–3.
[26] Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law', pp. 53–4.

leadership at all. Despite the fact that there are no direct connections between the treatment of bees in either Aquinas and Giles' text and that found in *Mum* these works show that in the late medieval period philosophers were using comparisons with nature, and in particular comparisons with bees, to convey ideas about ideal forms of human government. The APIAN metaphor could be used to legitimise philosophical discussions about correct forms of kingship and governance, providing an example from nature which drew its ultimate authority from God who created the natural world.

As alluded to above, the APIAN metaphor may have been particularly attractive to Lancastrian poets in the early fifteenth century because it legitimised the idea of a community selecting their own king following the longstanding belief that bees selected their own king. This detail is included in the works of Virgil, Seneca, and Pliny, as well as in medieval texts including Bartholomaeus and medieval bestiaries.[27] *Mum* includes this theme, although it is presented in less explicit language than is found in other texts:

> The moste merciful among thaym and meukest of his deedes
> Ys king of bees comunely, as clergie us telleth,
> [...]
> To reule thaym by reason and by rightful domes,
> Thorough contente of the cumpaignie that closeth alle in oone.
>
> (1029–37)

This has clear appeal to a Lancastrian writing post-deposition; however, themes surrounding the king being selected or requiring the consent of the commons to rule are present in late fourteenth-century literature as well. In the B-text of *Piers Plowman* the king is introduced: 'þanne kam þer a Kyng: Knyȝthod hym ladde; | Might of þe communes made hym to regne'

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[27] Virgil, pp. 232–3; Seneca, *Moral Essays*, pp. 410–1; Pliny, pp. 462–3; *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CLXXVII: *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, (1854), p. 54; *On The Properties of Things*, p. 610.

(B.Pro.112–3). Since the king derives his authority from the commons there is a possible suggestion that they have a role in selecting or approving the king. In *Piers Plowman* it is not clear what qualifies a king for the role; however, in *Mum* this is made clear: the consent of the community which gives the king bee his power is tied, through the use of the preposition 'thorough', to the king's ability to rule well, particularly in the execution of 'rightful domes', that is, just law. *Piers Plowman* also emphasizes the role of law: 'The Kyng and þe Commune and Kynde Wit þe þridde | Shopen lawe and leaute – ech lif to knowe his owene' (B.Pro.121–2).[28] This can be read in light of the fourth question of the coronation oath, first included in the coronation of Edward II, which asked the king: 'Concedis iustas leges et consuetudines esse tenendas. et promittis eas per te esse protegendas. et ad honorem dei roborandas quas uulgus elegerit secundum uires tuas?' [Do you agree to be bound by the laws and customs, and do you promise to protect them, and, for the honour of God, strengthen those laws and customs which the people will choose, according to your ability?].[29]Anna P. Baldwin analyses these lines in the light of this oath and observes that it was later used by the Lords of Parliament in Edward's deposition in 1327, from which Baldwin concludes: 'A community which really does help to "shopen lawe and leaute" can also dethrone its king.'[30] If we examine the circumstances surrounding Richard II's deposition we can see that this view holds true.

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[28] Neither of these lines is present in the C-text. In the C-text the king reigns from the might of the knights (C.Prol.140) and the commons do not have a role in shaping the law.

[29] *English Coronation Records*, p. 88. For a discussion of the significance of this clause see Wilkinson, 'The Coronation Oath of Edward II' in *Historical Essays*, ed. by Edwards, Galbraith, and Jacob; Seymour Phillips, pp. 141–3.

[30] Baldwin, *Theme of Government*, p. 14. In the *forma deposicionis* Roger Mortimer, ostensibly speaking on behalf of the magnates, argued that Edward II should be removed as king, in part because he has broken his coronation oath. Mortimer proposed that Edward, Duke of Aquitaine, should replace his father as king if the people approved '*si populus preberet assensum*', showing the importance attached to the common's consent to rule and deposition. The proceedings concluded with the archbishop of Canterbury's address on the theme of *'Vox populi vox dei* ('the voice of the people is the voice of God')'. The archbishop claimed that the people's unanimous consent was needed for the deposition of Edward II and the accession of the young Edward, which was duly given. Seymour Phillips, pp. 527–9.

At Richard's coronation in July 1377 he swore the same oath; however the words 'juste et rationabiliter' [justly and reasonably] were added to qualify the laws which the people would choose.[31] Richard's alleged failure to keep his coronation oaths was one of the reasons cited in the 'Record and Process' for Richard's deposition, with the coronation oaths being quoted before the articles detailing the charges against Richard.[32] One article recalls Richard's coronation oath to uphold the law and customs of the realm (*leges et consuetudines*) and sets this oath in opposition to Richard's desire to follow his will: 'Item, idem rex nolens justas leges et consuetudines regni sui servare seu protegere, set secundum sue arbitrium voluntatis facere quicquid desideriis ejus occurrerit' [Also, the same king wishing not to observe or protect the just laws and customs of his realm, but to do whatever appealed to his desires according to the impulse of his will].[33] There are multiple references to Richard following his arbitrary will rather than the duties of his role in the 'Record and Process'.[34] Following these charges the 'Record and Process' records how the commissioners appointed to handle the deposition concluded:

> Ipsum Ricardum ex habundanti, et ad cautelam ad regimen et gubernacionem dictorum regnorum et dominii, juriumque et pertinenciarum eorundem, fuisse et esse inutilem, inhabilem, insufficientem penitus, et indignum.
>
> [Richard himself to have been and to be useless, incapable, utterly incompetent and unworthy, for the rule and government of the said realms and dominion, and of the laws and appurtenances of the same].[35]

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[31] Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 25.
[32] Schramm, p. 213; 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. by Given-Wilson and others, in *British History Online* <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/october-1399-pt-1> [accessed 09 September 2021], section 17.
[33] 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', section 33.
[34] 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', sections 33, 34, 35, 36, and 45.
[35] 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', section 52.

We should be cautious in our use of the 'Record and Process', as its status as a work of Lancastrian propaganda is widely recognised.[36] However, it does provide a useful record of the Lancastrian version of events, and it is this politicized version of history which *Mum* seems to be responding to. In *Mum* the king bee's leadership is presented as being dependent on his execution of law, which carries the implication that if a king fails to uphold the law he risks losing the 'contente of the cumpaignie' which allows him to rule. Richard lost this 'contente' and this, in part, formed the basis for his deposition. One component of Henry's claim to the throne was he had been sent by God to save England which 'was in poynt to be undone for defaut of governance and undoyng of the gode lawes.'[37] The estates are required to consent to the accession, firstly accepting Richard's renunciation, and then consenting to Henry's claim to rule over them.[38]

The APIAN metaphor generally emphasizes the presence and importance of the community. An analysis of the role of the community of the bees in transferring power on to their king reveals more overt links between the king bee in *Mum* and Henry IV. When describing the king bee the gardener says:

> Thay have a king by kinde that the coroune bereth,
> Whom thay doo sue and serve as souvrayn to thaym alle,
> And obeyen to his biddyng, or elles the boke lieth.
> The highest hoole in the hyve, he holdeth hit hymself,
> For there thay setten hym in his see by hymself oone
>
> (999–1003)

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[36] Barron, 'The Deposition of Richard II', in *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Taylor and Childs.
[37] 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', section 53. For further analysis of Henry's claim see Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 75–86.
[38] 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', sections 15, 54.

Here the role of king is conferred on to the king bee by the other bees in the hive, as indicated by the phrase 'thay setten hym in his see'. This could indicate simply the fact that the other bees place the king bee in his own comb, but the description seems to conflate place and political power in order to convey the sense that the bees select their king. The 'highest hoole' in which the king bee is placed is significant as the king's place at the physical top of the hive represents his place at the top of its social hierarchy. Additionally, 'see' is polysemic denoting either a seat or, more specifically, a throne or palace.[39] This interpretation of 'see' as representing a palace is supported by the classical tradition of the APIAN metaphor which often described the queen cell, distinctive chambers in which larva grow and develop into mature queens, as a palace. Virgil calls this cell an 'aula' [palace, court] (IV.90, pp. 224–5), and Pliny terms them 'regias' [palaces] (XI.12, pp. 450–1), noting correctly that they are often separated at the bottom of the hive. That the *Mum*-poet chooses to depict the queen cell as being at the top of the hive, when they are typically found at the bottom, strengthens the argument that the bee king's place at the top of the hive is intended to represent his position at the top of its social hierarchy, as the poet has altered entomological detail to better suit his literary aims.

If we accept the reading of 'see' as representing a throne we can see parallels between the apian image in *Mum* and the depiction of Henry's accession to the throne in 1399:

> refatus archiepiscopus dictum Henricum Regem per manum dexteram apprehendens, duxit eum ad sedem regalem predictam. Et postquam idem rex coram dicta sede genuflexus parumper orasset, idem archiepiscopus Cantuar', assistente sibi archiepiscopo Ebor' predicto, dictum regem posuit et sedere fecit in sede regali predicta, populo pre nimio gaudio fortiter applaudante.
>
> [The aforesaid archbishop, taking the said King Henry by the right hand, led him to the aforesaid throne. And after the same king had prayed on bended knee

[39] 'Se (n. 2)', in *MED* <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED39114> [accessed 01 August 2021].

> before the said throne for a short while, the same archbishop of Canterbury, with the aforesaid archbishop of York assisting him, placed and seated the said king on the aforesaid throne, while the people applauded loudly in their very great joy].[40]

The image of the king being 'posuit et sedere' [placed and made to sit] in the throne by representatives of the people is mirrored by the imagery of the hive. Like Henry IV the bee king is placed in this royal position by his subjects. The archbishops are here acting for the lords spiritual and temporal who unanimously 'cum toto populo,' [with the whole people] agreed to allow Henry to rule over them.[41] The archbishops and lords are therefore acting for the commune, whereas in the hive the commune act directly for themselves. In both images physical movement of the king symbolises the transference of power on to him. These parallels suggest that the king bee represents Henry, rather than only representing a more generalised image of good kingship.

However, the bee king also represents an ideal of kingship, and certain aspects of Henry's character and behaviour must be glossed over in order for Henry to fit this model. This can be seen most clearly in the treatment of violence in the hive. The gardener states that the king bee is 'sperelees, and in wil to spare that been hym under, | Or yf he have oon, he harmeth ne hurteth noon in sothe' (1033–4). As discussed above, the idea that the king bee does not have a sting, or does not use the sting he possesses, is a common feature of the tradition of the APIAN metaphor and is recorded in multiple sources.[42] According to tradition the king bee is never violent, being either 'spereless' and therefore incapable of violence, or possessing a sting

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[40] 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', section 54.
[41] 'Henry IV: October 1399, Part 1', section 54. It should be noted that Henry had the unanimous consent of all the lords which attended the assembly: only sixty-five lords are known to have attended, compared to the ninety-five who were summoned. This is still 'one of the highest attendance rates by the lords of any medieval parliament.' 'Henry IV: October 1399'.
[42] Aristotle, pp. 188–9; Seneca, *Moral Essays*, pp. 410–1; Pliny, pp. 464–5; *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CLXXVII: *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, (1854), p. 54.

and electing not to use it because of his merciful nature. Henry IV may not be considered equally merciful; although he showed unusual mercy in the trials and punishments of Richard's friends he was violent in his suppression of uprisings. Political rhetoric from this period had to strike a careful balance between flattery and reality, and it was often more expedient to err on the side of the former. The choice to depict the king as 'spereless' does not describe the realities of Henry IV's rule or suggest that he avoided violence. Rather, it is designed to present an ideal of good kingship in which violence is never necessary because the entire community live peaceably together.

Topical political commentary in the apian passage of *Mum* is not restricted to the parallels between the king bee and Henry IV. The rest of the hive is used to highlight faults the *Mum*-poet perceives in contemporary society, particularly in the depiction of wasteful drones. Drones feature in several texts in the tradition of the APIAN metaphor. They are consistently presented as lazy, eating food which they have not helped to produce.[43] A similar emphasis on labour and production is found in the treatment of the drones in *Mum*:

> But the dranes doon worste, deye mote thay alle;
> Thay haunten the hyve for hony that is ynne,
> And lurken and licken the liquor that is swete,
> And travelyn no twynte, but taken of the beste
> Of that the bees bryngen fro blossomes and floures.
>
> (982–6)

It is unclear which section or sections of human society the drones are meant to represent. The emphasis on the worker bees' production of food might prompt comparisons with the third

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[43] Cato, Varro, pp. 502–3; Virgil, pp. 230–1, 236–7; Pliny, pp. 448–51, 466–7; *Etymologies of Isidore*, p. 269; *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CLXXVII: *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, (1854), p. 54; *On The Properties of Things*, p. 612. Of these *De bestiis* is the only text which does not mention the laziness of the drones nor their consumption of unearned honey, only observing that they have to be kept out of the hive but not specifying why this is necessary.

estate, who are often presented as being responsible for labour and the production of food.[44] This reading would suggest that the drones in *Mum* represent the first and second estates who 'travelyn no twynte' but take the food produced by the worker bees/third estate. However, this reading is complicated by the fact that the *Mum*-poet departs from the tradition of the APIAN metaphor by including 'principal' bees.

> And eche a place hath a principal that peesith al his quarter,
> That reuleth thaym to reste and rise whenne hit nedith,
> And alle the principallz to the prince ful prest thay been at nede,
> To rere thaire retenue to righte alle the fautes.
>
> (1012–5)

Barr has suggested that the principals represent the nobility, that is the second estate. This leaves only the first estate without a parallel in the hive in *Mum*. Barr comments that since 'the poet is perfectly happy to add detail to introduce the nobility into the commonality of the hive, the lack of alteration to introduce the [clergy] creates a rather telling absence.'[45] Barr then goes on to argue that the clergy are not absent from the image, but are actually represented by the drones, so that 'the allegory reproduces exactly the Wycliffite representation of how the toil of the essential labourer is appropriated by fraternal orders who contribute nothing to society'.[46] The resulting blend can be represented as in Figure 5.2. Mapping the first estate onto the drones is not without precedent. In *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* this correspondence is made explicit:

> And ryht as drane doth nought but drynketh vp the huny
> Whan been withe her bysynesse han brought it to hepe,

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[44] Consider the sermon cycle *The Mirror*: 'And þerfore God ordeyned þre ordres of holy chirche, of wynners and of defendours and of assailours. God haþ sette þe wynners for to feden alle wiþ her trauaile and þat ben þe commune poeple,' in Hanna, *London Literature,* p. 21. See also, Dane.
[45] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 165.
[46] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 166.

