

**Richard III's Books XIV: Pietro Carmeliano's
early publications: his *Spring*, the *Letters of
Phalaris*, and his *Life of St Katherine* dedicated
to Richard III.**

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The Italian humanist, Pietro Carmeliano, is one of those authors who went out of their way to praise Richard III during the king's lifetime, while dedicating a *Life of St Katherine* to him, and could hardly find words harsh enough to describe his iniquities after his death. Rather than blame Carmeliano for his change of mind we should examine his career and work under the Yorkist kings on their own merit to discover the background of this apparent change of heart; we should question at the same time the assertion that before the accession of Henry VII Italian scholars and humanists in England had a hard life with very little hope of reward or preferment.¹ Carmeliano is the example most frequently cited to support this, but his early career provides in fact good evidence for a more balanced view of the patronage of foreign scholars by the English and their kings in the early 1480s, and also for the position and life of such men in general.²

In 1483 Pietro Carmeliano may have dedicated a manuscript edition of the *Letters of Phalaris* to Edward V or Richard III, in 1484, as a New Year's gift, he presented his Latin verse *Life of St Katherine* to Richard III, simultaneously giving illuminated autograph copies to the king, Chancellor Russell and Sir Robert Brackenbury. The background of both presentations must be sought in Carmeliano's earliest known activities in England. Not long after his arrival in 1481 he was living in the Rolls House under the aegis of Robert Morton, Master of

the Rolls. His first attempt at gaining royal patronage was the gift of a printed book – Cicero's *De oratore*, glossed in his own hand – to Edward IV. In 1482 he followed this up with a poem of his own making, called *De vere (Spring)*, dedicated to the young prince of Wales and written in his own hand. The surviving copy of his manuscript 'edition' of the *Letters of Phalaris*, belonged to a member of the Lee family of London and Maidstone and must be dated between 1482 and 1485. While continuing this production of manuscript books for individual patrons he is also known to have worked for printers in Oxford and London from 1483/4. The culmination of his literary work under the Yorkist kings was the dedication of his *Life of St Katherine* to Richard III.

Carmeliano's early career in England indicates that he enjoyed the protection of the influential Morton family and the friendship of the Lees, but also that he was well able to provide for himself independently. At no time between his arrival in England in 1481 and Richard III's death in August 1485 do his scholarly and literary activities suggest that he was about to leave the country in despair at the barbarism of the English and their kings. He was active, clever, and successful in his search for employment and patronage; he was taking the first steps on the ladder towards the wealth and prestige he would gain in the course of his life.

Early Life and First Publications in England.

Pietro Fava di Valle Sabbia was born in 1451 in or near Brescia in Northern Italy. He later changed his name to Carmeliano, which he presumably considered better suited to a future 'poet laureate' and writer of *carmina* (poems).³ Very little is known about his early life; it is possible that he studied at Padua.⁴ In 1481 he was in Rome and in the same year travelled via France and Brittany to England. Why he did not try his luck in France is never explained, either by him or his biographers, but it is likely he already had friends in England. He himself claimed that he had planned to travel on to Scotland and Germany immediately, but became so enamoured of the 'loveliness and sweetness' of England that 'somehow' he did not leave again. He was to die in England in 1527, a very rich man.⁵

Though the event cannot be dated precisely it is likely Carmeliano's career in England started with his presentation of an existing book to Edward IV: Cicero's *De oratore*⁶ in a copy of the edition printed at Venice in 1478.⁷ Carmeliano had added Latin dedicatory verse at the beginning and written his own glosses in the margin throughout the book, presumably in the same distinctive, neat, humanist hand that characterises his other productions. It is not known whether Carmeliano was rewarded for his efforts, but there is no reason to assume that he was not. He could have brought the printed Cicero with him from Italy and offered it shortly after his arrival; Edward's response may have encouraged him to try again within the year, this time with his own poetry in a volume made by himself for the Prince

of Wales (see below). If he had already been rewarded it may have been more than wishful thinking when he called himself 'poet laureate' in 1482.⁸

Carmeliano's reasons for considering *De oratore* a suitable gift for the King must be sought in his desire for self-advancement, and the same applies to all his other gifts and dedications. What humanist scholars hoped for was employment at court; princes needed such men for their facility in using language to promote their employers' propagandist projects: diplomatic correspondence, foreign embassies and public speeches. Also in demand were men who could prove that they were able to teach such skills to the prince's heir – Carmeliano's ability to teach Prince Edward was to be attested by his Latin poem, *De vere* (see below) – or his future servants.⁹ The text of *De oratore* had been known and studied throughout the middle ages,¹⁰ and had become particularly popular with humanist scholars who regarded Cicero as the ideal citizen and thinker, the rhetorician whose aim was to serve the state and the common good. The book itself emphasised the need for the true orator to be many sided and possess a wide range of knowledge. Its very title was suggestive in a period when 'orator' meant both poet and diplomat. There is no doubt that Edward had already understood how useful learned men could be as ambassadors and secretaries and that the display of their knowledge added as much to the King's own prestige as banquets, tournaments and other magnificent public festivities. Men like John Gunthorpe¹¹ and John Shirwood¹² were scholars whose accomplishments included a knowledge of Greek but also royal servants and ambassadors of both Yorkist kings. Edward IV may, however, have needed convincing that he could use foreigners to perform such services for him. Edward's copy of *De oratore* no longer exists, but its eighteenth-century location suggests that the copy of *De oratore* ended up in the cathedral library of John Morton, Bishop of Ely.¹³

At Easter 1482, on 7 April, Carmeliano presented a work of his own making to the eleven-year old Edward, Prince of Wales.¹⁴ *De vere* ('On spring') is a Latin poem of 300 lines; it begins:

The year is divided into four different seasons that provide food for men and rule all living creatures: the first season gives life to roses, the second to corn, the third to apples, and the last season rages with ice and snow and rain.

The text celebrates the sweetness of spring, 'the better part of the year', with a monotonous enumeration of many flowers, plants and trees and many animals of earth, sea and air, briefly describing their pleasure at the coming of the new season. The poem includes some of the traditional stories found in medieval bestiaries, such as the ever-watchful crane, the bear licking her new-born cubs into shape and the mullet believing it is completely hidden when it covers its head. All the information is of classical origin, however, and virtually all of it is taken from

Pliny's *Natural History*.¹⁵ Carmeliano's verse follows closely large sections of Pliny's text, taking the same animals in the same order and telling the same stories, though always abbreviated and often in different words.

Carmeliano's desire to display learning tricked him into using extremely rare Latin words which he did not understand himself; to modern eyes the effect borders on the ridiculous. He included, for example, the *chama* and the *cephus*, the first a lynx-like animal, described by Pliny as having the shape of a wolf and the spots of a leopard, the second an unidentified creature with legs like human feet and hands. Carmeliano took both words at face value, repeated Pliny literally, lamely adding (for the sake of his poem's subject) that the *chama* 'loves the mild weather' and the *cephus* 'also loves spring'.¹⁶

Towards the end of the poem he introduces the theme of spring on a more personal and attractive note, addressing the nightingale, whose song is sweeter than Apollo's; the land, the woods and the mountains listen to it in silence and it is praised by the shepherd, the ploughman and the Muses themselves. The bird will go on singing when the poet has fallen silent and he begs it:

be good to me: when my prince goes into the forest then sing all your songs in a thousand ways so that when he returns to town he will commend me for having sung your praises.¹⁷

The text itself ends with a twenty-line prayer that young Edward may reign safely and happily after his father's death – secure as the lion treading through the forest, the fearless dolphin in the wide sea or the carefree eagle in the sky; the poet is the prince's slave and will sing for him and his father again; he commends himself to young Edward, for he is a poor man, far away from home.

Carmeliano did indeed receive his hoped-for reward: the manuscript shows that he took the book back for a while and inscribed it with another sixteen lines of verse, expressing his gratitude and praising young Edward literally to the stars:

Men rejoice in you, both young and old, and all the stars rejoice in your countenance.¹⁸

The praises that the French/Italian visitor Domenico Mancini was to sing in the next year of young Edward's literary abilities need not be taken too seriously,¹⁹ but it is possible that the Prince, with some help from his tutors, was able to enjoy the learning displayed by Carmeliano. *De vere* is a small book of 8.5 by 5.75 inches and only ten leaves; it is made of vellum, with wide margins and written throughout in the author's own clear, attractive hand. The first page of the text (f. 1) has a simple, pleasant border of flowers and fruit of English work and the Prince's arms, delicately executed, are included in the decoration of the lower margin (see fig. 1). If Carmeliano – as is likely – already had contacts among booksellers and printers shortly after his arrival in England, it cannot have been difficult for him to find an illuminator and a bookbinder to finish his gift for him.

He could also have done it himself. The little book in Latin may have been an appropriate addition to the collection of French texts from Flanders that the King was bringing together for his son's use.²⁰ The didactic purpose of *De vere* is evident from both language and contents and few people in England at the time would have known Pliny's *Natural History* well enough to put the extent of Carmeliano's learning in perspective.²¹

In *De vere* Pietro Carmeliano states that he wrote the poem 'at the Rolls House' (in *Aedibus Rotulorum*) in April 1482.²² It is likely that he was already employed by or had at least found a protector or patron in the master of the rolls, Robert Morton, and was given accommodation in the House in Chancery Lane.

The Mortons, John and Robert, uncle and nephew, reappear regularly in the background of Carmeliano's career. John Morton was ambassador at the French court in the winter of 1481/82, at the time Carmeliano travelled through France in search of employment and it is possible they met,²³ but the Italian's stay at Rolls House in 1482 suggests the association began with Robert, who was later to pay the first annuity known to have been granted to Carmeliano, by Henry VII in September 1486, as bishop-elect of Worcester.²⁴ John Morton became archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England within two years of Henry VII's accession and remained the King's principal adviser until his death in 1500, and any association Carmeliano might have formed with him or his relatives before August 1485 could have turned out to be very profitable for the Italian.

The Letters of Phalaris, Another Book Presented to Richard III?

Carmeliano's next publishing venture designed to attract patronage and show off his skills under Yorkist rule was his manuscript 'edition' of the letter collection attributed to the Greek tyrant Phalaris. Only one copy survives, virtually identical in execution to the manuscript made for Prince Edward and therefore probably datable to the same year 1482 or shortly after. The book's marks of ownership do not link it to a royal patron but one of its curious inscriptions in Latin verse may suggest an association with one of the Yorkist kings.²⁵

The historical Phalaris made himself ruler of Agrigento, Sicily, in the sixth century BC.²⁶ He became a symbol of tyranny and cruelty in the ancient and medieval world and during the renaissance,²⁷ and he was particularly infamous for the bronze bull designed for him, which had a hollow belly in which prisoners could be roasted alive, making the effigy bellow in their agony.²⁸ The Greek satirist and rhetorician Lucian (second century AD) composed two letters supposedly written by Phalaris, defending himself against charges of cruelty.²⁹ These letters were produced as a tongue-in-cheek exercise in public speaking and the art of persuasion, but they led another teacher of rhetoric, at an unknown date, to write a whole series of such letters in a more serious vein.³⁰

The writing of good and effective private and public letters was one of the most highly rated literary skills throughout the middle ages. The tradition survived partly from classical times, with Cicero's letters to his friends as the most influential example, but also from the early Christian centuries when a man like Cassiodorus, minister to the illiterate king Theodoric, created his vast collection of letters 'to speak the king's words'.³¹ Basic formularies containing set phrases to be used in specific circumstances as well as theoretical treatises proliferated in the twelfth century and existed side by side with ancient and contemporary letter collections. Letter-writing and rhetoric, or 'oratory', had always been closely related and became so more emphatically from the early fifteenth century, when Italian humanists used letters for scholarly debate and very often composed and collected them with publication in mind. To these men all examples surviving from classical times, whether genuine or spurious, were of particular interest. Spurious authors included the physician Hippocrates, the philosophers Plato and Aristotle,³² and famous statesmen such as Brutus and the tyrant Phalaris, the last named being remarkably popular particularly in fifteenth-century Italy, with over thirty printed editions before 1501, second only to Cicero's *Letters to Friends*.³³ The popularity of the letters of Phalaris was not only due to their supposed antiquity, but also to their political relevance and their eloquence. A few years later, in 1484, William Caxton with Carmeliano's assistance was to publish the contemporary correspondence between the pope and the city of Venice because it contained these same elements of political and rhetorical interest (see below).

The fact that the *Letters of Phalaris* were forged and could not have been written during the tyrant's lifetime was not proved until the end of the seventeenth century by Richard Bentley in his famous dispute with Charles Boyle and others.³⁴ The words of Bentley's contemporary, the diplomat Sir William Temple, probably reflect what most late fifteenth-century scholars had thought:

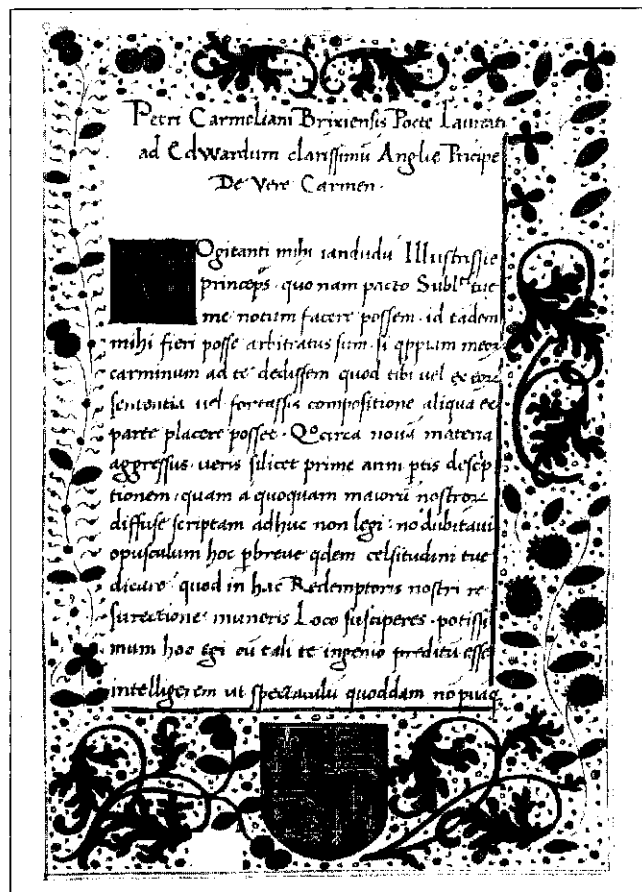
... the Epistles of *Phalaris* ... have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ever seen ... such Freedom of Thought, such Boldness of Expression, such Bounty to his Friends, such Scorn of his Enemies, such Honour of Learned men, such Esteem of Good, such Knowledge of Life, such Contempt of Death, with such Fierceness of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them.³⁵

Temple was presumably thinking of the good advice the letters contained for politicians of his day. To late medieval English readers the text may have appeared to belong to the genre of 'mirrors for princes', books of advice for rulers.

