THE GALAUNT TRADITION IN ENGLAND, *c*.1380–*c*.1550: THE FORM AND FUNCTION OF A SATIRICAL YOUTH FIGURE

by

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Emily Jane Rozier

ABSTRACT

The subject of this doctoral study is the satirical figure known as the 'galaunt', as depicted in English literature and visual art *c*.1380–*c*.1550. It combines close textual analysis with investigation of established youth tropes, contemporaneous material culture, and socio-political concerns. It begins by establishing the breadth of the galaunt corpus and the figure's significance, before tracing the etymology of *galaunt* and the cultural antecedents of the late medieval tradition in order to establish its hitherto unidentified Classical origins. The study goes on to explore the fundamental aspects of the galaunt's semiotic makeup: youth; licentiousness; sartorial extravagance; and problematic masculinity.

Despite the cultural significance of the late medieval galaunt, it has received little scholarly attention and the true significance of the figure's role as Wayward Youth is yet to be established. This doctoral thesis moves away from previous scholarship, which has interpreted the figure as an instance of social-mobility discourse, and instead unravels the tradition's complex conflation of established youth stereotypes and socio-political concerns to reposition the galaunt as a Vice figure symbolising errant youth. The thesis argues for a reappraisal of the significance of youth to late medieval social discourses, particularly in regard to questions of masculinity and status.

In memory of my father

Trevor Rozier

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
DIMEV	*Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. by Linne R. Mooney, Daniel W. Mosser, Elizabeth Solopova, *et al*. < http://www.dimev.net>
EEBO	Early English Books Online < http://eebo.chadwyck.com>
EETS OS/ES/SS	The Early English Text Society Original Series/Extra Series/Supplementary Series
EMDT	*Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles in the British Isles c.450-1450*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Elizabeth Coatsworth and Maria Hayward (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2012)
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Frances McSparran *et al*., online ed. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by John Simpson, online ed. <http://www.oed.com>
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640: First compiled by A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave*, rev. ed., 3 vols, ed. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1986)

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this doctoral study is the satirical figure known as the 'galaunt', as depicted in English literature and visual art between *c.*1380 and *c.*1550. The figure endured in the cultural psyche for generations and can be found in an assortment of literary genres and modes of expression. Despite the abundance of examples and the longevity of the figure, the early English galaunt has received little scholarly interest. This study will undertake a thorough investigation of the figure, mapping its depiction in a variety of sources from the minority rule of Richard II to that of Edward VI. It will begin by here establishing the breadth of the galaunt corpus, by which is meant the body of texts in which the figure is referred to by name. The subsequent chapters explore the material through combination of close textual analysis and investigation of the figure's interaction with established tropes, contemporaneous material culture and socio-political concerns. Through its examination of the social and moral discourses that pervade the iconography of the galaunt, the study unearths the fundamental aspects of the figure's semiotic makeup. The thesis uses these findings to argue for a repositioning of the galaunt as a preeminent late medieval vehicle for discourses on youth, morality, masculinity and status.

The late medieval galaunt tradition in England

The galaunt figure

Whilst in the modern lexicon the term *gallant* has come to be associated with chivalric virtues and courteous behaviour, it was used in Middle English to describe a cultural stereotype synonymous with showy apparel, profligacy, licentiousness and delinquency. The shift in the meaning of the term can in part be accounted for by the fact that *brave* was also formerly used to refer to sartorial splendour, which suggests that the applications of *galaunt* and *brave* may have developed in parallel.[1] The figure's close association with opulent attire is one of its primary and most durable features. The following description of the figure, which is from an anonymous late-fifteenth-century verse satire entered in the *Digital Index of Middle English*

[1] Hensleigh Wedgwood, *Dictionary of English Etymology*, 3 vols (London: Trübner & Co., 1862), Vol. II, p. 120; *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by John Simpson, online ed. <http://www.oed.com> [last accessed 15 July 2015], s.v. headword *brave* (adj.): 2.

Verse (*DIMEV*) as number 6831, is typical of how the galaunt is presented in the corpus of late medieval examples to be examined here:

> Ye prowd galonttes hertlesse,
> With your hyghe cappis witlesse,
> And youre schort gownys thriftlesse,
> Have brought this londe in gret hevynesse.
> With youre longe peked schone,
> Therfor your thrifte is almost don,
> And with youre long here into your eyen,
> Han brought this lond to gret pyne.[2]

It is the figure's sartorial extravagances that come across most strongly in this passage, in which the galaunts are portrayed as a fashionable set that sports the most voguish of contemporary styles: a high hat (l. 2), short gown (l. 3) and long-toed shoes (l. 5). The modishness of these fashions is corroborated by archaeological finds, wardrobe accounts, sumptuary legislation and visual art of the period; an example of the latter of which is included overleaf as Figure 1.[3]

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[2] *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1861), Vol. II, p. 251, ll. 1-8. The text survives in: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O 2 53 (1157), fol. 27; London, BL, MS Harley 372, fol. 113; and Oxford, University College, MS 154, fol. ii. The first of these is incomplete and excludes the description of the galaunt discussed here. For further details of the manuscript variants see: Wendy Scase, 'Proud Gallants and Popeholy Priests: The Context and Function of a Fifteenth-Century Satirical Poem', *Medium Aevum*, 63 (1994), pp. 275-286. Scase tentatively dates the poem to 'the middle or third quarter of the fifteenth century' (p. 279) and it is on the basis of this previous research, particularly Scase's account of the internal, palaeographic and gloss evidence, that this thesis dates the poem to the late-fifteenth century. Wright's edition, in which he entitles the text 'On the Corruption of Public Manners', is a transcription of London, BL, MS Harley 372, fol. 113.

[3] Accounts of archaeological finds relating to medieval clothing and textiles include the *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* series (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office); Olaf Goubitz, *Stepping through Time: Archaeological Footwear from Prehistoric Times to 1800* (Zwolle: Stichting Promotie Archeologie, 2001); and *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images*, ed. by Desiree Koslin (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).



Figure 1: Detail from miniature depicting the court of Edward IV, London, BL, MS Royal 15 E IV, fol. 14. Produced in Bruges, 1471–1478, attributed to the Master of the London Wavrin.[4]

[4] Image taken from public domain: *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, BL, online ed. <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm> [last accessed 15 April 2016].

The author of *DIMEV* 6831 frames the fashions popular at the court as both flamboyant and extravagant, and presents the wearers thereof as slavish adherents to the whims of style who are duped into purchasing expensive and impractical garments. Thanks to the prominence of such sartorial discourses in the corpus, and the aspersions of effeminacy that accompany them, the galaunt can be understood, on a basic level, as being a precursor of what is today more familiarly known as a fop or dandy.[5] This is the approach taken in the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), in which the first definition of the noun *galaunt* is given as 'a man of fashion; especially one who dresses showily or extravagantly; a fop'.[6] The galaunt, the first extant example of which dates from *c.*1380, actually predates both of these cultural stereotypes. The first entry in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) for *fop* being used to refer to a vain individual dates from 1681 and the first extant example of *dandy* being used to describe someone who values fashion above all else is even later, dating to *c.*1780.[7] It is essential to our understanding of these famous social stereotypes that the late medieval galaunt receives further academic attention.

The figure's showy apparel also offers an indication of his inner nature. The second meaning of the noun *galaunt* given in the *MED* is 'a dissolute man, a rake'; an interpretation that is also present in the afore-quoted passage from *DIMEV* 6831, in which the galaunts' profligacy is commented upon. These definitions are reductive, however, as the figure's fashions are used as a vehicle for a variety of socio-political discourses that go far beyond accusations of foppery and rakishness. In *DIMEV* 6831 the author repeatedly warns, at the end of each verse, that the galaunts' decadence has significant political ramifications in that it is detrimental to the nation's economic and moral wellbeing. Over the course of this study, this sense of alarm will be shown to echo throughout the corpus. The following chapters will also demonstrate that the galaunt was habitually used to express concern at the feminising effect that luxurious clothing and lasciviousness was perceived to have had on the men who indulged therein. The galaunt should therefore be read as a complex cultural stereotype whose meaning derives from a composite of moral and socio-political concerns.

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[5] Ellen Moers, *The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1960).

[6] *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Frances McSparran *et al.*, online ed. <http://www.quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med> [last accessed 30 August 2015], s.v. headword *galaunt* (n): a. For an etymological study of the term *galaunt* see chapter one.

[7] *OED*, ed. by John Simpson.

The vocabulary that is used to describe the galaunt also reveals youth and its concordant follies to be a significant aspect of the satiric and didactic narratives at play in the corpus. The thorny issue of the medieval terminology used to describe this phase of the life cycle is unpacked in chapter one, but it is worth stating at the outset that the term as applied in this study refers to the period of life during which one ceases to be a child but has not yet fully developed into a well-grounded adult.[8] This is the application witnessed in the corpus. In the mid-fifteenth-century *DIMEV* 1538, for example, the author directs the advice given in the poem at 'lusty gaylauntes in youre adolescens'.[9] This phrasing pinpoints decisively the demographic that the galaunt is being used to malign and educate. The association with misguided youth is maintained throughout the period covered by this study, with the author of the mid-sixteenth-century ballad *Little John Nobody* complaining about the young galaunts that 'will construe the Gospel' despite being ignorant, babbling boys.[10]

Synonyms for youth that carry negative connotations are also frequently employed in the corpus. At the end of the fifteenth century, for example, the author of *DIMEV* 1488 refers to 'galaunt bachelers'.[11] The first definition for *bacheler* given in the *MED* is 'a young man, a

[8] *OED* headword *youth* (n): 2; Barbara Hanawalt, 'Historical Descriptions and Prescriptions for Adolescence', in *Adolescent Identities: A Collection of Readings*, ed. by Deborah L. Browning (New York, NY: The Analytic Press, 2008), pp. 19-30.

[9] *Lydgate's Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. by Otto Glauning, EETS ES 80 (London: Trübner, 1900; reprint 1987), pp. 2-15, l. 267. *DIMEV* 1538 here refers to the first of Lydgate's two poems on the theme of 'the Nightingale as a symbol of Christ', which dates from the mid-fifteenth century. The text survives in three manuscripts, though the first two of these are missing stanzas: London, BL, MS Cotton Caligula A II, fols 59-64; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. misc. c 66 [*olim* Capesthorne], fols 107-111; and Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 203, fols 1-21. Glauning used the first and third of the manuscript sources to create his edition of the text.

[10] Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Broadsides Vol. 1, pp.19-21, l. 10, l. 20. The earliest extant copies of the anonymous ballad *Little John Nobody* all date to the seventeenth century. The versions in addition to the one cited above are: London, BL, MS Harley 372, fol. 114 (the manuscript is fifteenth-century but palaeographic evidence suggests that *Little John Nobody* is a later insertion); and John Strype, *The Appendix to the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1694), pp. 138-139. On the basis of textual evidence the ballad can safely be dated to *c.*1550. The ballad is included in: *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our Earlier Poets, Together with some Few of Later Date*, ed. by Thomas Percy (London: printed for Henry Washbourne, 1847), pp. 129-131.

[11] *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 138-139, l. 17. This is the only critical edition of the poem, which is itself unique to

youth', but the addition of *galaunt* thereto focuses the description on the negative connotations inherent to the figure.[12] The scathing attitude to the young men that the figure represents is clearly articulated in *The Bowge of Courte*, in which the galaunt character is referred to as 'a knave, this rybaude foule and leude'.[13] Whilst *knave* was sometimes used to refer to a person of low social status, it is a term that is again defined first in the *MED* as referring to a young man and it is here used in the sense of: 'a wastrel, good-for-nothing; rogue'.[14] This study will show that the galaunt is consistently presented as an insalubrious youth character and that it is on his unsavory pastimes, which include gambling, fighting and whoring, rather than on his social position, that the criticisms focus. The corpus engages with concerns that relate to the emblematic treatment of Youth and the material is specifically directed towards the young, whether they are the intended recipients of the advice being given, or the target of the criticisms made.

The figure is so firmly associated with youthfulness in the mid-fifteenth century that *galante* is entered in the *Promptorium Parvulorum et Clericorum* as an alternative for *fresh*.[15] *Fresh* is again primarily a youth-related term and it is subsequently used to describe the

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Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 34 (SC 14528), fol. 4. Robbins entitled the text 'Huff! A Galaunt' on account of the poem's refrain and dated it to the end of the fifteenth century. The author is not known.

[12] *MED* headword *bachelēr* (n): 1a.

[13] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions: An Anthology*, ed. by Julia Boffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 232-265, l. 414. John Skelton's *The Bowge of Courte*, which is entered in *DIMEV* as number 2477, was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1499: *STC* (2nd ed.) 22597. Editions of the text include: *The Poetical Works of John Skelton*, ed. by Alexander Dyce, 2 vols (London: Thomas Rodd, 1843; reprint New York, NY: AMS Press, 1965), Vol. 1, pp. 30-50; *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. by John Scattergood (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1983).

[14] *MED* headword *knāve* (n1): 'a male infant; male offspring, son' (1a); 4a.

[15] *The Promptorium Parvulorum: The first English-Latin Dictionary / edited from the Manuscript in the Chapter Library at Winchester*, ed. by Anthony L. Mayhew, EETS ES 102 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908), p. 174. This dictionary, which is ascribed to Galfridus Grammaticus and dates from *c*.1440, survives in numerous manuscript copies, details of which are given in Appendix 1. In addition to the version cited here, there exists a three-volume edition by A. Way published by the Camden Society between 1843 and 1865.

galaunt in *Amoryus and Cleopes* (at line 613) and *The Assembly of Gods* (at line 296).[16] *Fresh* also features alongside *galaunt* in the anonymous *DIMEV* 3147, which begins:

> Lo here is a ladde lyght,
> Al fresch I 3ou plyght,
> Galant & Ioly.[17]

The adjectival form of *galaunt* is used in this late-fifteenth-century example to add further colour to the description of a male youth, or 'ladde' (l. 1), who is also introduced as being 'lyght' (l. 1), 'fresch' (l. 2) and 'Ioly' (l. 3). The association of youth with freshness thus confers certain preconceptions about the demographic. In addition to meaning young, *fresch* also suggests jollity, liveliness and lustiness.[18] These traits are, as the following chapters will show, features that reoccur in philosophies of the life cycle and in treatments of the emblematic figure of Youth. As the adjective *galaunt* means 'gay, merry; gaily dressed', the figure is inextricably connected to these established notions of youthful exuberance.[19] This conflation of galauntry with juvenility is a further example of the figure's physical attributes, to whit the visual markers of his galauntness, offering a mirror to his inner nature, which is in turn predefined by his age.

The association of galauntness with youthful freshness is so durable that it continues to be drawn even when the adjective *galaunt* is used favourably by John Harding:

> The kyng his soonne, sir Leonell create
> Duke of Clarence, and to Melayn hym sent

---

[16] *Amoryus and Cleopes*, ed. by Stephen F. Page, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999); *The Assembly of Gods*, ed. by Jane Chance, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999).

[17] *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, ed. by Norman Davis, EETS SS 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1970), pp. 121-122, ll. 1-3. *DIMEV* 3147, which is often referred to by its first line of 'Lo here is a lad light', is described in *DIMEV* as a 'poem on Delight, from a pageant'. It is unique to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 407 (SC 10234), fols 43*v*.-44. In addition to the version referenced here, there is one further edition of the poem: Iris G. Calderhead, 'Morality Fragments from Norfolk', *Modern Philology* 14 (1916-17), pp. 1-9.

[18] *MED* headword frĕsh (adj.): 7.

[19] *MED* headword *galaunt* (adj.).

With chiualrie of fame, well ordinate
And squyers freshe, galaunt and sufficient.[20]

Although this example does not interact with the pejorative usage of *galaunt* that is so vital to the satiric and didactic treatments, it does continue to associate galauntness with the young. This durability, taken together with the consistency with which the figure's juvenility is commented upon throughout the corpus to be examined here, confirms that youthfulness is an intrinsic aspect of the galaunt's character. This thesis is thus a study of late medieval youth discourse and argues that 'a young man' should be viewed as being as integral a definition for the noun *galaunt* as those given in the *MED* that pertain to the figure's sartorial extravagance and profligacy.

The third, and final, definition currently given in the *MED* for the noun *galaunt* is 'a gentleman', for which only two texts are given as supporting evidence.[21] This paucity is in contrast to six examples for 'a man of fashion' and ten for 'a dissolute man'.[22] In fact, the number of examples in which the term means *gentleman* can be further reduced to just one contender as the first, which is taken from John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, has actually been included erroneously as it uses the term to describe a young man 'born of louh lynage'.[23] The sole surviving citation for the third definition, taken from *Gregory's Chronicle* for the years 1451–1460, does not actually pass any comment on what it means to be a galaunt. Instead, this instance simply utilises the term to describe Queen Margaret of Anjou's followers at the battle of Blore Heath as being 'the Quenys galentys'.[24] Although it is possible that the author meant for the term to convey a sense of bravery akin to the modern usage of *gallant*, this can

[20] *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng: Containing an account of public transactions from the earliest period of English history to the beginning of the reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1812), p. 333.

[21] *MED* headword *galaunt* (n): c.

[22] *MED* headword *galaunt* (n): a, b.

[23] *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS ES 121-4, 4 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1924-1927; reprint 1967), Vol. II, p. 653, l. 2446. *Fall of Princes* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 1168, which describes it as a 'translation of Laurent de Premierfait's French prose version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*'. It survives, in varying degrees of completion, in more than sixty manuscripts and numerous early prints. A selection of these manuscripts is detailed in Appendix 1 and full details can be found in *DIMEV*.

[24] *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by James Gairdner (Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1876), p. 204.

only be surmised and it is equally possible that the usage refers to the stylishness of her retinue, their youth or to their social standing as members of the courtly classes. This study will show that the noun *galaunt* is always pejorative when applied to the satiric and didactic figure; conveying a sense of outlandishness, dissoluteness, wantonness and youthful exuberance.

The galaunt corpus

In an attempt to establish better the cultural impact of the galaunt, and to be thorough in its investigation of the function of the figure, this study does not limit itself to any particular genre or artistic medium and instead draws upon a wide variety of sources. The material consulted includes: satiric verse; conduct manuals; sermons; visual art; inscriptions; dictionary entries; personal correspondence; parliamentary petitions; translations of Classical literature; chronicles; guild accounts; plays; and even music. It will become clear that not only is the figure extremely prevalent in the literature and visual art of the period, in which it acts as a satiric vehicle for intergenerational discourse and as a didactic tool for warning the young against excesses of clothing and lifestyle, but also that the galaunt enters into common parlance as a significant social stereotype. As Fiona Dunlop has previously observed, the figure is the 'most widespread inappropriate identity' of the late medieval and early modern period.[25] It is therefore essential to our understanding of the depiction and perception of youth during this timeframe that the true scope of the cultural impact of the galaunt be mapped and recognised through thorough examination of all available material.

In addition to referencing a wide variety of sources, this doctoral study also draws upon examples from a wide timeframe. The earliest extant description of the galaunt, in which the figure is referred to by name, is found in the late-fourteenth-century satirical lyric *DIMEV* 4853; a macaronic complaint that bemoans the loss of past glories and the lasciviousness of contemporary society.[26] Thomas Wright dated the text to 1388 on the basis of his

[25] Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2007), p. 40.

[26] The anonymous *DIMEV* 4853 survives in three fifteenth-century miscellanies: London, BL, MS Harley 536, fols 34-35 (A-Text); London, BL, MS Harley 941, fols 21-23 (B-Text); and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 516, fols 108-110 (C-Text). It is commonly referred to as 'On the Times' thanks to Wright's 1857 edition of the C-Text: *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. I, pp. 270-278. The A-Text is printed in: *The World of Piers Plowman*, ed. by Jeanne Krochalis and Edward Peters (Philadelphia, PA: University of

interpretation of the piece as an allusion to the political turmoil of that year.[27] Whilst Janet Coleman accepted this dating in her 1981 discussion of the text, the more recent trend has been to agree with Richard Green's revised date for the text of *c*.1380.[28] This slightly earlier dating has since been adopted by the scholars to discuss the text and is generally accepted as the more accurate.[29] As a result, *c*.1380 offers the obvious starting point for this doctoral study, though it should be noted that earlier sources are consulted as contextual material and in the search for possible antecedents of the late medieval figure in the first chapter.

Choosing an end point is a more complex issue as the figure's cultural impact is so strong that it continues to feature in verse satire, didactic prose and drama throughout the seventeenth century, in depictions that rely in no small part on the ease with which the figure can be identified and understood thanks to the popularity of the, hitherto neglected, earlier tradition.[30] The longevity of the figure even reaches into the twentieth century, with James Joyce using it to colour one of the short stories featured in *Dubliners*.[31] Due to the constraints of space and a desire to not diminish or impugn the academic rigour of the study a terminus must, however, of course be chosen. The sheer quantity of extant examples that date to the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, combined with the fact that these have already received a good amount of critical attention, has led to the decision that they should not be

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Pennsylvania Press, 1975), pp. 87-95. This thesis references the most recent edition, which uses the C-Text: *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), pp. 140-146. The use of Anglo-Latin in Ricardian literature is discussed by: A. George Rigg, 'Anglo-Latin in the Ricardian Age', in *Essays on Ricardian Literature: In Honour of J.A. Burrow*, ed. by Alastair J. Minnis, Charlotte C. Morse and Thorlac Turville-Petre (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 121-141.

[27] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. I, p. 270.

[28] Janet Coleman, *Medieval Readers and Writers 1350-1400* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. 108.

[29] It is, for example, given in Dean's edition of the C-Text, as cited above, and in: Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change: The Trope of Clothing in High- and Late Medieval England* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2012).

[30] In the seventeenth century the galaunt features in the works of, amongst others: John Heywood; Alexander Montgomery; Stephen Bateman; George Gascoigne; William Shakespeare; George Chapman; Ben Jonson; John Marston; Thomas Middleton; Thomas Dekker; Nicholas Breton; John Wilson; and William Wycherley. The figure is even used by John Cleland to describe his heroine's lovers in the mid-eighteenth-century novel *Fanny Hill*.

