

Richard III, Tydeus of Calydon and their Boars in the Latin Oration of Archibald Whitelaw, Archdeacon of St Andrews, at Nottingham on 12 September 1484

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When Archibald Whitelaw, James III of Scotland's erudite secretary and spokesman of the Scots embassy received by Richard III at Nottingham on 12 September 1484,¹ addressed the king of England with the undoubted purpose of pleasing and flattering him as highly and as subtly as he could, he compared Richard to the 'very famous prince Tydeus':²

Nunquam tam animi natura minori
Corpori, nec tantas ausa est includere vires.
(Never did Nature venture to enclose in such a small body
such a great spirit and such strength)³
and:
Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.
(Greater prowess controlled his small body)⁴

¹ I am most grateful to Lesley Boatwright for her comments and suggestions and for her thorough checking of the Latin and the translation; she saved me from many errors. For Whitelaw: N. Macdougall, 'Archibald Whitelaw', in *Oxford DNB*. The most detailed examination of the speech is A. Grant, 'Richard III and Scotland', in A.J. Pollard, ed., *The North of England in the Age of Richard III*, Stroud 1996, pp. 115-48, 194-202, esp. pp. 134-37, translation on pp. 193-99. Also N. Macdougall, *James III*, Edinburgh 1982, pp. 208-15, and A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses. Lay Society, War and Politics 1450-1500*, Oxford 1990, pp. 240-44. Sir George Buck, *The History of King Richard the Third (1619)*, ed. A.N. Kincaid, Gloucester 1979, pp. 205-06, quotes a few sections from the speech and comments on it, suggesting that Whitelaw, as a Scot, spoke the truth about Richard, because, 'the Scots were thought not apt to give Englishmen more praise than was due'.

² The ms. has *thebo*, but there is no doubt that Statius was referring to Tydeus, who was anything but a 'Theban' prince. My conjectural reading of the relevant passage is: *De te diu predicarique poterit quod Thideo principi inclitissimo Statius poeta huius verbis contulit*; *Thebo* is, I think, just a copyist's error later interpreted as an adjective; the usual adjective is *Thebanus*. For details see below. On the tapestries now in Madrid (see below) the name is spelled *Thideus* and *Thideo*.

³ Statius, *Thebais*, bk 1, lines 845-46, which in more modern editions read: *numquam hunc animum Natura minori / corpore nec tantas ausa est includere vires*. The translation is here taken from the Loeb edition, in order to be as impartial as possible.

This has usually been taken as merely a reference to Richard's small stature, which could apparently not be denied but could be given a complimentary twist by praising the great mental and physical talents the king possessed in spite of his unimpressive physique. In fact, it is unlikely that Whitelaw would have referred to Richard's stature at all unless he had some other more important reason to do so. There must have been hundreds of apposite quotations with descriptions of famous kings and warriors from the historical and legendary past that the ambassador could have used and did not contain comments on the king's appearance of a possibly unwelcome nature. It is undeniable that the phrases would not have been used if Richard had been tall, but to appreciate the Scots ambassador's flattery properly two questions must be answered: why should Whitelaw choose Tydeus for his laudatory comparison and what did Whitelaw, Richard and the others in the room know about Tydeus?

The *Thebaid*, the principal epic work of the Roman poet Statius (second half of the first century AD), tells the story of the siege of Thebes, the climax of the quarrel between Eteocles and Polynices, the pernicious sons of Oedipus, who had agreed to rule their dead father's city kingdom each in turn for one year. At the end of his first term Eteocles, not unexpectedly, refused to give up his throne, thus forcing his brother to gather his friends and start a war to protect his own claim. The Latin text of the *Thebaid* was well known to scholars throughout the middle ages,⁵ and his quotation indicates that Whitelaw, too, must have known a copy, possibly the first printed edition produced at Rome in 1470, as he seems to have acquired several printed books.⁶ Of the Englishmen who took part in the negotiations and were presumably present during the Scots keynote speech, many may have had a reasonable, passive as well as active, knowledge of Latin, probably at a level that we find hard to credit today;⁷ a few among them were themselves

⁴ *Ibid*, Bk 1, line 417. The *maior* is used in contrast with *ille celsior* (the one was taller), describing Polynices, Tydeus' opponent.

⁵ L.D. Reynolds *et al.*, eds, *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford 1986, pp. 394-96.

⁶ J. Durkan and A. Ross, 'Early Scottish libraries', *Innes Review*, vol. 9 (1958), p. 159; the books included Lucan, Horace, Appian, and Sallust. His extant mss, too, indicate a preponderant interest in the classics, especially ancient history, R.J. Lyall, 'Books and owners in fifteenth-century Scotland', in J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall, *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 248-50.

⁷ The question of who understood how much when such ambassadorial and ceremonial speeches were given will never be fully answered. How much did Richard understand when Latin disputations were held in his presence at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1483? Edward, on a similar occasion had answered in Latin (*Epistolae Academicæ Oxon.*, ed. H. Anstey, 2 vols, Oxford Historical Society 35-36, 1898, nos 447-84, esp. 478-790) and Richard, it has been argued, was more learned than his brother, see e.g. A.F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books. Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval*

owners or authors of Latin texts. First and foremost there is the king himself, who is known to have possessed a library with a high proportion of books in Latin.⁸ John Russell, Chancellor of England and Bishop of Lincoln, owned several, probably many, Latin texts – Statius' *Thebais* among them – and he himself had delivered a Latin speech on the occasion of the investiture of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with the order of the Garter.⁹ Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, John Gunthorpe, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, were all scholars and book owners, particularly of Latin works, though some were more interested in classical texts than others.¹⁰ The book-ownership of Richard Redman, Bishop of St Asaph,¹¹ Thomas Barowe, Master of the Rolls,¹² Robert Booth, Dean of York,¹³ Dr Alexander Lee,¹⁴ and Dr Thomas Hutton¹⁵ is not documented, but that their Latin was adequate need not be doubted. Sir Thomas Bryan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,¹⁶ and Sir William Hussey, Chief Justice of the King's Bench,¹⁷ are likely to have been as well versed in Latin as any scholar today. Apart from Russell none of these men, nor any of the members of the English aristocracy present, can be proved to have known Statius' *Thebaid*, but even if they did not, its contents are likely to have been familiar to them in another format.¹⁸

prince, Stroud 1997, p. 5; see also, the same, "As dear to him as the Trojans were to Hector": Richard III and the University of Cambridge', forthcoming.

⁸ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, p. 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-61.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-62.

¹¹ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500*, Cambridge 1963, p. 476.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 360-61.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 323-24.

¹⁶ E.g. E.W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England. Thomas Kebell: A Case Study*, Cambridge 1983, *passim*; A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond, eds, *The Coronation of Richard III, the Extant Documents*, Gloucester and New York 1983, p. 318.

¹⁷ E.g. Ives, *Common Lawyers*, *passim*; Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation*, p. 360.

