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The Illustrations of Lydgate's Troy Book: The Visual Revitalization of a Literary Tradition in the Fifteenth-Century England

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THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF LYDGATE’S TROY BOOK:
THE VISUAL REVITALIZATION OF A LITERARY TRADITION
IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the ways in which John Lydgate’s *Troy Book*, both the textual and visual narratives, functioned in fifteenth-century England. As Henry V sought to legitimate his claim to the throne usurped by his father, he capitalized on the burgeoning sense of an English national identity by patronizing literature in the English vernacular as a means to glorify both nation and language. In an age in which genealogical claims were the most important indicator of a person’s right to rule, Henry exploited the Trojan origin myth, which had circulated in England and other European communities since the early Middle Ages, not only to glorify England as an inheritor of Rome’s imperial mission and to solidify the Lancastrian claim, but also to help solidify and renew the English claim to the French throne.

The *Troy Book* was immensely popular in the fifteenth-century and was reproduced in at least twenty-three manuscripts, including fragments. Eight of these manuscripts received illustrations, and a basic visual program can be detected in each of them. However, two of these manuscripts are exceptional for the inclusion of illustrations beyond this basic program – London, British Library, MS Royal 18 d. ii (c. 1455-62) and Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS English 1 (c. late 1440s). Because the manuscripts were produced at different points in the fifteenth century, a careful examination of the images in light of contemporary historical events helps establish the patron’s views and ambitions that may have helped shape the pictorial narrative. I will argue that the anomalous images in the Royal manuscript must be read in light of both the recently failed war with France and the current civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster and that these images represent aristocratic anxieties and desires for peace. This argument will culminate in an examination of the images in the Rylands manuscript, the most sumptuous of the *Troy Book* manuscripts, which includes sixty-nine miniatures. It was
commissioned slightly earlier than the Royal manuscript during the waning fortunes of the Hundred Years War and conforms most closely to the purposes of the original text: to glorify Trojan origins and England by identifying Henry V with Hector, to act as a manual for chivalry and proper war practices, to emphasize the role of fortune in worldly events, and to provide moral instruction to both the aristocracy and the nobility.
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the ways in which John Lydgate’s *Troy Book*, both the textual and visual narratives, functioned in fifteenth-century England. As Henry V (1413-1422) sought to legitimate his claim to the throne usurped by his father, he capitalized on the burgeoning sense of an English national identity by patronizing literature in the English vernacular as a means to glorify both nation and language during the early fifteenth century. In an age in which genealogical claims were the most important indicator of a person’s right to rule, Henry, as Prince of Wales commissioned Lydgate’s *Troy Book* in 1412, in order to exploit the Trojan origin myth, which had circulated in England and other European communities since the early Middle Ages, not only to glorify England as an inheritor of Rome’s imperial mission and to solidify the Lancastrian claim, but also to help solidify and renew the English claim to the French throne.

The *Troy Book* was immensely popular in the fifteenth-century and was reproduced in at least twenty-three manuscripts, including fragments. Eight of these manuscripts received illustrations, and a basic visual program can be detected in each of them. However, two of these manuscripts are exceptional for the inclusion of illustrations beyond this basic program – London, British Library, MS Royal 18 d. ii (c. 1455-62) and Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS English 1 (c. late 1440s). Because the manuscripts were produced at different points in the fifteenth century, a careful examination of the images in light of contemporary historical events helps establish the manuscript patron’s views and ambitions that may have helped shape the pictorial narrative. I will argue that the anomalous images in the Royal manuscript must be read in light of both the recently failed war with France (1337-1453) and the current civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster (1455-1485) and that these images represent
aristocratic anxieties and desires for peace. This argument will culminate in an examination of the images in the Rylands manuscript, the most sumptuous of the Troy Book manuscripts, which includes sixty-nine miniatures. It was commissioned slightly earlier than the Royal manuscript during the waning fortunes of the Hundred Years War and conforms most closely to the purposes of the original text: to glorify Trojan origins and England by identifying Henry V with Hector, to act as a manual for chivalry and proper war practices, to emphasize the role of fortune in worldly events, and to provide moral instruction to both the aristocracy and the nobility.

The Troy Legend in Medieval Europe:

In order to legitimize conquests in the Mediterranean, Roman historians had traced the founding of cities in Italy and the ancestry of the nobility to Trojan heroes long before Virgil cemented the relationship between Augustus and Aeneas and propagated the divine right of Rome’s imperial project. Richard Waswo argues “their purpose was to provide a newly powerful nation with a glorious lineage and an ancient past, establishing Rome’s claims to independent prestige in the Hellenic world.” During the imperial period, this practice continued, and the divine ancestry of the emperor tracing backward to Aeneas became a litmus test for legitimacy.

The fall of the Roman Empire did nothing to change this sensibility, and those who conquered the lands and aspired to reunite the empire under their rule replicated this tradition of imperial ideology by appropriating the Trojan myth and creating an uninterrupted genealogical relationship to Aeneas. Thus, in his sixth-century History of the Goths, Cassiodorus attempted to

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2 Waswo, “History,” 549.
assimilate the history of the Roman people and the Gothic tribes as a means to lay claim to the idea of *translatio imperii et studii* by providing Theodoric with a Trojan pedigree. Although it lay dormant for a couple centuries, this Vergilian topos was unveiled anew and expanded upon at the Carolingian court in an attempt to validate the transfer of the Roman Empire to the Franks in 800. Marie Tanner effectively demonstrates how this influenced the mythic imagery of the emperor until the last descendant of the Hapsburg line in the sixteenth century such that “the Roman legitimacy of future rulers required only that they trace their bloodline to this Frankish ancestor [Charlemagne].”

When the last of the Carolingians died, and Hugh Capet seized the French throne severing the Frankish empire into what would later become France and Germany, claimants to the throne capitalized on Trojan descent; whoever could claim the strongest tie to Charlemagne, and thus Aeneas, was the most legitimate ruler.

Each emergent nation-state appropriating the ancestral myth did so in order to legitimize its right to rule over its people and land. Although these traditions of Trojan descent were in circulation during the early Middle Ages, especially for those who, like the Normans, were essentially lineage-less, genealogical constructions became increasingly important in the twelfth century as “kings, aristocrats, and the protonational communities that aristocrats did so much to define increasingly claimed or buttressed power over land by appeal to their relationship to time.”

The greatest evidence for English Trojan descent is Geoffrey of Monmouth’s twelfth-century *Historia regum Britanniae* (ca. 1136), in which he recounts the founding of London, New Troy, by Aeneas’s great-grandson Brutus. After freeing captive Trojans in Greece, he

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4 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 91.
receives an imperial prophecy from the goddess Diana, which causes “British history [to be] systematically genealogized at the same time that it is first systematically imperialized.” As Geoffrey states:

Brutus, beyond the setting sun, past the realms of Gaul, there lies an island in the sea, once occupied by giants. Now it is empty and ready for your folk. Down the years this will provide an abode suited to you and to your people; and for your descendants it will be a second Troy. A race of kings will be born there from your stock and the round circle of the whole world will be subject to them.

Not long after Geoffrey’s history, Benoît de Sainte-Maure wrote Le Roman de Troie for Henry II, King of England (1154-1189), which “served to support the legitimacy of insecure English kings.” He may also have written the Chronique des ducs de Normandie, which also associates the Normans with the Trojans through Rollo, whom Dudo of Saint-Quentin had assimilated to the Trojan myth in the tenth century by making him a descendant of the Trojan Antenor. Although Le Roman de Troie remained important in Europe, it was Guido delle Colonne’s thirteenth-century redaction, Historia destructionis Troiae, that listed the various provinces believed to have been founded by Trojan princes or exiles. It seized the European imagination and was translated into several languages, including three major Middle English versions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: John Clerk’s alliterative Destruction of Troy, the anonymous Laud Troy Book, and most important for this study, John Lydgate’s Troy Book.

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10 For a discussion of the three Middle English translations see C. David Benson, The History of Troy in Middle English Literature: Guido delle Colonne’s Historia Destructionis Troiae in Medieval England (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980).
Lydgate’s *Troy Book*

The use of the Trojan legend in Europe has long been a source of scholarly interest, and there have been several recent investigations into the Trojan legend in England itself. However, each deals primarily with the literary aspect without attention to its importance in art. Sylvia Federico’s *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages* conducts a Lacanian examination of the poetry that associates London and Troy, both in a positive and negative light, during the late fourteenth century.\(^\text{11}\) Alexander Mueller expands upon Federico’s work in, *Translating Troy: Provincial politics in Alliterative Romance*, and argues that while the alliterative poems contribute to an understanding of English national identity, they also serve as a critique of English origins, highlight the negative consequences of war, and voice concerns about what Mueller terms an imperialist agenda.\(^\text{12}\) Finally, Timothy Arner’s 2006 dissertation, “Trojan Wars: Genre and the Politics of Authorship in Late Medieval and Early Modern England,” challenges the nature of the English imperial agenda reflected in the Trojan legend and focuses on the ways in which Chaucer, Lydgate, Caxton, and Shakespeare use the Trojan narratives as a means for authorial self-definition in response to contemporary English court culture.\(^\text{13}\)

Federico and Mueller’s books and Arner’s dissertation are three of the most recent sustained investigations into the Trojan myth in England. Although each flirts with Lydgate, none has focused primarily on the importance of the *Troy Book* in the fifteenth century, either textually or visually. Although Lydgate all but fell into oblivion after the sixteenth century and was only rescued by German scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, he was

\(^\text{11}\) Federico, S. *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
\(^\text{13}\) Arner, T. “Trojan Wars Genre and the Politics of Authorship in Late Medieval and Early Modern England” (PhD diss., Penn State, 2006).

Lydgate’s translation and embellishment of Guido’s *Historia* is one of his most ambitious works, reaching more than 30,000 lines in five books. It is a foundational poem that helped to foster a sense of English national identity. In 1412, while still Prince of Wales, Henry V commissioned Lydgate to translate Guido’s *Historia* so that,

The noble story openly wer knowe  
In oure tonge, aboute in euery age,  
And y-written as wel in oure langage  
As in latyn and in frensche it is;  
That of the story þe trouth[e] we nat mys  
No more than doth eche other nacioun\footnote{Lydgate, *Troy Book*, Pro.112-117.}

Completed in 1420, the poem was dedicated to Henry V, “þe prince of pes,” after he united the French and English thrones as laid out in the 1420 Treaty of Troyes.\footnote{Lydgate, *Troy Book*, V.3399-3428.} While it may be possible to read some of the fourteenth-century Trojan poems as anti-imperialistic and negative critiques of Trojan origins, Lydgate’s *Troy Book* must be examined through a different lens, especially in light of the patronage and imperial mission of Henry V.\footnote{Federico, S. New Troy, examines the ambivalent nature of Trojan origins in the last twenty years of the fourteenth century. Negative connotations linking Troy and London can be seen in the 1388 hanging of Nicholas Bembre and}
derision but were recast in a Galfridian light in which Henry V played the part of a noble and honest Hector.  

Although scholars have focused on the importance of Lydgate’s text, the bulk of the research focusing on the *Troy Book* only exists in book chapters and articles dedicated to socio-political, historical, or literary concerns. Few have investigated the visual narrative of the texts. This is surprising since the poem survives in twenty-three manuscripts, eight of which received illustrations, and another six border and initial decorations, making “the proportion of illustrated to unillustrated manuscripts impressively high for an English text.”

Any research undertaken on Lydgate’s *Troy Book* owes a debt to Henry Bergen, whose 1935 edition is still the only complete version of the *Troy Book* in print. He not only collated several manuscripts, but also provided a descriptive bibliography, including provenance and lists of illustrations for each of the nineteen manuscripts available to him at the time. Additionally, he described the two print versions by Richard Pynson and Thomas Marshe in the sixteenth century and Thomas Heywood’s 1614 version, and provided extracts from Guido’s *Historia*, extensive notes on the text itself, a glossary, and details regarding the various characters and locations.

Kathleen Scott’s cataloguing efforts in her foundational *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490* as well as the series she edits, *An Index of Images in English Manuscripts*, and her many other scholarly publications, are invaluable resources for the study of fifteenth-century

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illustrative practices. Although she describes in detail several of the *Troy Book* images and highlights some of their peculiarities, there is little in the way of interpretation. Lesley Lawton’s research in the 1980s, *The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, With Special Reference to Lydgate’s ‘Troy Book’* and her unpublished dissertation “Text and Image in Late Mediaeval English Vernacular Literary Manuscripts,” is the only major study on the illustrative programs in the *Troy Book* manuscripts. She identifies a basic pictorial program common to most of the illustrated manuscripts and describes them in pragmatic, rather than interpretive, terms.

A recent investigation of the illustrative program is Martha Driver’s study of Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 876, which analyzes the miniatures in light of its accompanying text *Generides*. By comparing both the completed miniatures and the unfinished drawings to other illustrated texts depicting actual historical events or treatises on warfare, Driver follows Alexander’s idea of intervisuality and demonstrates that these illustrations “purport to present a visual history, even as they illustrate fictional events.” This is highlighted in the manuscript’s unique drawing of Hector’s burial ekphrasis in which his body is embalmed and placed inside a tabernacle topped by a golden statue in his likeness. Both Lydgate’s text and the Morgan drawing reflect contemporary English burial practices in which an effigy of the king was displayed at his funeral “which could then be ritually respected as if it were the king itself.”

Two manuscripts deviate from and expand upon the basic pictorial program identified by Lawton: London, British Library, MS Royal 18. D. ii. (c. 1455-1462) and Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS English 1 (c. late 1440s). Although relatively close in production dates,

21 Alexander, J.J.G. “Dancing in the Streets,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 156. “What we are talking about are not historical actualities or practices, but images that may indeed reflect such practices, but that in their context as representations intervene in an historical situation and relate contextually and ‘intervisually’ with other representations. By images relating ‘intervisually’ I mean that the viewer, in seeing one image, recollects other images that are formally similar, but which have different contexts and thus different connotations.”
they were commissioned under different historical circumstances, and it is the illustrations that serve as contemporary interpretations of text and events. In this dissertation, I will build upon previous research and show how the elements of their pictorial narratives can provide insights into fifteenth-century attitudes about contemporary events. This will be based on close examinations of the manuscripts as well as documents concerning patron activity.

Chapter One will establish the foundation of the myth of Trojan descent and explore its various European transformations in order to situate the English tradition within this historical context. In particular, I will look at the ways in which Venice and the Frankish kingdom used illuminated manuscripts as part of their identity creation. Buchthal has demonstrated how the Venetians employed illuminated manuscripts as a means to assert their independence from Byzantium and dominance over the Mediterranean; thus, there is a sense of hostility in the illustrations which associate Byzantium with the treacherous Greeks.24 Morrison explores the use of illustrated copies of Benoît de Ste-Maure’s *Roman de Troie* in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century by the Capetian kings as a means not only to legitimate their rule, but also to help foster the sense of French nationalism. She demonstrates how a static text can be revitalized by the pictorial narrative relevant to its historical context and how the illustrations idealize French origins in a similar fashion as England uses the illustrations and manuscripts to idealize English origins.25

The second chapter will trace the development of the Trojan myth in England and how it was used in its various permutations until its exploitation by the Lancastrians and Henry’s commission for Lydgate’s translation. The *Troy Book* has been analyzed from many generic

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perspectives as a handbook for moral instruction, a manual for chivalry, propaganda for an unstable Lancastrian regime, and a commentary on prudence. Although functioning in these and other aspects, one of the poem’s most important functions was to make contemporary and relevant a historical event in order to foster and glorify a national identity. It did this not only through its subject matter, but also through the vehicle of the emergent vernacular, as it served to enforce a dichotomy of a morally superior sense of Englishness evident in simplicity of speech against the treacherous French evident in duplicitous and deceptive language.

The third chapter will examine the tradition of depicting the Trojan myth or other aspects of war or government in England in a variety of media to determine iconographical influence. Scott has listed several manuscripts in which Trojan iconography is present: Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 126), Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 61), miscellany (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 775), and Mandeville’s Travels (British Library, Harley 3954). Driver has demonstrated the usefulness of also examining manuscripts outside the *Histoire ancienne* genre and shown how contemporary illustrations of historical events have influenced at least one *Troy Book* manuscript (M. 876) and revealed that these similarities serve to conflate history and “fiction” as well as past and present. I will be examining the images in the following chapter using a similar method.

In the fourth chapter, I will build upon Lawton’s research and examine deviations in composition or subject matter from the basic iconographical program she identified in the BL, Royal 18 d. ii and John Rylands University Library, MS English 1 manuscripts. In addition to the analysis of Hector’s funeral depictions, Driver has teased out intricacies in the illustrations,

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such as certain heraldic emblems, to determine possibilities of patronage or instances of authenticity.\footnote{Driver, “Medievalizing the Classical Past,” 224.} One of the major deviations from the program is the addition of Wheel of Fortune depictions in three of the seven manuscripts still containing miniatures; these are three of only six known depictions of this theme in fifteenth-century English manuscripts.\footnote{The three to receive this depiction are Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 876; London, British Library, Royal 18 d. ii.; and Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS English 1. The other three known fifteenth-century English manuscripts to receive this illustration are: Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 3. 57, genealogical roll of English kings to Henry VI; Bodleian Douce 104, \textit{Piers Plowman}; British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. VII, \textit{Pilgrimage of the Life of Man}.} Additionally, Scott has recognized that two seem to have a similar archetype, Morgan, M. 876 and Rylands, English 1, while the other, BL, Royal 18 d. ii., developed different iconography and possibly derives from a French source.\footnote{Scott, K. \textit{Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490} (London: H. Miller, 1996), v. 2, 284. See also Martha Driver’s descriptive note for a discussion of Wheel of Fortune illustrations and possible iconographical models; “Medievalizing the Classical Past,” 224 no. 12.} It is noteworthy that the Wheel of Fortune appears only in these three manuscripts, each produced between 1445-1462, and serves as one of the ways in which an image can be read as both an interpretation of the text and a reaction to contemporary events.

I will examine the peculiar nature of BL, Royal 18 d. ii – the only \textit{Troy Book} manuscript confidently associated with the aristocracy. Not only does its presentation scene differ considerably from the others, but only three of its twelve miniatures conform to the basic pictorial program identified by Lawton. Excepting the Wheel of Fortune depiction, the remaining illustrations emphasize the negative consequences of war. I will demonstrate that these images must be read in light of both the recent failure of the Hundred Years War and the contemporary Yorkist claim for the throne and could reflect aristocratic anxieties over continued war. That this manuscript could be read as an indication of a desire for peace is especially
attractive in light of the inclusion of Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes*, which James Simpson has seen as a warning of the dangers of civil war.\(^{30}\)

I will conclude with an examination of the sixty-nine miniatures of the John Rylands University Library, MS English 1, in light of contemporary events. This is the most sumptuously decorated *Troy Book* manuscript. A full-page coat-of-arms is inserted at the end of the text identifying it as belonging to the Carent family, most likely either William or his son John. Although not a member of the aristocracy, they were a wealthy fifteenth-century family with ties to the Lancastrian court. I will examine the illustrations in light of familial obligations and ambitions as well as contemporary events.

Although there are depictions of the destructive elements of war, the Ryland manuscript’s expansion of the basic pictorial program identified by Lawton is not nearly as pessimistic as the program depicted in the BL Royal manuscript. In many ways, the illustrations most closely conform to the purposes of the text, serving as a manual for proper conduct and courtly ethics and highlighting the ideals of chivalry. For instance, several of the depictions in Book I provide a lesson in hospitality, in Book II a lesson in courtly ethics as councils are convened and embassies sent, in Book III a lesson in chivalric ideals as the two sides meet in battle and while in truce, in Book IV a lesson in combat, and in Book V a lesson in the dangers of Fortune.

The aim of this research is to demonstrate how the Trojan story was both timeless in its cultural form and made timely in its politicized fifteenth-century representation. Social and political forces coalesced not only to shape the text, but also to inform the illustrative programs of its various manuscripts. A careful consideration of the visual narrative in conjunction with verbal text and their historical circumstances provides insights into fifteenth-century English

political attitudes and cultural tastes and shows how illustrated manuscripts can revitalize a long established literary narrative.
CHAPTER ONE

TROJAN NARRATIVES

The Trojan Legend in Antiquity

In Book Six of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas visits his father, Anchises, in the underworld, and he gives Aeneas a prophesy of the future of their progeny in Rome. “Come now, and I shall tell you of the glory that lies in store for the sons of Dardanus, for the men of Italian stock who will be our descendants, bright spirits that will inherit our name, and I shall reveal to you your own destiny.” (VI: 756-759) Aeneas has, up to this point, been struggling with his future. His homeland, Troy, has been destroyed by the Hellenic invaders, a destruction from which he and his family narrowly escaped. He has received messages from the gods harrying him towards Italy in order to found a new city. He has been advised to travel to the underworld to visit with his father Anchises, who, after giving him a philosophical rendition of the afterlife reminiscent of the Platonic “Myth of Er” found in the *Republic*, prophesizes the future glory of Rome and the Trojan peoples.

What follows is a shortened version of Roman history until the Age of Augustus, which highlights the most important individuals from each age with a short comment on their accomplishments. Inserted into this historical glimpse into the future of the greatness of Rome is also guidance. “Your task, Roman, and do not forget it, will be to govern the peoples of the world in your empire. These will be your arts – and to impose a settled pattern upon peace, to pardon the defeated and war down the proud.” (VI: 851-853) These two passages highlight not only the Roman conception of a properly ruled cosmos, one ruled by Rome, but also illustrate the belief in Trojan origins. The Trojan legend would become one of the most enduring and widely used origin myths, present in numerous translations, many of which contain illustrations, and
each redaction served a similar legitimizing purpose. The illustrations that accompany several of
these narratives help to reinforce the ideals of the text and make it contemporary to each
successive generation who believed in their Trojan ancestry.\textsuperscript{31}

At its most basic level, the Trojan legend is a story about war. Homer and the cyclical
authors penned the details for the war between the city-states of Hellas and Troy and the effort to
return Helen to her husband and home in Sparta. Homer was the respected authority on the war
for centuries and was considered to be the fount of all knowledge governing most aspects of life.
During the Pesistratid tyranny, Homer’s epics were exploited as part of their propaganda to build
and maintain their regime.\textsuperscript{32} In the succeeding centuries, Homer’s version of the Trojan War
remained important as a sort of Pan-Hellenic expression of pride and victory. However,
Homer’s stories, replete as they were with stories of gods fighting and quarreling, were not
destined to retain their influential hold. Already in antiquity, philosophers chided Homer for his
depictions of gods who acted no better than humans. By late antiquity, the new “eye-witness”
accounts of the Trojan War by Dares and Dictys, which do not include exploits of the gods,
seized upon the minds of the people becoming the new authority and truth of the Trojan War.

Virgil, however, participates in the Homeric tradition of the Trojan War. Servius, the
second commentator of Virgi’s \textit{Aeneid}, claimed Virgil had two purposes in writing the Aeneid:
to copy Homer and to praise Augustus. The first purpose is easy enough to see; the first half of
the \textit{Aeneid} is a clear allusion to Homer’s \textit{Odyssey} while the second half is an allusion to the
\textit{Iliad}. This is also a belief taken for granted by Trojan narrative authors of the Middle Ages who

\textsuperscript{31} These manuscripts will be the focus of chapters three and four.
Pesistratids did not claim to originate from Troy; they used the story as a means of building legitimacy and as an
appeal to the people.
claim that Virgil was misled into giving a false account of the Trojan War by Homer.\textsuperscript{33} The most important element of Virgil’s epic for the purposes of this study is his solidification of the Aeneas legend and his relationship to Rome in the \textit{Aeneid}.

Virgil did not invent the story of Aeneas as progenitor of Rome; stories of Aeneas’ journeys had been told for centuries, originating in Greek myths. Although he is not given much space in Homer’s epics, Aeneas is an important figure in Greek mythology and the \textit{Iliad}. Aeneas is the mortal son of Anchises and Aphrodite, Roman Venus, who serves as a leader, fierce warrior, and is related to the Dardanian line of the royal house of Troy. In the \textit{Iliad}, he battles with both Diomedes and Achilles and is saved both times by divine intervention. In Book V, Aeneas is about to lose a battle with Diomedes, who has been given help in the fight from Athena; Aphrodite attempts to rescue him but is wounded herself by Diomedes, and he is ultimately saved from death by the intervention of Apollo.\textsuperscript{34} In Book XX, he is fighting with Achilles. “And now in the no man’s land/two champions, greatest of all, strode and closed,/ both men burning for battle,/ Aeneas son of Achises and brilliant Achilles.” (XX 187-190) Achilles, at this point in the narrative has reentered battle with a vengeance after the death of his dear friend Patroclus. The gods discuss the possibility of Aeneas’ death at the hands of Achilles, and Poseidon, a god in favor of Trojan destruction, declares:

\begin{quote}
Now, I tell you, my heart aches for great Aeneas!

He’ll go down to the House of Death this instant,

overwhelmed by Achilles--all because he trusted
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{33} Lydgate, \textit{Troy Book}, Prologue 250-312.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Il.} V347-355 “And now the prince, the captain of men Aeneas/would have died on the spot if Zeus’s daughter/had not marked him quickly, his mother Aphrodite/who bore him to King Anchises tending cattle once./Round her beloved son her glistening arms went streaming,/flinging her shining robe before him, only a fold/but it blocked the weapons hurtling toward his body./She feared some Argive fast with chariot-team/might hurl bronze in his chest and rip his life out.” Homer, \textit{Iliad} trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin Books, 1998).
the distant deadly Archer’s urgings. Poor fool –
as if Apollo would lift a hand to save him now
from death, grim death. Aeneas the innocent!
Why should Aeneas suffer here, for no good reason,
embroiled in the quarrels of others, not his own?
He always gave us gifts to warm our hearts,
gifts for the gods who rule the vaulting skies.
So come, let us rescue him from death ourselves,
for fear the son of Cronus might just tower in rage
if Achilles kills this man. He is destined to survive.
Yes, so the generation of Dardanus will not perish,
obliterated without an heir, without a trace:
Dardanus, dearest to Zeus of all the sons
that mortal women brought to birth for Father.
Now he has come to hate the generation of Priam,
and now Aeneas will rule the men of Troy in power –
his sons’ sons and the sons born in future years. (XX 337-356)\(^35\)

After this, stories began to develop concerning Aeneas and his journeys westward after the fall of Troy, and they were commonplace by the third century BCE.\(^36\) By the first century BCE, a whole host of cities and cults claimed they were found and named by Aeneas on his journeys.\(^37\)

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\(^36\) It is entirely possible that it was a prevalent tale as early as the 6\(^{th}\) century B.C.E. Aeneas carrying Anchises from Troy is a common depiction on Greek vases, and there are reports of earlier tales, but scholars debate the validity of some of those claims, and much is missing.
\(^37\) Thrace, Epirus, Chalcidice, Epirus, Sicily, Delos and Crete.
Roman poets and historians picked up the cause and claimed descent from Aeneas and thus from the Trojan line. Several scholars throughout the centuries have devoted much time to teasing out the contradictory legends and stories surrounding Aeneas and the origins of his status as the progenitor of the Roman people. How Aeneas came to be associated with the founding of Rome is outside the scope of this project; what is important, however, is why Aeneas became associated with the ancestry of Rome and what benefits Rome sought in their assertions. There is sufficient evidence to show that Rome exerted a great deal of energy during the third century BCE to further belief in this origin story. It is no accident that this also happens to be a period of great Roman expansion. During this century, Rome not only took control of central and southern Italy, but also defeated Pyrrhus, Hannibal, Philip V of Macedon, the Gauls and captured Syracuse. Donlan summarizes the purpose for adopting this myth in his article “The Foundation Legends of Rome: An example of a Dynamic Process,”

The relative rapidity of the formulation process, the ready acceptance not only of the facts but also the spirit of the Greek tales attests to the cultural insecurity of the Roman intellectuals who, finding themselves thrust into sudden prominence on the stage of world affairs, unhesitatingly welcomed the moral support of a ‘superior’ heritage. The Trojan heritage, ready made, provided the new power with a genealogy and a heroic past far more respectable than that which jejeune folk memory of a colorless eponym and tiny villages on the Roman hills could supply.

The succeeding century only saw Rome more involved in foreign development, and the myth of Trojan descent became more important, especially as Rome became intimately involved with Mediterranean affairs. As Erich Gruen demonstrates in “Cultural Fictions and Cultural Identity,” the original Hellenic stories explained that Greeks, not Trojans, were the Roman

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ancestors. This is not surprising as Greece had colonies in Italy, and southern Italy was known as *Magna Graecia* as early as the eighth century BCE. With the Macedonian Wars and the interest Rome had in southern Italy in the third century BCE, Rome began negotiating in the larger Mediterranean world, but that interest grew much larger in the second century as Rome was put in direct involvement with the affairs in Greece. Rome continued to go to war with Macedon and Carthage and had several interactions in Asia Minor as well as in Greece, which resulted in the Roman destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE and Roman dominance of the Mediterranean.

Therefore, the legends associating Troy with Rome “lent a cultural legitimacy to its position of authority.” However, there were other viable alternatives available to Rome. Both Heracles and Odysseus are reported to have traveled west. Troy, however, offered something that the others could not: its extinction. Troy no longer existed and therefore could be appropriated in ways a Greek ancestry could not. It also offered Rome a way “to enter that wider cultural world, just as it had entered the wider political world” without a sense of inferiority to the world it was now the leader of. Thus by choosing the Trojan Aeneas as their progenitor rather than the Greek Odysseus or Heracles, the Romans were able to create for themselves a reality of an ancient lineage just as strong and revered as the Greek heritage. By adhering to an already known and respected genealogy, they were constructing a situation in which their hegemony could be accepted, both by themselves and others. As the legitimate descendants of the royal family of Troy, they were not a fledgling but a supplanted people who were “legitimate participants in a broader Mediterranean civilization.”

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41 Gruen, “Cultural Fictions and Cultural Identity,” 8
42 Gruen, “Cultural Fictions and Cultural Identity,” 8.
They continued to adhere to the Trojan genealogy throughout the Republic. The Julian clan, of which Julius Caesar was a descendant, claimed descent from Julius, son of Aeneas, from whom they took their name. By claiming direct descent from Aeneas, they also claimed descent from Venus herself. As evidence for how strongly they felt about this connection, Julius Caesar dedicated a temple to Venus Genetrix, or mother Venus, after his victory in the civil war, and the cult of Venus rose during this period. After Julius Caesar was assassinated, his nephew and adopted son, Octavius, used this ancestral link in addition to Julius Caesar’s newfound status as god after his apotheosis to promulgate his own claims of power. Calling himself filius dei, son of god, the recently apotheosized Julius Caesar, Octavius linked himself to Aeneas and therefore to Venus as well. This belief is attested to by Virgil in Book Six of the *Aeneid* as Achises says to Aeneas:

‘Now turn your two eyes in this direction and look at this family of yours, your own Romans. Here is Caesar, and all the sons of Iulus about to come under the great vault of the sky. Here is the man whose coming you so often hear prophesied, here he is, Augustus Caesar, son of a god, the man who will bring back the golden years to the fields of Latium once ruled over by Saturn, and extend Rome’s empire beyond the Indians and the Garamantes to a land beyond the stars, beyond the yearly path of the sun, where Atlas holds on his shoulder the sky all studded with burning stars and turns it on its axis.’ (VI.909-920)

“Throughout the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is the prototype for Augustus, who tracing his lineage through the Trojan bloodline to its ultimate origin in the supreme Jove, assumes the divine filiation, exhibits the ancestral piety, and extends the triumphs of his Trojan ancestor.”

Virgil’s *Aeneid* was most likely a surprise to his audience as well as Augustus. Up until this point, Roman epics consisted of either translations of Greek texts or accounts of historical events. Augustus most likely expected an epic that would detail the Battle of Actium and his restoration of the Republic. “Roman epic from Naevius onwards had concentrated on political and military

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history for its subject matter, while the ‘mythlessness’ of the Romans is itself legendary.”44
Virgil, however, chose to base his epic in the mythic account of Aeneas in order to glorify Augustus and his actions. Although there is much scholarly debate concerning Virgil’s intent concerning Augustus, one thing is certain: it helped to solidify the belief in Aeneas as the progenitor of the Roman people, gave weight to Augustus' role in the newly formed Roman empire, and provided a model of ancestry to which all Roman emperors after him adhered.

The application of myth for the basis of history wasn’t a novel approach. Homer’s Iliad and Odyssey are mythical accounts which help to explain the history of Hellas and provide various foundation stories. Likewise, Apollonius of Rhodes provides a great deal of foundational information for much of the Mediterranean in his mythical Voyage of the Argo: The Argonautica written in the third century BCE. Virgil’s application to this tradition commonly employed in the Hellenic world concretized Rome’s ability to participate in the cultural matter of that world. By synthesizing myth and history, he created a foundation that served as a means of legitimation for centuries to come.

The Trojan Legend in the Middle Ages

Although there were several smaller epics that contained information concerning the Trojan War, Homer and Virgil were the main authorities on the subject. Detractors of Homer’s account existed as early as the fifth century BCE, and “by the end of the first century AD the variants on Rome’s foundation-myth were continuing to be preserved in literature primarily in 1) detailed prose history or biography; and 2) works whose authors had set out to contradict the accepted ‘Homeric’ tradition and other common assumptions which were

becoming part of a literary ‘establishment.’”45 This rising anti- Homeric and Virgilian sentiment can be seen in what came to be the Medieval period’s definitive sources for the Trojan War: Dares Phrygius’ *De Excidio Troiae Historia* and Dictys Cretensis’ *Ephemeris de Historia Belli Trojani*. Both purport to be eyewitness accounts of the Trojan War, and both are forgeries written in the sixth century and third century respectively.

Dares’ *History of the Fall of Troy*, the later of the two, purports to be written by a Trojan priest to Hephaestus, and is shorter and less detailed though it covers a longer timeline. A letter by Cornelius Nepos, a first century Latin scholar, attests that he has found Dares’ account while studying in Athens. Cornelius writes that he has translated the account exactly, adding or subtracting nothing, so that

my readers can know exactly what happened according to this account and judge for themselves whether Dares the Phrygian or Homer wrote the more truthfully – Dares, who lived and fought at the time the Greeks stormed Troy, or Homer, who was born long after the War was over. When the Athenians judged this matter, they found Homer insane for describing gods battling with mortals.46

Dares’ account begins with the voyage of the Argonauts, which serves to recreate the earlier mythological first destruction of Troy at the hands of Poseidon and Apollo. In this version, the Argonauts land on the shores of Troy to rest and were ordered to leave immediately under threat of death. Heracles takes great offense to this affront and the Argonauts, and after completing their quest for the Golden Fleece they return to Troy to wage war. After conquering Troy, they award Telamon the Trojan princess, Priam’s sister, Hesione and take her back to Greece. Priam returns to Troy, rebuilds the city, and attempts to secure the return of his sister vowing vengeance when unsuccessful. The second Trojan War erupts after his sons steal Helen and refuse her return. The account ends with the destruction of Troy and the exodus of the Greeks

45 Farrow, ““Aeneas and Rome,” 341.
and Aeneas. The account of the Greeks and Aeneas is not detailed in this version because Dares reportedly stayed in Troy with Antenor.