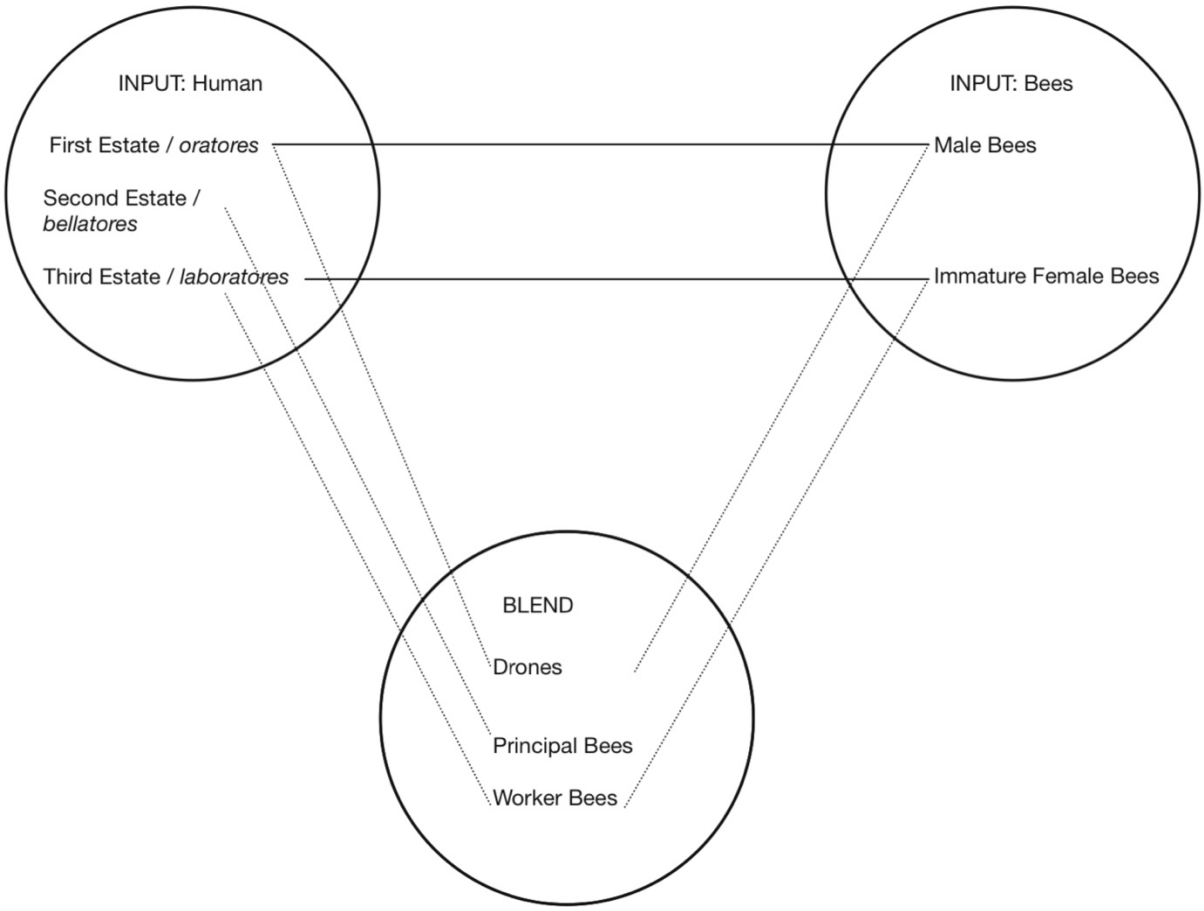


Figure 5.2 The APIAN metaphor in Mum and the Sothsegger and its relation to the three estates.

> Right so, fareth freres with folke opon erthe
>
> (726–8)[47]

However, it is unclear whether the depiction of the drones has a similar Wycliffite inflection in *Mum*.

The blend illustrated in Figure 5.2 is predicated on the belief that the human input space can be split into the three estates, that is *oratores*, *bellatores*, and *laboratores*. This particular formulation of the three estates model is first found in Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, which dates from the early eleventh century. The relevant passage reads:

[47] *Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 92.

> Ælc riht cynestol stent on þrym stapelum, þe fullice ariht stent. An is *oratores*, and oðer is *laboratores*, and ðridde is *bellatores*. *Oratores* sindon gebedmen, þe Gode sculan þeowian, and dæges and nihtes for ealne þeodscipe þingian georne. *Laboratores* sindon weorcmen, þe tilian sculon þæs ðe eall þeodscype big sceall libban. *Bellatores* syndon wigmen þe eard sculon werian, wiglice mid wæpnum.
>
> [Every just throne that stands fully as it should rests upon three pillars: first, *those who pray*; second, *those who labour*; and third, *those who fight*. *Those who pray* are the clergy, who must serve God and fervently plead for all the people day and night. *Those who labour* are the workers who must toil for that by which the entire community may live. *Those who fight* are the warriors who must protect the land by waging war with weapons.][48]

The king is not part of any of the estates, but sits above them all. The depiction of the three estates model varies in medieval and modern texts. Wulfstan, for example, departs from the prevailing trend of numbering of the estates. Although I use the *oratores* – *bellatores* – *laboratores* language found in Wulfstan I have followed the more common numbering so that *laboratores* appear as the third estate.[49] Ruth Mohl examines estates literature in detail in her study; however, she adopts a narrower definition of the genre which is not focussed on a tripartite division of society but rather the presence of recurrent traits in texts.[50] Jill Mann's study follows this movement away from a tripartite division: Mann's study focusses on estates satire which encompasses 'any literary treatments of social classes which allow or encourage a generalised application.'[51] Indeed, a tripartite structure may not accurately reflect the division of society in late medieval England. Andrew Galloway observes that 'by this time, the theory

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[48] Wulfstan, pp. 64–5. Dane, following Wright's *Political Songs*, misattributes this passage to Ælfric.
[49] Dane cautions us not to view any source as a *locus classicus*. The prevailing tradition is to have *oratores* as the first estate, *bellatores* as the second, and *laboratores* as the third. Dane, pp. 288, 301.
[50] Mohl, *The Three Estates*, pp. 6–7. Mohl also does not view Wulfstan's text as an example of estates literature, as it refers 'to non-feudal classes' which she views as an essential feature of estates literature. Since I am focussed on tripartite divisions of society, rather than on estates literature as a genre, Wulfstan's text is still valuable to my study.
[51] Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, p. 3.

of "three estates" was fairly archaic' in part because it did not account for members of the emerging middle estates, such as those engaged in urban trades, law, and medicine. However, we should not be too ready to abandon the model; Galloway suggests its use by later writers shows that it 'retained a hold on common understanding and […] reflected a long-lived cultural reality.'[52]

Even if we accept that the *Mum*-poet intended the apian section of his poem to adhere to the three estates model we must acknowledge it does so uneasily. The crux of this issue is whether the *Mum*-poet's introduction of principal bees can be read as an attempt to include the second estate in apian society creating the potential for a tripartite division of the hive: drone – principal bees – worker bees, with the king bee sitting above all the bees as the king does in the three estates model. This relies on the 'principal bees' being understood as *bees who fight* as they are associated with *bellatores*. The principals have some association with fighting, when required they will 'rere thaire retenue to righte alle the fautes' (1015) which presumably includes fighting the drones or anything that may attack the hive. 'Retenue' might strengthen the association between the principals and *bellatores* as it can be used to refer to an army, although it most usually refers to any group of followers or retainers.[53] This line suggests that the principal bees represent only a small portion of the fighting force, potentially weakening the association with *bellatores*. Principal bees are primarily involved in keeping the peace, and ordering the worker bees about 'reuleth thaym to reste and rise whenne hit nedith' (1013). These duties could be compared with a broader understanding of the second estate, which includes not only fighting but also managing the third estate, keeping the peace, and acting as a governing class, including in a legal capacity as magistrates. The principal bees fit uneasily

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[52] Galloway, *Medieval Literature and Culture*, p. 14.
[53] 'Retenue n.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED37223/> [accessed 25 August 2021].

into a narrowly defined conception of the second estate as *bellatores*; however, if we consider a more nuanced understanding of the role of the second estate, which encompasses peace keeping and ruling over the third estate, we can see that the principal bees seem to fulfil this role. Introducing the principal bees creates a tripartite division in the hive, which can be mapped onto the three estates model if we accept a broad understanding of the role of the second estate, and a deeply critical perspective of the first estate.

Mapping the first estate onto the drones presents some difficulties. There is nothing in the drones' activities to associate them with *oratores*. They are presented as greedy and lazy, eating food they have not produced. This depiction may accord with the Wycliffite perspective of the fraternal orders as appropriating the toil of the third estate as Barr asserts. Equally the drones could simply represent lazy wasters, a perspective which Barr also acknowledges: 'it might be argued that the bee exemplum presents a model of society in which true labourers (the bees) are contrasted to wicked loafers (the drones).'[54] A broader contextual analysis of the tradition of the APIAN metaphor undermines a Wycliffite reading of *Mum*. Most crucially, whilst drones eating the food produced by the bees can be seen as replicating a Wycliffite conception of society, it may simply be the *Mum*-poet including detail found in his source. Bartholomaeus in his chapter on drones writes that the drone 'haþ þat name *fucus* for he eteþ þe trauayle of oþere', which derives from Isidore's *Etymologies*.[55] Barr argues 'the positioning of the drones outside the hive matches the way that Lollard texts figure the friars as superfluous, and alien.'[56] However, the positioning of the drones is also a common feature of the APIAN metaphor and may not have a deeper significance. The bestiary tradition likens beehives to fortresses because the drones are kept out of the hive: 'Quid enim aliud favus, nisi quedam

[54] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 168.
[55] *On The Properties of Things*, p. 1206; *Etymologies of Isidiore*, p. 269.
[56] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, pp. 167–8.

castrorum species. Denique ab his presepibus apium fucus arcetur.' [For what else is a honey-comb in the bee-hive but a kind of fortress? After all, from the hives drones are kept out.][57] Often the bees drive the drones out of the hive, as is seen in Virgil: 'agmine facto | ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent' [in martial array drive the drones, a lazy herd, from the folds] (pp. 230–1, 167–8).[58] The frequent presence of this detail can be attributed to biological reality: worker bees often drag drones out of the hive at the end of the summer season where they either freeze or starve to death.[59] Many details of the drones' depiction in *Mum and the Sothsegger* can be seen as the *Mum*-poet reproducing biological details which he encountered in his sources. As a result, these factors do not suggest a specifically Wycliffite reading.

Barr investigates another source of potentially Wycliffite language in *Mum*, examining the following lines:

> For in thaire wide wombes thay wol hide more
> Thenne twenty bees, and travaillen not no tyme of the day –
> But gaderyn al to the gutte and growen grete and fatte
> And fillen thaire bagges bredeful of that the bees wyrchen.
> *Quorum deus venter est et gloria in confusione. paulus.*
>
> (1045–8)

Barr argues that the 'bagges' the drones carry suggest a specifically Wycliffite reading. She examines how Christ's disciples were instructed to 'Nolite portare sacculum, neque peram, neque calceamenta,' [Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes], with *peram* meaning a bag of some variety.[60] Based on this verse St. Francis ordered that his apostles should not carry bags,

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[57] 'Folio 64r' in *The Aberdeen Bestiary* <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/ms24/f63v> [accessed 10 August 2021].
[58] The bees also attack and drive out the drones in Cato, Varro, pp. 502–3; Pliny, pp. 450–5.
[59] British Beekeepers Association, 'What's in the hive?'<https://www.bbka.org.uk/whats-in-the-hive> [accessed 28 August 2021].
[60] 'Luke, 10:4' in *The Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Bible* <http://www.drbo.org/chapter/49010.htm> [accessed 28 August 2021]; 'pera' in *DMLBS* <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2855/dmlbs/pages/QuickSearch.aspx> [accessed 28 August 2021].

and believed that carrying a bag was a sign of a false apostle.[61] Based on this Barr argues that 'the "bagges" of the drones are an ironic reference to how the friars flout the ideal of apostolic poverty.'[62] It should be noted that 'bagges' does not always have this Wycliffite encoding. In *Piers Plowman* it has a more general application: 'Bidderes and beggeres faste aboute yede | Til hire bely and hire bagge were bredful ycrammed,' (B.Pro.40–1). Given the close relationship between *Piers* and *Mum* it is possible that contemporary readers may have been prompted by the reference to 'bagges' in *Mum* to think of these more general 'bidderes and beggeres' instead of a specific antifraternal meaning. There is nothing which decisively precludes a Wycliffite reading of the drones; however, there is also nothing which requires this perspective. The majority of the apian imagery in *Mum* can be interpreted according to the broader tradition of the APIAN metaphor in which the drones simply represent lazy people who fail to adequately contribute to the community. However, the reference to 'bagges' is not derived from the metaphor's tradition, and may have prompted an antifraternal reading from some contemporary readers. The question of what the destruction of the drones represents is, I argue, more interesting than attempts to determine whether the drones represent friars in an antifraternal Wycliffite reading or whether they are interpreted more generally as representing lazy wasters. This is because the gardener is at least partially responsible for the destruction of the drones, and the significance of this figure has been subject to many differing interpretations. In the following section I will explore the possible interpretations of the gardener, and argue that his divine associations have been hitherto undervalued.

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[61] Szittya, pp. 47; Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, pp. 167–8.
[62] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 167.

## The Godly Gardener

Beekeepers rarely feature in the tradition of the APIAN metaphor; for this reason, the gardener in *Mum* stands out as a notable departure from tradition.[63] By including the gardener the *Mum*-poet has not only departed from the tradition of the metaphor but introduced a new agent whose metaphorical significance is difficult to determine. It is evident that the gardener must have some deeper significance in relation to the bee polity, as Matthew Giancarlo observes: 'as a discrete figure he practically demands to be read allegorically, but as an allegory of *what* is unclear.'[64] Literary critics have devoted considerable attention to this question and have offered several plausible interpretations of the gardener. These range from a Wycliffite representation of the third estate to a parliamentary seigneurial ideal, a sovereign figure or a Christ-like character. In what follows I assess these various interpretations, and offer a new perspective which stresses the divine associations of the gardener.