¹⁸ The *Thebaid* is conveniently summarised in the 5th book of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, lines 1485-1510, which was printed by Caxton in 1483 or 84. The book is mentioned because Criseyde has been listening to the story. Though 16 mss of *Troilus* survive little is known about their owners, R.K. Root, *The Manuscripts of Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer Society, First Series 98, London 1914; B. Windeatt, ed., *Troilus and Criseyde: A New Edition of the The Book of Troilus*, London 1984, 2nd edn 1990.

As early as the reign of Henry II, the story had been translated and turned into a fashionable *roman*, the anonymous *Roman de Thèbes* (c. 1150).¹⁹ In the same period the anonymous *Roman d'Eneas* (1156-60), based on Vergil's *Aeneid*, and the *Roman de Troie* (c. 1165), the story of Troy by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, were composed. There is no evidence that the French epic about Thebes was known at the Yorkist court, but the version by John Lydgate, *The Siege of Thebes* (1420-22),²⁰ certainly was: the number of manuscripts surviving and known owners clearly attest to the popularity of the book in Richard's time and earlier.²¹ Manuscripts can be connected to William de La Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and his wife, Alice Chaucer, Sir William Herbert and his wife, Anne Devereux, the mercer Roger Thorne, and others;²² one Scots owner, early in the century, is known,²³ and, most importantly: Richard himself had possessed a copy since his youth.²⁴

Given the popularity of the *Siege of Thebes* it is perhaps best to rehearse here the story of Tydeus and his boar from Lydgate's English version. One of the other main characters in the *Siege* is Adrastus, King of Argos, who has been warned in a dream that his two daughters would marry a lion and a boar, 'a wilde boor and a fers lyoun'. Not long after his dream two strangers turn up in the porch of his palace seeking shelter from a storm. One of them, hasty and aggressive, refuses to allow the other to stay, in spite of his courteous behaviour and apology; the two young men fall to fighting and the noise wakes Adrastus, who intervenes and manages to make them stop. Once the two men are Adrastus'

¹⁹ An easily available edition is F. Mora-Lebrun, ed. *Le Roman de Thèbes. Edition du manuscrit S* (Londres, Brit. Libr., Add. 34114), Lettres gothiques, Livre de Poche, 1995.

²⁰ *Lydgate's Siege of Thebes*, ed. A. Erdman and E. Ekwall, 2 vols, EETS ES 108, 125 (1911; 1930 for 1920; repr. 1960, 1996, 1998); W.F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate. A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century*, trans. A.E. Keep, Westport, Conn., 1961, pp. 62-65; Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, London 1970, pp. 151-56.

²¹ *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, gen. eds J. Burke Severs and A.E. Hartung, 9 vols, New Haven, Conn, 1967-93, vol. 6, [169], lists 30 mss, their dates running from 1420 into the 16th century. On the *Siege* and its readership R.S. Allen, 'The Siege of Thebes: Lydgate's Canterbury Tale', J. Boffey and J. Cowen, eds, *Chaucer and Fifteenth-Century Poetry*, King's College London Medieval Studies 5, London 1991, pp. 122-42; C.M. Meale, ed., *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, Cambridge 1993, p. 141 (women readers).

²² G. Bone, 'Extant manuscripts printed from by W. de Worde, with notes on the owner, Roger Thorne', *The Library*, 4th s., vol. 12 (1931-32), pp. 284-306; C. Meale, 'Patrons, buyers and owners: book production and social status', in Griffiths and Pearsall (see n. 6), p. 236n.

²³ Lyall, 'Books and owners in fifteenth-century Scotland', in Griffiths and Pearsall (see n. 6), p. 240.

²⁴ A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III's books: II. A collection of romances and Old Testament stories. 3. *The Siege of Thebes* by John Lydgate', and '5. The collection and its purpose', *The Ricardian*, vol. 7 (1985-87), pp. 376-78, 426-36.

guests and feasted in his house, they meet his daughters and both fall in love. Adrastus, remembering his dream, does not know what to do until he notices that the strangers have a lion and a boar as emblems on their shields:

And to beholde / in the knyghtes sheldys
The felle beestys / peynted in the feeldys;²⁵

Not only do the animals appear on their shields and their banners, the two knights also wear the hides of a lion and a boar as protective clothing.²⁶ The lion is the beast of Polynices, Prince of Thebes; the boar is the ancestral emblem of Tydeus, Prince of Calydon.²⁷ The prophecy of the dream is thus fulfilled and the two young men are each given half Adrastus' kingdom.

Tydeus, now Polynices' friend, is sent by him to Thebes to persuade Eteocles to keep their bargain and resign the crown to his brother. Eteocles not only refuses but puts fifty men in an ambush to kill Tydeus on his way home; Tydeus defeats them, allowing only one to live to go back and report. Throughout the siege, the battles and the other adventures that follow Tydeus is the real hero of the story; in Lydgate's version the classical tradition that Tydeus was small in stature is ignored²⁸ and his moral character is upgraded: he is always wise, brave, and courteous, and remains loyal to his wife until, like all the protagonists, he is killed fighting. Commentators have decided that Lydgate meant him to be the image of Henry V, and the *Siege* a comment on the evils of war and the harm caused by dishonest and tyrannical princes, such as the sons of Oedipus.²⁹ It is unlikely that anyone who had read either Statius' *Thebaid* or Lydgate's *Siege* would not remember Tydeus and his boar, or that Richard of Gloucester was not impressed by the virtues and prowess of the legendary knight with whom he shared his heraldic device.³⁰

²⁵ *Siege*, lines 1531-32.

²⁶ *Siege*, lines 1530-51, Erdmann and Ekwall, vol. 2, p. 110.

²⁷ Chaucer's *Troilus* summarises the history of Tydeus' family, who took the boar as their emblem because their ancestor, Meleager, killed the boar that devastated Calydon; Tydeus' son is Diomedes, one of the Greeks besieging Troy and Troilus' rival for the love of Cryseide, *Troilus*, lines 1464-84.

²⁸ It is still very much present in the *Roman de Thebes*, lines 767-72: "Tydeus was older [than Polynices' thirty years], smaller of body but greater in strength; he had black hair, beard and moustache, his face was fierce as a lion's. He had a small body but a great heart and in prowess he was like Roland'.

²⁹ Schirmer, *Lydgate*, pp. 62-65; Pearsall, *Lydgate*, pp. 152-56; Allen, 'Siege', pp. 124-25.

³⁰ The relevant miniature in Royal 18 D ii does not show a boar on Tydeus' shield but a griffin, through a misreading of the word *gypon* in the text, G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, *Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection in the British Museum*, 4 vols, London 1921. Apparently the illuminator and /or his patron did *not* know that the boar was Tydeus' emblem.