[31] James Joyce, 'Two Gallants', in *Dubliners* ed. by Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 43-55.

included in this study.[32] The early-sixteenth-century examples, in contrast, have generated very little scholarly interest and as such their inclusion here makes a novel contribution to our knowledge of the figure. There is also, however, a sense of symmetry in starting and ending a study of the form and function of a satiric youth figure such as the galaunt in *c.*1380 and *c.*1550 as both are periods of minority rule: those of Richard II and Edward VI respectively. The date range for this study has thus been chosen on the basis of a combination of evidentiary, critical, symbolic and historic reasons.

While every attempt has been made to ensure that a wide variety of English sources has been included, some constraints have had to be placed upon the selection thereof. The examples that form the basis of discussion are limited to only those that actually contain the term *galaunt*, or its variant forms. Although it is hoped that this study will facilitate, through its transcription of the galaunt's reoccurring semiotic features, identification of other satirical and didactic figures as *galauntesque*, this is an area of research that must be saved for other fora. The study will, however, explore some didactic images that can be said to be of the figure, despite the lack of an accompanying caption in which the galaunt is named. Even when operating within these constraints there are likely to be some examples that have been excluded. As such, this study cannot claim to be an entirely comprehensive catalogue of the galaunt's occurrences in English literature and visual art of the period, but it has endeavoured to be as all-encompassing as possible.

Throughout the study, texts that do not have an official title, to whit one that is attested by established usage or found in the original source, are referenced, where it is available, by

[32] See, for example: Amanda Bailey, *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), pp. 140-149; Ira Clark, *Comedy, Youth, Manhood in Early Modern England* (Newark: London: University of Delaware Press; Associated University Presses, 2003); Jean Howard, *Theatre of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2007), pp. 84-88; Harden Jay, 'Innocence, Restoration Comedy and Mrs Pinchwife', in *Literature and Learning in Medieval and Renaissance England: Essays Presented to Fitzroy Pyle*, ed. by John Scattergood (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1984), pp. 217-237; Ian McAdam, *Magic and Masculinity in Early Modern English Drama* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2009); Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and David Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex, and Civility in England, 1660-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

their *DIMEV* number.[33] This decision was taken in an attempt to avoid the preconceptions and confusions that the titles first imposed upon such miscellaneous material by nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century editors can cultivate. Thomas Wright, for example, uses 'On the Times' as the title for both *DIMEV* 4853 and *DIMEV* 3765; a duplication that would cause confusion and phrasing that colours the reading of the text, suggesting as it does that both are commentaries on contemporary conditions.[34] Index numbers were chosen over first lines due to the fact that they are more expedient. A timeline detailing the texts that mention the galaunt, together with their witnesses, is included as Appendix 1. In order to give a general sense of the size and scope of the galaunt corpus, however, each example will be briefly touched upon here.[35]

The first extant description of the galaunt in the anonymous satirical lyric *DIMEV* 4853 is the only fourteenth-century example that survives but a further ten verse works that engage with the figure were composed in the first half of the fifteenth century. Half of these were written by John Lydgate: *DIMEV* 6850 (*c*.1430), *Fall of Princes* (*c*.1439); *DIMEV* 1538 (*c*.1450); *Dietary* (*c*.1450); and *The Order of Fools* (*c*.1450). The five remaining verse examples from this period are: John Metham's *Amoryus and Cleopes* (1449); the anonymous *Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry* (*c*.1450); *DIMEV* 3084 (*c*.1450); Peter Idley's *Instructions to his Son* (*c*.1450); and two stanzas of verse accompanied by an image of Death and the Galaunt at the now destroyed Hungerford Chapel in Salisbury (*c*.1450). A possible second image of Death and the Galaunt, housed in the Church of Saint Cadoc in Llancarfan, also dates from the mid-fifteenth century. Also from this period are a further three written sources: the aforementioned entry in the *Promptorium Parvulorum et Clericorum* (*c*.1440) that uses the term *galaunt* to define a Latin phrase; a letter from Margaret Paston to her husband written in 1448 that uses the figure to describe a family acquaintance; and a petition in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* for 1449 that calls the accused a galaunt.

The majority of the examples in which the galaunt is a prominent feature date to the latter half of the fifteenth century. The earliest of this cohort is a prose dream vision entitled

[33] *Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. by Linne R. Mooney, Daniel W. Mosser, Elizabeth Solopova, *et al*. < http://www.dimev.net> [last accessed 11 August 2015].

[34] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. I, pp. 270-278 (*DIMEV* 4853), and Vol. II, pp. 252-253 (*DIMEV* 3765).

[35] Full accounts of each text, including details of editions, also accompany the first quotation taken there from.

The Vision of Edmund Leversedge, which dates from *c*.1470. Three further prose works date to this period: the afore-quoted *Gregory's Chronicle* (*c*.1475); together with William Caxton's 'The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye' (1471) and his translation of 'Aesop's Fables' (1484). To this number one can also add the entry in the *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company* for November 1479, in which the galaunt is used to describe a new inductee. There are eight verse satires from the late-fifteenth century: *DIMEV* 3237 (*c*.1475); *DIMEV* 6831 (*c*.1475); *The Assembly of Gods* (*c*.1475); John Skelton's *The Bowge of Courte* (1498); *DIMEV* 206 (*c*.1499); *DIMEV* 1488 (*c*.1499); and two variants of *DIMEV* 3765 (*c*.1499). Another three works from the late-fifteenth century are in verse form, all of which are conduct manuals: John Russell's *Boke of Kervyng and Nortur* (*c*.1475); Caxton's *Book of Curtesye* (*c*.1477) and his translation of the *Book of the Ordre of Chyualry* (1484), which he translated from a French copy of the original thirteenth-century text by the Majorcan Ramón Lull. The first six of the ten dramatic examples composed during the period covered by this study also emerge in the late-fifteenth century. These are: *Ludus Coventriae* (*c*.1475); *A Morality of Wisdom* (*c*.1475), in which the figure is mentioned in a marginal gloss with an accompanying sketch; Henry Medwall's *Nature* (*c*.1486) and his *Fulgens and Lucrece* (1497); *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene* (1495); and *DIMEV* 314 (*c*.1499). The first sermon to mention the figure also survives from this period, which was given by John Alcock at Saint Paul's Cross in *c*.1490 and was preserved by Wynkyn de Worde in an edition of Alcock's sermons published in 1497.

The material covered by this study extends only to works created up to the time of Edward VI's death in 1553. The sixteenth-century segment represents the largest proportion of the corpus. The third and final mural that this study identifies as a depiction of Death and the Galaunt dates from *c*.1520 and is joined by a further twenty-five written examples composed between 1500 and 1553. Of these sixteenth-century instances, just under half are religious treatises: John Fisher's *Treatyse Concernynge the Fruytfull Saynges of Dauyd* (1508); Thomas More's 'Supplycacyon of Soulys' (1529); Richard Taverner's 'Epistles and Gospelles' (1540); Thomas Becon's 'Dauids Harpe' (1542), 'Pleasaunt Newe Nosegaye' (1542), 'Pollecye of Warre' (1542) and 'The Iewel of Ioye' (*c*.1548); Antoine de Marcourt's 'Declaration of the Masse' (1547); Hugh Latimer's 'Sermon on the Plowers' (1548) and his ninth sermon (1552); the second volume of the 'Paraphrases of Erasmus' (1549); and Miles Coverdale's *A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle* (1550). In addition to these examples,

a further four works from this period are prose: Antoine de Marcourt's *The Booke of Marchauntes* (1534); Nicholas Udall's translation of, and commentary on, the 'Apothegms of Socrates' (1542); the aforementioned 'Chronicle of Ihon Hardyng' (1543); and Edward Hall's 'The Union of Lancaster and York' (1547). The second and final, in terms of this study, dictionary entry that uses *galaunt* as part of a definition was also penned in the first half of the sixteenth century: Thomas Elyot's *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis Librarie* (1542).

Despite the numerousness of the sixteenth-century witnesses, only four verse items that engage with the galaunt figure survive from this period. These are: *The Fyftene Joyes of Maryage* (1509), which is a translation of Antoine de La Sale's *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage* that may have been authored by Robert Copland; Alexander Barclay's *The Ship of Fools* (1509), which is an adaptation of Sebastian Brant's *Das Narrenschiff*; John Skelton's second poem entitled *Against Garnesche* (1514); and the black-letter ballad *Little John Nobody* (*c*.1550). A further four plays in which the galaunt features are also from the sixteenth century: *Hick Scorner* (*c*.1514); John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (1516); and Nicholas Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* (*c*.1553) and his *Respublica* (*c*.1553). It should also be noted that many of these later examples contain only a fleeting reference to the galaunt, often using the figure to embellish the description of another personage. As such, regardless of the proliferation of sixteenth-century instances, the aforementioned late-fifteenth-century examples remain the backbone of the corpus. This period of artistic productivity coincides with the height of the everyday usage of the term, as witnessed by the references found to the figure in the personal letters, petitions and *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company* outlined above. The mid- to late-fifteenth century thus marks a significant period of the galaunt's development, and offers an important window on the interaction between artistic tropes and everyday experience in the period. This is a relationship that will be explored further over the course of this study.

The body of material that forms the basis of discussion for this study therefore numbers a total of sixty-two written examples composed between *c*.1380 and *c*.1550. To this cohort a further four visual examples have been inducted, three of which are church murals and one a sketch in a manuscript. The galaunt thus features in an impressive variety of media. Verse is the most common form in which the figure is used as the twenty-six instances thereof amount to just under forty-two per cent of the written corpus. The bulk of the remainder is made up of: eighteen prose examples, which equates to twenty-nine per cent; ten plays, representing just over six per cent; and three sermons, which equals less than two per cent.

The remaining five texts can be termed miscellanea, being made up of two dictionaries, one letter, one parliamentary petition and a guild proclamation. This categorisation is by no means intended to diminish the significance of these examples. On the contrary, the thesis will argue that the galaunt's appearance in such clerical, lexicographic and epistolary material is evidence of the cultural impact of the figure.

Research aims

This doctoral study uses the broad range of artistic media outlined above to present an expansive investigation of the galaunt corpus. This is significant because the galaunt has never previously been the subject of an extended study. The scholars that have published papers on the subject have instead tended to focus on a particular aspect of the corpus, such as Tony Davenport's chapter on the use of the figure in morality plays, and the articles by Wendy Scase and Julia Boffey that explore the dissemination of a single text.[36] The neglect suffered by the figure should not, however, be understood as a damning indictment of its importance. Indeed, the longevity and popularity of the galaunt tradition, as evidenced by the quantity of examples accumulated by this study, can alone be used to mark it out as culturally significant.

Through its analysis of this considerable body of material, the study seeks to establish whether the development of the figure can be said to amount to a tradition, by uncovering the extent to which these seemingly disparate examples are in fact inter-referencing. In order to answer this research question, the study will map the frequency with which key features of the galaunt reoccur, and ask what impact the balance between continuity and change has on the figure's role as a trope. It is only through the study of the broad chronological and stylistic range of examples included here that this becomes possible, as a large-scale approach enables the long-term shifts and consistencies in the cultural significance of the figure to be ascertained. The thesis put forward by this doctoral study in this regard is that galaunt literature forms an interdependent unit of satirical comment that can be used to decode and better understand the didactic import of visual treatments of the same and similar subjects.

[36] Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', in *Aspects of Early English Drama*, ed. by Paula Neuss (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 111-128; Julia Boffey, 'The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print', *The Library*, 15, 3 (1993), pp. 175-186; Wendy Scase, 'Proud Gallants and Popeholy Priests'. Existing scholarship on the figure is discussed further in chapter one.

Any evolution of the figure will be shown to be due to context, and it will be argued that such trait changes are balanced by a sense of overall form and symbolic continuation that facilitates the figure's role as an artistic trope. In its investigation of the prevalent application of the galaunt, the study sheds light on a previously ignored subject and reclaims the figure as a widespread and popular motif.

In addition to considering the cohesion of the galaunt corpus, a primary research goal of this study is to decode the galaunt's semiotic function in order to reveal the cultural discourses for which it acted as vehicle. Although, thanks to its conflation of multiple concerns, the figure defies simple interpretation, the thesis will establish that the galaunt is habitually used to satirise a particular section of society. Through its examination of the social and moral discourses that pervade the iconography of the galaunt, the study unearths three fundamental aspects of the figure's semiotic makeup: youth; licentiousness; and problematic masculinity. The thesis uses these findings to build the case for Youth, in an emblematic form, being core to the overarching identity of the figure, and draws out the discourses on morality and masculinity that accrue around the galaunt's function in this role. The study will explore how these features of the late medieval galaunt engage with the traits established in Ages of Man schemata and philosophies of youth, and use these to trace the figure's literary and artistic antecedents. The question of how the figure interacts with concurrent depictions of Youth and the vices associated therewith will also be addressed.

The study also asks what the galaunt tradition can tell us about contemporary attitudes to, and concerns about, the young men that the figure targets. As Ira Clark has observed in relation to early modern comedies, seemingly frivolous material such as that in which the galaunt features can actually allow us to uncover 'nuances that might go unregistered by the data and contemporary documents employed in social and gender histories'.[37] Detailed study of galaunt texts and images can thus allow us to garner new insights into the cultural psyche of the society that created, disseminated and preserved them. In its use of the galaunt to explore the satiric treatment of youth in the period, this study offers an important contribution to our understanding of the medieval life cycle.[38] The study's investigation of the impact that age has on the relationship between masculinity and authority is also of significance, offering

[37] Ira Clark, *Comedy, Youth, Manhood*, p. 14.

[38] Recent scholarship on the life cycle that has an impact on this study is discussed in chapters one and two.

a fresh contribution to the interpretation of medieval masculinity.[39] Over the following chapters the study will engage with the recent burgeoning of scholastic endeavour in both of these areas, with the aim of meeting Deborah Youngs's recent call to approach questions pertaining to age with as much academic gravitas as is currently afforded to issues of class, gender and sexuality.[40]

Methodology

The research questions outlined above will be addressed through the employment of a method that combines close reading with contextual analysis, which systematically chronicles and defines how the galaunt was represented and the concerns for which the figure acts as vehicle. The study is also comparative and considers questions of intertextuality.[41] The close textual analysis of the galaunt figure is complemented by investigation of the established youth tropes on which the corpus draws. The contemporary socio-political upheavals that have resonances in the corpus are also considered. Texts, particularly those that speak to a literary tradition, are not created in isolation and so the function of the late medieval galaunt tradition cannot be ascertained without recourse to the broader cultural context in which each work was composed. This is equally true for the visual art discussed in this study, which must also be considered in relation to subsidiary factors. The analysis of the galaunt's role in these examples will take into account the physical location in which such material was viewed, the other visual traditions with which these images interact, and, as far as is possible, how they were produced, by whom and to what purpose.[42]

The study's exploration of a mixture of written and visual sources already sets it on an interdisciplinary path but the approach taken to this material is also integrative. As the figure's clothing is consistently used as a metaphor for his inner nature, contemporaneous

[39] Work in the field of Masculinity Studies pertaining to the questions examined here is discussed in chapter four.

[40] Deborah Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe c.1300-c.1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 9.

[41] These terms are discussed in: Allen Graham, *Intertextuality* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000); Sarah Gordon, 'Intertextuality and Comparative Approaches in Medieval Literature', in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms – Methods – Trends*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 716-726.

[42] For an introduction to these factors see: Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008).

material culture will also be discussed. The study uses this approach to ensure that its exploration of the sartorial discourses deployed in the tradition is informed by the realities of clothing culture, so that the balance in the tradition between the figure's emblematic and satiric functions can be assessed. In this respect, the study uses the same methodological approach as *Medieval Fabrications*, which marries pure clothing studies and literary criticism to explore how the material nature of textiles fed into the abstract world of artistic representation.[43] The fact that the figure also acts as a platform for the expression of a variety of socio-political and economic concerns has meant that potential contextual factors that may have affected the galaunt's portrayal are also considered. No artistic output is created in a vacuum free from external influences; just as all ostensibly "non-literary" documentation is in fact a discursive construct.[44]

Interdisciplinarity has been an academic catchphrase since the mid-twentieth century and the field of Medieval Studies is no exception to this trend. Indeed, one could argue that this is an area of study that is inherently interdisciplinary. Little academic output in the field considers only one type of evidence and most studies cite work carried out in other disciplines. Work recently published on gender and age in the medieval period that explicitly claims to take an interdisciplinary approach includes the collection of essays published as *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*.[45] The contributors to this edited volume each offer an answer to the controversial thesis on the history of childhood developed by Philippe Aries in 1960, in which he infamously claimed that 'in medieval society the sentiment of childhood did not exist'.[46] The close examination of the nuances carried by the galaunt that will be undertaken by this study seeks to make a fresh contribution to the body of scholarship that readdresses attitudes to youth, specifically late youth, in the medieval period.

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[43] *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, textiles, cloth work, and other cultural imaginings*, ed. by Jane E. Burns (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[44] Julie T. Klein, *Interdisciplinarity: History, Theory, and Practice* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1990), p. 31.

[45] *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005).

[46] Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. by Robert Baldick (New York, NY: Vintage, 1962), p. 125.

The study also employs a similar approach to that taken in *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-historical and Literary-anthropological Theme*, which explores the phenomenon of sexuality as presented in a variety of artistic and documentary media.[47] There are, of course, methodological challenges associated with such an interdisciplinary approach. The demands of polymathy can be daunting, and one runs the risk of misinterpreting the theoretical and methodological nuances of each discipline. One must, therefore, choose sources with care and engage with a range of critical discourses from each field of enquiry. This study remains primarily a work of literary analysis but one that recognises that, in order to meet its aim of establishing the galaunt as a personification of Wayward Youth, it must place the tradition in not only its artistic milieu, but also in its social, political and cultural context.

Chapter breakdown

Chapter one sets the context for the study by tracing the etymology of *galaunt* and the cultural antecedents of the late medieval corpus, thereby uncovering the figure's hitherto unidentified Classical origins. The chapter uses these early attributes of the galaunt to establish the figure as belonging to a late medieval tradition that engages with centuries-old attitudes to youth as established in Ages of Man schemata. The chapter also uses the findings of the investigation into the figure's earlier concordances to re-examine the manner in which the figure has been interpreted in previous scholarship, before explaining why it is necessary to reconsider the figure's development over the period covered by this study.

In chapter two, the study moves on to examine the galaunt's characterisation in relation to the development of the emblematic figure of Youth and its role as a didactic tool. It begins by considering how the philosophies of youth outlined in chapter one were applied in late medieval visual art, before discussing the visual examples that could be said to form part of the corpus. The chapter contextualises the images of Death and the Galaunt in relation to other *memento mori* traditions, paying particular attention to how youth was presented in the *danse macabre* and The Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead. The chapter ends by considering how the visual and the written material from the corpus interact. The references to

[47] *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-historical and Literary-anthropological Theme*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008).

the figure and to his vices in contemporary sermons are analysed in relation to the expression of similar concerns in the broader corpus.

The third chapter foregrounds the theme of morality through exploration of the behaviours associated with the galaunt in the written corpus. It begins by establishing the figure's function as a tool through which to satirise the same follies that were shown in the previous chapters as being an intrinsic aspect of Youth. The frequency with which the figure is associated with these particular vices is mapped and the chapter considers the extent to which socio-political influences can be said to be a motivating factor behind the deployment of the criticisms. Chapter three thus explores the relationship in the corpus between established tropes and contextual factors, and revisits the question of which demographic is represented by the galaunt. The chapter also considers the figure's engagement with other artistic traditions and ends by outlining the Vices that can be said to be conflated in the galaunt.

The final chapter uses the sartorial discourses exercised in the corpus to establish the figure's problematic masculinity. It locates the research aims of the chapter in relation to the scholarly tradition of interpreting fashion as a conduit for cultural discourse and in the context of recent scholarship on medieval masculinity. Chapter four begins by exploring the performance of attire in the galaunt corpus, focusing on the tensions between courtly conspicuous consumption and impoverishment. The chapter goes on to chart the reoccurring accusation in the corpus that the galaunts are manipulating their masculinity through deformation of the male body, and explores the concerns about forged authority and effeminacy that are carried by these complaints. The chapter ends by asking if the sartorial discourses exercised in the corpus are a reflection of concurrent trends or fuelled by polemic.

The thesis concludes with a summary of the key findings of the study and a précis of the galaunt tradition. The conclusion begins by recapitulating the key attributes of the galaunt and how these shape the function of the figure. It then reviews the relationship between change and continuity in the corpus and the impact that this has on the thesis. The evidence for the corpus amounting to a tradition is revisited and a final conclusion on this matter is drawn. The conclusion ends by proposing future avenues of research and articulating the contribution made by the study to the various disciplines with which it has engaged.

‘ENGLANDE MAY WAYLE THAT EUER IT CAME HERE’:[1] THE ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH GALAUNT AND THE NEED TO REASSESS THE FUNCTION OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL FIGURE

Introduction

In order to meet the research aim of establishing whether the development of the galaunt can be said to amount to a tradition, it is first necessary to trace the literary and cultural roots of the late medieval corpus. This investigation will help to elucidate the meanings and associations carried by the late medieval figure by identifying precedents for such discourses. This is a line of enquiry that has hitherto been almost entirely ignored. Of the scholars who have published research on the figure, none has dedicated very much attention to where it may have originated. Thomas Wright and Richard Green have each suggested a named individual as being the inspiration for the figure’s first extant incarnation in *DIMEV* 4853, and Deanne Williams has emphasised its French connections in *DIMEV* 3084, but the following analysis will show that these previous attempts have been too narrow in their approach.[2] No one has undertaken the task of tracing the galaunt’s concordances in earlier literature and although Tony Davenport has suggested that the figure’s literary ancestry lies in its role as lover, this statement remains to be verified by sustained analysis of the corpus and its cultural antecedents.[3] The question of what led to the galaunt of late medieval English literature is thus one that has yet to be satisfactorily answered and so the following chapter makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the figure. It will also lay the foundations for the reassessment of the galaunt’s semiotic function that lies at the heart of this thesis by using the figure’s ancestry to reposition the late medieval figure as part of a well-established method of representing youth.

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[1] *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt (London: John Russell Smith, 1866), pp. 147-160, refrain.

[2] *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1861), Vol. I, p. 270; Richard F. Green, ‘Jack Philipot, John of Gaunt, and a Poem of 1380’, *Speculum*, 66, 2 (April, 1991), pp. 330-341; Deanne Williams, *The French Fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 172-175.

[3] Tony Davenport, ‘Lusty Fresch Galaunts’, in *Aspects of Early English Drama*, ed. by Paula Neuss (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 111-128 (quote on p. 113).