Dictys’ account, the earlier of the two tales dating to the third century AD, is longer having six detailed books, and is more sophisticated in its presentation. Dictys is represented as a functionary to the Cretan King Idomeneus fighting for him in the Trojan War. A letter by Lucius Septimius gives a detailed history for the account and claims that he found it on a recent trip to Athens and translated it into Greek. According to Lucius, some shepherds found the document in a tin after Dictys’s tomb crumbled with age. They took the document to their master who gave it to Nero. Accordingly,

Nero, having received the tablets and having noticed that they were written in the Phoenician alphabet, ordered his Phoenician philologists to come and decipher whatever was written. When this had been done, since he realized that these were the records of an ancient man who had been at Troy, he had them translated into Greek; thus a more accurate text of the Trojan War was made known to all.

Dictys’ account begins later than Dares’. It ignores the voyage of the Argonauts and the first destruction of Troy, though Antenor mentions the destruction at the hands of Heracles in his negotiations with Greece. The account begins with the rape of Helen, continues through the course of the war, gives the details of the various Greek homecomings, and ends with the death of Ulysses at the hands of his son Telegonus.

Nathaniel Griffin has provided a wealth of information on these two sources for the Trojan War in his 1907 work *Dares and Dictys: An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy*. More recently Karen Mheallaigh has addressed how these pseudo-

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47 Griffin, N. *Dares and Dictys: An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1907). On the two authors, Griffin notes that Dictys’ account is “straightforward, well proportioned, and written in a very fair Latin style.” (2) On the other hand, “Dares’ history consists of an ill-assorted aggregation of meager details, written in forty-four short chapters of barbarous Latin…No attempt is made to marshall events in a coherent or orderly sequence, and more space is devoted to occurrences antecedent to the Siege than to the Siege itself.” (4)

documentaries “reflect aspects of the contemporary literary and cultural Zeitgeist.” In both of these redactions, the pagan gods are removed and the war is due to human agency, a foundation that was far more believable to Christian readers who believed Homer spread falsehoods which Virgil followed without fault. “Though much of what they offer is ultimately derived from Homer, the mythographers wrote with the professed intention to correct and supersede him, and to present a more palatable version of what happened before Troy.”

Most of the basic information concerning the exploits of the characters remains true to Homer and Virgil, but there are some rather important changes that proved important to the way the Middle Ages perceived itself and its ancestors. For instance, Achilles kills Hector, but not in the valiant manner depicted by Homer. Instead Achilles is painted as a coward who waits until Hector’s back is turned to strike the final blow. “Achilles chose a few faithful comrades and hastened to lay an ambush for the Trojans. He caught them off guard – they were trying to cross the river – and surrounded and slew them before they knew what had hit them. Hector and all those who were with him were killed.” (Dictys III.15) However, as fortune would have it, Achilles himself becomes victim to a treacherous death. Achilles withdraws from battle, not because of a quarrel with Agamemnon, however, but because he falls in love with a Trojan princess, Polyxena. He promises to broker peace on behalf of the Greeks if he can have Polyxena as his wife, and Hecuba, Polyxena’s mother, lures him into a trap in which Paris is waiting for him in ambush. “And Achilles, breathing his last, said: ‘Deiphobus and Alexander overpowered me. They came in the matter concerning Polyxena – deceitfully, treacherously.’” (Dictys IV.11)

50 Buchthal, Historia Troiana, 1.
For the faithful follower of Virgil, one of the most surprising character revisions is that of Aeneas. Dictys depicts a number of embassies in which the Trojans try to broker peace, and the option of returning Helen to her husband is broached. Paris, Priam and other Trojans staunchly refuse this action while Aeneas and Antenor argue for her return. Once rebuffed by the Trojans, they make a deal with the Greeks themselves, which results in the destruction of the city and Aeneas and Antenor’s family and selves being spared. During Antenor’s negotiations with the Greeks, he gives an explanation for his dissatisfaction with Priam and his decisions:

Then, in a long speech, Antenor told how the gods were always punishing Trojan rulers for ill-considered acts. Laomedon, he said, had lied to Hercules – a famous story – and thus his kingdom had been destroyed. Then, through the influence of Hesione, Priam, who was still young and had had no share in all that had happened, had come to power; thereafter, becoming evil and foolish, he had been accustomed to attack everyone; he had killed and committed personal injuries, being sparing of his own property while seeking that of another. Such was the example which spread, like the worst of plagues, to his sons, who abstained from nothing either sacred or profane. (Dictys IV.22)

This negotiation ends with the agreement that as long as Aeneas remains faithful to the plan to betray the Trojans to the Greeks, he will share in the spoils, Antenor will receive half of Priam’s wealth, and one of Antenor’s sons will rule Troy. Dares tells how Aeneas tries to spare the life of Polyxena, an act that is viewed as betraying his word to the Greeks, and Agamemnon orders that he and his family immediately leave Troy for this action. Overall what this presents is a different picture of Aeneas than in Virgil, but it is an image that originated in antiquity and co-existed alongside the more pious depiction. “This dual strand persisted throughout Greco-Roman antiquity, the pejorative aspects being eventually overshadowed by the Vergilian magic and the imperial propaganda. In the Middle Ages the portrait of a self-seeking, ambitious Aeneas became the dominant one.”

In “Aeneas and Rome: Pseudepigraphs and Politics,” James G. Farrow discusses Dares and Dictys’s accounts of Aeneas and Antenor as being traitors to Troy and how this was part of a belief system already present during the Hellenistic period.\(^{52}\) There were two traditions during this period: one which had Aeneas leaving in captivity and the other him leaving free. Some of the reports of him leaving freely indicate that he and possibly Antenor had betrayed the Trojans and constituted “a separate political entity, distinctly anti-Priamid in sentiment.” (345) He shows how the foundation for this is evident in the *Iliad* but is heavily played down by Virgil.

Clearly both Dares and Dictys concur in representing Aeneas as the one who leaves Troy, Antenor as the one who stays. Neither bolsters the image of *pius Aeneas* in the Vergilian sense, though Dares makes him take risks for Polyxena’s sake at the end. The moral probity of Antenor, tracing its authority back to the *Iliad* is more strongly upheld by both Dares and Dictys. It may be true in either case that the cloak of extreme antiquity claimed for the diary was a convenient alibi for an author determined to discredit Roman claims by diminishing the heroic stature of Aeneas. Of the two, Dictys seems more determined to achieve this effect, taking him to the wrong side of Italy after his presumably self-centred coup has failed. Another important feature is that Aeneas and Antenor, in Dares and Dictys, show their hostility to Priam and Paris more for moral reasons than for local or tribal jealousies. (347-348)

This image of Aeneas as traitor, not pious, is the one that takes root and dominates the Medieval Trojan narratives.\(^{53}\) It is an image that the medieval imagination had to negotiate with as they claimed descent from him.\(^{54}\)

**Dares and Dictys in Medieval redactions**

Dares and Dictys’ claim to be historical eyewitnesses of the war proved to be extremely influential on medieval literature and how medieval man viewed the Trojan War.

Dares and Dictys soon acquired a higher reputation for disinterestedness and good faith. Henceforth Homer became virtually set aside and the specious memories of a Dares and


\(^{53}\) This is alluded to in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in Part I when the traitor of Troy Aeneas is mentioned.

\(^{54}\) See *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* for an allusion to this in the Prologue. "After the siege and assault had ceased at Troy/The city battered and burned to brands and ashes,/The fellow who fell into folly and treason/Was tried for his treachery, though truly a hero./It was excellent Aeneas and his illustrious offpring,/Who then conquered provinces and patriarchs became/Of well-nigh all the wealth in the western isles," ed. and transl. by William Vantuono. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.): 1991.
Dictys substituted as more trustworthy records of the Trojan War. Throughout the Middle Ages, faith in these popular idols was unbounded and entire.  

Dares and Dictys are either cited or transmitted by numerous medieval authors, including Chaucer in *House of Fame* and *Troilus and Cressyde*, Benoît de Sainte-Maure in *Le Roman de Troie*, Guido delle Colonne in *Historia destructionis Troiae*, and Lydgate in his *Troy Book*.  

Dares and Dictys’s accounts, or their various redactions and translations, can be found in numerous manuscripts from the medieval period. “The distribution of the manuscripts seems to suggest that they were even more popular north of the Alps, especially in France and England, than in Mediterranean countries. The reason is probably that their fortunes were linked up with those of the Trojan ancestry legend.” Although there were redactions of ancient stories circulating at the time, the anonymous *Roman d’Eneas* and *Roman de Thebes* for example, the first notable vernacular translation and embellishment of Dares and Dictys was completed by Benoît St. Maure, probably for Henry II in 1175, entitled *Roman de Troie*. Lee Patterson argues that the application to a Trojan history “had, at least since the time of Henry II, served to support the legitimacy of insecure English kings.” Some scholars speculate the possible involvement Benoît had in both the anonymous *Roman d’Eneas* and *Roman de Thebes*, but no

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55 Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, 14-16. In addition, Karen Mheallaigh discusses how and why these forgeries were taken as real documents in “Pseudo-Documentarism and the Limits of Ancient Fiction” *American Journal of Philology*, 128, no. 3, whole number 515, (Fall 2008): 403-431  
56 Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, 14-16.  
57 Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, 2-3  
58 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 54-55. “Benoit de Sainte Maure’s *Roman de Troie* (ca. 1160-65), created at the Angevin court of Henry II Plantagenet and Eleanor of Aquitaine, is the most important of the early French reworkings of the Trojan myth.” However, Benoît is commission by Henry II or his writing of *Roman de Troie* in order to glorify Norman monarchs is not certain. As Damian-Grint argues, the language used does not contain English or Anglo-Norman loan words and therefore may have been written without patronage. It also seems that Benoît did not leave France. However, he did present Eleanor of Aquitaine with the manuscript and it seems that he received the commission for the Ducs of Normandie after that. 59. “The work which brought him to the attention of the royal court was his *Roman de Troie*, a long and heavily romaniticised roman antique based on the de bello troiano and ephemeridis troiae, which he probably wrote around 1160 and dedicated to Henry’s spouse Eleanor of Aquitaine. The Chronique, on the other hand, was apparently commissioned by Henry himself; Wace indicates that the king has taken the task away from him and given it to Benoît.”  
59 Patterson, “Making Identities,” 74. His argument is more fully realized in *Negotiating the Past* 201-204, and there is reference to some who claim that this was not a propaganda effort. England’s use of the Trojan Story will be discussed in chapter two.
one has achieved certainty in the matter; however, he was associated with the *Chronique de Ducs de Normandie*, which helped to reassert the Norman association with Troy and was commissioned by Henry II.

Benoît’s narrative was highly influential and helped the Italians to again consider their Trojan ancestry as the Angevin Kings of Sicily transferred the literature to the south of the Alps. In 1287 Guido della Colonne completed his contribution to the Trojan story in the form of the Latin *Historia destructionis Troiae*. He claims that his only sources are Dares and Dictys though it is clear from his translation that he also used Benoît’s *Roman de Troie* as a source as well\(^60\). Regardless of the sources he used, his translation of the Trojan War became the major source for later vernacular sources. “Its success all over Europe was phenomenal; it was turned into practically every European language, and the impact of these translations can be traced through the ages, to works as far removed in time as Shakespeare’s *Troilus and Cressida.*”\(^61\) It was to Guido that John Lydgate, along with the English alliterative poets before him, turned when he translated the Trojan story into English vernacular.

**The Use of the Trojan Legend in the Middle Ages: *Translatio Imperii et Studii***

Although the desire to maintain a Trojan pedigree never abated, after the Roman Empire fell to the Gothic invaders, genealogical worries were reinstated. The various tribes that supplanted Roman rule exhibited a similar anxiety as did the Romans in the second and third centuries BCE when asserting dominance in the Mediterranean. The invading tribes had no inherent right to rule; they had conquered their respective regions by force. Victory through

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\(^60\) Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, 5-6. “Guido’s work is to all intents and purposes an abridged paraphrase of Benoit by name, constantly refers to Dares and Dictys as the only trustworthy authorities for the Trojan War. But his Latin style and vocabulary, which are full of Gallicisms, his inclusion of numerous features which were first introduced into the story by Benoit, and the naïve repetition of many of Benoit is individual misunderstandings and mistakes, leave no doubt as to his principal source.”

\(^61\) Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, 8
invasion, however, doesn’t provide the necessary legitimacy to rule over people native to the region prompting invaders to enter into a narrative of propaganda with the intention of instilling a sense of legitimation. For those who had supplanted Roman rule, there was a readymade narrative that had been in place for centuries and was the narrative to which the insecure Romans had turned to for legitimation: Troy.

Back in the declining days of the late Roman Empire we first find evidence of the Troy tale being appropriated by the invading barbarians as a way of getting themselves more closely identified with the ancient and superior Roman culture they were to inherit. Not long before the fall of Rome the historian Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that fugitive Trojans had settled in Gaul (now France), and soon enough the story was made to serve political ends.\textsuperscript{62}

One of the more creative uses of applying the Trojan legend in order to legitimate authority was the Trojan pedigree that was given to Theodoric, the sixth century Ostrogoth leader. Cassiodorus is believed to have written the Trojan ancestry for Theodoric in his lost sixth century \textit{History of the Goths}. “We are told that Cassiodorus actually provided a Trojan family tree for the executioner of Boethius, Theodorich the Ostrogoth.”\textsuperscript{63} Theodoric, with the Byzantine emperor’s approval, invaded Italy to destroy the kingdom of Odoacer, the Germanic invader who had conquered Rome and set up his own kingdom. Theodoric intended to restore Roman rule to Italy, and before developing imperial aspirations of his own he acted as a lieutenant of the Byzantine emperor and a king of his people. Theodoric’s strange appearance in heroic literature is discussed in Alois Wolf’s “Medieval Heroic Traditions and Their Transition from Orality to Literacy,” and one important element he finds is his ability to be compared to Aeneas.

From the imperial Roman point of view Theodoric’s invasion of Italy presented itself as a legal \textit{reconquista}. The successful Theodoric, the new ruler of Italy, practicing a policy of Roman restoration and appearing in Roman attire, tried cautiously to present himself as a

\textsuperscript{63} Hodgkin, T. \textit{Italy and her Invaders} vol.3 New York: Russell & Russell, 1967. 294
the legal successor of the Roman sovereigns. His invasion of Italy, seen against this Roman background, could be interpreted as a return, especially since Roman history contained a famous example of a heroic and difficult, but eventually successful, return from the east, the return of Aeneas. ⁶⁴

The application of a Trojan pedigree was therefore no longer solely a requirement for Roman Emperors seeking to follow in the tradition of Augustus; it became a mandate for anyone who sought to rule lands formerly ruled by the descendants of Augustus. Additionally, during the Middle Ages, the other heroes from Troy were available for appropriation – most notably Hector. Histories describe Hector traveling through the regions of Europe bearing children who would later found various towns, cities and protonations. The legend was developed, elaborated on, accepted as history, and spread throughout Europe. Although there were detractors, most people blindly accepted these developed genealogies as fact from the ninth through the seventeenth centuries.

Brutus, the eponymous founder both of Brittany and Britain, was only the best known (thanks to Geoffrey) of the many invented descendents of Trojan princes celebrated in prose and verse for founding cities and nations from north Germany to Italy, Holland, Belgium, Alsace, Toulouse, Neuchâtel, Pforzheim, Mainz, Venice, and numerous other places joined England and France in tracing their origins to Troy. ⁶⁵

Marie Tanner, in her seminal work, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*, examines the imperial image from antiquity until the sixteenth century. Virgil’s *Aeneid* is the starting point for her investigation, in which she finds that “beyond simply glorifying the divine origins and mission of his patron, Augustus, Virgil deeded to the literary tradition a new amalgam of Roman history and Trojan myth that structured imperial ideology for the next two millennia.” ⁶⁶ After tracing the antique uses, she demonstrates how the myth continued to be used by figures such as Theodoric and Clovis, but it wasn’t until

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Charlemagne’s reign that it was fully realized and exploited. Once Charlemagne had been crowned Holy Roman Emperor, New Rome lay with him, and the literature reflects this. Therefore, in Einhard’s poem, “caput mundi” is transferred to Aachen and Charlemagne is equated with Aeneas.67

Lord too of the city where a second Rome flowers, Pious Charles stands on the high palace, from afar pointing out each site, overseeing the construction of the high walls of future Rome. In one place he orders a forum to be built, in another a holy senate where the people receive judgements and laws and God’s commands…Elsewhere others strain with immense effort to build a church fitting for the eternal king, the hallowed building with polished walls mounts up to heaven.68

The art and literature at Charlemagne’s court demonstrated not only familiarity with Virgilian topology, but also seemed to consciously perpetuate the Aeneas myth as part of the emperor’s mythic image. Tanner argues that this image is perpetuated by each of the succeeding emperors. “All reclassicize the Trojan epic by healing the rift that had developed after the fourth century between narrative and emblematic elements, thus they establish the Trojan legend’s position as the thread that links all civilization in a linear pattern.”69 Because Tanner’s focus is on the use of the imagery with regards to the Holy Roman Emperors, the use of genealogy and narrative by England and France is only given a cursory glance. However, The Last Descendant of Aeneas is an invaluable source for examining the efforts in the various protonations that used the myth as their foundation.

In Book Two of the Aenied, after arriving in Carthage, Aeneas is relating an account of the fall of Troy to Dido. On the night that the Trojan horse was brought into the city, which allowed for the final destruction of the city, Hector appeared to Aeneas and issued him a warning as well as a prophecy.

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67 This poem is attributed to Einhard based on his Life of Charlemagne.
69 Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas, 54.
‘You must escape, son of the goddess. You must save yourself from these flames. The enemy is master of the walls and Troy is falling from her highest pinnacle. You have given enough to your native land and to Priam. If any right hand could have saved Troy, mine would have saved it. Into your care she now commends her sacraments and her household gods. Take them to share your fate. Look for a great city to establish for them after long wanderings across the sea.’ (II. 289-295)

This complements the prophecy Jupiter gives to Venus in order to calm her fears for her son in Book One. “The destiny of your descendants remain unchanged…he [Romulus] shall give his own name to his people, the Romans. On them I impose no limits of time or place. I have given them an empire that will know no end.” (257-297) Both of these examples from the Aeneid help to elucidate the practice of *translatio imperii and studii*, in which the fall of one city results in the creation of a new city to which the power and culture is transferred. “Virgil uses this rhetorical trope of transferal, *translatio studii et imperii* or the transferal of culture and empire, to weave strands of contemporary Roman history into his literary tapestry of ancient war, legendary heroes, and mythical gods; *translatio* functions through his hero Aeneas.”

As argued above, one of the reasons Rome chose Aeneas, and thus Troy, as an ancestor was to participate legitimately in the Mediterranean world. “In using the *translatio* topos, Virgil draws certain parallels between his fictional hero and the *princeps* Augustus, transforming his Greek sources to achieve one of his many political aims—constructing a national identity for Rome as glorious and ancient as that of Greece.” As Tanner has effectively demonstrated, the Holy Roman Emperors since Charlemagne participated in using Trojan imagery as part of the contemporary imagery of the emperor. The power and culture transferred from Troy to Rome were conferred upon these emperors. However, the Holy Roman Emperors were not the only ones to participate as claimants. Each of those who claimed descent from Troy participated in

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70 Bell, K. “*Translatio* and the Constructs of a Roman Nation in Virgil’s *Aeneid*” Rocky Mountain Review. 62, no. 1 (Spring, 2008). 1
71 Bell, “*Translatio,*” 1.
the arena of *translsatio*. “The transfer of power (*translatio imperii*) and the transfer of learning (*translatio studii*) seem to operate along the Trojan bloodline, as the descendants of Troy carry them over from the East to the West.”72

Although important throughout antiquity and the middle ages, genealogy became especially important in the twelfth century and continued in succeeding centuries leading to an explosion of Trojan narratives from which various regions claimed descent.

The return of Troy as a stimulus to writing coincided with an age of genealogy that began earlier but that flourished in the twelfth century as kings, aristocrats, and the protonational communities that aristocrats did so much to define increasingly claimed or buttressed power over land by appeal to their relationship to time. Genealogical textuality in family, regnal, and national histories expressed and stimulated a class-interested historical consciousness.73

Various communities, as mentioned above, claimed descent from Troy, but why? As already discussed, Rome chose Aeneas and Troy as progenitor as a means of participating in the larger Mediterranean world. Why, however, did the gothic tribes that conquered the various territories of Rome also apply to the same origin myth?

This question has been the subject of several scholars. Sylvia Federico, in her monograph *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages*, one of the only recent monographs dealing with England’s Trojan connection, attempts to answer this very question by following Elizabeth Bellamy’s psychoanalytic interpretations of the subject in *Translations of Power: Narcissism and the Unconscious in Epic History*. In framing *translatio imperii et studii* in a Freudian manner, she addresses Rome’s Trojan ancestry as a function of repression. “Is Rome as the New Troy to be perceived as an old Troy made new, or is Rome a new inscription, achieving its new status only through the repressions of the old Troy into the recesses of

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Aeneas’s unconscious?” In her Freudian and Lacanian analysis of the *translatio imperii et studii*, she finds that *translatio* as metaphor is always defined by a lack. In a chain in which signifier replaces repressed signifiers, Troy as an origin must be repressed until forgotten, which allows Rome to replace Troy. “Thus Rome as the New Troy is caught up in the desire of the signifying chain of the *translatio imperii*—the desire to recuperate (to re-originate) the *reliquias Troiae* of a city that never was.” Following this line of thought, Federico answers the question of why the medieval leaders embraced Troy as a line of descent.

Troy, of course, was never an empire. It was only ever a city-state, its perimeters famously circumscribed by walls. But curiously, it was Troy and not Rome that signified “imperial” for English and French authors alike in the later Middle Ages. This avoidance of Rome, the true empire, in favor of the “false empire” of Troy is crucial to an understanding of the historical imagination of the period…Indeed, claim to imperial right was to assert dominion over all other states of Europe. This was a step too far for most late-medieval rulers, who tended to concentrate their political efforts regionally and often locally rather than “globally” or throughout Christendom…the claim on Troy, with its mythic imperial flavor, was a more perfect vehicle than the true empire of Rome for the development of medieval national identity.

However, this reductionist answer to the issue of Troy is to negate much of the evidence concerning the remembrance of Rome not only in the Middle Ages, but in the various Trojan narratives.

As Christopher Baswell demonstrates in his *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the twelfth century to Chaucer*, Virgil was of special interest to the authors of England. “Altogether, then, the British Isles were the scene of a lively and widespread interest in Virgil, which continued with only rare interruptions from late classical times through the end of

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75 Bellamy, *Translations*, 74.
the Middle Ages, and of course beyond." Baswell counts 37 manuscripts in England alone that incorporate works by Virgil, eighteen of which contain at least fragments of the *Aeneid*. The prevalence of Virgil manuscripts, as well as redactions, points to the fact that the idea of Rome was ever present in the medieval mind. For instance, in Book I of Lydgate’s *Troy Book*, the founding of Rome is explained as due chiefly to the destruction of Troy.

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For Troy[e] brouȝt vn-to destruccioun,
Was þe gynnyng and occasioun—
In myn auctor as it is specified—
Þat worthi Rome was after edefied
By þe of-spryng of worþi Eneas,
Whilom fro Troye whan he exiled was.
Þe whiche Rome, rede and ȝe may se,
Of al þe worlde was hed and chef cite,
For þe passing famous worthinesse.
And eke whan Troye was brouȝt in distresse,
And þe wallis cast and broke down,
It was in cause þat many regioun
Be-gonne was, and many gret cite:
For þis Troyan, þis manly man Enee,
By sondri sees gan so longe saille,
Til of fortune he com in-to Ytaille,
And wan þat lond, as books teelen vs. (I.811-827)
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78 Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, Appendix I
Rome is far from being “avoided” as Federico implies. Rome, the true empire as opposed to Federico’s fake Trojan empire, is a constant in the medieval imagination. If Rome is unavoidable, as the evidence suggests, there must be another explanation for the application to Trojan ancestry for the various medieval territories that claim it.

One of the more attractive explanations for the Trojan question can be found in a set of lectures given by Michele Foucault in 1976 and collected under the heading “Society Must be Defended.” One of the underlying themes of this year’s lectures concerns themselves with the relationship between war and power. He discusses in his second lecture the function of genealogy as a discourse “to ensure that the greatness of the events or men of the past could guarantee the value of the present, and transform its pettiness and mundanity into something equally heroic and equally legitimate.”

History, and genealogy as a part of history discourse, was for medieval man functioning along the same lines as antiquity.

Medieval historians never saw any difference, discontinuity, or break between Roman history and their own history, the history they were recounting. The continuity between the historical practice of the Middle Ages and that of Roman society runs deeper still to the extent that the historical narratives of the Romans, like those of the Middle Ages, had a certain political function. History was a ritual that reinforced sovereignty.

As Foucault points out later in this lecture, Roman power was never far from the medieval imagination, and rather than ignoring the presence of Rome, they think of their kingdoms as contiguous with Rome.

It must not be forgotten that all the national (or prenational) political histories that were being written at this time always took as their starting point a certain Trojan myth. All the nations of Europe claimed to have been born of the fall of Troy. Being born of the fall of Troy meant that all the nations, all the States, and all the monarchies of Europe could claim to be Rome’s sisters…Rome is, then, present within the historical

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80 Foucault, Society Must be Defended, 69
consciousness of the Middle Ages, and there is no break between Rome and the countless
kingdoms that we see appearing from the fifth and sixth centuries onward.81

In the next lecture, Foucault continues with this point and it is where he and Federico agree to a
certain extent regarding “lack.” Ancient Rome, as well as Gaul, becomes elided in the
mythology of Trojan descent as a means of defining power’s right. However, unlike Federico’s
notion that Rome is “avoided” in the notion of taking up a notion of a fantasy empire, its
avoidance is necessary to erase the notion of subjection. Although Foucault is speaking about
the specific case of France, it can be related to the other communities that, like France, consider
themselves sisters or cousins of Rome. According to Foucault, Rome must be elided in these
accounts precisely because they were under Roman control in antiquity and perpetuation of this
would undermine contemporary imperial ideology.

To say that France is the heir to the empire is also to say that because France is Rome’s
sister or cousin, France has the same rights as Rome itself. It is to say that France is not
part of some universal monarchy which, after the empire, dreamed of reviving the Roman
Empire. France is just as imperial as all the Roman Empire’s other descendants; it is just
as imperial as the German Empire, and is in no sense subordinate to any Germanic
Caesar. No bond of vassalage can legitimately make it part of the Hapsburg monarchy
and therefore subordinate it to the great dreams of a universal monarchy that it was
promoting at this time. That is why, in these conditions, Rome has to be elided. But the
Roman Gaul of Caesar, the Gaul that was colonized, also had to be elided, as it might
suggest that Gaul and the heirs of the Gauls had once been, or might be, subordinate to an
empire. The Frankish invasions, which broke from within the continuity with the Roman
Empire, also had to be elided. The internal continuity that existed between the Roman
imperium and the French monarchy precluded disruptive invasions. But France’s
nonsubordination to the empire and to the empire’s heirs (and especially the universal
monarchy of the Hapsburgs) also implied that France’s subordination to ancient Rome
had to disappear. Roman Gaul therefore had to disappear. France, in other words, had to
be an other Rome—“other” in the sense of being independent of Rome while still
remaining Rome. The king’s absolutism was therefore as valid in France as it had been
in Rome. That, broadly speaking, was the function of the lessons in public right that we
can find in the reactivation or the perpetuation, of this Trojan mythology until late in the
Renaissance, or in other words during a period which was very familiar with Roman texts
about Gaul, about Roman Gaul.82

81 Foucault, Society Must be Defended, 75.
82 Foucault, Society Must be Defended, 117.
This elision of Rome, or rejection of subjection to Rome, is similar to the relationship Geoffrey of Monmouth will exploit in his *History of the Kings of Britain*. How England used the Trojan narrative – both the story itself as a foundational subject for England and also the manuscript tradition including its illuminations – is the focus of this project. Before examining in depth its use in England, it will be useful to highlight how other regions used it in order to situate England within the broader medieval world. The Trojan myth itself is not the only commonality between the regions who claimed descent, the ways the illuminations of the manuscripts are used to define themselves in relation to their past is similar as well.

**Venice**

Venice presents an interesting case of mythmaking for the way that it self-consciously created a past where there was none.83 “Venice was the only major city in fifteenth-century Italy that had not been settled in Roman times; it did not exist at all in the time of the Apostles, and even four centuries later, when the Western Empire fell, the lagoon was still only sparsely inhabited by fishermen and salt farmers.”84 In order to supply themselves a past, they turned to Troy. The first report that Venice was linked to Troy came in the eighth century when it was recorded that Antenor had founded Padua and thus Venice herself. However, Troy wasn’t the only link that Venice self-consciously made to the past. She also linked herself to Christ by way of St. Mark and stole his body from Alexandria in 829 to bring him back to the city where he allegedly belonged.

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83 Grubbs, J. “When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography” *The Journal of Modern History*, 58, no. 1 (Mar. 1986): 43. Almost since the city’s foundation, self-conscious and proud Venetians have elaborated images of the city’s distinctive origins, its particular values and special place in history, its novel constitution, and its unique longevity.
This was an important step in Venetian self-fashioning. Venice heralded herself as a new Rome but, unlike the previously mentioned France who had to elide Rome in order to justify her own imperial mission, had no real ties to the Rome she desperately tried to associate herself with. Venice was not only a republic, like Rome, but also boasted that it was safe not only from enemies outside but also from inside. This internal stability was believed to be due to a government that included the monarchic, aristocratic and democratic elements. Although Venice desired to rule the Mediterranean, she had been politically tied to and dependent on the Byzantine Empire as well as pulled into the designs of the continental rulers for centuries.85

Creating an ancient history eased the anxieties of an upstart power contending with the huge power of Byzantium. The first chronicle of Venice’s history came in the 11th century when John Deacon tied Venice’s history to the apostle’s. This relieved Venice from any guilt in their theft of St. Mark’s body in the ninth century. Later redactions of the chronicle in the 11th and 12th centuries adjusted the original to give Venice a pre-Roman past in the form of a Trojan ancestry. Therefore, Antenor became the father of the Venetians which coincided with Livy’s report of Antenor founding the tribe of the Veneti.

With Dandolo as an active proponent, Venice in the fourteenth century began publicizing a foundation story that created parallels with Old Rome. Into the history of the city was inserted the story of the founding of Venice by Antenor, the Trojan hero who escaped the destruction of Troy to establish a new lineage in the West. In one of the variants, the story makes Venice even better than Rome, presenting a history in which Venice is founded by the migrating Trojan before Rome.86

Venice not only proclaimed this mythic ancient past by way of chronicles but also in art. Ralph Lieberman has demonstrated how this is evident in the architecture, most notably in the Aresenale Gate, and Debra Pincus has discussed the other elements of art, in addition to the art

85 Lieberman summarizes the Venetian struggles for independence from Constantinople, Charlemagne, through to the final receipt as heir of the Greek world when Constantinople collapsed in 1453.
stolen from Constantinople and proudly displayed around the city, that proclaims its ancient heritage. More important for this study are the illuminated manuscripts that were created during this time that linked their present with the Trojan past and hinted to contemporary thoughts and issues.

A complete analysis of the figures of Venetian manuscripts and their importance is greater than the scope of this project, but Hugo Buchthal has completed ample research of these manuscripts and the importance of the Trojan myth for Venice in his monograph *Historia Troiana*. Buchthal demonstrates the importance of the Trojan Myth for Venice and her self-fashioning as she struggled to build both a religious and civic history in order to ease the anxieties of building an empire to compete with and overcome the Byzantine Empire. Although there are only a couple of extant manuscripts from this period which have been identified as being illuminated in Venice, they are important for their demonstration of the Venetian character during the period that it was establishing itself as a junior empire. Venice gained a lot from its association with Byzantium in the case of artistic influences, but it was from a French manuscript, possibly a Benoît as well as a fifth-century Greek illuminated manuscript of the Book of Genesis known as the Cotton Genesis, that provided the influence for the illuminations for the Venetian Guido manuscripts.

In both of the Venetian manuscripts that date from this period, Madrid and Bodmer, there is a direct attempt at placing the story of Troy back into the mythical past in some sense. The story as related by Benoît and Guido was updated to reflect medieval sensibilities. The Greek and Trojan heroes are no longer set in the distant past but are knights, defending medieval castles, acting in a chivalrous way, and wearing medieval clothing. In the earliest extant illuminated Benoît manuscript, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1610 illustrated in Eastern France dating to 1264,
the individuals are depicted as medieval knights and ladies amidst a medieval background. This same type of decoration appears in the Trojan fresco cycle in Venice. “The illustrations, just like Benoît’s text, transpose the Trojan War into an entirely mediaeval ambiente. Any sense of history or historical distance is conspicuously absent... there is no visual connection with classical art at all.”

During the fourteenth century, Benoît manuscripts began being produced and illustrated throughout Italy, basically keeping to this French manuscript type.

However, in the Madrid and Bodmer illuminated manuscripts compiled in Northern Italy during the fourteenth century, there was a conscious attempt to put the Trojans and Greeks back into the distant past. These two manuscripts contain not Benoît’s text but Guido’s Historia destructionis Troiae. The Madrid manuscript has a strong Byzantine influence and has elements that are similar to contemporary Venetian architecture and artwork. Additionally, the heroes, both Greek and Trojan, are dressed in eastern clothing and the buildings appear to be eastern and classical in design.