The charges on the shields of Polynices and Tydeus became even more accessible when they were visually displayed in the large historiated tapestries of the period. Alongside popular scenes from the Bible, the Trojan War, the life of Alexander the Great and Roman history, workshops on the continent, particularly those of Tournai, created sets of tapestries showing the history of Thebes. In September 1482 Edward IV acquired an eight-piece set 'of Arras of the story of Thebes', bought for him by John Pickering, governor of the Merchant Adventurers, at the Easter Fair at Bergen op Zoom in Brabant for £351. The pieces more or less survived until 1547, but have since disappeared.³¹ Parts of a similar set, now displayed in the town hall of Madrid, show what the scenes in Edward's tapestry may have included: on the left Polynices and Tydeus are shown fighting on horseback in full armour; they are clearly identified by the animals on their shields, one has a red lion rampant on a gold field, the other a brown rampant boar also on a field of gold.³² When they enter the palace with Adrastus, the boar is shown prominently, but it does not occur again in the scenes of Tydeus' embassy to Thebes and his killing of his fifty assailants. Owners and admirers of such a tapestry would undoubtedly have known the significance of the beasts and recognised Tydeus and the boar.

A little further on in his speech, after he had praised Richard for all his virtues, both in peace and in war, Whitelaw wished to voice his conviction that Richard's beneficent reputation would last as long as the world itself and to illustrate his words he painted a pleasantly pastoral picture, weaving together two separate passages from Vergil both ending on the same line. One is taken from Aeneas' words when he salutes Dido for the first time: 'So long as rivers shall run to the sea, so long as shadows shall pass over the curves of the mountains, so long as the sky will harbour the stars, so long shall your honour, your name and your praises survive'.³³ To this he added two lines from another text, the praise of a shepherd for a friend who has died and has become a god who will bring peace and prosperity: 'So long as the boar will enjoy the mountain top, and the fish the

³¹ S. McKendrick, 'Edward IV: an English royal collector of Netherlandish tapestry', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 129 (1987), pp. 521-24.

³² On the tapestries A. Gomez Martinez and B. Chillón Sampredo, *Los Tapices de la Catedral de Zamora*, Zamora 1925, pp. 19-21, 57-62, where the authors are confused and say that Tydeus has the lion and Polynices the boar 'which is no doubt an allusion to the story'. For an illustration in colour (the only way to distinguish details in these crowded scenes) see *Tapisserie de Tournai en Espagne. La tapisserie bruxelloise en Espagne au XVI^e siècle*, catalogue of the Europalia exhibition 1985, Brussels 1985, pp. 150-53. It is possible not only the modern commentator was confused, for in the top left corner a small figure on horseback carries the shield with the boar and *polynices* seems to be written against it; the large figures with the shield are not named.

³³ *Aeneid*, bk 1, lines 606-08.

rivers; so long as bees will live on thyme and cicadas on dew, so long shall your honour, your name and your praises survive'.³⁴

Whitelaw had a vast stock of quotations at his disposal: in this single speech he used, summarised or paraphrased lines from not only Statius' *Thebaid* and the Bible, but also from Vergil's *Aeneid*, *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, Cicero's *De Imperio Gn. Pompei* and *De officiis*, Seneca's *Hercules furens*, Salustius' *Bellum Jugurthinum*, and Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, and there are echoes of other speeches of Cicero and probably Livy. In this varied collection the orator managed to find a perfect and subtle reference to the king of England's favourite device and it is unlikely he did so by accident: he knew very well what would please Richard III.

The Text Of Whitelaw's Speech to Richard III

Whitelaw's speech is preserved in two manuscript miscellanies on Scots affairs: BL MSS Cotton Vespasian C xvi, ff. 75-79, which has the major part, and Cotton Caligula B v, ff. 151-152v (147-148v), which has the end. The leaves in Caligula were originally part of the Vespasian manuscript: the folios are still numbered 1 to 7 on the recto side in the lower right corner. Caligula f. 152v also has an indenture concerning the embassy. The Vespasian manuscript is entitled *Rer Scotiae* in a later hand and does indeed contain miscellaneous documents of many different dates, all concerned with Scots affairs and English overlordship of Scotland. Caligula has similar contents.

The speech itself is followed by fragmentary notes about the Scots embassy's reception in Nottingham and an explanation of when and where and in whose presence Whitelaw's oration was delivered:

by fore hygh messe of thys same day [12 Sept.], the kyng beyng in hys gret chaumbre undyr hys clothe of ryall astate, beyng then and there a waytyng up on hys seyde hyghness, by syde the lordys and other of hys counsell, many nobyll knyghtes and squyers, as wele for hys body as other of hys most roayll howsold.³⁵

The account of the meeting is unfortunately not complete, but it appears to be an almost contemporary transcript of minutes made at the time, by someone who wrote very neatly but had too little Latin to record all the oration accurately.

³⁴ Vergil, *Eclogues*, 5, lines 76-78.

³⁵ The notes and the speech were printed in *The Bannatyne Miscellany* (*Ban. Misc.*), ed. H.D. Laing, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh 1836, pp. 37-48; the notes only in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. J. Gairdner, 2 vols, Rolls Series 1861-63, vol. 1, pp. 63-67.

Editorial Procedure

It turned out to be impossible to be entirely consistent in the presentation of this text. The scribe was so uncertain about many words that it was necessary to give his efforts the benefit of the doubt in many cases; he clearly had no idea, for example, whether he should read *i* or *e* in many Latin endings. The quotations from classical authors have been left as they are in the manuscript, except when their errors seem to be due to the incompetence of the scribe or where they appear untranslatable. In some instances Whitelaw no doubt altered words on purpose. Capitals, punctuation, u and v have been modernised; t and c, e (for ae) and j and i have been left as they are in the manuscript where possible; editorial additions are in square brackets. When *que* follows a word the gap between has been closed up when this is clearly intended. Apparent or obvious errors of the scribe have been corrected but the original is usually given in the notes. The scribe used the same abbreviation for *pro-* and *per-* and did not know when c or t was required; these errors have also been corrected in the assumption that Whitelaw knew the correct spelling in every case. Trivial erasures are not given.

The Text: BL MS Cotton Vesp. C xvi, ff. 75-79.

[f. 75] *Oratio Scotorum ad Regem Ricardum Tertium pro pace firmanda inter Anglos et Scotos. xij Sept. M.CCCC.lxxxiv.*³⁶

Conantur³⁷ plerumque hij homines, serenissime princeps et rex, omnium, quos novi,³⁸ nobilitate inclita, populari potencia, armataque classe, copiis et divitiis potentissime,³⁹ qui coram regibus et principibus legacionis funguntur officio, preclaras illorum quibus mittuntur accuratissimis verbis virtutes attollere, et eorundem egregias laudes commissamque eisdem legacionem acri ingenio perorare. Idem mihi pro viribus faciendum arbitror, qui, tametsi dicendi facultas non assuerit, jussu tamen mei serenissimi principis, una cum meis hijs presentibus dominis sue serenitatis legatis, huc oraturus accesserim; veniam ob id precor, dabit tua inclitissima serenitas, si suscepto inchoatoque oneri per me ad plenum non fuerit satisfactum. Sed magna mihi a⁴⁰ temeritate proficiscens videtur audacia, quod ego, cum vir sim quem nec precelsa decorat nobilitas, nec illustrat sciencia, aut disertum⁴¹ eloquencia efficiat, coram tua eximia dignitate et serenitate

³⁶ This title is in a rather crude hand different from the one that copied the text itself. In the margin is written in similar ink but various hands *Scotia* twice, *Anno 2 Ricardi* and, in an even later hand: *1484 [se]ptember*.