The lack of critical endeavour on the subject of the galaunt's ancestry may be due to the fact that tracing the cultural roots of an artistic figure with any degree of certainty is extremely difficult.[4] There are no extant accounts of an author's reasoning in employing a particular motif and, apart from some notable exceptions, there is very little textual evidence as to what they consulted as source material. The sources that can be positively identified, such as those used by Peter Idley in compiling his *Instructions to his Son*, do not necessarily shed any light on the galaunt.[5] Idley drew material from two of Albertano da Brescia's Latin treatises, the *Liber consolationis* and *Liber de amore Dei*, for the first book of the *Instructions to his Son* but as the galaunt features in the second book Brescia's work has no bearing on the figure. Idley's section on immoderate dress, in which the galaunt features most heavily, is unique to his work and does not appear in either *Handlyng Synne* or the *Fall of Princes*.[6] *Handlyng Synne* does not make any reference to the galaunt and whilst the *Fall of Princes* does, it postdates the earliest extant galaunt text and so does not shed any further light on an investigation into the origins of the late medieval figure.[7]

Given the fact that we do not know of any literary sources used in the creation of the first extant text to feature the galaunt, this chapter will turn away from examining the known source material for items from the corpus and instead explore the general cultural influences

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[4] Robert Edwards, 'The Heritage of Fulgentius', in *The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. by Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), pp. 141–151.

[5] Matthew Giancarlo, 'Dressing up a "Galaunt": Traditional Piety and Fashionable Politics in Peter Idley's "Translacions" of Mannyng and Lydgate', in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), pp. 429-447.

[6] Ibid., pp. 432-433; Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change: The Trope of Clothing in High- and Late medieval England* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2012), p. 224, n. 65. Peter Idley's *Instructions to his Son* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 2954. It survives, in varying degrees of completion, in: Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2030; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee 4 37; Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 160 (D 2 7); London, BL, MS Arundel 20, fols 43-70*v*. (begins imperfectly); London, BL, MS Harley 172; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 181; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 416. The most recent edition of the text, which is the one referenced by this thesis, is: *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn (Boston, MA; London: Modern Language Association of America; Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 81-210. The poem is dated by D'Evelyn to the mid-fifteenth century.

[7] *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS ES 121-4, 4 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1924-1927; reprint 1967), Vol. II, p. 653, l. 2446.

that set a precedent for the codified depiction of errant youth that is embodied by the figure. Although it is possible that the author of *DIMEV* 4853 coined the term *galaunt*, the text presents the figure in a manner that assumes prior knowledge of its associations on the part of the reader. As Angela Denny-Brown has previously observed, the formula of the poem suggests that the figure had already, by the time of composition, 'become mythologized as a particular part of England's fated history'.[8] Given the precarious nature of medieval manuscript survival and the transient nature of manuscript-separates, which is the form in which much of the satiric material survives, the probability of examples both earlier and later than the first extant text having been lost from the corpus is high. Even if *DIMEV* 4853 is, by some serendipitous stroke of conscientious archiving, the first incarnation of the galaunt in English literature, satirical figures do not simply appear; they evolve. It is therefore necessary to explore the galaunt's concordances in other literature and the socio-developmental notions on which the youth stereotypes expressed in the corpus were built if we are to understand the function of the late medieval figure.

The exploration of the galaunt's heritage undertaken in this chapter scrutinises the aforementioned attempts by scholars to identify a named individual or socio-political tension as the cause of the figure's inception. The testimony given in the late medieval corpus itself as to the origins of the figure must also be reanalysed and as much of this discourse focuses on the foreign origins of the galaunt's fashions, the veracity of the claims made in the literature as to the Continental influence on English clothing culture needs to be interrogated. The existing hypotheses can be countered by an etymological study of *galaunt*, a brief survey of the associations of and roots for the Middle English version of which uncovers a hitherto unidentified Classical basis for the literary figure. These key features as established by the etymological evidence, coupled with the moralising discourses concerned with young men that found expression in a variety of fora prior to the galaunt's emergence, help to elucidate the form and function of the Middle English galaunt. It is the thesis of this study that Classical attitudes to youth and earlier English stereotypes inform the cultural significance of the late medieval figure as applied in the English corpus and its concordances in European literature, and that it is from these established youth stereotypes that its meaning derives. This analysis is underpinned by consideration of the philosophical foundations for these discourses. Given the strength of the concordances that establish the galaunt's place in a centuries-old tradition

[8] Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change*, p. 160.

of youth discourse, the late medieval galaunt needs to be repositioned as a late medieval instance of this older tradition. It is only in regrouping the attitudes expressed in the corpus around the central theme of the intemperance of youth that the literary and cultural context of the late medieval galaunt tradition can be understood, and identification of the demographic that the figure most commonly represents be achieved.

Blamed parties in the galaunt corpus

The first extant galaunt text has caused something of a Historicist debate. Wright first put forward a political context for *DIMEV* 4853 in a footnote to his edition of the text, arguing that the following lines are an allusion to the repercussions of the Appellants' rebellion of 1388:

What ys the cause of this?	
vere violentia legis.	[the violence against the law]
Amend that ys amysse	
poterit clementia regis.	[the mercy of the king will be able to]
Now without a jak	
paucos timuit remanere;	[few fear to remain]
Sum have hym on his bak,	
sed bursa mallet habere.	[but would prefer to have him in their purses]
Goode Jak, where is John?	
ubi gratia nunc requiescit?	[where does his grace now lie at rest]
Jak, now grace ys gone;	
ad regna remota recessit.	[he has gone off to distant realms]
Jak nobil with hym ys;	
iter simul accipuerunt.	[they've gone on a journey together]
Of bothe ys grete mys;	
illos multi modo querunt.	[many now seek them]
Galauntes, Purs Penyles--	
per vicos ecce vagantur.[9]	[behold, they wander through the countryside]

[9] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), pp. 140-146, ll. 101-118.

Wright explained this passage as an account of the 'flight of Richard's favourite Robert de Vere duke of Dublin, with Michael de la Pole earl of Suffolk, to the continent', identifying Robert as the 'Jak' of line 109 and Michael as 'Jak nobil' (l. 113).[10] This is a reading that would appear to give, in the person of the infamous Robert de Vere, a fitting template for the galaunt's licentious personality.[11]

Wright's interpretation of the passage has, however, since been convincingly refuted. Green has shown that the basis of Wright's construal, to whit his aforementioned dubious dating of the text in an attempt to align the content to his chosen contextual factors, is false.[12] Green instead interprets the poem as engaging with the tensions felt in the lead up to the Peasants' Revolt; a claim that is maintained by Denny-Brown in her more recent reading of the poem as singling out 'contemporary insurgents as the originators of the galaunts' startling appearance'.[13] Unfortunately, Green's article goes on to reproduce Wright's erroneous attempt to offer a named personage as the template for the figure. Green recasts the 'Jak' of line 109 as Jack Philipot and 'Jacke nobil' as a coin, thereby linking the poem to Philipot's financing of Thomas of Woodstock's French campaign of 1380.[14] Whilst Green's interpretation of the poem is the more rational, these allusions do not account for the extended attack on galaunts, plural, that is given in the piece.

A more palpable cause of the extended criticism in *DIMEV* 4853 of the galaunts who '*per vicos ecce vagantur*' is the widespread abhorrence of the young men that formed part of Anne of Bohemia's entourage on her arrival in England in 1381 to marry King Richard II.[15] One contemporary observer complained of her attendants:

> Mony abusions comme from Boemia into Englonde with this qwene, and specially schoone with longe pykes, insomoche that thei cowthe not go untylle

[10] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. I, p. 270.

[11] Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 437.

[12] Richard F. Green, 'Jack Philipot, John of Gaunt, and a Poem of 1380', pp. 330-341.

[13] Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change*, p. 150.

[14] Richard F. Green, 'Jack Philipot', pp. 330-341.

[15] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 118.

> that their were tyede to theire legges, usenge that tyme cheynes of silvyr at the pykes of theire schoone.[16]

The Bohemians are thus blamed for bringing, amongst other vices, the fashion for long-toed shoes to the English court. The galaunt is attacked for sporting this style of footwear in *DIMEV* 4853, which was composed at the time of the Bohemian influx. As the long-toed shoe was popular amongst fashionable society in England from *c*.1360, however, the accusation of instigation levelled at Anne's retainers says more about xenophobia than it offers an accurate account of sartorial influences.[17] Biographers of Richard report that these over-dressed members of Anne's retinue were so disliked that many of them were actually sent back to their home country.[18] Their excessive fashions, taken together with the negative light in which they were viewed, make these attendants a strong candidate for the group being attacked through the galaunt in *DIMEV* 4853. If the author of this text did indeed invent the figure then these Bohemians may very well have been the first galaunts. This discovery still fails, however, to explain the longevity of the figure and its widespread application as a negative stereotype used far beyond the reach of the events of the 1380s.

The authors that wrote about the galaunt continued to hold foreign realms accountable for the sartorial excesses that they perceived to be polluting the court well past the reign of Richard II. The author of the mid-fifteenth-century *DIMEV* 3084, for example, squarely placed the blame for the galaunt craze on France's shoulders, exclaiming: 'O Fraunce why ne had these galauntes byden there [to England]'.[19] The poem goes on to express alarm at the

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[16] *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, ed. by Joseph R. Lumby, 9 vols (London: Rolls Series, 1871-1886), Vol. VIII, p. 497.

[17] C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, rev. ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), p. 85; Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England: a history of dress from the earliest period until the close of the eighteenth century; to which is appended an illustrated glossary of terms for all articles of use or ornament worn about the person* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846), pp. 449-451; Mark Chambers, 'Crakow', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles of the British Isles c. 450-1450* (*EMDT*), ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Elizabeth Coatsworth and Maria Hayward (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2012), pp. 155-156; and Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Caroline Beamish (London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 70.

[18] Bryan Bevan, *King Richard II* (London: Rubicon Press, 1990), p.38; Nigel Saul, *Richard II*, p. 121.

[19] *Remains*, ed. by W. Carew Hazlitt, p. 153, n. 3. *DIMEV* 3084 survives in three late-fifteenth-century manuscripts: Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R 3 21 (601), fols 247-248; Rome, English College, MS A

weakened state of the English realm in comparison to her closest Continental neighbour, complaining that:

> Somtyme we had Fraunce in grete derysyon
> For theyr hatefull pryde and lothsome vnclennes
> Use we not nowe the same in our regyon
> And have permuted our welthe for theyr gladnes
> Lechery of our people is become a maystres.
> Our gentylnes for galauntyse have we lefte there.
> Englonde may wayle that euer it came here.
>
> (ll. 42-48)

Throughout *DIMEV* 3084 the galaunt is presented as a form of cultural warfare; unleashed upon a previously pure English nation by her corrupt neighbour and turning the native population into avaricious wastrels. The author reminds the audience towards the end of the poem to 'forget not lyghtly howe many straungers / Haue entred this kyngdome and kepte the possessyon' (ll. 204-205), thereby framing the galauntification of the nation as responsible for leaving England exposed to France's attacks.

Williams has made the case for Wynkyn de Worde's *c*.1520 edition of *DIMEV* 3084 being published at a time when:

> [The political] climate in England had changed to the extent that the French manners, which earlier critics may have used to ballast their diatribes against one or another sin or ubiquitous human failing, had suddenly become

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347, fols 78-81; and New Haven, Beinecke Library, Takamiya Deposit 94 (*olim* Astor A 2), fols 210-213. For a discussion of the manuscript variants see: Julia Boffey, 'The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print', *The Library*, 15, 3 (1993), pp. 175-186. Boffey entitles the poem 'The Treatise of a Galaunt' on account of the fact that it is referred to as such in some of the early editions (p. 176). *DIMEV* names the poem 'Song of Galaunt'. The text has sometimes been ascribed to John Lydgate, but there is no further evidence to support this attribution and the author remains unidentified. Critical editions, other than Hazlitt's as referenced above, include: *Ballads from Manuscripts*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, 2 vols (London: N. Trübner, 1868), Vol. I, p. 445; and *A Treatyse of a Galaunt, with The Marriage of the Fayre Pusell the Bosse of Byllyngsgate unto London Stone, from the unique edition of Wynkyn de Worde*, ed. by James O. Halliwell-Phillipps (London: the editor, 1860).

> untenable, representing the almost treasonous capitulation of English subjects to France.[20]

Her assertion that the aftermath of the minions controversy of 1519 constitutes a unique period of anti-French feeling and a turning point in the representation of the galaunt is misplaced. The fact that the poem was, as Julia Boffey has previously discovered, referenced in a sermon given by John Alcock in the 1490s means that the text had already been in circulation for several decades by 1519.[21] At the time of *DIMEV* 3084's composition in *c*.1450, England suffered several major military defeats and territorial losses to the French, including Caen, Cherbourg and Normandy.[22] By the time of these defeats England had already been at war with France for thirty-six years. Anti-French sentiment was thus already well established when *DIMEV* 3084 was composed and had been festering for four generations before de Worde released his copy of the text. As such, pinpointing a particular historical event as informing the semiotics of the galaunt is injudicious. Instead, one can only conclude that this particular text is imbued with a general sense of enmity, fed by the atmosphere of antagonism between England and France that had been building for many years at the point of the poem's composition.[23]

The account given in *DIMEV* 3084 of the French origins of the galaunt is itself compromised by the fact that this text is chronologically the eleventh account of the cultural stereotype to have survived. On the basis of the earliest description of English galaunts, as given in *DIMEV* 4853, the figure had been a facet of English society for at least seventy years by the point of *DIMEV* 3084's composition. This belies the later text's presentation of the galaunt plague as a recent phenomenon imported from the Continent. The association of the galaunt with France was an enduring one, however, as that country continued to be identified as the source of galaunt sartorial culture into the sixteenth century. In the *envoy* to his adaptation of *The Ship of Fools*, which was first published in 1509, Alexander Barclay reminisces:

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[20] Deanne Williams, *The French Fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare*, pp. 172-175 (quote on p. 174).

[21] Julia Boffey, 'The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print', p. 175.

[22] Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at war, c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[23] Boffey discusses the impact that this continued enmity had on the longevity of *DIMEV* 3084 in 'The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print', p. 184.

> Reduce courters clerly vnto your rembrance
> From whens this disgysyng was brought wherein ye go
> As I remember it was brought out of France.[24]

Barclay appears here to be calling up a distant memory and so the account builds on the origins story that was established in the earlier example.

Galaunts continue to be identified as French by Edward Hall in his mid-sixteenth-century account of the union of the houses of Lancaster and York, in which he includes 'joly gallantes' as being part of the French army during the reign of King Henry VI of England.[25] As one would expect of the figure, the galaunts are not very good soldiers and they have to muster a retreat on account of the fact that they have fallen 'in division emongest theimselfes' (p. 93). *Galaunt* is also used in this text to describe the French courtiers who accompanied King Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (p. 75). Whilst these references present interesting parallels with the rest of the corpus, they do not help to uncover the figure's ancestry as Hall's application of the galaunt to French characters can be attributed to the fact that the corpus had been making these associations for a century by the time that he came to use the term.

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[24] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, 2 vols (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1966), Vol. I, p. 39. Barclay's adaptation of *The Ship of Fools*, which is based on Sebastian Brant's *Das Narrenschiff*, was printed in London by Richard Pynson in 1509: *STC* 3545. Editions include: *The Ship of Fools*, ed. by T. H. Jamieson (Edinburgh; London: William Paterson; Henry Sotheran, 1874); and *A Critical Edition of Alexander Barclay's Ship of Fools*, ed. by David R. Anderson (Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University, 1974). The text has received relatively little scholarly attention. Works on the subject include (listed chronologically): Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1886); Aurelius C. G. Pompen, *The English Versions of 'The Ship of Fools': A Contribution to the History of the early French Renaissance in England* (London; New York, NY: Longmans, Green, 1925); and Robert C. Evans, 'Forgotten Fools: Alexander Barclay's Ship of Fools', in *Fools and Folly*, ed. by Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996).

[25] Edward Hall, *The vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke, beeyng long in continual discension for the croune of this noble realme with all the actes done in bothe the tymes of the princes, bothe of the one linage and of the other, beginnyng at the tyme of kyng Henry the fowerth, the first aucthor of this deuision, and so successiuely proceadyng to the reigne of the high and prudent prince kyng Henry the eight, the vndubitate flower and very heire of both the sayd linages*, EEBO (London: Richard Grafton, 1548), p. 93.

The most plausible explanation for the repeated assertion that the galaunts had originated in France is that the fashions with which they were associated had been imported from the Continent. Much has been made of the influence of French fashions on the English court in the mid- to late-fourteenth century.[26] The tides of fashion are, however, extremely difficult to trace as the extant evidence, such as that which is offered by images, suggests that the galaunt's short jacket and tight hose became universally popular across Europe's courts in the 1340s.[27] It also does not help, as Stella Newton has observed, that everyone, whether French, English or otherwise, blamed somebody else for the emergence of the revealing style of dress that was associated with the galaunt.[28] The high degree of similarity in the fashions of the English and French courts at the start of the period of study may have been, as Frances Baldwin has previously argued, the result of the frequent contact between the English and French aristocracy that was brought about by the Hundred Years' War.[29] Baldwin's conclusion that this contact meant that it was the French styles that were imported into England does not necessarily tally however, as the influence could have worked in the opposite direction, especially given the fact that England's textile industry was flourishing at this time.[30] This reversal is further supported by the evidence amassed by Edward Miller and John Hatcher in their study of the economic shifts surrounding the Black Death, which proves that English clothiers were involved in the production of high-quality fabrics and that exports thereof far exceeded imports.[31] A shared clothing culture in which the creation of trends was a reciprocal process is thus the most probable mechanism by which the late medieval European fashion system operated.

To return to *DIMEV* 3084, the galaunt is accused of having a penchant for foreign fashions by the author in order to create a platform from which to lobby for national economic interests. The poet laments: 'Alas englande that somtyme was so wyse / Other nacyons refuse

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[26] Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in The Age of The Black Prince: A Study of The Years 1340-1365* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1980), p.13.

[27] Ibid., pp.1-5; Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, p. 92.

[28] Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in The Age of The Black Prince*, p.13.

[29] Frances Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926), p. 21.

[30] John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Blandford Press, 1971), p.326.

[31] Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London: Longman, 1978), p. 247.

hast bought so dere'.[32] 'Refuse' here refers to poor-quality material and so constitutes a slur on imported cloth that engages with wider discourses about the need to protect the English textile industry.[33] The *Rotuli Parliamentorum* for 1455, for example, contains a plaint from the silk-women of London about the negative impact of foreign clothiers on their livelihoods:

> Divers lombardes and other aliens estraungers [...] to thentent to enriche them self and put such occupacions to oþer landes, bring nowe daily into þis lande wrought silk, throwen rybens, and laces falsly and deceyvably wrought [...] and no silke woll bring unwrought unto þis lande to make eny such thing of, but of þe wurst refuse that they mowe have, to þe grete hurt of all such as shall were or occupie the same, and þe utter destruccion of all þe same craftes and occupacions.[34]

The king acquiesced to the request and a five-year ban on the importation of ready-made silk goods was enacted. As such, *DIMEV* 3084 was written against a backdrop of sartorial politics.

The belief that high fashion damaged national interests was shared by those responsible for the English clothing laws, many of which sought to protect the interests of domestic clothiers.[35] As John Scattergood has already noted, economic motives can be

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[32] *Remains*, ed. by W. Carew Hazlitt, p. 153, ll. 39-40.

[33] For an overview of economic discourses in satires on fashion see: John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry*, pp. 325-339.

[34] 33 Henry VI (1455): *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504*, ed. by Chris Given-Wilson (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2005), p. 325.

[35] A great deal of research has been published on the Acts of Apparel, most notably (in chronological order): Wilfrid Hooper, 'The Tudor Sumptuary Laws', *English Historical Review*, 30 (1915), pp. 433–449; Frances Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*; Clifford R. Bell and Evelyn Ruse, 'Sumptuary Legislation and English Costume: An Attempt to Assess the Effect of an Act of 1337', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society*, 6 (1972), pp. 22–31; Nigel Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England', in *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F. J. Fisher*, ed. by Donald C. Coleman and Arthur H. John (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976), pp. 132–165; Claire Sponsler, 'Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws', *Clio: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Literature, History, and the Philosophy of History*, 21, 3 (1992), pp. 265-282; Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1996); Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England*

discerned as a governing factor behind the creation of many of the Acts of Apparel.[36] Indeed, the use of imported material is restricted in seven of the thirteen acts passed before the end of Edward VI's reign.[37] 3 Edward IV explicitly states that the regulation of dress is needed on account of the 'enpoverysshing of this youre seid reame, and enriching of straunge reames and cuntrees, and fynall distroiyng of the husbondrie of this youre seid reame' caused by fashionable garb.[38] The galaunts are therefore presented in *DIMEV* 3084 not only as a socially dangerous and destructive group, but also as a treasonous one. By indulging in foreign fashions they align themselves with external powers and their purchasing choices actively enrich enemy nations while simultaneously depriving native clothiers of a livelihood. The association of the galaunt with French fashions is therefore just as politically motivated as was his casting as a Frenchman.

On exploration of the hitherto-posited candidates for the root causes of the late medieval galaunt figure each has been found to be wanting. A Historicist approach that attempts to identify a particular individual as the inspiration for the literary figure has been shown to be misguided. The accusations of French provenance have also been unravelled and shown to be the product of contemporary strains in Anglo-French relations, which means that they cannot be taken as a trustworthy account of the origins of galaunt culture. The account of the French origins of the galaunt that is offered in *DIMEV* 3084 becomes even less acceptable when one considers the opinions that the French held of the English at the time of composition. The English were typically depicted in French sources as intemperate, drunken,

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(Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 11–20; Frederique Lachaud, 'Dress and Social Status in England before the Sumptuary Laws', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. by Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 105–123; Joanna Crawford, 'Clothing Distributions and Social Relations *c.*1350–1500', in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. by Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 153-164; and Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender & History*, 19 (2007), pp.22-42.

[36] John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. 255-272 (quote on p. 260).

[37] 11 Edward III (1336-1337); 3 Edward IV (1463); 4 Edward IV (1464-1465); 22 Edward IV (1482-1483); 1 Henry VIII (1509-1510); 6 Henry VIII (1514); and 7 Henry VIII (1515).