In criticism of the gardener the most commonly adopted perspective is that he represents a sovereign, particularly because he intrudes on the bee polity by destroying the drones. Barr argues 'his defence of the hive intrudes on the symbolism of the bee-community because it creates a king figure outside as well as inside the hive.'[65] Frank Grady views the bee polity itself as deficient, arguing it is not 'a satisfying vision of a properly governed commonwealth' because it is not self-regulating as the bees rely on the gardener to kill the drones (p. 213). Instead Grady argues that the apian section of *Mum* 'is a heavily occluded (and only partly successful allegory of the deposition' (p. 213). Grady's belief is based on the view that the gardener's destruction of the drones represents 'the Lancastrian usurpation' of the bee-

[63] In Varro the beekeeper is responsible for regulating the number of queen bees in the hive so that the hive does not suffer dissension owing to the presence of multiple leaders, Cato, Varro, pp. 508–9. Virgil's *Georgics* offers advice on the proper management of bees, as though addressed to a beekeeper.
[64] Giancarlo, p. 245.
[65] *Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 339, n. 1059–61

king's 'role as regulator of the drones' (p. 214). From this Grady concludes that the gardener is primarily a figure for Henry IV.[66] Valerie Johnson also adopts this viewpoint, describing the gardener as a sovereign and writing: 'the beekeeper himself is king over the bee-king, holding the power of life and death over the worker drones.'[67] From these perspectives we can infer that the identification of the gardener with a sovereign rests primarily on the view that he adopts the role of a king by killing the drones, and that in so doing he usurps the role of the bee king.

This reading creates two implications which are difficult to reconcile with the depiction of the bee polity. Firstly, this reading suggests that in the absence of the gardener the drones would be killed by the king bee, as by implication it is the king's role to prevent wastrels from afflicting the kingdom. However, this responsibility seems to fall on the bees communally:

> And alle the principallz to the prince ful prest thay been at nede,
> To rere thaire retenue to righte alle the fautes;
> For thay knowen as kindely as clerc doeth his bokes
> Wastours that wyrchen not but wombes forto fille.
>
> (1014–7)

In this passage the 'prince', that is, the king bee, commands the principal bees to gather together 'thaire retenue' to kill the drones, which is signified by the euphemistic phrase 'righte alle the fautes'.[68] Notably, the king bee's only role is to instruct the principals and there is no evidence that the king personally participates in the violence. In fact, the description of the king bee as either 'spereless' or unable or unwilling to use his sting suggests that the king bee would not be able to kill the drones directly in any case. The second implication of these readings is that

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[66] Grady is somewhat equivocal, writing: 'Identifying the gardener as a figure for Henry IV does not exhaust his significance, of course; he certainly has divine associations, and as the resident wise man, he is also the one who authorizes the poet's satiric project as the end of the dream, a most un-Henrician activity', 'The Generation of 1399', in *The Letter of the Law,* ed. by Steiner and Barrington, p. 214.
[67] Johnson, p. 187, n. 4.
[68] 'Righte alle the fautes' is repeated in this sense at lines 1085–6: 'Thenne flocken thay to fighte, thair fautes to amende, | And quellen the dranes quicly and quiten alle thaire wrongz'.

the hive is reliant on the gardener's intervention and incapable of self-regulating. This is also contradicted by the passage quoted above as it shows that the bees are capable of destroying the drones themselves. They benefit from the intervention of the gardener but they are not dependent on his action. The gardener's destruction of the drones is referenced on two occasions (966–9; 1058–63), whereas there are three instances of the bees getting their own revenge on the drones (1014–17; 1050–4; 1084–6). Given that the reading of the gardener as a sovereign figure rests on the validity of these two implications, neither of which can be easily reconciled with the depiction of the bees, it seems that the gardener should not be read as a sovereign figure.

Matthew Giancarlo also rejects the reading of the gardener as a sovereign figure.[69] Instead Giancarlo views the destruction of the drones as symbolic of 'the constant parliamentary anxiety (and legislative efforts) that the royal courts be kept clear of wastrel hangers-on and sycophants' (p. 245). One of the reasons Giancarlo associates the gardener with parliament is because he views him as a franklin, meaning 'as well as a rural estate-holder, he is, by implication, a parliamentarian, speaking from his own experience' (p. 244). This identification of the gardener is reliant not on a description of the gardener himself but rather of the house attached to the garden which is named as 'a frankeleynis freholde' (946). Even if we view the gardener as a franklin, it does not follow that he was a parliamentarian. The assumption that franklins sat in parliament seems to be based upon the portrait of the franklin in Chaucer who 'ful ofte tyme' sat in parliament.[70] However, this is a misleading description: these duties would usually fall to knights rather than franklins. In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century it would be unusual for a franklin to be a parliamentarian, as they 'rarely rose

[69] Giancarlo notes: 'nowhere does the dream impeach the bees' sovereign or the hive's monarchy. There is no hint of the deposition in the Franklin's actions either, as he does not kill or threaten the leader of the hive,' p. 246.
[70] *The Canterbury Tales: Fragment I (Group A)* in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Benson, pp. 23–86, l. 356.

beyond the lower ranks of the office-holding hierarchy.'[71] The identification of the gardener with a parliamentary seigneurial seems therefore to lack textual evidence. On a literary level we must also consider that in *Mum* the entirety of human polity is represented by the bees. It follows that parliament would also be represented by the bees, possibly as a group of bees who inform the king bee of faults in the hive. Given that the poet is willing to make alterations to the APIAN metaphor to include features of late medieval polity that he wished to comment upon, (as for example the inclusion of the principal bees), we must conclude that if representing parliament was important to the *Mum*-poet he would have introduced some bees with this role. Giancarlo's assertion that the gardener is an 'hypostasization of the fantasy of effective and licit parliamentary power, precisely because he is the *single* supra-communal power who can see what is going on throughout the body of the hive,' does not seem to have a strong basis.[72] However, by identifying the gardener with 'supra-communal power' Giancarlo has hinted at another possible interpretation of the gardener. The gardener is certainly a 'supra-communal power' as he exists outside of the hive. As discussed above, in the APIAN metaphor as depicted in *Mum* all of human society is represented by bees. If all of humanity is represented by the bees in the hive, any figure that exists outside of the hive must represent something outside of human society. If we consider the 'supra-communal power' of the gardener in this light one obvious possibility presents itself: the gardener in some way represents God.

I am by no means the first person to suggest that the gardener has divine associations. Both Johnson and Grady suggest that the gardener is divine or has godly associations in their works, although they do not explore these ideas beyond passing references.[73] Barr has explored this possibility in more detail, observing the similarities between the gardener in *Mum* and Piers

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[71] Saul, 'The Social Status of Chaucer's Franklin', p. 17.
[72] Giancarlo, p. 246.
[73] Grady, 'The Generation of 1399', in *The Letter of the Law,* ed. by Steiner and Barrington, p. 214; Johnson, p. 254.

in *Piers Plowman* who also has divine associations. Some of the similarities between the gardener and Piers do not have obvious religious connotations. Both are representatives of the third estate, and Barr has suggested a possible reading of l. 976 '"' I am gardyner of this gate," cothe he, "the grounde is myn owen,"' which presents the gardener as a rural labourer like Piers. Barr adopts the manuscript reading of 'gate' meaning 'plot of land' from the *Middle English Dictionary* definition of 'the path or track of a plow, a furrow' which gives the gardener the characteristics of a ploughman, like Piers.[74] However, Dean, Day and Steele all emend 'gate' to 'garth' meaning *garden* which is easier to reconcile with the preceding description of the gardener's home as 'a frankeleynis freholde' (946). We may expect franklins to own approximately 30 acres of land which dwarfs Piers with his humble half-acre.[75] The gardener is clearly a member of the third estate and has some similarities with Piers; however, as Barr acknowledges, it is not easy to reconcile the gardener with the 'typical Wycliffite idealization of the poor rural labourer, and its apotheosis in the ploughman figure.'[76] However, the gardener may, like Piers, have 'Christ-like characteristics' as Barr argues:

> I do not think that the beekeeper in *Mum represents* Christ in the sense that there is a hermetically sealed allegorical equation between the two figures, but in ways reminiscent of the figure of Piers in *Piers Plowman*, he is invested with some Christ-like characteristics which confirm him as a source of truth and authority in opposition both to Mum and to Satan.[77]

These 'Christ-like characteristics' centre around the depiction of the Tree of Charity in *Piers Plowman*, and Piers' role tending the garden in which it grows.[78] Anima describes the garden:

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[74] 'Gate (n. 2)', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED18276/> [accessed 01 August 2021], definition 1(c); Barr *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 171.
[75] Saul, 'The Social Status of Chaucer's Franklin', p. 12.
[76] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 170.
[77] Barr, *Socioliterary Practice*, p. 173.
[78] The Tree of Charity episode involves complex and changing imagery, a full analysis of which is beyond the scope of this chapter. For analysis of the Tree of Charity see Aers, *Piers Plowman and Christian Allegory*, Chapter 5, especially pp. 79–109, and Dronke.

> ‘It groweþ in a gardyn,’ quod he ‘þat God made hymselue;
> Amyddes mannes body þe more is of þat stoke.
> Herte highte þe herber þat it inne groweþ,
> And *Liberum Arbitrium* haþ þe lond to ferme,
> Vnder Piers þe Plowman to piken it and to weden it.’
>
> (B.XI.13–7).

This image of the garden of man’s heart is found in many devotional texts, with God or Christ often being depicted as the gardener. In what follows I will examine the tradition of depicting God as a gardener and how this may inform our interpretation of the gardener in *Mum*.

The tradition of God being presented as a gardener derives from his role in the creation of the Garden of Eden. In Genesis 2.8–9 God is the gardener who creates Eden:

> [8] Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradisum voluptatis a principio, in quo posuit hominem quem formaverat. [9] Produxitque Dominus Deus de humo omen lignum pulchrum visu, et ad vescendum suave lignum etiam vitae in medio paradisi, lignumque scientiae boni and mali.
>
> [[8] And the Lord God had planted a paradise of pleasure from the beginning: wherein he placed man whom he had formed. [9] And the Lord God brought forth of the ground all manner of trees, fair to behold, and pleasant to eat of: the tree of life also in the midst of paradise: and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.][79]

The use of ‘plantaverat’ [he had planted] shows God fulfils the role of a gardener, which is reinforced by the use of ‘paradisum’ [paradise] which also describes an ‘enclosed park, walled garden.’[80] The belief that God cultivated the Garden of Eden like a gardener is perhaps strengthened by the belief that the Garden of Eden was a physical place that existed on earth

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[79] ‘Book of Genesis: Chapter 2’, in *The Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate* <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/01002.htm> [accessed 28 May 2021].
[80] ‘paradisus’, in *DMLBS Sources* <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2855/dmlbs/pages/QuickSearch.aspx> [accessed 02 September 2021].

but was inaccessible to man. This belief is reflected in the tradition of representing the Garden of Eden in medieval cartography.[81] However, others read this passage in a figural sense, such as Philo, a Jewish philosopher in the first century, who is the origin of the spiritual conception of the Garden of Eden.[82] According to Philo God did not till the soil and plant a pleasure garden, rather God 'sows and plants earthly excellence', with the garden of Eden representing a place of heavenly virtues where Adam, representing the mind, is placed so that 'as a good gardener' man may cultivate virtue.[83] Philo's ideas heavily influenced Origen. Like Philo, Origen is dismissive of the idea that God 'after the manner of a human gardener planted a garden in Eden' declaring that these statements in Genesis are 'figurative'.[84] The allegorical treatment of the Garden of Eden continued and was accepted by later Christian theologians. St. Ambrose's *De Paradiso*, written in the late fourth century, provides an example of the later acceptance of the allegorical interpretation of the Garden of Eden. Ambrose views that fertile land of Paradise as representing a fertile soul 'anima fecunda'.[85] This figural treatment of the Garden of Eden forms the tradition which produces the garden of man's heart that is seen in *Piers Plowman* and other medieval texts.

If we examine these depictions of the garden of man's heart we can see that God is often presented as a gardener. In *Piers Plowman* several figures tend the garden of man's heart: '*Liberum Arbitrium* haþ þe lon to ferme, | Vnder Piers þe Plowman to piken it and to weden it' (B. XI.16–7), however God 'made hymselue' (B.XI.13) the garden which suggests He at least partially fulfils the role of gardener as in Genesis 2.8. Middle English translations of *Somme le*

[81] Scafi; Delmumeau, pp. 39–70.
[82] Scafi, p. 37.
[83] Philo, 175–7.
[84] *Selections from Early Christian Writers*, p. 139.
[85] Ambrose, p. 294; *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, XIV: *Sancti Ambrosii*, (1844), 296.

*Roi* also depict the garden of man's heart or liken man's soul to a garden.[86] These images sometimes feature God as a gardener, as in the version in London, British Library, MS Royal 18 A.x which describes 'þe greet gardynere þat is God þe Fadir in þe herte, for he plauntiþ þerinne þe trees of vertues amyddys þe tree of liif, þat is Ihesu Crist'.[87] The garden of man's heart finds different expression in Chapter Fifty-Two of Nicholas Love's *Mirror.* Here Jesus appears to Mary Magdalen after the resurrection in the garden where his tomb is. When He first greets her Mary is so distracted that she does not recognise Him and assumes that He is a gardener, of which Love writes:

> Thouȝ oure lorde was not bodily, as she supposed, a gardyner, neuertheles, as the same clerk seint Gregory seith, he was so in soth goostly to hir, for he it was that planted in the gardyn of her herte the plantes of vertues and of true loues.[88]

This depiction of Christ as a gardener derives from John 20:15, rather than from the images of Eden in Genesis.[89] However, this also came to be associated with the garden of man's heart, as is seen in Gregory's 25th Homily on the Gospels which Love cites: 'Was he not spiritually a gardener for her, when he planted the fruitful seeds of virtue in her heart by the force of his love?'[90]

When God is presented as a gardener in these works he is usually depicted cultivating or planting. In *Somme le Roi* and Love's *Mirror* God or Christ plants virtues, and in *Piers* he

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[86] *Somme le Roi* is a manual of religious and moral instruction written for Philip III of France by Frère Laurent, in 1279–80. There are nine English versions, including *Ayenbite of Inwit*, which was produced by Dan Michel of Northgate in 1340, and *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, which dates from circa 1400, and an edition by William Caxton from 1486 entitled *The Book Ryal or the Book for A King*. For examples of the garden of man's heart or the soul as a garden in these texts see: *Two Middle English Translations of […] 'Somme le roi'*, pp. 61, 63; *Dan Michel's 'Ayenbite of Inwyt'*, I, 94; *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, pp. 128, 257.
[87] *Two Middle English Translations of […] 'Somme le roi'*, p. 61.
[88] Love, p. 268.
[89] 'Dicit ei Jesus : Mulier, quid ploras? quem quaeris? Illa existimans quia hortulanus esset, dicit ei : Domine, si tu sustulisti eum, dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum, et ego eum tollam.' [Jesus saith to her: Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, thinking it was the gardener, saith to him: Sir, if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.'] 'Gospel According to St John: Chapter 20', in *The Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate* <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/50020.htm> [accessed 4 June 2021].
[90] Gregory, p. 192

'made' the garden. However, the gardener in *Mum* is associated more with destruction than cultivation. In addition to killing the drones the gardener describes his role:

> As longeth to this leyghttone, the lawe wol I doo,
> And wrote up the wedes that wyrwen my plantes;
> And wormes that worchen not but wasten my herbes,
> I daisshe thaym to deeth and delve oute thaire dennes.
>
> (978–81)

Although his actions may not align with other images of God planting or cultivating the garden of man's heart the actions of the gardener in *Mum* are by no means unique. If we consider the depiction of God as a gardener in Richard Rolle's work we can find closer parallels with the gardener in *Mum*:

> He ryuis synnis vp bi þe rotis: as gardener dos þe iuel wedis, & ympis god trees & sawis gode sede: þare þe wedis grewe. So dos god þat is callid gardener, whil he is in mannis saule: he ryuis vp synnes bi þe rotis, & ympis in þat saule vertues & gode thewis.[91]

In this depiction of the garden of man's heart, here it is the garden of 'mannis saule', images of growth and destruction are combined. Although the growth of the garden in *Mum* is never mentioned, it must be inferred from the bountiful nature of the garden (948–51), the fundamental idea, that of removing the evil so that the good may flourish, is the same in both works. By considering *Mum* in relation to the tradition of God as a gardener we can be more confident in reading the gardener in *Mum* as a representation of God. This pushes us beyond viewing the gardener as having 'Christ-like characteristics' and instead allows us to see the *Mum*-poet as responding to an extensive tradition of depicting God as a gardener who cultivates the garden of man's heart.