³⁷ The C is decorated with penwork.

³⁸ *Quos novi* appears to have been put in brackets by a later hand.

³⁹ The ms. has *potentis me*.

⁴⁰ *Bann. Misc.* omits *a*.

⁴¹ The ms. has *desertum*.

prestantissima huc oraturus aggredior, cum tibi astant domini altis honoribus, eloquencia divina pariter et humana sapiencia preediti, quorum intueor oculos in me unum conversos esse, ut nihil⁴² a me, voce, vultu, aut corporis gestu, aliquam in partem dirigi posset, quod non per tuam serenitatem et astancium ingentem prudenciam laudi aut vituperio tribuendum videatur. Verum una⁴³ me res [f. 75v] consolatur et iuvat, tua scilicet in omni virtutis genere celeberrima fama per omnem orbis⁴⁴ ambitum disseminata; tua⁴⁵ eciam innate benignitatis clarissima prestansque humanitas, tua mansuetudo, liberalitas, fides, summa iusticia, incredibilis animi magnitudo; tua non humana sed pene divina sapiencia, qua⁴⁶ te non modo singulis facilem, verum vulgo et popularibus affabilem prebes; quibus⁴⁷ virtutibus altaque prudencia cuncta et pronunciata et dicta in meliora commutas⁴⁸ mihi⁴⁹ ut coram te nomine et ex parte mei serenissimi principis Scotorum regis, qui te alto amore prosequitur, te desiderat, tuam amicitiam et affinitatem affectat, supra captum cogitationis mee⁵⁰ ausum, in presentiarum aliquantisper edicere, tribuere. Et si quid a me aliqua in parte⁵¹ erratum fuerit,⁵² tuis id divinis virtutibus, quibus cum celestibus numinibus commercium et societatem contraxeris, tribuendum putato.⁵³

Functus fueram ab annis xxv in Hibernie partibus coram tuo inclitissimo progenitore legacionis munere, ac appunctuata stabilita conclusa pro se, suis heredibus [et] successoribus suis sigillo et subscriptione roborata, meo inclitissimo regi,⁵⁴ tunc superstiti⁵⁵ nunc vero sancte memorie [f. 76]⁵⁶ vita functo, et principi, reportavi; verum nunc primum tuam faciem summo imperio et principatu dignam inspicio, quam moralis et heroica virtus illustrat. De te dici

⁴² Bann. Misc. has *nec*.

⁴³ Buck starts with *una*.

⁴⁴ Bann. Misc. and Buck insert *terrarum*.

⁴⁵ Bann. Misc. and Buck have *tue*.

⁴⁶ Buck has *quibus*.

⁴⁷ Buck inserts *et* before *quibus*.

⁴⁸ Buck ends at *commutas* and continues: *Serenissimus Princeps, Rex Scotorum, dominus meus, qui te] alto amore prosequitur et desiderat ...*

⁴⁹ Bann. Misc. has *me*.

⁵⁰ Buck continues after *mee* with *Si quid a me*

⁵¹ Buck omits *aliqua in parte*.

⁵² Buck has *erit*.

⁵³ Buck ends at *putato* and continues with *Faciem tuam summo imperio*.

⁵⁴ The ms. has *rege*.

⁵⁵ The ms. has *superstite*.

⁵⁶ In the top corner of the left margin is written *An^o 2R3 / Scotia*.

predicarique potuerit⁵⁷ quod Thideo⁵⁸ principi inclitissimo Stacius poeta hijs verbis contulit:

Nunquam tam animi⁵⁹ natura minori
Corpori,⁶⁰ nec tantas ausa⁶¹ est includere vires.⁶²

Et quid

Maior in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.⁶³

In te enim sunt rei militaris pericia, virtus, felicitas, et auctoritas,⁶⁴ que omnia in optimo exercitus principe Cicero⁶⁵ de Pompei laudibus requirenda commemorat:

Neque enim hee sole sunt imperatorie virtutes que vulgo existimantur, labor in negocijs, fortitudo in periculis, industria⁶⁶ in agendo,⁶⁷ celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo.⁶⁸ Neque enim solum bellandi virtus in summo imperatore querenda est, sed alie sunt artes eximie, huius ministre⁶⁹ comitesque virtutis; quanta enim innocencia esse debeat rex et imperator,⁷⁰ quanta in omnibus rebus temperancia, quanta fide, quanta liberalitate,⁷¹ quanto ingenio, quanta humanitate.⁷² Neque enim potest exercitum continere⁷³ imperator qui seipsum non continet, nec

⁵⁷ The ms. has *poterit*.

⁵⁸ The ms. has *thebeo*, Buck has *Thebanum* [sic]; the usual adjective is *Thebanus*, but *Thebeus* does occur. It is likely the scribe/copyist was ignorant about Tydeus, and perhaps his exemplar mentioned Thebes or the title of the *Thebais* in some form.

⁵⁹ Buck has *Tantum animum* instead of *tam animi*.

⁶⁰ Buck has *corpore*.

⁶¹ The ms. and Buck have *nisa*.

⁶² Statius, *Thebais*, bk 1, lines 845-46; modern editions read: ... *Numquam hunc animum natura minori / corpore nec tantas ausa est includere vires*.

⁶³ *Ibid.* bk 6, line 417; modern editions read the same.

⁶⁴ These four virtues are taken from Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei*, 28, where *pericia* in modern editions is *scientia*.

⁶⁵ Buck has *Cicero requirit*, ends there and continues with *in te, Serenissimo Princeps*

⁶⁶ Written as two separate words in the ms.

⁶⁷ The ms. has *augendo*.

⁶⁸ Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei*, 29.

⁶⁹ Modern editions read *administrae*.

⁷⁰ Modern editions have *imperatores* instead of *rex et imperator*.

⁷¹ Modern editions read *facilitate*.

⁷² Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei*, 36.

⁷³ Modern editions insert *is* before *continere*.

severus esse in iudicando, qui alios in se severos esse iudices detestetur.⁷⁴

In te tamen serenissimo [f. 76v] principe⁷⁵ omnia⁷⁶ preclari regis et imperatoris⁷⁷ precepta concurrunt⁷⁸ eum⁷⁹ in modum, ut nichil ad tuam bellicam aut domesticam virtutem cuiusquam possit verbis oratorum apponi.⁸⁰ Virgilius:

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbre⁸¹
Lustrabunt⁸² convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,⁸³
Dum iuga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
Dumque thimo pascentur apes, dum rore cicade,⁸⁴
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.⁸⁵

Sed nedum te nimium laudibus temptem medio conatu, aut sermone deficiam, aut tibi assentari voluisse videar, quod feci nemini, nec a te duce initium velim, cum tuas plene describere virtutes, aut per amplissimas tue laudis transcurrere, vix Cicero, si superesset, sufficeret, hijs in aliud tempus reservatis, ad nostre legacionis summam brevissimis exponendam verbis festinat oratio. Est enim nostre ambassiate et legacionis effectus, serenissime princeps, ut, Anglie et Scocie regibus inter se mutua caritate, dilectione, amicitia, et affinitate junctis, eorundem subditi grata tranquillitate et iocunda pace letentur. Pax profecto Deum de celis ad yma detraxit, illum hominem fecit, ut nos deos mirabili commercio faceret ipse factus homo. Tempus autem sue incarnationis, adventus, [f. 77]⁸⁶ et apparacionis, non belli sed pacis elegit, quo Cesar Augustus, terra marique devicto Anthonio fusaque Cleopatra Egipti regina, totum terrarum orbem, bellica sua virtute pacatum,

⁷⁴ Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei*, 38; modern editions have *non vult* instead of *detestetur*, this whole section consists of separate sentences from *De imperio* run together and quoted almost verbatim.