[38] *The Statutes of the Realm / Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts*, 9 vols (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1810), Vol. II, p. 401.

bad-mouthed, treacherous and softened by their love of luxury; all of which are features of the galaunt and all negative character traits that the author of *DIMEV* 3084 levels at the French.[39] This not only confirms that the accusations of French influence are part of typical trans-Channel verbal antagonisms, but these cross-cultural parallels also suggest that there is a broader iconographic tradition behind the treatment of the demographic that the galaunt represents.[40] As none of the explanations discussed up to this point can account for the figure's deployment as a literary and visual trope, an explanation for the pervasiveness and form of the figure must instead be looked for in the etymology of the term and its relationship with pan-European notions about youth.

Etymology of *galaunt*

The *MED* entry for the noun *galaunt* cites the adjective form as the source and suggests that the original provenance for both is the Old French *galer*, which means to make merry.[41] This is a thesis that fits well with the fact that most of the adjectival examples cited in the *MED* for *galaunt* belong to the definition of 'gay, merry; gaily dressed'.[42] Indeed, Greimas' Old French dictionary lists 'galant' as meaning *rejouissant*, which translates as heartening or delightful.[43] In the same vein, Old English has *galan*, meaning to sing, as in Nightingale.[44] Whilst these definitions do not fully match or explain the pejorative version of the term that is adopted into Middle English, the association does inform the carousing character traits that are an integral part of the galaunt's semiotic vocabulary.

Another point of parity between the etymology and morphology of the galaunt is the figure's association with sartorial display. The term *gala*, meaning ornament or festive attire, is common to Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. Hensleigh Wedgwood made much of this

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[39] Peter Rickard, *Britain in Medieval French Literature, 1100-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 163-205.

[40] Tom B. James, 'John of Eltham, History and Story: Abusive International Discourse in Late Medieval England, France and Scotland', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. by Chris Given-Wilson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 63-80.

[41] *MED* headword *galaunt* (n).

[42] *MED* headword *galaunt* (adj.).

[43] Algirdas J. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien franĉais jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Larousse, 1974), p. 306.

[44] Henry Sweet, *The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1897), p. 115.

association in his account of the etymology of 'Gallaunt', noting that the origin thereof is '*gala*, a state of festivity or enjoyment, of which derivative *galano* would naturally be applied as well to the gayness of apparel as to the high spirits characteristic of festivity'.[45] The root-word GAL can also be found in Germanic languages, in which it develops the meaning: lasciviousness, lust, luxury, wantonness and folly.[46] These are definitions that bear a striking resemblance to the key elements of the late medieval satiric figure, which suggests that inspiration for the naming of the galaunt came from the association of the term with youthful exuberance and folly in a plethora of European languages. Wedgwood cements the significance of youth to the meaning of *galaunt* in hitting upon its parallels in the Scottish *callant* and Gaelic *gallan*, both of which mean 'youth'.[47]

An etymological investigation that includes Romance languages must also, of course, consider the Latin candidates for the root word of the term being studied. Working in reverse from the late medieval to the Classical; *galante* is entered, as has already been mentioned, in the 1440 *Promptorium Parvulorum et Clericorum* as part of the entry for *fresh*, in which it is offered as one of two synonyms for the term: 'ffrech, Ioly or galante: *Redimit*us, *-ta*, *-u*m'.[48] This particular entry is followed by two separate entries for *freshly*, the first of which is further defined as 'newly' and the second as 'Iolyly, gayly' (p. 174). None of the adjacent entries refer to *galante* and indeed the term is replaced by 'gayly' (p. 174) in the latter entry. This suggests that *galante* was held by the author to carry a sense of freshness and joviality that was distinct from the senses carried by the other terms. Another derivative of *galaunt*, *galawte*, is entered at a later point in the *Promptorium Parvulorum et Clericorum* as meaning 'Lessivus', which is probably meant to read as lascivious (p. 185). This latter definition is again in keeping with the application of the term in the Middle English corpus. *Galaunt* also appears in the mid-sixteenth-century *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis Librarie* under the entry for moderate beauty: '*Bellulus*, *a*, *um*, somwhat fayre, minyon, tricke, galaunt'.[49] The external

[45] Hensleigh Wedgwood, *Dictionary of English Etymology*, 3 vols (London: Trübner & Co., 1862), Vol. II, p. 120.

[46] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, ed. by John Simpson <http://www.oed.com> [last accessed 15 July 2015].

[47] Hensleigh Wedgwood, *Dictionary of English Etymology*, p. 121.

[48] *The Promptorium Parvulorum: The first English-Latin Dictionary / edited from the Manuscript in the Chapter Library at Winchester*, ed. by Anthony L. Mayhew, EETS ES 102 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908), p. 174.

[49] Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis librarie*, EEBO (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1542), p. 1,792.

defining features and abstract qualities that are conflated in the galaunt are thus also combined in the definition of the term.

Of the candidates for the root word of the term *galaunt*, one of the strongest is the Latin *galbanatus*, which means 'delicately clothed or effeminate'.[50] There is also a probable association with the Latin *gallans*, plural *gallantis*, which means 'raving or revelling' and so ties in well with the Old French *galer* that is given as the root of the Middle English *galaunt* in the *MED*.[51] Lewis and Short further define *gallans* as a specific reference to revelling 'like a priest of Cybele' or follower of Bacchus, citing the works of Terentius Varro, Lucius Appuleius and Nonius Marcellus.[52] The Ancient astrologer Marcus Manilius describes the young disciples of Bacchus as sharing many of the galaunt's key features, including a penchant for inappropriate sartorial choices that engenders effeminacy:

> Beneath their influence devotees of Bacchus and Venus are born into the kindly light, and people whose insouciance runs free at feasts and banquets and who will strive to provoke sweet mirth with biting wit. They will always take pains over personal adornment and an elegant appearance: they will set their locks in waves of curls or confine their tresses with bands, building them into a thick topknot, and they will transform the appearance of the head by adding hair to it; they will smooth their hairy limbs with the porous pumice, loathing their manhood and craving for sleekness of arm. They adopt feminine dress, footwear donned not for wear but for show, and an affected effeminate gait. They are ashamed of their sex; in their hearts dwells a senseless passion for display, and the boast of their malady, which they call a virtue. To give their love is never enough.[53]

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[50] *A Latin Dictionary: founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 800.

[51] *A Latin reader: consisting of selections from Phaedrus, Caesar, Curtius, Nepos, Sallust, Ovid, Virgil, Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Pliny, and Tacitus, with copious notes and vocabulary*, ed. by William F. Allen and Joseph H. Allen (London: Edwin Ginn, 1869), p. 78.

[52] *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, p. 800.

[53] Text taken from the translation in: Emiel Eyben, *Restless Youth in Ancient Rome*, trans. by Patrick Daly (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 99.

The close parallels between Manilius's account of the disciples of Bacchus and descriptions of the galaunt suggest that this example, or one very similar to it, was known by the first medieval social commentators who used the galaunt to criticise youths. Much Classical literature was well known to medieval authors, and was a source that they were fully accustomed to mining, adapting and propagating for their own ends.[54] Indeed, Bacchus is actually referred to in the galaunt corpus in Lydgate's *Dietary*.[55] Lydgate is not alone in drawing on Classical traditions for inspiration when writing about the galaunt. The author of *Amoryus and Cleopes*, for example, refers to the galaunts as devotees of Venus.[56] Similarly, *The Assembly of Gods* makes use of the figure in its description of Cupid.[57] *Gallantis*, as a description of a group of young men that exhibit the same behaviours and character traits as the late medieval figure, thus offers a credible candidate for the root of the Middle English application of *galaunt*. This is particularly convincing because the Latin term sets a precedent for profligate youth being grouped together as belonging to a named and well-defined faction. As the foregoing etymological survey has established, this is a connection that feeds into an enduring, pan-European association of the linguistic roots of the term *galaunt* with youth and its concordant vices of sartorial extravagance, lasciviousness and deficient masculinity. The chapter will therefore now turn to consider the manner by which these notions about youth were passed down to the satirists and moralists of the late medieval period.

Attitudes to youth prior to the galaunt tradition

In her study of restless youth in ancient Rome, Emiel Eyben has established that 'the youthful dandy was a permanent fixture in Roman antiquity from *c*.200 BCE', with authors such as Cicero complaining about 'aristocratic youngsters who flaunted themselves in extravagant

[54] The promulgation of Classical texts in the medieval period has been well documented. Work on the subject has been collated by: Gregory Heyworth, 'Classics and Mythography', in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms – Methods – Trends*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 253-265.

[55] *John Lydgate: The Minor Poems, Vol. II: Secular Poems*, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, EETS OS 192 (London: Trübner,1934; reprint 1961), pp. 702-707, l. 68.

[56] *Amoryus and Cleopes*, ed. by Stephen F. Page, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), ll. 613-615.

[57] *The Assembly of Gods*, ed. by Jane Chance, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), ll. 295-298.

clothes, ill-befitting a Roman's dignity'.[58] The material on which she draws engages with the same themes as are explored in the galaunt corpus, including foppery, revelry and profligacy. Negative stereotypes of fashionable young men were thus already in circulation in Ancient society. One can trace a common contributory to the Classical and late medieval literary treatment of youth in the philosophical discourses that shaped perceptions of age and development. Such constructs were in common circulation during the late medieval period; used as the basis for educational material and theories about the development of man.[59] The work of Classical authors such as Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca were particularly influential and, following concerted efforts by translators working in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, readily accessible to the educated classes.[60]As the following overview will show, these works were matched by an impressive outpouring of work on the subject of the life cycle that was produced throughout the medieval period. As such it is likely that the template for understanding and presenting youth that informs the galaunt corpus was informed by such sources.

Youth in Ages of Man schemata

The Ages of Man schema categorised the ageing process into named phases and provided a framework for discussion of the concordant changes in physical, emotional and moral attributes in a variety of socio-philosophical fora.[61] The number of divisions made in the different versions of the schema varied greatly.[62] Some authors, such as the fourth-century

[58] Emiel Eyben, *Restless Youth in Ancient Rome*, p. 98, p. 100.

[59] Frederick W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 71; Philippa Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (London: Elek, 1976), pp. 20-61; John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 5-9; Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2007), pp. 9-21; Deborah Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300-c.1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 17-18.

[60] Deborah Youngs, *Life-Cycle in Western Europe*, pp. 17-18.

[61] Ibid., p 18.

[62] The variations are catalogued by: John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man*; Mary Dove, *The Perfect Age of Man's Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Elisabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986); Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude*; Peter J. P. Goldberg, 'Life and Death: The Ages of Man', in *A Social History of England*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and William M. Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 413-434;

bishop Ambrose of Milan, built on the Aristotelian model of dividing the life cycle into three stages that amalgamated youth into either childhood or adulthood.[63] Augustine of Hippo's six-part theory of age produced in the fifth century, which influenced later authors such as Isidore of Seville, allowed for pre-adulthood to itself be subdivided into three separate stages.[64] The Venerable Bede too was influenced by the Augustinian six-part model, though he also crafted a four-part physiological rendering that matched the stages of human development to the seasons of the year in which youth corresponds to spring.[65] This in turn influenced Byrhtferth of Ramsey's approach in the early-eleventh-century *Enchiridion*.[66] The four-part model also allowed for the ageing process to be equated with the four humours, as established by Ancient authors of medicinal treatises such as Hippocrates.[67] In such schemata youth is associated with the heat and moisture of a sanguine nature, which is used to define this phase as typified by rashness and bodily desires.[68] Seven-part systems became increasingly popular over the medieval period but some examples, such as can be found in the De Lisle Psalter, went so far as to create ten separate categories.[69] Hildegard of Bingen, though she favoured a tripartite model, even made twelve divisions in order to match the months of the year.[70] This variation makes identification of the stages that refer to youth, to whit the intermediary period between childhood and full adulthood, somewhat difficult.[71]

Isabelle Cochelin, 'Introduction: Pre-Thirteenth-Century Definitions of the Life Cycle', in *Medieval Lifecycles: Continuities and Change*, ed. by Isabelle Cochelin and Karen Smyth (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 1-54.

[63] John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man*, pp. 5-14; Dan Slusanski, 'Le Vocabulaire latin des *gradus aetatum'*, *Revue romaine de linguistique*, 19 (1974), pp. 563-578 (see p. 576); Isabelle Cochelin, 'Introduction', pp. 7-10; p. 18.

[64] Ibid., pp. 3-11, p. 20, p. 22; Elisabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man*, pp. 54-79.

[65] Bede, *Bedae Opera De Temporibus*, ed. by Charles W. Jones (Cambridge, MA.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1943).

[66] Isabelle Cochelin, 'Introduction', p. 27.

[67] Richard Jones, *The Medieval Natural World* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), p. 67. Hippocrates's work on the subject of the four humours includes *Aphorisma*, *Nature of Man*, *Prognostica* and *Regimen*. See: Hippocrates, *Nature of Man. Regimen in Health. Humours. Aphorisms. Regimen 1-3. Dreams. Heracleitus: On the Universe*, trans. by William H. S. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943).

[68] John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man*, pp. 12-35; Elisabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man*, pp. 26-30; Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude*, p. 18.

[69] Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude*, p. 12; London, BL, MS Arundel 83 II, fol. 126*v*.

[70] The dominance of the three-part system in Bingen's work is discussed by Isabelle Cochelin, 'Introduction', pp. 38-40.

[71] *OED* headword *youth* (n): 2.

Where they are made, the sub-divisions of the life cycle given across the various Ages of Man schemata can be summarised as *infantia* (infancy), *pueritia* (childhood), *adolescentia* (adolescence), *iuventus* (adulthood), *senectus* (old age), and *decrepita* (late old age).[72] Isabelle Cochelin has recently undertaken the important task of cataloguing the frequency with which each of the various categorising terms is employed in more than eighty Ages of Man schemata composed between the third century and the year 1200.[73] This significant undertaking also maps the ages given in these sources for the different life stages. Whilst it is tempting to translate *iuventus* as 'youth', Cochelin's work has highlighted the fact that in these early schemata this stage tends to correlate most strongly, though not exclusively, to adulthood.[74] This is corroborated by Phyllis Gaffney's survey of attitudes to childhood and youth in Old French sources, which has shown that some legal documents extended *iuventus* to fifty.[75] On the basis of this evidence, the present study adopts Edward George's hypothesis, as put forward in his 2004 article 'Childhood and Youth in the Early Middle Ages', that it is *adolescentia* that should be translated as 'youth'.[76]

Identification of the specific ages covered by *adolescentia* is beset by further difficulties. As John Burrow warned in his influential 1986 work on the Ages of Man: 'anyone who goes to medieval discussions of the Ages of Man with the intention of ascertaining at what age youth was thought to end, or old age to begin, will find no easy answers'.[77] Fourteen is a popular age in the schemata for the commencement of *adolescentia*, which tallies with the fact that canon law held this to be the age at which a young man was old enough to undertake the sacrament of marriage.[78] The wild differentiation in the schemata

[72] Shannon Lewis-Simpson, 'The Challenges of Quantifying Youth and Age in the Medieval North', in *Youth and Age in the Medieval North*, ed. by Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 1-16 (see p. 3).

[73] Isabelle Cochelin, 'Introduction', pp. 1-54.

[74] Ibid., pp. 3-5. See also Deborah Youngs, 'Adulthood in Medieval Europe: The Prime of Life or Midlife Crisis?', in *Medieval Lifecycles*, pp. 239-264.

[75] Phyllis Gaffney, *Constructions of Childhood and Youth in Old French Narrative* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 25.

[76] Edward George, 'Childhood and Youth in the Early Middle Ages', in *Youth in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Peter J. Goldberg and Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2004), p. 14.

[77] John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man*, p. 34.

[78] Frederick Pollock and Frederic W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898, reprint 1968), Vol. II, p. 438.

as to the end point of *adolescentia* already posed a problem for the thirteenth-century Franciscan scholar Bartholomaeus Anglicus, as reported by John of Trevisa in 1389:

> *Adoloscencia*, þe age of a yonge stripelinge, and dureþ þe þridde seven ȝere, þat is to þe ende of on and twenty ȝere. So it is saide *in viatico*. But Isidir seiþ þat it dureþ to þe ferþe seven ȝere, þat is to þe ende of 28 ȝere. But ficicians strecchen þis age to ȝe ente of 30 ȝere or of 35 ȝere.[79]

The difficulty faced by Bartholomaeus is compounded by the fact that the age boundaries for passing from one stage of the life cycle to the next were set according to social strata. As Dunlop notes in her study of youth and aristocratic masculinity, English law 'presents a sliding scale of ages of majority, so that the heirs of knights and tenants under military fee came of age at twenty-one, while the heirs of sokemen did so at fifteen'.[80] The latter ages quoted in Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus as marking the end of *adolescentia* far exceed the oldest age of inheritance set in English law. One must therefore assume that legal majority did not necessarily translate to full social recognition as an adult, or certainly not in the eyes of those who composed the philosophical and literary texts that engage with youth. Indeed, the upper age limit set by the physicians in Trevisa's account of Bartholomaeus tallies with the description of youth in the mid- to late-fourteenth century poem *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, in which the character of Youth is introduced as being 'thritty yere of elde'.[81] The galaunt could therefore represent a male of anywhere between fourteen and thirty years of age.

The Ages of Man schemata, despite not agreeing on terminology or on age boundaries, do show that the period between childhood and adulthood was frequently recognised as a separate developmental phase.[82] The chronological margins of this phase are not as significant

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[79] John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things, A Critical Text: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' 'De proprietatibus rerum'*, ed. by Maurice C. Seymour, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), Vol. I, p. 292.

[80] Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude*, p. 10.

[81] *Wynnere and Wastoure and The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. by Warren Ginsberg, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), l. 133.

[82] Barbara Hanawalt, 'Historical Descriptions and Prescriptions for Adolescence', in *Adolescent Identities: A Collection of Readings*, ed. by Deborah L. Browning (New York, NY: The Analytic Press, 2008), pp. 19-30.

to our understanding of the galaunt as are the behaviours and attributes accrued around youth in these treatises. An early example of these attitudes can be found in Aristotle's musings on the life cycle from the fourth century BCE, in which he described youth as the period during which one is beset by strong desires and fickleness:

> Young men have strong passions, and tend to gratify them indiscriminately. Of the bodily desires, it is the sexual by which they are most often swayed and in which they show absence of self-control. They are changeable and fickle in their desires, which are violent while they last, but quickly over: their impulses are keen but not deep-rooted, and are like sick people's attacks of hunger and thirst. They are hot-tempered and quick-tempered, and apt to give way to their anger; bad temper often gets the better of them, for owing to their love of honour they cannot bear being slighted, and are indignant if they imagine themselves unfairly treated [...] All their mistakes are in the direction of doing things excessively and vehemently.[83]

These concerns about the wayward tendencies of the young are markedly similar to the attitudes expressed in the galaunt corpus. These earlier discourses offer an invaluable framework for understanding the representation of the same behaviours as applied to the late medieval figure. The chapter will therefore now turn to consider further examples of early approaches to youth as expressed in literature produced prior to the composition of the first extant galaunt text at the end of the fourteenth century.

Youth stereotypes found in English literature pre-1380

By the time that the galaunt makes his first appearance in *c.*1380, a long tradition of associating the young with extravagance and licentiousness had already been established in English literature. Even positive descriptions of youthful warriors in Old English epic poetry were tainted by warnings about the need to control the passions during this turbulent phase of the life cycle. As Catherine Clarke has observed in her analysis of the formation of masculinity in *Beowulf*, the physical prowess of youth is associated in the text with

[83] Aristotle, 'Rhetoric II', Book 12, trans. by John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man*, pp. 192-193.

'impetuosity, wilfulness and the need for guidance'.[84] Clarke notes that Heremod, who acts in *Beowulf* as a negative exemplum that is akin in many respects to the galaunt, fails as a man precisely because he does not heed the warnings about the intemperance of youth that are offered to him.[85] These concerns are echoed in the *Maxims* preserved in the Exeter Book, which warn that 'the young man must be taught, encouraged and trained so that he knows proper behaviour, until he has been tamed'.[86] Youth was thus presented as not only a stage that posed a risk to the individual, but also as a time during which the individual presented a threat to society.

Unchecked aristocratic youths continued to be treated with suspicion after the Norman invasion. Writing in the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury described the male courtiers attendant upon King William II of England as corrupted by their indulgence in high fashion:

> Long flowing hair, luxurious garments, shoes with curved and pointed tips became the fashion. Softness of body rivalling the weaker sex, a mincing gait, effeminate gestures and a liberal display of the person as they went along, such was the ideal fashion for the younger men. Spineless, unmanned, they were reluctant to remain as nature had intended they should be; they were a menace to the virtue of others and promiscuous with their own.[87]

William's complaints repeat the accusations of effeminacy and over-dependence on material refinements that Manilius had made against the followers of Bacchus more than a millennium earlier. Such aspersions on effeminacy are another integral feature of the late medieval galaunt to have carried over from earlier discourses on youth. Whilst Malmesbury does not develop a satiric figure with which to lambast these foppish youths, the description does show

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[84] Catherine A. Clarke, 'Re-placing Masculinity: The DC Comics *Beowulf* Series and its Context, 1975-6', in *Anglo-Saxon Culture and the Modern Imagination*, ed. by David Clark and Nicholas Perkins (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 165-182 (see p. 179).

[85] Ibid.

[86] *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, ed. by Bernard J. Muir, 2 vols (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), Vol. I, p. 252, ll. 45b-46.

[87] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Roger A. Mynors, Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998-1999), Vol. I, ll. 559-561.

an insular precedence not only for complaints against the sartorial excesses of the young, but also for using such accounts to defame the sartorial extravagances of the court.

Similar complaints are also made by Orderic Vitalis, a contemporary of William's, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*:

> Effeminates set the fashion in many parts of the world: foul catamites, doomed to eternal fire, unrestrainedly pursued their revels and shamelessly gave themselves up to the filth of sodomy. They rejected the traditions of honest men, ridiculed the counsel of priests, and persisted in their barbarous way of life and style of dress. They parted their hair from the crown of the forehead, grew long and luxurious locks like women, and loved to deck themselves in long, over-tight shirts and tunics.[88]

The description given by Vitalis again associates fashionable display with femininity and also attributes a degree of rebelliousness to those who sported the latest trends. This tallies with the presentation of the late medieval figure as a disregard for the advice of elders and priests is, as is explored in chapter three, an accusation that resonates in the galaunt corpus.