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[91] *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole*, I, 148.

Although I place greater emphasis on the divine associations of the gardener in *Mum* I would also stop short of establishing a 'hermetically sealed allegorical equation' between the gardener and God. It must be acknowledged that not all of the evidence points towards equating the gardener with God. Importantly, not all gardeners are godly. This is evident from a subsequent description of Lucifer as a gardener/husbandman:

> For Lucifer the lyer that lurketh aboute
> Forto gete hym a grounde that he may graffe on
> And to sowe of his seede suche as he usith,
> That groweth al to grevance and gurdyng of heedes,
> He leyeth his lynes along that luste may be clepid
> Of oure foule flessh that foundrith ful ofte,
> And of gloire of this grounde his griefz been ymade,
> That who be hent in his hoke he shal be holde faste
> Til he be caste with covetise or sum croke elles.
> *Seminator zizannie & agricola diaboli.*
>
> (1157–65)

This passage, showing the flexibility of the imagery in *Mum*, first presents Lucifer as a gardener, then as a fisherman, and then as a gardener/husbandman again in the quotation. The Latin quotation, which reads '*Sower of weeds and the devil's farmer*', is derived from the view that sinners were *zizania* [cockels, weeds] growing among the pure wheat who represented the faithful, as in Matthew 13.25: 'cum autem dormirent homines, venit inimicus ejus, et superseminavit zizania in medio tritici, et abiit.' [But while men were asleep, his enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat and went his way.][92] It seems what distinguishes the godly and the satanic gardener is the nature of the crops they plant: God plants the trees of

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[92] 'zizanium' in *DMLBS* <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2855/dmlbs/pages/QuickSearch.aspx> [accessed 03 September 2021]; 'Gospel According to St Matthew: Chapter 13' in *The Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Bible* <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/47013.htm> [accessed 03 September 2021]. See also '*Richard the Redeless' and 'Mum and the Sothsegger'*, ed. by Dean, p. 160, n. 1165a.

virtue and produces paradise, Lucifer plants weeds which ‘groweth al to grevance’. From the idealised description of the gardener’s land as the ‘gladdest gardyn that gome ever had’ (948) we may confidently associate him with the godly gardener who cultivates paradise than with Lucifer. There is further evidence which suggests we cannot read the gardener as a simple representation of God. In the above passage the use of ‘oure’ in ‘oure foule flessh’ aligns the gardener with the fallibility of man, rather than with divine purity. Later, the gardener speaks of God in the third person (1206) and this cannot be reconciled with a straightforward reading of the gardener as a representation of God Himself. Instead of establishing a one-to-one correspondence between the gardener and God I suggest that the *Mum*-poet recalls the tradition of God as the gardener in man’s heart to encourage his readers to associate the gardener with a representation of God.

## Conclusion

Having explored salient features of the tradition of the APIAN metaphor this chapter has focussed on how the *Mum*-poet adapts the APIAN metaphor to convey his political commentary. I have shown that the *Mum*-poet had direct access to a Virgilian source, and was not reliant on material transmitted via Bartholomeus as had previously been assumed. In addition to these identifiable sources the *Mum*-poet appears to have had extensive knowledge of the tradition of the APIAN metaphor which influenced his use of imagery. For example, in *Mum* the use of the APIAN metaphor appears to be influenced by the fact that bees select their own king, a detail that is not only found in Virgil and Bartholomeus but in Seneca, Pliny and the medieval bestiary tradition. This feature may have made the APIAN metaphor particularly attractive to a Lancastrian poet writing shortly after the deposition as it legitimates the authority of the community to select their own king according to natural law and classical authority. However, although the *Mum*-poet is clearly influenced by the tradition of the APIAN metaphor he is not afraid to adapt the metaphor or include new elements. The APIAN metaphor in *Mum* departs

from tradition in two keyways: the inclusion of principal bees, and the introduction of the gardener. The inclusion of the principal bees seems to reflect the poet's desire to represent the second estate, particularly their role in keeping the peace and managing the commons. Such details may have been particularly flattering to the original baronial audience of the poem. However, it is the inclusion of the gardener which I believe to be most significant. The gardener has divine associations and responds to the tradition of the godly gardener tending the garden of man's heart/soul. This has important implications for the interpretation of the natural environments in *Mum*. I will explore these ideas in the final chapter of this thesis.

# Chapter Six:

# The Garden and the Wilderness: Interpreting the Natural Environments in the Dream Vision of *Mum and the Sothsegger*

In the Prologue of *Piers Plowman* Will falls asleep and in his dream awakens in a 'wildernesse' (B.Prol.12) in which he sees a fair field of folk laid out between the tower of heaven and the fortress of hell. Will claims that he will explain the significance of his vision to his audience: 'What þis mountaigne bymeneþ and þe merke dale | And þe feld ful of folk, I shal yow faire shewe' (B.I.1–2). These lines explicitly indicate that the landscape in *Piers Plowman* has symbolic significance, which may be shown or construed. The audience is encouraged, perhaps even required, to look beyond the description of the landscape to discover what it means. In contrast, the natural environments in the dream vision of *Mum and the Sothsegger* make no claims towards greater significance. They are presented as descriptions, and the audience is not required to look beyond them or appreciate them as anything more than a picturesque treatment of the natural world. Day and Steele adopted this approach to the natural environments in *Mum*, observing that 'the detailed delineation of a landscape, for no ulterior reason, […] has nothing like it in *Piers Plowman*, and is not easy to parallel anywhere in Middle English literature' (p. xviii). However, it is possible to discern symbolic significance in the treatment of the environments in the dream vision, suggesting that the *Mum*-poet's extensive description is not without reason or significance. In this chapter I argue that the natural environments in *Mum*, the wilderness the dreamer awakes in and the garden he travels to, have both political and religious significance, as I align the wilderness with the interiorised desert as an intermediary space on one's journey towards contemplation, and the garden with the garden of one's heart/soul. I examine how these internal landscapes are presented in religious writings, how they are depicted in *Mum*, and how they relate to the political purpose of the

poem. Most crucially I examine what we can infer from the *Mum*-poet's appropriation of religious themes for his political poetry. I hope to offer a cohesive reading of the dream vision in *Mum*, whilst remaining sensitive to the polysemy of the dream.

## The Wilderness, The Garden, and Man's Psyche

In the preceding chapter I gestured towards the possibility of aligning the garden in the dream vision of *Mum* with the garden of man's heart or soul, and therefore of seeing the natural environments of the dream world as a reification of man's psyche. It will be helpful to summarise the tradition of the garden of man's heart/soul as presented in the preceding chapter. The tradition originates with Philo who treated the description of the Garden of Eden in Genesis 2.8–9 as figurative, arguing that God did not plant a garden but rather that 'God sows and plants noble qualities in the soul' (p. 177) so that the garden of Eden comes to represent the soul, in which the Mind, as represented by Adam, sows and cultivates virtues. This perspective was adopted by Origen who argued that we should treat the description of the garden in Genesis as 'figurative'.[1] However, Origen did not discuss the significance of the garden in detail in his work. Ambrose also responded to Philo's interpretation of Eden in *De Paradiso*, where he identifies paradise with the 'anima fecunda' [fertile soul].[2] This tradition was adopted by later writers, and there are several late-medieval texts which depict man's heart or soul as a garden which is tended by God or Christ. In the preceding chapter I paid particular attention to godly gardeners in order to argue that the gardener in *Mum* may represent God. In this section I shift to examine the gardens themselves. I explore how man's psyche is represented by landscapes, both gardens and wildernesses, and how this may support the reading of the natural environments in the dream vision of *Mum* as a reification of man's psyche.

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[1] *Selections from Early Christian Writers*, p. 139
[2] Ambrose, p. 294; *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, XIV: *Sancti Ambrosii*, (1844), 296.

The desert or wilderness has an ambivalent position in the Bible, leading to ambivalence when man's psyche is represented as a wilderness. In the Old Testament the wilderness sometimes has negative associations, as in Genesis when Adam is sent into the wilderness as a punishment, where the wilderness becomes in effect 'the antithesis of Eden'.[3] Conversely, in Exodus the wilderness is the location of revelation. This ambivalence is also seen in the New Testament: the Devil tempts Jesus in the wilderness (Matthew 4.1), but it is also a place of contemplation, as when Jesus retreats into the wilderness to pray (Mark 1.35). George H Williams surveys attitudes to the wilderness in the Bible and identifies four motifs which recur in post-biblical history:

> (a) the wilderness as a moral waste but a potential paradise, (b) the wilderness as a place of testing or even punishment, (c) the wilderness as the experience or occasion of nuptial (covenantal) bliss, and (d) the wilderness as a place of refuge (protection) or contemplation (renewal).[4]

Since the wilderness has differing significances and was associated with different motifs in the Bible we should expect representations of the soul as a wilderness to vary in their significance and emphasis. In what follows I explore some representations of the soul or psyche as a wilderness, including how these depictions relate to the motifs identified by Williams. I seek to demonstrate that the wilderness could be used to represent man's internal landscape, to support the suggestion that the wilderness in the dream vision of *Mum* presents a reification of man's psyche.

Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Baptism of Christ* depicts the soul as a wilderness, responding to the first motif identified by Williams. Here the wilderness represents a place without religion or morality:

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[3] Le Goff, p. 48.
[4] Williams, p. 18.

> And where shall we place that oracle of Isaiah, which cries to the wilderness, "Be glad, O thirsty wilderness: let the desert rejoice and blossom as a lily: and the desolate places of Jordan shall blossom and shall rejoice" ? For it is clear that it is not to places without soul or sense that he proclaims the good tidings of joy: but he speaks, by the figure of the desert, of the soul that is parched and unadorned, even as David also, when he says, "My soul is unto You as a thirsty land."[5]

Through the process of baptism, here in the river Jordan, the soul transforms from a wilderness into part of paradise, recalling the plants of virtues which are also seen in the image of the garden of man's heart/soul:

> so is the Jordan glorified by regenerating men and planting them in the Paradise of God: and of them, as the words of the Psalmist say, ever blooming and bearing the foliage of virtues, "the leaf shall not wither", and God shall be glad, receiving their fruit in due season, rejoicing, like a good planter, in his own works.
>
> (V, 522)

Here man's psyche is a wilderness when it is not awakened to the possibilities of Christian faith. When the man is baptized he becomes part of the 'Paradise of God' and is depicted as a plant which is 'ever blooming' and bearing the 'fruit' and 'foliage of virtues'. The desert is an inhospitable, arid place where the plants of virtues cannot grow until the land is metaphorically watered by the waters of Jordan in the baptismal process. It is unlikely that the *Mum*-poet is responding to this motif in his depiction of the wilderness because of the fecundity of the natural environment in the dream vision. Although the narrator describes the dream world as a 'wildernesse' (876) this is not an arid desert: the land is so 'grene' (879, 886) that it gladdens the narrator's heart, with 'waters and […] welle-springes' (891) that provide the irrigation

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[5] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* V, 522.

necessary for the profusion of plants to grow. The fertility of the dream world, combined with the obvious joy this brings the narrator, precludes the possibility of the wilderness in the dream world representing a waste where the harshness of the environment plays a central role in its significance. However, this does not preclude a reading where the dream landscape functions as a reification of man's psyche; the idyllic nature of the dream environment simply aligns the dream environment with the baptized soul as part of the 'Paradise of God' rather than with the desert soul as depicted in Gregory's text. This text demonstrates a willingness to depict the soul as a landscape, or as part of a landscape, which the *Mum*-poet may have responded to in his depiction of the dream environment. However, we must look to other texts for similar treatment of the wilderness as that found in *Mum*, where the harshness of the landscape does not receive as much emphasis.

The harshness of the desert landscape is a prominent feature in some depictions of the wilderness, but it is by no means essential. However, this begs the question: if the wilderness is not an arid and infertile land akin to the biblical desert, what is it? At its most basic level what makes the wilderness a wilderness is the absence of people.[6] This is the sense in which the *Mum*-poet appears to use the term, emphasising in its use the lack of people in the dream world: 'Me thought I was in wildernesse walking aloon, | There bestes were and briddes and no barne elles,' (876–7). This feature was often central to depictions of the wilderness which show it as a place of contemplation. Williams observes that the Seer of Revelation shows that retiring into the wilderness will 'enable a contemplative Christian to see the divine more clearly, unencumbered by the world', which included withdrawing even from their fellow Christians 'the better to perceive and hearken to the will of God' (p. 26). This was one of the

[6] 'Wildernes(se n.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED52762/> [accessed 2 March 2021].

reasons that Celtic and Nordic monks set out to sea to find the wilderness on deserted islands.[7] The wilderness was thus divorced from the geography of the biblical desert and could be found wherever one was able to escape civilisation. Le Goff has argued that in the medieval West the wilderness as solitude was associated not with the sea or arid desert but with the forest (p. 51). For an example of this we may look at *Gawain and the Green Knight*, where Gawain journeys through the 'wyldrenesse of Wyrale' as he traverses the forest.[8] As the wilderness as solitude became divorced from the geographical meaning of 'wilderness' it became possible to reach the wilderness without physically travelling to deserted lands, like forests, seas, and deserts. Instead, one could reach the wilderness by withdrawing within oneself. This produced the interiorized desert, a mental state which one achieved by mentally withdrawing from one's surroundings and kinsmen to give oneself over to the contemplation of God.