⁷⁵ *Ban. Misc.* has *princeps*. It is curious that the ms. does not have a vocative here, but I have translated it as if it had.

⁷⁶ Buck omits *omnia*.

⁷⁷ Buck has *imperator*.

⁷⁸ Buck inserts *ita* before *concurrunt* and omits *eum in modum*.

⁷⁹ The ms. has *cum*.

⁸⁰ Buck ends here and continues with *Tu igitur, Serenissime Domine et princeps, ...* and has the mixed lines from Vergil at the end of his quotation of Whitelaw's speech as a whole; see below in f. 78v.

⁸¹ Buck has *imbres*.

⁸² Buck has *sint arati*.

⁸³ The ms. has *pascit* (or even *pastit*) Vergilius, *Aeneis*, bk 1, lines 607-08.

⁸⁴ Vergilius, *Bucolica* (*Georgica*), bk 5, lines 76-77.

⁸⁵ Vergilius, *Aeneis*, bk 1, line 609, and *Bucolica* (*Georgica*), bk 5, line 78.

⁸⁶ In the top corner of the left margin is written *Scotis / An 2 R 3*.

descripsit⁸⁷ et ad vectugalia et tributa prestanda coegit. In pace profecto natus est Christus,⁸⁸ in pace sepultus, in pace obdormivit, in pace quievit; hoc enim erat novissimum Domini nostri et Salvatoris mandatum cum de hoc mundo migravit ad patrem, discipulis suis pacem indixit. Romane enim urbis et rex domini templum paci constituere,⁸⁹ quo pax et fides altis honoribus colebantur. Cicero, et Romane eloquencie et sapientie monitor, pacem et concordiam omnium rerum publicarum fundamenta constituit.⁹⁰ Suos enim filios eterne vite et felicitatis coheredes Salvator noster pacificos nominat,⁹¹ bellorum cupidos dissipat,⁹² et a pace ac quiete prolongat. Tui enim subditi,⁹³ serenissime princeps, in regni tui limitibus commorantes, qui dudum sua insolencia bellum paci pretulerant, nunc sua guerris inculta videntes⁹⁴ agrorum iugera, pacem laudant, guerras et prelia damnant, et te ad fraternam cum nostro inclitissimo principe invitant caritatem, quam tui regni nobiles prudentes et virtuosi deposcunt; satis enim iam pugnatum est, satis [f. 77v]⁹⁵ iniuriarum admissum, satis Christiani cruoris in hoc novissimo conflictu effusum est; in quo hij homines qui omnium bonorum necem, et hostilibus armis pacis⁹⁶ perniciem moliti sunt, protinus fusi fugati⁹⁷ violatę pacis penas perpendunt, et morte graviora paciuntur exilia. Maro enim Romanos in Anchesis persona ad pacis concordiam hijs verbis invitat:

Ne, queso, ne tanta iuvenes assuescite bella:
Nec pacis⁹⁸ validas in viscera vertite vires.⁹⁹

⁸⁷ The use of the verb *describere* is presumably a reference to Luke 2, 1-2, Augustus' census and taxation that led Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem.

⁸⁸ This possibly refers merely to the fact that Christ was born in the time of Augustus, when peace was supposed to reign throughout the Roman empire, and lived and died under Tiberius, when there was peace still.

⁸⁹ This is a curious sentence and difficult to translate as well as interpret. Juvenal (*Satires*, 1, line 115) mentions the temples of Pax and Fides in such a way (*ut colitur Pax atque Fides*) that it might be thought he was referring to one temple. Vespasian built a temple to Peace, but who the *rex* and the *domini* are is not clear. It was the temple of War of which the doors were closed when peace reigned throughout the empire.

⁹⁰ This is not a literal or even a clear quotation from Cicero. The only relevant text appears to be a section of *De officiis*, bk 2, ch. 22, par. 78, where he refers to *concordia* and *aequitas* as *fundamenta rei publicae*.

⁹¹ Matthew 5: 9, in the Sermon on the Mount: *Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur*.

⁹² Psalm 68 (Vulgate 67), 31: *dissipa gentes quae bella volunt*.

⁹³ The ms. has *subdit*.

⁹⁴ *Bann. Misc.* and the ms. have *videtes*, i.e. the abbreviation mark was omitted.

⁹⁵ *satis* is repeated on the next page.

⁹⁶ The ms. has *pacem*, but the scribe may have used the wrong abbreviation mark.

⁹⁷ *fusi fugati* is a common phrase in Livy.

⁹⁸ The ms. has *pacem* again, but the scribe may have used the wrong abbreviation mark.

Et id:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hee tibi erunt artes, pacique imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.¹⁰⁰

Quam sententiam in *Thebaide* imitatus¹⁰¹ Stacius Polinici et suis sic inquit:

O iuvenes, servate animas, avidumque furorem
Sanguinis adversi.¹⁰²

Quid enim, per Deum immortalem, bello terribilius, quid pace mansuescius, quid armis horribilius, quid quiete iocundius, quid hominum interitu peius, quid humane vite conservacione¹⁰³ naturalius? Pacem ad hominum tutelam instituit Deus; bellum in animos hominum induxit Sathane spiritus; bello horrescunt omnia inculte;¹⁰⁴ 'et curve rigidos falces conflantur in enses';¹⁰⁵ silvescunt vineta; hominum cruore campi, gramina, et herbe madescent; nec suum permanet viribus decus; bella horridam patrie faciem ostendunt, villas [f. 78]¹⁰⁶ incensas, obsessas civitates, diruta¹⁰⁷ castella, cesa hominum corpora passim per campos vicosque iacencia, sanguinem per rivos fluere, cuncta 'lamentis, gemitu, et femineo ululatu resonare',¹⁰⁸ alios per arma fugere, quosdam in antris et lustris delitescere, plerosque fame tabescere, alios varijs excruciatos supplicijs miseram animam exhalare:¹⁰⁹ nichil simplicibus relinquitur colonis quo vitam agere, terram colere, dulces coniuges et caros liberos valeant educare; nullum crudelitatis signum, nulla facinorum aut flagicij species, nulla malorum, furti, rapine, adulterij, homicidij aut raptus ymago cessabit. Seneca in tragediis:

⁹⁹ Aeneis, bk 6, lines 833-34; modern editions read: *Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella: / Neu patrie validas in viscera vertite vires.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, bk 6, lines 851-53.