These discourses continued to be engaged with on the eve of the galaunt's first appearance in English literature in *c.*1380. Writing in the 1360s, for example, John of Reading complained about the 'empty headedness of the English, who remained wedded to a crazy range of outlandish clothing without realising the evil which would come of it'.[89] The fashions described by John match the galaunt's typical outfit as established in the introduction to this study: outlandish headwear, tight hose, long-toed shoes, and a short, tight-fitting and padded tunic. John was not alone in complaining about the sartorial extravagances of the nobility at this time, as the sizeable corpus of satirical material on the subject that has already been collated by Scattergood in his article 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages' illustrates.[90] Rosemary Horrox has also amassed several mid-fourteenth-century complaints

[88] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chiball (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1873), pp. 188-189.

[89] John of Reading, *Chronica Johannis de Reading et anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-1367*; ed. by James Tait (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914). Translation of the original Latin taken from: Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 133.

[90] John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', pp. 255-272.

about concurrent fashions in her sourcebook of material pertaining to the Black Death.[91] This catastrophe may have spurred the spate of diatribes on dress that occurred just prior to *DIMEV* 4853's composition but, as the foregoing exploration has shown, extravagance in dress had already been held accountable for a host of societal ills for generations by this time.

Sartorial extravagances also continue to be used in the late-fourteenth century to add significance to literary descriptions of youth figures. In the aforementioned *Parlement of the Three Ages*, for example, the character of Youth is introduced as follows:

> He was balghe in the breste and brode in the scholdirs,
> His axles and his armes were iliche longe,
> And in the medill als a mayden menskfully schapen,
> Longe legges and large, and lele for to schewe.
> He streghte hym in his sterapis and stode uprightes;
> He ne hade no hode ne no hatte bot his here one,
> A chaplet one his chefelere chosen for the nones,
> Raylede alle with rede rose, richeste of floures,
> With trayfoyles and trewloves of full triede perles,
> With a chefe charebocle chosen in the myddes.
> He was gerede alle in grene, alle with golde bywevede,
> Enbroddirde alle with besanttes and beralles full riche;
> His colere with calsydoynnes clustrede full thikke,
> With many dyamandes full dere dighte one his sleves.
> The semys with saphirs sett were full many,
> With emeraudes and amatistes appon iche syde,
> With full riche rubyes raylede by the hemmes;
> The price of that perry were worthe powndes full many.
> His sadill was of sykamoure that he satt inn,
> His bridell alle of brente golde with silke brayden raynes,
> His cropoure was of tartaryne that traylede to the erthe.[92]

[91] Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death*, pp. 131-134.

[92] *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. by Warren Ginsberg, ll. 112-132.

Whilst this description begins in positive terms that praise the physical prowess and beauty of Youth, the description dedicates far greater space to the opulence of the character's attire. The ensemble is one of dazzling excess, from the jewel-encrusted armour to the silk crupper that trails to the ground. The outfit is so lavish that an undercurrent of disapproval begins to manifest in the description and the reader is left to wonder how Youth manages to practise the arts of chivalry when so weighted down by ornament. These criticisms are soon voiced in the poem by Middle Age, who accuses Youth of being foolish and wasteful in his sartorial extravagances (ll. 186-188). Youth is thus once again cast as a spendthrift in need of moral instruction.

Chaucer's Squire is introduced in the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* in terms analogous to those used to describe Youth in the *Parlement of the Three Ages*. In the course of her discussion of Chaucer's attitudes to dress, Laura Hodges has convincingly argued that the Squire's outfit belies 'his youthful, prideful, and erotic nature' and can be used to identify him allegorically as 'Youth as well as Lecher, Pride and Vainglory'.[93] Hodges focuses her analysis on the Squire's embroidered jacket, arguing that this garment would have caused a judgemental observer to form a negative opinion of the character on account of its high production costs (p. 63). Indeed, embroidered items took several hundred hours of labour to produce and are the subject of many late medieval diatribes against dress.[94] Hodges's reading opens the Squire up to be a possible candidate for a proto-galaunt as he combines two of the most essential aspects of the figure: youth and sartorial features that are informed by negative judgements. Embroidered clothing also features in the aforementioned description of Youth that is given in the *Parlement of the Three Ages*, in which it serves to compound the dissolute nature of his array. It is a feature that also receives negative attention in the galaunt corpus. The author of *DIMEV* 3084, for example, complains of the 'newe broched doublettes' sported by the figure.[95]

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[93] Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Costume: The Secular Pilgrims in the General Prologue* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), p. 55, p.57.

[94] Kay Staniland, 'Court Style, Painters, and The Great Wardrobe', in *England in The Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by William M. Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 236-246.

[95] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 184. *Broched* refers to ornamentation, which may be stud work but could also be read as embroidery.

The parallels between Chaucer's Squire, Youth from the *Parlement of the Three Ages* and the galaunt can be supplemented by their amorous natures. Youth's amorous temperament is indicated by the chaplet of red roses bestowed upon him at tournament that he wears about his head.[96] The allusion in the description of the Squire is less subtle, with Chaucer stating that night-time vigils cause him to 'sleep namore than doth a nightingale'.[97] The resemblance between the galaunt and the Squire is further augmented by the fact that the latter's mannerisms are attributed to his time in France: 'And he hadde been somtyme in chyvachie / In Flaunders, in Artoys, and Pycardie' (ll. 85-86). Chaucer's crafting of the Squire thus engaged with similar discourses to those explored in the galaunt corpus. As Chaucer was probably writing a little after the galaunt made its first extant appearance in *DIMEV* 4853 it is interesting that he does not use the term.[98] This could indicate that the galaunt was not yet an established trope, but as Chaucer's treatment of his characters is never as openly scathing as are the criticisms made against the galaunt the direct application of such a loaded term would have been ill suited to his subtlety of purpose. Knowledge of the galaunt corpus can be used, however, to unravel the attitudes to clothing and youth that Chaucer references in his work.

Early Continental instances of the galaunt

The moral shortcomings of young men were the subject of social commentary across medieval Europe. Carolyne Larrington's study of the attitudes to adolescence expressed in Old Norse literature confirms that young Nordic men were also frequently accused of being disrespectful to their elders and of indulging in unsavoury pastimes.[99] This is an attitude that Nic Percivall has shown to be also prevalent in Icelandic treatments of youth.[100] So too has Phyllis Gaffney found similar resonances in Old French literature.[101] None of these employ a satiric figure of the sort provided by the galaunt, but they do show that the negative attitude to youth evident in the late medieval English corpus was common to a number of European

[96] *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. by Warren Ginsberg, ll. 118-119.

[97] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 24, l. 98.

[98] Derek Pearsall, *The Canterbury Tales* (Abingdon; New York, NY: Routledge: 2013), pp. 1-8.

[99] Carolyne Larrington, 'Awkward Adolescents: Male Maturation in Norse Literature', in *Youth and Age in the Medieval North*, ed. by Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 151-166 (see pp. 153-154).

[100] Nic Percivall, 'Teenage Angst: The Structures and Boundaries of Adolescence in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Iceland', in ibid., pp. 127-149.

[101] Phyllis Gaffney, *Constructions of Childhood and Youth*, p. 72.

countries. This pervasiveness offers further proof that the previous attempts to relate the galaunt's formation to named individuals and specific political factors are flawed. Instead, the figure engages with far more universal concerns about the wayward tendencies of young men that found expression in a variety of settings and cultures.

This study has found that the first extant English example of the galaunt predates the earliest surviving European instances but not by a great margin. The galaunt features in French drama from the mid-fifteenth century, as Pierre Sadron discusses in his survey of 'deux emplois du théâtre médiéval francais, le sot et le galant'.[102] The galaunt also appears in his established role of an amorous youth in the early-fifteenth-century *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*, which was used as the basis of the English version examined here.[103] The adjectival form of *galaunt* appears in Portuguese even earlier; in the description of a lecherous necromancer given in the *exempla* of the *Orto do Esposo*, which dates from either the very late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth century.[104] Whilst these examples cannot be treated as source material, as they do not predate *DIMEV* 4853, it is interesting that a youth figure named the galaunt emerged across European literature in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. The afore-stated possibility of earlier examples having been lost makes any hypothesis as to why the named figure emerged in the late-fourteenth century and not earlier untenable, but the explanation for its pervasiveness surely lies in the Latin etymology of the term and its pan-European derivatives, combined with a universal engagement with the youth stereotypes popularised by the Ages of Man schema.[105] The figure of the galaunt, as presented in a large body of late medieval literature, solidifies and codifies discourses with which social commentators had been engaging for centuries. As such, it is necessary to revaluate our

[102] Pierre Sadron, 'Deux Emplois du Théâtre Médiéval Francais, Le Sot et Le Galant', *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, 10, 1 (January/March, 1958), pp. 35-39.

[103] *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*, ed. by Joan Crow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), pp. 67-74.

[104] *Orto do Esposo. Texto Inédito do Fim do Século XIV ou Começo do XV*, ed. by Bertil Maler (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1956), p. 321. For a discussion of the text and its relationship to other European literature see: Patricia A. de Baubeta, *Anticlerical Satire in Medieval Portuguese Literature* (Lewiston, NY; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp.15-17.

[105] Michael Bennett, 'France in England: Anglo-French Culture in the Reign of Edward III', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100-c.1500*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 320-333.

understanding of the semiotic function of the figure and bring the significance of the galaunt's youth to the fore.

Repositioning the galaunt as Wayward Youth

The previous scholarship undertaken on the galaunt has tended to interpret the figure as an expression of concern at political fragmentation and changes to the social order. The first scholarly output on the galaunt was John Scattergood's brief discussion of some of the galaunt texts and their interaction with contemporary socio-political factors in his 1971 monograph *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*.[106] Scattergood's interest in the figure also resulted in the publication of a note in 1974 on the dress of the character Ryotte in John Skelton's poem *The Bowge of Courte* and how those costume features related to the wider galaunt tradition.[107] This was followed in 1987 by further appraisal of some of the socioeconomic concerns that Scattergood identified as being linked to the figure's sartorial choices.[108] Scattergood's work posits that the criticisms expressed about the figure's clothing were symptomatic of broader anxieties about social change, citing the agricultural, commercial, and social developments of the fourteenth century that led to a rise in social mobility in the late medieval period. Whilst Scattergood's deductions about the figure's function as an expression of concern at these increased opportunities for social advancement are challenged by this study, his method of reading the galaunt's fashions as the key to understanding the figure's semiotic function is an approach that is reproduced, albeit to a different conclusion.

Scattergood's casting of the galaunt as a social-mobility figure has had a lasting legacy, even on articles that focus on questions of production and dissemination. Julia Boffey's article 'The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print', which was published in 1993, shares Scattergood's conclusion that fashion discourse is related to contemporary socio-political factors.[109] As the article is primarily concerned with the relationships between customers and suppliers in the early English book trade it passes little further comment on the

[106] John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry*, pp. 342–345.

[107] John Scattergood, 'Skelton's "Ryotte": "A Rusty Gallande"', *Notes and Queries*, 21, 3 (March, 1974), pp. 83-85.

[108] John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', pp. 255-272.

[109] Julia Boffey, 'The Treatise of a Galaunt', pp. 175-186.

emblematic role of the figure, but Boffey's observation that the sartorial discourses exercised in the poem also engage with broader concerns about man's propensity to sin is a significant addition to our understanding of the galaunt trope. Wendy Scase extended and adapted this line of enquiry in her 1994 article on the variant forms of *DIMEV* 6831.[110] Scase describes the galaunt as most often taking the form of a villainous stock figure that was used by clerical authors to attack the fashionably dressed. She convincingly argues that the text interacts with official discourses on fashionable attire while simultaneously offering a more individualised reaction to them. Scase highlights the fact that, in some variants of *DIMEV* 6831, the galaunts are ventriloquised to counteract the attacks traditionally made against them by turning the criticism to consider the overindulgences of priests. Boffey and Scase both present the individual examples from the corpus on which their work focuses as having been propagated and adapted by a community of writers and manuscript owners that had a particular interest in the subject.[111] In its exploration of the extent to which the galaunt corpus can be said to amount to a tradition, this study thus continues the lines of enquiry instigated by Boffey and Scase.

Another significant contribution to the question of whether the galaunt's various incarnations can be said to amount to a tradition has been made by Matthew Giancarlo in his 2011 investigation of Idley's appropriation and adaptation of the source material used in crafting his *Instructions to his Son*. This article argues that in his usage of the galaunt 'Idley responds to contemporary literary fashion' and is interacting directly with earlier incarnations of the figure.[112] In his approach to the function of the galaunt, however, Giancarlo again shares Scattergood's reading of the figure as an attack on the socially mobile. Giancarlo argues that Idley 'dresses' his source material for a lay, aristocratic audience and that the galaunt's role therein is to offer a critique of the well-dressed social climber that 'repeats the traditional and characteristically "English" anxieties about social order, estates' identity, and the ability to maintain the proper distinctions of degree when they are muddied by excessive ornament' (p. 439). Giancarlo does recognise that Idley's attitude to fashion is strongly

[110] Wendy Scase, 'Proud Gallants and Popeholy Priests: The Context and Function of a Fifteenth-Century Satirical Poem', *Medium Aevum*, 63 (1994), pp. 275-286.

[111] Julia Boffey, 'The Treatise of a Galaunt', p. 176; Wendy Scase, 'Proud Gallants and Popeholy Priests', p. 284.

[112] Matthew Giancarlo, 'Dressing up a "Galaunt", pp. 429-447 (quote on p. 439).

influenced by questions of masculinity but he does not consider the impact that the figure's role as an emblem of Wayward Youth has on these discourses as explored in the *Instructions to his Son*.[113] Given the fact that this is a text that purports to have been written for the benefit of the author's son, this is a significant oversight.[114]

The galunt's youth first attracts comment in Tony Davenport's 1983 article entitled 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', which offers a detailed introduction to the galaunt's inclusion in late medieval morality plays and Tudor interludes.[115] Davenport perspicaciously interprets the figure as a youthful 'composite of vanity and impiety', one that was used to express alarm at:

> The social and moral failings of the contemporary world in the suspicious eyes of the moralist looking for the traditional English virtues, for sober modesty, plain simplicity, truth without cleverness, honest permanence.[116]

Davenport, like Scattergood before him, recognises the significance of dress to the emblematic function of the figure, arguing that clothing was crucial to successful articulation of the criticisms for which the galaunt acts as vehicle.[117] Davenport not only shares Scattergood's regard for the sartorial features of the galaunt but also his conclusions as to what they convey, presenting the satiric figure as one who apes the manners of the nobility despite lacking the means, and right, to do so.[118] What Davenport adds in his analysis of the dramatic treatments of the galaunt, however, is an important second avenue of interpretation through which the figure can be understood as a personification of sinfulness and human frailty.

Davenport's identification of the galaunt as serving as a stock Vice figure resonates in the work of John Cox, who mentioned the figure in the course of his monograph on late medieval and early modern dramatic representations of Lucifer that was published in 2000.[119]

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[113] See ibid., p. 432.

[114] *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, pp. 81-210 (see p. 81).

[115] Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', pp. 111-128.

[116] Ibid., p. 111; p. 116.

[117] Ibid., p. 121.

[118] Ibid., p. 112.

[119] John D. Cox, *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Cox's analysis of the galaunt is limited to the figure's association, often unnamed, with the devil in five pre-Reformation plays: the N-Town *Passion Play I*; *The Castle of Perseverance*; *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene*; *Nature*; and *A Morality of Wisdom*.[120] He identifies the cause of this pairing as being the widespread association of *luxuria*, which he argues is the primary sin embodied by the galaunt, with the devil's patron sin of pride. The relationship between the iconography of the galaunt and that of more explicitly didactic topoi, such as the Seven Deadly Sins, parables and *memento mori* warnings, is an avenue of research that deserves further attention and as such is a question that forms a basis for discussion in the next two chapters of this study.

The galaunt's role in drama again received attention in a paper on *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene* by Theresa Coletti that was included in the 2004 volume of *English Literary History*.[121] Coletti's analysis of the figure draws heavily on Davenport's work, sharing his, and thus also Cox's, interest in the figure's role as a visual representation of transgressive appetites. Coletti also shares Scattergood's appraisal of the galaunt as a social-mobility figure, concluding that its emblematic function in *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene* is to raise 'questions of social identity rather than sexual sin'.[122] This adherence to Scattergood's pronouncement on the function of the figure is continued by Dunlop in her aforementioned 2007 monograph, in which she concludes that the figure represents those who 'deliberately make a false claim to a noble identity'.[123] Whilst Dunlop's conclusions about the galaunt mirror those of the previous studies, her work breaks new ground in its exploration of the galaunt's role in instruction manuals, which is an area that had previously been mostly neglected. Dunlop argues that in these manuals, the 'young man is encouraged actively to construct a masculinity for himself through the management of his gestures'.[124] The present study, particularly the fourth chapter, seeks to build upon Dunlop's engagement with the role of masculinity discourse in the corpus and its significance to the figure's function.[125]

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[120] Ibid., pp. 61-84.

[121] Theresa Coletti, '"Curtesy Doth It Yow Lere": The Sociology of Transgression in *The Digby Mary Magdalene*', *English Literary History*, 71, 1 (Spring 2004), pp. 1–28.

[122] Ibid., p. 2.

[123] Fiona S. Dunlop, *Late Medieval Interlude*, p. 59.

[124] Ibid., p. 40.

[125] This aspect of the study forms the basis of: Emily J. Rozier, '"Twoo or thre shappes might not suffise": Manipulated Masculinity in the Galaunt Tradition', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 11 (2015), pp. 119-138.

The most recent study of the galaunt can be found in the final chapter of Denny-Brown's 2012 monograph *Fashioning Change: The Trope of Clothing in High- and Late medieval England*.[126] For Denny-Brown the galaunt's core function is to offer 'a parody of English mutability in dress'; *varietas vestium* incarnate.[127] Her work shares, and greatly extends, Scattergood's reading of galaunt literature as belonging to the 'wicked age' topos but she does not limit her analysis to questions of social standing. Instead, Denny-Brown states at the outset of the chapter that she is 'most interested in examining the literary galaunt's potential as a fulcrum for late medieval English responses to aesthetic changes in their culture and to the related notion of worldly transience more broadly'.[128] The chapter goes on to explore the various prophecies cast in relation to the figure in the satiric verses, engaging with Scase's interpretation of the galaunt as a 'singer of satire'.[129] Denny-Brown's linkage of the galaunt with broader concerns about worldly transience offers a useful springboard from which to consider the role that age has in such concerns about instability and change, which is an aspect that has not yet been considered.

The previous research on the galaunt has explored some important aspects of the figure's application but there remain a number of questions that are left unresolved. As no one has undertaken an extended study of the galaunt the level of continuity apparent across the corpus has not been ascertained, and the full satiric function of the figure and its role in late medieval social discourse thus remains unclear. To rectify this deficiency, this study explores an unprecedented range of sources and includes examples that have never previously been discussed in relation to the figure. Most significant of the previously unconsidered material is perhaps the mid-sixteenth-century polemical ballad *Little John Nobody*, which has attracted only incidental scholarly interest from critics when considering oral culture and Catholic anonymity at the time of the Reformation.[130] The galaunt's role in the text and the

[126] Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change*, pp. 148–178.

[127] Ibid., p. 15.

[128] Ibid., 149.

[129] Scase p. 277.

[130] Charles W. Previt-Orton, *Political Satire in English Poetry* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1910), p. 45; John King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, NJ; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 217; William A. Sessions, 'Literature and the Court', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. by David Loewenstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 229-256 (*Little John Nobody* discussed on p. 243); Clare Asquith,

ramifications of the figure's inclusion therein has never previously been considered. Even Daniel Woolf's *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730*, which does recognise that the ballad harkens back to the literary culture of pre-Reformation England, makes no mention of the galaunt tradition.[131] As a result of this oversight the ramifications of the figure's inclusion in the ballad have not been considered and many of the subtler discourses of the piece have been missed.

In its choice of timeframe this study aims to support recent efforts, as championed by James Simpson, to dismantle the assumed barrier between the 'medieval' and the 'early modern'.[132] To suggest that the Reformation broke not only with Rome but also with the 'medieval past' is clearly erroneous, especially when discussing artistic traditions such as the galaunt. As the later examples amalgamated into the corpus by this study show, the galaunt did not cease to be used as a satirical figure on the accession of a Protestant monarch, nor did many of the issues for which it acted as vehicle over the previous century cease to be of concern after the supposed cultural caesura of the Reformation. Indeed, as John Watkins has eruditely observed: 'we need recognize Protestantism as among other things a continuation and intensification of cultural developments apparent in English life since the mid-fourteenth century'.[133] Whilst two of the aforementioned studies that mention the galaunt examine a purposely broad and boundary-jumping timeframe, Cox's monograph looks at drama in the period 1350-1642 and Williams's work traces the influence of Anglo-French relations on

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Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2005), pp. 3-19; Ethan H. Shagan, *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 59-61; Nick Groom, *'The Purest English': Ballads and the English Literary Dialect* (Texas, TX: Texas Technical University Press, 2006), p.179-202; and Andy Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 118.

[131] Daniel R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 63.

[132] James Simpson's works touching on the subject of periodisation include: *The Oxford English Literary History, Volume 2, 1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. by Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[133] John Watkins, 'The Allegorical Theatre: Moralities, Interludes, and Protestant Drama', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 787-788.

literature from Chaucer to Shakespeare, the examples from the corpus examined in each are restricted to fifteenth-century compositions.[134]

The negative impact of periodisation on approaches to the galaunt is perfectly presented in David Turner's *Fashioning Adultery*, in which he makes the misguided assertion that 'in its traditional usage "gallantry" comprised an amalgam of chivalrous values, including military valour and bravery, loyalty and service, and courteous attention to the female sex manifested through the conventions of honourable courtship and platonic love'.[135] This doctoral study aims to eradicate such ignorance of the medieval foundations of the early modern representation of the caddish galaunt by bringing the two traditions together to form one, cohesive corpus. The most pressing motive for doing so is the need to consider further, and to re-evaluate, who the targets of galaunt satire were. Youth has not been accorded prominence in discussions of the figure and so this study is the first to recognise age as key to the galaunt's satiric and didactic function. This is distinctive because it moves away from conventional readings of the galaunt in relation to social mobility and repositions the figure as a more complex conflation of various didactic traditions and cultural concerns pertaining to youth. Even the scholars that have recognised the figure's role as an emblem of youth, to whit Davenport and Dunlop, have not used age as the crux of their readings. In contrast, this study argues that its function as Wayward Youth is core to the identity of the figure, with questions of morality and masculinity providing the key meanings and associations that inform the discourses for which it acts as vehicle. This chapter will therefore end by reconsidering the evidence that has hitherto been used to interpret the galaunt as emblematic of socio-economic change, through the lens of inter-generational discourse so as to reappraise the social group that is satirised through the figure.