The interiorized desert could represent some facet of one's psyche – heart, soul, mind, or potentially all three – as one mentally withdrew from the world to pursue contemplation and spiritual truth. In Book V of his *Benjamin Major*, Richard of St. Victor considers Song of Songs 8.5: 'Quae est ista quae ascendit de deserto, deliciis affluens, innixa super dilectum suum?' [Who is this that cometh up from the desert, flowing with delights, leaning upon her beloved?].[9] In his interpretation of this verse it is clear that the desert is interiorised to represent a stage on one's path to contemplation. He writes: 'Si per desertum recte intelligitur cordum, quid erit iste de deserto ascensus nisis humanæ excessus?' [If we rightly interpret the desert as being the human heart, what is this rising up from the desert, but the passing of the human mind into ecstasy?].[10] Here, Richard conceives of the interiorised desert as a stage on one's journey of

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[7] Le Goff, p. 51.
[8] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. by Andrew and Waldron, p. 234, l. 701.
[9] 'Canticle of Canticles, Chapter 8' in *The Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Bible* <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/24008.htm> [accessed 12 October 2021].
[10] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXCVI: *Richardus a Sancto Victore*, (1880), 185; Richard of Saint-Victor, *Selected Writings of Contemplation*, p. 203.

contemplation, which the mind passes out of when it achieves ecstasy. The desert is a necessary intermediate stage: before the mind can ascend out of the desert it must first withdraw from the world into the wilderness to begin its contemplation. In another work Richard describes how 'the soul is led by God into the wilderness where it is fed with milk so that it may be inebriated with inward sweetness' [anima a Domino in solitudinem ducitur ibique lactatur ut interna dulcedine inebrietur].[11] However, before this can happen we must abandon the world, which Richard presents as leaving Egypt, writing: 'He who desires that food of heavenly solitude let him abandon Egypt both in body and heart, and altogether set aside the love of the world' [egyptum non solum corpore sed et corde deserat mundique amorem penitus deponat qui celestes illos solitudinis cibos desiderat].[12] As this wilderness is an intermediary location on one's journey to contemplation it is neither as inhospitable as the desert associated with sin, as in Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Baptism of Christ*, nor as pleasant and paradisal as the garden of Eden or the garden of man's heart/soul. The wilderness of the dream vision in *Mum* is characterised by a similar middleness, representing a withdrawing from the waking world which precedes the narrator's entry into the garden where he learns from the gardener the answers he has been seeking.

By contrasting the wilderness in the dream vision with the waking world of the poem we can see that the dream environment presents the narrator as withdrawing from other people and the encumbrances of the world to pursue contemplation, in ways reminiscent of the interiorized desert as depicted in mystical writings. The first half of *Mum*, lines 1–868, concerns the narrator's search for the Sothsegger. Although he initially begins his search by consulting written authorities in the works of Sydrac, Solomon and Seneca (304–5), he soon abandons these texts and his search becomes a physical journey from authority to authority as the narrator

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[11] Richard of Saint-Victor, *Selected Writings*, p. 224; Richard of Saint-Victor, *Les Quatre Degrés,* p. 157.
[12] Richard of Saint-Victor, *Selected Writings*, p. 225; Richard of Saint-Victor, *Les Quatre Degrés*, p. 159.

meets various people and questions them on their knowledge of Mum and the Sothsegger. As such the first half of *Mum* is crowded with people, all of whom fail to help the narrator and hinder him in his quest for the Sothsegger. A brief list gives some insight into the profusion of authorities consulted: the narrator begins with the 'clercz in scole' (324) and the personified 'vij sciences' (328) in the universities, including a 'semely sage' (354) whom Barr identifies as a Doctor of Theology (366–391); he then travels to 'freres, alle the foure ordres' (392) and other religious authorities and institutions, including 'priories and personages many, | To abbeys of Augustyn and many hooly places,' (536–7). Sometimes the narrator travels to locations, as in the reference to 'priories', 'personages', and 'abbeys', however in general the narrator travels from authority to authority, with the emphasis being on the people he questions rather than on the locations he travels to. In this section of the poem people and place are held in tension, and although people generally receive greater emphasis the question of space and environment never recedes. This gives the environments of the waking world of the poem the appearance of being crowded and confused, filled with people who know nothing about the truth and who prevent the narrator from making mental progress in his contemplation of Sothsegger. The narrator runs around the landscape searching for an authority to answer him, but although he travels vast physical distances he makes no mental progress. This sense of people encumbering and afflicting the narrator in his search is especially clear when the narrator is instructed by Mum to 'tourne now to tounes and temporal lordz,' (785) to learn more about the Sothsegger. There then follows a passage which recounts the narrator's extensive search among the laity:

> Thenne ferkid I to fre men and frankeleyns mony,
> To bondemen and bourgois and many other barnes,
> To knightz and to comunes and craftzmen eeke,
> To citezeyns and souvrayns and to many grete sires,
> To bachilliers, to banerettz, to barons and erles,

> To princes and peris and alle maniere estatz;
> But in every court there I came or cumpaigny outhir
> I fonde mo mummers atte moneth-ende
> Than of sothesiggerz by sevene score thousand.
>
> (788–96)

The effect of this lengthy, polysyndetic list of the laity which the narrator consults is one of completeness: he has exhausted all possible sources of authority, including both religious and lay, urban and rural. This is highlighted by concluding the list with 'alle maniere estatz', a phrase which appears to break the alliterative pattern of the poem, and which asserts the completeness of the authorities consulted. The waking world of the poem is crowded with people, none of whom are able to help the narrator with his goal of understanding the Sothsegger.

The profusion of people in the waking world is a sharp contrast with the dream world which is deserted. When the dream world is introduced, the absence of people is repeatedly emphasized: 'Me thought I was in *wilderness* walking *aloon*, | There bestes were and briddes and *no barne elles*,' (876–7, emphasis added). The only person he meets in the dream world is the gardener who is finally able to answer the narrator's questions about Sothsegger. The wilderness of the dream vision in effect shows that the narrator has withdrawn from the world, as he is no longer encumbered by the crowds of people in the waking world who hindered his search for Sothsegger. The waking and dreaming world differ both in the absence of people, and in their treatment of landscape and environment. In the waking world place received less attention than people, and physical locations were only described in reference to the authorities the narrator was able to consult in these settings. In contrast, the poem revels in the description of the environment of the dream world, including precise physical description of both the landscape as a whole – 'Yn a cumbe cressing on a creste wise,' (878) – and of its specific

features, as in the description of 'heigges and holtz' (886) and 'mansions and medues' (887). This description of landscape serves a dual purpose: it highlights the fecundity of the natural environment which allows it to act as a moral speculum, and it further emphasizes the differences between the waking and dreaming worlds in order to demonstrate that the narrator is no longer encumbered by people and is thus better able to perceive and contemplate truth. In its descriptions of the natural environment of the dream *Mum* parallels works of desert hagiography such as Athanasius' *Life of Anthony*, in which Anthony's home in the wilderness is described as an earthly paradise.[13] Like these early anchorites withdrawing to the desert has allowed the narrator of *Mum* to progress on his journey of contemplation. In *Mum* this contemplation is turned to both political and potentially spiritual purposes. His contemplative progress is evident from the fact that he both discovers the answers to his questions concerning Sothsegger, but also because he sees the gardener, which might represent the pinnacle achievement of contemplation according to mystical writings: the ability to see God. Even if we do not interpret the gardener as a representation of God, it is clear that in the dream vision the narrator withdraws from the world into the wilderness, and in so doing is able to progress in his journey of contemplation.

There are clear parallels between the wilderness as a place of contemplation in religious writings and the depiction of the wilderness in *Mum*. However, it is difficult to conclusively demonstrate whether the dream environment should be read as representing the narrator's mental landscape or as a physical landscape. Religious works present people achieving contemplation both by physically travelling into deserted spaces and by metaphorically and mentally withdrawing into the interiorised desert. The wilderness in *Mum* could therefore be read as a physical space or as a reification of man's internal landscape. Given that the

[13] For the theme of the wilderness as paradise see Le Goff, pp. 49–50.

wilderness in *Mum* is an intermediary place, and the narrator actually achieves insight in the garden, examining this environment may indicate which of these possibilities is more persuasive. As alluded to above, the association between gardens and man's psyche was well established, especially as it related to God cultivating the garden of Eden, which strengthens the argument that the dream landscape is a reification of man's psyche. Heather Jerrim Anderson argues that 'at an early date the soul was visualized as a type of landscape, especially as a "paradise of delight" which was a literal Eden as soon as man realized it, lived his life in Christian virtue, and cultivated the seed of God's grace'.[14] Anderson's chapter on the interiorization of the wilderness and paradise explores these ideas in detail; here I draw out significant themes in the interiorization of the garden and how these relate to the dream environment in *Mum*.

The garden and wilderness themes were often related, representing stages in one's spiritual journey. Anderson summarises how these stages are typically represented in religious texts:

> Viewed in terms of a progression through time and space to God, there was the wilderness of the unredeemed world (and soul) which a righteous man, becoming aware and repentent [sic] of his sins, sought to leave; then the inward garden of the righteous man, the paradise of the soul or virtue; and lastly the Superior Paradise of the soul which, although almost impossible to attain in this life, could be momentarily glimpsed by those monks and hermits, who, through mystic contemplation and God's grace, finally in divine ecstasy managed to go beyond themselves and briefly meet with God.[15]

Superficially *Mum* represents a similar progression from wilderness, to paradise, to meeting God. However, the significance of the wilderness in *Mum* is slightly different from the pattern

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[14] Anderson, p. 214.
[15] Anderson, p. 253.

identified by Anderson. In *Mum* the wilderness is itself beautiful and represents a middle step on the narrator's journey. He enters the wilderness after he has already abandoned the encumbrances of the unredeemed world, as represented in the waking portion of the poem. The narrator has to leave the wilderness before he reaches enlightenment in the garden, following the model identified by Anderson, but the narrator's ability to enter the wilderness already represents significant progress on his journey towards contemplation. The model of progression seen in *Mum* therefore has four stages. The first stage aligns with the waking world of the poem in which the narrator is prevented from achieving contemplation; then (second) the narrator's actual journey of contemplation begins when he enters the dream world and withdraws from the waking world. He enters the wilderness, which allows him to think freely, though he does not achieve the object of his contemplation. It is only when he enters the garden, the third stage on his journey, which corresponds to the 'inward garden of the righteous man' discussed by Anderson, that the narrator is able to achieve the object of his contemplation and learn about the Sothsegger. The fourth stage, that of seeing God, is blended with the third stage so that they occur simultaneously in the dream and the narrator enters the garden and meets the godly gardener at the same time. The similarities between the model in *Mum* and the progression from desert, to garden, to meeting God in religious texts suggests that the *Mum*-poet is appropriating religious models of contemplation to apply to his search for political enlightenment. This association with the divine elevates the importance of truth and the Sothsegger to reveal that they are not purely political, but have enduring moral and religious import.

The narrator's entry into the inward garden represents further progress on this journey as he withdraws from the world and pursues contemplation. By comparing the garden in *Mum* with the treatment of the garden in Richard of St. Victor's writings we can see how the garden was used to represent a soul which had abandoned the world to achieve contemplation. In

Chapter 29 of his *Explicatio in Cantica canticorum* Richard considers Canticle 4.12–3: 'Hortus conclusus soror mea, sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus. Emissiones tuae paradisus malorum punicorum, cum pomorum fructibus,' [My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up. Thy plants are a paradise of pomegranates with the fruits of the orchard.][16] Here the garden is evidently the soul, as Richard states: 'Hortus est anima'.[17] The garden is enclosed to keep the soul away from the encumbrances of the world, which prevent contemplation:

> Cura quoque rerum exteriorum cor urit, et germina virtutum suffocat ne prodeant et cogitationum terrenarum multitudo si hortum hunc irruperit bestialiter conculcat.
>
> Haec igitur excludit devota anima, et contra huiusmodi hortum suum concludit.
>
> [Care of outward things also burns the heart, and chokes the sprouts of virtues lest they come forth; and the multitude of earthly thinking, if it intrudes on this garden, tramples like a beast.
>
> Therefore, the devout soul, excludes these things, and shuts out such things from its garden.][18]

This passage features another example of the plants of virtues image which is common in depictions of the garden of man's heart/soul; however, here they are prevented from growing by consideration of outward things. The use of *terrenus* shows that the contemplation of earthly things is antithetical to spiritual contemplation, as *spiritalis* and *terrenus* are antonyms.[19] A faithful Christian is responsible for protecting the garden of his soul by shutting out earthly contemplation and the encumbrances of the world. Read in the context of this imagery the

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[16] 'Canticle of Canticles, Chapter 4' in *The Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Bible* <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/24004.htm> [accessed 26 October 2021].
[17] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXCVI: *Richardus a Sancto Victore*, (1880), 487.
[18] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXCVI: *Richardus a Sancto Victore*, (1880), 488.
[19] 'terrenus', in *DMLBS* <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2156/dmlbs/Default.aspx> [accessed 27 October 2021].

natural environment of the dream demonstrates that the narrator has successfully withdrawn from the world. The lack of people in the dream vision suggests that the narrator has entered the interiorised desert indicating one level of withdrawal as his contemplation is no longer hindered by the people he meets in the waking world of the poem. Additionally, the lush nature of the garden, and the fact that it is enclosed behind a 'dore' (947) suggests that he has been able to shut out 'cura […] rerum exteriorum'. This may be difficult to reconcile with the fact that the narrator is still seeking answers about the Sothsegger which being related to politics is more *terrenus* than *spiritalis*. However, we could read *Mum* as appropriating ideas concerning religious contemplation to apply them to political thought. This appropriation serves to elevate his political concerns.