Carmeliano must have assumed that he was bringing something special to the attention of English scholars with his edition of these letters, but there are no signs of any immediate popularity of the text in this country.³⁶ The version he introduced

Figures 1 and 2

Figure 1, on the right, shows the first page of the unique and autograph copy of Pietro Carmeliano's poem *Spring*, with the arms of Edward, Prince of Wales, in the lower border. British Library, Ms. Royal 12 A xxix, f. 1; by permission of The British Library. This page contains the beginning of the book, which starts with the author's dedicatory introduction to Prince Edward, relating the events of his life and his reasons for composing the poem. Figure 2, below, shows the first two pages of the only surviving one of Pietro Carmeliano's autograph copies of the Latin translation of the *Letters of Phalaris*, Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 429, ff. 3v-4; by permission of The Board of Trinity College Dublin. On the left, f. 3v, is Carmeliano's poem addressing the reader; below it space was left for a miniature, probably intended for a picture of the tyrant Phalaris, but only filled with a drawing of crossed branches and foliage; in the lower border is the coat of arms of the Lee family. On the right, f. 4, is the beginning of the introduction of the translator, Francesco Griffolini, dedicating his work to Domenico Malatesta. The size of the marginal decoration is not the same on both pages, because f. 3, on the left, was made separately, decorated with the arms of the future owner when the author had decided to whom he was going to give this particular copy, and then included before the book was bound. Both manuscripts are reproduced smaller than their actual size: *Spring* is 8½ inches high; the *Letters* 8 inches.



CAR. mellani Poete. ad Lectore. camen.

HUNC PRECOR aq.

precator. Lector. Suidiose libelli.

Perlege. q. passim gemmea.

uerba refert.

Phalaris hunc scripsit cretensis.

edius oris.

Si patam gras Astipaleis erat.

Mysus i exitum siculas puenit ad oris.

Se faciens dominu q. modo seruus erat.

Protinus has uanis celebres in cruce tabellis.

Hostibus ac populis. mongens q. dedie.

Quas deus Elloqui gratias facit et latinas.

Franciscus noster hic artinus erat.

Mumficius quens docti iusti q. pui q.

Inuenies unum. Phalaris ille fuit.

Epistole phalaris p. Franciscus Artinus e. greco.

Latinius traducte felatit incipit p. h. phomius.



Ellem Malatesta nouelle Princeps si.

Lustris tantam mihi dicendi facilitate.

dari. ut uel prestante tue uel Phalaris nri.

Epistolis quas nuper e. greco i. latini t. dicitur.

e. nomini tuo ut pollicitus sum dicatas mto.

mea responderet oratio. Veru enim asseperat.

no modo no multitudinis. s. ne doctarum qd.

aurus iudicis formidaret. Nam ut Laudes.

tuas i. aliud tempus remittam. neq. em. ei.

modi sunt que possint breui pheno coplecti.

qui ornatus. que tanta eet dicendi copia q. no.

tuo e. maioris tuoro splendore suparetur. Ta.

cebo igitur i. pntia antiquissimam Malatestarum.

familiam que no. Flamme modo i. q. foeliasio.

principatu diu floruit. s. italie deus atq. ora.

mentis sentit semper. Tacebo maiores tuos q.

q. si prestatissimi fuerit. ni si hac quina assu.

merem. tantis mihi recentiu laudis campis.

pateret. ut no. opus eet antiquora consecrari.

Tacebo Pandulfum patrem. Carolus e. Mala.

testam patris. qbus neq. Bellie rei gloria.

was the Latin translation of most of the letters made by Francesco Griffolini of Arezzo in the early 1440s.³⁷ It had a dedicatory introduction from Griffolini to Domenico Malatesta 'Novello' (1418-65), member of a powerful family, patron of humanists and founder of the Bibliotheca Malatestiana in Cesena. Griffolini briefly sang the praises of Domenico's ancestors, but spent many more pages expressing his surprise that the letters of Phalaris had so long been neglected and their author vilified: 'Phalaris was never so cruel towards the men who conspired against him, as scholars have been to Phalaris'. The translator argued that in his letters the author could not dissimulate and that they show the real man:

You will find no dissimulator. You will find a great-hearted man who feared no one. An open-faced man whose mind could be read. Are you looking for piety towards gods and country? You have Phalaris, who spoke devoutly of the gods and spent much money on his country even though it had sent him into exile. Are you looking for a lover of the arts? You have Phalaris, who spared the poet Stesichorus, his greatest enemy, out of respect for the arts. Are you looking for liberality? You have Phalaris, who not only refused to accept gifts himself, but complained when people would not accept his.

Some samples may be given of the rather simple rhetoric that was to make these letters so amazingly popular for many years:

Phalaris to Theusippus

We have spared your son because of his youth and you because of your age, though you deserved no mercy. If you do not restrain yourself from further rashness his youth will not save him, nor your age you; on the contrary, we will inflict on you punishment in the same measure as we granted you mercy.³⁸

Phalaris to Hiero

I could say much about you and your foolish speech against me, but I do not want to waste words; only this: an Indian elephant takes no notice of a mosquito.³⁹

For his autograph 'edition' of the *Letters of Phalaris* Carmeliano wrote a page of verse recommending the book to his (nameless) reader, explaining who Phalaris had been and how famous and eloquent his letters were (f. 3v). At the end of the text itself he wrote: 'I, Carmeliano, moved by the request of a friend, wrote this text with my own hand in haste'.⁴⁰ He had chosen a format strikingly similar to that of *De vere*.⁴¹ If anything, the Phalaris manuscript was more elaborate and expensive: both the first page of the translation (f. 4, Griffolini's recommendation) and the preceding page (f. 3v, Carmeliano's own letter to his readers) have a decorated initial and border (fig. 2). These two pages were meant to look the same but are slightly different in ink, script and size of written space and illuminated border, which is not surprising as the left hand page is part of a single, inserted

leaf, bound in but not part of the main gatherings used for the text of the letters. The text starts on the convenient first right-hand page of the first full gathering (f. 4) – as in *De vere* – and ends neatly on the last page because the number of folios has been adapted to its length. The text is followed immediately by the colophon about the request of ‘a friend’. When the scribe had finished, one vellum bifolium (two leaves, i.e. four pages) was inserted at the beginning of the manuscript and one at the end to make protective flyleaves, and – as said above – one single leaf (f. 3-3v) was bound in between the front flyleaves and the first gathering; on the recto side of this Carmeliano wrote the title, on the verso side his poem to the reader. Below the latter he left a blank space meant to contain a miniature but only filled with a simple line drawing of two crossed branches with leaves and flowers. A coat of arms was painted in the decoration of the lower margin and provides the only evidence that the manuscript was intended for a specific owner.⁴³ This composition suggests that Carmeliano produced other copies of the Phalaris text, ‘personalising’ each separately as and when he needed, all copies including the flattering phrase about the ‘friend’ for whose pleasure the text had been written out by the donor himself. It was not the last time Carmeliano made multiple copies of the same text to be distributed in the most profitable way.

The coat of arms in the Phalaris manuscript seems to be correctly executed: azure, on a fesse cotised or three leopards faces gules.⁴⁴ The owner of the book must be sought among the Lee family from Kent. The family’s fortunes had been founded by Sir Richard Lee, grocer and twice mayor of London (died 1472).⁴⁴ In the early 1480s two sons of his were alive: John, the elder, was illegitimate, a cleric, a scholar who had studied at Padua and, since 1476, master of Maidstone College, Kent. Richard was the heir and operated as both a grocer of London and member of the squirearchy of Kent, Surrey and Sussex. He was sheriff of Kent in 1480 and he served on commissions of the peace for Kent in 1474, 1481 and July 1483.⁴⁵

Because of the probable date of the manuscript’s making, the arms in the *Letters of Phalaris* are *technically* those of Richard Lee II, the mayor’s heir. Whether he was the kind of man that would have been pleased with a copy is doubtful and it is much more likely that it was his illegitimate and learned half-brother, John, who had once studied in Padua, who showed an interest. Carmeliano had the Lee arms painted in, perhaps unaware of John’s illegitimacy or of the niceties of heraldic differencing.

John Lee was probably the eldest son of his father, born before 1431, the year in which his father gained admission to the Grocers’ Company of London by redemption (purchase). By 1450 John was old enough to be admitted to Oxford for a BA;⁴⁶ by 1461 he was studying at Padua, becoming a doctor of canon law in that year. He had risen to be ‘vice-rector of the ultramontane and citramontane jurists’

(law students from both sides of the Alps) by 1468. In these years John had several English fellow students, among them John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, the book collector and patron of scholars, John Free, one of the truly learned Englishmen of his time, and another noble scholar, Peter Courtenay, brother of the Earl of Devon.⁴⁷ Carmeliano, being born in Brescia, which was ruled by Venice at the time, probably went to Padua to study and met some of the Englishmen there. John Lee was admitted to holy orders and became vicar of St Mary's, Sandwich, in November 1462, a living he retained until his death. Other preferments followed, but the most important appointment and probably the most congenial to him was the mastership of Maidstone College in February 1476.⁴⁸ John died in 1495 and in his will left all his property in Maidstone to the college to maintain an obit for his parents and himself.⁴⁹

It can be assumed that life in the college suited a man who had studied abroad and had more than the common learning of a vicar of his day.⁵⁰ As far as is known, however, Lee did not write anything or foster learning, unless he encouraged his friend Carmeliano or his own nephew, Edward, the future archbishop of York and the target of one of Erasmus' scholarly attacks, who became a scholar at Magdalen College in the year his uncle died.⁵¹ John's first successor as master of Maidstone was John Camberton, a *protégé* of John Morton and one of the executors of Morton's will.⁵² Camberton was followed in 1506 by William Grocyn, a more celebrated scholar than Lee, who had been one of the disputants chosen to show his skills before Richard III at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1483. Grocyn was a great teacher and lecturer but he, too, never wrote and remained master of Maidstone College until his death in 1519.⁵³

Unless his brother Richard was more learned than his career suggests, John Lee is the most likely member of his family to have been a recipient of a copy of Carmeliano's Phalaris letters; considering the way the manuscript was put together John or Richard cannot have been the only 'friend' of the Italian who received one, but they may be representative of the kind of patronage that Carmeliano had been able to secure.

The manuscript contains some mysterious inscriptions whose presence cannot be explained by association with such as the Lees only. On the first blank flyleaf (f. 2v) a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century Italianate hand wrote:

Victurus genium debet habere liber
(To be successful a book needs a patron).⁵⁴

On one of the end flyleaves (f. 61v) the same hand, however, added:

Carmina laudantur sed munera magna petuntur;
Dummodo sit dives, barbarus ipse placet.

(Poems are praised but what people really want is
great gifts; so long as he is rich even a rustic boor pleases).⁵⁵

Did the writer of these comments know anything about the circumstances of the presentation of the book? It is difficult to judge whether these remarks were innocent or not. The rich man who is popular because of his money even if his poetry is bad hardly describes Carmeliano in the 1480s, though it conforms to the opinion Erasmus was to have of him later, when Carmeliano was rich and Erasmus offered him fulsome flattery to his face⁵⁶ and laughed at him behind his back, calling him 'an animal' (*bellua*) in a letter to a friend.⁵⁷ It is likely, however, the scribbler in the manuscript read a different meaning into the quotation. It may have been John Lee, who had learned to write an Italianate hand, who was ridiculing Carmeliano's gift of the manuscript to his rich but not particularly well-educated brother – before he carried off the book to his own library. Or it was a later owner displaying his knowledge of the Roman poets without specific people in mind.⁵⁸

The third and last inscription is even more mystifying. It is written in Carmeliano's hand on the last flyleaf (f. 63):

Carmen pro homagio legeo reddendo.
 Pro vita et membris necnon et honoribus ipsis
 Incipio, o princeps, subditus esse tuus.
 Nam tibi fidus ero, vivam moriar quoque tecum
 Contra omnes populos et genus omne virum.
 Denique prestabo tibi quicquid iure tenebor.
 Sic Deus aspiet sanctaque turba mihi.

The most appropriate translation of this *Verse for the swearing of the oath of homage* can be found in the coronation *ordo* of Richard III – the copying out of the manuscript may have coincided with the planning of the solemnities for either Edward V's or Richard III's coronation – and Carmeliano may have been inspired by some of the ceremonial texts that he found new and interesting:

[Prince], I become your liegeman of life and limb and of earthly worship,
 and faith and truth I shall bear unto you for to live and die against all
 manner of folk. [And I shall do you service for the lands I shall hold of
 you by right.] So God me help and his hallows.⁵⁹

The Latin text Carmeliano composed is actually a mixed text, containing elements from the oath of homage taken by temporal lords and the oath of fealty taken by spiritual lords. The mixture may be due to Carmeliano's ignorance.

If these verses were added and were a token of gratitude to a generous patron, like the poem at the end of the Prince of Wales' *De vere*, they suggest a patron who could be appropriately addressed by an oath of homage and, in 1483 or 1484, this could only be Edward V or Richard III. Such royal patronage would throw out the simpler theory of the dedication of these elegant letters to a member of the rich and cultivated gentry of England, the 'friend' of the colophon at the end of the text. Should the manuscript therefore be connected to the court? Was it passed on to the king? Was its original dedicatee a king? If this text was indeed seen by Carmeliano

and his English readers primarily as a 'mirror for princes' then a translation of the oath was an entirely appropriate expression of loyalty to the new king, Edward V or Richard III, who may also have been the dedicatee.

The translation of the oath may have been just another of Carmeliano's exercises in turning English prose into Latin verse; he could simply have considered these lines relevant to the princely letters and added them to his manuscript in the same way that he added commendatory and other verse to printed books. Lastly, if Carmeliano had only Phalaris in mind he could have included this oath as a mark of respect for a prince who had been slandered. The date of this manuscript, 1483-85, precludes any theory that either the scribe or the recipient of the manuscript ever connected the traditional reputation of Phalaris, contradicted in the *Letters*, to the posthumous reputation of Richard III.⁶⁰

Whatever Carmeliano's purpose in making his first 'edition' of the letters of Phalaris, others were also convinced of their general interest. In 1485, with Carmeliano's help, the Oxford printer Theoderic Rood published an emended edition.