In the Madrid manuscript, both Trojans and Greeks receive this type of treatment. There is a similar type of iconographical assimilation to the “ambiente of Venice.” Venetian Gothic buildings are depicted, and it has very strong similarities to another, unrelated, Venetian manuscript. The Madrid and Bodmer manuscripts contain a very similar cycle of

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87 Buchthal, Historia Troiana, 9
88 Buchthal, Historia Troiana, 14 “First, there are two manuscripts from Bologna written about of some time after the middle of the century, which are now in Vienna (Nationalbibliothek, 2571) and Paris (Bibl. Nat., fr. 782). They must have been produced in the same scriptorium, and at very nearly the same time; their cycles of miniatures are to all intents and purposes identical, though the illustrations of the Vienna manuscript are of slightly better quality. The same cycle reappears with only slight variations in a third manuscript from Bologna, now in Leningrad, which dates from the very end of the century and is of much superior workmanship. Then there is a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Reg. lat. 1505) which also dates roughly from the middle of the century and may be of Central Italian origin; stylistically its miniatures are poor relatives of those in the three manuscripts of the Address in Latin verse presented to King Robert of Naples and formerly attributed to Convenevole da Prato. The last manuscript of the series, with very crude illustrations, probably originated in a provincial centre of the Veneto, and is now in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (fr. 17). The cycles of the last two books are again rather close to each other.
89 Buchthal, Historia Troiana, 34. For the most part the Greeks and Trojan no longer appear in the familiar mediaeval garb, but have savage features and sport long hair and flowing beards. They wear Eastern dress and varied, pointedly foreign headgear, mostly broad-rimmed Palaeologan hats, occasionally also Mohammedan turbans and sometimes even the conical caps and spiked helmets of Mongols.”
90 Buchthal, Historia Troiana 29.
illustrations but they are stylistically quite different. In the Bodmer manuscript only the Greeks are dressed in eastern style. “In B, the later of the two Guido manuscripts, there is even a deliberate and consistent distinction between the two groups of combatants: it is only the Greeks who are given the Paleolagan hats.” Buchthal suggests that the Venetians may have used a Byzantine Trojan cycle as a model. At the time of Buchthal’s research no manuscript as of yet had been brought to light and the search for one currently in existence is beyond the scope of this project, but it is entirely possible that the Venetians used one as a model in addition to earlier Benoît manuscripts and the Cotton Genesis.

The Bodmer manuscript and its emphasis on putting only the Greeks in eastern or exotic dress may coincide with the different attitudes the Venetians had about Byzantium. Once a junior empire or a subordinate to Byzantium, their art suggests that they shared a relatively friendly relationship. However, that soon began to change both in art and in reality. The Venetians were successful in redirecting the Fourth Crusade to Byzantium in 1204 where they decimated the city, looting it and bringing back a great number of goods including artworks and spolia while setting up a Latin city inside Constantinople. It was then that Venice was really able to forcefully establish itself as the hegemony in the Mediterranean; however, that did not remain for long as she was constantly tugged by the rulers in the West and was never able to fully develop complete power.

About the time that Venice was declaring itself as openly hostile against Byzantium, the Bodmer manuscript depicts the Greeks in eastern dress but not the Trojans. This would seem to indicate that the Venetians were depicting themselves in art as the current Trojans and the Byzantines as the deceitful, treacherous Greeks. The attitude is one of hostility in which Venice claims through art and acts its own superiority to Byzantium and asserts itself as the rightful heir

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91 Buchthal, Historia Troiana 34.
to the whole of the ancient Roman Empire through means of its political regime and historical and religious affiliation. One of the ways it demonstrated this was through its application to the Trojan ancestry myth. “To establish the desperately needed link with antiquity, and at the same time to give an aspect of legitimacy to the new expansionist policy in the Levant, Venice adopted the old and ever popular bogle of mediaeval historiography: the familiar fable of Trojan ancestry.” These Venetian manuscripts served to solidify that claim creating through art a link between past and present that served the propagandistic aims of the Venetian Republic as well as the possibility of using the illustrations as a means of expressing contemporary issues and concerns.

France

As demonstrated, the Trojan origin myth was important to various cultures and burgeoning European states throughout the middle ages. France, as well, exploited the Trojan myth and used illuminated manuscripts in order to build their own sense of a nation and legitimate kingship. The Frankish kingdom had claimed genealogical ties to Troy ever since the 7th century when it was claimed that a descendant of Priam, Francio, founded the Frankish people. Through Clovis, Charlemagne was able to claim Trojan ancestry, which was a necessity for proving his worthiness for the transfer of empire. After his Trojan origins were confirmed, Dungal, “proclaimed that the empire of Romulus, descendant of Troy, was in the

92 Buchthal, Historia Troiana, 58.
93 Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas, 75. “In the accommodation of Barbarian to Roman Empires, the credit for rerouting the footsteps of the Trojan exiles toward the north was placed with the ancestors of Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks….Since the sovereignty of the Roman Empire was destined for an heir of the house of Aeneas, the growth of Frankish hegemony soon witnessed the construction of a Trojan ancestry for Clovis. Although no written contemporary record attests this heritage, later sources claim that the knowledge derived from Hunibald, an authority purported to be contemporary with Clovis.” Morrison also says that the association was made to aggrandize the Merovingians. She mentions Isidore of Seville but Tanner (75) says “The earliest written tradition for the Merovingian’s Trojan origins appeared in Fredegarius’s mid-seventh-century chronicle, which adopted the format of the universal chronicle.” Morris says (8), “The author or authors to whom tradition has given the name Fredegar wrote two versions of a chronicle devoted to the history of the French kings, one based on the Chronicle of Eusebius and Jerome and the other on the History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours.”
94 This genealogical construction was put together by Paul the Deacon in 784 through the Frankish Anchises.
hands of Charles, descendant of Troy.”

Myths concerning the various Trojan settlements continued to rise in popularity, and various Trojans were claimed to have found Frankish regions. “The Frankish settlement was alternately attributed to Antenor, Sicamber, Franco; all direct kin of Priam and Aeneas.” Later, in the 11th century, Francio, for the first time, was identified as being Hector’s son and appears in a fifteenth-century chronicle by Hartmann Schedel. This was a great step away from most European genealogies that claimed descent from Antenor or Aeneas, the two Trojans that escaped the destruction. Incidentally, they were the two Trojans that, according to Dares and Dictys, betrayed Troy to Greece. “By asserting Francio’s father was Hector, the French were able to distinguish themselves from other European peoples by their line of descent,” which allowed France to get rid of the stigma of having a treacherous ancestor.

In her recent dissertation, Elizabeth Morrison has examined the Roman de Troie manuscripts and the way that the Trojan myth was used in the 12th and 13th centuries to bolster the legitimacy of the Capetian kings and helped build the French nation. Benoit is Roman de Troie was written for Henry II of England in the 12th century but did not achieve great popularity in England at the time of its writing; it did, however, prove very influential in other regions. Although Guido delle Colonne neglects to include it among his sources, it is quite clear that it was influential on his Historia Destructionis Troiae. The Historia and the Roman de Troie were

95 Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas, 71.
96 Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas, 73. Note: This is not Priam, the king, but a child of Troy who fled with Aeneas and eventually came to settle in Germany. Charlemagne’s crowning as Holy Roman Emperor reunites these realms. “Charlemagne’s election as Holy Roman emperor was continuously interpreted as the act which reunited the two realms and the two branches of the family. In the twelfth-century Speculum Regum of Godfried of Viterbo, this reunification was hailed with metaphors of genetic determination: the seed of Troy gave off two sprouts; one grew in the diadem of Rome, the other into the Teutonic kingdom; in ancient times the Germans and Romans held their power communally and these two powers were united in Charlemagne who was Romuleus matre, Teutonicus patres.”
97 Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas, 73
98 Morrison, Illuminations of the ‘Roman de Troie’, 56.
the sources of inspiration for the Trojan War myths across Europe. The *Roman de Troie*, however, was a clear inspiration for other historical and genealogical works in France during the next couple centuries.

When Hugh Capet was elected to the throne in 987 over Charles of Lorraine, the heir to the throne, genealogical claims were deemphasized. Hugh Capet only ruled nominally, not carrying much power over the competing nobleman in the region. The succeeding Capetians continued to rule in this fashion, and it wasn’t until the reign of Louis VI that any real attempts at creating a stable monarchy occurred. Louis VI began his bid for power by creating an alliance with St. Denis, and St. Denis worked to build up the propaganda of Louis VI and his reign. The greatest piece of literature produced during this time at the abbot of St. Denis was the *Grandes Chroniques de France* written by Suger. The centralization of the monarchy truly began with Philip Augustus. During this reign there was a resurgence in the Trojan myth and a new type of historiography began, one which glorified the past, present, and future of the French monarchy. The importance of ancestry to the Capetians of this time can also be seen in the marriage arranged for Philip to Isabelle of Hainaut who was believed to be a direct descendant of Charlemagne. This effectively gave their children an even greater claim to the throne of France – they would be descendants of both Capetian and Carolingian blood.

Philip made a number of gains during his kingship. He was able to regain large portions of land in France from England, lands in the south and Normandy by 1204. In 1212, Philip was victorious over John of England, who was allied with the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto IV. He then centralized the monarchy demanding that the overlords pay homage to him and acknowledge him as the strongest power in France. During this time as well the language
changed from the eldest son of the king being referred to not as his successor but as his heir, strengthening the idea of the monarchy.

The origins of the French people met with renewed interest during this time. In 1186 Rigord of St. Denis wrote the *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, apparently unsolicited, and continued to work on this through 1206; after his death Guillaume le Breton continued work on it. This work was to be a model for his son Louis. This text truly helped to build a sense of Capetian ideology, and it is in this text that the story of Trojan origins was renewed. It is also in this text that for the first time Francio is identified as being Hector’s son. Emphasizing Trojan genealogy helped to significantly strengthen the Capetian monarchy.

Louis IX, Philip’s grandson, built upon his ancestor’s gains and helped to institute the monarchy of France in a real way thereby making strides toward creating a sense of France as a nation. The Trojan myth was used as a means of centralizing and unifying the nation. Louis IX used propaganda to build the Capetian monarchy in order to help fulfill this notion. And, in direct contrast to Hugh Capet, he drew on the ancestry and deeds of his family. Louis IX’s reign was not without its difficulties. He faced baronial opposition as well as conflicts with Henry III of England over lands in France. In 1242, Louis was victorious over Henry thereby putting an end to the issue with both the barons and Henry. The influence of the French monarchy was strengthened by Louis’ involvement with the crusades.

It was then that he turned to the strengthening of the monarchy by using the Trojan myth. “Widespread belief in the mythic Trojan origins of the French rulers would place the Capetians on a par with the greatest monarchies of Europe, and would serve as a force unifying the people of France in a much more effective way than any physical action Louis IX could take.”

Adherence to the Trojan myth provided Louis IX with the necessary background to succeed in

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strengthening and unifying France. One of the first steps in this process was to create a new literature for France. Under Louis IX, a new history of the world was written which emphasized not only the prophecy that Hugh Capet would be given the kingdom of France through the seventh generation and the reclamation of the Carolingian heritage through Philip’s marriage to Isabelle of Hainaut. This reassertion of blood ties to Charlemagne was known as the *reditus regni Francorum ad stirpem Karoli* and was celebrated in art, especially in the tombs at Saint-Denis. “The significant shift that happened during the rule of St. Louis, one that enabled him to accomplish so much, was the transformation of a state defined by the person of the king into a nation recognized as a kingdom by its own inhabitants.”

The Trojan narrative, along with the emphasis on the Capetian genealogy proved to be “one of the most influential and powerful ingredients in the formation of a national consciousness.” *The Grand Chroniques de France*, which was one of the most popular pieces of French historiography, asserted Trojan origins for the French people. The motives behind the dissemination of the chronicle as well as the ambitions of the Capetians helped Benoît’s *Roman de Troie* to gain popularity. Although “the *Roman de Troie* was written for the consumption of the English court in an attempt to bolster the claims to power of the Angevin kings,” it did not gain the type of popularity in England as it did in France during the thirteenth century as the emphasis on Trojan origin was reapplied and used as a means of developing a sense of

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100 Morrison, *Illuminations of the Roman de Troie*, 41-42. “The sentiment of religious superiority which Louis’ involvement with the Crusades produced did much to emphasize the power of propaganda in bolstering the influence and prestige of the French monarchy, but over the course of Louis’ reign, it became clear that the real key to establishing a sense of French nationality lay in promoting the genealogical origins of France and her king.”

101 Morrison, *Illuminations of the Roman de Troie*, 44-45. “The rearrangement of tombs at Saint-Denis represents the most visible testimony to the importance of linking the Capetians to the Carolingians, the first step in exploring the ancestry of the French kings.

102 Morrison, *Illuminations of the Roman de Troie*, 46

103 Morrison, *Illuminations of the Roman de Troie*, 47.
nationhood. The *Roman de Troie* is extant in 58 manuscripts and fragments, making it by far the more popular of the *Roman antique* tradition. The *Roman d’Aeneas* is extant in nine manuscripts while the *Roman de Thebes* is found in only six. Of the 58 *Roman de Troie* manuscripts, 37 are French in origin and were made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Morrison’s dissertation argues that the text itself cannot fully explain how important the *Roman de Troie* was to the French people during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For that we must look at the illuminations in relation to the text. The choice of subject and images are key elements to interpreting “how the static text was regarded by a particular audience with specific needs.” The illustration program for the *Roman de Troie* shared some commonalities with the *Grandes Chroniques de France* to be a shared history of France. There was a particular emphasis placed on “Hector, father of Francio, and of the destruction that would lead its survivors to seek out a new beginning in Europe.” Although the *Roman de Troie* lost popularity once again with the end of the Capetian line and the rise of the Valois dynasty, the Trojan legend did not lose popularity. The importance of not only the text, but also the images exemplifying what was important for the French crown cannot be understated. The adherence of the Trojan legend as well as a rise in manuscript production and illumination will achieve a similar effect for the England, especially in the case of Henry V in the fifteenth century.

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104 Morrison, *Illuminations of the Roman de Troie*, 65
105 Morrison, *Illuminations of the Roman de Troie*, 224
CHAPTER TWO

TROJAN LEGEND IN ENGLAND

Benoit is Roman de Troie may not have attained much popularity in England, but the Trojan story itself was extremely popular and disseminated in numerous texts that make up the romans antiques genre. England used these texts not only to bolster their own claim to Trojan ancestry and thus strengthen their legitimacy, but also to develop a sense of what it means to be English. The purpose of this chapter is to examine which Trojan texts were popular in England and how those texts were used to convey a sense of history and identity.

Geoffrey of Monmouth and English Identity

The twelfth century marked not only a rise in genealogical texts, but also a rise in historiography in England.¹⁰⁷ William of Poitiers, William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni were working in Normandy while William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Gaimar, and most important for the present study, Geoffrey of Monmouth were writing in England. By 1139, Geoffrey had completed his Historia regum Britanniae, and Galfridian history was born. His book has been called many things; it is simultaneously considered one of the most influential historical texts and a fraudulent account of history.¹⁰⁸ Although there were a few detractors, Geoffrey’s text was taken as historical fact until the 18th century.

Geoffrey claims that while contemplating the lack of information concerning the early kings of Britain in the histories by Bede or Gildas, he was given an ancient book in the British

¹⁰⁷ Ingledew, “The Book of Troy,” 665-704
¹⁰⁸ In the 12th century, “William of Newburgh denounced the Historia as a fraud.” Rigg, A.G. A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. There have been attempts to establish a possible identity for the “old book” mentioned and postulate its existence, but the majority of the evidence suggests that it did not, in fact, exist and the reference to the book was not merely a fabrication per se but a popular literary technique hoping to lend weight to transmission of historical details.
tongue that covered the very period which he found lacking. Subsequently, he undertook the project to translate the book into Latin in order to record the deeds of the kings of Britain from its founding with Brutus to Cadwallader. He refers to both Bede and Gildas several times during his “translation” as he gives information about timelines and other historical aspects, but the ‘old book’ is no longer in existence, and some throughout history have claimed it was a fabrication so that his tales would seem more factual. Scholars posit a wide array of possible intentions for Geoffrey’s undertaking. It appears that he wrote the Historia without a commission, and it is alternatively dedicated to Robert of Gloucester, Waleran of Meulan, and King Stephen. Whatever his intentions in writing the Historia, it solidified the relationship between England and Troy and created a sense of national identity through a demonstration of English behavior by painting a picture of Brutus as a great hero and progenitor of the race of Britons. Throughout the Historia, he continues to assert an English identity by contrasting English behavior to others. It is within this frame that all the various redactions and translations of the Trojan narrative operate, leading up to and including John Lydgate’s Troy Book – both its literary narrative and the pictorial program.

Geoffrey’s Historia sets up a Virgilian narrative and gives a glorious past to a nation and a people without one, transferring the power of Troy and thus Rome to England.

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110 It seems to have been written for Robert of Gloucester as his name appears as the dedicatee in most of the manuscripts.

111 “Geoffrey articulates a common twelfth-century reception of Virgilian history, which traces the providential transfer of power from Troy to Rome to London, and the Historia sets the precedent for future British writers and
calls the Historia "one of the earliest exploitations of the Trojan genealogy and certainly the most ambitious."
112 The impact it had on the imagination of future individuals and monarchs was tremendous. The Historia survives in at least 217 manuscripts and was first printed in 1508. 113 Not only do these manuscripts attest to its popularity, but it is the basis for vernacular renditions of Brutus – most notably Wace’s Brut and Lazamon’s Brut – not to mention later works such as Shakespeare’s King Lear and the Arthurian legends.

It served to provide Britian with Trojan genealogy and to legitimize Norman rule. It is with a similar purpose that Widukind wrote the Trojan history for the Saxons just as Dudo of St. Quentin did for the Normans.

Dudo’s elaborate prose, his reminiscences of classical and Christian literature, his frequent flights into poetry, were all designed to give his history the dignity of a theme which was basically the same as Widukind’s: the rise of a people from the noble stock of Troy, through heroic wanderings strikingly similar to those of Aeneas and his companions, to their destined place among the Christian nations of Europe. 114

This provided Britain with a foundational myth that was as glorious as that of Rome and France, legitimated their rule and desire for imperial control not only of the entire island, but also the continent, and provided them with a mode of behavior to which they could adhere. 115

Although Geoffrey’s Historia provided the British, not the Normans, with a Trojan past, this narrative was also extremely important in providing the Norman rulers with legitimacy
because of their shared ancestry. The Normans were essentially lineageless at the time of their settling Normandy. Thus they had already practiced the art of self-consciously developing a noble past in much the same way Venice did. This history was provided to the Normans by Dudo of Saint-Quentin, who turned to the Aeneid as a model for his Norman history in his De moribus et actis primeorum Normanniae ducum. Rollo is an Aeneas figure; he leads the Danes, finds a land, and builds a capital in Rouen. “The Virgilian imperial note is a matter of blood as well as analogy: Rollo is a Dane, and in a startling innovation, Dudo makes the Danes descendants of the Trojan Antenor.” This history effectively served to legitimize the Norman settlers. G.A. Loud in examining the Norman use of the Trojan myth argued that, "the idea of common descent as a key element in the identity of the gens was so well-established as to be fundamental in the Normans’ own conception of themselves." This type of legitimation was especially necessary during the period of contested kingship and uncertainty in the aftermath of the death of Henry I. Although the Historia applies to English ancestry, Paul Dalton has demonstrated that by the time of Geoffrey’s Historia a new sense of English identity was forming, one in which the Norman conquerors were thinking of themselves as English; therefore,

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116 Ingledew, “The Book of Troy,” 681. “The settlers who became the Normans were lineageless; and it appears that the Norman aristocracy even at the time of the conquest rarely went back further than two or three generations, or before 1000.”
117 Ingledew, “The Book of Troy,” 682. “the Normans were precocious in the self-consciousness with which they developed a descent myth, perhaps precisely because they lacked history.”
118 See Ingledew, “The Book of Troy,” 681-688 for a discussion of Norman historiography, Dudo and his influence on Geoffrey of Monmouth. Although the succeeding Norman historiographers, Guillaume de Jumièges and Orderic Vitalis, changed much of Dudo’s history, they kept the Trojan ancestry of the Normans intact and this became the official version of history.
120 The Trojan genealogical narrative was not the only one of importance throughout the middle ages. Another strand sought to link rulers to the Biblical Noah and Adam. These two separate strains were at times at odds with one another. This project is not concerned with how the Biblical genealogy functioned in the middle ages as it was often superseded by the Trojan narrative. Patterson “The Romance of History”, 201 “The historiographical purpose of Geoffrey’s project, to put a complex matter simply, was to replace the Augustinian dismissal of secular history that had inspired Bede’s authoritative Historia ecclesiastica with a Virgilian narrative the located historical legitimacy not merely in terms of the development of the church but within the larger world of history itself.”
the *Historia* would equally apply to the Normans as their history and would be coupled with and strengthened by the history already provided to them by Dudo.\textsuperscript{122}

Geoffrey, however, did not create the Trojan founding legend for England; it had been in existence at least since the early ninth century. There are two accounts of Brutus’ settlement in the *Historia Britonum* attributed to Nennius.\textsuperscript{123} According to Nennius, Brutus, great-grandson of Aeneas, was exiled from Italy after accidentally killing his father while out hunting. He was subsequently driven from the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea because of Turnus’ death and ended up fleeing to Gaul. While in Gaul he founded the city of Tours, and then settled in Britain naming the island after himself.\textsuperscript{124}

Although Geoffrey used Nennius’ material, he elaborates on the story of Brutus’ wanderings and focuses on the character and heroic exploits of Brutus, thereby doing for Brutus and England what Virgil did for Aeneas and Rome. Brutus is still the great-grandson of Aeneas, and at the age of fifteen, while hunting, he accidentally kills his father and is sent into exile. Here, the story begins to take a turn from Nennius’ account. Brutus travels to Greece where he comes in contact with the Trojan descendants held in slavery by King Pandrasus. Brutus lives among the countrymen where he gains a great reputation for valor and virtue. “He began to manifest so much soldierly prowess and virtue that their kings and chiefs loved him above all the

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123 Geoffrey does not name Nennius as a source. The material that he uses he attributes to Gildas; however, according to Tatlock the *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* was often coupled with the *Historia Britonum* and has been referenced by others as the work of Gildas. “The had the *Historia Britonum* partly by Nennius, and the *Liber Querolus* on the fall of Britain by Gildas, constantly found together and referred to jointly by Geoffrey and others as Gildas.” Tatlock, J.S.P. “Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Motives for Writing His ‘Historia’” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 79, No. 4 (Nov. 15, 1938): 699

124 Nennius. *Historia Britonum*. 10.2
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youths in that country; to wise men he displayed his wisdom, to warriors his aggression and, whenever he acquired gold, silver or ornaments, he used to present everything to his men.”

Brutus’s reputation spreads and the Trojans seek him out to be their leader and help free them from the bondage of the Greeks. Additionally, his help was sought in settling an inheritance debate that Assaracus, a Greek born to a Trojan mother, was having with his brother who was born to two Greek parents. Brutus takes up the charge and after several battles is finally able to take King Pandrasus prisoner and secure freedom for the remaining Trojans. Pandrasus then gives his daughter Innogin to Brutus in marriage to secure the negotiated peace. Pandrasus addresses Brutus with respect both for his person and his noble lineage,

I derive some consolation from marrying my daughter to a young man of such prowess, whose descent from the race of Priam and Achises is proclaimed both by his inherent nobility and by the reputation we know so well. Who else, when the exiles from Troy were enslaved by so many mighty chiefs, could have freed them from their bonds? Who could have stood up to the king of the Greeks with them, challenging his great army with so small a force and, after battle was joined, leading off their king in chains?

Adam Goldwyn, in his unpublished 2010 dissertation *A Literary History of the Trojan War from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, draws a parallel between this scene and Aeneas’ experience in Italy concerning Turnus. Both engage in a new Trojan war in which they are victorious. “The defeat of the Greeks by the Trojans reverses the historical ignominy of the Trojan War, thereby removing the stigma of defeat from Brutus’ British descendants, Geoffrey’s patrons. The kings of England are now seen to be on the side of the winners, not the losers.”

125 Geoffrey of Monouth, “Historia” I.VII. “In tantum autem militia et probitate uigere coepit ita ut a regibus et principibus prae omni iuuentute patriae amaretur; erat enim inter sapientes sapiens, inter bellicosos bellicosus, et quicquid auri uel argenti siue ornamentorum adquirebat totum militibus erogabat.” Translated by Neil Wright

126 In Geoffrey of Monouth, “Historia” I.XV. “solatium habere uideor quia filiam meam tantae probitatis adolexcenti daturus sum, quem ex genere Priami et Anchisae creatum et nobilitas quae in ipso pullulate et fama nobis cognita declarat. Quis etenim alter exules Troiae, in seruitutem tot et tantorum principum positos, eorumdem uinculis eroperet? Quis cum illis regi Graecorum resisteret aut cum tam puacis tantam armatorum copiam proelio prouocaret itioque congress regem eorum uinctum duceret?” Translated by Neil Wright

The eponymous founder of Britain becomes not only a victorious leader, but also a model on which contemporary leaders should base themselves. Not only do his actions reverse the stigma of defeat, but his actions also reverse the stigma of Aeneas’ treachery. Aeneas may have betrayed the Trojan cause to the Greeks for his own and his family’s safety, but his descendant returned to Greece and championed the Trojan cause liberating them and negotiating a peace. Through Brutus, England removes any anxiety over their descent from the defeated and the treacherous.\textsuperscript{128} Once Geoffrey solidifies Brutus’ character as an exemplary Englishman, he puts him on the path to England.

Brutus, his new wife, and his men leave Greece and sail for a couple days before landing at the island of Leogetia where they propitiate an altar of Diana in hopes of learning where their future home lies. Diana answers his request in a dream.

‘Brutus, to the west, beyond the kingdoms of Gaul,

lies an island of the ocean, surrounded by the sea;

an island of the ocean, where giants once lived,

but now it is deserted and waiting for your people.

Sail to it; it will be your home for ever.

It will furnish your children with a new Troy

From your descendants will arise kings, who

will be masters of the whole world.’\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{128} It is possible that the French claimed descent from Hector for a similar reason. Although some have noted that Brutus won in Greece through deceptive practices, he wasn’t treacherous in his exploits. He employed a bit of cunning and in this regard becomes a type of Odysseus figure.

\textsuperscript{129} Geoffrey of Monmouth, “Historia” I.XVI. ‘Brute, sub occasu solis trans Gallica regna/insula in oceano est undique clausa mari/insula in oceano est habitat gigantibus olim/nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis./Hanc pete; namque tibi sedes erit illa perhennis./Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuuis./Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, et ipsis/tocius terrae subditus orbis errit.’ Transl. by Neil Wright
Upon receiving this prophecy, Aeneas and his men set sail and encounter a series of adventures similar to that of Aeneas. Several times they encounter dangers and are tested, but they prevail. They land on an island on the Tyrrhenian sea and meet the descendants of the Trojans who escaped Troy with Antenor. They join Brutus and next land at Aquitaine where by accident they invoke the anger of the envoys of the king. The Trojans are victorious in the first stage of battles but King Goffarius secures the help of the remainder of Gaul to expel the Trojan threat. Many men die on both sides of the battle, notably Brutus’ nephew Turnus who gave his name to the city of Tours. Having secured a victory, but unwilling to tempt Fortune to continue with a prolonged war against a numerous enemy, he gathers his men and riches and sets sail for the island prophesied to him by Diana. In each instance, while in the area that would become France, Brutus demonstrates bravery, valor and wisdom, and as the first Englishman becomes a model for all to follow in much the same was as Virgil's Aeneas served as a model as well as gives the English a tradition of settlement and victory over France and Gaul. This is a theme that continues throughout the Historia with the succeeding kings.

Brutus and his men land on the island that at that time was named Albion. They clear the land of giants, portion the land and begin to build homes and till the fields. “Brutus named the island Britain after himself and called his followers Britons…For this reason the language of his people, previously known as Trojan or ‘crooked Greek’, was henceforth called British.” One last bout of Trojan test and victory comes when the large monster Goemagog and twenty giants crash a feast Brutus was holding for the gods. Although the Trojans lose men, they ultimately conquer the giants and Corineus, the eponymous founder of Cornwall, tosses the giant Goemagog over a cliff in a wrestling match.

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131 At this point in the story Brutus and his men are no longer called Trojans but are called Britons.
Brutus then sets about building a city. He travels the entire island and eventually comes to the Thames where he founds a city and names it ‘New Troy.’ Eventually the name was changed to Trinovantum and later changed to London. After Brutus builds the city, he gathers inhabitants and enacts a system of laws. Geoffrey then fixes the event within a broader historical context by giving the names of other rulers around the world. Geoffrey recounts the details of the events of the kings of Britain and their various struggles, both internally and externally, including the accounts of Merlin and King Arthur and ends in the late seventh century with the death of King Cadwaladrus. Although the emphasis on the Trojan story ends with Brutus, throughout the entire Historia, the link with Rome constantly lingers under the surface. The relationship between Rome and England is always contentious, with each attempting to assert its will on the other at various times.

The genealogy attributed to Brutus provides Britain with an ancestry as ancient and noble as that of Rome, while the career attributed to Brutus both derives from the familial bond to Rome and demonstrates the need to supersede it. In secular affairs the Romans are shown to be somewhat less than equal to the Britons, in religious affairs somewhat more than equal to the Britons, but the dominant impression is one of British resistance, rather than subordination, to Rome.132

In fact, Eckhardt sees in the story of Brutus a severance with Rome by way of his killing his parents and being exiled from Italy. This story places Brutus and the founding of London as New Troy before the founding of Rome by Romulus and effectively breaks England from any sort of Roman dependence even from the beginning.133

In Foucault’s Society Must Be Defended, he discusses France’s use of the Trojan genealogy myth. As he is discussing the imperium of the king of France and the maintenance of

133 Brutus’ mother died in childbirth and Brutus accidentally killed his father while hunting. “In this tale the origin of the Britons is represented as involving a violent, though, unintentional, disruption of the ancestral link (Brutus kills his parents). This situation entails a severance from the whole Roman or Italian past, in conjunction with the ability to equal or to parallel it...The stage is accordingly set for the mixture of rivalry and hostility that, in Geoffrey’s account, will characterize relations between Britain and Rome in later times.” Eckhardt, 194
public right during the middle ages, he states that “the Roman Gaul of Caesar, the Gaul that was colonized, also had to be elided, as it might suggest that Gaul and the heirs of the Gauls had once been, or might be, subordinate to an empire.”

Rome’s colonization of England since the time of Julius Caesar is well documented, as is the colonization of Gaul. That later rulers insecure over victory won through invasion with no historical claim to the territory appealed to a more ancient right while glossing over, or omitting, their most recent predecessor is quite clear. However, we get quite a different tradition in England, and this could be related to territory and genealogy.

As mentioned in chapter one, from the time of Augustus emperors traced their descent to Aeneas. We see this in the case of Charlemagne, the Hapsburgs, and the Capetians. Because they were able to trace their lineage to the emperor with ease, the link to Rome wasn’t as tenuous as it was for the English. For the lands that were once Gaul it was enough to elide Rome in its contemporary genealogical and historical accounts; however, England had to take a different path or suffer from inferiority to France, both its sister in the Trojan narrative and the liege to whom the King of England owed fealty as vassal to the King of France. Therefore, the history of England’s relationship with Rome and Gaul was rewritten, not to merely elide Rome but to demonstrate England’s superiority and resistance to colonization throughout history thereby developing an idea for what it meant to be an Englishman.

The first mention of Rome comes in the story of the brothers Belinus and Brennius. Belinus was the older brother and, by Trojan custom, entitled to the larger portion of Britain.

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134 Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*, 117.
135 Although Nennius records the founding of Briton by Brutus, it wasn't until after the Norman Conquest that the Trojan ancestry became important. In "Trojans in Anglo-Saxon England: Precedent Without Descent" *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 64, no. 263, pp. 1-20, Elizabeth Tyler demonstrates that the Anglo-Saxons knew that the Trojan ancestry was popular in Europe, but since the Romans had left by the time the Anglo-Saxons arrived that they felt no need to appropriate the myth the way that those on the continent did. They kept their tradition of claiming descent to German gods.
upon his father’s death. Brennius, ambitious and inflamed by flatterers, sought to deprive his brother of his rightful lands and acquire a larger portion of the lands given to him. He lost in the effort and was exiled to France where he was received kindly, marries the duke’s daughter, and eventually wins the kingdom of Allobroges. When he returns to Britain with an army to take his brother’s lands, he is persuaded by his mother to drop his overreaching plans and to accept his lot. In a stroke of creativity, Geoffrey then has the reconciled brothers attack France and conquer the entire country. After their victory, they turn their attention to Rome. Rome feared the combined forces of Belinus and Brennius and sues for peace. “They also brought many gifts of gold and silver and the promise of yearly tribute if they and their possessions were left in peace.”

Belinus and Brennius accept and turn their attention to Germany, and while there Rome decides to help the Gallic tribes against the Britons. This angers Belinus and Brennius and through a series of events, the brothers end up laying siege to Rome, sacking the city and Brennius remains to rule Italy.

Although this is a fictional story, there is a corresponding event that Geoffrey is making Britain responsible for. About 390 BCE, Rome was sacked by Gaul; Brennus, a Gallic chieftain, led the attack. Geoffrey’s creation of the story in which the British brothers, Belinus and Brennius first conquer Gaul then Rome effectively eradicates any subordination England owes to France or Rome. England then becomes the superior nation, and has the better claim through right and invasion in succeeding centuries. England may be conquered by these nations later, but there will always be mitigating circumstances involved; what matters is the ancestral claim and right.

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136 Historia. III.43 Optulerunt etiam plurima donaria auri et argenti singulisque annis tribututm ut sua cum pace possidere sinerentur.
The English have the ability, when they work together for the common cause, of subjugating vast amounts of territory, thus strengthening the imperial prophecy given to Brutus. As is a common theme through the whole of Geoffrey’s Historia, the major impediment to this is internal dissension rather than their inferiority to external powers. Geoffrey may have been commenting on contemporary issues concerning the question of succession upon Henry I’s death. While this may have been a major motive in writing the Historia, it also demonstrates that England is in no way inferior to any other power on earth, neither Rome nor Gaul, is unconquerable by honest means, and has only submitted to subjugation by other powers when it is in Britain’s own best interest. We see this continue to play out in their later relations with Rome.