The galaunt's demographic reconsidered: social aspiration as precocious hubris

It is true that socio-economic concerns consistently inform the discourse surrounding the galaunt. From the first extant English references at the end of the fourteenth century, the figure's name is coupled with the image of an empty purse through the phrase: 'Galauntes,

[134] John D. Cox, *The Devil and the Sacred*; Deanne Williams, *The French Fetish*.

[135] David Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex, and Civility in England, 1660-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 38.

purs penyles'.[136] This succinct pairing of *purs* and *penyles* is shared by a number of the mid- to late-fifteenth century poems, being also common to *DIMEV* 5428, *DIMEV* 3084 and *DIMEV* 3237.[137] By the end of the fifteenth century, the galaunt is associated with pecuniary adversity so closely that his very name is itself coupled with 'penyles' in both variants of *DIMEV* 3765.[138] The empty purse also continues to be an essential accessory for the galaunt to the end of the fifteenth century, featuring in both *DIMEV* 1488 and *The Bowge of Courte*.[139] The galaunt corpus is thus built on a foundation of repeatedly representing the figure as one who is beset by poverty.

How exactly the interest in socio-economic concerns that is startlingly apparent across the corpus affects the satirical message of the figure is, however, an area that is open to debate. The galaunt's poverty has traditionally led to interpretation of the figure as a *parvenu* and thus the discourse surrounding him as an expression of concern at the increased opportunities for social advancement that the writers of such satire perceived to have become available. Such concerns are common to a number of late medieval satiric traditions, particularly, as Scattergood has previously argued, those that engage in sartorial discourse, the authors of which he concluded: 'widely felt that contemporary fashions were a mark of unwarranted social aspiration when they were worn by the lower classes, and ultimately destructive of those niceties of social distinction which social theories defined'.[140]

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have long been viewed by historians as a period characterised by significant social changes that resulted in ever-increasing levels of social mobility.[141] Many scholars have identified the ravages of plague and famine that marred the

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[136] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 117.

[137] *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, Vol. II, pp. 449-455, l. 104; *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 142; *Reliquiae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English Literature and the English Language*, ed. by Thomas Wright and James O. Halliwell, 2 vols (London: William Pickering, 1841-1843), Vol. 1, pp. 73-75, l. 53.

[138] A-Text: *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, pp. 252-253, l. 8; B-Text: *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 149-150, l. 6.

[139] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, ll. 33-34; *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions: An Anthology*, ed. by Julia Boffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 232-265, ll. 263-264.

[140] John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry*, p. 345.

[141] A great deal of scholarship has been undertaken on the manifestation of social change in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries, more recent examples of which include (listed chronologically): Peter R. Coss,

fourteenth century as leading to a rise in wages and increased freedom of movement for the labourers who survived.[142] This societal shift was accompanied by the emergence of a stratified peerage, which included a new 'gentry class', and an increase in the number and influence of *bourgeoisies*.[143] The impact of this situation on the psyche of the nobility has been summarised by Alan Hunt as follows:

> The feudal nobility underwent a major transformation of their economic circumstances. They more or less rapidly became a rentier class and became separated from any immediate involvement in productive activity and thus shifted their mode of existence to one orientated towards a changed preoccupation with consumption for its own sake […] This fundamental shift occurred at much the same time as the merchant class was expanding during the commercial revolution of the late Middle Ages.[144]

'The Formation of the English Gentry', *Past and Present*, 147 (May, 1995), pp. 38-64; Jim Bolton, '"The World Upside Down": Plague as an Agent of Economic and Social Change', in *The Black Death in England*, ed. by Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 1996, reprint 2003) pp. 17-78; *The Problem of Labour in the Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by James Bothwell, Peter J. P. Goldberg and William M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000); John Watts, 'The Pressure of the Public on Later Medieval Politics', in *The Fifteenth Century IV*, ed. by Linda Clark and Christine Carpenter (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), pp. 159-180; John Langdon and James Masschaele, 'Commercial Activity and Population Growth in Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 190 (February, 2006), pp. 35-82; and Benedict Gummer, *The Scourging Angel: The Black Death in the British Isles* (London: Bodley Head, 2009). For a discussion of the impact of the social upheavals caused by the Peasants' Revolt on the literature of the period see: David Aers, 'Vox Populi and the Literature of 1381', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 432-453.

[142] Benedict Gummer, *The Scourging Angel*, pp. 405-412; Rodney H. Hilton, *Studies in Economic History: The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England* (London: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 32-33; Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Economic Change 1086-1348*; Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Problem of Labour in the Context of the English Government, *c.* 1350-1450', in *The Problem of Labour*, ed. by James Bothwell, Peter J. P. Goldberg and William M. Ormrod, pp. 85-100 (see p. 85).

[143] John G. Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and The Law* (London: Routledge, 1989); Nigel Harte, 'State Control of Dress', pp.132-165; p.139.

[144] Alan Hunt, *Governance of The Consuming Passions*, pp.156-157.

The established elites had therefore suffered something of an identity crisis by the start of the period of study. Their stranglehold on power declined in line with the erosion of their previously exclusive enjoyment of wealth and its concordant comforts. Threatened by the successes of the *nouveau riche* the nobility sought to reinforce, and thereby solidify and enshrine, their position as a separate social group ensconced at the summit of the social order through the creation of what Michael Bush has colourfully described as 'a corporate ethos which firmly distinguished noble from commoner'.[145]

The important role that clothing played in the establishment and maintenance of rank in the medieval world is well recognised. Scholars such as Arjun Appadurai, Negley Harte, Alan Hunt, Frederique Lachaud, John Scattergood and Claire Sponsler have described the late medieval period as one in which an individual's appearance, to whit their dress, was meant to act as an immediate and reliable indication of their social station that operated as a sartorial social-barometer.[146] As Sponsler has eruditely observed, in such a society fashionable and expensive clothing 'could actively produce status, not just passively reflect it'.[147] It is unsurprising therefore that the governing classes sought to protect their interests and privileged position through the regulation of dress.

The Acts of Apparel enacted over the period in question reveal that the legislators were well aware of the power of fashionable garb to enhance the wearer's status. They all, barring 38 Edward III (1364), which merely repeals previous edicts, regulate dress along clear class divisions, allowing the highest members of society to enjoy considerably more sartorial freedom than the lower orders.[148] Further than this, the structure of the Acts also suggests that the legislators were aware that many of the *arrivistes* were financially able to purchase luxury

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[145] Michael L. Bush, *Rich Noble, Poor Noble* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 105. See also: Thomas Tolley, 'Visual Culture', in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (Manchester; New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 167-182 (particularly p. 180).

[146] Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.25; Nigel Harte, 'State Control of Dress', p.139; Alan Hunt, *Governance of The Consuming Passions*, p. 156; Frédérique Lachaud, 'Dress and Social Status in England before the Sumptuary Laws', pp. 105-124 (see p. 122); John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', pp. 263-264; Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, pp. 5-6.

[147] Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, p.13.

[148] 7/8 Henry IV (1406), 8 Henry V (1420) and 4 Edward IV (1464-1465) also do not make class distinctions but they are not detailed acts, rather very short additions to legislation enacted previously.

goods and that they were often actually better placed, in terms of wealth, to do so than were their noble counterparts. In 37 Edward III for example, merchants needed to be five times wealthier than gentlemen to be given leave to wear the same quality and value of clothing.[149] At the start of the fifteenth century a blanket ban on the wearing of finery by anyone below the rank of baron was enforced in 4 Henry IV (1402), thereby ensuring that luxury attire remained the preserve of the upper classes regardless of the fortunes amassed by the *nouveau riche*.[150] Indeed, throughout the period in question the most prestigious materials, such as foreign cloth, fine furs and precious metals, were entirely restricted to members of the royal family, the nobility and the upper clergy. Given the fact that the *arrivistes* were perceived to be well financed, the association of the galaunt with poverty makes the social-mobility reading problematic.

Questions of social mobility are only one aspect of late medieval sartorial discourse as concerns about the economic damage caused by excessive expenditure on opulent dress also form the basis of much of the criticism, and these do not focus on social aspiration but rather on the profligate tendencies of the elite.[151] If this approach to sartorial discourse is the one being taken in the galaunt corpus then the satirists' subject shifts from the socially aspirant to the conspicuous consumer and the message becomes a plea for fiscal restraint. Whilst the economic standing of the figure does inform its meaning, in a significant portion of the corpus the focus of this discourse is on the galaunt's impoverished state as caused by his irresponsibly profligate choices. One cannot ignore the fact that the galaunt is consistently accused of overstepping hierarchical bounds, but the following study of the socio-economic discourses exercised in the corpus will argue that these boundaries are more frequently defined by age than they are by rank. The concerns for which the figure acts as vehicle are thus tightly bound to his status as Wayward Youth.

Admittedly there are examples that clearly associate the figure with the socially aspirant but these need not be taken as counterevidence for the prominence of youth discourse in the corpus. The most striking example of this duality can found in a text that has not

[149] *The Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. I, pp. 380-382.

[150] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 401.

[151] John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry*, p. 311; Emily J. Rozier, 'Fashion', in *The Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Albrecht Classen, 3 vols (Berlin; Boston, MA; München: DeGruyter, 2015), Vol I, pp. 415-430.

previously been recognised as belonging to the corpus: Lydgate's *Fall of Princes.*[152] Composed in the first half of the fifteenth century, this 36,365-line poem is an account of the falls from grace suffered by powerful men throughout history. One of the admonitory tales contained therein concerns the appointment of Alexander Ballas as the King of Syria. It recounts how Ptolemy, Attalus and Ariarthes 'took a galaunt born of louh lynage [...] and affermede [...] how he was sone and iust heir in substaunce to Epiphanes, and next [...] in Surrye to be crownid kyng'.[153] Through their political machinations the trio of kingmakers set a commoner upon the throne in the hopes, Lydgate explains, that he would be a better ruler than his tyrannical predecessor Demetrius.[154] Unfortunately for Ptolemy, Attalus and Ariarthes:

> Whan he was crownid kyng of al Surrye,
> To fals extorsioun & hatful cruelte
> This Alisaundre his wittis dede applie,
> To robbyng, pillage and eek tirannye.
>
> (ll. 2468-2471)

The reason for this change of character is given as being that 'he hadde forget his staat of poverte, / Knew nat hymsilff, of fals ambicioun' (ll. 2474-2475). Inter-class 'presumpcioun' (l. 2504) is thus portrayed by Lydgate as being politically and socially dangerous.

The fact that Ballas is described as a 'galaunt born of louh lynage' does not necessarily dictate, however, that the two conditions are co-dependent or that Lydgate associated galauntness with social aspiration.[155] Instead, the two descriptors could have been chosen on account of the fact that they carry different nuances, so as to enrich the audience's understanding of the character. Employing the label of *galaunt* allows Lydgate to confer efficiently all of the character traits associated with the figure, particularly his insalubrious qualities and immaturity, on to Ballas. Indeed, these are traits that are later given as being key

[152] Nigel Mortimer, *John Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes': Narrative Tragedy in its Literary and Political Contexts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

[153] *Lydgate's Fall of Princes,* ed. by Henry Bergen, Vol. 2, p. 653, ll. 2446-2452.

[154] See ibid., Vol. 2, p. 653, ll. 2425-2445.

[155] Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 653, l. 2446.

aspects of the usurper's nature as he immediately sets about wooing Cleopatra (ll. 2476-2477) and ends up fleeing a battle in a cowardly fashion (l. 2496).[156] Thus, although the galaunt is used in this example to add further colour to the portrayal of a social climber, the association with the figure is used to highlight Ballas's character faults.

Peter Idley's *Instructions to his Son*, which also dates from the mid-fifteenth century, has been previously read as using the galaunt to critique the socially aspirant. Giancarlo has made the case for the figure acting in the piece as a vehicle for Idley's anxieties about the blurring of the social order instigated by the widespread adoption of high fashion.[157] The examples cited by Giancarlo can, however, be reinterpreted in light of the youth discourses established above. The first passage is from the section of Book II on the Seven Deadly Sins, in which Idley complains that 'a man shall not now kenne a knave from a knyght, / ffor al be like in clothyng and array'.[158] As Giancarlo admits, this type of complaint is fairly typical of literature of the period. What is particularly interesting in Idley's treatment, however, is the emphasis that he lays on the corruptive influence that fashion has on the young. As was established in the introduction to this study, *knave* was commonly used in Middle English to refer to a wasteful youth.[159] The fact that it is this sense that is being used here is supported by the advice contained in the next verse but one:

> Eche man to kenne hymsilf and his better.
> A page, a grome, a grome, a yeoman by right,
> As the A. B. C. is made in ordre by lettyr,
> A yoman, a squyer, and a squyer, a knyght,
> And so to the highest and grettest of might;
> And as they be in ordre set of degree,
> Right so shall her clothyng and arraie bee.
>
> (Book II, Section B, ll. 64-70)

[156] Ibid., ll. 2469-2487.

[157] Matthew Giancarlo, 'Dressing up a "Galaunt", pp. 432-441. The text is also discussed by: John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry*, pp. 323-325, p. 337, p. 347; John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', p. 268, p. 266; and Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', p. 114.

[158] *Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, p. 160, ll. 50-51.

[159] *MED* headword *kn* ā*ve* (n): 1a.

The societal gradients that Idley is referring to are concerned more with the stages of knightly training than they are with inter-class dynamics.[160] In each instance it is therefore the young man's age that dictates his status and thus the clothing appropriate to his degree.

The argument that Idley is using the galaunt to explore the sartorial politics of youth is further supported by another of the passages that Giancarlo quotes:

> As it is now the use among galauntis;
> And as I said tofore in disguysyng of clothis,
> Not oonly in men, but also in yong fauntis;
> Comenlie in youthe mysgovernaunce they hauntis,
> And proude sires, a galaunt is as moche for to sey,
> As fro his maister at neede fast renne away.
>
> (Book II, Section B, ll. 169-175)

The galaunt's attire is thus damaging because it is worn by the young and corrupts them. Giancarlo interprets the passage as levelled at wayward apprentices but, given the earlier passage, the galaunts are clearly to be identified as apprentice knights rather than as members of the lower orders. Giancarlo concludes that 'Idley forges a striking social emphasis on class, dress, and gender distinctions' (p. 441) but in his adoption of the galaunt Idley is actually most concerned with the distinctions conferred by age.

The next text that appears to support the established reading of the galaunt as a vehicle for social-mobility discourse on a first perusal is *DIMEV* 3084, which dates from roughly the same period as the previous two examples.[161] Here the author complains that the nation has swapped 'gentylnes for galauntyse' (l. 47), phrasing that would appear to suggest that the two terms were held to be exclusive: one could either be of the nobility, in rank or character, or a

[160] Christopher Gravett, *English Medieval Knight 1300-1400* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002), pp. 16-17; Paul B. Newman, *Growing Up in the Middle Ages* (London: McFarland, 2007), pp. 234-237; Chris Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* (York: York Medieval Press, 2014), pp. 76-77.

[161] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160. The galaunt has been interpreted as a social-mobility figure in the poem by: John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry*, pp. 343–345; John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', p. 268, p. 271; Julia Boffey, 'The Treatise of a Galaunt', p. 186; and Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', p. 115.

galaunt, but not both.[162] This interpretation might be supported further by the author's later accusation that the galaunts are, through their adoption of luxuriant items of clothing, 'faynynge estate of counterfet auctoryte' (l. 74). The attacks on the galaunt's sartorial aspirations are also framed in the poem by wider complaints about social upheaval, with the author complaining that: 'no man holdeth hym contente with his degrees' (l. 199). Further than this, *DIMEV* 3084 also appears to offer evidence that directly contradicts the premise that the galaunt is a spendthrift as it contrarily describes the figure as a miser, clutching a 'parrocked pouche that thou so fast doest brace' (l. 116).

Considered in light of the aforementioned complaints in *DIMEV* 3084 about the galaunts' treasonous indulgence in foreign fashions that deprive native clothiers of a livelihood, the 'parrocked pouche' need not be taken as evidence of a miserly disposition. Instead, it acts as a physical reminder of the galaunt's refusal to enrich the English nation. The contrasting of galauntness and gentility in the poem also does not dictate a social-mobility function for the figure. If one interprets *gentylness* as here carrying the second definition of the term that is offered in the *MED*, which is **'**nobility of character or manners; generosity, kindness, graciousness, etc', then it is good manners and finesse, rather than nobility of birth, that have been swapped for the character traits of the galaunt.[163] This is far more in keeping with the author's later complaint that:

> All people laboure of this newe dysguysynge,
> In forgynge theyr fantasyes to maynteyne pryde.
> He is nowe wysest that can moost of devysynge.[164]

The court is here depicted as a hotbed of galaunt activity in which the noble of nature have been usurped by those who sport the latest fashions. Even the accusation given in this piece that the galaunt is 'faynynge estate of counterfet auctoryte' (l. 74) does not indicate that he is a social climber. Instead, the authority being counterfeited is most likely to be that which is conferred by age or the hard-earned development of physical prowess. The *MED* lists many

[162] *MED* headword *gentilnes(se)* (n): 'Nobility of rank or birth' (1a); 'Nobility of character or manners' (2a); 'People of rank, gentry; also, a person of noble rank' (3).

[163] *MED* headword: ȝ̈ent ī *lnes/se* (n): 2a.

[164] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, ll. 176-178.

more examples in which *estate* is used to indicate a physical condition than those in which it relates to the social hierarchy.[165] Key amongst these are the references to legal majority, such as that which occurs in a mid-fifteenth century will in which the beneficiary is told that he will inherit 'whanne he cometh to mannes estate'.[166] The concern expressed in *DIMEV* 3084 can thus be read as another reference that hinges on, and interacts with, the galaunt's age.

The galaunt's estate continues to attract comment in the *c*.1475 text *DIMEV* 3237, in which the authorial voice advises the reader to:

> Loke what astate that thu stondys yn,
> For poverte ys a prevy payn.
> Thof thu wene that hope to the be gayn,
> Of lordys and ladeys and her plesans
> If thu ber the the hyer for payn,
> Then is gode rule out of remembrans.[167]

It is this example that uses the abstract form of the noun galaunt, which is *galantnesse*, in the antepenultimate verse to summarise and group the behaviours outlined throughout the poem. While the person addressed in this verse is the reader, it is the galaunt's faults that are being alluded to. Those who are aligned with the figure, who share his interests and tastes, are warned to take note of their estate and to not attempt to imitate the reckless expenditure exhibited by the galaunts. Those who are 'mekyl set on galantnesse' (l. 66) are thus presented as being intent on upsetting the social order and as willing, and likely, to bankrupt themselves in the process.

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[165] *MED* headword *est*ā*t* (n).

[166] *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London*, ed. by Frederick. J. Furnivall, EETS 78 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1882; reprint 1964), p. 102, l. 9.

[167] *Reliquiae Antiquae*, ed. by Thomas Wright and James O. Halliwell, Vol. 1, pp. 73-75, ll. 35-40. *DIMEV* 3237 survives whole in: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 36 (SC 14530), fols 2-3; London, BL, MS Harley 5396, fols 290-291; and London, BL, MS Additional 60577, fols 65-66. The first of these is transcribed in: *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, ed. by Carleton Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), pp. 263-266. The second forms the basis of the edition referenced in this thesis (see above). The poem is anonymous.

The ‘astate that thu stondys yn’ (l. 35) need not, however, be read as a reference to social rank as it could instead be, as was the case in the previous example, another allusion to age. This is an approach that is supported by further examination of verse eight:

> A bare berd wyl sone be shave,
> Ther as ys but lyttyl here abut;
> I mene by them that mekyll wold have,
> And bene bothe pore and eke prowde,
> Redy to ryd yn every rowte;
> Hyt ys now but newe aquentaunce,
> They ley to wed bothe panne, lavos, and spoute
> With them gode rule ys not of remembrans.
>
> (ll. 57-64)

It is thus the figure’s youth, as represented by his ‘bare berd’ (l. 57), which bars him from wielding the authority that he attempts to imitate through his sartorial display. The galaunt’s poverty is thus expressive not of class-related concerns but of a youthful lack of restraint.

Facial hair can also play a key role in understanding the galaunt’s application in the late-fifteenth-century *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene*. In this example the galaunt is cast as a rogue by the name of Curiosity who attempts to corrupt the heroine at a tavern. As was discussed above, Coletti has interpreted the inclusion of a galaunt in the piece as an expression of:

> Anxieties about the signs of status difference that motivated the promulgation of sumptuary laws and other late medieval homiletic and didactic discourses that sought to regulate clothing precisely because of its capacity to counterfeit social identity and to produce, rather than simply reflect, social status.[168]

[168] Theresa Coletti, ‘“Curtesy Doth It Yow Lere”, p. 9.

This reading is complicated, however, by the fact that Curiosity declares that 'I woll, or euen, be shavyn for to seme ȝyng!'.[169] Curiosity is thus forging his youth and so by extension he is actually a counterfeit galaunt. This helps to explain his over-exuberant desire to declare himself 'A frysch new galaunt' (l. 491) on his entry. As the overview of the youth terminology used in the corpus that was given in the introduction to this study showed, *fresh* was a common appellative for youth that was repeatedly used to describe the galaunt. As such, this play directly engages with the figure's depiction in the verse sources.

The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene engages with another linguistic trope of the galaunt corpus in that Curiosity also enters calling 'Hof, hof, hof!', which Davenport has identified as being the galaunt's catchphrase in late medieval drama.[170] The phrase is used, for example, as a marker of Courtly Abusion's galauntness in *Magnyfycence*, in which the character enters singing 'Huffa, huffa'.[171] The galaunt is also presented as crying *Huff!* in several of the verse examples from the corpus, including in the first incarnation in *DIMEV* 4853.[172] The exclamation actually serves as the refrain in *DIMEV* 1488 and survives as a feature into the sixteenth century in *Against Garnesche*, in which John Skelton calls for the target of his satire to: 'Huf, a galante, Garnesche, loke on your comly cors!'.[173] This shared

[169] *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and E Museo 160*, ed. by Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy and Louis B. Hall Jr., EETS OS 283 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 24-95, l. 503. *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 2151. The mystery play survives in: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 133 (SC 1734), fols 94-145. Other editions of the play include: *Ancient Mysteries from the Digby Manuscripts*, ed. by Thomas Sharp (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1835), pp. 62-164; and *The Digby Mysteries*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1882).