Work for Oxford and London Printers

Apart from producing his own publications Carmeliano also worked for commercial publishers soon after his arrival in England. In 1483/4 he composed two six-line recommendations in Latin verse for the *Compendium totius grammaticae* of John Anwykyll,⁶¹ printed in Oxford by Theoderic Rood. The *Compendium* was one of the modern grammatical works produced by scholars connected with Magdalen College and its school. It was an example of the 'pragmatic humanism', guided by Italian scholarship, that prevailed in England. The first of Carmeliano's poems recommended Anwykyll and his Italian authorities to the 'tender youth' of England, the second praised William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester and founder of Magdalen Grammar School, who had encouraged the author to write his book.⁶²

Carmeliano's poetic ambition found little scope in these very short verses, but they do connect him to the academic world of Oxford and to Magdalen College. Scholars at Magdalen College and School must have been sufficiently acquainted with him and his ability to write occasional Latin verse to have commissioned him, rather than any of themselves, to compose these lines to recommend their new publication. It is even possible that Carmeliano had already found employment at the university as teacher or composer of official letters like his compatriots Stephano Surigone before him⁶³ and Caio Auberino in the same period.⁶⁴ Acquaintance at least can be suggested for Carmeliano with such men as William Waynflete,⁶⁵ the founder of Magdalen School, John Anwykyll, its first known master, Richard Mayew,⁶⁶ president of Magdalen College in 1480 and chaplain of

Richard III by February 1484, as well as with Thomas Carver,⁶⁷ John Taylor⁶⁸ and William Grocyn,⁶⁹ who all three participated in the learned disputations held in the college before Richard III at the king's request on 24-25 July 1483.⁷⁰ Carver was closely involved with the college from 1476 to his death, *circa* 1505, Taylor had been in royal service since 1481 and was king's almoner by December 1483. Grocyn was reader in divinity at Magdalen at the time; years later he became master of Maidstone College, a post which John Lee, the probable recipient of the surviving manuscript copy of the *Letters of Phalaris*, had held before him. The grammar sponsored by Magdalen School and advertised by Carmeliano came out in or near the year Richard III visited the College and was welcomed by these learned men.⁷¹ All this suggests Carmeliano had found himself a place in England and built up a reputation by the time Richard III visited Oxford in July 1483 and it is likely he became known to the King on that occasion if not earlier.

Carmeliano's reputation among scholars and printers is also proved by at least one instance of his cooperating with William Caxton. In the same period of 1483-84 he edited (*emendate per*) a small collection of Latin letters for Caxton's press : *Sex perelegantissime epistole*, six 'very elegant' letters, exchanged between Pope Sixtus IV and the Doge and Republic of Venice in 1482-83.⁷² They concerned the aftermath of the war which the Venetians, with support from the pope, had waged and won against Ferrara; at the moment of success, however, the pope had turned his back on his former allies by making a separate peace with the enemy. Three letters contain the papal arguments in favour of peace, attempting to force Venice into compliance, three others the protests of the doge and his compatriots. Peace was eventually concluded between all parties in August 1484 and in the same month the pope, Sixtus IV, died. In a Latin introduction to Caxton's edition the context of the political situation was set out in a competent and straightforward manner. This introduction is anonymous and the colophon of the book does not say that Carmeliano was the author; it could have been part of an earlier printed edition and certainly appears to have been written before the death of Sixtus IV which is not mentioned.

It is not clear whether the letters had any pro-Venetian propaganda value and to what extent Englishmen could be expected to take an interest in their background.⁷³ Neither their introduction, nor the way the letters have been set out have obvious propaganda overtones. For example, both parties in the dispute are allowed equal space, and no suggestive headings were added by the editor. Their *general* political, diplomatic and rhetorical value is self-evident, and it is likely printer and editor published them as examples of eloquent epistolography in good Latin. As far as Carmeliano was concerned they were part of his efforts to be accepted as an expert in producing correct and persuasive Latin and in line with his publication of the *Letters of Phalaris* and his other work for printers. This is

suggested by the way the letters are described and recommended:

... sex perelegantissime epistole ...
Eloquii cultor, sex has mercare tabellas,
Que possunt Marco cum Cicerone loqui.
Ingeniis debent cultis ea scripta placere,
In quibus ingenii copia magna viget.

(Six most elegant letters ... If you love eloquence you should buy these letters, which are worthy of Cicero. These texts should please educated men, for they contain much erudition.)

Carmeliano also contributed the editorial explanation of the abbreviations used in the printed text, for example: *Rep* is *republica*; *ferd* is *ferdinandus*; *n* is *enim*.

As far as Caxton is concerned, this publication suggests that he did not only print Latin texts for others, as has been claimed.⁷⁴ The most likely scenario is not that the publication was paid for by Venice to broadcast the iniquitous behaviour of the pope several months after the event, but that Caxton discovered a printed edition of these elegant letters and then employed Carmeliano to 'emend' them and oversee the quality of the text which was intended for a scholarly market. The editorial aids for the reader at the end must be seen in the context of other features Caxton could afford to introduce at the time, such as paragraph marks and printed initial letters.⁷⁵

The edition of the *Sex epistolae* again calls Carmeliano *poeta laureatus* and it also mentions that the printing and editing was done in *Westmonasterio*. The title seems to confirm that the poet had already been rewarded with royal approbation, though the term 'laureate' may have been used freely by Caxton or Carmeliano himself. Westminster, where Caxton's press was located, may also have been Carmeliano's home; it is known that he lived there from *circa* 1489 to *circa* 1516.⁷⁶

Carmeliano's work for Caxton links him again to the circle of some of his compatriots in England. Stephano Surigone, mentioned above, wrote (or merely translated into Latin, like Carmeliano did with similar texts?) the verse in praise of Chaucer which Caxton used at the end of his edition of Boethius.⁷⁷ Giovanni Gigli, an Italian born in Bruges, made a denizen of England in 1477, papal tax collector and Edward IV's ambassador to the Curia, employed Caxton to print indulgences in 1476 and 1481. In 1497 Gigli was to succeed Robert Morton as bishop of Worcester and he dedicated works to Chancellor Russell and Archbishop John Morton.⁷⁸ In 1486 or '87 Carmeliano was 'our Carmeliano' to Gigli and acted as his literary go-between, showing a book of Gigli's to Richard Fox, the king's secretary and a man as close to Henry VII as Morton himself, and carrying back Fox's compliments and request for a copy to be made for himself.⁷⁹ Lorenzo Traversagni of Savona, who studied at Padua and Bologna, lectured at Vienna, Paris and Cambridge and lived in London for several years before returning to

Italy, dedicated texts to Edward IV and William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester; in the introduction to Waynflete he sang the praises of Magdalen College, its library and its site on the banks of the river.⁸⁰ In 1480 or '81 Caxton printed his *Epitome of the Pearl of Purified Eloquence*, an abbreviated and slightly altered version of the author's treatise on rhetoric which set out to 'purify' classical oratory for use by the Christian church.⁸¹

In 1485 the German born Oxford printer Theoderic Rood and his English associate, Thomas Hunt, decided to print the *Letters of Phalaris*.⁸² Their imprint was headed by Carmeliano's recommendation to the reader⁸³ and ended on a new poem, also bearing the hallmark of Carmeliano. The main text is the same, as are the order and the headings of the letters, some minor differences in spelling apart. A significant improvement was the addition, in the printed version, of four more letters. These are found in the majority of printed editions, but were apparently not yet known to Carmeliano when he wrote out his manuscript copies. According to a separate introduction by Francesco Griffolini, the translator of all the letters, he discovered the four extra ones later; he dedicated their translation to Alfonso I and V, King of Aragon and Naples (1396-1458), regarded by contemporary scholars as the ideal humanist prince. The inclusion of the four extra letters in the Oxford imprint of 1485 is a definite indication that Carmeliano's manuscript edition was earlier.

At the end of the Rood imprint, after the date, is a verse colophon, probably by Carmeliano:⁸⁴

Hoc Theodericus Rood, quem Collonia misit,
Sanguine Germanus, nobile pressit opus,
Atque sibi socius Thomas fuit Anglicus Hunte.
Dii dent ut Venetos exuperare queant;
Quam Ienson Venetos docuit⁸⁵ vir Gallicus artem
Ingenio didicit terra Britannia suo.
Celatos, Veneti, nobis transmitters lib[r]os
Cedite; nos aliis vendimus, o Veneti.
Que fuerat vobis ars primum nota, Latini,
Est eadem nobis ipsa reperta, patres;
Quamvis semotos toto canit orbe Britannos
Virgilius, placet his lingua Latina tamen.

(This noble work was printed by Dietrich Rood, of German blood, whom Cologne sent, and his associate was Thomas Hunt, an Englishman. May God grant that they will be able to surpass the Venetians; the art that the Frenchman Jenson taught the Venetians, the British land has learned by its own ingenuity. Cease to send printed books, Venetians, we now sell them to others. The art that was first known to you, Latin forefathers, we have also mastered: though Vergil sang that the Britons are far away from

the rest of the world, the Latin language pleases them well.)

Printer and editor are here advertising two things. First that their home-produced books were suitable for export as well as internal distribution and could challenge the Venetians, who were successfully flooding the book markets of Europe with printed Latin texts at this time. And secondly they were emphasising that the necessary learning was to be found in England – that is adequate Latin, the language of the ancient Romans, who like the Italians and the British were descended from the Trojans – to publish a book for the whole world.

Together the manuscript and the printed edition of the *Letters of Phalaris* are a good example of the close affinity between manuscripts and printed books, and the way people used them. Ironically, considering the claims made in their colophon, the printer and editor of the *Letters* undoubtedly misjudged the market. It was probably the increasing influx of foreign books – the one class of foreign import excluded from the anti-alien legislation of Richard III's parliament – that killed Rood's press.⁸⁷ It does not appear to have survived the appearance of the *Letters* longer than a year.

The Life of St Katherine of Egypt for Richard III, Chancellor Russell and Sir Robert Brackenbury.

While Carmeliano was involved with Caxton and Rood and gaining wider prestige by publication in print, his production of autograph manuscripts for individual patrons continued. One of these manuscript works appears to illustrate how Carmeliano came to decide to take holy orders a few years later: he was beginning to realise that for him the easiest way to prosperity was through the church.⁸⁸

The new work he had finished for presentation by Christmas 1484⁸⁹ was a devotional text, a sample of a genre popular in England, but now given a humanist shape: a verse life of St Katherine of Alexandria in Latin.⁹⁰ Though it is more than likely that he made multiple copies of the *Letters of Phalaris*, in the case of *St Katherine* it is certain that he produced at least three for different dedicatees. The manuscript he presented to Richard III does not survive, but his dedicatory letters in the two extant copies provide evidence of the royal dedication. The two other recipients were Sir Robert Brackenbury, Constable of the Tower, and John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of England. To Brackenbury Carmeliano wrote that he had shortly before (*paulo ante*) dedicated (*consacravi*), destined (*ascripsi*) and presented (*presentavi*) the work to the King; to Russell he mentioned the fact that he had dedicated (*consacravi*) the main copy (*principale opus*) to Richard.⁹¹ It may be assumed that he gave the text to the King first and that all three copies were New Year gifts, though the occasion is only mentioned in the Brackenbury dedication.⁹²

The composition of the two surviving small manuscript books shows clearly

that again Carmeliano copied out the text itself on the main gatherings and added a bifolium (two leaves, i.e. four pages) to accomodate the personalised dedication (figs. 3 and 4).³³ The same bifolium also had space for a miniature, in both cases painted with a delicate, though standard, representation of St Katherine, holding her sword and her wheel. In Russell's copy – as an indication of the clerical status of the recipient? – the red and gold background contains the usual prayer for a saint's intercession: *Ora pro nobis, beate Katerine, ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi* (Pray for us, blessed Katherine, that we may become worthy of the promises of Christ).

The first page of the text in both manuscripts has simple decorative sprays in the top and left margins and a three-line decorated initial N. The text itself contains no evidence concerning the identity of the future dedicatees; the author was free to present it to anyone who could be expected to reward him. Carmeliano found nothing unusual in giving away several copies of the same text to different people and he openly mentions the fact, asking Brackenbury to recommend him and his work to the King *and* himself be his protector. The giving of New Year's presents to the King was highly organised and formalised and even the bearers of the gifts were rewarded meticulously and according to their status,³⁴ Carmeliano's gift was small and reminding the King of its existence through other dedicatees may have been essential if the donor hoped to be given actual employment rather than the small reward in money that he had received as a matter of course.

The two surviving 'dedicatory letters' are cleverly composed. The one to Brackenbury consists mainly of praise of the King; in rhetorical phrases reminiscent of Griffolini's praise of Phalaris (see above) each of Richard's princely virtues is listed. Carmeliano has dedicated his work to the King, he says, in imitation of other authors who wished to honour princes who patronise learning and learned men. He could not find a prince more worthy than Richard:

If we look for religious devotion, which prince is more devout? If we look for justice, who is greater? If we look for prudence in preserving peace and waging war, where shall we find his equal? Who is more wise, temperate, liberal, more intolerant of crime and heresy?

No one, as Brackenbury could testify. Carmeliano asks Brackenbury to recommend him to the King, and also to become his personal 'Maecenas, that is protector', for if a man such as he does not help him he will be destitute of all hope. It is clear that Carmeliano expected to touch the right chord by this praise of the King: he is addressing the successful courtier and intimate of his prince, in words that were designed solely to please the reader. Carmeliano's choice of a patron must be seen in the over-all context of his patronage (see below), but it is likely that his choice was a good one and that, given time, he could have prospered under Richard's rule.

In his dedication of the third copy of the *Life of St Katherine*, to Chancellor

Russell, the poet struck an altogether different note. Here it was the scholar and cleric who was flattered. It is true, Carmeliano said, that men who have occupied their time in writing verse and public speeches are not very adept at composing religious texts, but even so he hoped that Russell would accept his book kindly and with pleasure. The poet compared himself to a priest who celebrates his first mass and may make mistakes in word or gesture, but who will improve through practice, becoming clearer, better and more proficient with time. Carmeliano explained how he came to write the life of the saint and the way he described his own motives is worth quoting in full:

When it happened that I could no longer support myself by the devices of the muses and the rhetoricians, and when I had understood that men who were both able to help me and ought to do so because they were engaged in the same studies, would not give me aid, I decided to leave behind the trifles of the poets and the ambiguities of the rhetoricians and dedicate myself to sacred studies, not to beg my livelihood by these means, but to keep more clearly in my mind such examples as would help me bear with greater equanimity the harshness and evil ways of our age.