Julius Caesar’s excursion into Britain, 335 years after the Belinus and Brennius tale, is the next major instance of British/Roman contact. We know from various ancient Roman sources that Julius Caesar did come in contact with England in 55 and 54 B.C.E. during his Gallic conquest. There was a battle between the two forces and there are some similarities concerning the various stories that make Geoffrey’s report plausible, including names and that Caesar never truly “conquered” Britain, but Geoffrey’s version elevates the British position. Nennius reports that when the Romans demanded tribute in the form of hostages from Britain, “the Britons, however, tyrannical and swollen with pride, treated the Roman legates with contempt.” Julius Caesar, angered over their refusal, attempted to invade Britain, but was defeated. He returned three years later but was once again repelled. He returned a third time and

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Nennius. 19. Romani autem, dum acciperent dominium totius mundi, ad Brittannos miserunt legatos, ut obsides et censum acciperent ab illis, sicut accipiebant ab universis regionibus et insulis. Brittani autem, cum essent tyranni et tumidi, legationem Romanorum contemserunt.
fought a battle at Trinovantum, which he won. “Therefore Julius was the first who came to Britain and ruled both the kingdom and the people.”\textsuperscript{138}

Geoffrey’s \textit{Historia} is based in part on Nennius, but just as with the Trojan story, Geoffrey elaborates on this section to elevate the British position. When Julius Caesar spies the island of Britain from Gaul, he becomes intrigued. He acknowledges that they have a similar ancestry, being descended from the Trojans. Then he deems that the Britons ought to pay taxes and tribute and be subjugated to the Roman authority in perpetuity. He believes that the Britons are not equals to the Romans anymore nor do they have any knowledge of warfare, but to honor their shared lineage he sends a letter demanding tribute, which angers king Cassibellaunus. While Nennius characterizes the Britons as full of pride and tyrannical, Geoffrey portrays them as a free people who are unwilling to submit to an oppressive and greedy Rome who ought by rights of kinship to be seeking friendship. “Let it therefore be clear to you, Caesar, that whatever your intentions, we will fight for our freedom and country if you attempt to carry out your threat of landing in the island of Britain.”\textsuperscript{139}

Geoffrey continues the story highlighting England’s superiority. The Romans are depicted as great warriors, but the Britons remain victorious. Caesar, in accordance with the previous versions, retreats from Britain. The British king is depicted as just and righteous while Caesar is depicted as inferior. By Geoffrey’s account, when Julius Caesar retreats to Gaul, the Gallic tribes plan to expel him. When he realizes this, knowing that he could not defeat the stronger Gallic tribes in battle, he bribes them into a renewed friendship. “Caesar did not want to

\textsuperscript{138} Nennius. 21. Julius igitur primus in Brittanniam pervenit, et regnum et gentem tenuit.

\textsuperscript{139} Hlstoria. IV.55 Liqueat igitur disposition tuae, Caesar, nos pro illa et pro regno nostro pugnaturos si ut comminatus es infra insulam Britanniae superuenire inceperis.
risk war against so fierce a race, but opened his coffers and approached all the nobles individually to reward them and win back their friendship.”

A second time, British might united under Cassibellaunus was able to defeat Julius Caesar and put him to flight. When Julius Caesar attacked for a third time, his victory was due to internal dissension. The duke Androgeus, who was angry with Cassibellaunus and full of pride, betrayed Britain and sided with Julius Caesar. It becomes quite clear that this is the only reason why Julius Caesar gained ground in Britain; without this betrayal they would never have had to submit. Still, even the combined forces of Julius Caesar and Androgeus were not strong enough to defeat Britain in open combat.

He had decided to starve the king out since he could not defeat him by force. How admirable were the Britons of that age, who twice put to flight the conqueror of the whole world! Even after being routed, they faced a man the whole world could not resist, and were ready to lay down their lives for the liberty of their country. It was in praise of them that the poet Lucan described how Caesar ‘in terror turned his back upon the Britons he had attacked.’

Even Caesar’s eventual victory is not due to his superior forces. Cassibellaunus entreats Androgeus to make peace between the two. Androgeus does just that; he asks Caesar to accept tribute with no further hostilities and threatens that if he doesn’t Androgeus will fight against him. “Out of fear of Androgeus, Caesar relented and made peace with Cassibellaunus in return for the payment of yearly tribute.” Rome remains a contentious force throughout the Historia. When the kings do pay the tribute to the Romans, it is out of love for them, not necessity as shown in the case of Kimbelinus. “Kimbelinus was so fond of the Romans that he freely paid

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140 Historia. IV 58. Quod Iulius callens noluit anceps bellum cum feroci populo committere sed apertis thesauris quoque nobiliores adire ut singulos munificatos in concordiam reduceret.
141 Historia. IV.62 Affectabat namque regem fame cogere, quem armis nequiueterat. O ammirabile tunc genus Britonum, qui ipsum bis in fugam propulerunt quit totum orbe sibi submiserat! Cui totus mundus nequiuuit resistere, illi etiam fugati resistant, parati mortem pro patria et libertate subire. Hinc ad laudem illorum cecinit Lucanus de Caesare ‘territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis’.
142 Historia IV.64 Timore igitur Androgei mitigates Iulius cepit a Cassibellauno concordiam cum uectigali singulis annis reddendo.”
them the tribute which he could have withheld.\textsuperscript{143} Some refuse, which brings the Romans to England as in the case of Claudius, but even then the Romans are depicted as fearful of the British army and ready to make peace through treaty rather than force. The remainder of the \textit{Historia} before the Arthurian section is littered with British refusal to submit to Rome and the Roman attempts to subdue them until they eventually pull their troops out of Britain completely.\textsuperscript{144}

Rome becomes a prominent figure once again when Arthur arrives and conquers the known world. These conquests are important for the English imagination because they reverse the British defeat by these various regions later, just as they did with the various British conquests of Rome.\textsuperscript{145} These regions may be victorious in later centuries, but the British had conquered them first and would, in time, retake what their ancient forbears had claimed for them. Therefore, the inhabitants of England never owe duties of a vassal, had never been passive subordinates to overlords, which afforded them the public right to rule England and any other territory they might wish.

Arthur’s contact with Rome develops more than just a conflict between two great powers. We get an insight into how the English see themselves and how they see their enemies, and through this a sense of English identity is developed. Rome sends a letter to Arthur reminding him of the great power of Rome and condemning him for his insolence in conquering regions owned by Rome and demanding him to rectify this situation and behave as a proper vassal.

Arthur becomes a model for any good king by holding a council immediately after hearing

\textsuperscript{143} Historia. 64. \textit{Hic in tantam amiciciam Romanorum inciderat ut cum posset tributum eorum detinere gratis impendebat.}\textsuperscript{”}

\textsuperscript{144} There is one British revolt that is missing from Geoffrey’s account. Boudicca was forgotten in the middle ages, and therefore her revolt against the Romans is not included. “One may think of Boadicea (Boudicca), who after the death of her tribal-king husband took the lead for a year or two. But she was unknown to early British and English writers, for Tacitus, the only Latin authority on her, was substantially unknown in the middle ages.” Tatlock,702.

\textsuperscript{145} This is most notable in the conquests of Iceland, Gaul and Aquitaine and Dacia.
Rome’s demands and offers his position by appealing to ancient right. He acknowledges that Rome did gain tribute from Britain in the past but dismisses it because each time Rome gained the advantage over Britain due to internal dissension, not superior might. Additionally, he offers that he should ask for tribute from Rome because his ancestors once conquered and received tribute from Rome. One of his councilmen, Hoel of Armorica, appeals to Sibylline prophecies which claim that Britain will rule the Roman Empire by three people: Belinus was one, Constantine the second. They believe Arthur will be the third. He won’t complete his mission, but that third person remains out there to be exploited by any who claim to rule lands formerly held by Rome.

The British and their allies are presented as just, noble and fighting for liberty while the Romans are presented as cowards and oppressors. The Romans are depicted as debased in nature, and this helps to elevate the sense of English identity. This is evident in the allies the Romans assemble with which to fight the British. Each of the kings called to aid the Romans are from the east. For the contemporary imagination concerned with threats from the east and the crusades, Rome’s alliance with the east would heighten the question of Rome’s legitimacy. The Romans are depicted as having a larger army, as is usual in each of the encounters, but being overcome by bravery and the superior fighting skills of the Britons. When Arthur speaks of the British, it is to commend their bravery and valor, but the Romans are, at every turn, deemed cowards. Repeatedly when Arthur speaks of the Romans he categorizes them as effeminate, women, half-men and weak, which even in antiquity was used to characterize those who had become too accustomed to eastern practices. Here Geoffrey is using it to cast aspersions on the Romans in an attempt to depict the Britons in a more masculine light and define the British as naturally superior.

146 Historia. IX.159
Once the Romans recognize their impending defeat, many fearfully flee while others allow themselves to be bound as slaves, which only highlights the debased nature of the Romans and their allies. On the other hand, Arthur continues to demonstrate his noble character by honoring his enemies with funerals and having their bodies returned to their homelands. Arthur’s plans to conquer Rome were stopped short when news of treachery from Britain came and he had to return to Britain to deal with Modred. This continues the theme of Britain constantly being overcome by internal strife and that being the major cause to its woes and losses to enemies. The continual tension between England and Rome in Geoffrey’s Historia serves to give England a noble heritage, one which highlights their superior nature and their right to rule the land in which they currently live as well as for any future lands they might wish to conquer and provides them with an identity they can be proud of.

**Trojan Literature in the Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries**

The importance of history writing and Trojan narratives only continued to grow in the succeeding centuries and like happens in France, the importance of genealogy is emphasized. As Galfridian history grew in popularity and influence, more Virgilian narratives began to be produced. Although the narratives written during this period are mostly retellings of the Trojan War and do not exclusively or specifically involve England as Geoffrey’s narrative does, they still serve to glorify England by retelling the glorious deeds of England’s ancestors, just as the Aeneid did for Rome, as well as reinforce was it means to be English. Just as in France, the topos of Trojan ancestry reappears in England during times of unsteady rule, as was the case with the Plantagenets beginning with Henry II. Patterson claims that the Trojan history “had, at
least since the times of Henry II, served to support the monarchial legitimacy of insecure English kings.”

Henry II instituted the Plantagenet line and took the title King of England instead of the traditional title King of the English. During his rule, or at least at its outset, Anglo-Norman supremacy was far from secure, and it was important that his sovereignty be reaffirmed. This was successfully established through literature. The works commissioned by the Plantagenets included chronicles in Latin and Anglo-Norman as well as romances, and many of these works “found both their literary inspiration and political purpose in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Historia regum Britanniae.” Both the Trojan and Arthurian material of Geoffrey’s Historia served not only the political purposes of the early Plantagenets, but also the needs of later monarchs who needed to bolster their claim to the throne.

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147 Patterson, “Making Identities,” 126. Although Benoit is commission by Henry II or his writing of it in order to glorify Norman monarchs is not certain. As Damian-Grint argues, the language used does not contain English or Anglo-Norman loan words and therefore may have been written without patronage. It also seems that Benoit did not leave France. However, he did present Eleanor of Aquitaine with the manuscript (or dedicated it to her) and it seems that he received the commission for the Ducs of Normandie after that. “The work which brought him to the attention of the royal court was his Roman de Troie, a long and heavily romaniticised roman antique based on the de bello troiano and ephemeridis troiae, which he probably wrote around 1160 and dedicated to Henry’s spouse Eleanor of Aquitaine. The Chronique, on the other hand, was apparently commissioned by Henry himself; Wace indicates that the king has taken the task away from him and given it to Benoit”. 59

148 Patterson, L. Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987, 199-200 “Anglo-Norman supremacy was both challenged from below and, more seriously, subject to the fragmentations occasioned by its own inner dynamic. Moreover, when Henry II ascended the disputed throne in 1154, he was…faced with a tangle of conflicting loyalties that required a firm assertion of royal sovereignty. Part of his effort at self-legitimization was literary.”

149 Patterson, Negotiating the Past, 200.
150 Patterson, Negotiating the Past, 202. “At about the time of Henry’s uneasy accession to the throne Wace not only translated the Historia into Anglo-Norman but, according to Layamon, who later translated Wace’s version into English, presented a copy to Queen Eleanor. Moreover, the two great themes of Geoffrey’s work – the Trojan foundation of Britain and the preeminence of Arthur – were not only immediately exploited for purposes of political legitimation but served throughout the later Middle Ages, as we shall see, as central sources for English monarchs eager to bolster their often unsteady hold upon the throne…The continued disruptions of English dynastic history – including the fourteenth-century depositions of Edward II and Richard II, and the chaos of the middle years of the fifteenth century – meant that the English monarchs who succeeded Henry, unlike the Capetian and Valois kings of France, looked back not upon an unruffled descent from a founding father (Charlemagne) but instead upon a political genealogy broken by violence and impeached by its own discontinuities. Hence it was in England that the historiography of legendary origins flourished with special vigor.”
Gaimar’s mid-twelfth century L’estoire des Engleis commissioned by an Anglo-Norman aristocrat is largely a French translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which begins with the story of the Golden Fleece and continues until AD 1100. The beginning section is now lost in the remaining manuscripts and has been replaced by Wace’s Roman de Brut, an Anglo-Norman version of the Historia. Wace was also commissioned to write the Roman de Rou detailing the story of Rollo. The twelfth century also saw the publication of the anonymous Roman d’Eneas and Chrétien de Troyes’ Erec et Enide.

These texts are linked by chronology and provenance: the Eneas was almost certainly written shortly after the coronation of England’s Henry II in 1154 and within the context of royal legitimization, while Erec et Enide includes what seems to be allusions to the Eneas and has itself important thematic affiliations with Angevin ambitions. Both of these narratives continue the Virgilian narrative of history that began with Geoffrey’s Historia and runs through both Gaimar and Wace’s historiographies, and they serve as reminders of English prowess, identity as well as legitimate rule.

Each of these stories deals with a Trojan narrative in some way or another; either they allude to Troy or, in the case of Geoffrey’s narrative, are a genealogical history that traces the lineage back to a Trojan beginning. Benoît de Saint-Maure’s twelfth century Roman de Troie was the first vernacular text to deal exclusively with the Trojan story.

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151 Damian-Grint, P. The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999, 51. “While it is generally accepted that Gaimar’s grandiose plan covered the history of the Trojan War (probably from the Latin De bello Troiano and Ephemeridis Troiae) and the history of the British kings (presumably from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Historia regum Britannie, the only version then available), the size of the missing section is disputed. In all four manuscripts in which Gaimar’s work survive, it is preceded by Wace’s Brut; in two of them, it is also followed by Fantosme’s Chronicel. It seems, therefore, that the three works were seen by writers of the early thirteenth century as forming a complete composite history of Britain. Gaimar, Wace and Fantosme are frequently presented as ‘the’ vernacular French historians of the twelfth century.”

152 Patterson, Negotiating the Past, 158. Also see Ingledew, “The Book of Troy,” for information supporting this view. Yunck and Angeli argue that these authors “were all part of a Norman literary atelier subsidized by Henry II to help further Plantagenet interests.” But see also his footnote for a list of scholars who disagree that these works were part of a propagandistic design instigated by Henry.

also provided Henry II with a genealogical history in the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, which was quite possibly a continuation or a redaction of Wace’s *Brut*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, *Roman de Troie* did not prove to be overly popular in England. As the twelfth century wore on, verse historical narratives began to lose popularity and these narratives were rewritten in prose as was Wace’s *Roman de Brut*, which in turn provided the basis for later vernacular redactions of the subject. “The first major historical work in Middle English, Layamon’s *Brut*, is based almost exclusively on Wace’s *Roman de Brut*” and the Brut narrative survives in a number of manuscripts.

The next important work regarding the Trojan legend was Guido delle Colonne’s 1287 *Historia destructionis Troiae*, which claimed to be a true retelling of Dares and Dictys, but is in fact a redaction of Benoit de Sainte-Maure’s *Roman de Troie*, though he does not acknowledge his source. Guido changes Benoit is verse romance into a prose historical account removing or reducing much of Benoit is elaborations and descriptions of the marvelous. Guido’s *Historia* was quite popular and influential in England and stood next to Geoffrey’s *Historia* as “The Book of Troy.” While Geoffrey’s *Historia* recounts the deeds of Brutus and the kings of England as

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154 Blacker, J. The Faces of Time: Portrayal of the Past in Old French and Latin historical narrative of the Anglo-Norman Regnum. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994, 45 “The purpose of the transfer of commission from Wace to Benoit de Sainte-Maure remains obscure. It is unclear from Wace’s comments (I, iii, 11416-11419) precisely what Henry intended: was Benoit to complete Wace’s work by bringing it up to Henry II’s reign or to recast the history in a new way and then to extend its reach?”

155 Damian Grint, 181. For a discussion of the manuscripts of the *Brut* narrative see Simpson, "The Other Book of Troy."

156 Benson, The History of Troy in Middle English Literature: Guido delle Colonne’s *Historia Destructionis Troiae in Medieval England”* Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980. 4. “Guido delle Colonne…translated Benoit is poem into a Latin prose work now called the Historia destructionis Troiae, which de-emphasizes the love stories and drops, reduces, or doubts Benoit is marvels. Geuido neer names his real source, but insists he is keeping alive the full account of the two original reporters.

157 Ingledew argues that Geoffrey’s text is the origin of romance and is “The Book of Troy.” However, Simpson argues that Guido’s work is just as important. Mueller, Translating Troy, “Ingledew, in his seminal article, follows the work of Robert Hanning in arguing that Geoffrey’s Historia represents a novel understanding of insular history in the later Middle Ages, which accepted the translation imperii as the appropriate progression of power from civilization to civilization…By making this claim, Ingledew establishes Troy as the widely accepted historical origin of Britain after the twelfth century and consequently reads Troy as it speaks in Galfridian imperial contexts…In response, James Simpson contends that Ingledew errs, despite his qualification, in attributing the moniker “The
descendants of Troy, Guido’s *Historia* solely concerns the Trojan War. It recounts the future descendants of Troy and their settlements, but it does not provide any prophecies about future greatness nor does it discuss the character of those cities found by Trojan heroes.

Though Troy itself was completely destroyed, it rose again, through which cause the city of Rome, which is the chief of cities, emerged, being built and enlarged by the Trojan exiles, by Aeneas, that is, and Ascanius his son, called Julius. And therefore some other provinces received from the Trojans an enduring settlement. Such is England, which we read was settled by the Trojan, Brutus, from whence it is called Britain.\(^{158}\)

Guido must have been familiar with either Nennius or Geoffrey as there are no other extant records predating Guido which record the founding of Britain by Brutus.

Guido’s *Historia* served as the basis for three late 14\(^{th}\) to early 15\(^{th}\) century translations into Middle English: John Clerk’s *The Destruction of Troy* (ca. 1390), *The Laud Troy Book* (ca. 1400), and John Lydgate’s *Troy Book* (ca. 1420). Having the Trojan ancestry firmly solidified for England through the Galfridian historical account ensured that the text of the Trojan War was a historical text for England and helped to serve as a glorification of their past as well as a model for contemporary behavior. A brief analysis of these three translations was completed by David Benson in his 1980 seminal monograph *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature: Guido delle Colonne’s Historia Destructionis Troiae in Medieval England*.\(^{159}\) Benson traces the importance of Guido’s text as a historical narrative, which the Middle Ages accepted as genuine,
and emphasizes that the Trojan War was “the only major classical tale that was available during
the Middle Ages in the form of history.” Benson’s focus is primarily on how Guido was used
by later English authors. Benson sees Clerk’s Destruction as being the most faithful translation
of Guido. Clerk translates the prose Latin Historia in a poem using “his poetic skills to make the
story come alive for a contemporary audience.”

The alliterative poems are the subject of Mueller’s manuscript entitled Translating Troy:
Provincial Politics in Alliterative Romance in which he looks at John Clerk’s Destruction of
Troy after examining the importance of Guido delle Colonne’s Historia. Mueller questions the
idea that all the Trojan narratives celebrate Trojan ancestry and imperialism by examining the
fact that the origin stories are the product of treachery and destruction. Although, he does accept
the notion that insular Norman-Angevin historiographies “justified its nobility by claiming
Roman and Trojan ancestry.” He argues that the alliterative poems were another, minority,
voice in opposition the dominant imperialistic England which sought to warn of the dangers of
imperialistic ambition.

Benson next addresses the anonymous translation The Laud Troy Book which he
describes as a romance. The author "is faithful to the essential facts of Guido and yet writes the
freest translation of the Historia in Middle English…His special contribution to the medieval
history is to retell it using the forms and techniques of a popular genre, the Middle English

160 Benson, The History of Troy in Middle English Literature, 5. There were classical epics such as the Aeneid and
Thebaid and romances for each Roman de Troie and Roman de Thebes but no historical accounts.
161 Benson, The History of Troy in Middle English Literature, 42.
162 Mueller, Translating Troy, 21.
163 Mueller, Translating Troy, 14. “These romances not only perpetuate a concern with the image of a destroyed
Troy, but also contain anti-war themes and critiques of territorial expansion that they inherit from the Historia.
Rather than expand upon the glorious genealogy from Priam to Aeneas to Brutus to Arthur, these poems treat Troy
as a didactic and portable figure that represents the dire consequences of usurpations, sieges of cities, and the
breaking of vows."
romance.”  He analyzes the language as well as the embellishments and highlights the scarcity of study to this version that is faithful to the text but attempts to appeal to another audience. His final examination is that of John Lydgate’s *Troy Book*, which he describes as “History as Learned Rhetoric.”

One of the more recent monographs to deal with the subject of Troy in England, Sylvia Federico’s 2003 *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages*, concerns itself with the relationship of Trojan literature in the late 14th century to contemporary political issues and how Trojan literature served Richard II. Federico’s focus is on the way poetry imagined London as new Troy in the works of Richard Maidstone, Gower and Chaucer. As Mueller notes, Federico barely mentions Guido delle Colonne as anything more than a source for Chaucer. She demonstrates the ambivalence inherent in poetry and actions about London being considered ‘New Troy’ in the fourteenth century. She points to Nicholas Bembre’s hanging for treason in 1388 after he thought of renaming London “Little Troy” as well as to the *Erkenwald*-Poet’s Galfridian ideal in claiming “the city’s present identification with Troy as evidence for its continuously glorious history.”

The late fourteenth century was a period rife with civil strife and Gower and Maidstone’s poems fashion London as New Troy in a way that allows them to “specifically address moments of great crisis in London’s semblance of civic order.” Her analysis of the poetry of this period conducts a Lacanian examination of the poetry that associates London and Troy, both in a positive and negative light, during the late fourteenth century. This demonstrates that the Trojan narrative was a potent force, one that could be used

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164 Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature*, 67.
165 Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature*, 97. Since Lydgate’s *Troy Book* and the manuscript illustrations is the ultimate focus of this work, I will delay any more mention about his translation until later in the chapter.
166 Federico, *New Troy*, 1
to allude to a glorious past and bolster English identity as necessary, but one that could also be used as a means of critiquing contemporary events and issues.

One of the major authors of the late fourteenth century to deal with the Trojan narrative was Chaucer. He used several sources in his work including Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Joseph of Exeter, Guido delle Colonne, Boccaccio and the Roman de Thebes. Boccaccio came into contact with Benoit is work in Italy, where it was quite popular and he translated the Troilus romance into an Italian prose version. Boccaccio employed a similar endeavor when writing Filostrato as Benoît in that they both concern themselves “with the strategies and the folly of illicit, secret, Ovidian love and the treachery of women.” Benoît had inserted a great deal of extraneous information in to his translation of Dares and Dictys as he amplified the story and added intrigue and romance. The love story between Troilus and Cressida was a medieval invention, and one that was quite popular and is the basis for Boccaccio’s Filostrato. In this Boccaccio is, like the other authors, participating in the roman antique tradition.

169 “When Chaucer takes up the matter of Troy, he draws on both Benoit and Joseph. His conception of the truth about the fall includes their clerkly moral interpretations about transiency, pride, treachery, and folly, but also goes beyond them. By isolating on “biography,” he is able, like Boccaccio, to defer large historical questions of causality, of political beginnings and endings, of the moral and existential truth about Trojan society. Yet, unlike the Italian poet, he pervasively implicates just these questions in his narrative. While foregrounding a secret love affair, he also probes the domestic life of Trojan high society in order to show, rather than moralize about, the web of deceptions that binds it ever more tightly to its sad fate. As the ancient text of Lollius composes for us the daily comings and goings of the Trojans – their habits of worship, their dinner parties, their friendly visits to one another, their political concerns – we may scarcely notice the accumulation of willed and unwilled ignorance and deception of various kinds, especially within the extended Trojan royal family. Yet if we pause to analyze the many scenes of life in Troy, dramatized rather than merely narrated, we see that Chaucer has shaped his Lollian matter to articulate the essential fragility of Trojan (and all secular) “sikernesse”


171 Nolan, Chaucer, 210-211. “The authors of the French romans antiques, strictly concerned…with secular morality, had examined Ovidian fine amor in terms of its personal, social, and political consequences. Boccaccio, like his French predecessors, mounts a subtle critique of Ovidian love in his Filostrato, but one that focuses most insistently on the personal woe and loss of self caused by erotic passion and changeable women. In his Teseida, he takes on a larger task, locating his study of private, self-destructive foile amor within the broader context of princely conduct, social responsibility, and political marriage. The Teseida, like the Roman d’Eneas, celebrates the triumph of erotic love – but a love modified to accord with legitimate marriage.”
Boccaccio’s *Filostrato* would prove quite influential for Chaucer. Nolan sees “Benoit de Sainte-Maure’s *Roman de Troie*, the *Roman de Thebes*, Boccaccio’s *Filostrato* and his *Teseida* – as formal models for Chaucer’s *Troilus.*” While Boccaccio’s *Filostrato* is based narrowly on the tragedy of the Troilus and Cressida love affair, Chaucer places his narrative within the context of the Trojan War, which allows him to negotiate with the past and comment on his “own late-fourteenth-century English, courtly milieu.” In addition he created for himself a Latin author, Lollius, from whom he purports to translate the story. Nolan argues that this pretense offered Chaucer the opportunity to create an “ancient” account of Troy’s fall – to make a “book” like those of Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Homer, and Lucan. The whole of *Troilus and Criseyde*, save its Christian epilogue, is put forward as just this sort of authoritative ancient text, artfully shaped and retold, but not essentially changed, by a modern writer.

This demonstrates the continued importance not only of the story of the Trojan narrative and its historical roots for Britain, but also for the association of Troy for the development of English identity. In creating Lollius, Chaucer is participating in the same fashion as did Geoffrey when he created his 'little book' from which he translated his early history. Both use these as a means of legitimating the narratives. Literature and the Trojan narrative will continue to be used as a means of establishing an English identity as well as acting as a legitimating purpose into the next century.

The Fifteenth Century and Lydgate’s *Troy Book*

The Lancastrian usurpation at the end of the fourteenth century not only created a period of political uneasiness, but it also created a period in which England could establish and strengthen its identity. As the Lancastrians sought to settle their claim to the throne, England

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172 Nolan, *Chaucer*, 199.
defined what it meant to be English through acts and literature. It is during this period that “England as a nation is said to have come into consciousness.”¹⁷⁵ One of the things that we can see in this period of emerging English nationhood is the prizing of English as the official language over that of Latin and French. For centuries, England had been a multilingual place. As the French speaking Normans conquered in the 11th century, French was the language of the aristocracy. In fact, during the first few centuries of Anglo-Norman rule, there is little to distinguish between the English and the French as their affairs and families were so closely tied to one another. This association led Edward III to claim right to the throne of France upon the death of the last Capetian monarch. The Hundred Years War occupied much of the politics and literature of the period during 1337-1453 and Richard II’s alliance and truce with France informs a great deal of the English aristocracy's resentment and suspicions of him.

If one of Richard II’s great failings was his perceived role as a Francophile, then the main aim of the Lancastrian usurpers was to separate themselves from this association. One of the ways they did this was through the use of English as the language of the English nation. In “A Language Policy for Lancastrian England,” John H. Fisher discusses the rise of English in the 15th century. He points out that although a sense of English nationalism had begun during the reign of Edward III in the 1340s, the official language was still French. There was some English literature produced in English in the 14th century, most notably Chaucer, John Mandeville and John Trevisa. However, the works of these authors weren’t copied and disseminated in the 14th century. “Until 1400 we have virtually no manuscripts of poetry in English that were commercially prepared and intended for circulation. Immediately after 1400 we have the manuscripts of Gower, Chaucer, and other fourteenth-century writers.”¹⁷⁶ Fisher sees this shift

¹⁷⁵ Federico, New Troy, 133.
as a purposeful move that “was encouraged by Henry IV, and even more by Henry V, as a deliberate policy intended to engage the support of Parliament and the English citizenry for a questionable usurpation of the throne.”

In order to gain support for his position on the throne when it was contended by numerous aristocrats, Henry IV may have tried to gain support from the commons by promoting English literature as well as increasing the use of English in formal records, such as some of the entries in the Rolls of Parliament which were historically recorded in Latin and French. Henry V also had the problem of the usurpation to contend with and was a bit more strenuous in his attempts to solidify his claim to the throne. Many scholars have noted Henry V’s conscious self-fashioning and his cultivation of nationalism; one of the ways he did this was through the promotion of English as the official language for England. “What accompanied this state-generated linguistic nationalism was a distinction between the French and English languages on the same moral and metaphysical grounds that were used to distinguish the nations as a whole.” Although he continued using French for correspondence as Prince of Wales and during the first years of his reign, he commissioned works in English before attaining the throne and elevated the English language while king. In 1415, after the success at Agincourt, Henry issued five proclamations in English; these were the first English proclamations since Henry III in 1228. And, from 1417 until 1422, English became the only language he used for official business with English cities. “The use of English by Henry V marks the turning point in establishing English as the national language of England.” Lee Patterson likewise underscores the well-known triumph of Henry V in “establishing himself not just as the legitimate king of

178 Patterson, “Making Identities,” 82.
both England and France but as the embodiment of the English nation as a whole” as he begins his argument for “Henry’s self-construction as a monarch within the discursive field.”180

After 1400, the first of Chaucer’s works began to be copied and distributed.181 It was during this period as well that works in English were copied and commissioned in a greater volume than previously. These new English authors of the 15th century all cite Chaucer as their inspiration in some way or another. Many of these early works were commissioned by Henry V, while still Prince of Wales. The frontispiece of the *Troilus and Criseyde* Morgan manuscript has the arms of Prince Henry.182 Hoccleve’s *Regement of Princes* was completed in 1411, and Henry gave copies of this work to enemies of his father, possibly as a way of creating alliances and gaining support for his eventual reign on the throne.183 Hoccleve’s instructional manual for then Prince Henry was extremely popular and is extant in more than 40 manuscripts.184 By commissioning John Lydgate to translate the story of Troy into English, Henry participated in elevating the English language as well as laying claim to the story of Troy for prestige purposes.

John Lydgate, a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, was one of the most prolific and important writers in the fifteenth century. He wrote for so many patrons that Fisher claims that “the list of Lydgate’s patrons reads like a Who’s Who of both the courtly and the commercial circles in England, suggesting influential support from the Lancastrian affinity

180 Patterson, “Making Identities,” 78.
181 As Fisher notes, this is circumstantial. There are no extant manuscripts or presentation copies of Chaucer’s works, which is rather strange. If he did in fact present any copies of his manuscripts, they are lost.
182 Fisher, ”A Language Policy,” 1176.
183 For a discussion on Henry’s cultivation of the noble houses see Patterson, ”Making Identities in Fifteenth-Century England.” For a discussion of Henry IV and V creating alliances and developing English as the official language see Fisher, ”A Language Policy for Lancastrian England.”
He wrote in a variety of genres on a variety of subjects. His works ranged from historical texts to religious texts to contemporary political texts. Many of his works were quite long and survive in a number of manuscripts. The *Fall of Princes*, for instance, survives in thirty-seven manuscripts and is about 36,000 lines long while the *Siege of Thebes* survives in twenty-nine manuscripts and is about 4,700 lines long. The 30,000 line *Troy Book* survives in twenty-two manuscripts, several of which have pictorial programs.

John Lydgate was commissioned to write the *Troy Book* by Henry V in 1412 when he was still Prince of Wales. Christopher Baswell has called the *Troy Book* “the most ambitious of the three Middle English Troy narratives based on Guido delle Colonne: it explicitly links the Trojan empire with English royal lineage and imperial ambitions.” Lydgate accomplishes this in the prologue in which he identifies Henry as his patron and ties him directly to the descent of Troy.

And for to witen whom I wolde mene –

The eldest sone of the noble Kyng

Henri the Firthe, of knighthood welle and spryng,

In whom is schewed of what stok he grewe;

The rotys vertu thus can the frute renewe;

In every part the tarage is the same,

Lyche his fader of maneris and of name,

In sothefastnesse, this no tale is,

Callid Henry ek, the worthy prync of Walys,

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To whom schal longe by successioun
For to governe Brutys Albyoun,
Whyche me comaunded the drery pitus fate
Of hem of Troye in Englysche to translate,
The sege also, and the destruccion,
Lyche as the Latyn maketh mencion,
For to compile and after Guydo make,
So as I coude, and write it for his sake,
By cause he wolde that hyghe and lowe
The noble story openly we knowe
In oure tonge, aboute in every age,
And ywriten as wel in oure langage
As in Latyn and in Frensche it is,
That of the story the trouthe we nat mys
No more than doth eche other nacioun:
This was the fyn of his entencioun.¹⁸⁷

Lydgate’s work is a translation and expansion of Guido’s *Historia della Troianae*, and it follows the narrative outline set by Guido. He begins the prologue with an appeal to the muses and invokes Mars as was traditional with epic. After mentioning previous authors who wrote in the *romans antique* tradition, and claiming many of their tales imperfect due to falsehood, he begins

¹⁸⁷ Lydgate, *Troy Book*, Prologue 94-118
the story of the fall of Troy. \footnote{188 He cites Statius and the *Thebaid* in this section. The story of Thebes was intimately connected to the story of Troy in the medieval mind. Lydgate himself wrote an uncommissioned *Siege of Thebes* which accompanies the Troy book in several manuscripts.} He apologizes for mistakes and names Henry as his patron before briefly discussing the previous authors to tell the story of Troy.

In book one, Lydgate begins by telling the story of Jason and his quest for the Golden Fleece. This is in keeping with the medieval redactions of Dares and Dictys which place the beginning of the Trojan War with Jason and the Argonauts. As Jason and the Argonauts are sailing toward Colchis by command of King Pelleus, they land near Troy wanting to refresh themselves. King Lamedon receives a report of the Greek arrival and believing they intend to harm the Trojans demands that they leave. The Argonauts are insulted by their treatment and vow to make the Trojans pay for their lack of kindness. After Jason retrieves the Golden Fleece, along with Medea, from Colchis, he gathers troops from Greece and they wage war on Troy. Lamedon is killed and his daughter, Esione, is given to Telamon as a war prize.