Even without the emphasis on withdrawing from the world found in Richard of St. Victor's text the imagery of the garden of man's heart/soul is pervasive and has clear similarities with *Mum*, most particularly in the flourishing of the plants of virtues in man's inward garden. The motif of the plants of virtues is pervasive. According to Philo 'God sows and plants noble qualities in the soul' (p. 177), including virtues. Late medieval texts also transmit this idea, for instance in *Piers Plowman* B.XIX Grace 'gaf Piers greynes – cardynales vertues, | And sew it in mannes soule,' (276–7). *Somme le roi* and its associated Middle English translation contain perhaps the most influential treatment. *Somme le roi*, like Richard of St. Victor, takes Canticle 4.12–3 as a starting point and observes that 'Holy writ likneþ a good man and a good womman to a fair garden ful of grene and of faire trees and of good fruyt.'[20] Instead of focusing on the enclosure of the garden against earthly thinking *Somme le roi* looks in more detail at the plants which grow in the garden. The discussion develops on the godly gardener theme examined in the preceding chapter, as in *Somme le roi* man's soul is a garden

[20] *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, pp. 92–3.

tended by God the gardener, Christ is the sun, playing on the phonetic similarities of 'sun' and 'son', and the Holy Ghost is an assistant gardener. All of these play a role in the cultivation of the plants of virtues: God plants virtues and makes the earth ready so that the plants will flourish, Christ the sun 'bi his vertue and briȝtness, makeþ [the plants of virtues] wexe an hiȝ and do profyȝt', and the Holy Ghost provides the heart with the conditions necessary for the plants of virtues to grow (p. 93). The *Somme* goes on to describe the seven virtues as seven trees and manuscripts were often accompanied by illustrations of these trees giving rise to a distinct *Somme* tradition.[21] The emphasis on growth, greenness, the fecundity and flourishing of plants in both *Mum* and *Somme le roi* facilitates a reading wherein the plants of the garden in *Mum* appear as the plants of virtues which grow in the garden of man's heart, although they are not represented by trees in *Mum* as they are in *Somme le roi*. Richard of St. Victor's *Explicatio in Cantica canticorum* contains similar imagery of plants representing virtues; however, Richard's text focusses on establishing clear allegorical readings for each of the plants mentioned in the biblical texts whereas *Mum* and *Somme le roi* focus on the growth of plants in general. Richard says of the pomegranates referenced in the bible: 'Mala punica rubea designant martyrium' [the red pomegranates denote martyrdom].[22] Even the more general fruits have a specific and explicit explanation: ''Pomorum fructus quos simul praefert hic hortus, sunt alia opera fructifera atque meritoria aeternae vitae, et fragrantia boni exempli atque opinionis odore.' [The yields of the fruits which this garden brings forth at the same time, are other fruitful and meritorious actions of eternal life, and the fragrance of good example and odour of esteem.][23] The pervasiveness of the plants of virtues imagery and the similarities between the flourishing gardens of man's heart/soul and the healthy and beautiful garden in

[21] Kosmer.
[22] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXCVI: *Richardus a Sancto Victore*, (1880), 489.
[23] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXCVI: *Richardus a Sancto Victore*, (1880), 489.

*Mum* enables a reading wherein the garden in *Mum* represents the narrator's heart/soul and the flourishing plants the gardener protects and cultivates are the plants of virtues.

Some of the more specific imagery of the garden of man's heart from *Somme le roi* does not find parallels in *Mum*. The trees of virtues are not found in Mum nor is the tree of life which grows in the middle of the garden of man's heart, and which is rife with symbolism. The tree as a whole represents Christ, but its constituent parts also have symbolic significance: the heart of the tree is Christ's soul, the bark Christ's fair external conduct, the leaves are Christ's holy words, the blossoms His holy thoughts, and the fruit is the twelve apostles. As there is no central tree in the garden in *Mum* it may be felt that this imagery does little to illuminate our reading of the poem. However, the tree of life passage reveals the flexibility of the imagery in the *Somme le roi* tradition and in the garden of man's heart more generally. Christ is represented twice in the garden: as both the sun which nourishes all the plants, and as the central tree which grows in the garden and provides pleasant shade. Even this shade has deeper significance: 'in þe schadewe of þis tree a good herte schal sitte and beholde þes faire braunches þat bereþ þe fruyȝt of lif wiþ-out ende' (p. 95). This shows that it is not necessary to establish neatly sealed allegorical equations when exploring images of the garden of man's heart as the imagery at its core allows for fluidity. It also suggests that any aspect of the garden may have symbolic significance, though this may not always be stated explicitly as it is in *Somme le roi*. The tree of life material in *Somme le roi* may therefore offer helpful ideas about how to think about imagery and representation in the highly symbolic environment of the garden of man's heart, even though there is no precise parallel for the imagery in *Mum*.

The tradition of representing the psyche, whether this is the heart, soul, mind, or even all three, as an internal landscape is well attested to in texts from Philo's work in the first century to late-medieval works contemporary with *Mum and the Sothsegger*. Although predominantly found in religious writings, the presence of related imagery in *Piers Plowman*

shows that these images could be used in political verse. *Piers Plowman* also provides evidence that late-medieval audiences could recognise the images as part of the tradition of the garden of man's heart/soul and interpret the garden as a representation of man's internal landscape. This tradition is so pervasive and finds so many parallels in *Mum*, both in terms of the godly gardeners explored in the preceding chapter and the garden itself, that it can fruitfully inform our reading of *Mum*. Reading the garden in *Mum* as the garden of man's heart/soul which is tended by a godly gardener is therefore well supported by textual evidence and literary tradition. When we consider the garden in *Mum* in this light it further suggests that the wilderness may also represent some facet of man's psyche, which would allow all the natural environments in the dream vision to be read in a consistent manner. There is support for this reading in the tradition of the interiorised desert. We can therefore view the wilderness in the dream vision in *Mum* as representing the narrator's withdrawal from the encumbrances of the waking world into an internal landscape to pursue contemplation. In the following section I consider how conceptual metaphors are used to depict this process of contemplation, in both the waking and dreaming portions of the poem, to see how this may align with a reading of the dream environments as a reification of man's psyche.

## THINKING IS MOVING, THINKING IS PERCEIVING: Environment and Exploration in *Mum*

In *Mum* physical movement often represents mental exploration: in the waking world the narrator's journey from place to place is the physical representation of his developing thoughts about truth and the Sothsegger, in the dream world his movement through the wilderness and into the garden is rewarded by his discovery of the answers to his questions and the conclusion of his quest. Cognitive Metaphor Theorists have examined how we conceptualize mind and thought metaphorically. Eve Sweetser demonstrated that the mind is often conceptualised as a

body.[24] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson then identified a special case of this metaphor which they describe as THINKING IS MOVING. This metaphor uses the following mappings:

> The Mind Is A Body
> Thinking Is Moving
> Ideas Are Locations
> Reason Is A Force
> Rational Thought Is Motion That Is Direct, Deliberate, Step-By-Step, And In Accord With The Force Of Reason
> Being Unable To Think Is Being Unable To Move
> A Line Of Thought Is A Path
> Thinking About *X* Is Moving In The Area Around *X*
> Communicating Is Guiding
> Understanding Is Following
> Rethinking Is Going Over The Path Again[25]

Some intuitive examples demonstrate how we use this metaphor. Expressions such as 'my mind was *racing*' and 'my mind *wandered* for a moment' demonstrate that we use verbs relating to movement to express our thought process, showing that Thinking Is Moving. Similarly, one may wonder '*where is this argument going*?' or 'how did you *reach that conclusion*?' with these spatial terms showing that Ideas Are Locations. The preceding discussion of the wilderness has implicitly relied on this metaphor as I have discussed one's journey to/of contemplation with the interiorised desert as an intermediary location on this journey. These linguistic choices are not original to me: George H. Williams also discusses the interiorised desert as 'a stage in the itinerary of the inner life' (p. 50), and medieval mystical writings conceive of contemplation as a journey, for example the *Cloud of Unknowing* author writes of contemplatives experiencing an 'inward *stering* after the privé sperit of God'.[26] In the THINKING

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[24] Sweetser, pp. 28–32.
[25] Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p. 236.
[26] *The Cloud of Unknowing*, ll. 34–5, emphasis added.

IS MOVING metaphor 'the mind is conceptualized in bodily terms, as if the mind were a separate person with its own bodily functions.'[27] If we apply these ideas about the metaphoric conceptualisation of the mind to the narrator's search for the Sothsegger we can understand that the narrator's movement through his environment represents thought. The narrator is analogous to the mind as 'a separate person' and his physical explorations are also mental explorations.

We can see evidence of this metaphor at work when we consider how difficulties on the narrator's journey are used to represent the mental difficulties he faces trying to understand the Sothsegger. At the beginning of the narrator's search for the Sothsegger he states 'I wente in a wyre a grete while after' (296), which uses mappings from the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor. The use of a verb relating to movement, 'wente', to describe the narrator's mental struggles shows that here the Thinking Is Moving mapping is being used. More specifically the narrator is 'in a wyre', that is, in a quandary, which uses the preposition 'in' to suggest that the narrator's state of doubt is a location which he occupies and cannot escape. This makes use of both the Ideas Are Locations and Being Unable To Think Is Being Unable to Move mappings. The narrator continues his mental exploration, 'Rehershyng the reasons of bothe two sides, | The pro and the contra as clergie askith,' (299–300) but is unsuccessful. He laments: 'I was never the nyre, but as newe to begynne' (302). This continues the use of the Being Unable To Think Is Being Unable to Move mapping suggested by the earlier description of the narrator being stuck in a quandary. He is unable to think through the issue of Mum and the Sothsegger logically and rationally, and as such is unable to achieve the direct, deliberate movement from location to location, idea to idea, that rational thought allows. His mental explorations never advance his thought so he is never nearer to his answer than he was at the beginning of his

[27] Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p. 243.

search. Notably, all these spatial terms for thought are used when the narrator is simply thinking through the issue as he is 'rehershyng the reasons of bothe two sides', showing the poet's willingness to represent mental thought in terms of movement and exploration without depicting the narrator as physically moving.

The use of movement to represent mental thought continues when the narrator's search stops being purely mental and begins to include movement through his environment to consult different authorities. He is again frustrated: 'But as wide as I wente, was noon of thaym alle | Wolde moeve of that matière more nother lasse' (627–8). Here the poet contrasts the physical breadth of the narrator's search, 'wide as I wente', with the lack of useful sources he is able to consult, 'noon of thaym alle'. Physical movement does not necessarily lead to successful mental movement, and we can see that although the narrator's search is now physically 'wide' he is still stuck in the quandary he was in when he started his quest. The Being Unable To Think Is Being Unable to Move mapping is still in effect, and this is perhaps suggested by the use of 'moeve of that matière'. This verb, 'meven' is primarily associated with movement, though the poet is here using it in its other sense which refers to speaking.[28] This connection with physical movement reinforces the fact that none of the authorities the narrator consults are able to move the narrator beyond the quandary he was stuck in at the start of his search. The narrator's physical search for the Sothsegger in the waking world represents his mental exploration, and neither are successful. The lack of spatial descriptors in the narrator's search recreates the feeling of being lost, as the narrator wanders about without answers. He is never able to escape the Being Unable To Think Is Being Unable to Move mapping he is caught in at the start of his search, and the physical movement through his environment does not

[28] 'mēven v.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED27630/> [accessed 18 May 2021].

compensate for this lack of mental movement. This is made explicitly clear at the conclusion of the narrator's search when he laments: 'Yit was I not the wiser for waye that I wente' (855). In the dream world, environment and exploration are treated very differently from their depiction in the waking world, and this is exemplified by the view from the top of the hill which dominates the opening of the dream vision (885–931). Reaching the top of a hill often represents achieving new heights of enlightenment and insight. If we compare the view from the top of the hill in *Mum* with similar images from *Piers Plowman* and Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor* we can see how landscape and insight are related, and how this relates to the THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphors.

In his *Benjamin Minor* Richard of St. Victor uses a variety of images to convey how one may pursue contemplation. At one point Richard describes how to achieve self-knowledge, a prerequisite for contemplation, in terms of climbing a mountain:

> Animus qui ad scientiae altitudinem nititur ascendere, primum et principale sit ei studium seipsum cognoscere. Magna altitudo scientiae seipsum perfecte cognovisse. Mons magnus et altus, plena cognitio rationalis spiritus. Omnium mundanarum scientiarum cacumina mons iste transcendit, omnem philosophiam, omnem mundi scientiam ab alto despicit.
>
> [The soul which is attempting to rise to the height of knowledge must make self-knowledge its first and chief concern. The high peak of knowledge is perfect self-knowledge. The full understanding of a rational spirit is as it were a high and great mountain. This mountain rises far above the top of all earthly learning and looks down from on high upon all philosophy and all the learning of this world.][29]

[29] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXCVI: *Richardus a Sancto Victore*, (1880), 54; Richard of Saint-Victor, *Selected Writings*, p. 114.

This relies on orientational metaphors which have been studied by William Nagy, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson.[30] We can see the following metaphors in this passage: MORE IS UP, as knowledge increases as one ascends; GOOD IS UP, as perfection is achieved only when one is metaphorically high; and HIGH STATUS IS UP, as the mountain of self-knowledge looks down on philosophy and earthly learning. The use of *despicio* encapsulates these orientational metaphors in a single word as it means both *to look down*, as from a height, and *to look at disdainfully or scornfully*.[31] This passage moves beyond the building blocks of these orientational metaphors to depict a metaphorical landscape: self-knowledge is depicted as a 'peak' [altitudo] and 'mountain' [mons]. Here the soul appears to exist in the landscape, as it moves up the mountain, rather than being the landscape itself. Later, the mind is depicted as attempting to ascend the mountain: 'Absque dubio sine ingenti exercitio, sine frequenti studio, sine ardenti desiderio, ad perfectam scientiae altitudinem, mens non sublevatur' [Certainly the mind will not be raised to the perfect height of knowledge without immense effort, continuous study and ardent desire].[32] In this latter image we see the mind being conceptualized as a separate body, showing how this image of the mountain utilizes the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor. The soul is similarly conceptualized as a body to indicate the spiritual element of this version of the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor. The mind and soul are bodies in an internal and metaphorical landscape, and thus we can read this landscape as a reification of man's psyche, although it functions in a slightly different way from the more straightforward depictions of the soul as a garden or wilderness discussed above. Reaching the top of a hill or mountain can represent achieving greater knowledge and deeper contemplation; although the focus of the contemplation may be different in the *Benjamin Minor* and *Mum and the*

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[30] Nagy; Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, pp. 15–9.
[31] 'despicere', in *DMLBS* <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2156/dmlbs/Default.aspx> [accessed 27 October 2021].
[32] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXCVI: *Richardus a Sancto Victore*, (1880), 56; Richard of Saint-Victor, *Selected Writings*, pp. 117–8.

*Sothsegger*, the use of an internal metaphorical landscape to represent the mind and soul's mental explorations is analogous.