[170] Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', p. 113.

[171] Ibid., pp. 122-123. John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* dates from 1516 and is preserved in *STC* 22607 (J. Rastell, 1533). Editions include*: Magnyfycence: A Moral Play*, ed. by Robert L. Ramsay, EETS ES 98 (London: Trübner, 1908); and *Four Morality Plays*, ed. by Peter Happé (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).

[172] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 181.

[173] *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. by John Scattergood, pp. 121-134, II, l. 16. Skelton wrote four poems entitled *Against Garnesche*, of which the one referenced here is the second. The poems survive in London, BL, MS Harley 367, fol. 101 and were first published in: *The Poetical Works of John Skelton*, ed. by Alexander Dyce. Scattergood, whose edition of the text is the one cited here, dates the text to 1514. This is also the date that was put forward by Helen Stearns in: 'John Skelton and Christopher Garnesche', *Modern Language Notes*, 43, 8 (December, 1928), pp. 518-523. Stearns's evidence for dating the text to 1514 concerns the life of the target of these poems, Christopher Garnesche. If Garnesche penned replies, as the series of poems by Skelton in retaliation suggest that he did, then these have not survived.

phrasing supports the hypothesis that the galaunt corpus forms an intra-referencing body of work that served as a late medieval discursive tradition. The expression was probably originally a falconer's cry, which is an association that serves as a further reminder of the figure's primary role as a youth figure as the sport was used in the period to symbolise this stage of the lifecycle.[174]

The questions of disguise and deception that accrue around the galaunt in *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene* continue to be a matter of comment in the final years of the fifteenth century. *The Bowge of Courte* is another text in which the galaunt's ramshackle appearance has traditionally been understood to mark him out as a symbol of social upheaval.[175] Ryotte, the galaunt figure in the piece, is introduced as being 'dysgysed', wearing a 'cote [...] checked with patches rede and blewe; Of Kyrkeby Kendall […] His elbowe bare, he ware his gere so nye'.[176] As Kendal was notorious for producing poor-quality cloth, the suggestion is that Ryotte can ill afford to sport the costly array that fashion demands and has to rely instead on imitation material that he then wears ragged.[177] Given the inordinate cost of the fashionable garments associated with the figure it is unsurprising that the galaunts do not have the means to replace their items of finery when they have worn out, particularly if their purses were emptied by purchasing them in the first place. Indeed, archaeological evidence shows that items of clothing were regularly recycled and refashioned, one assumes in an attempt to extend the lifespan of expensive fabrics and to gain the most return from the hefty outlay involved in acquiring a new wardrobe. The surviving evidence confirms that this thrifty practise was exercised by the nobility and the commons alike during the late medieval

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[174] Daffydd Evans, 'The Nobility of Knight and Falcon', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III: Papers from the fourth Strawberry Hill Conference 1988*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 79-99 (see p. 92); John Cummings, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), p. 233; Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', p. 114.

[175] John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', p. 269; and Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', pp. 117-118.

[176] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions*, ed. by Julia Boffey, pp. 232-265, l. 351, ll. 358-361.

[177] James Davis, *Medieval Market Morality: Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 218. For an account of the textile trade in Kendal see: Julian Munby, *Medieval Kendal: The First Borough Charter and its Connexions* (Titus Wilson: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1985), pp. 100-103.

period.[178] As such, the galaunt's continued use of worn garments is an accurate reflection of contemporary clothing culture and his need to do so is a predicament that is entirely independent of social position.

The image of the impoverished dandy is also played with in the roughly contemporaneous *DIMEV* 1488, in which the galaunt is mocked for his patched hose and the fact that although he has a costly 'stomager þe byforne', his 'schyrtte by-hynd ys all to-torne'.[179] The galaunt is thus framed in both texts as one who seeks to present a facade of affluence by disguising himself in fashionable attire, when in reality his fortune lies in tatters. In each instance, however, the reasons for the galaunt's impoverishment are clearly laid out and are fundamental to the moral message of the poem. The figure's penchants for gambling, whoring, drinking and finery are described in detail and this profligate lifestyle is clearly the cause of his poverty. The warning for which the galaunt acts as vehicle thus has nothing to do with social mobility but rather with warning the young about the cost, both physical and spiritual, of engaging with the profligate court culture typified by the figure.

The only literary example to associate the galaunt exclusively with social aspiration is William Caxton's English version of Aesop's fables, which was published in 1484. In the fifteenth of Aesop's tales, the title of which is 'The proud Iay and the Peacocke', the figure is referenced in a treatise on the dangers of social aspiration. In this story a Jay, envious of the beautiful plumage of the Peacock, steals its feathers and tries to pass as one of the peacocks. This does not work and when he is seen by the peacocks they rip off his new plumage. On returning to his own kind:

> Whanne his felawes sawe hym, they sayd to hym "what gallaunt come hyther, where ben thy fayre fethers, whiche thow haddest but late a gone? Hast thow no shame ne vergoyne to come in oure companye?" And thenne alle the byrdes came upon hym, and smote & lete hym, syenge thus to hym "yf thow

[178] Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, p. 9; Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, clothing and identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 11.

[179] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, ll. 7-10.

> haddest be content of thyn owne vestymentes, thow haddest not come to this vylony.[180]

The Jay's commandeering of the Peacock's feathers clearly acts as a metaphor for class presumption and there is no obvious allusion to the Jay's age or whether this is of significance to the moral message of the piece. As such, despite using the galaunt to engage with sartorial discourse, Caxton's translation of Aesop departs from the established tropes at play in the corpus in a significant manner.

There is no easy solution to the conundrum of why Caxton's application of the term is so at odds with the rest of the corpus. The explanation cannot simply be made on the basis of date as there are later examples, as explored below, which continue to place the galaunt in the milieu of the court. A solution perhaps lies in the aforementioned blurring of class boundaries occasioned by the rise of the lesser gentry.[181] Such fluctuations in the makeup of the elite allow the galaunt to be simultaneously of the court and new to it; a threat to traditional hierarchies and yet a symbol of the follies of high culture. This certainly helps to explain the figure's inclusion in the tale of 'The proud Iay and the Peacocke', as the proud Jay could be one of the new entrants into the elite. His inability to return to his own kind at the end of the tale is in keeping with such an explanation. It should also be stressed that the prominence of youth discourse in the corpus does not dictate that an individual author could not choose to use the figure to discuss questions of social identity. This study has, however, established that this was not a common application.

Concerns about the galaunt's sartorial misrepresentation are also articulated in *DIMEV* 3765, which was also composed at the end of the fifteenth century.[182] In the 'b' version of this

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[180] Aesop, *Here begynneth the book of the subtyl historyes and fables of Esope whiche were translated out of Frensshe in to Englysshe by wylham Caxton at westmynstre in the yere of oure Lorde M. CCCC. xxxiij*, trans. by William Caxton, EEBO (London: William Caxton, 1484), p. 50.

[181] Peter R. Coss, 'The Formation of the English Gentry', pp. 38-64.

[182] The 'a' version of *DIMEV* 3765 is the final item in Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 237 and was added thereto by a late-fifteenth-century hand. The hand used in Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh 2 6, which contains the 'b' version of the text, is sixteenth-century. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the 'b' version post-dates the 'a' version as other copies may have been lost. On the basis of the manuscript evidence the poem has been placed at the end of the fifteenth century in this thesis. The 'a' version was entitled 'On the Times' by Wright in his edition of the text: *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, pp. 252-

text the figure is listed amongst the 'many fals slawnders of riches' that the author perceives to be populating the court.[183] Similar misgivings are also articulated in the 'a' version, in which English society is described as composed of 'many gentilmen and fewe pages'.[184] This phrasing suggests that for the author society lacked those who were prepared to fulfil their apposite role, the majority of the populace preferring instead to project a 'grete countenanse' despite their 'smalle wages' (l. 11). Whilst these complaints do engage with questions of social presumption, it is necessary to reconsider the form taken by the insolence described. The galaunts, in their eagerness to be accepted as gentlemen, with the emphasis here on *men*, rather than accepting their place as pages, a role warranted by their age, are guilty not of class presumption but of precociousness.

The importance placed upon steady progression through set formative stages, each of which was marked by the fulfilment of roles deemed to be suitable for the given phase of the life cycle, in the correct formation of male identity in the late medieval period has already been well established by scholars working in the field of Masculinity Studies. Ruth Karras's *From Boys to Men: Formation of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, for example, has argued that young men were inducted into adulthood through a process of institutionalised socialisation carried out in the professional setting most appropriate to their class.[185] The key role of proper employment in the formation of male identity is a theme that is also explored in Isabel Davis's *Writing Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages*, in which she investigates the relationship between medieval attitudes to masculinity and the responsibility placed upon men to make a positive contribution to society through fruitful and fitting occupation.[186] The galaunt, in his refusal to fulfil the role that his stage in life dictates he ought, and his adoption instead of the sartorial displays and markers of prestige reserved for adulthood, is therefore guilty of social presumption in terms of his subversion of these attempts at institutionalised

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253. It has more recently appeared in: *The Oxford Book of Medieval English Verse*, ed. by Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 450. This thesis references Wright's edition. The 'b' version is included in: *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 149-150, in which it is entitled 'Now Is England Perished'. The author is not known.

[183] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 149-150, l. 13.

[184] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, pp. 252-253, l. 12.

[185] Ruth M. Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formation of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

[186] Isabel Davis, *Writing Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

socialisation. Masculinity Studies thus offers a useful theoretical framework for understanding the figure.

The Ship of Fools is another example that engages with age-related concerns more than with issues of social mobility in its treatment of the sartorial excesses committed by the galaunt. Whilst Barclay's complaint that 'bytwen mayster and man I fynde no dyfference' at first may appear to suggest that fashionable clothing was thought to have blurred class divisions, when one considers the grievance in light of the discourses about the galaunt's sartorial precociousness that have heretofore been unearthed as fundamental to the presentation of the figure, then a different interpretation presents itself.[187] Indeed, Barclay directly makes the connection between sartorial presumption and youthful misguidance by later despairing of the negative impact that the general finery of the court circle has had on: 'the Courters careles that on theyr mayster wayte' who 'seinge hym his Vesture in suche fourme abuse / Assayeth suche Fassion for them to counterfayte' (p. 37). Whilst Barclay's text does express a general sense of alarm at the sartorial extravagances of the court, the galaunt is used to criticise 'yonge Jentylmen descended of worthy Auncetry' (p. 36) for overreaching their sartorial bounds in their attempts to emulate the fashions and finery sported by those they serve.

The fact that these young men are in service should also not be taken as evidence of a humble background, as domestic service of this sort could be undertaken by the sons of the nobility without having a negative impact on their status.[188] Upper-class youths were just as likely, if not more so, to be waiting on the masters of the court circle as were their working-class counterparts. As Rosemary Horrox's research on the subject has revealed:

> The service relationship could be found at all levels of society […] but the servant on the top table will be a landowner; his harassed counterpart further down the hall will be of humble status, reliant on his job in the royal household to earn a living.[189]

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[187] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, Vol. I, p. 37.

[188] Francis R. Du Boulay, *An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Nelson, 1970), p. 117.

[189] Rosemary Horrox, 'Service', in *Fifteenth Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 61-78 (quote on p. 63).

Barclay's complaint is thus essentially a reiteration of those found in the previous examples, particularly *Instructions to his Son* and *DIMEV* 3765, in that impertinent pages and young gentlemen-in-waiting are again the target of the criticisms made through the galaunt.

Concerns about the presumption of youth continue to inform the depiction of the galaunt in the mid-sixteenth century in the aforementioned Catholic polemic *Little John Nobody*. The ballad, which is framed by a dialogue between an authorial 'I' and a Catholic sympathiser speaking under the pseudonym of John Nobody, is an indictment of the Protestant Reformation. From the outset the text aligns those who support the Reformation with the galaunt figure, stoutly declaring that it is the 'gay Gallants, that will construe the Gospel' who are responsible for the many ills that John Nobody identifies as poisoning contemporary society.[190] The authority of these galaunt-reformers to engage with matters of religion is one of the primary concerns explored in the ballad, with John Nobody complaining that although 'to discusse Divinity they mought adread / More meet it were for them to milk kye at a fleyke' (ll. 13-14). In his monograph *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, Ethan Shagan interprets this line as mocking members of the peasantry for thinking themselves capable of interpreting the scriptures, but this interpretations fails to take into account the significance of the application of the galaunt appellative.[191] In the next verse the authorial voice hazards a defence for these would-be theologians by arguing that 'It is meet for every man on this matter [religious doctrine] to talk, / And the glorious Gospel ghostly to have in mind'.[192] This position is swiftly rebutted by John Nobody's declaration that 'It is sooth sayd that Sect but much unseemly scalk, / As Boys Babble in Books; that in Scripture are blind' (ll. 19-20). John Nobody's criticism is thus grounded in the fact that the galaunts are ignorant youths who lack the knowledge and interpretative tools necessary to understand successfully matters of religion.[193]

The audaciousness of the young people involved in the Reformation was a common theme for complaint. One text, which Strype entitled 'A Rhime fastned upon a Pulpit in king Edwards reigne', even uses the same language as *Little John Nobody* in making its objections

[190] Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Broadsides, Vol. 1, pp.19-21, l. 11.

[191] Ethan H. Shagan *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 60

[192] Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Broadsides, Vol. 1, pp.19-21, ll. 17-18

[193] For a discussion of the expectation that the young refrain from discussing matters of religion see: Andy Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England*, p. 119.

when accusing the young of using the pulpit to 'Brabble and ly at their wyl'.[194] Susan Brigden's work on the experience of the people of London during the Reformation has shown that the young were indeed active participants in matters of religion at this time and were in fact often the 'most vocal among Mother Mass's opponents'.[195] Such fervour would certainly account for the hostility expressed towards the young by Catholic sympathisers like the author of *Little John Nobody*. There are, of course, also broader political factors at play in the dialogue on religious authority that is contained in the ballad.[196] The negative character traits of the galaunt persist 'for all the preaching of Paul' (l. 43), in other words for all the supposed increase in access to religious doctrine that was to be a result of the Reformation.[197] Indeed, as Alison Shell has previously argued, the proliferation of vernacular devotional material is itself accused by John Nobody of aiding the fertility of ignorance that the reformers had been so keen to dilute.[198] John Nobody's stance thus constitutes a direct attack on the Protestant regime and its failure to educate the populace, particularly its younger members.

The author of the ballad repeatedly references established literary traditions. John Nobody describes the reformers as 'of Caine's kind' (l. 23), which is a jibe that echoes earlier anti-Lollard discourses that likened the Lollards to Cain, as Lauren Lepow has convincingly argued to be the case in the Towneley Cain and Abel play.[199] The aforementioned reference to

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[194] John Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer, sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: wherein the history of the church, and the reformation of it, during the primacy of the said archbishop, are greatly illustrated, and many singular matters relating thereunto,* University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus: Wing S6024 (London: John Strype, 1694), p. 137.

[195] Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 441.

[196] The politics of anticlericalism at the time of the Henrician Reformation has been discussed by: Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 131-161. Shagan discusses popular attitudes to the Edwardian Reformation on pp. 270-304.

[197] The debate spurred by the Protestant Reformation about the appropriateness of lay access to religious texts and the impact of unsupervised engagement with scripture on spiritual development has been discussed by: Tom Betteridge, *Literature and Politics in the English Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 14-24; and Nicole R. Rice, *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 47-80.

[198] Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.1.

[199] Lauren Lepow, *Enacting the Sacrament: Counter-Lollardy in the Towneley Cycle* (Rutherford, NJ; London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Associated University Presses, 1990).

babbling also harkens back to earlier criticisms of Lollardy. The fifteenth-century *DIMEV* 3145, which is commonly known as *Against Lollards*, for example, comments that:

> Hit is unkyndly for a kni3t,
> That shuld a kynges castel kepe,
> To bable the Bibel day and ni3t
> In restyng tyme, when he shuld slepe.[200]

As the English Protestants were keen to align themselves with the Lollards, hailing Wycliffe as the forefather of the Reformation, the allusions to Lollardy in *Little John Nobody* help to malign further the entire Reformation project.[201] As such, the galaunt is being wielded by an author who draws on a number of past discourses to augment the attack on contemporary religious politics. The author's decision to name the reformers galaunts is thus a conscious engagement with what was by this stage an extremely well-established defamatory youth figure. The term carries with it the criticisms and negative traits that had accrued around the figure and heaps them on to the young supporters of the Reformation. The Reformation is thus another arena in which age plays a significant role in the socio-political discourse surrounding the galaunt.

The consistency with which youth was associated with certain behaviours, taken together with the significance of engagement with extreme fashions to the identity of the figure, makes interpreting the galaunt as evidence of a late medieval youth culture somewhat tempting. One must be careful to remember, however, that the figure is a literary construct wielded by a different demographic to the one that it represents. We cannot use this evidence to engage with medieval youth itself, as the voice is external to that group and so cannot be relied upon as a witness. Instead, the galaunt offers a window on attitudes to youth in the late medieval period, the consistency of which could perhaps suggest that the types of behaviours and interests satirised through the figure were typical of the young at the time of composition. In this regard, the study engages with Barbara Hanawalt's observation that the consistency with which moralists despaired of particular behaviours when considering youth could offer

[200] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. 2, p. 244.

[201] Donald D. Smeeton, *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, Vol. 6 (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1986).

an indication of the realities of youth experience in the late medieval period.[202] This is an approach also taken by Rachel Moss in her recent monograph *Fatherhood and its Representations in Middle English Texts*, in which she suggests that the parity between the different Ages of Man schemata is indicative of 'a widespread understanding of what constituted typical adolescent behaviours'.[203] This raises further issues for this study, however, as the foregoing analysis has found that the discourses at play in the galaunt corpus are to a great extent actually dictated by these pre-established notions of youth. One cannot, therefore, be sure of the balance between polemic and reality in the choice of behaviours associated with the figure. The following chapters, particularly the fourth, will address this problem by comparing the galaunt's recurring features to evidence of contemporary material culture and the pursuits of young men. The study thus builds on the work already undertaken by Paul Griffiths on early modern concepts of youth, particularly his consideration of the important role that a partiality for leisure activities serves in treatments of young men.[204]

Conclusion

The analysis of earlier attitudes to youth as expressed in the Ages of Man schema and literature that engages with the life cycle has shown that by the time that the first extant galaunt text was composed, writers had been engaging with negative youth stereotypes for hundreds of years. The types of behaviours and concerns expressed in these pre-existing discourses on youth offer a template for understanding the application of similar attributes to the late medieval galaunt. The key aspects of youth that are common to these early treatises and the discourses surrounding the late medieval figure closely match the meanings attached to the prospective root words for the Middle English *galaunt*. As such, questions of youth, masculinity and morality are inherent to the figure. In this regard the study engages with, and contributes to, a broad range of interdisciplinary fields. The next chapter will continue this conversation through analysis of the figure's role as an emblem of Youth and the manner in which this function interacts with contemporary didactic traditions that explore similar

[202] Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 128.

[203] Rachel E. Moss, *Fatherhood and its Representations in Middle English Texts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), p. 44.

[204] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 121-122.

themes. The behaviours that the current chapter has found to typify youth in early discourse will continue to be engaged with in chapter three, which will show that the same moral features inform the late medieval figure. The research undertaken above has also highlighted the contribution that close analysis of the galaunt corpus can make to the field of Masculinity Studies. This is an area to which the study will make further contribution in chapter four.

The foregoing investigation of the cultural antecedents of the late medieval figure has made some significant contributions to our knowledge of the galaunt. The etymological survey uncovered a previously unknown candidate for the foundation of the Middle English application of the term *galaunt* in the revelling followers of Bacchus described in Classical Latin texts as *gallantis*. Aside from the obvious linguistic similarities, strong concordances were also found between Manilius's account of this group and the galaunt's key features. The study concludes that these Classical descriptions of galauntesque behaviours and character traits in relation to a named group make *gallantis* the most credible candidate for the root of the Middle English usage of *galaunt*. Further than this, the chapter has shown that the late medieval figure consistently interacts with earlier youth stereotypes and that the galaunt is presented in the same terms as other emblematic treatments of Youth.

These earlier treatments of Youth can be used to inform a re-evaluation of whom the figure represents that progresses our understanding from the heretofore dominant interpretation of the galaunt as primarily used to exercise concerns about social mobility. Admittedly, the foregoing exploration has found a few examples in which the figure was undeniably used to lambast the socially aspirant, but those in which it acts as a vehicle for concerns about the profligate tendencies of the elite have been found to dominate. There is nothing to dictate that the figure could not be used to different ends by each author and as such these two dichotomous functions could have co-existed. As Tony Davenport observed in his study of the figure, whilst 'there is a large body of material which establishes the figure as a type, the figure was variously used and could be handled with originality by individual writers'.[205] The features that remain constant throughout the corpus, which are the figure's penchant for fashionable garb, his impoverished state, his insalubrious nature and lack of fruitful contribution to society, create in the galaunt an easily recognised *persona non grata* that could then be adapted to fulfil different socio-political ends. The galaunt's consistent use in the criticism of the excessive materiality of court culture is therefore not reliant on the

[205] Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', pp. 111-128 (quote on p.118).

figure lampooning only one social type within this milieu. The particular strata of the court circle being alluded to in any one incarnation of the galaunt, whether the *arrivistes* or the established nobility, instead changed depending on the political agenda of the author. This study has, however, shown that the questions of status that are explored through the galaunt are closely bound up with the figure's youth and that it is as an emblem of Wayward Youth that the figure primarily serves. This is a second important contribution to our understanding of the galaunt as it constitutes a radical reappraisal of the figure's semiotic function.