By accident, he continues, he had opened a book of saints' lives at the life of St Katherine,⁹⁵ and when he read it his tears flowed freely and his hair stood on end. He chose her as his protectress and dedicated all his energy to put her life into verse, presenting his main copy to the King, but also thinking it right to produce one for the Chancellor, who is expert in Latin and all the liberal arts and a kind benefactor of learned men.

Again Carmeliano showed himself a master at suiting his words and images to his purpose. The picture of the writer of worldly speeches and occasional verse turning to devotional work and comparing himself to a young, inexperienced priest was calculated to move the learned prelate. Russell is not asked to intercede with the King; presumably Carmeliano expected a different kind of reward from Russell and was looking for employment, for example in the chancellor's office, rather than money. Whether he was truthful in claiming that his fellow academics had failed him cannot be established. A man of his abilities was never at a loss for the most effective statement of his case, as is shown by his later attack on Richard III – so different from his effusive praise of the King to Brackenbury – in the poem he dedicated to Henry VII on the occasion of the birth of Prince Arthur.⁹⁶ Literary effect and material reward were his objectives, not the truth.

John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, was not only chancellor of England but also chancellor of the University of Oxford. He was a doctor of canon law, had been keeper of the privy seal under Edward IV and served as ambassador to Burgundy, France, the Hanse and Scotland. One of his diplomatic speeches had been printed by Caxton and he owned a considerable library of printed and manuscript books.

An able and learned royal servant Russell avoided factional politics and served Edward IV, Henry VI during his readeption, Richard III, and finally Henry VII, dying in 1494. He was another good choice as a new patron.⁹⁷

Considering Carmeliano's general astuteness, the cleverness of his two surviving dedicatory letters and the fact that he intended the book first and foremost for the King's use, it must be assumed that he knew that this particular text would please Richard III; circumstantial evidence for Richard's devotion to St Katherine may be sought partly in this very dedication. The introduction in the royal manuscript is likely to have been similar to Brackenbury's: glowing praise of the King and his beneficent rule, and a clear reference to his patronage of learned men, whose special protectress the saint was.

Though there is no historical evidence that anyone like her ever existed, St Katherine was one of the most venerated saints from the tenth century on. She was not only a virgin and a martyr, but also a doctor of the church; she was the bride of Christ, joined to him in a mystical marriage which became the subject of many medieval and later works of art.⁹⁸ The story of the earlier part of her life, her *vita* or *conversio*, which also circulated separately from that of her martyrdom, or *passio*, claimed that she was a heathen princess, learned in all the arts and sciences, who succeeded to her father's throne. Urged by her mother and her councillors to marry, she described the only husband she was willing to serve:

... so farforthly that all creatures shall have need of him, and he needeth of none. ... so noble of blood that all men shall do him worship, ... so full of beauty that angels have joy to behold him, ... so meek and benign that he can gladly forgive all offences done unto him. (Caxton's translation in his *Golden Legend*).⁹⁹

It is clear only Christ fits her description. In a vision she is allowed to see Him and she professes herself willing to be Christ's servant. After conversion and baptism she is affianced to Him by the Virgin Mary herself.

The oldest version of the legend contained only the saint's martyrdom,¹⁰⁰ starting with her first confrontation with the Emperor Maxentius, who has ordered all his subjects to sacrifice to the gods and is watching his command being carried out. Katherine tells him he should acknowledge God and offer love and devotion rather than the blood of animals. The emperor ridicules the tenets of the Christian faith, but Katherine's eloquence amazes him and he decides to summon fifty wise doctors and philosophers to dispute with her and convince her of her errors. The learned men arrive, indignant at being asked to argue with a single young woman. The details of the saint's arguments in the ensuing disputation are variously given; in the early versions they are very brief, in some later texts, such as John Capgrave's *Life of St Katherine*, they include at length many points of doctrine.¹⁰¹ Eventually all fifty doctors are convinced and converted; supported by St



Illustration removed for
copyright reasons

Figure 3

Two pages of the autograph copy of his *Life of St Katherine* that Pietro Carmeliano presented to Sir Robert Brackenbury, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 501, ff. 2v-3; by permission of The Bodleian Library. On the left, f. 2v, is the end of the text addressing Brackenbury and the miniature of St Katherine with her sword and wheel; below that a prayer for the saint's intercession. On the right, f. 3, the title and the beginning of the poem; in the bottom margin the ex libris of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Oxford University. The dedicatory letter to Brackenbury was written on a separate double leaf, the gap between this bifolium and the next gathering is clearly visible. Reproduced smaller than the original, which is 8 inches high.

me tempore nequiveris atq; inlelegendum
 sese mihi sponte sua capilli sepius insurgent.
 Hanc itaq; deuotissima matrem protectri-
 cem meam proprio motu mihi delecti. eas
 q; uitam sanctissimam i heroici carmen col-
 lectis omnibus ingenij mei uiribus deduxi:
 Quocirca tu pncipale opus Serenissimo regi
 consecratum tibi quoq; q; lingue Latine pnci-
 patu iter tuos conales possides q; libalius
 disciplinaz cuius peritiaz q;maxima tenes:
 q; q; doctos uiros fauore et beniuolentia pfe-
 queris exempli uniuersum scribendum esse duxi:
 Illud igitur Sereno tuo uultu legito me q; tuu
 cense. Vale.



Sponsa dei Katherine deu in reade benignu
 Et crebras pro me te rogo funde preces;

In Beate Katherine Egyptie christi
 Sponse uitas. Prohemius feliciter incipit.
 Vnna si ueteres celebratit falsa Poete
 Et uanas illis Laudes titulosq; dedere

Quid nos horremus sanctoz gesta referre
 Qui christuz toto sitientes pectore ueruz
 Sunt diros passi cruciatu uerbere multo
 Cu q; suo intrepidi sparserut sanguine uitas.
 Ergo age Musa cane quo sit Katherine pariter
 Qua regione saeta que christi Sponsa uocata est
 Et uitas mortis q; suaz recto orame pande.
 Digna qd; puro Katherine est carmine naq;
 Post matron christi uirgo hec celebra pmit
 Virginitatis habet titulu castiq; pudoris.

Inuocatio
 At tu q; terras Pelagus. Celu q; gubnas
 Sunt Opifex michi per quem parit oia tellus
 Et mare concutitur per quem polus astra reuoluit
 Et que nascitur perit q; animata cuncta

Figure 4

Two pages of the autograph copy of his *Life of St Katherine* that Pietro Carmeliano presented to Chancellor John Russell, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, Ms. 196/102, pp. [sic] 4-5; by permission of The Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. On the left, p. 4, is the end of the text addressing Russell and the miniature of St Katherine with her sword and wheel; part of a prayer to the saint is written on the backdrop, and below the miniature is a prayer for the saint's intercession. On the right, p. 5, the title and the beginning of the poem. Reproduced smaller than the original, which is 8 inches high

Katherine they suffer a martyr's death by fire. The Emperor, mad with fury, has the girl tortured and imprisoned; he himself departs on a journey. In his absence she is visited by the Emperor's wife and the commander of his army; they find her cell filled with celestial light and are immediately converted, asking her to explain Christ's goodness and the blessings of heaven. St Katherine does so and predicts their death by martyrdom. On his return Maxentius tries to force the saint into submission by showing her a frightening contraption of four spiked wheels built to lacerate whoever is put between them. At her prayer the engine is shattered by angels, the flying fragments killing 4000 pagans, but no Christians. The Empress intercedes for Katherine, confesses her faith and both she and the commander of the army die. Finally, St Katherine, too, dies, but before she is beheaded she prays that in future anyone in distress calling on her shall be heard and comforted. Christ promises that it shall be so.

The *Beatae Katerinae Egyptiae Christi Sponsae Vita* ('The Life of Saint Katherine of Egypt, Spouse of Christ') is not actually a 'life' but merely the 'passion' of the saint, based on the Latin so-called 'vulgate' version of her martyrdom.¹⁰² Carmeliano's method in *St Katherine* is very similar to the one he used in *Spring*. He followed closely the order and events of his original and hardly added any material of his own, deftly choosing words to fit the metre and selecting phrases from an apparently vast stock of memorised classical verse.¹⁰³ As in *Spring*, and in spite of the subject, Carmeliano's approach was entirely classical; there are no biblical quotations, many mythological figures occur and the metre is faultless, imitating classical usage in every way.¹⁰⁴ Though it omits the details of the contents of her speeches, the text focuses on St Katherine's defence of the Christian faith, her learned refutation of the fifty philosophers, her eloquent conversion of them and others and her final martyrdom. It is likely that Carmeliano knew Caxton's 1483 edition of the complete *Golden Legend*,¹⁰⁵ which contained the much longer life of St Katherine, including her descent and childhood, her own conversion and her mystic, celestial marriage to Christ, all the elements that made the story universally popular and attractive to women religious in particular, who were themselves 'brides of Christ'. Carmeliano chose to use the short, Latin text, however, and follow it closely. He clearly expected his work to be appreciated for its elegant form by more learned readers; he had added nothing to its matter.¹⁰⁶

In spite of this unusual form Carmeliano's reasons behind his decision to compose the life of a saint and of this saint in particular must be sought in the existing English literary tradition, about which he had no doubt learned. The writing and reworking of a saint's life for a specific patron, often on request, was very common in fifteenth-century England. Usually the recipient had a special devotion to the saint, because he or she was his or her name saint, or the patron of guild, craft, religious house or order. In the 1440s, for example, Osbern Bokenham,

friar of Clare, Suffolk, wrote his English verse passion of St Katherine for two female patrons, Katherine Howard, first wife of John Howard, later duke of Norfolk, and Katherine Denston, *née* Clopton.¹⁰⁷ John Lydgate and John Capgrave composed most of their saints' lives for specific individuals or institutions. Lydgate's *Legend of St George*, was written in honour of the armourers of London, and his *Life of St Alban and St Amphibal* for John Whethamstede, abbot of St Albans.¹⁰⁸ Capgrave's *Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham* was composed at the request of the Master of the Gilbertine Order to provide his nuns with an English text.¹⁰⁹

St Katherine may have been Carmeliano's own favourite saint, as he claimed in his dedication to Chancellor Russell: she was the patroness of the city of Venice and the special protectress of the university of Padua¹¹⁰ where Carmeliano, if he did go to university, must have been a student. She was also an example of someone who is victorious through learning and eloquence. It is equally possible, however, that Carmeliano was aware of the King's personal preference for St Katherine: she and St Barbara were the only female saints among the eight specifically chosen by Richard of Gloucester to be his patrons and the protectors of the college of priests he founded at Middleham and the first female saint in the list of saints Gloucester professed he 'had devotion unto'.¹¹¹ St Barbara protected against sudden death and was the patroness of gunners, St Katherine was the special protectress of scholars;¹¹² together the two saints represented the active and contemplative life.

Carmeliano's choice was impeccable; he can only be blamed for not making the most of the story. Because he was determined to use the short and convenient Latin text instead of one of the longer and more detailed English legends, he omitted to mention St Katherine's English connection and the fact that she was related to St Helena, daughter of King Coel of Colchester, and her son, Constantine, the first Christian emperor. Caxton, who knew what people liked, included all these interesting facts in *his* publication.

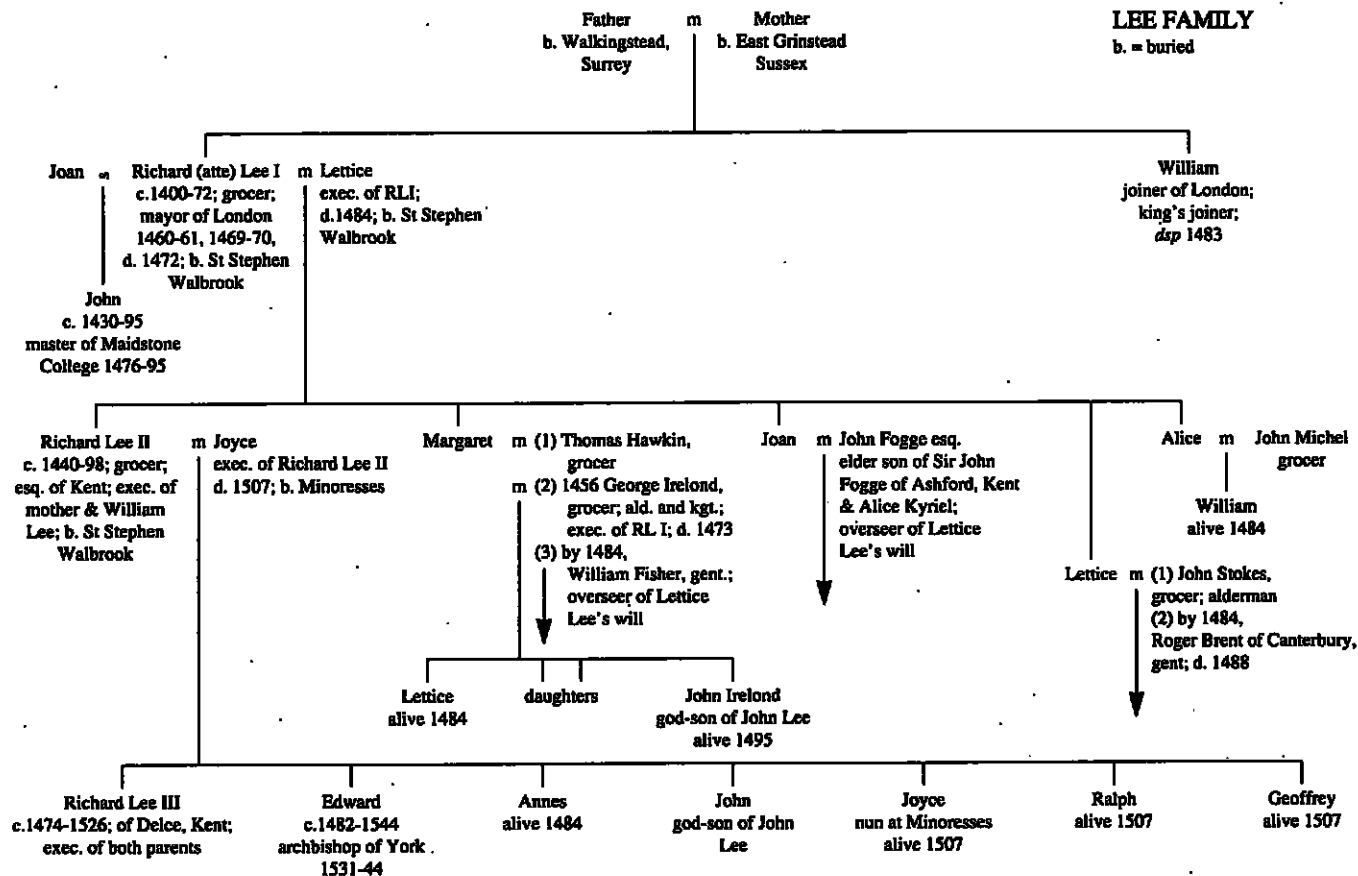
Carmeliano's Patrons, c. 1482-85.