Priam was absent from Troy during the first war as he was besieging a castle, but when he returns he rebuilds Troy. The city of Troy is described as a medieval fortress and the trades, games and theater are described in medieval terms. During a council, it is decided that Troy will sue for the return of Esione but are rebuffed. Priam calls together another council to discuss Greece. Hector believes an invasion could go poorly for them, but Paris describes a dream vision he had involving goddesses and suggests he go to Greece to retrieve the woman promised to him who will act as ransom for Esione. Upon hearing about the theft of Helen, Menelaus summons all the lords of Greece together and they agree to wage a war at Troy for her return.

\footnote{189 Pelleus is merged with Pelias in this account. Pelleus gets the kingdom because of Aeson’s decrepitness and hates Jason and plans to rid him through the plot of the Golden Fleece. Pelleus is married to Thetis and they are the parents of Achilles, making Achilles and Jason cousins in this version. There is no Pelias who joins Jason on the quest for the fleece as in the classical version.}
The majority of the third book concerns the war. There are battle descriptions, exchanges of prisoners of war, and truces. Lydgate mentions the story of Troilus and Cressida, but doesn’t go into detail because Chaucer has already told it. The climax of book three comes with the death of Hector. Hector’s wife, Andromache, warns Hector of a dream she has of his death and begs him not to fight. He refuses her plea and fights heroically. However, while stooping to retrieve some spoils from a dead opponent, he moves his shield and Achilles takes the opportunity of his vulnerability and slaughters him. This is quite a diversion from Homer’s version in which they duel one-on-one outside the walls of Troy, and it foreshadows the ending in which Troy ultimately falls due to treachery. It also solidifies Hector as the ultimate hero who could not be beat through honest means, which is an important element for the medieval heroes who model themselves after Hector. This is a model that we are meant to associate with Henry V.

After Hector’s death, there is a two-month truce in which Hector is buried, Achilles heals and Agamemnon is ousted as emperor. Achilles falls in love with Polyxena and tries to secure a truce between Troy and Greece so that he may marry her; when the Greeks refuse his demands he retreats from the war. The Trojans do quite well against the Greeks and after some time Achilles returns to war and kills Troilus after setting a trap. Hecuba then entraps Achilles by sending for him to meet Polyxena where Paris is waiting to ambush. Paris dies soon after and the war continues on. Eventually Anchises, Aeneas, Antenor and Polydamas scheme to give Troy to the Greeks to save their own lives. They negotiate with the Greeks to bring about the fall of Troy through the theft of the Palladium and the Trojan Horse.

The final book relates the events after the fall of Troy. Ajax is murdered after a quarrel with Ulysses. Aeneas sails to Italy. Agamemnon is murdered by his wife upon returning home,
and his son, Orestes, kills his mother in vengeance. Pirrus helps Peleus and Thetis who have been banished from their land. Ulysses has a series of adventures and eventually makes it home to his family. After some time, he has a dream that a seer interprets as meaning he will be killed by his son. He imprisons his son in order to avoid it, not knowing that he fathered a son by Circe. This son comes to meet Ulysses and ends up killing him. Ulysses brings the brothers together before they die and they each rule their respective homelands upon their father’s death.

Lydgate finishes with his final thoughts. He talks about Dares and Dictys and says that he has finished the translation in 1420, in the 8th year of Henry V, conqueror of Normandy and conqueror of France. He says that Henry will be king of France when Charles VI dies, then there will be a golden age and the two countries can be one as Henry is the prince of peace and about to marry Katherine of France. He apologizes for any mistakes and prays that God will allow Henry to prosper. Lydgate ends with an Envoy to Henry V singing his praises and asking him to accept his poem and then addresses his book.

While extremely popular in the fifteenth century, Lydgate fell out of favor sometime in the sixteenth century. Lawton has argued that Lydgate's work was largely discounted as scholars preferred to focus on Chaucer, in whom they saw the beginning of a Renaissance-styled literature that appeared to die with him as Lydgate was charged with a return to a medieval aesthetic. German scholars began to take Lydgate’s work seriously in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, and his works continued to be rescued from obscurity by scholars such as Pearsall, Ebin, Renoir and Schirmer. "These recent scholars increase our knowledge of fifteenth-century writing and often enhance our sympathy for it, but for the most part they belong

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190 Lawton, D. “Dullness and the Fifteenth Century” in ELH vol. 54, no. 4 (Winter, 1987) 761. “A.C. Spearing has tried to demonstrate that Chaucer was the first poet of the English Renaissance whose fifteenth-century successors determinedly re-medievalized all that he had touched.”
to a consensus of earlier criticism that saw fifteenth-century English poets as reverse alchemists transmuting Chaucerian gold into Lydgatean lead.”  

In recent years, several scholarly studies have emerged focusing Lydgate’s poetry, his political affiliations, patrons, importance in the fifteenth century, and his role in the cultivation of the English state. David Lawton takes issue with the notion of the lack of talent and re-medievalization of Lydgate and other fifteenth-century writers in “Dullness and the Fifteenth Century.” In it he warns of the decontextualizing not only of the fifteenth-century writers, but of Chaucer as well and argues that “the convergence of de casibus, regimen, nurture or courtesy book, vices and virtues in a grammar of public life—a lifelong course of education for which poems…supply the curriculum cohering king and subject, court, administration and great households.” In a similar vein, John Studer responds to scholarly complaints lodged against Lydgate for an expansive narrative in the Troy Book. In “History as Moral Instruction: John Lydgate’s Record of Troie Toun” he argues that

since Lydgate’s avowed intention is to instruct, one may hardly designate these expansive passages as digressions, much less censure Lydgate for including them. In fact, at times, the narrative is no more than a framework for moral instruction, a stock of historical incidents, as it were, from which to select examples of noble behavior.

Colin Fewer has noted the changes in Lydgate scholarship in more recent years in his article, “John Lydgate’s Troy Book and the Ideology of Prudence.” In his argument about the role of prudence in the text, he identifies that Lydgate is most interested in “the transformations of power and social relations underway in late-medieval English society” and ultimately argues that Lydgate’s support of Lancastrian interests is apparent, but “he does so in a way that

\[192\] Lawton, “Dullness,” 791  
implicitly magnifies the importance of forms of power that operate outside the scope of sovereignty."  

Several recent scholarly works focus on John Lydgate. There are monographs concerning his role in public culture, his various minor and major poems, his theatrical works, and his role as a medieval author. Other works, such as Federico’s *New Troy* and Simpson’s *Reform and Cultural Revolution* have substantial information on John Lydgate within their larger focus. Likewise there have been several recent dissertations on the Trojan Wars and John Lydgate. Only Bernadette Vankeerbergen’s unpublished 2009 dissertation *Rhetoric, Truth, and Lydgate’s “Troy Book”* is a sustained and focused look at Lydgate’s *Troy Book*. This dissertation focuses only on the literary aspect as she attempts to prove that underneath conservative poetical and political appearances, Lydgate’s *Troy Book* casts serious doubt as to the validity of discourse, especially rhetoric, as an adequate vehicle for truth; the attainability of truth itself; the value of history writing; and the ultimate seriousness and credibility of Lydgate’s own poetics of (and, by extrapolation, Henry’s politics of) fame and self-representation.

Almost the entirety of recent Lydgate research focuses on various aspects of the literature itself, whether it be literary or historical; however very little research focuses on the manuscripts, the illustrations, or the popular reception of Lydgate. In his “Lydgate Manuscripts: Some Directions for Future Research,” Edwards notes that although there has been a recent rise in Lydgate research, there is a lack in some important areas, most notably in manuscript study. Edwards notes that there has been some work on scribal identification and other investigations in

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195 Fewer, "Ikeology of Prudence," 230  
a variety of his manuscripts, but given that Lydgate's work is extant in more than 200 manuscripts, this is an area that deserves greater study.

There is, however, a great lack of sustained research into the visual program and manuscripts of his *Troy Book*. Kathleen Scott’s work on 15th century manuscripts is an invaluable source for an inquiry into the visual program of any text of that period. Only two studies have focused on the visual program as a whole or in part. Leslie Lawton’s research in the 1980s, *The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, With Special Reference to Lydgate’s ‘Troy Book’* and her unpublished dissertation “Text and Image in Late Mediaeval English Vernacular Literary Manuscripts,” both are the only major studies on the illustrative programs in the *Troy Book* manuscripts. She identifies a basic pictorial program common to most of the illustrated manuscripts and describes them in pragmatic, rather than interpretive, terms. And recently, Martha Driver has investigated the illustrative program of Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 876, in which she analyzes the miniatures in light of its accompanying text *Generides* in “Medievalizing the Classical Past in Pierpont Morgan MS M 876.” In this work she examine[s] relationships between image and text in order to look at larger notions of fictional versus historical representation in the late fifteenth century, at the influence of cultural and social contexts in the creation of art, and finally to examine visual and literary art as historical artifacts, which contribute to our knowledge of the historical record.200

There has not been a sustained attempt to interpret the visual program of the *Troy Book* manuscripts. Just as Buchthal examined the *Historia* manuscripts in the context of Venetian self-fashioning and Morrison examined the *Roman de Troie* in the context of the Capetian kings asserting their legitimacy, so can the *Troy Book*’s manuscripts and pictorial program be examined in the context of fifteenth-century England. Many a case has been made for Lydgate’s purposes in writing the *Troy Book* and how it served Lancastrian and Henry V’s political

200 Driver, “Medievalizing the Classical Past,” 211.
interests. What Lydgate may have set out to do with his work is less important to this study than the way in which the readers and patrons of his work used his text, and the illustrations that accompany the text in the various manuscripts offer us a glimpse into the reception of Lydgate’s work by its readers, how it was interpreted and used to convey contemporary concerns and issues.

In her dissertation, Lawton argues that the *Troy Book* illustrations have little to no interpretative value and serve merely as a practical and decorative function with the exception of the Rylands manuscript, which shows some involvement by the patron, which she argues could “be a possible indication of an individual patron taking a more personal interest.”

While it may be true that the basic pictorial program serves a practical function, the differences in the pictorial program in the latest three manuscripts offer enough interpretative value to investigate how the images were used and how they related to contemporary events. The aim of this research is to demonstrate how the Trojan story was both timeless in its cultural form and made timely in its politicized fifteenth-century representation. Social and political forces coalesced not only to shape the text, but also to inform the illustrative programs of its various manuscripts. A careful consideration of the visual narrative in conjunction with verbal text and their historical circumstances provides insights into fifteenth-century English political attitudes and cultural tastes and shows how illustrated manuscripts can revitalize a long established literary narrative.

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201 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 351
CHAPTER THREE
TROJAN IMAGES

Images of the Trojan War in England

The purpose of this chapter is to determine which manuscripts generally receive Trojan imagery, and finally to examine which English manuscripts, in particular, receive Trojan illustrations. While there have been several recent inquiries into the Trojan narratives and their various permutations throughout antiquity and the medieval period, there has been little work done on the imagery of the Trojan War in manuscripts in England. As discussed in chapter two, the Trojan narrative was an important element in the construction of an English identity as well as serving as a legitimating function for those in power. The illustrations in England are rather limited in scope as the majority of the manuscripts, and therefore images, are French until the late fourteenth century when English manuscripts and illustrations became in vogue. Because of the constant French influence and connections present in England some mention will be made of the influence of French imagery and literature.202

As noted in chapter one, Benoît’s Roman de Troie was written for the Angevin kings of England but did not achieve great popularity in England; it was, however, quite popular in France. Of the 58 extant known manuscripts, only one fragment of one is of Anglo-Norman origin.203 Thirty-seven manuscripts were produced in France during the 13th and 14th centuries. Eleven of those thirty-seven contain historiated initials, miniatures or spaces for miniatures or

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202 Lawton, Lesley, “Text and Image,” discusses the economical influences present in illustrating a manuscripts and argues that it wasn’t until the 15th century that it made economic sense for illustrating a manuscript in the English vernacular. “It becomes clear that illustrated manuscripts of English vernacular texts cannot be considered in the vacuum of English culture. The most important aspect of this is the fact that much of fifteenth-century English literature, even more than of fourteenth, consists of translation, often from texts which have a full and rich tradition of illustration in their original language.

203 Morrison, Illuminations of the Roman de Troie, Appendix 2, 228. Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität N 12 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II 139 both contain fragments of the same manuscript.
initials. Thirteen manuscripts were produced in Italy during the 13th and 14th centuries. One contains drawings, two have historiated initials, and five contain miniatures. The remaining seven are of unknown provenance from the 13th and 14th centuries, and only one of those has a space for a miniature. Because these manuscripts were produced during the 13th and 14th centuries, long before Lydgate wrote the *Troy Book* and those manuscripts were illustrated, and because many of the illuminators working in England at the time were trained either in France or in the French style, there was a tradition in place to which the illuminators of the *Troy Book* could look in determining how to illustrate various scenes. This is not to say that *Troy Book* illustrations are slavish copies of French manuscripts, and there are instances, as will be noted, in which the English illustration is original.

Upon looking at the manuscript evidence, Morrison notes that Benoît's "text was mostly of interest to those in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in France, that it was vastly more popular than its *romans antiques* counterparts, and that it vied with the best-known medieval romances in popularity." Morrison then uses this evidence to analyze the contemporary political situation and interests of the nobility and concludes that this story became so popular during this period due to the “genealogical interests of the French, a topic being promoted in such a prominent way by the Capetians.” The majority of the manuscripts then were produced during a time when the Capetian kings were legitimizing their rule and appealing to history in a

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206 Morrison, *Illuminations of the Roman de Troie*, 67
means of doing so and using the illustrations to make explicit links between the text and France.\textsuperscript{208}

This claim is only made more interesting when looking at the end of the Capetians and the fate of \textit{Roman de Troie} manuscript production. BN Ms. fr. 60 is the latest extant illustrated \textit{Roman de Troie} and it also contains the other two texts of the \textit{romans antiques} tradition: \textit{Roman de Thèbes} and \textit{Roman d’Éneas}. The \textit{Roman de Troie} portion has an illustrated frontispiece and 21 two-column miniatures, making it the most lavish.\textsuperscript{209} This manuscript was produced between 1330-1340 during a time of internal and external strife in France, which the choice of illustrations reflects. As the last Capetian died without a male heir, Philip of Valois was chosen as successor at the frustration of the female heirs as well as Edward III, King of England, thus igniting the 100 years war. “In this quickly changing and volatile political atmosphere, the last Capetians and the first Valois were more then ever aware of the value of heritage and national pride.”\textsuperscript{210} Thus the text, along with the illustrations, helped to solidify and legitimize the new dynasty, a tactic that the Lancastrians will employ in fifteenth-century England. France and England had close ties in their political and social spheres for centuries and to see them using a similar approach is not surprising. That this manuscript also contains other texts of the \textit{romans antique} is also of interest. As will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, during similar period of internal and external upheavals, one of the more interesting and lavish \textit{Troy Book} manuscripts also contained another Lydgate translation of the \textit{romans antique} tradition – the \textit{Siege of Thebes} – which commented on contemporary issues.

\textsuperscript{208} Morrison, \textit{Illuminations of the Roman de Troie}, 82. This is a similar function of the text and images England will use in the production of \textit{Troy Book} manuscripts.
\textsuperscript{209} Morrison, \textit{Illuminations of the Roman de Troie}, 182
\textsuperscript{210} Morrison, \textit{Illuminations of the Roman de Troie}, 183.
There are other international texts to receive Trojan illustrations as well. *Filostrato*, the text on which Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* is based, received illustrations in its Italian and French version. Some manuscripts of the world chronicles *Histoire Universelle*, *Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César* and *Miroir du Monde* contain illustrations as does Guido della Colonna’s *Historia destructionis Troiae*. Buchthal finds that the earliest illustrated Guido manuscripts are based on earlier Benoît manuscripts as well as biblical manuscript.211 The *Grandes Chroniques de France* has some Trojan illustrations, and Christine de Pizan’s *Livre d’Epitre d’Othea* is also noteworthy for its Trojan illustrations.212

Trojan imagery is found in places other than manuscripts. “The fourteenth century saw a blossoming in art of scenes from the Trojan legend and of the Nine Heroes or Worthies (including Hector of Troy), who are first met in Jacques de Longuyon’s *Vows of the Peacock*, 1310.”213 Italian frescoes and painted ceilings exist from the 14th century through the 20th century. The most noteworthy of these for this project is the 14th century painted ceiling of the Palazzo Chiaramonte in Palermo that has scenes from Jason searching for the Golden Fleece until Achilles’ visit to the Delphic oracle.214 Trojan imagery can also be found on enamels, ivories, cassoni and sculptures. Probably one of the most popular media for Trojan imagery, other than manuscripts, during this period were tapestries. Some tapestries were made during the 14th century but “the fifteenth century saw the greatest production of tapestries dealing with the Trojan War.”215 We can see a similar tradition for Trojan illustrations in England, though there are not nearly as many illustrations in England as there are elsewhere, especially in France.

212 See Sandra Hindman’s 1986 *Christine de Pizan ’Epistre Othea’ Painting and Politics at the court of Charles VI* for a discussion of the pictorial program and its relation to the political issues of the time.
214 Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, 239
215 Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, 241
Christopher Baswell has investigated Virgil’s presence in England in *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the twelfth century to Chaucer*. He examines not only the manuscripts of the *Aeneid*, but also the variations of the *Aeneid* and other Virgil texts. Because he is focusing solely on Virgil in England, the scope of his research is narrow, but he mentions the appropriation of the *Aeneid* by the middle ages as well as the importance of the illustrations. “A much more limited corpus of illustrations, most of them linked to these popularized redactions, and a few in Latin manuscripts of Virgil himself, offer an equally important register of the contemporary (and contemporizing) visualization of the classical past.”

There are few illustrated manuscripts of Virgil from the medieval period, and Baswell notes that only one of those is from England. The illustration in this manuscript is sparse; it contains “only one illustration, at the opening of the *Eclogues*.” Likewise, there are no known illustrated manuscripts of Dares or Dictys. This absence of a received cycle of images for the Trojan story allowed the medieval illustrators the freedom to illustrate the story as they saw fit. Buchthal and Baswell have demonstrated that due to this the illustrated story of Troy was a medieval visual narrative, just as the literary narrative was, and they both have shown that visual inspiration came from scenes from contemporary life and manuscripts or biblical illumination.

Of the 215 *Historia Regum Britannie* manuscripts catalogued by Julia Crick, only six are recorded as having illustrations beyond illuminated initials, capitals, scrolls or miscellaneous animals. Crick records the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 8536-8543 as having a

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218 Baswell, *Virgil in medieval England*, 22
“historiated opening initial and spaces left in text, presumably for illustrations.”

In Clare College, Fellows’ Library, MS 27, there is a full-page illustration but it is not in the portion of the manuscript containing the Historia. There is, however, an historiated initial on the first folio containing the Historia. College of Arms, MS Arundel 1 has two full color images but not in the section containing the Historia. National Olomouc Regional Archive, MS 411 has a full-color border on folio 1, and the opening of quire c has an illustration of knights fighting.

There are no illustrated manuscripts of any of the English translations of the Trojan story before John Lydgate’s Troy Book. The one exception to this is Chaucer’s Troilus and Criseyde. The early 15th century, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 61 manuscript has spaces left for about ninety illustrations, but only one was completed. The Troilus frontispiece is the only portion of the illustration program that was completed. The illustration conflates Troy and London. Troy’s walls are in the background while Chaucer addresses a courtly audience in the foreground from behind a pulpit. The frontispiece has been the subject for much scholarly discussion concerning the iconography, the dating, and the patron, and it appears to conform to Pearsall and Salter’s fifth role of the frontispiece, that of “the author as preacher.” Several attempts have been made to identify the patron of this work, all of which agree the patron most likely came into unfortunate circumstances through loss of life or wealth which halted the continued work on the manuscript. The most interesting theory, for the purposes of this project, has been the argument put forward by Anita Helmbold in “Chaucer Appropriated: The Troilus Frontispiece as Lancastrian Propaganda.”

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221 Crick, Historia regnum Britanniae, 22
222 Crick, Historia regnum Britanniae, 118
223 Crick, Historia regnum Britanniae, 214
In this article she argues for Henry V as the patron of the manuscript. While still Prince of Wales, Henry owned a copy of Chaucer’s *Troilus and Crisseyde*. Pierpont Morgan Library MS 817 has been described as “one of the earliest and best copies,” and it is “the only extant Chaucer manuscript for which we can prove royal ownership” during this period. There is a miniature on the opening folio and borders but no illustrations throughout the text. Helmbold argues that Henry V commissioned the work as part of his campaign to make English the official language of England. The frontispiece, therefore, becomes a part of Lancastrian propaganda. This argument is attractive and plausible especially in light of the fact that Henry did start making English the language used for official documents and speech in the latter part of his reign. This interpretation of the image as well would lend support to the images in the *Troy Book* being a comment on contemporary events and in relation to a historical text.

There are no other English texts solely focused on the Troy matter that have illustrations. Therefore in order to determine the types of Trojan imagery that could have influenced the *Troy Book* manuscripts, we must look elsewhere. As has been mentioned Buchthal has shown that several of the *Historia* manuscript illustrations have been influenced by biblical imagery. Examining the influences to that point is beyond the scope of this project, and I will be focusing solely on images of Troy that could have provided some type of influence. There were a number of illustrated Benoît and Guido manuscripts, as has been noted, which most likely were influential on the image cycle of the *Troy Book* manuscripts.

Trojan iconography exists in a number of English manuscripts. Although the *Brut Chronicles* was especially popular in the 15th century, only a few of the manuscripts contain

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Trojan illustrations. A Chapel Hill Brut manuscript dated to between 1430-1440 has 58 historiated initials, one of which contains Aeneas and the last of which contains Henry V.

Another Brut manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 733, and dated to between 1440-1450 has four three-quarter-page miniatures and thirty marginal miniatures. On folio 22 v, “Brutus and his men arriving in Albion; Coryn and the giant Gogmagog wrestle; a dragon, lion, and giant battling in the background; tree with two bears and an ape; sea labeled ‘the sawte of Gogmagog.’” There are seventy miniatures in the late 15th century Lambeth Palace 6 manuscript, and 81 historiated initials in the 15th century BL Harley 1568 manuscript.

Genealogical chronicles also contain a good amount of Trojan illustrations. There are two genealogy rolls in the Bodleian Library that contain illustrations of Troy. The Late 13th century Genealogy of the Kings of Britain to Edward I, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodleian Rolls 3, contains several registers of Trojan illustrations. There are “twenty large circular medallions containing wash drawings arranged in five rows of four roundels each, with commentary below.” The roll contains a literary and visual narrative of the ancestry of the kings of Britain. The illustrations in rows I-V highlight the Trojan narrative beginning with Jason and the Golden Fleece and ending with Brutus receiving the prophecy of Albion. The illustrations are similar to what is seen in the manuscripts: Row I has images of Jason and the Argonauts; Row II has Jason and his first landing in Troy and the acquisition of the Golden Fleece; Row III has the first sack of Troy by the Argonauts and Hesione being given to Telamonn; Row IV has Paris and Helen followed by the invasion and sack of Troy by the Greeks; Row V has Aeneas arriving in Latium followed by Brutus’ exile, receipt of Imogen from King Pandrasius and the prophecy of Albion.

226 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 224.
227 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 271
What follows is over 200 medallions with rulers of Britain beginning with Brutus and ending with Edward I, although there are four empty spaces beyond the last completed one. These images follow the text of Geoffrey’s *Historia destructionis Troiae* and W.H. Monroe compared this roll to the MS Ashmole Rolls 50 also produced during the late 13th century. The Ashmole Roll has similar imagery but is much more condensed than the Bodleian Roll. Monroe has suggested that, due to its similarity with the Ashmole Rolls, their illustrations of English and Scottish heritage, and in light of contemporary activities in Scotland, the rolls provide a means for comprehending the genealogical histories of the two kingdoms mentioned in chronicles, royal archives, and the monastic returns submitted as evidence in support of the king’s claim to right of dominion. Seen in their entirety, the Bodleian rolls could be used as instruments to document and corroborate current political claims and not simply to record past events. They are genealogical abstracts of British history which seek to demonstrate the continuity of English claims to sovereignty of Scotland by illustrating the long and hoary ancestry of the kings of England, including their fictitious descent from a *gens regnia* invented from legend.

This is a similar function that we can see in the commissioning of the *Troy Book* and the subsequent images that will accompany the text.

Other genealogical chronicles contain Trojan illustrations as well. Another Bodleian roll, *Genealogy of the Kings of England to Richard III. Chronicle of the Percy Family to 1485*, MS Bodleian rolls 5, 1485, contains pen drawings and images in roundels. There is a pen drawing of the city of Troy above a medallion with a drawing of King Eneas and his wife. Below that is a pen drawing of the city of London, designated as New Troy; this drawing is above a medallion of Brutus in armor sitting on a horse and carrying a sword. The *Genealogical Chronicle of Kings of*  

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230 Monroe, W.H. “Two Medieval Genealogical Roll-Chronicles in the Bodleian Library” *Bodleian Library Record, x* (1978-82), 216. “A is made up of only three parchment membranes, as opposed to the six skins of B. Consequently, the contents of each section of this roll are condensed. For example, the first section of A, consisting of similar scenes of Jason’s quest, the Trojan War, and Brutus’s departure for Albion, shows these events conflated into seven medium-sized medallions extending horizontally in one band across the beginning of the roll.
231 Monroe, "Two Medieval Genealogical Roll-Chronicles," 220.
England, Popes, and Kings and Emperors of France, London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 501 (roll), dated to 1447-1455 has an image of Brutus in a small roundel. Likewise, the Chronicon Angliae ad initio ad accessum Edwardi IV, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library, bS Type 40 (Roll), dated to 1461-1464 has over two hundred roundels. In one of the seven larger roundels is Brutus with a sword and seated in a regnal position.

Various other images end up in miscellaneous manuscripts. There are images of Jason and Medea in John Lydgate’s Fall of Princes, London British Library MS Harley 1766, dated to between 1450-1460. There’s an image of the Trojan Horse in John Gower’s Confessio Amantis, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 126, dated to between 1450-1470. There are images of Hector and Aeneas in various miscellanies and chronicles, but there is no sustained visual program in any of these, with the exception of the Brut chronicles and the genealogical rolls mentioned above.

Just as in France and other European regions, there is some Trojan imagery present in England in other media. There is a doubtful report of a 9th century “hanging embroidered tapestry with the fall of Troy” given to the abbey of Croyland by Witlaf, king of Mercia.232 Tapestries also exist in English inventory lists. “An inventory of the English crown tapestries made in the 22nd year of Richard II (1377-1399) lists five pieces of the History of the Greeks and Trojans.”233 There is a Flemish tapestry depicting the history of Brutus and has him landing in Britain.234 There were also a group of late 15th century hangings that were in the Painted Chamber at Westminster during Charles II’s reign.235

232 Scherer, The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature, 238
233 Scherer, The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature, 239.
235 Scherer, The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature, 242
The Illustrated *Troy Book* Manuscripts

Leslie Lawton has conducted a very thorough compilation of the illustrations of Lydgate’s *Troy Book* manuscripts. In chapter five of her dissertation, she conducts a review of the ownership of the manuscripts and presentation of the narrative in relation to its text. Lydgate’s *Troy Book* was a manuscript that consistently received illumination. There are twenty-three extant manuscripts and out of them eight have or had miniatures. Six more have been decorated with borders or initials and one more has evidence of planned decoration. Most of the *Troy Book* manuscripts are large and are “evidently for ostentatious display.”

Lawton concludes that the status of the patron, poet and subject made it the most prestigious of Lydgate’s works and that the majority of the owners were wealthy or willing to spend a great deal on the acquisition of the text. Although only one manuscript has evidence linking it to an aristocratic patron, the coats of arms and signatures present in various manuscripts confidently associate it with wealthy upper class patrons.

Lawton demonstrates that the visual program for the *Troy Book* manuscripts is pretty consistent and in her attempt to categorize the various reasons for illustrations posits that there are no interpretive reasons for the illustrations to occur in the manuscripts.

The location of the illustrations derives from a sense of propriety about how the work should be divided, a sense of propriety conditioned by the idea of the structure of the work contained in the earlier manuscripts. The desire is to present the divisions of the text in a visually arresting way, rather than to illustrate the text as such.

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236 Bristol Public Library, MS 8 has had the illustrations excised and therefore will not be discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs.
237 Lawton, “The Illustration of Late Medieval Texts,” 52, footnote 48. “Manuscripts with illumination only are: BL MSS Arundel 99, Royal 18. D. vi; Oxford, Exeter College MS 129; St John’s College MS6; Bodleian MS Digby 230; olim Phillips 3113. Large spaces for illuminated initials were left at the beginning of the Prologue of each book of Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 144 and smaller spaces elsewhere in the manuscript.”
238 Lawton, “The Illustration of Late Medieval Texts,” 351.
239 British Library, MS Royal 18 d. ii. is the manuscript commissioned by an aristocrat and will be discussed in chapter 4.
This, as I will show, does seem to be the case with five of the seven manuscripts whose illustrations remain. While there are variations in the illustrations themselves, the subject and placement remains the same for the majority of the manuscripts, with few exceptions. This continuity certainly does support Lawton’s conclusion that the consistent tradition suggests that these could be discussed as ‘editions’ and that the images serve as visual indices for the sections of the narrative.

A. Bodleian Library, MS Digby 232

MS Digby 232 is dated to between 1420-1430 and the _Troy Book_ is the sole text. Bergen describes it as being well written and containing double columns of 44 lines each. There are capital letters, flourished initials, paragraph marks and penwork flourishes. There are no running titles, but there are catchwords to end sections and rubricated explicits. There are five miniatures and seven illuminated borders and initials. There is an inscription on the folio 2 that says “vindica te tibi/Kenelme Digby.” There is also a coat of arms indicating possession by the Vintner’s Company, which Bergen points out was gained by them in 1442 and is a late insertion. There are other signatures and scribbles in 16th and 17th century hands.

Several early scholars of the manuscript believed this manuscript to be the presentation copy. Bergen believes this is partially because of the half-page miniature of a monk presenting a book to a king. However, this presentation miniature is a common occurrence in the illustrated _Troy Book_ manuscripts; therefore Bergen doubts the veracity of this claim and suggests it is just as likely that one of the other earlier texts could have been the presentation copy.

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242 This is Digby’s signature and motto.
243 This was a livery company and medieval London guild.
Each of the illustrated *Troy Book* manuscripts begins with a presentation miniature.²⁴⁴ Presentation miniatures are not very common in English literary manuscripts, and “the earliest example of the motif of kneeling author proffering his work to a patron” occurs in Hoccleve’s *de Regimine Principum*.²⁴⁵ Pearsall and Salter have identified eight iconographic models with which artists illustrate prefatory images. The model used in the *Troy Book* manuscripts is “the author as protégé of a patron, usually in the form of a presentation picture, where the author kneels before his patron holding out to him a copy of his book.”²⁴⁶ Lawton has pointed out that the authorial presentation miniature establishes a relationship between the reader and the production of the manuscript rather than a relationship between the text and image, or the reader and the contents of the manuscript.²⁴⁷ Furthermore, “presentation pictures may be in the nature of a compliment to the patron, but, more significantly, such miniatures serve first of all as a statement of the importance of the status of the recipient and of the ceremonial significance of the making and the delivering of the book.”²⁴⁸

Digby’s presentation miniature occurs on folio 1r and takes up 14 lines of text in the first column and has a blue border with white circle designs. A monk, identified as Lydgate, dressed in black, kneels before a king, identified as Henry V, offering him a book. The king is sitting on a red-canopied throne, is bending slightly forward, and takes the book with his right hand. The king is wearing a crown, red gauntlets and a blue robe lined with ermine. To the left of the king stands a bearded man wearing a fur-trimmed green cloak and holding a sword that extends beyond the illustration border and into the page border itself. Just behind the king to the right

²⁴⁴ The exception to this is MS M 876, which begins incomplete. However, there are blank spaces left for miniatures and MS M 876, as we will see, is an unfinished manuscript as far as the images and initials are concerned so there is no reason to doubt that it would have received a presentation miniature in a similar manner as the others.
²⁴⁵ Lawton, “The Illustration of Late Medieval Texts,” 155. This is the earliest manuscript known to Lawton to include this image.
²⁴⁷ Lawton, “The Illustration of Late Medieval Texts,” 155
²⁴⁸ Lawton, “The Illustration of Late Medieval Texts,” 155
stands another man wearing a pink mantle, some sort of headwear, red boots, and a belt with hanging bells.

At the beginning of Book I, on folio 3r, under the rubricated *explicit prologus* is the prefatory image for Book I. The illustration takes up fourteen lines of text and contains a blue border dotted with white circles. A king, identified as Peleus, wearing a blue ermine-lined cloak stands in the center of the image praying in front of a tree. Behind the king lie nine deceased men. Above them is a reddish cloud from which blue and white vertical lines descend upon the men. Bergen has identified this as signifying a pestilence. In front of the king is a whitish cloud with golden vertical lines descending upon about nine men who each have one hand raised. Below the men are reddish-black ants. This image coincides with the introductory text in Book I in which Peleus, the king of Thessaly, loses his men to a pestilence, sees ants and prays for them to be men. These men are called the Myrmidons, hard working, and Lydgate compares them to ants in nature.

Book II begins on folio 29v with an illuminated half-border and initial, but no illustration. The illustration for Book II is on folio 30v and Bergen describes it as representing the rebel pink-walled castle, manned by warrior in plate armor. Many of the warriors have been struck by arrows and are bleeding. A messenger kneels to Priam, who is crowned and wearing armor, handing him a message. There are bowmen aiming at the castle walls. In the left there are the red, blue and green tents of Priam’s army and warriors standing nearby. This scene coincides with lines 203-460 in which Lydgate introduces Priam and his family as well as discusses how, at the time of the first destruction of Troy, he was besieging a castle and receives word of the destruction of Troy by messenger.

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249 Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, 7
250 Lydgate, *Troy Book* I.1-86
251 Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, 7
The miniature for Book III is on folio 78r and covers 16 lines of text in one column. There is a blue and red border with the same circle design as the others. In the right background are the walls of Troy in green, and armored men are looking over the walls. There are red tents to the right and left of the walls of Troy. In the foreground is a battle scene, with the main scene being the two armored men who are crowned and on horses. One is thrusting a spear into the chest of another. Both Bergen and Lawton have identified this as representing Hector killing Patroclus, although this is not a faithful representation of the text. Although this scene is not the first thing that happens in Book III, Patroclus is the first significant death in Book III and the event occurs in lines 740-793, which doesn’t make its occurrence as the Book III prefatory picture out of the ordinary. Furthermore, other Troy Book manuscripts to receive miniatures contain the scene of Hector and Patroclus’ battle, making this a standard visual indicator for this Book.