¹⁰¹ *Bann. Misc.* has *imitat.*

¹⁰² Stacius, *Thebais*, bk 6, line 915-16; the ms has *adverse*; modern editions read: *O iuvenes! servate animos avidumque furorem / sanguinis adversi.*

¹⁰³ The ms. has *conservacioni* but presumably an ablative is needed here, too.

¹⁰⁴ The ms. has *inculti*.

¹⁰⁵ Vergil, *Georgica*, bk 1, line 508: *et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ense*; this section contains other echoes of Vergil's poem.

¹⁰⁶ In the top corner of the left margin is written *Scotia / An^o 2R3*.

¹⁰⁷ The ms. has *durata*.

¹⁰⁸ Vergil, *Aeneid*, bk 4, lines 667-68: *lamentis, gemituque et femineo ululatu / tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether*, Carthage mourns the death of Dido.

¹⁰⁹ The ms. has *exaltare*.

Arma enim non servant modum,
 Nec temperari facile posset
 Stricti ensis ira; bello delectat cruores siti.¹¹⁰

Silent, ut voluit Cicero, leges inter arma,¹¹¹ non tamen¹¹² divinitus edite, verum et humanitus promulgate; silet ordo; silet ratio; silent equitas et pietas; fas, nephas, sacrum, prophanium, licitum et illicitum confunduntur;¹¹³ regnat vis; furor dominatur; sevit crudelitas; rapina crassatur; flagicium, scelus, iniquitas, belli tempore dentes acuunt, fauces dilatant, et rictus et cervices extollunt; comportare iuvat predas et venire rapto; et, ut brevi sermone cuncto complectari, omnia bello¹¹⁴ corruunt, et ad nichilum prolabantur.

[f. 78 v] E contra, pacis tempore, pacis auctor Deus precipue colitur, preclara pollet et exercetur iusticia, virtus omnis et policia resplendent, ad pacem letantur coloni, seruntur frumenta, prata virescunt, uvis onerantur vinee, orti suis fructibus et floribus decorantur; in villis, edificiis, et urbibus, clara et copiosa supellex; auri, argenti, gemmarumque copia principes, nobiles, mercatores et vulgus habundant. Salustius: 'Concordia parve res crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur'.¹¹⁵ 'Paci, que nichil inhibitura sit, semper consulendum esse', Cicero censuit.¹¹⁶ Verum certo scis, imperii et dominationis libido, que multos mortales reges transversos egit, acra inter vos principes commovit: sed id queso e vestris hoc pacto mentibus pellite: sit princeps quisque sui regni limitibus, finibus, terminisque, contentus, ita ut regredi quam progredi mallet, ne contra Domini nostri et Salvatoris mandatum apud strictum iudicem¹¹⁷ ut ad ablatorum et invasorum restitutionem aliena surripiat; venenum enim augendi imperii litis et discordie ad magnorum humiliationem potentatum, ut inquit Livius,¹¹⁸ a Deo excogitatum est, ut hii principes qui ex longa aut subita rerum affluentia aut prosperorum successu nimis

¹¹⁰ Seneca, *Hercules furens*, lines 405-07; what the author or the scribe had in mind is not clear; modern editions read: *Arma non servant modum; / nec temperari facile nec reprimi potest / stricti ensis ira, bella delectat cruor.*

¹¹¹ Cicero, *Pro Milone*, ch. 4, sect. 11.

¹¹² It is likely the original text read *tantum*.

¹¹³ The ms. appears to have *confuduntur* or *confudantur*.

¹¹⁴ Bann. Misc. has *bella*.

¹¹⁵ Sallustius, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, ch. 10, sect. 6.

¹¹⁶ *De officiis*, 1, 35: *Mea quidam sententia paci, que nihil habitura sit insidiarum, semper est consulendum* (In my opinion at least, we should always strive to secure a peace that shall not admit of guile).

¹¹⁷ The ms. has *indice*; it is likely the scribe overlooked an abbreviation mark.

¹¹⁸ This appears not to be a literal quotation from Livy. Relevant texts in Livy's *De urbe condita* may be: *cupido imperii duos cognates vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat* (a desire for power/territory makes related and neighbouring peoples take up arms, bk 1, ch. 23, par. 7) and ... *quantum cupiditas imperii malum inter mortales esset* ([shows] what a great evil the desire for power/territory is among mortal men, bk 28, ch. 21, par. 25).

iverunt, nec habent [f. 79]¹¹⁹ superiorem a quo sua comprimi possit insolencia, ipsi inter se prelia et manus vertant, ut alter aut ambo precipites eant. Innaturale enim est, inter nos bellum geri quos brevis occidui maris insula nequit, quos eadem celi influencia et loci vicinitas, similium corporum, voce, vultu, colore et complexione compaginat. Quinymo potius animi virtus, Dei amor, et proximi timor, uno nos fonte benignitatis conglutinet. Tu igitur,¹²¹ serenissime et dive Princeps, de ineunda inter te et nostrum principem caritate et amicitia sic age, ut Anglici et Scoti dilectionis respectu nullo penitus discrimine habeantur, sed in unum amoris et benevolencie vinclum videantur esse coniecti. Innumerabiles enim commoditates ex tui et nostri populi dilectionis, unione, dulci connubio, matrimonio, et affinitate consurgunt.¹²¹

Nam sicut placidum¹²² mare ex aspero,¹²³ celum ex nubilo serenum hilari affectu sentitur, sic bellum pace mutatum plurimum gaudii affert, offensarumque acerbitas reducta, (amnestia, verbo Greco, id est, iniuriarum¹²⁴ oblivione), iocunda (inter principes) relatione celebranda est.¹²⁵

Virgilius:

Aspera tunc positis mitescent secula bellis;
Dixit ferro et compagibus artis
Claudentur Belli porte: Furor impius intus,
Seva sedens super arma, et centum [f. 79v] vinctus aenis¹²⁶
Post tergum nodis, fremit horridus ore cruento.¹²⁷

¹¹⁹ In the top corner of the left margin is written *Scotia / Anº 2 R. 3.*

¹²⁰ With *Tu igitur* Buck picks up the text again.

¹²¹ Buck's quotation ends here, only followed by the lines from Vergil, see above at n. 80.

¹²² The ms. has *placitum*.

¹²³ The ms. has *exasperat*.

¹²⁴ The ms. has *iniuriarum*.

¹²⁵ Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, bk 4, ch. 2 (a section on how enemies in the past have become united through love or necessity): *nam si placidum mare ex aspero, caelumque ex nubilo serenum hilari aspectu sentitur, si bellum pace permutatum plurimum gaudii adfert, offensarum etiam acerbitas deposita candida relatione celebranda est*. Most of the text is quoted correctly by Whitelaw and he adapted it to his purposes (the words here given in brackets are his additions to the quotation proper), but *placitum* and *exasperat* are impossible to translate as they stand and may be scribal errors.

¹²⁶ The text should read *aenis*, but the scribe may have put *armis*, the reading is not certain.