The precise chronology of the patronage Carmeliano received between 1482 and the accession of Henry VII is not certain, nor do we know what motivated his patrons. It is not clear whom he approached first, whether he arrived in England with a list of names to contact, or whether he relied upon fellow Italians for introductions such as Giovanni Gigli, archdeacon of London from 1482, before he ventured to offer presents to the king and the prince of Wales. Did he make these presents on his own initiative or on the advice of others? Despite the paucity of information, the few names of his non-royal contacts, the Mortons, Lees, and even the outsider, Sir Robert Brackenbury, make up a revealing sequence centred on London and Kent.

The first known patron seems to have been Robert Morton, master of the rolls.

Robert was one of the two most successful careerists of the Dorset Morton family in this period. He was the nephew of John Morton, the future archbishop of Canterbury, and from 1477, at least, he benefited directly from the rapid promotion of his uncle who successfully put behind him his loyalty to the house of Lancaster after the defeat of Margaret of Anjou and the death of the prince of Wales whose exile he had shared 1461-71. In 1477 Robert Morton secured the reversion of his uncle's office of master of the rolls and in 1479 succeeded to the post when John became bishop of Ely. In 1479 Robert became archdeacon of Winchester and in 1481 he was made a canon of St George's Chapel Windsor.¹¹³ In any of these posts he had useful contacts for the ambitious Carmeliano, for example to his bishop, William Waynflete of Winchester, a contact Carmeliano certainly used. The one certain fact is that Carmeliano secured a lodging in the Rolls House in Chancery Lane, where the master had the care of the rolls and records of the realm; perhaps he had some scribal duties attached. There he was able to compose a poem suitable for the prince of Wales in 1482.¹¹⁴

From the 1470s the Mortons were increasingly important figures in London, with John holding a sequence of important ecclesiastical preferments for short periods, notably the mastership of the rolls from 1472 and the deanery of the Arches from 1474.¹¹⁵ Another London based Morton with extensive official and civic connections was a second Robert, a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, who in 1478 secured as his wife, Agnes, widow of the alderman, John Felde. Agnes was not only a good financial catch, she belonged to powerful civic family then headed by her brother, John Forster, receiver-general of Queen Elizabeth Woodville (1465-?) and holder of several other offices about the royal household. John may have trained as a lawyer like Robert Morton with whom he seems to have become a close friend and associate as well as brother-in-law.¹¹⁶ Via these London Mortons Pietro Carmeliano could have introduced himself to many Londoners and persons connected to the Yorkist court: for example, one of John Forster's offices was the stewardship of St Alban's Abbey which he shared with William, Lord Hastings. This association with Hastings, as well as his family relationship with the Mortons, did John Forster a disservice after the death of Edward IV: he was arrested in the aftermath of Lord Hastings' execution and the arrest of John Morton, bishop of Ely, on 13 June 1483, was fined 1000 marks and had to submit to charges on his manor of Maudelyns, Hertfordshire, before he was released from the Tower.¹¹⁷ None of the Mortons and their relatives were able to introduce Carmeliano to the higher reaches of courtly society between June 1483 and August 1485, but after Bosworth his Morton connections may have proved their worth: Carmeliano's first annuity from Henry VII was paid through Robert Morton, by then bishop-elect of Worcester.¹¹⁸



The Morton-Forster connection may have been the means by which Carmeliano became acquainted with the Lee family. The Forsters and the Lees were leading parishioners of St Stephen Walbrook, London. By 1482 the founders of the fortunes of both families were dead: Stephen Forster, fishmonger and mayor 1454-55 (died 1458), and Sir Richard Lee I, grocer and mayor 1460-61 and 1469-70, who had died in 1472. Their widows were both capable of appreciating a visiting poet; they were prominent civic figures until 1484 when both of them died: Dame Agnes Forster was famous as a prison reformer and rebuilders of Ludgate; and Dame Lettice Lee was a benefactress of St Stephen's Walbrook.¹¹⁹ The Lees held the premier position in the parish as Richard Lee I had bought the patronage of the church in 1465, part of the forfeited property of Sir Robert Whittingham, at that time in exile with Margaret of Anjou, John Morton and others.¹²⁰

The founder of the Lee family fortunes, Richard (atte) Lee I, may have come from, or first prospered in, Maidstone, Kent, and the family retained an orientation towards Kent, Surrey and Sussex. By 1431 he was so successful that he sought membership of the London Grocers' Company by purchase, a move which showed that he now needed a London-based career in order to prosper further.¹²¹ His eldest son, John, the Lee to whom it has been suggested above that Carmeliano gave a copy of the *Letters of Phalaris*, was probably born by 1431; later in the 1430s Richard married Lettice, the mother of his legitimate children and his widow. Their eldest son, Richard, the other possible recipient of the *Letters*, was certainly born before 1440 and was operating as a grocer in his own right by 1463.¹²² In 1450 Richard Lee I was an MP for the city and from 1452 (until his death) he was an alderman; he was mayor for the first time during the politically difficult year of 1460-61, and the fact that Edward IV passed him over for a knighthood when he honoured several other mayors during his first reign may say something about Lee's political enthusiasms; his second mayoralty of 1469-70 was an unpropitious year for the Yorkists, but his participation in the defence of London against the attacks of the Bastard of Fauconberg finally secured him a knighthood on 21 May 1471 along with his son-in-law, George Irlond, and six other aldermen. He died in 1472, probably in his seventies.¹²³ The importance of the Lees in civic terms lessened after his death and his heir increasingly became an esquire of Kent rather than a grocer of London, but the family maintained its close ties to St Stephen Walbrook.¹²⁴ Richard Lee II's highest office appears to have been that of sheriff of Kent in 1480.

The later marriages of the daughters of Richard Lee I show the growing importance and gentrification of the family: three married grocers, but the third husband of Margaret was a 'gentleman', probably a lawyer, and Lettice married secondly a gentleman of Canterbury; Joan made the most successful marriage of the daughters, into the squirearchy of Kent, marrying John, the elder son of Sir

John Fogge of Ashford, Kent, treasurer of Edward IV's household and a prominent servant of Edward IV throughout his reign, whose second wife, Alice Haute, was first cousin to Queen Elizabeth Woodville. This Fogge relationship became dangerous during the reign of Richard III, but was one that added greatly to the attractions of the Lees as patrons for Carmeliano before Sir John Fogge fell from favour during the protectorship period.¹²⁵

The Lees were not themselves associated with any of the political disturbances of Richard III's reign unlike the Fogges, the Hautes, Mortons and Forsters, and no connection between Richard Lee II and the 'Buckingham' rebellion can be found although his appointments as justice of the peace for Kent ceased from July 1483.¹²⁶ It was therefore safe for Carmeliano to offer a copy of the *Letters of Phalaris* to John or Richard Lee between 1483 and 1485; as suggested above the timing may have coincided with any of the expected coronations of 1483, and John was probably the more appropriate recipient of such elegant, clever, Latin letters.

John Lee had begun acquiring preferments in 1462/4 and he may have returned to England in 1468.¹²⁷ It is not known how he was chosen for the mastership of the College of Maidstone in February 1476, an appointment made by the fellows of the college, no doubt paying attention to the wishes of the then archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Bourchier) and subject to his confirmation; the college had been established by earlier archbishops next to their palace at Maidstone and they had appropriated the parish church of All Hallows to do so. John's immediate predecessor had resigned within months of his appointment, preferring to remain the sub-master of the college. There was a wealthy and influential fraternity of Corpus Christi attached to the church, which attracted members from among the leading inhabitants of Maidstone and Kent, including Richard Lee II, a rising member of the Kent squirearchy (to be sheriff of Kent in four years time, 1480) and many men who were to oppose Richard III. It may have been through the good offices of this fraternity that John Lee was preferred.¹²⁸ Maidstone parish church and its fraternity, and consequently its master and vicar, was an important local centre of influence; John is reputed to have built there extensively, the sedilia and the vestry are credited to him, red and white roses forming part of the decoration; he also endowed a chantry there with all his lands in Maidstone.¹²⁹ It was the church where Queen Elizabeth Woodville's grandfather, Sir Richard Woodville of the nearby manor of the Mote, was buried; the Mote came to the crown on the forfeiture of Anthony Lord Rivers in 1483. Into this centre of offended loyalties came Sir Robert Brackenbury, the next known patron of Carmeliano, after the rebellion of late 1483.

The ambitious Italian could not be content with the Lees as patrons 1483-85; nor was his work for the printers of Westminster and Oxford enough. He needed to approach the new king and a new clutch of ecclesiastics and civil servants. The

chancellor of England was an obvious choice and one which probably shows that Carmeliano was beginning to realise that the richest pickings in England were for a talented priest – richer and easier to acquire than a secular post and a rich wife. It can be suggested that, having forged Kent-orientated connections with the Lees, he turned naturally to Sir Robert Brackenbury, one of the northerners whom Richard III planted in Kent to take the place of rebels such as the Woodvilles, Hautes and Fogges.

Brackenbury was of Selaby, County Durham, and had been in Richard III's service, as duke of Gloucester, since the Scottish campaigns of 1480-82 at least. From Richard as king he received many responsibilities and rewards: among the most important was the constablership of the Tower of London from 17 July 1483 which he retained to the end of the reign. One of his first prisoners was John Forster, household official of Elizabeth Woodville, brother-in-law of Robert Morton, the lawyer, and neighbour of the Lees. Forster was to describe the harshness of his imprisonment graphically before the first parliament of Henry VII; he was certainly fined 1000 marks, documents and sureties were drawn up between March and May 1484, and part of the arrangements was the handing over of Forster's manor of Maudelyns, Hertfordshire, to a number of persons, the profits to go to Robert Brackenbury.¹³⁰ This episode is the first of two specific links between Brackenbury and Carmeliano's earlier associates. The second occurred on 14 January 1485 when Brackenbury was granted for his own use the lands and goods of the attainted rebel, John Turbeville, a member of a family closely related to the Dorset Mortons.¹³¹ Brackenbury's duties were extended into the county of Kent in particular in the aftermath of the autumn 1483 rebellion: he became receiver for several lordships and manors including the Mote, Maidstone, one of several manors previously held by Lord Rivers. In May 1484 his responsibilities over several Kent estates were further extended and in August he was receiver-general of all lands and goods coming to the king by forfeiture or otherwise in Kent, Sussex and Surrey. Although many of his duties were undoubtedly delegated to deputies it was Brackenbury whom the locals had to seek out and do business with. From 1484 he was justice of the peace for Kent, in December he was sheriff, replacing another man, and shortly after he was knighted.¹³²

As the man upon whom Richard III most relied in Kent, it fell to Brackenbury to bring to the king certain men of the area who were suspected of disloyalty during the campaign that ended with the battle of Bosworth. These included Sir Thomas Bouchier a member of the Corpus Christi Fraternity of All Saints Maidstone, as was another Kent deserter from Richard's army – although not apparently from Brackenbury – Sir John Savage. A generation later, Robert Fabian, alderman of London, recorded in his *Great Chronicle* that the men (unnamed by Fabian) who deserted Sir Robert on the road had been well treated by him, had no fear of telling him their plans, and exhorted him to go with them.¹³³ This story,

however late the date of its telling, may give a better idea of the true nature of many of the private negotiations that went on behind the scenes during the more difficult periods of the Wars of the Roses. Such negotiations and manoeuvres mitigated the severity of the official documents recording forfeiture, fines and harsh imprisonment which are all that usually remain for the historian. Friends and relatives might rally round and the apparent profiteer – in this case Sir Robert Brackenbury – wished to co-exist amicably with his new neighbours. John Forster who recorded his harsh imprisonment in the Tower before Henry VII's first parliament and whose lands' profits went to Brackenbury, as well as Sir Thomas Bouchier and Sir John Savage may have in fact been reasonably well-disposed to men like Brackenbury, a man of their own class but on the 'other side'. They could negotiate for survival, loans and easier terms – however much they hoped to win more in the event of a victory of their own 'side'. Bouchier, Savage and Brackenbury fought on opposing sides at Bosworth and Brackenbury was one of those killed for king Richard.

Brackenbury's status as Richard III's officer was enough to attract the attentions of Pietro Carmeliano; his ability to fraternise and deal with his new southern neighbours and his willingness to intercede, perhaps, for the unfortunate, and his resultant acceptance by the Kent gentry as almost one of themselves, may have been exceptional, and may have led to Carmeliano singling him out as a successor to the Mortons and the Lees. Carmeliano had many irons in the fire, many avenues of profit to pursue via his academic-Oxford and printing contacts, but John and Richard Lee's knowledge of Brackenbury may have been crucial as regards this particular choice of dedication. The fact that Brackenbury's daughter, Elizabeth, and Richard Lee II's widow, Joyce, both ended their days living in close proximity and with acquaintances in common in the Minoreesses' Convent outside Aldgate, dying in 1504 and 1507 respectively, may be just a coincidence!¹³⁴

The course of Carmeliano's career does not reflect the willingness of the Yorkist and Tudor kings to patronise learned men, but rather the political ups and downs of the milieu in which he happened to have found his friends and patrons. His talents were not outstanding; he did not have an original, creative mind, but he was an expert at playing around with Latin words, phrases and metre. He created a place for himself in the academic world, worked successfully for the printing press, and his adeptness at flattering the right people seems to have made him moderately successful even in court circles. His initial advantage of an acquaintance with the Mortons worked against him during Richard III's reign, but he would no doubt have gained royal favour via other channels eventually. It is highly unlikely that Richard had any objection to a scholar who had presented books to his predecessors, but if Carmeliano's association with the Mortons was generally known it might have made the King regard him with suspicion for a while.