Book IV’s miniature occurs on folio 110r, takes up fourteen lines of text and is surrounded by a blue border with a white circle design. Inside the border is a green crenellated border signifying the walls of Troy. Lying diagonally inside the green walls on a red cloth is a man, identified as Hector, crowned and wearing armor. There are two figures kneeling in front of Hector: one, identified as Priam, is wearing a green ermine-lined cloak in a pose of prayer; the other, possibly Paris is wearing a blue garment, is crowned and is kneeling. Behind him are several men who are armored and standing in a gesture of prayer. Behind him to the right is a pedestal on a golden statue with spear and shield. Hector dies and is lamented at the end of

\[252\] Lawton notes that the battle between the two begins at 5260 and suggests that it is an odd prefatory image because of this late fight. However the battle between Hector and Patroclus actually occurs in lines 740-793. \[253\] Bergen describes a third man in the foreground wearing pink and holding Hector’s foot; however, the digital image I have examined of the folio doesn’t have an individual, but there is a white scrabbly line that looks like fur. \[254\] Bergen identifies this statue as the Palladium, which it very may well be. However, after Hector dies, Lydgate describes a statue of Hector that Priam makes. I will discuss the representation of Hector more fully in the section on the Pierpont Morgan manuscript. (MS M 876)
Book III during lines 5419-5764. This manuscript is somewhat curious in that the image of Achilles recovering and Agamemnon holding council, which are the first things to happen in Book IV, is omitted from this image. Each of the other illustrated manuscripts contains these images along with a Hector image.

Bergen describes Book V as having an illuminated half-border and initial, but no miniature.\textsuperscript{255}

B. British Library, MS Cotton Augustus A. iv

MS Cotton Augustus is dated to the 1430s and contains only the \textit{Troy Book} text.\textsuperscript{256} Bergen describes it as having unusually wide margins and containing large folios. It contains double columns with 49 lines and is written in a clear book hand. There are capital letters, but no running titles or paragraph marks. There are illuminated initials, borders and six miniatures which Bergen says are in a “rather crude English style, some of which bear traces of having been clumsily retouched at a later time.”\textsuperscript{257}

The presentation miniature is on folio 1. Lydgate is kneeling and presenting a book to Henry V who is sitting on a throne wearing a blue, ermine-lined garment. Two men stand behind the throne, one sheathing a sword and three stand to the left. Below the presentation miniature are the coat of arms of Thomas Chaworth joined on one shield with the arms of Isabella de Ailesbury, his second wife in the initial “O.”\textsuperscript{258}

The miniature for Book I is on folio 3. Peleus, crowned and wearing an ermine-lined garment, kneels in prayer before a dead tree. To the left pestilence, in the form of white flakes,

\textsuperscript{255} Bergen, \textit{Lydgate’s Troy Book}, 8. I don’t have access to this page.

\textsuperscript{256} Bergen dated the manuscript to the early 1420s, possibly in 1420 on page 2.

\textsuperscript{257} Bergen, \textit{Lydgate’s Troy Book}, 2

\textsuperscript{258} Bergen, \textit{Lydgate’s Troy Book}. I don’t have access to the images in this manuscript. My description of the images comes from Bergen except where noted otherwise.
is on the ground and trees. There are ants on the roots of the tree and men emerging from the
ground in the background.

The miniature for Book II is on folio 26. Priam is crowned and wearing a green coat and
armor is standing in front of a tent. A man kneeling gives Priam a message while two courtiers
stand nearby. There are blue and red Trojan tents in the background.

The miniature for Book III is on folio 70. The red and gray walls of Troy are in the
background and there are the red and blue Greek tents. Hector and Patroclus are wearing mail
and fighting on white horses. Hector is cleaving Patroclus in half. This is an accurate reflection
of the text as opposed to the Digby manuscript.

The miniature for Book IV is on folio 99. Hector, dead, is on the left wearing a crown
and red robe and is standing on a pedestal in a tabernacle with mourners. Five Greeks are
wearing crowns and are in council, and Achilles lies wounded. Also in contrast to the Digby
manuscript, this is a more accurate reflection of the text. At the end of Book III in lines 5579-
5740, Lydgate describes how Priam embalms Hector and makes a statue of him with an oratory
and tabernacle. In the beginning of Book IV in lines 1-110, the Greeks are reacting to Hector’s
death and they believe victory is surely theirs now but must wait for Achilles to recover from his
wounds. And in lines 111-342, the Greeks hold council as Palamedes registers a complaint with
Agamemnon’s leadership, Agamemnon resigns, and Palamedes is elected emperor.

The miniature for Book V is on folio 136. Telamon Ajax and Ulysses argue before
Agamemnon who is seated and wearing a blue mantle. Two courtiers stand behind Agamemnon
and the Greek ships are in the background. The image coincides with the first major issue in
Book IV in lines 40-262. Both Telamon Ajax and Ulysses argue over who should receive the
palladium. Ajax claims to have done more for the Greeks and calls Ulysses a coward whereas
Ulysses claims his skill was crucial in the destruction of Troy. The decision is left up to Agamemnon and Menelaus, who give it to Ulysses for his part in rescuing Helen and keeping her from being murdered by the Greeks.

Although this manuscript contains some of the same basic images as the Digby text, the illustrations strive to be a more faithful rendering of the text.

C. Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 446.

MS Rawlinson has been dated to between 1425-1450 and contains only the *Troy Book* text. Bergen describes it as written in double columns of 42 lines in a fine book-hand. There are capital letters, catchwords at the end of sections, but no explicits or running titles. There are illuminated initials, borders and five miniatures.²⁵⁹ There is an inscription in the inside cover that Bergen posits could be written in Rawlinson’s hand, as well as other inscriptions. The images are similar in style to the Digby manuscript, and Bergen suggests that if it was not done by the same illuminator, it must have been from the same school.²⁶⁰ Bergen disagrees with an early scholar who believed this to be the presentation copy based on the details of the presentation image.²⁶¹

The presentation miniature is on folio 1r and takes up fourteen lines of text in the first column. It is surrounded by a blue and red border with small right circles in a triangular pattern. Lydgate, wearing a black garment, kneels before Henry V who is sitting on a red-canopied throne wearing a crown and a blue robe; he is taking the book Lydgate is offering with both hands. Behind the two stand two men: one is wearing a pink garment, and the other is wearing a blue garment.

²⁵⁹ Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, 10. Here he notes the similarities in style of the miniatures to both Digby 232 and Cotton Augustus and posits that they could be by the same hand or school.
The miniature for Book I is on folio 3r, takes up fourteen lines of text in the second column, and is surrounded by a similar border as the presentation miniature. King Peleus is wearing a crown and a blue cloak and is kneeling in front of a tree in a gesture of prayer. Four men lie dead behind him under a scarlet cloud raining down pestilence. There are yellow and black ants at the root of the tree, and to the right and behind the tree stand a crowd of men in gestures of prayer. Next to the image is writing in the margins, which Bergen identifies as being unimportant, in a 16th century hand, and recording the date of the founding of Troy.²⁶²

The miniature for Book II is on folio 31r, takes up fourteen lines of text in the first column, and has the same border as the others. This image is described by Lawton as being a stereotypical siege image as it has the pink walls of Troy with armored men ushering out and the Greek camp to the left with armored men. There is nothing to identify this image with the accompanying text as with the other three to receive this image.

The miniature for Book III is on folio 80v, takes up sixteen lines of text in the second column, and is surrounded by the same border. Troy is denoted by pink walls and the Greek camps are in the background. In the middle and foreground, two figures on horseback are battling one another. Hector is in the foreground cleaving in half Patroclus, who is also holding a sword. This, like Cotton Augustus, is a more faithful representation of the text than Digby.

The miniature for Book IV is on folio 115r, takes up sixteen lines of text in the first column, and is surrounded by a red and blue border.²⁶³ This image contains three separate scenes which illustrate events at the end of Book III and the beginning of Book IV. In the right middle and background is a purple pavilion of sorts with three people who appear to be mourning. In the center on a silver pedestal with a canopy with hanging golden containers is an

²⁶² Bergen, Lydgate’s Troy Book, 12.
²⁶³ The border might be green and red or the blue section has been damaged.
armored statue holding a spear and a sword. In the left middle and background are Greek tents and a man, identified as Achilles, lying in bed receiving a golden container from a man wearing red. Taking up the entire foreground are Greek tents in which five men are sitting on a bench. The figure in the center is wearing a crown and a blue garment. The other individuals have various gestures. Bergen has identified this as being the Greek kings in council. Just as with the Hector and Patroclus image, this manuscript is more faithful to the text than Digby.

Book V’s miniature appears to be lost. “Originally there must have been a miniature and half-border at the beginning of Book V, but these have been lost with one of the leaves missing between folios 155 and 156.”

With the exception of the stereotypical siege illustration introducing Book II, this manuscript, like Cotton Augustus, has images that are more faithful to the text overall.

D. Trinity College, MS Trinity O. 5. 2.

MS Trinity has been dated to between 1440-1460 and contains the Troy Book, Siege of Thebes and Generydes texts. Bergen describes it as being written in a small book-hand in double columns of 48 lines. There are capital letters, catchwords and no running titles. There are illuminated borders, initials and six miniatures. There are some leaves that have been excised, one of which contained a miniature for Book II. There are several decorations of shields in the margins which denote possession by the Thwaites and Knevet families. There are other unidentified arms. The Troy Book section is the only portion to receive illustrations.

The presentation miniature is on folio 38r and is similar to the others. Lydgate kneels and presents his book to Henry V, who is wearing blue and sitting on a throne under a canopy.

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264 Bergen, Lydgate’s Troy Book, 11.
265 Bergen notes that the two texts were not bound together originally and the Knevet arms are frequent in the Generydes section while the Thwaites arms are frequent in the Troy Book section, prompting the suggestion that the two were bound together after the marriage of John Thwaites to Anne Knevet. Pg. 20.
266 The images for Trinity O.5.2 are unavailable to me. Descriptions are from Bergen unless otherwise noted.
Book I’s miniature is on folio 40r and is similar to the others. Peleus wears a blue garment with ermine and kneels before a tree in prayer. Three dead men are in the background and a red figure with a sword, personifying pestilence, stands to the left. Two men have been transformed from ants in the foreground, and there is a hand emanating from a cloud on the right side.

The leaf that would have contained Book II’s miniature has been fully excised from the manuscript.

Book III’s miniature is on folio 107v. Two men in white armor stand by a knight in gold armor kneeling before a knight in blue armor with a blue mantle. Troy is in the right side of the background and Hector, wearing gold armor, is leading his ward. Bergen suggests that the two knights in the foreground represent Hector and Priam. This image is an anomaly. The typical image for this Book is Patroclus being killed by Hector, but here we possibly just have the Trojans being led out by Priam and Hector. Alternatively Lawton suggests in her article that this could be contending forces of Hector leading his troops and Agamemnon assigning battalions.\(^{267}\) This appears to be a miniature that is focusing on the first scene in Book III rather than the first important event. Book III opens with Hector gathering his lords on a plain and selecting his battalions in lines 1-407. Agamemnon then arranges his battalions in lines 565-715. It is after this preliminary task that the battle begins in which Hector kills Patroclus, which becomes the standard illustration in each of the other manuscripts.

Book IV’s miniature is on folio 137v. Troy is in the background. Hector, embalmed, stands in armor and a blue robe between two men while Achilles lies in bed and Agamemnon holds council.

\(^{267}\) Lawton, “The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts,” 57
Book V’s miniature is on folio 172. There are the masts of the Greek ships in the background. Ulysses and Telamon argue while Agamemnon sits on his throne with a man kneeling before him with a cap in his hand.

With the exception of the Book III miniature, this manuscript follows quite closely with the others regarding images.

**E. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 867.**

MS 876 is dated to between 1440-1450\(^{268}\) and contains the *Troy Book* and *Generydes* texts. When Bergen completed his bibliographical survey of the *Troy Book* manuscripts, it was held at Helmingham Hall in Suffolk, England and was previously known as The Helmingham (Tollemache) MS. Bergen describes it as being written in a small ornate hand in double columns of 60 lines. There are large decorative capital letters, running titles in red, colored paragraph marks and rubricated explicits. There are borders and illuminated initials. Neither the text nor the illustration program has been completed. Bergen notes about 6246 lines missing from various parts of the text and there are blank portions in which miniatures were never placed. There are also blank spaces for miniatures and initials in the *Generydes* portion. Richard Preston owned the book in the 15\(^{th}\) century, and Edward Ochynham owned it in the 16\(^{th}\) century.\(^{269}\)

Martha Driver, who has offered interpretations for the miniatures in a recent publication, describes the Pierpont manuscript as having undergone work in various stages, having “blanks, sketches in drypoint, priming for initials, underpainting for miniatures, and on fol. 199v, a partially coloured drawing of two mounted armies on the battlefield, with instructions to the artist still visible.”\(^{270}\) The work that Driver has done on the manuscript provides a different route

\(^{268}\) Driver, “Medievalizing the Classical Past,” 211 gives a revised date for the manuscript as being about 1460.

\(^{269}\) I did not have access to the miniatures of this text. My descriptions come from Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, 21-23 unless otherwise noted.

\(^{270}\) Driver, “Medievalizing the Classical Past,” 212.
for viewing the illustrations present in the text and demonstrates the possibility of viewing them in a broader view than Lawton has prescribed. While Lawton argues that the images serve a solely practical purpose with no interpretative value, Driver’s arguments demonstrate that we may be able to draw conclusions about contemporary concerns by examining the images and textual relations.

Driver analyzes the miniatures in conjunction with other miniatures representing ‘real’ historical events in an attempt to find meaning in the illustrations. She looks at the drawings and illustrations of both the *Troy Book* and the *Generydes* texts and compares them to drawings and illustrations from texts such as Douce MS 271, treatises on Heraldry and the Order of the Garter which was used as a reference book at the College of Arms.

On close examination, the drawings are actually quite detailed and elegantly set out, with careful attention paid to the rendering of armour, weapons, and ships, part of the visual tradition inherited from earlier representations of the Troy legend but also related to realistic representation of actual events in fifteenth-century chronicles and histories.271

She also looks at illustrations from MS Cotton Julius E.IV, The Beauchamp Pageants, which depict historic events in the life of Richard Beauchamp. In comparing these illustrations she is able to show that “what makes one picture a visual rendering of an historical moment, the other a fiction, is partially the texts they accompany.”272

She points to the use of heraldic emblems, which have typically appeared in medieval histories of Troy, as a possible clue for determining the patron of the text.273 While it is possible that the heraldic emblems don’t represent actual emblems that are used to give the text a sense of accuracy, it is still possible to see the images as reflecting a cultural reality. Drive argues:

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273 Driver does indicate that no sustained research has been done into the heraldic emblems has been done on these manuscripts to determine whether or not they were randomly placed or if they were emblems used by families.
While the picture is not the event, and all representation is filtered through the hand and eye of the artist or writer, images (and literary texts) can reflect historical realities, social practice, and the values of the culture producing them. In looking at fifteenth-century perceptions of history through the medium of *Troy Book*, we might also examine the rich interplay of images across contexts, what Jonathan Alexander has recently termed ‘intervisuality’, derived from ‘intertextuality’, to refer to a web of images that are formally similar, but which have different contexts: ‘By images relating ‘intervisually’ [with other representations] I mean that the viewer, in seeing one image, recollects other images that are formally similar, but which have different contexts and thus differing connotations’, a kind of memorial reconstruction, in other words, associating types of images in a variety of contexts.\(^{274}\)

While her query about the accuracy of heraldic emblems is, at present moment, just that, she offers other evidence of images representing historical practices as a means of seeing the images as more than merely visual indices.\(^{275}\)

Bergen doesn’t describe a presentation miniature or a space left for one.\(^{276}\) He does mention initials and priming for gold leaf where a miniature would typically be placed. In the Pierpont Morgan’s manuscript description there is no indication that a miniature or a space for a miniature is on the prologue folio. Lawton says that MS 876 begins incomplete.\(^ {277}\) Likewise, Kathleen Scott mentions that several folios have blank spaces “for initials which may have been intended to be historiated.”\(^ {278}\) It seems likely, given the fact that the other images, or intended images, follow the conventions of the other manuscripts, that if there was no space left for a proper presentation miniature that there could have been an intention to use historiated initial as the presentation miniature.

\(^{274}\) Driver, “Medievalizing the Classical Past,” 228-229.

\(^{275}\) Driver examines the heraldic emblems in the Generydes portion with the arms of Sudeley in the pedigree roll for Sudeley (MS Spencer 193) and suggests the possibility that the Sudeley arms match the arms in the Generydes and could be evidence for patronage. Ralph Boteler was given the title of Lord in 1441 and had various other official positions in the 1440s. However, in the 1460s, he suffered a reversal of fortune and in 1469 he deeded his castle to the Duke of Gloucester. She wonders if it is possible he commissioned the manuscript and whether its unfinished state is a result of his reversal.

\(^{276}\) Although Bergen does say there are blank spaces covering half the page on folios 4r and 5v; however, he also states this is the beginning of Book II, which would be inconsistent with the other manuscripts for a presentation miniature.

\(^{277}\) Lawton, “Text and Image,” 386.

Before the prologue to Book II, on folio 6 is an unfinished depiction of the wheel of fortune. Fortuna is crowned as the queen of variance, with yellow hair. She wears an ermine robe and holds the wheel in front of her. There are a number of crowned individuals wearing ermine and blue and red robes holding the wheel. On Fortuna’s left are king and princes lying on the ground having been thrown from the wheel. This image corresponds to lines 1-72 in which Lydgate uses the wheel of fortune as a means of offering advice on proper behavior and treatment of strangers as he argues that Laomedon’s ill treatment of Jason and the Argonauts was the ultimate reason for the destruction of Troy. “Make zow a merour of this Lamedoun/ And beth wel war to do no violence/ Un-to straungers, whan thei do noon offence,/ Whan thei com fer in-to zoure reioun.”

The inclusion of the wheel of fortune illustration is a noteworthy anomaly that has not received much attention. This miniature only appears in three of the illustrated *Troy Book* manuscripts. The wheel of fortune was a popular concept in the Middle Ages coming from Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy*. While Boethius may have come to the conclusion that it’s best not to ascend the wheel and that one’s virtue demonstrates one’s goodness, Lydgate does not make a value judgment on whether one should ascend the wheel. He does, however, offers comments and warnings to those on the wheel and gives advice concerning fortune’s fickle nature as no one can be certain the good fortune they have one day will last to the next. “The envious ordre of Fortunas meving/ In worldly thing, fals and flekeryng/ Ne will not suffer us in this present lyf/ To lyue in reste with-oute were or strife/ For sche is blinde, fikel, and unstable./

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279 Bergen notes that a woman wearing a 15th century blue headdress and red robe are among them.
280 Lydgate, *Troy Book* II.82-86.
281 Driver mentions the wheel and the earlier representations of the wheel, but other than mentioning the possible heraldic elements does not offer an interpretation or a reason for its possible inclusion.
282 The other two are Royal 18 d. ii and English 1, which will be discussed in chapter four.
And of her course, fals & ful mutable.” Throughout the text, Lydgate refers to fortune at moments when it can serve as a guide for behavior or as a cautionary tale.

The motif became a popular one in art. Typically, Fortuna, blindfolded, turns a wheel on which are four men in various stages. The man on the rise, the king on top, the king declining and finally the king having fallen. In the Morgan manuscript the image is quite different. Fortuna turns her wheel, but there aren’t just four men. There are several lying upon the floor having fallen, while several others stand with their hands attached to the wheel waiting for their chance to rise. Fortune plays a significant role in Lydgate’s Troy Book; he makes several digressions on the nature of fortune and numerous references at appropriate moments during the text. Lydgate’s “prologue” to Book II is 202 lines, 72 of which focus on the mutability of Fortune and is an expansion of the passing mention Guido gives the personification. He never describes the wheel as depicted; Fortuna is blind and raises some to great heights while sending others into ruin randomly. The depiction appears to be a generalized image of the wheel of fortune rather than a faithful rendering of the text.

The wheel of fortune illustrated in the last three manuscripts deserves some attention. Although present before, the wheel of fortune predates Boethius, it was his discussion of the wheel in his sixth century Consolatio Philosophiae which served as a source for medieval authors, and the wheel is prevalent in both religious and secular literature as an allegory and as an explanation for why events occur. It is interesting that the image only appears in the latest three of the manuscripts. I propose that the inclusion of the wheel of fortune in these manuscripts is a reference to contemporary events. Each of the manuscripts to receive this illustration is dated to the middle of the fifteenth century or later, a time when England was suffering losses in the Hundred Years War and entering a period of civil war.

283 Lydgate, Troy Book. II.1-6.
Henry V had defeated the French in the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 and in 1420, by way of the Treaty of Troyes, became regent of the French throne, his marriage to Catherine of Valois ensuring his heirs the throne. This moment serves as England’s rise on fortune’s wheel as England had been vying for the French throne since 1337. Henry, however, died in 1422 leaving a child, Henry VI, as king of England and France. This serves as the beginning of England’s descent on the wheel of fortune where this matter is concerned. Enforcing English rule of France became nearly impossible, and England suffered several defeats by the French in the next several decades, culminating in the final defeat in 1453. Henry VI suffered a series of setbacks in England as well, and the civil war, known as the War of the Roses, began in 1455 with the king being captured at the Battle of St. Albans. The war between the houses of Lancaster and York as well as the problems for England in France can be seen as informing the imagery of the latest three *Troy Book* manuscripts as they become comments on contemporary events, bringing the text into the present. While the War of the Roses does not England’s descent, it does signify the Lancastrian descent and serves as a warning about the fickle nature of fortune. The imagery of the wheel of fortune, therefore, can serve as a comment on contemporary events and a means of advice to those who would be impacted by her mutations.

Lawton states that there is a space left for a miniature at the beginning of the reconstruction of Troy in Book II; this would be in keeping with the typical imagery for Book II in the majority of the manuscripts. On folio 34v, the beginning of Book III, there is a space covering almost the entire page left for a miniature, as is typical for each manuscript.

On folio 59r, the beginning of Book IV, there is an unfinished illustration in four sections. Hector’s dead body stands on a pedestal accompanied by mourners. Achilles lies in his bed accompanied by Myrmidons. Agamemnon and the Greeks sit in council. Each of the
illuminated *Troy Book* manuscripts mentioned in this chapter has an illustration of Hector’s statue preceding Book IV. Hector’s death, as popularized in the middle ages, is quite consistent in various narratives: Benoît, Guido delle Colonne, Lydgate and Christine de Pizan all report that Hector’s body was embalmed and displayed in a tabernacle for eternity. This version of Hector’s death and embalming is not present in Dares and Dictys and seems to appear for the first time in Benoît’s *Roman de Troie*. Driver looks at the various ways that manuscripts had illustrated the tomb, and Buchthal has suggested that the Madrid miniature of the event “was copied from a well-known contemporary tomb, citing that of Duke Charles of Calabria, the only son of King Robert the Wise, as a probable model.”

Driver reviews the various renditions of Lydgate’s ekphrasis and finds that “the other *Troy Book* manuscripts tend to emphasize the death of the hero and the mourning of the Trojans rather than the actual memorial.” As Buchthal claims for the model of the Madrid illustration, Driver looks to historical practice to help explain this image in the manuscripts. Since at least the 12th century, it was common practice in France to create a funeral effigy for a deceased king; this practice was also common in England in the 14th century. And there are arguments for the practice of wax effigies being used from the 14th to the 18th centuries. “After the funeral, the effigy was placed in a glass case and usually stood by the grave of the person it represented, sometimes set apart from the viewer by an ebony railing, the detail also added by Lydgate to his description of Hector’s tomb.”

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284 Bergen identifies the statue as the palladium for the Digby manuscript. This is entirely possible; however, it is not clear that this is the palladium. Driver notes that the statue in the back seems to represent Hector and makes no mention of its possibility of being the palladium.  
287 Driver, “Medievalizing the Classical Past,” 236.
Driver argues that the canopy in the manuscript is extremely similar to 15th century English tombs. She notes that the actual historical process seems to have influenced the recounting of history by Benoît, and Lydgate’s description of the process. Accordingly, the illustration in the Morgan manuscript “realistically recreates the tomb of the dead king with his effigy or perhaps his mumified body above it.”

That medieval authors medievalized classical stories in their texts is well known. One only has to turn to Lydgate’s description of the rebuilding of the city of Troy in Book II to see not an accurate description of the classical city of Troy, but a medieval city. The descriptions of the activities are likewise medieval. We see this in the councils of the courts and the courtly manners. This is also evident in their war practices. There is little resemblance to the depiction of battles written by Homer or Virgil, and while there were truces between Greece and Troy so that each side could bury their war dead and mourn described by Homer, the practice is fully medievalized in Lydgate resembling more the actual practices and attitudes of the English and French during the 100 years war than the Greeks and Trojans.

This incongruity did not matter to the people living in the medieval period as their understanding of history and time was quite different than ours. Matters of historical reality, such as the practices of funeral effigies, crept into the texts which in turn gave the “historical” narratives even more credence. This bit of historicity also influenced the images present in the texts as we see images of knights in plate armor, medieval castles and men jousting. By imagining the past as present and by incorporating illustrations that correspond to contemporary events, these manuscripts become a confluence of both and it therefore becomes possible to see the illustrations of the text not only as a representation of the text, but also as a statement of the present. Driver’s query of heraldic emblems and her analysis of Hector’s miniature offer a

broader way to interpret some of the images from the *Troy Book*. The images become more than mere visual indices for subsections of the text or just a visual rendering of the text, they become a comment on contemporary events or practices.

On folio 87r, the beginning of Book V, there is an unfinished illustration in the upper half of the page. The Greek ships are in the background. In the right hand side, a man in armor kneels before a king sitting on a throne. Bergen suggests it could represent Helenus before Agamemnon. To the right two armed knights appear to be about to fight. One has thrown down a gauntlet, and the other is grabbing the hilt of his scimitar-like sword. This is most likely Ulysses and Telamon.

Unfortunately, due to the unfinished state of this manuscript, it is impossible to tell just how closely it would resemble the previous manuscripts. It is, however, quite clear that it would not have deviated far, if at all, with the types or placement of the miniatures; the changes would most likely have been in detail. The inclusion of the wheel of fortune is the major addition that is not seen in other texts. Therefore, Lawton’s assessments that these images serve as visual indices for the major divisions in the text is accurate. They comment on contemporary society by virtue of the fact that the text does in so far as it stands for using the Trojan Legend as a means of defining English identity and nationhood. The remaining two manuscripts both contain this basic structure, but each manuscript has additional images that help define the character of the manuscript and comment on contemporary issues more elaborately.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bod., MS Digby 232</th>
<th>BL, MS Cotton Augustus A.iv</th>
<th>Bod., MS Rawlinson C. 446</th>
<th>Trinity, MS Trinity O.5.2</th>
<th>Pierpont Morgan, MS 876</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1420-1430</td>
<td>1430’s</td>
<td>1425-1450</td>
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<td>1440-1460s</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prologue</td>
<td>Presentation Miniature</td>
<td>Presentation Miniature</td>
<td>Presentation Miniature</td>
<td>Presentation Miniature</td>
<td>No miniature or space left for miniature</td>
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<tr>
<td>Book I</td>
<td>Peleus praying, men succumbing to pestilence, Myrmidon creation</td>
<td>Peleus praying, men succumbing to pestilence, Myrmidon creation</td>
<td>Peleus praying, men succumbing to pestilence, Myrmidon creation</td>
<td>No miniature or space left for miniature</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book II</td>
<td>Priam receiving news of Troy’s destruction while besieging a castle</td>
<td>Siege image</td>
<td>Excised folio. Bergen and Lawton indicate it contained a miniature</td>
<td>Possibly a blank space left for a miniature at the beginning of Book II. Lawton indicates a blank space left open for a miniature at the beginning of the reconstruction of Troy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book III</td>
<td>Hector killing Patroclus with a spear (not accurate to text)</td>
<td>Hector killing Patroclus by splitting him in half (accurate to text)</td>
<td>Possibly Hector leading his men after speaking with Priam</td>
<td>Space left on folio 34v for an almost full page miniature</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Book IV</td>
<td>Hector lying diagonally, mourners, statue</td>
<td>Hector’s tomb, wounded Achilles, Agamemnon sitting in council</td>
<td>Hector’s tomb, wounded Achilles, Agamemnon sitting in council</td>
<td>Hector’s tomb, wounded Achilles, Agamemnon sitting in council (sketch)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Book V</td>
<td>Illuminated half border and initial</td>
<td>Page with miniature has been excised</td>
<td>Ulysses and Telaman quarrel, Agamemnon with man, Greek ships</td>
<td>Ulysses and Telaman quarrel, Agamemnon with soldiers, Greek ships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Images in Manuscripts

289 Some information on this table taken from Bergen and Lawton’s table #5.
CHAPTER FOUR

MS. ROYAL 18. D. II & MS. RYLANDS ENGLISH I

MS. Royal 18. D. ii and MS. Rylands English I are the final two Troy Book manuscripts to receive illustrations. They contain a similar pictorial program as the manuscripts discussed in chapter three in that each book is prefaced by a miniature; however, they each contain additional images. Royal is the only manuscript that can confidently be traced to the aristocracy and has an association with two aristocratic families and one king. It has a production time of nearly 60 years, in which illustrations that were apparently planned at the outset were completed. The Royal manuscript has a total of twelve Troy Book images, and there is evidence that suggests the patron was involved in the choice of illustrations. This manuscript also contains Lydgate’s Siege of Thebes and is the only manuscript to receive illustrations of this text. Combining these two texts, and giving illustrations to both texts helps to highlight the contemporary nature of the images. The images of the Troy Book can be seen as commenting on the Hundred Years’ War, and the inclusion of the Siege of Thebes can be seen as commenting on both the Hundred Years' War and the War of the Roses. One major aspect that is key to understanding the images chosen for this manuscript is the role that fortune plays in both the text and the images. Each of the extra images in this manuscript are concerned with fortune and are placed near digressions on fortune which suggests that this concept was important to the patron of the manuscript.

The English manuscript has a total of sixty-nine miniatures, and as Lesley Lawton notes, the images do occur at important intervals in the text, either at divisions or subdivisions. This manuscript conforms more closely to the standard pictorial program discussed in chapter three than does the Royal manuscript and the extra images are less focused on the destructive forces of warfare and is thus less pessimistic. These images highlight the underlying theme of the text, to
celebrate English origins and to act as a handbook for English identity and nationhood. Both manuscripts contain the anomalous Wheel of Fortune image as did the later Morgan manuscript, and some of the images in both manuscripts can be seen as directly related to the nature of fortune and therefore commenting on the contemporary issues relating to the Hundred Years’ War and the War of the Roses.

**MS. Royal 18.D.II**

MS. Royal 18.D.ii has gone through several stages of production. The first stage is dated to 1455-1462 and contains Lydgate’s *Troy Book* and the *Seige of Thebes*. A variety of smaller works including 'ATestament of John Lydgate,' which precedes the major texts and ‘A Treatise betwene Trowth and Enformacion’, ‘The Reigns of the Kings of England’, ‘Descent of the Lords Percy’, and John Skelton’s ‘On the Death of the Earl of Northumberland’ and ‘Le assemble de dyeus’ which follow the main texts. These miscellaneous texts seem to have been added to the manuscript in the first quarter of the 16th century.

Henry Bergen describes the manuscript as being well written with 40-52 lined double columns. There are capital letters at the beginning of lines that are occasionally decorated with yellow or red. There are no running titles, but there are catchwords at the end of sections. There are explicits in black which are sometimes decorated in yellow. Each image is contained within a golden border and is in the columns. The beginnings of paragraphs contain small illuminated initials, and there are rubricated chapter headings.\(^\text{290}\)

Kathleen Scott attaches three dates to the manuscript. It was begun between the years 1455-1462 and had a planned 25 miniatures divided between the *Troy Book* and the *Siege of Thebes*, making this the only known manuscript to contain illustrations for Lydgate’s translation of the Thebes narrative. Some of the miniatures were completed between 1455-1462, and c.1490

\(^{290}\) Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, 15-16
several more were completed. Seventeen miniatures were left to be completed during its third production cycle c. 1516-1523 when the various minor texts mentioned above were added to the manuscript. According to Scott, the manuscript was commissioned by Sir William Herbert and his wife Anne before he took the Garter in 1462 and was planned to be a presentation gift to either Henry VI or Edward IV.  

Pictorial figures and arms include Sir William Herbert and Anne Devereux, Henry Percy (4th Earl of Northumberland) and wife Maud Herbert, Henry Algernon Percy (5th Earl of Northumberland), Henry Fitzalan (Earl of Arundel), John (Lord Lumley), and Kateryne Eggcomb, widow of Sir Piers Edgecomb. According to Bergen, “the first leaf and leaf 2 recto contain some dedicatory verses to Henry VIII to whom the manuscript was evidently presented.”

Sir William Herbert was born c. 1423 and was the eldest son of William Herbert of Raglan Castle who was knighted in 1415 and fought in France for Henry V. The family claims descent from Herbertus Camerarius, who was a companion of William I, and throughout the centuries they acquired a large amount of land in South-east Wales. Sir William Herbert was knighted in 1449 by Henry VI and fought in France under Edmund Beaufort, 2nd Duke of Somerset. Herbert must have become a Yorkist supporter soon after because he was reportedly offered his life and goods if he would ask pardon of Henry VI in Leicester in 1457. In a letter dated 1 May, 1457 to John Paston, William Botoner of Worcester, secretary to Sir John Falstaff, writes,

And now it ys seyd Herbert shall com yyne, and apper at Leycester before the Kyng and the Lordes, hys lyfe graunted and godes, so he make amednys to them he hath offended. Manye be endyted, som causelese, which makyth Herbert partye streng, and the burgeys and gentlemen aboute Herford wille goo wyth the Kyng wyffe and chylde, but a pease be

291 Scott, *Tradition and Innovation*, 282
292 Scott, *Tradition and Innovation*, 284
293 Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, 40
made or the Kyng part thens, for ell[es] Herbert and hys affinite will acquyt them, as it ys seyd.\footnote{The Paston Letters, 1422-1509, vol 4 edited by James Gairdner. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd, 1901. Letter 305, pg. 417}

Herbert remained faithful to the Yorkists and was rewarded for his loyalty. He was made privy councilor on 10 March 1461, granted offices of chief justice and chamberlain of South Wales and other offices on 8 May 1461, made steward of several castles on 7 September 1461, created Baron Herbert on 4 November 1461, and made a knight of the Garter on 29 April 1462. He continued to gain various offices and appointments over the next several years. He also helped Edward IV root out the remaining Lancastrians. In August 1468, he and his brother laid siege to the castle of Harlech, which was a Lancastrian stronghold in Wales. Jasper Tudor was there with his nephew Henry, later Henry VII. Herbert took Henry prisoner, was made his guardian and attempted to secure a marriage between Henry and his daughter Maud. After this he was made Earl of Pembroke on 8 September, 1468 and received several other offices.