There may be some further similarities between the dream environment in *Mum* and the mountain of self-knowledge in Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor* regarding the nature of spiritual insight. In the *Benjamin Minor* achieving the mountain of self-knowledge allows one to meet with Christ and hear the voice of God. After reaching the peak of the mountain one will meet Christ:

> Apparet tibi in habitu alio, et te coram induitur lumine sicut vestimento, et sicut evangelista testatur, fiunt mox vestimenta ejus alba sicut nix, et qualia non potest fullo facere super terram.
>
> [He will appear to you in another form, and in your presence be clothed with light, as the evangelist testifies, 'straightway his garments become as white as snow, so as no fuller upon earth can make them.'][33]

This may remind us of the gardener in *Mum* who is 'ywedid in white clothe and wisely ymade' (957) with the physical similarities between the two perhaps strengthening the argument that the gardener should be read as representing God or Christ. It should be remembered that God/Christ can appear to men in various forms and so any argument based upon physical similarities between the gardener in Mum and a depiction of God/Christ must be viewed with caution. In Richard's work one meets Christ at the top of the mountain, whereas in *Mum* the narrator leaves the mountain and meets the gardener in his garden. Additionally, we must consider the fact that Richard of St. Victor whilst known in England may not have been well known enough to directly influence the *Mum*-poet.[34] Although the *Benjamin Minor* was translated into English in the mid-fourteenth century it does not translate all of Richard's

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[33] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXCVI: *Richardus a Sancto Victore*, (1880), 56; Richard of Saint-Victor, *Selected Writings*, pp. 118.
[34] For the influence of Richard of St. Victor's work in England see *Selected Writings*, pp. 65–73.

imagery. The image of the mountain of self-knowledge is not in the Middle English text, nor is the description of Christ in white clothing.[35] For these reasons, we should be circumspect when making comparisons between Richard of St. Victor's work and *Mum*. In a moment, I shall look at *Piers Plowman* for a more direct point of comparison of the treatment of mountains and metaphorical landscapes.

First though, we should consider another conceptual metaphor which will be relevant to our discussion of these texts: THINKING IS PERCEIVING, which is also known by the related mappings Knowing is Seeing, or knowing = seeing. Lakoff and Johnson view the THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphor as another case of the MIND IS A BODY metaphor, and list the mappings which apply to this metaphor:

> The Mind Is A Body
> Thinking Is Perceiving
> Ideas Are Things Perceived
> Knowing Is Seeing
> Communicating Is Showing
> Attempting To Gain Knowledge Is Searching
> […]
> Being Able To Know Is Being Able to See
> Being Ignorant Is being Unable to See
> Impediments To Knowledge Are Impediments to Vision[36]

The most obvious example of this metaphor is 'I *see* what you mean', where sight is used to mean understanding. The metaphors THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING are related and we can see overlap between the two. For example, the Attempting To Gain Knowledge Is Searching mapping is equally applicable to both metaphors as searching can take

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[35] *Deonise hid Diuinite*, p. 12–46.
[36] I have only quoted the mappings which are most relevant to the present discussion. For a complete list see Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p. 238.

the form of physical movement, in accord with THINKING IS MOVING, or can mean attempting to bring something into view, which relates to the THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphor. Locations are important in both metaphors. In the THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphor locations are important as 'when you are looking at a scene, you have to be looking at it from some location. From a given location, you can only see certain things.'[37] This produces the idea of perspectives or viewpoints. The idea of seeing from a particular location also brings in the Ideas Are Locations mapping from the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor, raising the possibility that one only has to perceive these locations to think about them, rather than having to travel to them. This explains why in all our texts greater knowledge is achieved when one looks down from a height. A high position allows one to see more locations, and thus to think about more things at once as all locations are beheld simultaneously. As in the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor these locations may be symbolic, requiring metaphorical travel or sight, rather than literal movement or perception. This is especially true of spiritual perception, as it was believed that the highest level of spiritual vision was only achievable by those who were physically blind as this allowed them to better focus on their inner 'vision'.[38] We can see both of these metaphors at work in *Piers Plowman* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*.

In Passus XI of the B-text of *Piers Plowman* Will dreams that he is looking down from a mountain:

> And on a mountaigne þat Myddelerþe hiȝte, as me þo þouȝte,
> I was fet forþ, by ensaumples to knowe,
> Thoruȝ ech a creature, Kynde my creatour to louye.
>
> (B.XI.323–5)

[37] Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p. 239.
[38] Sweetser, p. 40.

The mountain is called ‘Myddelerþe’ highlighting its symbolic significance as a microcosm of the world. This differs from the landscapes considered thus far as we are no longer dealing with a metaphorical internal landscape but with a representation of the created order. The purpose of Will’s vision from the mountain is also made explicit: ‘by ensaumples to knowe’, showing Will is meant to learn by example. ‘Ensaumples’ are by their very nature instructive; the usage cited in the *Middle English Dictionary* shows that they can be employed to illustrate a general truth, or to teach a lesson of some kind. They also serve as models or exemplars which are instructive because they can be imitated.[39] Rebecca Davis interprets the view from the mountain in the latter sense, aligning it with the tradition of the books of nature. Davis argues that ‘nature’s spiritual value’ is derived from imagining ‘the world as a symbolic book made on the model of an exemplar, the “copy-text” of God’s own mind.’[40] Will’s ultimate purpose is to know and ‘louye’ God, and studying the exemplars of His creation allows Will to achieve this. The passage emphasizes Will’s vision as it uses the THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphor to show that Will’s spiritual contemplation of God’s creation is facilitated by sight. Verbs related to sight recur throughout the passage, including ‘seiȝ’ (326, 332, 334, 363, 364), ‘se’ (330), ‘biheld’ (344), and ‘loked’ (362). Although Will’s vision is based upon the very real phenomenon of beholding a vista from the top of a mountain his sight is preternatural in that it is beyond what one would realistically be able to see in these circumstances. He can behold vast distances (326, 328) and seems to behold the whole of the world and all of human civilisation (330–3). No mountain could conceivably be high enough to allow one to see all of this at once. Despite the panoramic nature of his vision Will can still behold fine details: he describes the magpie’s nest as though he were standing next to it, although this is ostensibly seen from the top of a very tall mountain (346–9). At the end of this passage we learn that Will

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[39] ‘ensaumple n.’, in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED13965/> [accessed 8 December 2021].
[40] Davis, p. 10.

is only able to have this preternatural view from the mountain because he is dreaming: 'Slepynge, hadde Y grace | To wyte what Dowel is, ac wakynge, neuere!' (C.XIII.217–8).[41] This is in keeping with the belief during the medieval period that dreams could provide access to knowledge that was not available whilst awake, providing prophetic or divine insight to the dreamer.[42] Similar attitudes to sight and insight are seen in the dream vision of *Mum and the Sothsegger*.

The view from the top of the hill in *Mum* has similarities with this passage from Passus XI of *Piers Plowman*. Both describe sights from nature as exemplars of the created order. Just as Will sees 'briddes and beestes by hir make þei yeden,' (B.XI.327) the narrator of *Mum* sees 'bestes' and 'briddes' (877). In *Piers*, Will sees 'hors and houndes' (B.XI.342) as well as 'cow' and 'cowkynde' (B.XI.340). In *Mum* the narrator sees horses, hounds, and hares (913–4, 921), as well as 'the cow with hire calfe' (920).[43] Helen Barr argues that the passage in *Mum* is 'inspired by Passus XI' of *Piers Plowman* as both texts use 'the idea of the natural world as an exemplification of man's political behaviour'.[44] Barr argues that, following the principle of Natural Law, 'nature provides a moral speculum drawn to instruct man in the art of government.' Contemporary examples of nature being used in this instructive fashion are seen in Thomas Aquinas and Giles of Rome's respective treatises *De regimine principum*.[45] *Mum* certainly relies on these ideas of natural law, particularly in the use of the APIAN metaphor which is found in both of these texts. However, the APIAN metaphor is presented as an overt example which demands interpretation. There is nothing which signals the view from the top of the hill should be read in a similar light. This may only be inferred from the similarity

[41] Similar sentiments are also expressed in the B-text (B.XI.411–3).
[42] For an overview of medieval attitudes to dreams and dreaming see Kruger.
[43] The emphasis on procreation in the description of these animals might be related to the theme of natural law, as its procreation was at the core of natural law. See Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law', pp. 49–50.
[44] Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law', p. 59.
[45] Barr, 'The Treatment of Natural Law', p. 60.

between the passages in *Mum* and *Piers*, and from the description of the vista in *Mum* as a 'swete sight for souvrayns' (931). Unlike in Giles and Aquinas there is no explicit interpretation offered in *Mum*, no indication how a sovereign should interpret the plenitude of plants and river full of fish. This is not to suggest that the vista cannot function as a moral speculum or to argue against this interpretation of *Mum*. I would suggest that this reading does not exhaust the significance of this passage in *Mum*, and that the use of the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor in the waking world of the poem primes us to read the dream vision with a similar view to its potential metaphoric significance. By reading this passage from *Mum* in line with the THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphors we can see that the environment is used to signify mental exploration in *Mum*, and so the idyllic landscape can be read as an internal landscape which represents a reification of man's psyche as he finally achieves successful contemplation.

I have already demonstrated that the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor is used extensively in the first half of the poem where the narrator navigates the waking world in search of the Sothsegger. This primes the audience to view the narrator in a particular light; he does not appear as a full-fledged character but as the embodiment of our quest for knowledge. His function is to search for the answer to the question posed by the poem: who should have mastery, Mum or Sothsegger? This function is most naturally fulfilled by the mind, as we contemplate the answer to this question. By embodying the mind as a person the poet can present what would otherwise be an entirely mental process in a different way which is potentially more suited to the form of his poem: as a journey with interlocutors and destinations. *Piers Plowman* is the obvious point of comparison for such a form, as it also centres around a speaker on his quest for knowledge. In *Piers*, the narrator is Will whose name gives some indication of his symbolic significance. Will partly represents one's *wille*, the

volitional faculty of the soul which desires Christian understanding.[46] Although the narrator in *Mum* is not provided with a name which similarly indicates his symbolic significance we may interpret him in a similar light: as the embodiment of our rational faculty which searches for knowledge. The narrator is therefore the embodiment of our mind, fulfilling the Mind Is A Body mapping which is central to both the THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphors. If we interpret the narrator of *Mum* less as a person or character but as an embodiment of the mind, we are primed to interpret the places he travels to and sees as metaphorical as well. These spaces represent waypoints on his mental journey of contemplation, and as such we interpret them with a view to what they represent, and ultimately what they help the narrator learn. The locations in *Piers Plowman* function in a similar way, and this is why Will is able to stand atop the mountain which represents 'Myddelerþe' and view the whole of the created order with preternatural sight. The similarity between these two passages may not be wholly attributable to the fact that they both provide moral speculums based on the tenants of natural law; instead, these passages may be similar because they present an embodiment of the human mind or soul as they look out on a highly symbolic landscape and learn from this observation.

If we accept that the narrator of *Mum* is an embodiment of the mind we are primed to view the locations he views or travels to as ideas, given that in the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor Ideas Are Locations, and in the THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphor Ideas Are Things Perceived, which also includes locations. This is strengthened by the use of the Ideas Are Locations mapping in the waking portion of the poem. In the waking world the narrator struggles to make mental progress, which was reflected by his difficult journey from authority

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[46] 'Wil(le n.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED52793> [accessed 23 November 2021]. The complex implications of Will as dreamer, the will, and as a figure for William Langland have been the subject of much discussion. For an introduction to different aspects of Will, see for example Baldwin, *A Guidebook to* Piers Plowman, pp. 19, 89, 114, 124–5.

to authority. However, in the dream the narrator's movement is no longer lengthy and exhaustive, traversing great physical distances without achieving any mental progress. Instead, in the dream world, the narrator's movement is light and easy. He 'lepte forth lightly' (881) and 'movid forth myrily' (882), with the coordination of verbs and adverbs in these lines suggesting both the ease of the narrator's movement and his joy in his progress. Movement in the dream world is so easy and enjoyable that the narrator cannot stop moving until he has reached his goal: 'For til I came to the coppe couthe I not stynte | Of the highest hille by halfe alle other.' (883–4). These lines encourage us to reflect on the use of the THINKING IS MOVING metaphor in the poem and understand how mental movement is much easier in the dream environment than it was in the waking world. In the dream, the narrator's sight is emphasised for the first time. The narrator is desperate to take in all the sights from the top of the hill as he spins around in an attempt to take in all he can see: 'I tournyd me twyes and totid aboute,' (885). His sight is further described: 'I lifte up my eyeledes and lokid ferther | And sawe many swete sightz, so me God helpe' (889–90). This description of sight introduces the THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphor. The coordination between sight and movement, and between the THINKING IS MOVING and the THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphors, emphasizes how much easier thinking is in the dream. The environment the narrator moves through and the sights he sees are primed to be read metaphorically as the ideas the narrator contemplates in his dream.

If we accept that the natural environment of the dream vision should be read as representing the ideas the narrator contemplates in his dream we must naturally ask what ideas these locations and sights represent, and how they facilitate the narrator's search for knowledge. The answer to these questions is not immediately apparent, as the use of the THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphors in the dream vision work to highlight the ease with which the narrator is able to see/move and therefore think, rather than indicating what he thinks about. Part of the reason for this may be because the object of the

narrator's contemplation is deferred until he enters the garden, where he encounters the gardener who reveals to the narrator the answers to the question he was contemplating. This effectively returns us to the models of contemplation put forward by Richard of St. Victor wherein the wilderness is merely a waypoint on a journey towards contemplation, which will ultimately only be achieved in the garden of man's heart/soul. Nevertheless, there is some indication of what ideas the wilderness in the earlier portion of the dream vision may represent. These are earthly sights, which allow the narrator to consider earthly matters presumably relating to politics as the landscape is a 'swete sight for souvrayns' (931). This is important as when man's psyche is represented as a landscape it is for the purpose of religious contemplation, rather than the contemplation of earthly things such as politics. Richard of St. Victor presents the tension between spiritual and earthly concerns in his depiction of the soul as a garden enclosed against earthly matters. However, as in the preceding discussion of the soul as a garden enclosed, the *Mum*-poet seems to reject any opposition between *spiritalis* and *terrenus* as he imbues the earthly concerns of his political poetry with spiritual significance. This is seen in the description of the hill as 'by a cliffe unyknowe of Cristis owen makyng' (880). Christ has made the landscape of the dream vision, and so everything it contains has spiritual import because of this association with the divine. This is reinforced by the use of 'unyknowe' which is usually used to describe the unknowable nature of God.[47] The natural world is at once both spiritual and earthly, and the *Mum*-poet's use of natural environments as waypoints on the narrator's journey of contemplation shows that the narrator's concerns are also both spiritual and earthly. It may not be clear precisely what the narrator is contemplating when he looks out from the top of the hill, but that it both concerns his earthly political concerns and has associations with the divine is apparent.

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[47] 'uniknowe ppl.', in *MED* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED48911/> [accessed 2 November 2021].