Carmeliano was also lucky; with the accession of Henry VII the Mortons returned to positions of influence, John Morton becoming the new king's main advisor, archbishop of Canterbury (October 1486), chancellor of England (March 1487) and well able to provide for all his relatives and clients, until he died in 1500. By that time Carmeliano had become denizen of England (April 1488), taken holy orders (1489), and acquired his first prebends, canonries and pensions; he was also the King's chaplain and by 1495 his Latin secretary. His literary career proceeded along the lines he had set during his early years in England. The birth of Henry VII's and Elizabeth of York's heir presented him, and others, with the opportunity of flattering the king and again displaying his classical knowledge.¹³⁵ By then there was no reason for Carmeliano to say a single word in favour of Richard III, rather it was essential for him to describe at length that king's iniquities and the horrors of a civil war worse than any the Romans had experienced. His *Letter exhorting England to rejoice in the end of the civil war and the birth of Prince Arthur*, though leaning heavily on classical authors, was an original work, its subject being supplied by recent events. The small manuscript that survives is very similar to Carmeliano's earlier presentation copies; its illumination is more elaborate.¹³⁶

Carmeliano continued to write occasional verse,¹³⁷ but no works of any length: satiric lines against the French ambassador, Robert Gaguin,¹³⁸ more verses for printers' publications,¹³⁹ and the mock epitaph on James IV of Scotland (1513) that allowed Erasmus and Andrea Ammonio to make merry about the false quantity the author had used in his draft text.¹⁴⁰

Carmeliano appears to have continued to move in the same circles as he had before 1485: he became acquainted with Thomas More, another *protégé* of John Morton and a family friend of the Lees,¹⁴¹ and with Erasmus, whose friend Ammonio succeeded Carmeliano as Latin secretary. Both More and Erasmus at times expressed a liking for the Italian, at other times criticised his work.¹⁴² Modern commentators have described him as 'the man who brought the Italian hand into England',¹⁴³ but also as one of those 'petty poets and orators' who had to 'strain hard after effect, desperately parading their erudition'.¹⁴⁴ Both these characteristics had been displayed already in Carmeliano's works under the Yorkist kings; one he may have intended for Edward V or Richard III and another he presented to Richard III.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. E.g. G.D. Painter, *William Caxton*, London 1976, pp. 135-36, assumes that because Carmeliano signed one of his poems (see below) from Rolls House he had a 'temporary' job there; after Edward's death he was 'switching his bets'; with Henry VII he 'struck lucky at last'; he commissioned Caxton to print the *Sex epistolae* (see below) 'hard up though he was'. J.A.F. Thomson, *The Transformation of Medieval*

England, London 1983, p. 353: '... England was a country to which occasional visiting Italian humanists came in search of patrons, although not always with success. Peter Carmeliano arrived there in 1481, and seems to have eked out a living either by teaching or working for printers, until the accession of Henry VII, who extended to him the favour he had attempted to secure from the Yorkists'.

David Carlson's chapter on Carmeliano in his *English Humanist Books*, Toronto 1993, contains many similar examples that are too long to quote; he implies throughout that Richard had no leisure for patronage, was unlikely to favour anyone his predecessor had favoured and was generally a person who was unlikely to favour humanists. Carlson calls Carmeliano's praise of Richard 'supine', and that of Henry 'simple'.

2. For a summary of Richard's attitude see Anne F. Sutton, "'A curious searcher for our weal public': Richard III, piety, chivalry and the concept of the "good prince"', in P.W. Hammond, ed., *Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship and Law*, London 1986, pp. 58-90, esp. 68-70.
3. For this and other facts of his life see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. A.M. Ghisalberti, vol. 20, Rome 1977, pp. 410-13. The facts about his life before 1482 are mainly found in his own introduction to *De vere* (see below). See also e.g. P. Guerrini, 'Pietro Carmeliano da Brescia, segretario reale d'Inghilterra', *Brixia Sacra*, vol. 9 (1918), pp. 33-40, which is very brief on Carmeliano's life; A.B. Emden, *A Bibliographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, Oxford 1957-59, pp. 358-59; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 9; R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1967, pp. 170-172; David Carlson, *English Humanist Books* (see n. 1), esp. ch. 2; the same, 'The occasional poetry of Pietro Carmeliano', *Aevum*, vol. 61 (1987), pp. 495-502; the same, 'King Arthur and Court Poems for the Birth of Arthur Tudor in 1486', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, vol. 36 (1987), pp. 147-83, esp. 153-55.
4. Brescia was under Venetian rule and Venetians had to go to the university of Padua. His later association with the Lee family may indicate that Carmeliano did go to Padua like John Lee. For Lee and other English students at Padua see R. Mitchell, 'English Students at Padua, 1460-75', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, vol. 19 (1936), pp. 100-17. Lee was much older than Carmeliano but he stayed on in Padua until 1468 and the two men could have met; the younger one would have known the older one at least by reputation, as Lee had been vice-rector of the ultramontane and citramontane jurists at the university.
5. In 1522 Carmeliano was assessed at £333 6s. 8d., as much as King's College, Cambridge, see e.g. Carlson, 'Occasional poetry' (see n. 3), pp. 595-96.
6. The only evidence for this gift is Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* ..., ed. D. Wilkins, 1748, repr. 1965, pp. 154-55, but there is no reason to doubt this information. Tanner reads, in translation: 'In the library of the church at Ely is a book of M. Tullius Cicero *De oratore*, printed at Venice in 1478, a folio volume to which is added a poem in Latin; this book P. Carmeliano gave to King Edward IV; and the *notulae* of this Carmeliano are in the margin throughout the whole book'.
7. Weiss, *Humanism* (see n. 3), p. 171, n. 2; Venice: Andreas de Paltaszichis, 20 August 1478, *ISTC* under Cicero *De oratore*; Edward IV's copy appears to be lost.
8. Royal 12 A xxix, f. 1, *De vere* (see below).
9. See W. Nelson, *John Skelton, Laureate*, New York 1939, pp. 7-9.
10. C.J. Nederman, 'The union of wisdom and eloquence before the Renaissance: the Ciceronian orator in medieval thought', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 18 (1992), pp. 75-95.
11. Weiss, *Humanism* (see n. 3), pp. 122-27; A.B. Emden, *A Bibliographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, Cambridge 1963, pp. 275-77.
12. Weiss, *Humanism* (see n. 3), pp. 149-53; Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), pp. 1692-93.
13. See n. 6, above.
14. Now BL Ms. Royal 12 A xxix the ms. consists of only one gathering of ten leaves; it measures 215x145mm. (125x80mm.); see G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols, London 1921; C. Reedijk, *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus*, Leiden 1956, p. 15; Carlson, *English Humanist Books* (see n. 1), pp. 38-41, 43-44, fig. 12.

15. Books 8, 9 and 10; a more detailed study is needed but there is no doubt that this is where Carmeliano found ninety percent of his material. Pliny is also the only source he refers to, f. 5, last line, *ut memorat Plinius historicus*.
16. *Natural History*, bk 8, XXVIII (19), par. 70; Royal 12 A xxix, f. 4, lines 11-14; the *chama* is spelled *chaus* by Carmeliano; his exemplar may have been at fault and the word had apparently changed gender and lost its abbreviation mark. The word *chama* is unique to Pliny's text.
17. Royal 12 A xxix, f. 8v.
18. Royal 12 A xxix, f. 10v.
19. See Domenico Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard the Third*, transl. and introd. C.A.J. Armstrong, 2nd edn, Gloucester 1984, pp. 92-93; and Ruth Morse's comment on Mancini's praise as a literary 'topos' in her 'Medieval biography: history as a branch of literature', *Modern Language Review*, vol. 80 (1985), pp. 257-68, esp. 264.
20. See our 'Choosing a book in late fifteenth-century England and Burgundy', in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul, eds, *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, Stroud 1995, pp. 61-98, esp. 81.
21. Among the few people who owned a text of (a version of) the *Natural History* were John Russell (Oxford, New College Ms. 274), John Gunthorpe (Venice 1472, Wells, Dean and Chapter Library B.1.20) and William Gray (Oxford, Balliol College Ms. 315).
22. Royal 12 A xxix, f. 2v.
23. C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, 2 vols, London 1823, vol. 2, p. 324; J. Vaesen, *Lettres de Louis XI*, 11 vols, Paris 1883-1909, vol. 9, pp. 139-40.
24. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), p. 358.
25. See M.L. Colker, ed., *Trinity College Library Dublin. Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 2 vols, Dublin 1991, Ms. 429, vol. 2, pp. 852-53; Anna Modigliani, 'Un nuovo manoscritto di Pietro Carmeliano: le "Epistolae" delle pseudo-Phalaride nella Trinity College Library di Dublino', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, vol. 33 (1984), pp. 86-102.
26. See e.g. Helmut Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, 2 vols, Munich 1967, vol. 1, pp. 129-32.
27. His medieval reputation was made by Cicero, Valerius Maximus and the *Gesta Romanorum*, all widely used sources. Compare the use made of the character of Phalaris by the humanist knight Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), 'one of the most satirical members of one of Germany's most satirical generations', in his *Phalarismus*, a dialogue in the manner of Lucian in which von Hutten describes his contemporary the Duke of Württemberg, as more evil than his Greek counterpart, see e.g. T.W. Best, *The Humanist Ulrich von Hutten. A Reappraisal of his Humour*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, vol. 61, Chapel Hill 1969, pp. 58-63.
28. The man who made the bull, Perillos, or Perilaos, became infamous as an artist who had abused his talents. He was the first and only victim of his creation; his punishment was meted out by Phalaris himself and proved, according to the letters, the tyrant's sense of justice.
29. See e.g. A.M. Harmon, trans., *Lucian* (Loeb edition), vol. 1, London 1953, pp. 1-31; Berve (see n. 26), vol. 1, pp. 500-01. Erasmus and Thomas More translated some of Lucian's dialogues and the former very briefly mentions Phalaris' letters in his *De ratione studii*, 7, apparently referring both to Lucian's version and to the collection and saying that they were suitable for teaching rhetoric.
30. Probably in the 3rd or 4th century AD; 148 letters survive; for a study of the mss of the Greek text see L.O.Th. Tudeer, *The Epistles of Phalaris. Preliminary investigation of the Manuscripts, Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicae*, ser. B, vol. 26, Helsinki 1932. See also Berve (see n. 26), pp. 501-02, and the next note.
31. See e.g. A. Gerlo, 'The *Opus de conscribendis epistolis* of Erasmus and the tradition of the *ars epistolica*', in R.R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture AD 500-1500*, Cambridge 1971, pp. 103-14; J.J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley 1974, ch. V, *Ars dictaminis*: The Art of Letter-Writing; C.H. Clough, 'The cult of Antiquity: letters and letter collections', in C.H. Clough, ed., *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in honour of P.O. Kristeller*, Manchester 1976,

- pp. 33-67. The theme of tyranny and tyrannicide was an important one in (Roman) rhetoric and the subject of many exercises used in rhetorical training, see e.g. S.F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire*, Liverpool 1949. The letters of Phalaris together may be regarded as a sample of rhetorical persuasion, defending an apparently indefensible case; separately they read more like political sayings and maxims.
32. The letters from Aristotle to Alexander the Great and vice versa were well known in England, the first gaining popularity as a 'mirror for princes', the second as a description of the marvels of the far east.
 33. This is not the place for a full list of the Latin and vernacular mss, of which there are very many in libraries all over the world, virtually all of Italian origin, made in the mid-fifteenth century. The first printed edition of the Latin text was published in 1468-69, in Rome by Ulrich Hahn; for this and other imprints see Clough, 'The cult of Antiquity' (see n. 31), App. 4. 4 and esp. *ISTC* under Phalaris. See also Sotheby Sale Catalogue 25 March 1975: *Catalogue of The Celebrated Library. The Property of the late Major J.R. Abbey ... The Ninth Portion, The Hornby Manuscripts, Part II* ..., lot 2961, pp. 68-69, pl. 29.
 34. See e.g. J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols, Cambridge 1908, vol. 2, ch. 24; C.J. Horne, 'The Phalaris controversy: King versus Bentley', *Review of English Studies*, vol. 22 (1946), pp. 289-303. It has to be noted that Erasmus may already have had doubts about the authenticity of the letters: while recommending them as didactic material he called them the letters 'that circulate under the name of Phalaris' (our Italics), see n. 29, above.
 35. *Sir William Temple's Essays on Ancient and Modern Learning and On Poetry*, ed. J. Springarn, Oxford 1909, pp. 34-35.
 36. There is no evidence that anyone in England owned the letters; they do not occur among the surviving books of, for example, Humphrey of Gloucester and John Tiptoft, and we have not yet found them in any late fifteenth century library.
 37. For Griffolini see Weiss, *Humanism* (see n. 3), pp. 115-17, 172, 175; Tudeer (see n. 30), pp. 116-23; Carmeliano probably thought that the *Franciscus Aretinus* he mentions was the better known Francesco Accolti of Arezzo, teacher of law at Padua and Bologna, to whose authorship the translation was ascribed until 1890.
 38. Dublin, Trinity College Library Ms. 429, f. 10-10v.
 39. *Ibid.* f. 28.
 40. *repente*, 'in haste', 'recently', 'unexpectedly'? Compare Caxton's frequent claim that he produced a book at the request of 'a friend'.
 41. Dublin, Trinity College Ms. 429, vellum, 63 ff., 20-21 lines to a page, c. 208x140 (c. 125x75); its collation appears to be: 1^a (flyleaves), 2^a (bound in with the next gathering), 3-7^a, 8^a, 9^a, 10^a (flyleaves).
 42. This extra illuminated leaf containing the recipient's coat of arms was not needed for the unique copy of *De vere* because there the main text itself had been personalised.
 43. We are grateful to Peter Hammond for his help in identifying the owner of the coat of arms. The suggestion made in Colker (see n. 25) that these are the Cantilupe arms does not appear to be correct.
 44. For Richard Lee, I, see below.
 45. See below and *CPR 1467-77*, p. 618, *CPR 1476-85*, p. 563. E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of Kent*, 2nd edn, 12 vols, Canterbury 1797-1801, vol. 4, pp. 169-70.
 46. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), p. 1123.
 47. For all these men see Mitchell, 'English students' (see n. 4).
 48. For the history of the college see W.B. Gilbert, *Memorials of the Collegiate and Parish Church of All Saints ... Maidstone*, Maidstone 1865.
 49. See his will, PCC 23 Vox, Prob. 11/10, f. 184v; largely printed in Gilbert, *Memorials* (see preceding note), pp. 49-51.
 50. See below, the section on Carmeliano's patrons.
 51. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), pp. 1122-23.