¹²⁷ Vergil, *Aeneis*, bk 1, lines 291-95, 292 and the first words of 293 lacking. Modern editions read: *Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis; / Cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus / Iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis / claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus / Saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis / post tergum nodis fremit horridus ore cruento*.

Faciat utinam summus pacis auctor, cuius est bella conterrere, turbidis et afflictis hominum rebus tranquillitatem tribuere, ut hoc dum initur concordia firma stabilis et inconcussa perseveret, prestet ipse dignacione sua Deus, ut ipsa nexu indissolubili constringatur,¹²⁸ nulle illa occulte rumpant insidie, nulla frangat simulacio,¹²⁹ nulli latentes turbent doli, nulle inficiant veteris odii reliquie, nulla machinamenta fraudis inquinant, nulla sevarum¹³⁰ iniuriarum divellat memoria; quinyimo potius ipsam duorum regum solidet consensio, caritas conglutinet, amor conciliet, et benevolencia connectat, ratam firmam perpetuam vera fraternitas dileccionis efficiat. Quam nostram tibi legacionem Deo gratam acceptamque esse celi temperies et iocundus aeris¹³¹ tractus demonstrat. Hec sunt, que apud te, dominum et serenissimum principem, plurimis regni tui negociis et rei publice rebus occupatum, de preclara pacis laude, ab omnibus principibus amplectenda, brevibus et intellectu facilimis verbis dicere volui; que pro tua velis mansuetudine et clemencia benigne sumere, in melius commutare, qui ex paucis plurima notis excerpere. Finem in hoc genere dicendi oracionis [MS Caligula B v, f. 151/147]¹³² faciam, quam tua benignitas et gratus audiendi favor, plusquam deuit, in longum protraxit; brevi, scio et experimento didici, reges et omnes¹³³ principes oratione congaudent: ea vero que secreciores aures expostulant, mei presentes domini tue invicte magestati,¹³⁴ semotis arbitris, aut hiis quibus iusseris tui consilii dominis, lacius quam a me pueriliter peroratum est, verbis ediscent. Dixi.

Translation

The Speech of the Scots to King Richard III in Favour of a Secure Peace between England and Scotland, 12 September 1484.

Most serene prince and king, usually men who perform the office of ambassador in the presence of kings and princes attempt to praise to the sky in carefully chosen words the outstanding talents of those to whom they have been sent, and argue with great wit the excellent praiseworthiness of them and of the mission entrusted to them.

You are of all the kings I know the most powerful, because of your exalted birth, your authority among your people, your military might,¹³⁵ your resources and wealth, and I have to do what such ambassadors do, as far as I am able, even

¹²⁸ The ms. appears to have *construgatur*.

¹²⁹ The ms. appears to have *similacio*.

¹³⁰ The ms. has the non-existing word *tenarum*; the *Ball. Misc.* suggests *sevarum*

¹³¹ The ms. has *aieris*.

¹³² Continued in same hand.

¹³³ *Bann. Misc.* omits *et* and inserts *que*.

¹³⁴ The ms has *magestatis*.

¹³⁵ Literally: 'armed fleet'.

though I have no special talent for speaking, for at the command of my most serene prince, it is I, in the company of these my lords here present, his serenity's ambassadors, that am here to make the speech. Therefore I pray that Your Highness will forgive me if I do not perform to your full satisfaction the task I have accepted and embarked upon.

Indeed, it seems to me very bold, almost rash, that I, who am not a man adorned with great nobility, not enlightened by learning, not gifted with eloquence, am appearing here to speak before your great worthiness and excellent serenity, while around you are lords of high rank, gifted with divine eloquence as well as human wisdom, whose eyes I see turned on me alone, with the result that nothing can be uttered by me in one way or another, by words, expression or gesture, which will not be regarded by your serenity and by the great prudence of those present as either praise or blame.

Only one thing gives me comfort: your very great reputation, throughout the world, for talents in every field, I mean your bright and outstanding humaneness, which springs from natural benevolence, your kindness, generosity, loyalty, high sense of justice, and incredible greatness of mind; your, not earthly but almost heavenly wisdom, which makes you not only accessible to the individual, but condescending to the common people. Through these talents and through your great prudence you improve everything that is uttered and said, and you will perhaps allow me, who have dared to go beyond the capacity of my wit, to say a few things here now, and in the name and on behalf of my most serene prince the King of Scots, who loves you greatly, longs for you, seeks your friendship and neighbourly alliance. And if I make any kind of mistake, please allow it with your godlike talents, which you have obtained through your communing with and closeness to the saints themselves.

Twenty-five years ago I was an ambassador to your illustrious father in Ireland and when a firm agreement had been concluded and he had confirmed it for him and his heirs and successors with his seal and his signature I reported to my renowned king, who was then still alive but now is ended his life of saintly memory, and to the prince. Truly, now for the first time do I behold your face, which is worthy of the highest authority and kingship and illuminated by moral and chivalric virtue. About you can be said what the poet Statius ascribed to the famous prince Tydeus:

Never did Nature venture to enclose in such a small body
such a great spirit and such strength.

and:

Very great prowess controlled his small body.

In you, after all, can be found the experience in military matters, the courage, good fortune, and authority which are all required of the best commander, as Cicero states in his praise of Pompey the Great:

And these are not the only abilities a commander should have according to the general opinion: application to duty, courage in dangerous situations, energy in acting, rapidity in executing, wisdom in foreseeing. We are not only to seek for skill in war in a great commander, but there are many excellent skills, which are the servants and companions of this skill. How great should be the incorruptibility of a king and commander, how great his moderation in all things; how great his loyalty to his word; his generosity; he must have a great brain and a great heart. For that general who does not restrain himself cannot restrain an army, nor can he be strict in judging others, who cannot bear others to be strict judges of him.

In you, most serene prince, all that is required of a great king and commander is found together to such an extent that nothing can be added to the list of your martial and domestic virtues from the words of any orator. [The poet] Vergil [has the words, however]:

So long as the rivers shall run to the sea,
And the shadows shall pass over the curves of the mountains,
So long as the sky will harbour the stars,
And the boar will enjoy the mountain top, and the fish the rivers,
So long as the bees will live on the thyme and the cicadas on dew,
So long shall your honour, your name and your praises survive.