The natural environments of the dream vision in *Mum* are clearly more than an example of nature appreciation. On one level they appear as a moral speculum which highlights the importance of good governance. In a more symbolic reading aligned with the use of conceptual metaphors in the poem the natural environments of the dream vision appear as highly symbolic landscapes which show the ease of the narrator's thinking and indicate the question he is contemplating has both spiritual and earthly importance. There remains the question of how the use of conceptual metaphors in the dream vision relates to the tradition of using landscapes to represent a reification of man's psyche as explored in the opening section of this chapter. In the THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING metaphors landscapes are rarely described; and the examples generally used to demonstrate the Ideas Are Locations or Ideas Are Things Perceived mappings do not feature extensive description of these locations or things of the style seen in *Mum*. The use of these conceptual metaphors does not in itself suggest that the dream environment should be read as a reification of man's psyche. However, it does not preclude such a reading and the use of conceptual metaphors can be consistent with a reading of the natural environments of the dream as representing man's internal landscape. Read from this perspective the use of conceptual metaphors relating to thought show that the landscapes in the dream vision are used to show the narrator's progress in his contemplation, which is the ultimate purpose of the internal landscapes considered in the opening section of this chapter. The natural environments in *Mum* therefore serve to make purely mental exploration less abstract and more concrete. The landscapes are not only a reification of man's psyche: the movement through and sight of these landscapes is a reification of the process of thought.

## ‘Yn manis herte his housing is’: The Importance of Imagery in Locating the Sothsegger

It is worth considering what impact these choices have and how reading the poem in this way furthers our understanding of *Mum* and its political purpose. By representing man’s psyche as a metaphysical landscape the *Mum*-poet is appropriating themes commonly found in religious writings for his own, primarily secular, purpose. This elevates the political concerns of the poem by giving them the same enduring and moral importance that religious questions have. By using models that are usually reserved for depictions of mystical spiritual contemplation *Mum* seems to suggest that the focus of its own contemplation, that is the question of Mum and the Sothsegger, is equally important as these spiritual concerns. Indeed, the *Mum*-poet seems to reject any hierarchical system which would prioritize the divine over the temporal, as his repeated rejection of the *spiritalis* and *terrenus* dichotomy shows. The use of these models of contemplation show that political contemplation is not purely temporal, and the divine associations of the natural environments in the dream vision, which are of ‘Cristis owen makyng’ (880) reinforce this perspective. However, the use of the dream environment to represent a reification of man’s psyche does more than elevate the poet’s political concerns by associating them with religious themes. The ultimate purpose of the poem is to answer the question repeatedly posed by the narrator: who should have mastery, Mum or Sothsegger? The use of imagery and conceptual metaphor in the dream world is essential to answering this question.

If we do not read the natural environments of the dream world as a reification of man’s psyche we may never find the Sothsegger, and so may never answer the ultimate question posed by the poem. From the gardener we learn the location of the Sothsegger:

> Yn manis herte his housing is, as hooly writte techet,
> And mynde is his mansion that made alle th'estres.

*In corde fidelis est habitacio veritatis*.
There feoffed hym his Fadre freely forto dwelle,
And put him in possession in paradise Terrestre
Yn Adam oure auncetre and al his issue after.

(1224–1228)

If the dream world represents a reification of man's psyche, specifically man's heart, the location of the Sothsegger becomes obvious: he lives in the dream world. The garden in *Mum*, and the idealised dream landscape more broadly, might be viewed as representing the 'paradise Terrestre' the Sothsegger has possession of. As discussed in the opening section of this chapter, when man's psyche was represented by a landscape this was often a paradisal landscape or became a paradise when the man devoted himself to God and lived as a good Christian.[48] The paradisal natural environments of the dream vision represent the faithful heart in which the Sothsegger lives, and the gardener's subsequent instructions to the narrator support this reading. The gardener has 'ywised thee the weye to his [Sothsegger's] place' (1239) so that the narrator may 'hye thee hens to his hows and hippe evene amyddes;' (1240). These descriptions suggest that the narrator may easily continue his journey through the dream landscape and will end up at the Sothsegger's house since he now knows the way to go. The language used suggests that the narrator should move through a physical landscape – 'weye', 'place', 'hens', 'hows', – in order to reach the Sothsegger's dwelling. Since the Sothsegger lives in 'manis herte' the physical landscape of the dream must represent the psychological landscape of his heart to enable the narrator to make this journey. The use of the conceptual metaphor THINKING IS MOVING suggests that this journey, like the journey through the dream environment, involves mental movement. In order to reach the Sothsegger, the narrator must only think about the Sothsegger, which he is now able to do because the gardener has told him how to and in essence

[48] Anderson, p. 214.

shown him the way. The ease with which the narrator may now travel to the Sothsegger's house contrasts sharply with the impossibility of making mental progress in the waking world of the poem, and the extensive use of the Being Unable to Think Is Being Unable to Move mapping in this section of the poem. The reification of man's psyche and the process of thought in the dream world is shown to be essential to the poem's purpose: without this imagery we would not be able to find the Sothsegger's home or make the journey necessary to reach it.

The imagery of the dream world of *Mum and the Sothsegger* is perhaps the most nebulous and potentially confusing of all the imagery considered in this project. It does not establish sealed allegorical equations, and although it makes use of mappings seen in conceptual metaphor studies, these do not fully explain the imagery or its significance in the poem. At its core the imagery is metaphorical: man's psyche is represented as a landscape; the process of thought is represented by sight and by movement. The representation of man's psyche as a landscape has been shown to be closely related to religious models of the self and of the process of contemplation. The use of conceptual metaphors to represent the process of thought is also found in medieval sources, and still endures to this day where it has been the subject of more intensive study.[49] The use of this imagery not only serves to elevate the *Mum*-poet's temporal, political concerns to have enduring, spiritual importance but is also revealed to be essential to locating the Sothsegger. By reading the natural environments of the dream world as a reification of man's heart we can understand that the Sothsegger lives in the dream world, and that we can reach his house by careful, logical thought following the Thinking Is Moving metaphor. The ability to speak truth to power is found within all of us; the difficulty lies in understanding how to find that ability and act upon it. The imagery in *Mum and the Sothsegger* shows that we can access that ability by withdrawing from the encumbrances of the world,

[49] Sweetser; Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh.*

dedicating ourselves to contemplation, and ultimately by following the instructions of God. Through the creative reification of psyche and thought *Mum* provides a new model to discover our own ability to speak political truth and emphasises the importance of doing so.

# Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that imagery of the natural world was used in late medieval poetry to provide political commentary and social critique. It has offered a more in-depth analysis of this imagery than previous studies, particularly because this thesis examines not only what this imagery means, but how it creates this meaning, and how imagery may be interpreted in relation to other discourses, traditions, and environments. The application of CIT and CMT, as introduced in Chapter One, has been essential to unlocking this insight. This has also been complemented by a consideration of discourse-based approaches to metaphor analysis, and a consideration of each poem's textual environment, influenced by the approach adopted by Strohm.

Chapters Two to Four explored the use of heraldic animal imagery in a corpus of poems which focus on the end of Richard II's reign and Henry IV's actions during the deposition and its immediate aftermath. The analysis of this imagery pays particular attention to the origins and association images have; heraldic animal imagery was shown to be strongly influenced by both vaticinal literature and the use of heraldic and livery badges. Vaticinal discourse was shown to have a stronger influence on the imagery in Latin poetry, such as Gower's *Cronica tripertita* and 'O Deus in Celis', than on the vernacular texts in this corpus, which generally relied on images derived from livery/heraldic badges. This is in keeping with what we know about the respective audiences of these poems, since those which were suitable for broader circulation, such as 'There is a Busch', used imagery that may have been easier for a broader spectrum of people to interpret. However, the available evidence does not support the suggestion that imagery derived from vaticinal literature could only be interpreted by specialised audiences. The use of punning to refer to Richard's ministers (a practice derived from the use of etymologised translation in vatic texts) in both *Richard the Redeless* and 'There is a Busch' suggests that imagery derived from vaticinal discourse was more widely understood

than has previously been suggested. Chapter Four also considered the argument proposed by David R. Carlson that the use of similar imagery in this corpus of poems suggests that they formed part of a culturally coordinated scheme to support the Lancastrian accession; however, the analysis of the imagery demonstrated key points of variance between the use of imagery in these poems, suggesting they are more diverse than Carlson suggests. Ultimately, there is little evidence to support the suggestion that these texts formed part of a coordinated scheme.

Chapters Five and Six considered the less topical imagery of *Mum and the Sothsegger*. Chapter Five focused on the use of the APIAN metaphor in the dream vision section of the poem. I considered how the long tradition of the metaphor influences the *Mum*-poet's use of imagery; most importantly, this chapter provided the first strong evidence that the Mum-poet had access to Virgil's fourth *Georgic*, which he used as a source, rather than being reliant on Virgilian material as transmitted by Bartholomeus. In addition to exploring how the APIAN metaphor was used to offer political commentary, this chapter explored the significance of the gardener who explains the apian imagery to the narrator. I argued that the divine associations of the gardener had hitherto been underestimated as I aligned the gardener in *Mum* with the tradition of representing God or Christ as a gardener who tends the garden of man's heart/soul. This theme is investigated in the final chapter where I explored the tradition of representing the self as a landscape, either a garden or wilderness, and how this relates to the natural environments in the dream vision of *Mum*. Religious discourse represented the self as a landscape, often as a way of expressing how one had progressed on their journey of contemplation. When someone had just begun their journey of contemplation, the soul could be represented as a wilderness; this wilderness would be transformed into a paradisal garden when the contemplation of God was truly embraced. The journey in *Mum* from the encumbrances of the waking world, to the wilderness of the dream vision, to finally entering the garden, charts a similar journey towards contemplation and enlightenment. This allowed us to read the natural environments of the

dream vision in *Mum* as a reification of man's psyche. This interpretation is supported by the use of the conceptual metaphors THINKING IS MOVING and THINKING IS PERCEIVING in *Mum*, which allows us to view the narrator's sight of and movement through the natural environments of the dream world as representing of the process of thought. The use of this imagery was shown to be essential to locating the Sothsegger, who lives in man's heart and, by extension, the dream world which is a reification of man's psyche.

Throughout this thesis I have considered the importance of natural law. Helen Barr's valuable article on *Richard the Redeless* and *Mum and the Sothsegger* highlights the importance of natural law to the political commentary of these poems; one of the goals of this thesis was to explore Barr's findings in more detail, including how exactly natural law is expressed in the imagery of *Richard* and *Mum*, and whether the use of imagery in other political poems is also influenced by natural law. This thesis has shown that natural law underlies much of the imagery in *Richard* and *Mum*, particularly the imagery concerning the treatment of the Lords Appellant in *Richard* and the apian imagery in *Mum*. However, many other factors contributed to the use of imagery in these poems, and so the importance of natural law may have been overemphasized. For instance, it is possible to read the natural environments in the dream vision in *Mum* in terms of natural law, viewing them as a moral speculum designed to instruct kings in the art of good governance, but this reading risks underplaying the influence religious discourse may have had on the representation of the natural environments. Similarly, we must not assume that all imagery of the natural world relies on the theme of natural law. The heraldic animal imagery in 'There is a Busch' is very similar to the heraldic animal imagery in *Richard the Redeless*, but the latter relies heavily on the idea of natural law, whilst the former does not. In general, the influence and importance of natural law is limited: while it is used extensively in both *Richard* and *Mum* it does not appear to have a wider influence, and the other poems considered in this thesis do not rely on natural law in the same way.

This project has highlighted that the imagery in late-medieval political poetry was more diverse than it may initially appear, exploring the nuance of the political messages of these poems and the imagery used to convey these messages. This is most apparent in Chapter Four which discussed the use of heraldic animal imagery in poems concerning the deposition. Although their imagery appears superficially similar, I show that it varies significantly from poem to poem. I have identified broad trends which can help us understand how the imagery changes; however, even within these trends there is significant variance. For example, although both the *Cronica tripertita* and 'O Deus in Celis' make use of imagery derived from vaticinal literature they do so in different ways. 'O Deus in Celis' aligns itself much more closely with vatic material, and even uses future tenses to convey the sense that it is discussing events which have not yet happened. In contrast, the imagery in the *Cronica* is mediated by the text's presentation of itself as a history, which means the imagery is not truly 'vatic'. This is one example of the ways in which this project has demonstrated the complexity and nuance of the poetry under consideration, and advanced our understanding and appreciation of these poems.

My discussion foregrounds the use of imagery in these poems. Most other studies have prioritised the political messages of these poems, with an appreciation of a poem's imagery and its meaning being considered only secondarily, if at all. However, I have sought to analyse and understand the image first, and then considered what the use of the image may tell us about the poem and its political purpose. In so doing, I have shown the use of imagery can influence other literary choices. Certain types of imagery are appropriate to certain uses, and the selection of imagery may influence, or be influenced by, other factors such as the language of the poem, the tradition or discourses the poem is responding to, and the envisioned audience. This last point is important because imagery has been shown to be a powerful tool which can prime the reader to adopt particular interpretations or perspectives. The ability of imagery to guide readers towards particular interpretations is especially relevant to political poetry, one of the

aims of which is to encourage the audience to adopt the political perspective of the poem.[50] Given the ability of imagery to affect the audiences' interpretation, a full appreciation of the political meaning of these poems cannot be achieved without an analysis of the imagery.

The methodology of this project is well suited to the analysis of political imagery, and could be used to analyse imagery in other contexts or projects. CIT and CMT have generally been used to analyse imagery produced in the 20th Century onwards; however, this project has demonstrated that this methodology can be applied to images from any period of history, and to the diachronic study of imagery. This project has also highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of both CIT and CMT, and provided guidance as to when it is more appropriate to apply each theory. This produces a more flexible approach which can use each theory as needed, which ultimately produces greater insight than would be possible by applying only one theory. Finally, I have complemented the application of CIT and CMT with an awareness of discourse-based approaches to metaphor analysis, which can help mitigate some of the limitations of these methods. This project therefore offers a new methodology which combines the benefits of existing theories to produce a model which can be applied to interpret a variety of images and texts.

This project has analysed the use of imagery of the natural world in political poems produced in England between 1370 and 1415. As with any doctoral dissertation, however, there are some texts and events that could not be accommodated. In particular, poetry concerning the Peasants' Revolt could not be incorporated into this project, although it represents an area that is ripe for examination. The use of imagery of the natural world in Book I of John Gower's *Vox Clamantis* is especially interesting, and represents a valuable area for further study. Similarly, plowman imagery could profitably be explored in more detail, including both *Piers*

[50] For a more extensive discussion of the aims of political metaphor see the discussion of Andreas Musolff, above p. 49–50.

*Plowman* and shorter texts such as ‘Song of the Husbandman’. Late-medieval political poetry is a rich and varied corpus, which has been attracting more, and more varied, study recently. I hope this project has contributed to this field by highlighting the value of analysing imagery in late-medieval political poetry, and that it may encourage further research into this area.

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