In July, 1469, there was a rebellion in the north, which had been sparked by Warwick. Herbert and his brother led an army to intercept their march south with Humphrey Stafford. Things started out favorably for Herbert but rapidly deteriorated near Banbury. Herbert’s army was lessened and demoralized, and though he and his brother reportedly fought valiantly at the Battle of Edgecote, both the brothers were taken prisoner. Herbert pleaded for his brother’s life, but to no avail. Both he and his brother were beheaded on 28 July 1469.

The “presentation” miniature gives us the dates during which the manuscript must have been commissioned. (Figure Nine) Herbert and his wife, Anne Devereux, kneel on pillows before the king wearing robes bearing their respective arms. “In the column below this the same arms are inserted, in shields, with the mottoes, ‘E · las sỹ longment’ and ‘Ce toute’, and these
mottoes are repeated several times on a band running around three sides of the border.” Since he married Anne in 1455, it was presumably commissioned sometime during or after that year. Likewise it was most likely commissioned before 1462 when he was admitted to the Order of the Garter as there is none of the garter regalia present on his person. It was certainly commissioned before 1462 when he was granted the title of Earl of Pembroke.

The “presentation” miniature is a bit of an anomaly in this cycle. With the exception of the incomplete Pierpont Morgan MS 876, each of the illustrated manuscripts contains a presentation miniature, and the iconography is roughly the same. They each have an enthroned king surrounded by men of varying number with a monk, identified as Lydgate, kneeling before the king and offering him a book. Royal’s manuscript does not contain this type of miniature.

The miniature is bordered in blue and gold, takes up 21 lines of text and is in the first column of folio 6v. Taking up the majority of the central plane of the miniature is the image of a frontally-faced king. The king is wearing a red, ermine-lined, robe and a gold crown, which is also lined with ermine, and he is holding a scepter and orb. On each side of the king are three courtiers, one of them bearing a sword as in several of the other presentation miniatures. A courtier on his left bears a stylus and could refer to a legal counselor. Kneeling before him with their hands in an adoration gesture are Sir William Herbert and Anne Devereux, with Herbert’s helm on the ground before him. There is no book present in this miniature.

Kathleen Scott suggests that this manuscript “was apparently undertaken as a presentation gift to an English king.” In this Scott is following George Warner and Julius Gilson who suggest that it was commissioned as a gift “either to Henry VI before Herbert’s

295 Bergen, Lydgate’s Troy Book, 16.
296 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 282
297 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 283
298 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 282
definite adoption of the Yorkist cause (not later than 1457) or to Edward IV after his accession.” As Lawton notes, there is no evidence given to support this theory, so it’s possible they determined this due to the hieratic image of the king in the center and Herbert and Devereux kneeling before him. Lawton has highlighted a potential problem with this theory, however. Other manuscripts which the evidence supports as being commissioned as a gift contain similar images as Royal. They, however, contain an image of the book being given; they also typically emphasize the arms of the recipient and the donor.

There is no book in this miniature, and the only arms are of Herbert and Devereux. It seems likely, based on the iconography of other gift manuscripts, that if it were intended as a gift to the king that the book would be present. It would serve as a reminder of the gift and the donor. Likewise, as Lawton also notes, Herbert and Deveroux’s gestures are that of adoration, a pose which “is more appropriate for a devotional manuscript. The miniature seems to represent an act of homage, an affirmation of loyalty rather than the giving of a gift.” Lawton uses the manuscript’s fate as potential evidence for it not being commissioned as a gift. It not only remained incomplete, but it also remained in the Herbert family and went through a series of additions. The fact that it was not given as a gift could be evidence for it never having been intended as a gift. Scott certainly lends credence to this theory when she states that “the two original Lydgate texts were clearly considered an heirloom by descendants of the Herberths…important enough to be finished and augmented with equally fine work.” If it had been intended as a gift, Herbert seems to not have left instructions for it to be given as a gift.

299 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 362
300 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 362
301 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 362-363
302 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 282
303 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 283, makes another interesting observation regarding the presentation miniature. The iconography of this scene – large centrally placed king with other courtiers – is not typically found in earlier legal manuscripts. However, “about eight years after its appearance at the head of Lydgate’s text, a similar
Another issue raised by the presentation miniature is the identity of the king present in the miniature. There are no identifying features on the image of the king. Scott has suggested that the manuscript would have had to have been commissioned between 1455-1457 if it was intended to be for Henry VI. Due to the Paston letter referenced above dated 1 May, 1457, it is clear that by that date, Herbert had changed to the Yorkist cause. Scott also suggests that if it were intended for Edward IV, then it would have been begun between 1461-1462, unless it was begun before Edward IV was crowned.304

It is rather unlikely that the king pictured was ever intended to be Henry VI, unless the generic adoration page could be used as a means of declaring loyalty no matter who sat upon the throne. The Paston Letters give us a date of 1457 by which Herbert was definitely a Yorkist, but there are other indications that he was a Yorkist much earlier. Both Sir Walter Devereux, Herbert’s father-in-law, and Sir William Herbert were tenants of the Yorks in Wales and they both led an attack on the Earl of Richmond at Carmarthen Castle during the summer of 1456. It is therefore more likely that the image is one of an affirmation of loyalty to the Yorkist cause, and could have been commissioned during any of the years 1455-1462 and depicting Edward IV.

The anomaly of the “presentation” miniature suggests that Herbert had a personal interest in the illustrations depicted in this manuscript. The manuscript, for the most part, still contains the basic program as seen in the five manuscripts previously discussed. As Scott has discussed, “although the pictorial subject matter at the head of books may agree between Royal and other manuscripts, the composition and setting do not.”305  These illustrations seem to be the first

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304 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 284
305 Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 284
illustrations completed, and it’s possible that these illustrations were completed first precisely because they fit the model of the previous manuscripts.

However, it still seems likely that Herbert had a hand in deciding the illustration program.

Since all the miniatures take the form of framed pictures set within the column of the text, some form of illustration was envisaged at an early stage in the evolution of the manuscript so that the scribe could be instructed to leave blanks at the appropriate places. The pictorial programme, truncated as it became in the fifteenth century, may thus be associated with Herbert in location, if not in detailed execution.306

This is made even more likely by the fact that the headings always accompany the miniature, are usually quite descriptive, and were included in the first stage of production, which seems to have directed the later artists to the pictorial program. For instance, on fol. 87r, there is an image of Troilus saying goodbye to Cressida in front of the Trojan gates. Below the image in rubrication is ‘Of the sorowe that Troilus made when Cressaide shulde depart.’

The basic structure of the pictorial program is similar to the other manuscripts. After the preliminary ‘presentation’ miniature, the regular book heading images are included. Book One is lacking an image depicting Peleus and the Myrmidons, which is present in each of the manuscripts save the Morgan manuscript. The anomalous ‘presentation’ miniature acts as the introductory image for Book I as well.

Book II is introduced by a Wheel of Fortune image that takes up 18 lines of text on folio 30v. (Figure Ten) It is lacking the siege image and Priam receiving news from Troy of the first destruction and is the only manuscript not to have this scene. There are no additional images in this Book. As stated in chapter three, the Wheel of Fortune image only exists in the later three manuscripts. The Wheel of Fortune image is, therefore, quite poignant and speaks to contemporary issues helping to draw a parallel between the Trojan War and not only the Hundred Years War, but also the burgeoning War of the Roses, which only becomes more

306 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 419
intriguing when it’s taken into account that the only known illustrated Siege of Thebes text is included in this manuscript. The text and the images combine to make the tale timely as they relate directly to contemporary issues.

In Royal, Fortuna is seated on a red throne with the wheel in front of her. She has hold of the throne with her left hand pushing the wheel down while her right hand is pushing up the other side of the wheel. The background is a lush green landscape under a starry blue sky. Descending on the wheel are two men. The man on the top of the wheel headed down is wearing an ermine-lined red robe and is looking back at the king at top. The lower man is wearing more common clothing and below him on the ground is a man on his hands and knees. On the ascending side of the wheel are two men as well. The man rising from the bottom is wearing common clothing similar to the bottom-descending figure, and the man rising on the top is wearing an ermine-lined robe similar to the top-descending figure. On top of the wheel is a king sitting on a golden throne and holding a scepter and globe; this image is similar to the image of the king in the prefatory image.

The missing standard images introducing Books I & II present a strange anomaly and perhaps a way to interpret the images that are not standard. The absence of these images and the additions of others are possible indications that Herbert was involved in the pictorial program. It appears that he had deleted from the program the images which were unimportant to him and included others that were important to him, thereby imbuing this manuscript with further meaning. The “presentation” miniature is the first image, but the first image that is text related is the Wheel of Fortune image, and it prefaces the remainder of the images included as they all deal with destruction, loss or failure, which can be seen as a direct highlighting contemporary
concerns about English and faction fortunes in the Hundred Years’ War and the War of the
Roses.

This, however, would be made clearer if we could ascertain a stronger date for the
production of the manuscript. Regardless, the affairs in England were such that a certain sense
of anxiety can be read in the cycle of images chosen for this manuscript. The manuscript was
produced between 1455 and 1462 according to the presentation miniature. In July of 1453,
England, led by John Talbot, faced defeat by the French at the Battle of Castillon, which would
serve as the last major battle in the Hundred Years War, solidifying France as the ultimate victor.
Not long after this defeat Henry VI had a mental breakdown. Although England’s fortunes
concerning France had been waning, this cemented its loss and marked the first true descent of
Henry VI on the Wheel of Fortune as he was largely considered incapable of ruling due to his
mental illness. While mentally ill, Richard, Duke of York, was implanted as Lord Protector but
had been driven out by Henry’s wife Margaret. In May of 1455, Richard and his supporters
marched on London and defeated the Lancastrians at the Battle of St. Albans. Although it was a
relatively small battle, it marked the beginning of the civil war between the Yorks and the
Lancastrians. That Fortune was considered such a large part of the text, as well as fifteenth-
century English sensibilities, it makes sense that the images in this text would highlight the
unpredictable nature of Fortune.

The remaining three books each have standard prefatory images. The Book III image
takes up seventeen lines of text on folio 66v. The walls of Troy are visible in the background,
and Greek tents are to the left and in the foreground. Knights are fighting on foot near the tents
and Hector, on horseback, is cleaving Patroclus in half, who is also on horseback. The Book IV
image takes up twenty-three lines of text on folio 95v. In the background are Greek tents; in one
of those tents Achilles lies in bed recovering. In the foreground is a pavilion in which
Agamemnon holds council with four men. Next to the pavilion is a golden pedestal on which a
golden statue, identified as Hector, with a sword and shield stands. The Book V image takes up
twenty lines of text on folio 128v. Greek tents are in the background; heralds are blowing horns
and men are packing. In the foreground Agamemnon sits, flanked by Telamon Ajax and Ulysses
as they debate over who should receive the palladium.

These standard images were the first ones completed in the fifteenth century. “Only five
miniatures were completed in the fifteenth century, those at the beginning of each of the five
books of the Troy Book.”

The fact that these images were the first ones completed and correspond quite closely to the standard images in the other manuscripts lends credence to
Lawton’s supposition that “owners of the Troy Book were provided with a standard series, one of
the functions of which was to mark in a visually arresting way the formal divisions of the
text.”

Kathleen Scott dates the second stage of illustration to c. 1490, and it is during this time
that the additional Troy Book images were completed. The additional images are found in Books
III and IV. Each of these images can be seen as related to fortune.

The first additional image in Book III is on folio 82v. (Figure Eleven) Troy is in the
background. A storm is raging and Greek tents in the foreground are being blown over and men
are prone in front of the tents. This corresponds to lines 3254-3319 in the text. The Greeks had
just fared poorly in battle and suffered numerous losses to the Trojans, including the capture of
King Thaos whom the Trojan Aeneas advised against killing and holding as hostage instead in
case they need him as an exchange at a later time. During his speech in council he refers to
fortune twice as he argues that fortune may favor the Greeks in the future and they should be

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307 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 419
308 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 369
prepared for that event. "I preue it thus, that 3if by auenture,/ Or fortune, that no man may
assure,/ Some of 3oure lordis were a-nother day/ Of Grekis take, as it happe may,/ Or of 3oure
sonys, so worthi of renoun,/ Or of kynges that ben in this toun".  

The next scene has the Greeks lamenting their losses when a storm struck and blew over their tents causing them even more distress. Lawton suggests that “the owner [perhaps] wished to luxuriate in the sight of the Greeks at a particularly low moment,” but this seems simplistic when viewed against the other images chosen for this manuscript as they don’t focus on Greek misfortune. Each of the anomalous images in this manuscript can be seen as examples of fortune at work, and helps to highlight the underlying purpose for the text and what it meant to Herbert. It can also explain why the standard images for Book I and II are missing as they don’t relate directly to fortune.

The first two images after the Wheel of Fortune are Hector slaying Patroclus and the Greek tents being thrown over by the storm. Both of these images can be seen as Troy being on the rise. In Book III after Hector kills Patroclus, he continues fighting, and the Trojans do rather well. Lydgate makes a digression in lines 1959-2035 to lament that Hector would have won the war that day if not for fate. Fortune kept Hector from seeing reason, and if he would have continued fighting while fortune was with him, he could have won because one can’t be certain whose side fortune will be on for the next battle.

As it hath falle this day vnhappily
To worthi Hector, that so willfully
Wrou3t of hede Grekis for to spare,
Fatally whan thei were in the snare.
For he of hem, like a conqueroure,

310 Lawton, "Text and Image," 423
With victorie, trivmphe, and honour
Mizt haue brou3t, thoru3 his hi3e renoun,
the palme of conquest in-to Troye toun,
Which he that day reffusid folily.\textsuperscript{311}

Following this digression in 2036-2157, Lydgate describes how Hector came into contact with Ajax and attempted to appeal to him based on their blood ties to leave the Greeks and come to Troy. Ajax refuses and says he is bound by birth and oath to fight for Greece but asks Hector to give up pursuit for the day. Hector agrees and stops his men from burning the Greek ships. Though fortune remains with Troy through the next battle after a truce to bury the war dead, it culminates with the storm which tosses the Greek tents. After this point, the text and the images in this manuscript show the Trojan fortune on the decline and the Greek fortune on the rise. The very next battle described in lines 3320-3604 has the Trojans suffering the majority of the losses, and the next image concerns Trojan misfortune.

The next image is of Cressida leaving Troy and saying goodbye to Troilus in front of Troy on folio 87v. Calchas, a Trojan who defected to the Greek side, wants to regain his daughter and asks that she be part of the agreement of exchange of prisoners that Agamemnon and Priam are coming to terms with. They agree and in lines 4077-4185, Lydgate makes a short lament about fortune before describing how Troilus and Cressida swooned and cried over being separated.\textsuperscript{312} "Allas! Fortune, gery and vnstable,/ And redy ay [for] to be chaungable;/ Whan folk most triste in thi stormy face,/ Liche her desire the fully to embrace:/ thane is thi Ioye aweye to turne & writhe,/ Vp-on wrchis thi power for to kithe"\textsuperscript{313} Both would prefer death to being

\textsuperscript{311} Lydgate, \textit{Troy Book}. III.2026-2035.
\textsuperscript{312} Lydgate doesn't go into detail here about the Troilus and Cressida story and he explains that he is unable to tell it as well as Chaucer did.
\textsuperscript{313} Lydgate, \textit{Troy Book}. III.4077-4082.
separated, and the scene foreshadows the future death of Troilus, which is in part due to his grief over the loss of Cressida.

The major example from this book of fortune turning against Troy comes in the final image from Book III. On folio 93v is an image that takes up eighteen lines of text and depicts Hector’s corpse laid out in front of Priam and his court as they mourn his passing. (Figure Twelve) The image is positioned just after the scene in which Achilles kills Hector and his body is brought back to Troy and just before the description of Troy mourning his loss. This is not necessarily an anomalous image. It is possible that the Digby manuscript has an image of Hector’s corpse being mourned as an introduction to Book IV. The remaining manuscripts have Hector’s tomb as part of the Book IV prefatory image. Hector’s death was a great turning point in the war and makes it much more likely that the Greeks will become victorious. Before the battle which cost Hector his life, his wife had a portentous dream and unsuccessfully tries to dissuade him from joining battle. When she tells Priam of her dream, Fortune is referenced. "I-shewed was thoru3 Goddes puruyaunce;/ And tolde hem eke the final ordinaunce/ Of Fortunes fals disposicioun,/ Fully purueied to destruccioun/ Of hir lord, with-oute more delay,/ In-to the felde 3if he go that day." There are a total of four images in Book III: two which highlight Greek misfortune and two which highlight Trojan misfortune. Near each of the images, there is some manner of reference for the place fortune has in the action of the text or a digression and word of advice for those who would be dealing with fortune while using the examples from the text as a sort of warning for the reader who might find himself in a similar position. It seems clear, then, that the role of fortune is important in the images chosen for this Book.

Fortune continues to be a major theme of the images chosen for Book IV. After the standard prefatory image, the next two images are on folio 108v, and they both concern Troilus.

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The image in the left column takes up twenty-two lines of text. In the background is a blue castle and mountain. Troilus is fighting in the midst of many Myrmidons fighting with lances. This corresponds to lines 2029-2321. Achilles has withdrawn from the war after falling in love with the Trojan princess Polyxena and swearing to gain a truce if he can marry her. The Greeks have refused to cooperate, but they send an assembly to him to ask him to rejoin the war. He refuses but allows his Myrmidons to fight and they engage in a long battle with Troilus.

Although not explicitly in reference to the image, fortune is referenced twice. During the embassy to Achilles, Ulysses is begging Achilles to rejoin the war by appealing to his fame. As he references the Trojan who are now dead, he remarks "Fro day to day, and finally dispeired,/ Sofrowardly Fortune on hem lowreth:/ And now 3oure honour & 3our fame floureth/ In his worship, and 3oure hi3e renoun/ Atteyned hath the exaltacioun/ And hi3est prikke of Fortunys whele." Fortune is now frowning on the Trojans and smiling on the Greeks. In the image above Troilus does quite well and is able to route Achilles men, but fortune is not to stay with the Trojans. After the image, Lydgate again reinforces that fortune has turned her back on Troy before he discusses the next battle. "And Fortune gan turne hir face bake/ Of hi3e disdeyn fro Troye the cite,/ As in this story ri3t sone 3e shal se." These all serve to reinforce the fact that fortune has turned her back on Troy, never to smile on them again, as she has given the Greeks her favor.

The second image takes up eighteen lines. Just as in the first image, there is a blue castle and mountain in the background. There are many men with lances raised, Troilus’s horse off to the side, a man in the center with his arms outstretched, armor in a pile in the corner, and a man, identified as Achilles with his sword raised as if to strike. Bergen says this doesn’t fit the text as

315 Lydgate, *Troy Book*. IV.1746-1749
316 Lydgate, *Troy Book*. IV.2416-2418
Troilus dies in battle, but it does actually fit lines 2693 to 2990. Achilles is upset at how many Myrmidons were lost in the first battle with Troilus and rejoins the battle. They fight for many days, and in the final battle the Myrmidons encircle Troilus, kill his horse and take off his armor. Achilles comes from behind and beheads him.

Like Hector, the death of Troilus is a terrible blow to Troy and their prospects of winning. These images also highlight another underlying issue present in the struggle between Greece and Troy. Achilles is responsible for both Hector and Troilus’ death. However, he killed neither of them in a battle that was fair. In both instances, he was able to achieve victory through some sort of treacherous means. Hector had his back turned as did Troilus. Before this death scene, Lydgate makes a digression on treachery and during this digression he again references fortune. "But whan Fortune hath a thing ordeyned,/ thou3 it be euere wailed and complained,/ ther is no geyn nor no remedie/ thou3 men on it galen ay and crye." Both of these smaller treacheries foreshadow the larger one, the Trojan horse, and highlight that if not for treachery Troy would not have suffered defeat. The greatest misfortunes for Troy will come after the death of Troilus, their most recent champion, which Lydgate suggests even Boethius would have a hard time describing. "Her pitous wo nor lamentacioun:/ Certis not Boys, the had[de] swiche renoun,/ With drery wordis to be-wpe and crye/ In compleynynge to philosophie,/ thoru3 his boke accusynge ay Fortune,/ that seld or nou3t can in oon contue/ She is so ful of transmutacioun." 

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318 Lydgate, *Troy Book*. IV.2683-2686
The images that directly relate to the fall of Troy are the final two anomalous images.²²⁰ On folio 123v is an image of Calchas on a Brazen horse. There are Greek tents and the city of Troy in the background; in front of Troy is a golden statue, identified as either Hector or the palladium, in a red pavilion. It is more likely to be the palladium as the myth of the palladium and Antenor bribing the priest to remove it is recently discussed in lines 5561-5832. Bergen notes that the horse stands free as if alive and is before someone, possibly Priam, wearing a turban headdress under his crown.²²¹ Calchas isn’t described in the text as bringing the horse to Troy, but he is credited with coming up with the plan of the horse as a trick in lines 6006-6086. The image, therefore, appears to highlight the fact that the traitor Calchas completed an even greater treachery when he came up with the plan that would help Troy to fall.

The final additional image is on folio 124, and has the Trojan Horse on wheels being dragged towards Troy. (Figure Thirteen) The city takes up the majority of the background and there are many knights in blue holding spears. A portion of the wall has been broken down in order for there to be a space to bring the horse into the city. On the front of the horse is a small rectangle with a Greek knight climbing into the horse. The horse is the means through which Troy will suffer its final destruction and thus its final descent off the Wheel of Fortune. During the final destruction of Troy, Lydgate does not refer to fortune except for two short passages in lines 5999 and 6016 in which he reinforces that fortune is not with the Trojans.

Each of the additional images in this text all concern themselves with the nature of fortune, which is a big underlying theme of the text as Lydgate makes numerous digressions on fortune throughout the story at moments of great import. These additional images focus on fortune, and generally are placed in relation to digressions or discussions on fortune, can be seen

²²⁰ Both of these images are now misplaced. In their current existence, they are in Book III on folios 74 and 75. I am following Bergen’s information for their original placement.
²²¹ Bergen, Lydgate’s Troy Book, 17.
as a direct comment on contemporary issues and the fortune of England in the Hundred Years War; England’s fortune rose and fell just like Troy’s fortune. The images also highlight the fact that Troy was only able to be defeated through treacherous means. Achilles killed both Hector and Troilus in a treacherous, or non-chivalrous, manner. Aeneas and Antenor betray Troy by making a pact with the Greeks that they will help them defeat Troy in return for their families’ safety; Antenor secures the palladium, and Calchas comes up with the plan for the Trojan horse. As England is a descendant of Troy, they are descendants of this strength. They are also descendants of treachery, but that treacherous nature was reversed through the acts of Brutus as related by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

That the *Siege of Thebes* is accompanying this text and is illustrated also helps to highlight the contemporary nature of the images in the Troy Book text. If the illustrations accompanying the *Troy Book* help to comment on the Hundred Years’ War, then the text and images of the *Siege of Thebes* can serve as a comment about the War of the Roses. In this way, it serves as a warning about civil war and joins Geoffrey of Monmouth in commenting on the dangers of civil war to a country and its rulers. The *Siege of Thebes* acts as an additional tale to Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, using the “Knight’s Tale” as its precursor, and is the tale of fratricide between the sons of Oedipus, Eteocles and Polynices, as they struggle to rule Thebes negating their agreement to alternate rule each year. Eteocles is the first brother to rule Thebes and Polynices goes to Argos where he battles Tydeus, reconciles with him due to King Adrastus, and marries one of his daughters. At the end of a year, Tydeus goes to Thebes to retrieve the throne but is attacked by Eteocles who is unwilling to give up his rule. After a series of troubles, Eteocles and Polynices battle and kill one another and Creon takes the throne. Once king, Creon forbids the burial of the bodies of the combatants which greatly troubles the Argive women.
They go to Athens and seek help from Theseus who goes to Thebes and slays Creon, and the
Argive women bury the bodies of their husbands and sons.

Lydgate writes the *Siege of Thebes* in a similar manner as the *Troy Book*.

As in the *Troy Book*, Lydgate augments the story he inherited by adding moralizations,
advice, and mythological information. The moralizations and advice are his independent
additions, and they employ commonplaces on behavior, values, and governance that the
story at the time profoundly complicates. 322

The *Siege* appears to have been written without patronage but was dedicated to Henry’s brother,
Humphrey the Duke of Gloucester, and serves as a mirror for princes type text. It is clear that
the text addresses contemporary politics. Pearsall claims that *The Siege of Thebes* is Lydgate’s
most political poem. Edwards notes that the portrayal of Tydeus can be seen as embodying the
character of Henry V, and the debate over war as acting as “an allegory of English peace and war
factions in the Hundred Years’ War.” 323 Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes* functions in a similar manner
as *Troy Book* in which we can see contemporary issues being mediated and commented on
through the act of history.

The *Siege* survives in thirty-one manuscripts, and the Royal is the only manuscript to
have an illustrated text. These illustrations, like the third set of illustrations in the *Troy Book*,
were completed in the 16th century. They are depicted in a similar manner as the *Troy Book*
images in that they have a rubricated descriptor. The images chosen for the text are: Lydgate and
pilgrims on their way to Canterbury, Adrastus reconciling Polynices and Tydeus (Figure
Fourteen), Eteocles receiving Tydeus, Jocasta’s embassy to Adrastus, Greek women journeying
to Thebes, Theseus burning the dead, and Michael driving Lucifer and the other fallen angels
from heaven.

322 Lydgate, J. *The Siege of Thebes*. ed. by Robert Edwards TEAMS Middle English Text Series Kalamazoo:
Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. 2. See the introduction for a collection of scholarly views on the political
nature of this poem.
By combining both the *Troy Book* and the *Siege of Thebes* Herbert could have been commenting on contemporary issues. England and France had been fighting with one another for over 100 years and forces in England itself were rising against each other and would culminate in a civil war; Herbert was involved in both of these wars. The manuscript’s additional *Troy Book* images all can be seen as relating to the Wheel of Fortune in some way and comments on England’s down turn of fortune just as their ancestors, the Trojans, suffered in the Trojan War. It serves as a warning to future rulers about the perilous nature of war and fortune. The addition of the illustrated text of the *Siege* makes this ever more timely considering it is a poem about civil war, which can be seen as both a comment on the Hundred Years’ War and War of the Roses.

**MS Rylands English I**

English is by far the most lavish of the *Troy Book* manuscripts and contains the most miniatures. English is from the third quarter of the 15th century, with “the dates ranging from the 1440s to 1475” and is currently in an old velvet binding with a Crawford Bookplate. Bergen describes it as being written in a book-hand in double columns with 43-47 lined columns. There are no running titles but the text has small flourishes throughout, and there are catchwords at the end of each section. There are illuminated borders, initials, and 69 miniatures, some of those covering half a folio. On folio 173 there is a full-page miniature of the Carent family arms. As J.J. Alexander has argued, these may be the arms of William Carent (c. 1395-1476), or of his son John (c.1425-1483); this gentry family owned land in the south-west of England (Dorset, Somerset).

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324 Lydgate, J. *The sege of Troye: colour microfiche edition of the manuscript* Manchester, the John Rylands University Library, MS English I. Introduction by Busse, W. Muchen: H. Lengenfelder, 1998, 23
family; on folio 173v is the testimony of John Mundy (d. 1537) that he bequeathed to his “Welbelovyd Son Vyncent Mundy this prent booke of the Seig of Troy on the xxvth day of May Anno xxv notri Regis Henr. VIII [ie 1533] and delivered it to him with myne own hands with Godes blessing and myne”.327

There are four half-page miniatures that introduce Books I-IV, and a column miniature introduces Book V. The remainder are sixty four marginal miniatures, which are always in the wide side margins or at the bottom margins. On each page with a miniature, there is also a partial border and a large illuminated initial which introduce the chapters of the books. Champ initials are also placed at new sections within chapters. As Lesley Lawton has argued, the miniatures and initials structure the narrative hierarchically which help to guide the reader and help with the understanding of the text.328

Lawton argues that the reason why the artist chose to illustrate the scenes he did “is partly answered by the exigencies of presentation: he had to depict an incident appropriate to what was considered a point of division in the text.”329 She contends that the divisions of the text lend themselves to stereotyped war or council scenes, and that this helped to inform what would be illustrated and where. Much of what she discusses are the influences of the artwork and the stereotypical nature of them. She concludes that “one of the major functions of the pictures seems to have been to act as visual punctuation, to indicate with maximum impact the major divisions and sub-divisions in the text”330 Her argument for the images comes down to them mostly being visual indices to mark places in text “rather than to interpret its contents.”331

329 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 404
330 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 415-416
331 Lawton, “Text and Image,” 419
Wilhelm Busse sees that the illustrations and the text have a two-fold function. He agrees with Lawton that the placement of the illustrations was guided by a "strong sense of propriety" that can be seen as repeating the structure of the earliest manuscript and "underlies the formal function of the miniatures as repeating the structure of the narrative."

Busse, however, thinks the illustrations have another purpose and argues that when they assemble scenes or show events which refer to long stretches of text, suspicion is strong that they also serve as a kind of contents of important events which follow in the next section, and that they partly retell the story as found in the text. When ‘read’ without their text, then, the miniatures seem to tell their own story, and that story appears to be one of the deeds and actions of princes and kings.

I agree with this assessment and argue that the images not only serve as visual indices for the text as Lawton claims, but they also serve as a visual description that elucidates the various purposes behind the *Troy Book* itself. Although there are depictions of the destructive elements of war, the English manuscript’s expansion of the basic pictorial program identified by Lawton is not nearly as pessimistic as the program depicted in the Royal manuscript. In many ways, the illustrations most closely conform to the purposes of the text, serving as a manual for proper conduct and courtly ethics and highlighting the ideals of chivalry as well as elaborating on fortune. For instance, several of the depictions in Book I provide a lesson in hospitality, in Book II a lesson in courtly ethics as councils are convened and embassies sent, in Book III a lesson in combat as the two sides meet in battle and while in truce, in Book IV a lesson in chivalric ideals, and in Book V a lesson in the dangers of Fortune.

Lydgate’s redaction of the Troy story is not just a war story or a translation of Guido. At several points throughout the text Lydgate interrupts the narrative to relay information or to moralize, which effectively makes the *Troy Book* a didactic text. The earliest instance of this is

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in Book I just after Jason and the Argonauts have landed at Troy. Lines 750-917 are a digression on the Wheel of Fortune, in which he describes the goddess Fortuna. He explains that the Trojans thought the Greeks meant them harm, and how small quarrels grow large and end up causing destruction like the Trojan War. He then finishes with the good things, like the cities that were founded from the destruction of Troy. Fortune, in fact, is referenced over fifty times throughout the entire text, making it a major theme.

Lydgate’s digressions throughout the text come most often at times when choices are made that will impact the future. When Medea leaves Colchis with Jason, for instance, he laments her inability to see the future and those who get into similar situations as Medea by not weighing all the possibilities. At the beginning of Book II, he spends 202 lines discussing fortune and offers advice such as to be kind to strangers and to be careful of beginning quarrels. When Priam decides to go to war to secure the return of his sister, Hesione, Lydgate interrupts the text for a 105-line discussion on the folly of Priam’s decision and how he was overtaken by emotions that clouded his ability to see reason. He again references fortune and then urges his readers to use Priam as an example and a mirror, which reinforces the didactic nature of the text. Again he interjects to discuss fortune’s turn against Troy and how the Trojans, in their folly, rejected the wise counsel offered by Hector, Pentheus and Helenus.

Although many of the interjections are warnings of this kind, Lydgate does interject to offer lessons in history, myth or religion. He spends over 500 lines discussing idolatry, mythology and the fall of Lucifer in Book II. He talks about the myth of Aeneas and laments Chaucer’s death at other points. But the majority are interjections which offer advice, warnings and explanations about fortune and reason. These interjections serve to demonstrate the major purpose behind the *Troy Book*. It is a story not just about war, but is a handbook for English
Kings, aristocracy, and anyone who is interested in proper behavior, and through this it helps to express English identity in much the same way Geoffrey of Monmouth did. He essentially is using the story of Troy to transmit advice, and the images in the English manuscript highlight and expand on that visually.

The manuscript has the standard pictorial program identified by Lawton as present in each manuscript. And those images are the largest in the manuscript. Books I-IV each are introduced by a half-page miniature, and Book V is introduced by a column miniature. On folio 1r is the standard presentation miniature. (Figure Fifteen) Lydgate kneels in front of an enthroned Henry V offering him his book. There is a sword-bearer standing next to the king, and they are in an architectural setting painted blue. To the left an aristocratic man and child exit a building. This is the typical image that introduces all but the Royal manuscript, and there has been some speculation that this was the presentation manuscript or is at least a copy of a now missing presentation copy. Book I contains an extra seventeen images, twelve folios with illuminated initials, and has 4,820 lines.

The next half-page miniature is the Wheel of Fortune image that precedes Book II on folio 28v. (Figure Sixteen) The iconography for this image is different than the other manuscripts with this image. The Queen of Fortune stands with her wheel and rather than having a person in each direction of the wheel, there are a number of figures reaching, some mounted and others being thrown off. Being thrown off are “two kings, a bishop, an academic or lawyer, a clerk, a monk, and a (?) Jew or a (?) pagan.” Mounted on the wheel in the upturning

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334 Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 259, mentions that there is the badge of Henry V, antelope, present in the miniature. Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, 30, notes that below the image is this rubric: Here begynneth the boke of the sege of Troye. Compiled by the Daun Iohn Lydgate Monke of / Bery ate excitacioun and steryng of the most noble worthi and mighty Prynce Kyng / Hentry the fyfthe. Firste rehersyng the conquest of the golden flees acheued by the / manly prowess of Iason. Vnder the correccioun of everuy prudent reder :+:

335 Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 259
position are four secular figures, and reaching for the wheel on the right are a king, two queens, an empress and an ecclesiastic.\footnote{Scott, \textit{Later Gothic Manuscripts}, 259.}

This manuscript contains the typical Book II prefatory image as well. On folio 29v is a three-part columnar image. Priam is laying siege to a blue castle. This image is flanked by two camp images. On the right, Castor and a messenger are kneeling before Menelaus, and on the left is Nestor in Pelleus’ camp. This image might refer to the last image in Book I which is of Nestor and Castor fighting in the first battle of Troy; however, Menelaus did not fight in the first battle of Troy, so it would be a misnomer. It could also refer to the embassy that Priam sends out to try to secure the return of his sister. However, there is an image on folio 36r which covers this scene, so it is more likely a misnomer or a general introduction image. Book II contains an extra fifteen images, twenty-one folios with illuminated initials, and 8,706 lines of text.