52. Emden, *Cambridge* (see n. 11), p. 118; C. Harper-Bill, 'The familia, administrators and patronage of Archbishop John Morton', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 10 (1978), pp. 236-52, esp. 247.
53. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), pp. 827-30; there is no copy of the letters of Phalaris among his numerous known books.
54. Martialis, *Epigrams*, bk 6, no. 60 (61), line 10.
55. Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, bk 2, lines 275-76. Ovid meant that people do everything for money, even praise the poems of an incompetent boor if he is rich and likely to reward them for their flattery, but it is unlikely that the writer of the inscriptions gave the same meaning to the words.
56. Reedijk, *Poems* (see n. 14), no. 18 (c. 1506): Erasmus' poem thanked Carmeliano for a gift of money and called him 'the high priest of elegance ... and prince of letters'.
57. See below, and n. 140. Erasmus, having been told by his friend Ammonius how the latter had saved Carmeliano from printing an error in his Latin verse, responded that he should not have cared for the reputation of 'that animal' (*belluae istius*), P.S. Allen, ed., *The Letters of Erasmus*, vol. 1, Oxford 1906, pp. 540, 542, letters of Nov. 1513.
58. Other inscriptions in the ms. include f. 1: *Thomas Brown*; f. 3: *Sum Tho...* (?), and obsolete shelfmarks. There are pen-trials on ff. 1 and 2. Thomas Brown is too common a name and has not proved helpful. The Lee arms appear to be contemporaneous with the making of the ms., but if they were painted in later the most likely owner is John Lee's nephew, Edward Lee, archbishop of York, see Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), pp. 1122-23.
59. Spelling modernised; words in square brackets added to make a complete translation of Carmeliano's text. The sentence beginning 'And I shall you do service ... (Latin *Denique prestabo* ...) appears to be taken from the oath of spiritual lords, but the phrase 'of life and limb' (Latin *pro vita ei membris*) definitely belongs to the oath of temporal lords. For the text of both oaths see L.G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, Westminster 1901, p. 1vj, and *The Coronation of Richard III. The Extant Documents*, ed. Anne F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond, Gloucester/New York 1983, p. 224.
60. Modigliani (see n. 25) is prepared to regard this as a straightforward request for protection from a king, shortly after his accession – though she does not seem to have recognised the text for what it is – and includes even Henry VIII among possible candidates. In view of the fact that the manuscript copy of the letters preceded the printed edition of 1485 (see below), an earlier date, close to the production of the very similar ms. of *De vere*, is almost certain. It should also be noted that the marginal notes made by owners of texts of Phalaris' *Letters* indicate beyond doubt that to them they were primarily a collection of letter samples for various occasions.
61. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), p. 39.
62. See e.g. Virginia Davis, *William Waynflete, Bishop and Educationalist*, Woodbridge 1993, pp. 85-89. *ISTC* under Anwykyll. The verse are printed in Carlson, 'The occasional poetry' (see n. 3), pp. 497-98. The evidence of Carmeliano's involvement in the edition is found in the probably identical imprint by Richard Pafraet, Deventer 1489; all surviving copies of the Oxford imprint are imperfect, most of them mere fragments.
63. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), p. 1817; the same, *Cambridge* (see n. 11), pp. 566-67.
64. Emden, *Oxford*, p. 23.
65. Davis, *William Waynflete*, (see n. 62), *passim*.
66. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), pp. 1247-49.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 366.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 1850-51.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 827-30
70. See R.C. Hairsine, 'Oxford University and the life and legend of Richard III', in *Richard III, Crown and People*, ed. J. Petre, Gloucester 1985, pp. 307-31, esp. 308-10.

71. Another tenuous link between these men and Carmeliano's protector and acquaintances, John Morton and the Lee family, is offered by the fact that John Holt, master of the boys in the household of John Morton, where Thomas More was educated, and Fellow of Magdalen, 1491-95, as well as Usher of Magdalen School, 1494-96, must have been influenced by Anwykyll; he wrote a grammar himself.
72. G. Bullen, introd. and trans., *Sex quam Elegantissimae Epistolae, printed by William Caxton in 1483*, reproduced in facsimile by James Hyatt, London 1892. *ISTC* under Sixtus IV (1484, on paper evidence). The letters are actually described in the book a 'per' not 'quam' elegantissimae; this misreading by Bullen has been frequently repeated. The colophon reads: *Finium sex perelegantissime epistole ... impressae per Willelmum Caxton et diligenter emendate per Petrum Carmelianum poetam laureatum in Westmonasterio*.
73. G.D. Painter, *William Caxton*, London 1976, pp. 135-36, who tended to see conspiracies behind many of Caxton's publications, suggested the *Sex epistolae* were a 'Venetian white paper' and that Caxton was paid with 'Venetian money'. Weiss, *Humanism in England* (see n. 3), p. 172, n. 3, took a more moderate view: 'The title ... suggests that it was issued in order to furnish models of polite diplomatic literature rather than news'; he was followed by N.F. Blake, *Caxton and His World*, London 1969, p. 196. Enough time had passed for (some of) the letters to have been printed previously and it can be asked whether they still had any immediacy by the time Caxton printed them. The other surviving texts of the letters show that the author of the first one, the papal secretary Sigismondo dei Conti, did not think much of the latinity of two of the others and improved them in his autobiography (Bullen, see previous note, pp. xi-xiii). Several versions may have circulated at the time. See also Scofield, *Edward IV*, (see n. 23) vol. 2, pp. 165-66 and references.
74. N.F. Blake, *English First Publisher*, London 1976, p. 183; the same, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture*, London 1991. pp. 7-8; compare L. Balsamo, 'The origins of printing in Italy and England', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, no. 11 (1976-77), pp. 58-60.
75. See our 'Richard III's Books: XI. Ramon Lull's *Order of Chivalry* translated by William Caxton', *The Ricardian*, vol. 9 (1991), pp. 110-29, esp. 118, and references given there.
76. Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200-1540*, Oxford 1989, pp. 192-93. If Carmeliano wrote his poem *De vere* at Rolls House in Chancery Lane in 1482, edited the *Sex epistolae* at Westminster in 1483-86, gave a copy of one of his publications to the son of a mayor of London between 1482 and 1485 (see below) and lived at Westminster in c. 1489 to c. 1516 it is likely that he lived in London all his life; there was no need for him to actually move to Oxford to do some work for Oxford printers. After 1493 Carmeliano lived in St James' Hospital which had also been the home of the scribe Hayward who copied Caxton's printed text of the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* in manuscript in 1477, probably to advertise Caxton's edition, see our 'Richard III's Books: mistaken attributions', *The Ricardian*, vol. 9 (1991-93), pp. 303-10, esp. 305-06. Another scribe known to have lived at Westminster was William Ebesham, see A.I. Doyle in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 39 (1956-57), pp. 298-325, esp. 320-21.
77. Caxton's and Surigone's roles in the creation of the epitaph of Chaucer and its placing on Chaucer's tomb are not clear, see especially N.F. Blake, 'Caxton and Chaucer', *Leeds Studies in English*, new series, vol. 1 (1967), pp. 19-27. Surigone worked in many countries and was a prolific writer of Latin epitaphs, occasional verse and verse advertisements for printers, see e.g. H. Keussen, 'Der Humanist Stephan Surigonus und sein Kölner Aufenthalt', *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, vol. 18 (1899), pp. 352-69.
78. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), pp. 764-65. R. Weiss, 'Lineamenti di una biographia di Giovanni Gigli ...', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa di Italia*, vol. 1 (1974), pp. 379-91. Giovanni Gigli was in his turn succeeded as bishop by his own nephew, Silvestro.
79. *Carmelianus noster*, Gigli presented the same work to John Russell, bishop of Lincoln; see *Letters of Richard Fox, 1486-1527*, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen, Oxford 1929, p. 5; Carlson, *Humanist Books* (see n. 1), p. 175. Like Carmeliano Gigli wrote verse for the occasion of the birth of Prince Arthur in September

1486. For Fox's position with Henry Tudor see e.g. R.A. Griffiths and R.S. Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty*, Gloucester 1985, pp. 101, 109.

80. *Triumphus amoris Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, London, Lambeth Palace Ms. 450, f. 3 ff.; introduction printed in H. Walton, *Anglia Sacra*, 2 vols in one, London 1691, vol. 1, p. 236.
81. See *The 'Epitoma Margarite Castigate Eloquentie' of Laurentius Gulielmus Traversagni de Saona*, ed. and trans. R.H. Martin, Leeds 1986, introduction.
82. F. Madan, *The Early Oxford Press ... '1468'-1640*, Oxford 1895, pp. 4, 260; E.G. Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books*, Oxford 1917, no. 348; H.G. Carter, *A History of the Oxford University Press I. To the year 1780*, Oxford 1975, pp. 10-11; P. Morgan, *Printing and Publishing at Oxford: the Growth of the Learned Press, 1478-1778*, Oxford 1978, no. 7; D.E. Rhodes, *A Catalogue of Incunabula in All the Libraries of Oxford University Outside the Bodleian*, Oxford 1982, pp. 267-68, nos 1391-94; *Duke Humfrey's Library and the Divinity School, 1488-1988*, cat. of an exhibition at the Bodleian Library, June-August 1988, Oxford 1988, p. 113, 116.
83. In the new version Carmeliano called himself *Brixienensis poeta* not just *poeta*, and changed a few words in the text of the poem probably because he realised – or one of the recipients of the text had pointed out to him – that he had made an error of fact and a Latin error.
84. Capitals and punctuation modernised.
85. The book has *deciuit*.
86. *quem Colonia misit* may mean either 'whom Cologne allowed to go' or 'whom Cologne sent'; the latter translation has started a controversy among commentators about whether Rood was actually sent out by a Cologne printing house.
87. The proviso to 1 Richard III, cap. 9, excluded books and the booktrade from the anti-alien measures.
88. See e.g. D. Hay, 'England and the humanities in the fifteenth century', in *Itinerarium Italicum ... Dedicated to Paul Otto Kristeller ...*, ed. H.A. Obermann and T.A. Brady, Leiden 1975, pp. 305-67, esp. 312.
89. Christmas 1484 is the most likely date but Christmas 1483 is possible.
90. The text was printed and edited with an introduction, full critical apparatus and both dedications by A.P. Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, 2 vols, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, vols 119 and 119a, Turnhout 1992, vol. 119, pp. 263-97. The gist of the Brackenbury dedication has been often quoted, e.g. Jeremy Potter, *Good King Richard?*, London 1983, p. 89; Michael Hicks, *Richard III, the Man behind the Myth*, London 1992, p. 126 (where it is supposed to have been written to Russell).
91. Weiss, *Humanism* (see n. 3), p. 171 n. 3, assumes that the *principale opus* could be *De vere*, but this is not likely. *De vere* (300 lines) is much shorter than the *Vita Beatae Katerinae* (725 lines) and undoubtedly dedicated only to Edward, Prince of Wales, bearing no signs of 'mass production'.
92. According to the editor of the text (see n. 90) Russell's copy is later than Brackenbury's, but the one could, of course, have been made immediately after the other.
93. Brackenbury's copy: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. Misc. 501, vellum, 18 ff., 1^a, 2^a, 3^a, c. 200x133mm. (c. 140x91mm.), 22 lines to a page. In O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 3, *British, Irish and Icelandic Schools*, Oxford 1973, p. 97, no. 1120, the ms. is very summarily described.
 Russell's copy: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Ms. 196/102, vellum, 18 ff., 1^a, 2^a, 3^a, c. 196x125mm. (c. 140x94mm.), 22 lines to a page. See M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, 2 vols and suppl., Cambridge 1907-08, 1914, vol. 1, pp. 221-22.
94. *Ex inf.* Jenny Stratford in conversation; see also her, 'Das Goldene Rössl und die Sammlungen des französischen Königshofs', in *Das Goldene Rössl. Ein Meisterwerk der Pariser Hofkunst um 1400*, ed. R. Baumstark, Munich 1995, pp. 36-51, esp. 44-46, and e.g. BL Ms. Add. 4712, f. 11r-v.
95. The number of surviving ms. copies of the so-called 'vulgate' text is considerable, probably almost 200,

- and it was printed from the late fifteenth century on. See the edition of the text included in S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne and E.J. Dobson, eds, *Seinte Katerine*, EETS SS 7 (1981), pp.xvi-xvii, 132-43.
96. See below, and e.g. Carlson, 'King Arthur' (see n. 3) for a discussion and text of this poem.
 97. For Russell see e.g. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), pp. 1609-11.
 98. Her feast day is (usually) 25 November. See e.g. *The Lives of the Saints*, A. Butler, H. Thurston, and D. Attwater, London 1937, vol. 11, pp. 296-97; Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 2 vols, London 1891, 1890, vol. 2, pp. 467-491; the introductions of Ardenne and Dobson (see n. 95), and of S. Nevanlinna and I. Taavitsainen, eds, *St Katherine of Alexandria*, Cambridge 1993, and refs given there.
 99. Modernised version of Caxton's text, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, ed. F.S. Ellis, London 1900, vol. 7, p. 7.
 100. See e.g. *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 3, cols 955-57.
 101. Ed. C. Horstmann, *The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria*, EETS OS 100 (1893), pp. 294-335.
 102. For the edition of Carmeliano's text see n. 90 above. For a discussion of texts and their relationship see e.g. the introductions of d'Ardenne and Dobson (see n. 95), an edition of several middle English 'passions' which includes the latest and most detailed edition of the Latin vulgate text, which itself exists in a long and a short version), and of Nevanlinna and Taavitsainen (see n. 98, an edition of a middle English life and passion).
 103. According to the critical apparatus of the edition (see n. 90), brief echoes from classical and early Christian authors are innumerable.
 104. Orbán (see n. 90), pp. 268-69.
 105. See n. 99, above.
 106. An interesting instance of an addition by Carmeliano appears to be the passage in which one of the philosophers excuses himself and his colleagues to the emperor for their failure to defeat St Katherine in debate (ed. Orbán, see n. 99, lines 326-28): 'Preparing one's fleet for war, arming one's men and putting one's horses in battle array is one thing, Maxentius, but opposing true virtue is something else!'
 107. *Osbern Bokenham: Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, ed. M.S. Serjeantson, EETS OS 206 (1938, for 1936).
 108. See e.g. W.F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate. A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century*, trans. A.E. Keep, Westport, Conn., 1961, ch. 18.
 109. See e.g. A de Maijer, 'John Capgrave, O.E.S.A.', *Augustiniana*, vol. 5 (1955), pp. 400-40, esp. 424. John Capgrave's *Life of St Katherine* appears to have no specific dedicatee, but one of the owners of a copy of the text – who presented it perhaps to a community of nuns – was called Katherine (Babyngton), BL, Ms. Arundel 396, f. 130v (c. 1440).
 110. See Bateson, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (see n. 98), p. 476, n. 1.
 111. See our *The Hours of Richard III*, Stroud 1990, p. 84; it may be remembered that Richard's illegitimate daughter was called Katherine.
 112. She was also the patroness of every profession which included the use of wheels or revolving devices such as wheelwrights and millers.
 113. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), under John and Robert Morton; Robert is given as son of William, brother of John; several other preferments came to Robert after John's tenure. The precise genealogy of all the Mortons is not certain and older sources are often incorrect.
 114. Converts from the Jewish faith were also housed there; there were very few converts at this date, [W.J. Hardy], 'Rolls House and Chapel', *Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries*, vol. 2 (1896), pp. 49-68, esp. p. 61.
 115. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3), under John Morton.
 116. They cooperated over family affairs and Robert's son was the childless John's heir, see *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book*, ed. M.L. Kekewich et al., Stroud 1995, pp. 99-102, and

the pedigree of Forsters and Mortons, p. 101. Robert Morton died 1488 and at his death was owed money by the Marquess of Dorset among others; his executors included John Forster, John Morton and the other Robert Morton, E.M. Thompson, 'The will and inventory of Robert Morton 1486-88', *Journal of the British Archaeological Society*, vol. 33 (1877), pp. 308-30.