But let me not test you[r patience] with too much praise only halfway through my efforts, or fail in the purpose of my speech, or appear to want to flatter you, which I have never done to anybody, and I do not wish to start with you. Cicero himself, if he was still alive, would hardly be competent to describe your virtues fully, or run through the abundant details of your praiseworthiness, so let us leave those to another time and let my speech come quickly in the briefest terms to the main business of our embassy. It is, after all, the purpose of our embassy, most serene prince, that when the kings of England and Scotland have been joined together in charity, love, friendship and neighbourly affection their subjects shall enjoy pleasant tranquillity and delightful peace. Peace, indeed, made God come down from heaven, it made Him man, and thus, by a wonderful exchange, while He Himself became man He made us gods. For His incarnation, His coming and His appearance He chose a time of peace, not war, a time when Caesar Augustus, after he had defeated Mark Anthony on land and sea, and put to flight Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, had the whole world, pacified by his prowess in war, registered and made to pay taxes and tributes. It was in a time of peace that Christ was born, in peace He was buried, in peace He fell asleep as in death, and in peace He brought His work to an end, for this was the last command of Our Lord and

Saviour, when He departed from this world to go to His Father: He enjoined peace on His disciples. And the king and lords of the city of Rome built a temple to Peace, in which Peace and Loyalty were worshipped with high honours. Cicero, who was the leading man in Rome in the fields of eloquence and philosophy, set out that peace and unity are the foundation of all nations. Our Saviour, too, calls those who make peace His sons and the inheritors of eternal life and happiness, and those who desire war He scatters, and keeps them far away from peace and tranquillity. Your subjects, most serene prince, who dwell at the borders of your kingdom have for a long time known no better than to prefer war to peace, but now, seeing their acres of land uncultivated because of war, they praise peace, and condemn war and battles, and ask you to feel brotherly love towards our famous king, a love also urgently demanded by the nobles of your kingdom, prudent and good as they are. There has been enough fighting, enough wrong has been done, enough Christian blood has been spilt in this latest conflict, in which men who attempted to bring about the death of all good people and the destruction of peace through armed hostility, have been put to flight and scattered and pay the penalty for their violation of peace, suffering exile which is worse than death. Vergil, in the person of Anchises, asks the Romans to agree a peace with these words:

I pray you, do not allow young men to get used to such wars;
And do not turn your great strength against the heart of peace.

And also:

Remember, man of Rome, that you are destined to govern and
command;
These will be your skills: to crown peace with law,
To spare the humble and subdue the proud.

Statius in the *Thebaid* repeats this maxim and says to Polynices and his men:

O young men, restrain your spirits and the fury that desires
The blood of your enemy

For what, by God Immortal, is more terrible than war, what is milder than peace, what is more horrible than armed conflict, what is more pleasant than tranquillity, what is worse than the slaughter of men, what is more natural than the preservation of human life? God instituted peace for the protection of mankind; the inspiration of the devil put war into the minds of men; in war everything grows rough and uncultivated; curved sickles are forged into straight swords; vineyards become forests; the fields, the grass and the plants are wet with the blood of men; armies behave without any decency; wars show the terrible face of a country: burned houses, captured towns, ruined castles, dead bodies lying everywhere in the fields and the roads; rivers flowing with blood; everywhere lamenting, groaning and the wailing of women fills the air, some are forced to flee

by force of arms, some hide in caves and swamps; many waste away through lack of food; others give up their miserable spirit, mangled by many kinds of torture; nothing is left for the simple peasants where they can make their living, work the soil, bring up their sweet wives and their dear children; no sign of cruelty, no kind of crime and disgrace, no image of evil, theft, robbery, adultery, homicide or rape shall come to an end. Seneca says in one of his tragedies:

Armed strife never knows where to stop
Nor is it easy to temper the anger of the sword already drawn:
It takes pleasure in war and thirsts for blood.

'When arms are speaking, the laws are silent', as Cicero has it, not only the laws made by God, but also those promulgated by man: order is silent, reason is silent; equity and piety, good and evil, sacred and profane, lawful and unlawful are confused; violence rules; fury dominates; cruelty rages; robbery grows fat; disgrace, crime, dishonesty sharpen their teeth in wartime, throats gape, jaws and necks are stretched, plunder and robbery are committed for pleasure; to comprehend it all in a few words: everything collapses in wartime, and is reduced to nothing.

On the other hand, in time of peace, the bringer of peace, God, is especially venerated, noble justice is vigorous and duly exercised; virtue and civic order shine forth in full, peasants rejoice in the peace, crops are sown, meadows are green, the vines are laden with grapes, gardens are decked with their fruit and flowers, in villages and towns households are splendidly furnished, princes, nobles, merchants and the people have plenty of gold, silver, and precious stones. Salustius wrote: 'Concord makes small things grow, discord brings great things to ruin'. Cicero was of the opinion that 'We should always strive for a peace that gives everything'. You know truly that the desire for power and domination, which led many mortal kings astray, stirs up violence between you princes, but, I pray you, dispel this from your minds through this alliance: let each prince be content with the limits, frontiers and borders of his realm, so that he would rather retreat than advance and not secretly, against the command of our Lord and Saviour, steal what belongs to another, for He is a severe judge when it comes to the restitution of stolen objects and invaded territory. As Livy says, the poison of greed for territory, and of strife and discord was invented by God, to the humiliation of the powerful, so that those princes who have been for a long time, or suddenly are, very wealthy or prosperous and do not have someone set over them to control their pride, shall turn to fighting and attacking each other, and so bring one or both to a fall.

It is unnatural, indeed, for us to wage war, who are so closely held by a little island in the western sea, and joined together by the same influence of the sky and close proximity, of similar physique, language, facial appearance, colouring and complexion. May our courage, our love of God and fear of our neighbour bind us

together even more in one well of goodwill. Do you, most serene and godlike prince, create love and friendship between yourself and our prince, in such a way that Englishmen and Scotsmen will be regarded with equal love, and will be seen to be bound by one bond of love and goodwill. Innumerable benefits will spring from love, union, sweet alliance, marriage and family connections between your and our people.

For just as a quiet sea after it has been rough, or a clear sky after it has been clouded, is contemplated with joy, so war turned to peace gives much pleasure, and the fact that the bitterness of enmity has been removed (by, as the Greeks say, *amnesty*, that is a forgetting of injuries) through joyful friendship (of princes) is to be celebrated.

Vergil says:

Then the bitter times will grow mild, wars brought to an end;
The awful iron gates of the temple of War with their stiff hinges
Will be shut, impious Fury kept inside, seated on his wild weapons,
Bound by a hundred knots of bronze behind his back,
Roaring horribly with his gory mouth.

May the greatest Peacemaker, in whose power it is to make an end to war, and grant tranquillity to the turbulent and distressed affairs of man, grant that – if this peace is indeed made – the unity will last, firm, stable and unshaken. May God Himself in His goodness grant that it is bound with a knot that cannot be untied, that no secret plots will break it, no dissimulation will undo it, no hidden cunning disturb it, no remnants of old hatred infect it, no clever ruses disturb it, no memory of cruel wrongs defile it; but rather that the agreement of the two kings give it strength, charity glue it together, love unite it and goodwill bind it and true brotherly affection ratify it and make it firm and everlasting. How much our embassy to you finds favour and acceptance with God is clear from the mildness of the sky and the pleasant stretch of good weather we are having. This is what I wished to say to you, lord and most serene prince, who are occupied with the many affairs of your kingdom and national matters, in praise of peace which should be embraced by all princes, in short and easily understandable words, which, if it please you, you will accept benignly in your mildness and clemency, and change for the better, for you are able to understand much from very little.

I will make an end to my speech in this mode, which your kindness and willingness to listen have made longer than is fitting. All kings and princes, as I well know and have learned through experience, are pleased with a short oration: matters that require more discreet ears my lords here present will verbally explain to your invincible majesty, or to such lords of your council as you will command, when the spectators have gone, and in greater detail than I have done in my trivial speech. Thank you.