Book III contains the standard image on folio 78v. On the left are Greek tents with King Meryon mounting a horse with Greek soldiers around him. On the right is the city of Troy with Trojan soldiers ushering out of the gates and Hector cleaving Patroclus in the mid-ground. This is a faithful representation of the text. Book III contains an extra eight images, eight folios with illuminated initials, and has 5,764 lines.

Book IV’s prefatory image has the city of Troy painted blue in the background on folio 112r. Greek tents litter the foreground on the right and the left. In one tent lays a crowned Achilles recovering from his wounds with a group of soldiers to the right. This miniature does not contain the typical image of Agamemnon conceding his leadership to Palamedes as that is a separate image on folio 114r. Book IV contains an extra fourteen images, seventeen folios with illuminated initials, and has 7,108 lines.
Book V’s prefatory image is a three-part columnar miniature which is most likely
mislabeled on folio 151v. (Figure Seventeen) To the right, the prophets Daniel, Ezecheil, and
Sedechie are disputing one another. This actually corresponds to Lydgate’s digression in the
conclusion of Book IV in lines 6921-7908. Book V begins with a quarrel between Ulysses,
Thelamon and Ajax with Agamemnon mediating, and this is the subject of the standard Book V
prefatory miniature. To the left is an army of knights, and in the back is a king with soldiers. It
is likely that the illustrator saw the names at the end of Book IV and mislabeled them, though it
could be possible this image is a conflation of the conclusion of Book IV and the introduction of
Book V. Book V contains nine extra images, six folios with illuminated initials, and has 3,675
lines.

The extra images in this manuscript serve to highlight some of the themes and lessons
present in the book. It is true, as Lawton points out, that on every folio that an illustration is
present, there is also an illuminated initial, but there is not an image on every folio there is an
illuminated initial, and while the images do serve to guide the reader through the story, they also
present the prevalent themes. Book I contains many lessons. Lydgate makes several digressions
that supplement the main theme of the text. He talks about the dangers of covetousness, the
Wheel of Fortune, how small quarrels turn into large ones, women’s nature, people’s false nature
and the lack of foreseeing it and weighing all possibilities. The largest theme in Book I is the
theme of hospitality, how one should and should not treat strangers or guests in one’s land.

The first five images focus on Jason and the Argonauts heading to Colchis. Although
Jason is faithful to King Pelleus, Pelleus is jealous of Jason and wants to be rid of him, so he
sends him to Colchis to retrieve the Golden Fleece believing it will bring about Jason’s end. On
folio 5v, Jason kneels before Pelleus who gives him the quest above a scene with a squire leading
a horse out of a stable. On folio 6v, there is a pink mountain topped by a blue castle and Jason, Hercules and the Argonauts are sailing by boat. On folio 7r, the Argonauts have landed in the area of Troy. There is a pink mountain topped by a windmill and a castle in the distance. As the text demonstrates the Greeks had grown weary and stopped here to refresh themselves; however, King Laomedon took offense to this and sent a messenger to ask them to leave. On folio 8v, the messenger is addressing Jason in front of Hercules and the Argonauts, and on folio 9v Hercules gets on the ship while the Argonauts are still on the shore. The manner of reception greatly offends the Greeks. This lack of decent hospitality to strangers is the cause for the first destruction of Troy by the Greeks, which will in turn be the cause for the second Trojan War.

The lack of decent hospitality shown by the Trojans is juxtaposed against the proper acts of hospitality shown to the Greeks when they land in Colchis. The first image after the Greeks leave Troy is on folio 10v. The Greeks have made it to Colchis where they are received courteously by King Cethes and his courtiers. The image of proper hospitality continues on folio 11v as King Cethes throws a banquet for the Argonauts, and seats his daughter, Medea, next to Jason at the table. On folio 16v, Medea and Jason are still sitting at the table together after the table has been cleared. Medea has fallen in love with Jason by this point and Lydgate has lamented that fact because it will cause future trouble for Medea.

The fulfillment of the quest is the subject of the next few images in this book. King Cethes agrees to allow Jason to attempt the quest for the Golden Fleece and Medea has offered him advice and aid. On folio 18v, Medea gives Jason the silver image, phial and bille which will help him complete the quest and they stand together outside the castle before he takes leave of King Cethes on folio 20v. The quest is a four-part miniature on folio 21r which reads from bottom to top. Jason disembarks, kills the dragon and knights slay one another, fights the bulls
and shears the sheep while Medea watches. On folio 22v, King Cethes receives Jason warmly even though he is distressed that he won the Golden Fleece. Medea agrees to leave with Jason and folio 23r shows them sailing away from Colchis. Although we are told in the text that Jason and Medea leave with some of her father’s treasure and that he abandons her after promising to be her knight, there are no more images of Medea in the text. However, the images that are shown which highlight their affair demonstrate the treacherous nature of the Greeks and foreshadow their behavior and the calamity that can come of passion without reason.

The next section of images concerns Jason’s arrival in Thessaly and the first Trojan war. On folio 24r, King Pelleus receives Jason and Hercules though he is inwardly unhappy that Jason has returned. Jason informs him of their treatment at the hands of Laomedon and wants men to return to Troy and take vengeance. On folio 25r, the ships of Jason, Nestor, Pelleus and Hercules are sailing towards Troy. There is only one image of this Trojan war. On folio 26r, the Greeks and the Trojans battle before the walls of Troy. Laomedon, Nestor and Castor are depicted on horseback while troops of armed knights battle. The images in this Book highlight one theme of proper etiquette, how to treat strangers. The Trojans didn’t not respect proper codes of hospitality and they suffered the consequences. Overall the images in Book I follow the action of the text rather closely so that a reader could grasp the action without reading the text.

One of the main themes of the images in Book II centers around courtly ethics, which is a major theme present in the entire text as councils are held for decision-making purposes. The remainder of the images focuses on the action, and most of those are placed where Lydgate has made a digression. The first extra image is of Priam rebuilding Troy, which would be his duty as a son, on folio 31v. There are workers in the background while a swordbearer and a messenger accompany Priam in the foreground. Once he has rebuilt Troy, he begins holding councils in
order to determine what recourse they should take. Folio 34v has Priam holding a council in Troy, which is surrounded by a moat near the scene. In this first council, they decide to send Antenor to Greece to attempt to retrieve Hesione, Priam’s sister who was taken and given to Telamon Ajax as a wife after the first Trojan War. Folio 36r is a four-part miniature of Antenor asking the Greeks to return Hesione. Antenor meets with King Pelleus, King Nestor, King Telamon Ajax, and Castor and Pollux and is unsuccessful. On folio 38v Antenor returns to Troy and King Priam receives him at council. On 39v is a two-part image in which Priam holds council in Troy and scribes write messages for summons to a parliamentary meeting. On folio 40v is an image of the parliament with King Priam and various nobles including Deiphobus, Hector and Paris. During the parliament, Paris relates a dream he had, which is depicted on 42r. This image is a two-part miniature. In the foreground, Paris is out hunting and about to strike an arrow at Dione’s stag. He is then given a vision. Three goddesses along with Mercury visit him. Juno wears red robes and is accompanied by a peacock, Venus stands in blue water surrounded by doves, and Minerva appears armed. The meaning of this dream is interpreted that Paris should capture Helen, which is the subject of a good part of the action of the Book.

The next several images cover the task of Paris going to Troy and getting Helen and the reaction. On folio 47v is a two-part miniature in which Paris and Antenor arrive at Cythera. In the temple, Helen, Hermione, Menelaus, Castor and Pollux are worshipping before an idol of Venus; this idol shows up in several images throughout the text. On folio 50r is a three-part miniature in which Antenor, Paris and knights fight before the temple at Cythera; Paris and Helen hold hands inside the temple and Antenor is with Hermione before an idol of Benus, and Paris and knights leave a walled city. Folio 52r is a two-part miniature which has Paris and Helen arriving at Troy and then getting married in a temple of Minerva. On folio 53r is a two-
Menelaus receives the news that Helen has been abducted and swoons. He is accompanied by Nestor and Pira; this is a misnomer as Pira is the place where he heard the news. Menelaus, Nestor and Pira are in a ship in a storm, which is also a misnomer as it should be Castor and Pollux in the storm.

The remainder of the images in the Book completes the action of the text. On folio 54v is an image of Guido and two pupils. This image could also be of Dares as lines 4509-5066 refer to Dares’ descriptions of the Greeks. On folio 57v Agamemnon, Menelaus and knights are sailing away towards Troy. On folio 59v Achilles and Patroclus, mislabeled as Pirrodus are praying before a pageant of a naked women holding a bow and arrow at the temple of Apollo. There is a rather long digression at this point on the myth of Apollo and the origin of idolatry in lines 5409-5924. This image was quite possibly placed here to mark this passage in the text as it’s not a passage of great importance to the action of the text. The remainder of the text concerns the Trojans and the Greeks at war and there is not another image until folio 74v which illustrates the battle at the landing of the Greeks. Trojans issue out the city gates to fight and the Greeks are coming onto land from their ships. The image is most likely mislabeled as it has Diomedes and Desabus coming from the city of Troy and attacking King Protesilaus. The images of Book II also correspond quite closely to the text with the exception of the last 3000 lines of text which cover the beginning of the Trojan War and some early activity by the Greeks and Trojans.

Book Three covers most of the combat both in the text and in the images, and it contains the fewest additional images. The images can be seen as highlighting one of the purposes of the text, and that is the demonstration of chivalric ideals as the two sides meet during times of battle and truce. On folio 83v is a two-part miniature that in one part doesn’t have a textual reference and in the next part is mislabeled. In the first part, Hector and his brother Cyncybar are on
horseback with knights. In the second part, Hector fights Duke Meneste on foot, Meryon is wounded, and Duke Antropos is lying dead on the ground. Antropos is a figure of death in the Troy Book, not a knight. On folio 92r Hector and Achilles fight one another on horseback in front of the city of Troy with knights behind them. On folio 94r Hector and Aeneas fight Achilles and Diomedes on horseback while Paris, Politite and Ulysses fight on foot. The battle continues on folio 97v as Hector and Aeneas kill Cedius and Alphenor and a Centaur shoots arrows at Greeks and their tents.

The remaining few images in this book do not focus solely on combat. In the midst of the war several truces were called, and lines 3605-4073 focus on Greek and Trojan communications during a three-month truce. Folio 100r illustrates a meeting between Hector and Achilles, both armed and with soldiers nearby. In lines 3755-3933, Hector and Achilles meet. Achilles warns Hector he will kill him to avenge Patroclus’ death, and they both agree that one must kill the other. They decide to duel one another and the winner decides the fate of the war; however, neither side will agree to the terms. Folio 104r illustrates the exchange for Antenor and Thoas with Cressida also being given to the Greeks. Lawton suggests that this image is a misnomer and Antenor should be labeled as Cressida, but Scott argues that the presence of Thoas suggests this is the correct labeling, and although Lydgate does not describe the actual exchange of Antenor and Thoas, this image is meant to demonstrate that scene.

The final two images focus on the death of Hector, which is the last important thing to happen in this book and is the event which helps to secure the win for Greece. Folio 106v has a four-part miniature in which Andromache dreams of Hector’s death. Three women plead with Hector not to go into battle.\textsuperscript{337} Diomedes and Paris fight with knights and soldiers around them,

\textsuperscript{337} This image is mislabeled. One of the women pleading with Hector is labeled as Cressida and Hector is labeled as Diomedes
and in the final scene Achilles kills Hector from behind while he’s unarmed.\textsuperscript{338} The final image of this Book is on folio 109v and it focuses on the funeral procession for Hector and the clerics going before his coffin. The images in this book focus on the major scenes from the text, but omit a lot of battle scenes. It’s quite possible that repetitive scenes of battle were not very interesting to the patron of this manuscript as the combat scenes from the previous book are not illustrated in great numbers either.

There is no overriding theme to the text or the images in Book IV. It continues with combat and therefore the images do as well, and in this way they continue with the theme of chivalric ideals; there are also councils held, so it continues with the theme of courtly ethics. One of the themes underlying this book is that of treachery and fortune, so the images can be seen as focusing on fortune and the destructive forces of treachery. The first additional image is of Priam and Palamedes fighting on folio 114r. Priam wants revenge after the death of Hector and the Trojans fight well. Palamedes has recently been elected emperor in place of Agamemnon, so their fight is an important element to the beginning of the text as each are leaders from their respective regions. Just as in the previous book, a truce is called and the Greeks and Trojans meet with one another. During this time, Achilles goes to the temple of Apollo in Troy and meets Hector’s sister, Polyxena, and falls in love. This is illustrated on folio 115r with the idol of Venus present signifying the aspect of love in the miniature. Achilles unsuccessfully attempts to gain a truce in order to have her hand in marriage and retreats from the war in frustration. During that time the Trojans and Greeks continue to fight and Troy regains some ground it lost after the death of Hector. Folio 119r marks the renewal of the battle as Deiphobus is killed in battle and asks Paris to seek vengeance. Paris fights and kills

\textsuperscript{338} This is also another possible misnomer. Diomedes fights Troilus in the text, but there isn’t a battle with Paris mentioned.
Palamedes in combat on horseback. Telamon Ajax and another king are wounded on the ground. This is quite possibly a misnomer as Ajax does fight that day but he is described as saving the Greeks. One of the dead could be Sarpedon who is killed by Palamedes before he fights with Paris.

The Greeks’ fortune has begun to reverse and they seek to get Achilles to return to the battle. On folio 121v is a two-part miniature. Nestor and soldiers visit Achilles in his tent and plead for his return in vain. In the second part Agamemnon, Menelaus and other kings meet in a council in his tent to discuss the future of the war without Achilles. The next couple of illustrations are combat scenes which look somewhat similar to each other. On folio 123v Troilus and Diomedes and Menelaus and an unnamed knight fight on horseback. On folio 125v Paris and Menelaus and Antenor and Meneste fight on horseback. Lydgate describes how Troilus fought well and led the Trojans to several victories. The Greeks appeal to Achilles who still refuses to fight but allows his Myrmidons to fight. After many of them die, he is compelled to return to battle. None of this is depicted visually, but his return and battle against Troilus is depicted on folio 126r. This is a two-part miniature which shows Achilles and Troilus fighting in mounted combat with Antenor on foot. In the second part, Achilles drags Troilus’ headless corpse behind his horse. Lydgate makes short comments on treachery in lines 2673-2676, and reproaches Homer for praising Achilles in lines 2780-2854. The treacherous acts continue as folio 129v depicts the murder of Achilles and Antilogus by Paris and his knights in the temple of Apollo which has the idol of Venus in the center. This scene corresponds to lines 3098-3209 in which Hecuba plans to kill Achilles by tricking him into thinking he will be coming to see Polyxena when instead Paris is waiting to meet him in ambush. Lydgate briefly interjects to discuss God’s punishments for treachery.
The next few images are council and combat images. Folio 130r depicts Agamemnon holding council in his tent as he discusses what’s to be done in light of Achilles’ murder. The battle continues on 131r as Telamon Ajax and a knight fights Queen Pollidamas and Philimene. This is a misnomer as the person labeled as queen is clearly a knight and can’t be Queen Penthesilea. The person labeled as queen should be labeled as king, as he is described as fighting King Polydamas. Folio 136r has the Amazons fighting on one side with Pirrus, Achilles’ recently arrived son, and the Greeks fighting on the other. Pirrus is labeled as killing Pollidamas, but this is also mislabeled as it should be Queen Penthesilea here. After this great battle the Trojans meet in council as illustrated on folio 138r; also in the illustration are Greek tents in the distance. This could be one of two councils described in lines 4637-5905 as problems within Troy arise. At the first council in lines 4637-4905, Antenor and Aeneas urge Priam to sue for peace, but he berates them. After the council, Priam believes he will be betrayed and plans to call a council and murder them. However, they learn of the trap and bring knights with them to the council and demand to sue for peace.

The final two images in this book concern the fall of Troy and therefore are a lesson about treachery. Antenor and Aeneas betray Troy in return for the safety of their families and allies can. On folio 145v is a four-part miniature illustrating the fall of Troy. The bronze horse is brought to Troy by Calchas. A king on horseback rides toward Troy accompanied by soldiers. The third and fourth parts focus on the destruction of Troy. The walls have been breached to allow the Trojan Horse to enter, and Trojans are being massacred by the Greeks. In the final part King Priam is killed in the temple of Apollo praying in front of the idol of Venus. The final image is two-part. In the first part Pirrus kills Polyxena at Achilles’ tomb in a temple in front of an idol of Venus, and in the second part Pirrus kills Hecuba on an island near a chapel. Overall
the images in this book illustrate the events of the text rather closely. There are some important scenes that are not illustrated, such as Paris’ death or the acts of betrayal by Antenor or Aeneas.

Book V deals mostly with the Greek heroes' nostoi and the images reflect a lesson in fortune. The Greeks have just decisively defeated Troy and are returning home victorious; however, tragedy is set to befall most of the Greek heroes. This begins in the first image on folio 151v in which Ulysses and Telamon Ajax fight over the palladium and appeal to Agamemnon. On folio 153r is a three-part miniature in which Ulysses is with some knights to the left of the central figure which is two individuals in bed. In the right are three knights murdering Telamon Ajax in bed. The knights are not named, but they probably represent Agamemnon, Menelaus and Ulysses whom the Greeks suspect for the murder.

Fortune turns against the Greek heroes due to a false tale, and the consequences of this is the subject of the next four images. Lydgate relates in lines 697-1780 how mischief desired to cause troubles and that Nautilus received an incorrect report about his son, Palamedes’, death who died in battle. This false tale is illustrated in the first two parts of a three-part miniature on folio 155v. In the first part of the miniature, Ulysses and Diomedes seize Palamedes after being told that he was bribed by the Trojans. He maintained his innocence and wanted to fight his accusers but no one would fight him. In the second part of the image, Ulysses and Diomedes trick Palamedes into going down a well for treasure and stone him to death while he’s down there. Nautilus vows vengeance on the Greeks for the treatment of his son. His first act of vengeance is the third part of the miniature in which Nautilus sets false signal fires so that the Greeks will crash on his shore. Two hundred Greek ships wreck there, including Agamemnon’s as illustrated.

This is not Nautilus’ only act of vengeance. He sends a letter to Clytemnestra informing her that Agamemnon plans to banish her after marrying a Trojan princess. Clytemnestra had
been sleeping with Aegisthus, whom she had a child with, and is not pleased at the news. Folio 157v illustrates his homecoming in three parts. In the first part, he is received by Clytemnestra; in the center he is killed by Aegisthus, and in the final part Clytemnestra and Aegisthus are married. Lydgate then turns his attention to Diomedes. Nautilus’ son Oetes plans his vengeance on Diomedes by sending a letter to his wife with a false tale of the death of her brother. Folio 158v illustrates the correct way that Assandrus died – in Telephus’ land by a dart shot by Telephus. Diomedes avenged Assandrus’ death and gave him a rich burial, but Oetes tells Egra, Diomedes’ wife, that Diomedes murdered Assandrus and took another wife. Diomedes doesn’t suffer from this tale too much; he eventually is called to Troy by Aeneas for help, is named protector of Troy and reconciles with his wife and lives a happy life.

Menelaus’ homecoming is the subject of the four-part miniature on folio 161r. The first part of the image is Menelaus returning home by ship. The second section, which is the central most section, shows Menelaus in council with Nestor and kings and courtiers. Upon arriving home Menelaus hears about Orestes’ deeds. Orestes, with the help of King Idomeneus and Forentius, has besieged Methene and avenged the murder of his father, Agamemnon, by killing Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, and has taken the role of king. Menelaus wants to dethrone him and meets in council. Orestes defends himself and is reconciled with Menelaus. In the third part of the miniature, Menelaus attends the wedding of Orestes and his daughter Hermione. The last part of the miniature shows Erigona, the daughter of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, committing suicide by hanging herself from a tree.

The remaining four images deal with Ulysses’ and Pirrus’ homecoming and fit the theme of fortune. On folio 162r, Ulysses is talking with King Idomeneus in a hall while his soldiers and a ship is on shore. Ulysses adventures are described in lines 1781-2314. None of Ulysses’
adventures are illustrated, but once he lands in King Idomeneus’ territory, he relates his adventures to him. Fortune is a major theme of his adventures though and is mentioned several times by Lydgate during the narration of his journey.

Lydgate then shifts to Pirrus’ homecoming which is told in lines 2315-2910. Folio 164r is a two-part miniature that has Pirrus coming to Pelleus on an island and a ship on shore. Upon Pirrus’ return, he learns that his grandfather-in-law, Atastus, has taken the land from Pelleus and banished him. He visits Pelleus in the cave he’s living in. Pirrus learns that Atastus’ family is hunting nearby so he dresses like a beggar and kills Menelippus and Polistenes, which is the subject of the second part of the miniature on folio 164v. After some time, Atastus and Pelleus decide to split Thessaly to rule, and then each give Pirrus their crowns so that he is king of Thessaly. Atastus and Pelleus offering their crowns and then Pelleus attending the crowning of Pirrus is the subject of the two-part miniature on folio 166v. Pirrus’ story continues, but there are no more images concerning Pirrus.

The final image is of Ulysses as related by Lydgate in line 2911-3325, and deals with the theme of fortune. This three-part miniature is on folio 168r. The first part of the miniature depicts Ulysses' dream in which a crowned lady from Fairyland carrying a spear and banner visits and tells him that his love for her will kill them both. In the second part of the image he is talking with clerks who interpret the dream as meaning that his son will kill him, and to the right his son is locked up in the tower. In the third part of the image, Ulysses is being killed by Telagonus, his son by Circe. One of the main overriding themes of Book Five is fortune, and each of the images reflects this theme.

Both the Royal and English manuscripts are deviations from the previous manuscripts in that they include extra images which imbue the manuscripts with additional meaning. The Royal
manuscript’s images focus is in large part on the destructive nature of war and each relate to fortune and can be seen as a direct comment on England during the Hundred Years’ War and the War of the Roses. The English manuscript is less pessimistic, and its images correlate to the didactic purposes of the text. Each of the extra images focus on lessons learned through the story of the Trojan War and Lydgate’s moral digressions. In this fashion they highlight proper courtly behavior, chivalry and fortune and serve as the foundation for English behavior.
CONCLUSION

The Trojan War is a story that has been told and retold through the centuries and is considered one of the most important stories for western civilization. The stories and the heroes who fought in the war served as a historical starting point for multiple nations and protonations, and were largely considered a historical fact until the sixteenth century. In antiquity Homer was the uncontested authority on the war as related in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. These texts became part of a PanHellenic consciousness from which all of Hellas drew. Virgil followed in Homer's footsteps with the *Aeneid* in the first century BCE, which solidified a Trojan ancestry for the Romans who had appropriated and emphasized the myth in the third- and second-centuries BCE as their rule of the Mediterranean expanded. Although there were detractors of Homer and Virgil in antiquity, it wasn't until the Christian Middle Ages that they were disregarded as telling false tales of the war due to the inclusion of the gods.

During the Middle Ages a new authority for the Trojan War came to light. Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae* and Dictys Cretensis' *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, two works that purported to be eye-witness accounts of the war, became the truth of the Trojan War and remained the authority for the Trojan War until the early modern period. These forgeries changed some significant details of the war. No gods are present, and all actions are due to human agency. The Trojan War is rooted in the adventure of Jason and the Argonauts, and the pious Aeneas of Virgil is changed to one who betrayed his homeland for the safety of himself and his family. These tales became the basis for the ancestral records of the majority of Europe as they sought to solidify and legitimate their rule in much the same way as Rome did previously. These texts also became the source of several redactions including Benoit Ste.
Maure's *Le Roman de Troie*, Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troia*, and most importantly for this study Lydgate's *Troy Book*.

In chapter one, I examined the use of this myth and why it was so popular. As Rome was developing their Mediterranean dominance, they started expanding and emphasizing the myth that Aeneas was the progenitor of all of the Romans. They had multiple ancestors they could have chosen from, but Aeneas and the descent from Troy was the more favorable due to the legitimation it provided. Although Rome had conquered numerous regions in the Mediterranean, she did not have the right to rule. Therefore Rome turned to the Trojan Legend and appropriated the myth of descent through Aeneas as a means of legitimation in the third- and second-centuries BCE. The myth was appealed to again soon after Augustus came to power when Virgil wrote the *Aeneid* which heralded Aeneas as the progenitor of Rome, a direct ancestor to Augustus, and primed him as the model all Romans should follow thereby equating Augustus with Aeneas through descent and character as well as giving him the right to rule the newly formed government.

When Rome fell, her memory did not. Those who conquered and took over parts of the Roman Empire felt a similar type of insecurity that Rome did when taking over the Mediterranean. Therefore, they appealed to the same myth. Biographers supplied various leaders with an ancestry leading back to Troy. Aeneas is not the progenitor of choice for each of the various states; they also choose from Antenor and descendants of Aeneas and of Hector. The stories have them making their way throughout Europe and founding cities along the way thereby giving these descendants the same right to rule the regions of the previous Roman Empire as Rome did herself.
These kingdoms, which grew into nations and empires, continued to celebrate their Trojan ancestry and demonstrated that link through appropriating the imagery of Troy. These include, but are not limited to, the Holy Roman Empire, Venice, France, and England. I showed how Venice used the myth to give themselves a past for which they had none and how they used the imagery to give them a sense of legitimation for preparing to gain some independence from the Byzantine Empire. Likewise in France, the Capetians used the myth and illustrated manuscripts as a means of giving them a sense of power and right to rule when centralizing the monarchy and solidifying their dynasty. In promoting this, the Capetians used Benoit’s twelfth century *Le Roman de Troie*, which was most likely written for the English kings but never gained much popularity in England.

The focus of the remainder of this study has been to look at how the Trojan Legend was used in England in a similar manner as Rome, Venice, and France. In Chapter Two, I focus on the literary history of the Trojan story in England and the various permutations and translations of the legend. Although Nennius had recorded the story of Brutus founding Briton and naming the island after himself, it was a very short record in his *Historia Brittonum*. Geoffrey of Monmouth solidified and expanded the myth of Trojan descent for England in his *Historia Regum Brittaniae*. In this text, Geoffrey adds to Nennius’ version whereby he establishes Brutus, Aeneas’ great-grandchild, as a hero who travels to Greece, after being exiled from his homeland, and saves the Trojan captives. In doing this, he reverses the stain of both the Trojan defeat and Aeneas’ treachery. When he arrives in England, it is not as the grandson of a traitor of a defeated kingdom, but as a hero who is just. Geoffrey’s historical account also traces the interactions between Rome and England and depict England not as conquered by Rome, but as a nation that is powerful and can stand up to Rome when all are working together. The only time
when England succumbs to Rome is when England is divided by civil war. Geoffrey sets the stage for an English identity, one that is strong, has the ancestral right to rule, and can stand up to the power and might of Rome and her memory.

Although Benoit’s translation was not exceedingly popular in England, the Trojan story itself was. There were several English translations between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. These translations demonstrate that the myth was considered an important artifact for English history and that English was slowly gaining popularity as the language of choice, especially as they started fighting with France for the throne. In addition to the alliterative romances, which are themselves English translations of Dares and Dictys, there were other texts in the *romans antiques* tradition, including Chaucer’s *Troilus and Cressida*, which served to solidify English descent from Troy. Just as the Capetians used the Trojan story to bolster their claim to the French throne, so too did the Plantagenets use it for their claim to the English throne.

Lydgate’s 1422 English translation of the Trojan story, commissioned by Henry V while still Prince of Wales, is the most ambitious of the English translations. His *Troy Book* creates an allusion of Henry V to Hector as the model hero and leader much the same way that Virgil’s *Aeneid* creates an allusion of Augustus to Aeneas. Lydgate tells us that Henry commissioned the translation so that England could have the grand tale told in the English language. This translation not only helped to solidify the English claim to descent and serve as a model of English behavior and identity in much the same way as Geoffrey’s *Historia*, but it also served as a means of establishing Lancastrian rule as well as English as the official language of England. Although literature had been written in English, most notably by Chaucer in the late fourteenth century, French was still the dominant court language. During Henry V’s reign, he started promoting the use of English in official documents and interactions with France as a means of
establishing English identity as something separate and independent from France. Although Lydgate lost popularity after the fifteenth century, he was a prolific and popular author while alive as he penned works for many patrons, and his works serve as an insight to contemporary concerns and behaviors in the fifteenth century.

After examining the textual sources for the use of the Trojan Legend in England, in Chapter Three, I looked into the ways in which the Trojan Legend was used in art. Although the depiction of the Trojan War were popular in paintings and tapestries in France, the Holy Roman Empire, and Italy, there are few records of English versions. They do exist but are not nearly as numerous as they are on the continent. The Trojan War, however, is a popular illustration for manuscripts. Although my main focus is on the English manuscripts, I look at which manuscripts tend to gain illustrations internationally as they could have influence on the manuscript production and illustration in England. Trojan illustrations are found in numerous illustrations, most notably including any of the texts written in the romans antique tradition. Although there is Trojan imagery in English manuscripts, there are no illuminated manuscripts for any of the English translations of the Troy story before Lydgate's Troy Book. Trojan iconography, however, does exist in manuscripts of Virgil, Brut, and genealogical rolls that follow Geoffrey's Historia and serves to reinforce Trojan descent and English identity.

The remainder of my study focuses on the images in the Lydgate Troy Book manuscripts themselves and how they can be read as using the past as a means of commenting on contemporary events. Of the seven known illustrated manuscripts, which still have their illustrations, five of them follow a pretty well-defined program using similar images to act as frontispieces to Books. They each contain a prefatory image which includes a monk, identified as Lydgate, kneeling and handing his book to a king, who is identified as Henry V. For the
remaining standard images, they tend to be the most important primary action in their respective Books and serve as guides to the beginning of each Book. Lawton argued that with the exception of the Royal manuscript, no images seem to have any interpretive purposes other than regular indices to the text. Recent scholarship by Driver on the Pierpont Morgan manuscript, however, demonstrates that there could be comments on contemporary events present in the images and that they might not just be visual indices.

I follow Driver's argument as I look at some of the anomalous or extra images in the manuscripts. One of the main anomalous images that I argue has interpretive value is the depiction of the Wheel of Fortune present in the Pierpont Morgan, Royal and English manuscripts. Although Fortune was a major theme of the *Troy Book* and is the subject of numerous digressions and warning, the image is not present in the earlier manuscripts; it is only present in these three later manuscripts. Because Lydgate makes a point that Fortune is fickle and you must take advantage of Fortune when she lends you her help because the next day she may be helping someone else, this image can be seen as commenting on contemporary events. When Lydgate finished writing his text, Henry V was alive and by the Treaty of Troyes would have the French throne upon the death of King Charles VI. Not long after this treaty was signed, Henry V died and left both thrones to his baby son, Henry. Just before the death of Henry V, England’s fortunes were on the rise; however, after his death England started suffering reversals of fortune in the Hundred Years, which culminated with England losing all the gains they made under Henry V. Henry VI ends up suffering a mental breakdown which precipitates the civil war between the Lancasters and the Yorks. These downturns in English fortune could be a reason for the last three illustrated *Troy Book* manuscripts containing the Wheel of Fortune image as they were commissioned during a period when England’s fortunes were on the descent.
Chapter four focuses on the final two illustrated manuscripts, which contain the majority of the anomalous images, Royal 18.d.ii and John Rylands English I. The Royal manuscript is the only manuscript to confidently be traced to the aristocracy and went through a series of productions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though its patron, Sir William Herbert, appears to have chosen the images at the time of commission. This manuscript also contains the only illustrated copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* text. That the *Troy Book* is paired with the *Siege of Thebes* lends some credence to the idea that the images did have patron influence and that the images can be read through contemporary events. Each of the images contains a rubricated summary, which indicates that there was some involvement in choices for the illustrations at the time of manuscript creation. Likewise each of the illustrations can be read as focusing on some element of fortune, when fortune is waning or rising, and can be read in conjunction with the Wheel of Fortune image which supplants Book II's standard image. Following the anomalous Wheel of Fortune images there are a series of images which are not only directly related to fortune but also follow a textual digression of fortune highlighting fortune’s fickle nature. The combination of the text and the images can be read as a warning and serve as advice for those who are in a position which depends on fortune. By extension the images can be read as a comment on contemporary concerns and advice concerning fortune. As descendants of Troy, these images serve as a remembrance of their history and through this history serve as lessons for contemporary issues. They can be seen as commenting on the reversals of fortune that England suffered since the death of Henry V as well as a warning of the dangers of civil war.

The remainder of my focus is on the English I manuscript, which contains the most images and is the most sumptuous of the *Troy Book* manuscript. Lawton argued that the extra
images in this manuscript had no interpretive value but merely serve as visual indices to important sections of the text. While they do point to important elements in the text and can be read as a visual recording of the text, I argue that they do have interpretative value and that value can be gleaned from an understanding of some of the underlying purposes of the text. In addition to the translation of the Trojan story, Lydgate included many digressions in which he gives advices on numerous things. In this way, the *Troy Book* can be read as a "mirror of princes" type of text which not only tells a story but gives guidance on proper behavior. In this way we can read Lydgate's text as serving as a manual for proper conduct and courtly ethics as well as the ideals of chivalric behavior. Though some of the images appear to touch on the element of fortune, the vast majority of the images relates to the themes of the text and gives visual indications for proper behavior and serve as a didactic pictorial program.

Both the text of the Trojan story and the images provided England with a rich historical background for which there was none. This also provided them with a right to rule and gave them the inheritance of the *translatio studii et imperii* which moves westward. The use of Troy as a starting point gave them the same right to rule regions previously ruled by Rome and gave them a distinctive identity separate from the French as they began a new kingdom away from but also part of France. Although the Trojan ancestral story faded as the they were revealed as myths and part forgeries, there is no question that both the texts and the manuscripts shaped English identity and gave them a means of commenting on contemporary events and beliefs by mediating through a past they believed was true.
APPENDIX A

IMAGES

Figure One
King Enthroned
Figure Two
Wheel of Fortune
(c) The British Library Board, Royal 18. D. II f30v.

Figure Three
Greek Tents Overthrown
(c) The British Library Board, Royal 18. D. II f82v.
Figure Four

*Priam*

(c) The British Library Board, Royal 18. D. II f93.

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Figure Five

*Calchas*

(c) The British Library Board, Royal 18. D. II f74.
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