117. For John Forster, *John Vale's Book* (see preceding note), *ibid*.
118. Robert Morton was master of the Rolls from Jan. 1479 to Sept. 1483, when he was removed by Richard III, and again from Nov. 1485 until he became bishop of Worcester (prov. Oct. 1486, cons. Jan. 1487), succeeding John Alcock. Alcock was transferred to Ely, which had just been vacated by John Morton, Robert's uncle, who became archbishop of Canterbury at that time, succeeding Thomas Bourchier who had been dead since March. John was appointed chancellor 7 March 1487.
119. For brief details of Richard Lee I and family see S.L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1948, p. 353, and *John Vale's Book* (see n. 116), pp. 48, 85n., 93, 122, 219. Agnes' will: PCC 9 Logge, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), PROB 11/7, ff.65-66; Lettice's will: R.R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, 1258-1688*, 2 vols, London 1889-90, vol. 2, pp. 489-90, and Guildhall Library, Bishop of London's Commissary Court, MS 9171/6, ff. 364-67v. See also T. Millbourn, 'The church of St Stephen's Walbrook', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol. 5 (1881), pp. 344-45, 390-91, and *passim*.
120. He and his descendants presented to the church until the 1540s when it passed to the Grocers' Company, Millbourn (see preceding note), p. 388. Richard Lee I needed two grants of this advowson probably because of the attainder on Whittingham – it is possible that these transactions were part of the extended negotiations to secure the Whittingham estates which involved many Londoners including Ralph Verney, a mercer and mayor, whose son, John, married the Sir Robert Whittingham's heiress (Whittingham died 1471). Lee may have had sympathies with the Whittinghams, another prominent London family. *CPR 1461-67*, pp. 211, 444; and see pp. 521-22, 553.
 From 1479-1502 the vicar of St Stephen's, presented by Richard Lee II (and his mother), was William Sutton, a future executor of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, and also later vicar of Ashford, Kent, acquired presumably via Joan Lee, daughter-in-law of Sir John Fogge of Ashford, see the present authors' "'A most benevolent queen": Queen Elizabeth Woodville, her reputation, her piety and her books', *The Ricardian*, vol. 10 (1994-96) p. 234, Emden, Oxford (see n. 3), under William Sutton, and pedigree of Lees herewith.
121. Richard Lee I's will provides the evidence for his parents' burial places and his early trading relationship with Maidstone, PCC 5 Wattys, PRO, PROB 11/6, ff. 37-38v. esp. ff. 37v, 38v, and see R.R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of the Letter Books ... of the City of London: L*, London 1912, p. 74, and W.B. Gilbert, *The Accounts of the Corpus Christi Fraternity, and Papers Relating to the Antiquities of Maidstone ...*, Maidstone 1866, pp. 8, 32. The will of Richard Lee II gives details of the lands he (orland his father) acquired in Kent, Surrey and Sussex, PCC 27 Horne, PRO, PROB 11/11, f. 215v. The family became particularly associated with Great 'Delce' near Rochester, Kent, see will of Richard Lee III in 1526, PCC 15 Porche, PRO, PROB 11/22, ff. 114v-116. By 1431 Richard Lee I's trade must have concentrated on grocery, J.A. Kingdon, ed., *Facsimile of the First Volume of Ms. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers, A.D. 1345-1463*, 2 vols, London 1886, p. 202; but nothing is really known of how he made his fortune. He may have included money-lending among his activities, see e.g. *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London 1413-82*, vols 5 and 6, ed. P.E. Jones, Cambridge 1954, 1961, *passim*, and *CCR 1457-68*, *passim*, for copious gifts of goods and chattels involving Richard Lee I.
122. *CCR 1461-68*, p. 193; issue from apprenticeship occurred at the age of 25 approximately; he had been apprenticed to George Irland, grocer and husband of his sister, Margaret, Thrupp, *Merchant Class* (see above, n. 119), biographies of Lee and Ireland, pp. 350, 353.
123. For the year 1460-61 and London, C.M. Barron, 'London and the crown 1451-61', in *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.R.L. Highfield and R. Jeffs, Gloucester 1981, pp. 97-100. For the year 1469-70, see e.g. *John Vale's Book* (see n., 116), pp. 92-93, and references cited. A. Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, 2 vols, London 1908, 1913, vol. 2, p. 98; R.R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, 3 vols, London 1894-95, vol. 3, pp. 391-92.

124. Sir Richard's alabaster tomb cost £20 (his will, see n. 121 above); his widow Lettice was buried there, and she and her son, Richard Lee II gave a 'howsyng' to the church (his will, see n. 121), and she established the family chantry with property in Soper Lane, Popkirtle Lane, and the *Christopher* and the *White Bear* on the north side of Bucklersbury (her Husting will, see n. 119; Milbourn, see n. 119, pp. 390-91); Richard Lee II's tomb was before his pew and across the church from that of Dame Agnes Forster (his will, see n. 121); his widow, Joyce, broke the pattern by deciding to be buried in the Minoreesses to where she had retired and where her daughter, Joyce, was a nun (her will, PCC 22 Adeane, PRO, PROB 11/15, f. 173v; Richard Lee III wanted to be buried there (his will, see n. 121).
125. See the pedigree of the Hautes in P. Fleming, 'The Hautes and their "circle". Culture and the English gentry', in *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, Woodbridge 1987, p. 87; this emphasises the strength of this particular political/family circle, on the circumference of which existed the Lees. Thrupp, *Merchant Class* (see n. 119), p. 353, and Commissary Court will of Lettice Lee for later marriages (see n. 119). S. Bolton, 'Sir John Fogge', *The Ricardian*, vol. 5 (1979-81), pp. 202-09, sets out the problems of Sir John Fogge's marriages and children, as well as his career. For the Kyriel connections of Roger Brent see the will of Dame Cecily Kyriel, 1472, PRO, PROB 11/6, f. 68-68v.
126. *CPR 1478-85*, p. 563. A.E. Conway, 'The Maidstone sector of Buckingham's rebellion, October 18, 1483', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 57 (1925), pp. 97-119.
127. Emden, *Oxford* (see n. 3) under John Lee. He appeared with his father in deeds of 1468, D. Keene and V. Harding, *An Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire*, vol. 1, *Cheapside*, Cambridge 1987, 145/18. He was left £100 by his father, PRO, PROB 11/6, f. 38.
128. Gilbert, *Memorials* (see n. 48), pp. 46, 49; this gives many details about Lee, including the text of his will, as does his, *Antiquities of Maidstone* ... (see n. 121), passim; Lee's predecessor as master turns up occasionally in these accounts; members of the fraternity recorded included, e.g. Richard Lee II, Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir Henry Ferrers, Nicholas Gainsford, Sir John Savage (from 1484), Browns and Culpeppers, as well as the prior of Leeds and the abbot of Bexley. Richard Lee II (or III) is said to have owned a house in Earl St, Maidstone, and it was probably he who gave lands to the town, J. Cave Brown, *The History ... of All Saints Maidstone*, Maidstone n.d., p. 97, and *The Records of Maidstone*, Maidstone 1926, pp. 51-52; he left 40s to the church in his will, 1498, PRO, PROB 11/11, f. 215v.
129. Gilbert, *Memorials* (see n. 48) pp. 49-50.
130. W.E. Hampton, 'Sir Robert Brackenbury of Selaby, County Durham', *The Ricardian*, vol. 7 (1985-87), pp. 97-114, esp. p. 101; and see *John Vale's Book* (see n. 116), pp. 100n., 102 and n. for this episode.
131. Hampton, 'Brackenbury', (see preceding note), p. 105. Another Morton relative, Robert Turbeville, was to marry the very wealthy widow of John Forster after 1488, *John Vale's Book* (see n. 116), pp. 98, 101-02.
132. Hampton, 'Brackenbury' (see n. 130), pp. 103-05.
133. Hampton, 'Brackenbury' (see n. 130), p. 107; A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, eds, *The Great Chronicle of London*, London 1938, pp. 237-238n.
134. From the text of her will, Elizabeth Brackenbury was not well-off at the time of her death in 1504, owing money to her benefactress, Elizabeth Talbot, dowager duchess of Norfolk (mother of Anne Mowbray, child-wife of the duke of York, son of Edward IV), with whom she apparently lived in the great house within the precinct of the Minoreesses, a house usually leased to some great, widowed lady (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 4, Surtees Society, vol. 52, 1869, p. 233). Joyce Lee, widow, asked to be buried near Jane Talbot (*née* Champenown; died 1505), widow of Sir Humphrey Talbot, and sister-in-law of the duchess, in the Minoreesses' church. Close to these women were Anne (*née* Darcy, dead by 1506), widow of Sir John Montgomery (ex. 1462), and Mary Tyrell probably a sister of Sir James Tyrell, another relative of Anne Montgomery, see W.E. Hampton, 'The ladies of the Minorities', *The Ricardian*, vol. 4 (1976-78), pp. 15-22, esp. pp. 17-18 (some details on the Lees need correcting); M. Carlin, 'Holy Trinity Minorities: Abbey of St Clare, 1293/4-1539', Centre for Metropolitan History, typescript available at Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, Malet St, London. The will of John Chaunterell, parson of

St Peter's East Cheap and supervisor of Joyce Lee's will in 1507, refers to another younger Anne Montgomery (his niece), and left bequests to one nun and to others associated with this community in 1510-11, PCC 23 (*recte*) Bennett, PRO, PROB 11/16, f. 182-182v.

135. Carlson, 'King Arthur' (see n. 3), *passim*.
136. *Suasoria Laetiae ad Angliam pro sublati bellis civilis et Arthuro principe nato epistola*; BL, Ms. Add. 33,736, vellum, 12 ff., 1^o (flyleaves, the first stuck down), 2^o (bifolium illuminated on inside pages), 3^o, 4^o (flyleaves, the second stuck down), c. 188x130mm. (c. 105x85mm), 16 lines to a page. See e.g. Carlson, *English Humanist Books* (see n. 1), pp. 47-59; text printed in Carlson, 'King Arthur' (see n. 3).
137. Carlson, 'Occasional poetry' (see n. 3).
138. See H.L.R. Edwards, 'Robert Gaguin and the English poets, 1489-90', *Modern Language Review*, vol. 32 (1937), pp. 430-34; David Carlson, 'Politicizing Tudor court literature: Gaguin's embassy and Henry VII's humanists' response', *Studies in Philology*, vol. 85 (1988), pp. 279-304.
139. For Richard Pynson's 1508 account of the 'spousells' of Henry VII's daughter Mary and the future Emperor Charles V, and for the English translation (c. 1520) of Domenico Mancini's *De quattuor virtutibus*; whether Carmeliano knew Mancini is not clear from this connection, as the latter was dead by then.
140. See above and n. 57. Using a false quantity means that the poet puts a short syllable where the metre requires a long one, or vice versa. Carmeliano had taken the first syllable of *pullulare* to be short, whereas it is long (because it is followed by two consonants).
141. Joyce Lee the younger, daughter of Richard Lee II, sister of Edward Lee, archbishop of York 1531-44, nun at the Minoreesses (see above and n. 134) was the probable recipient of More's translation of the life of Pico della Mirandola as a New Year's gift in 1507 (?), see W.E. Campbell *et al.*, eds. *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, 2 vols, London 1931, vol. 1, pp. 4, 18-20. The dedication reads: 'Unto his right entirely beloved sister in Christ, Joyeuce Leigh, Thomas More greting in our lorde'. There were other connections between the More and Lee families: John Rastell, the printer, More's brother-in-law, drew up the will of Richard Lee III, Joyce's brother, in 1525/6 and he and his son William, with others such as Edward Haute junior, witnessed it (see n. 121), f. 115v; More was a near neighbour of the Lees in London during his first marriage when he lived in the *Barge* in Bucklersbury c. 1504-24; in 1519 More reminded Edward Lee of the 'daily, friendly intimacy of our parents, which led to my kissing you once, a most attractive small boy, when I was ten years older than you', R.W. Chambers, *Thomas More*, London 1935, pp. 92-98; G.B. Parks, 'Pico della Mirandola in Tudor translation', in *Philosophy and Humanism. Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. E.P. Maloney, Leiden 1976, pp. 352-69, esp. 359-61 (we are grateful to Prof. A.S.G. Edwards for this reference). For the location of the More house and two Lee properties see D. Keene, 'The Walbrook Study: A Summary Report', *Social and Economic Study of Medieval London*, 1987 (typescript at the Institute of Historical Research, London), St Stephen Walbrook 156/13, pp. 20, 24, figs 1 (p. 22), 3 (p. 24) and B-C (pp. v-vi).
142. In 1516 More wrote to Erasmus: 'To be honest: I rather like the man; I think he is very honest and knowledgeable about human affairs and very dedicated to sacred matters. Last but not least in my eyes: he likes you very much'; Allen, *Letters* (see n. 57), vol. 2, no. 461, p. 339. Some time after 1508 More, in an epigram called 'To a stupid poet', criticised Carmeliano's description of Henry VIII as 'a prince to whom none is second'; see e.g. Carlson, 'Occasional poetry' (see n. 3), p. 501.
143. C.F. Bühler, 'Three letters from Henry VII to the Dukes of Milan', *Speculum*, vol. 31 (1956), pp. 485-90, esp. 490.
144. W. Nelson, describing the superiority of More, Colet and Erasmus to such as Carmeliano, Gigli and André, in his *John Skelton, Laureate* (see n. 9), pp. 37-38.