The final research aim of this chapter was to establish whether the late medieval corpus of texts that engage with the galaunt can be said to form a tradition. The earlier concepts on which the corpus has been found to draw belong to a well-established tradition of youth discourse and so the findings of this chapter confirm that the galaunt should be read as part of an ages-old discussion about the nature of youth. The foregoing study has also presented evidence for the late medieval galaunt corpus constituting a coherent body of literature that creates in the figure an instantly recognisable and readable personification of sartorial extravagance and vice that was famous enough to be made use of in a broad range of genres, artistic mediums and cultural fora. The close analysis of the material has uncovered a high level of shared phrasing in a number of the texts, which suggests that the writers of galaunt literature were aware of at least some of the earlier descriptions of the galaunt when they came to compose their own. The material amassed in this chapter has revealed the galaunt to have been an established literary trope, the later expressions of which built upon the former in a shared understanding and application of the figure's iconography. This is a tradition that is cemented by consistent engagement with established attitudes to youth. This is not to say that the subject was not treated with flexibility by authors; as the following chapters will show the figure was applied to explore a broad range of socio-political concerns. What the contextual factors established in this chapter prove, however, is that age should constitute a primary analytical tool when deciphering the discourses for which the galaunt acts as vehicle.

‘BEHOLD THAYME WELL, CONSYDERE AND SEE’: THE GALAUNT AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF WAYWARD YOUTH

Introduction

This chapter will examine the galaunt’s characterisation in relation to its role as an emblematic representation of Youth that is used as a didactic tool in late medieval visual art. It begins by exploring pictorial representations of Youth in Ages of Man schemata. The analysis of these treatments will establish what the key identification markers for Youth are and relate these to the representation of the galaunt in the corpus. Having established the iconography of Youth in the period, the chapter will turn to explore the application of these visual markers and their supplementation with the galaunt’s key attributes in the image of Death and the Galaunt that was housed in the Hungerford Chapel at Salisbury Cathedral in Wiltshire. The image can be identified as belonging to the galaunt corpus due to the fact that it was accompanied by two passages of text in which the figure was referred to by name. It is from this example that the quote that heads this chapter has been taken.[1] As both text and image were lost when the chapel became a victim of the cathedral renovations of the late-eighteenth century, the study will draw on the testimony of the two eighteenth-century antiquarians that recorded the contents: Richard Gough and Richard Hoare.[2] As both of their accounts of the text and the impressions of the images that accompany them report the same features, one can assume with a fair degree of certainty that they are fair reflections of the chapel’s contents. The moral messages that are carried by the figure’s sartorial features in this image will be elucidated through recourse to the criticisms expressed about the same items in the written corpus. The chapter will locate these discourses in the wider *memento mori* iconographical traditions that inform the moralizing environment of the chapel. These findings will be used to identify further visual examples that could be said to use the galaunt to engage with the same didactic themes. The moralising literature that engages with these attributes of the galaunt will also be explored in order to offer a full picture of the discursive fields in which the galaunt was deployed as an emblem of Wayward Youth.

The visual material examined in this chapter has received very little previous attention. The version of Death and the Galaunt that was housed in The Hungerford Chapel

[1] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain: Applied to Illustrate the History of Families, Manners, Habits and Arts, at the Different Periods from the Norman Conquest to the Seventeenth Century* (London: printed for the author, sold by T. Payne and Son, 1786), p. 187.

[2] Ibid.; Richard Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire* (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1843).

has, somewhat ironically considering that it no longer exists, received the most interest. The Hungerford example has been mentioned by Julia Boffey, Teresa Colletti and Tony Davenport as part of their respective studies of an aspect of the galaunt corpus, but there has not yet been any extended analysis of how the sartorial politics of the image relate to the wider literature.[3] The question of how the figure's role of Wayward Youth as established in literature impacts on its visual treatment remains to be explored. Of significance to this study is Peter Sherlock's analysis of the concordances between the Hungerford painting and visual treatments of the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead.[4] The current chapter builds on Sherlock's work by also incorporating consideration of the wider galaunt corpus into the analysis of the concerns conflated in the Legend.[5]

A more significant volume of scholarship has been undertaken on the subject of what purpose such church murals served. Recent thought has moved firmly away from the *Biblia pauperum* approach that was in vogue until the 1980s.[6] As the majority of wall paintings are on non-biblical themes, the idea that they were used as a visual glossary for the scriptures never really had any credence. The images do, however, serve a didactic purpose in that they offer, what are often quite grizzly, warnings about the immanency of death and judgment, and the fiery torments that await the sinner. Paul Binski's influential work on the subject of church art ascribes the didactic function of wall paintings to the need to equip the laity with the theological tools that would enable them to identify the sins of which they were guilty.[7] This is an opinion that is shared by Roger Rosewell, who argues that the non-biblical images are designed to offer contrasting images of good and evil; sin and remedy.[8] Kathleen Kamerick has also convincingly argued that church images play complex roles in the

[3] Julia Boffey, 'The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print', *The Library*, 15, 3 (1993), pp. 175-186 (p. 176); Theresa Coletti, '"Curtesy Doth It Yow Lere": The Sociology of Transgression in the Digby "Mary Magdalene"', *English Literary History*, 71, 1 (Spring, 2004), pp. 1-28 (note on p. 25); Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', in *Aspects of Early English Drama*, ed. by Paula Neuss (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 111-128 (pp. 118-119).

[4] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), pp. 78-80.

[5] Ibid., p, 79.

[6] John Edwards, 'Trotton's "Abbreviated" Doom', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 123 (1985), pp. 115-125; p. 85.

[7] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), p.37.

[8] Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), p. 85.

negotiation between the teachings of the Church and lay myths.[9] This sense of negotiation offers a useful means of analysis for understanding the galaunt's function in visual art.

In its investigation of the relationship between the written and visual material that engages with the galaunt, the chapter continues the lines of enquiry instigated in Mary D. Anderson's study of the interplay between drama and church imagery in the period, in which she analyses the crossovers between the two media and makes the case for drama and church art working together to serve the same didactic purpose of educating the laity in questions of morality and due reverence for the sacred. Anderson briefly discusses Hungerford and the candidate for a Death and the Galaunt image that can be seen at the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Newark-on-Trent, but she does not relate these images back to the corpus of literary examples in which the figure features.[10] The second image of death conversing with a young man that this study will nominate for inclusion in the corpus has not yet been the subject of published work. This is due to the fact that the image, which is of a cadaver escorting a young man from the Church of Saint Cadoc in Llancarfan, only began to be excavated from beneath the layers of lime wash and modern paint in 2008.[11] As such, the chapter makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the diverse applications of the late medieval galaunt figure in visual discourses on youth.

Emblematic treatments of Youth in Ages of Man schemata from the period

The previous chapter established that the galaunt is a late medieval instance of a much older tradition of representing youth as a lascivious and unstable phase of the life cycle. The manner in which Youth is presented in images that represent the Ages of Man also informs the treatment of the galaunt in visual media. This is not to say that late medieval approaches to youth were static – as Michel Pastoureau notes the subject could be treated with creativity by each artist – but the galaunt corpus does repeatedly engage with the themes pre-defined by earlier discourses on the life cycle.[12] These schemata remained a popular means of

[9] Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350-1500* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002), p. 5.

[10] Mary D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches* (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), pp. 78-79.

[11] A booklet on the image is available from the church bookstore: Madeleine Grey, 'Dancing with Death: An Awful Warning in a Welsh Church' (Lottery Fund, 2013).

[12] Michel Pastoureau, 'Emblems of Youth: Young People in Medieval Imagery', in *A History of Young People in the West*, ed. by Levi Giovanni and Jean-Claude Scmitt and trans. by Camille Naish (Cambridge, MA; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 222-239.

understanding the life cycle over the medieval period and they appear in a variety of settings.[13] There is, for example, a stained glass ladder of the Ages dating to *c.*1180 at Canterbury Cathedral.[14] The subject also features in secular spaces such as Longthorpe Tower in Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, at which an early-fourteenth-century example can still be discerned above a door in the north wall of the master chamber.[15] Sadly the upper half of Youth in this example has been lost but his confident stance, with his hands placed on his hips and his feet apart, and long-toed shoes are still evident. One of the best-preserved and clearest visual examples is to be found in the De Lisle Psalter, in which a wheel-diagram that divides the life cycle into ten stages is beautifully illustrated in a miniature that dates from roughly the same period as the examples at Longthorpe.[16]

These visual treatments of the Ages of Man schema use stereotyping physical markers to aid the identification of the different life phases. For youth these include long, slender limbs and a clear face but perhaps the most significant of the visual makers for male youth is long hair. The importance of long hair in the iconography of male youth is evidenced by the key position that the feature holds in the De Lisle Psalter's Wheel of Life. Figure 2, overleaf, is a detail of the medallion from this schema that represents *adolescentia,* in which a young man stares into a handheld mirror while combing his long locks. The image, if it were in the correct position, was designed to be interpreted with the assistance of the inscription '*vita decens seculi, speculo probatur*'.[17] This is a phrase that emphasises the key youth attributes of vanity and an over concern with aesthetics as established in the discourses on the life cycle that were explored in the first chapter. This attitude is shared by many of the authors and artists who contribute to the galaunt corpus. The visual association of vanity and long hair is also made, for example, in the woodcut that accompanies the section dealing with fashion in Alexander Barclay's *The Ship of Fools*, in which a long-haired youth admires his reflection in a mirror held by a fool. The woodcut is included on page 82 as Figure 3.

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[13] Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2007), p. 9.

[14] John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 90-92; Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 72-74.

[15] John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man,* pp. 43-46; Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man,* pp. 137-138.

[16] London, BL, MS Arundel 83 II, fol. 126*v*. John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man,* pp 45-7; Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man,* pp. 146-148.

[17] Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man,* pp. 144-151.



Figure 2: Detail from miniature of the Wheel of the Ten Ages of Man, London, BL, MS Arundel 83 II, fol. 126*v*. The English manuscript dates from *c*.1310 and the image is attributed to the Madonna Master.[18]

[18] Image and information taken from: *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, BL, online ed. <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm> [last accessed 15 April 2016].



Figure 3: Woodcut from Alexander Barclay's *The Ship of Fools, STC* 3545 (London: Richard Pynson, 1509).

Long hair was used to signify youth in popular literature and its accompanying illustrations throughout the period of study. Examples of such depictions that date to the period that marks the height of the galaunt tradition include the copies of the *Roman de la Rose* that were produced in the fifteenth century. These manuscripts contain many images of young men in which their long hair acts as a primary identifying factor.[19] The association of youth with long hair is also made in William Caxton's *c*.1484 version of *The Canterbury Tales*, in which the Squire is depicted as crowned by long and abundant ringlets.[20] This feature is dictated by the description of the Squire that is given in Chaucer's text, in the 'General Prologue' to which he is described as having 'lokkes crulle as they were leyd in presse'.[21] The curling locks are essential to the description of the youthful freshness of the Squire and so the account offers a further example of youth being commonly associated with, and identified by, long hair in the late medieval period. The feature is similarly used in the galaunt corpus, in which the figure is associated with long hair in three late-fifteenth-century texts: *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*; *DIMEV* 6831; and *DIMEV* 1488.[22] In each example the feature is used to symbolise and emphasise the inanity of youth and its pursuits.[23]

The extent to which these artistic representations reflect the realities of youth hairstyles in the period is open to debate. Shoulder-length hairstyles do also feature in manuscript illuminations that purport to depict the courts of Edward IV and Henry VII: the two monarchs contemporaneous to the galaunt texts in which the figure's hair attracts comment.[24] Although these images depict real people, it should be noted that they are still

[19] For example: Miniature of scene in the Garden of Pleasure, London, BL, MS Harley 4425, fol. 12*v*.

[20] Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, 2053. The woodcut appears twice: once above the Squire's description in the 'General Prologue' and again before his 'Tale'. Date and information taken from: *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge: Census of printed books*, ed. by Charles S. Knighton (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), p. 210.

[21] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 421, l. 81.

[22] *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge: A 15th-Century Account of a Visit to the Otherworld Edited from BL MS Additional 34,193 with an Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis (Nijmegen: Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, Katholieke Universitet Nijmegen, 1991), l. 155; *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1861), Vol. 2, p. 251, l. 7; *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 138–139, ll. 25–26.

[23] These references to long hair are analysed in chapter four.

[24] See examples in: Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England: a history of dress from the earliest period until the close of the eighteenth century; to which is appended an illustrated glossary of terms for all articles of use*

works of art and as such might not offer a true reflection of court styles, but rather an idealised, or indeed satirised, version of reality. The verisimilitude of the choice can be partly ratified by the fact that there are funerary monuments from the period in which the subject is memorialised with long hair, such as the brass commemorating Richard Wingfield from the Church of Saint Mary in Letheringham, Suffolk.[25] Although one should not necessarily assume that memorials were designed with the intention of documenting reality any more than were manuscript miniatures, the consistency between the different sources does at least show that long hair was commonly and widely associated with young members of the elite, even if this association was solely figurative.[26]

What is most significant about the references to the figure's long hair that occur in the corpus is not the extent to which the styles described reflect reality, but rather the fact that they engage with established literary, artistic and didactic conventions for presenting Youth. The fact that it is long hair that comes under particular attack in the corpus aligns the figure with other representations of young men, such as those found in popular texts like *The Canterbury Tales* and the *Roman de la Rose*. It also draws parallels with the didactic images in which the vanity and pride of Youth is represented by the figure's long hair. The association of the galaunt with long hair is thus a feature that acts as a visual tool through which his audience can immediately identify the demographic that he is designed to criticise; in this instance by keying in to the broader iconographical tradition of associating long hair with the young and aesthetically motivated.

Long hair is also used as an identity marker in English treatments of the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead. The origins of the Legend have been traced by Sophie Oosterwijk to oriental folklore on the transience of youth, but the basis for the English depictions of the tale is most likely the versions of the French *Les Trois Mortes et les Trois Vifs* that first appear in the thirteenth century.[27] The French text was translated into Italian, German and Middle English.[28] The Legend was also extremely popular in visual art and

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or ornament worn about the person (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846), p. 125; Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), Vol. II, pp. 364-367.

[25] Martin Stuchfield, 'Suffolk', *Monumental Brass Society*, 124 (October, 2013), p. 473.

[26] For discussion of the usage of memorial brasses as historical evidence see: *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, ed. by Jerome Bertram (Stroud: Alan Sutton in association with the Monumental Brass Society, 1996).

[27] Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Of Corpses, Constables and Kings: The *Danse Macabre* in Late Medieval and Renaissance Culture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 157 (2004), pp. 61-90 (see p. 62).

[28] Ibid.

features in more than two hundred European murals. There is also evidence to suggest that a great many more examples of the Legend have been lost.[29] The Legend, in both its written and pictorial form, is an account of three young nobles, sometimes expressly depicted as kings, who encounter three corresponding cadavers while out hunting in the forest. The Legend thus acts as another *memento mori* exemplum and visual treatments of the subject use contemporary fashions to emphasise the message of *vanitatis vanitatum*.

There are strong parallels between the Legend and the youth iconography of the galaunt. In the surviving English visual examples of the Legend, the Three Living are typically presented as young nobles sporting luxurious clothing and an air of brash overconfidence. Hawks are included in a remarkably high number of instances, such as can be seen at: Belchamp, Essex; Heydon, Suffolk; Paston, Norfolk; and Raunds, Northamptonshire.[30] The bird also features in the manuscript illuminations of the Legend, such as can be found in the Taymouth Hours and in the De Lisle Psalter; in the latter of which the Legend is immediately preceded by the aforementioned Wheel of Life diagram.[31] Hawking is a trope that helps to confirm that the Living should be interpreted as young and noble as it aligns the Legend with numerous other depictions of aristocratic youth that employ the motif.[32] *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, for example, presents Youth as a knight who holds a hawk on his arm:

> The firste was a ferse freke, fayrere than thies othire,
> A bolde beryn one a blonke bownne for to ryde,
> A hathelle on ane heghe horse with hauke appon hande.[33]

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the galaunt was also associated with the sport of falconry through his catchphrase of *Huff!* In each instance falconry represents not just courtly youth but the profligacy of the aristocracy as the pursuit received negative comment in

[29] Ibid.

[30] Anne Marshall, 'Medieval Wall Painting in the Parish Church' <http://www.paintedchurch.org> [last accessed 12 October 2015].

[31] London, BL, MS Arundel 83, fol. 127*v*.; London, BL, Yates Thompson MS 13, fols 179*v*.-180*r*.

[32] John Cummings, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988).

[33] *Wynnere and Wastoure and The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. by Warren Ginsberg, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), ll. 109-111.

sermon literature from the period. A sermon that was composed in 1387, for example, contains the warning: 'Trowest þu not þanne þat þu ne shalt be disalowid of God þat þu hast dispendid […] of hondes, of hawkes'.[34] As such, the Legend contains many of the moral messages that come to inform the galaunt's application in both visual and written media.

The galaunt in English *memento mori* visual art

Memento mori translates as 'remember that you can die'. The warning finds expression in a variety of media in the medieval period and is a fundamental message of much of the church art produced in England at this time. It is usually associated with macabre art, such as transi-tombs and images of grinning cadavers, but the applications are not limited to these subjects.[35] Inherent to the concept is the need to place the concerns of the soul ahead of the needs of the body and as such it can also be read as informing depiction of the Doom and Weighing of Souls. It is important to note that the galaunt's function is informed by this *memento mori* framework. As Thomas More expounds in *The supplycacyon of soulys*:

> And yt fareth bytwene these two kynd of folk as yt faed bytwene a lewde galand & a pore frere. Whom when the galand saw goynge barefote in a great froste and snowe he asked hym why he dyd take suche payne. And he answered yt yt was very lytell payne yf a man wold remember hell. ye frere quoth yt galant but what & there be none hell than arte thou a great fole. ye mayster quoth the frere but what & there be hell than ys your mayster shyppe a mych more sole.[36]

This excerpt interacts with established notions about the foolhardiness of youth and the inability of the young to look to the future. This concern feeds directly into the galaunt's deployment in visual art, in which he is most frequently cast next to a cadaver or Death.

The figure's function in *memento mori* schemata is therefore best understood as an expression of the Pride of Life; a topos that came to dominate discourses on aristocratic youth

[34] Cambridge, Corpus Christi Library, MS 357, fol. 4*r*. The sermon survives in a total of nine manuscripts, which suggests that it was well circulated.

[35] Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms – food for thought: The appearance and interpretation of the "verminous" cadaver in Britain and Europe', *Church Monuments*, 20 (2005), pp. 39-73.

[36] Thomas More, *The supplycacyon of soulys…*, EEBO (London: W. Rastell, 1529).

in the late medieval period.[37] The Pride of Life figure also features in didactic drama, in which it serves a similar cautionary purpose as the galaunt. This function is best described through recourse to Philippa Tristram's eloquent summary of the subject:

> The figure of the Pride of Life is thus intimately related to that of Youth: it is the dark obverse of a bright coin, the vision of fallen, not of perfectible, nature.[38]

The galaunt operates in the didactic material to be explored here as a negative youth stereotype that becomes conflated with the Pride of Life figure to offer a direct contrast to the positive figure of chivalric youth that was popularised by romance literature. This function is not to be confused with hubris, though this is another sin with which the galaunt is associated, as the Pride of Life topos is particularly concerned with warning the young that their obsession with the material pleasures of earthly existence, and the related belief that this life stretches long before them, is misplaced. The young are presented as being blinded to the transience of life by their robust health and as gambling with their souls; the price of which is the eternal damnation that is the inevitable destination to which their profligate and lascivious lifestyle will lead.[39] The clearest depiction of the Pride of Life in literature is given in the morality play of the same name, in which the King of Life is so occupied with earthly pleasures that he forgets that Death will come for him and so neglects the needs of his soul.[40] The play is informed by the medieval fear of being taken by Death before one has had the opportunity to prepare for judgment and be shriven.[41] As such, the concept of the Pride of Life belongs to the wider *memento mori* tradition that also informs the galaunt's role in visual art, as the chapter will now turn to consider.

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[37] Philippa Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (London: Elek, 1976), p.21.

[38] Ibid., p.34.

[39] Karen Smyth, 'Pestilence and Poetry: John Lydgate's Danse Macabre', in *The Fifteenth Century XII: Society in an Age of Plague*, ed. by Linda Clark and Carole Rawcliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), pp. 39-56 (see p. 53).

[40] *The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays: Together with The Croxton Play of The Sacrament and The Pride of Life*, ed. by Osborne Waterhouse, EETS ES 104 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1909).

[41] Pamela King, 'Morality Plays', in *Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. by Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 258.

Death and the Galaunt at the Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral

In his last will and testament Robert, Lord Hungerford, directed that a chapel was to be built adjoining the Lady Chapel at Salisbury Cathedral for his sepulchre.[42] This request was dutifully fulfilled by his widow Margaret, who oversaw completion of the building on the north side in 1471.[43] Whilst her husband had left detailed instructions for the maintenance of two priests to say prayers for his soul in purgatory, he did not leave Margaret any precise instructions for the furnishing and adornment of the Chapel.[44] As such, the material that has been recorded by Richard Gough and Richard Hoare as having been present at Hungerford was probably included at her behest.[45] The Hungerford sepulchre was originally adorned with a series of paintings that were, by the time the building was demolished in the eighteenth century, already in quite significant stages of decay.[46] Over the door, on the south wall, was a half-length figure, in a doctor's gown, and beneath an inscription indicative of the purpose for which the chapel was erected. On the same wall, east of the door, was the most perfect and, to Gough's eye the most remarkable, of these representations: an image of death conversing with a young man.[47]

The young man is recorded in Gough's account of the image and the engraving that accompanies it, the latter of which is included on the next page as Figure 4, as having been dressed in the highest fashions of the time of composition. The Hungerford youth sports a tightly fitted and barrel-chested jacket that was cut so as to sit above the pubic bone. This was depicted in the mural as being embellished with pleats and slits through which the undershirt could be seen to protrude. The hose were exceedingly tight, showcasing the wearer's muscular legs to their best advantage. Indeed, the figure's entire physique was depicted by the artist as one that was tailored by his clothing to fit the chivalric ideal: broad shouldered, strong limbed and tapered at the waist. His shoes had extremely long toes, which, when coupled with the high and plumed hat, elongated the figure. The young man was also shown as not only wearing a codpiece, but also as drawing attention to this area through the positioning of his dagger.

[42] Richard Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 541.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Michael A. Hicks, 'The Piety of Margaret, Lady Hungerford (d. 1478)', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), pp. 19-38.

[46] Richard Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 542.

[47] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, p. 187.

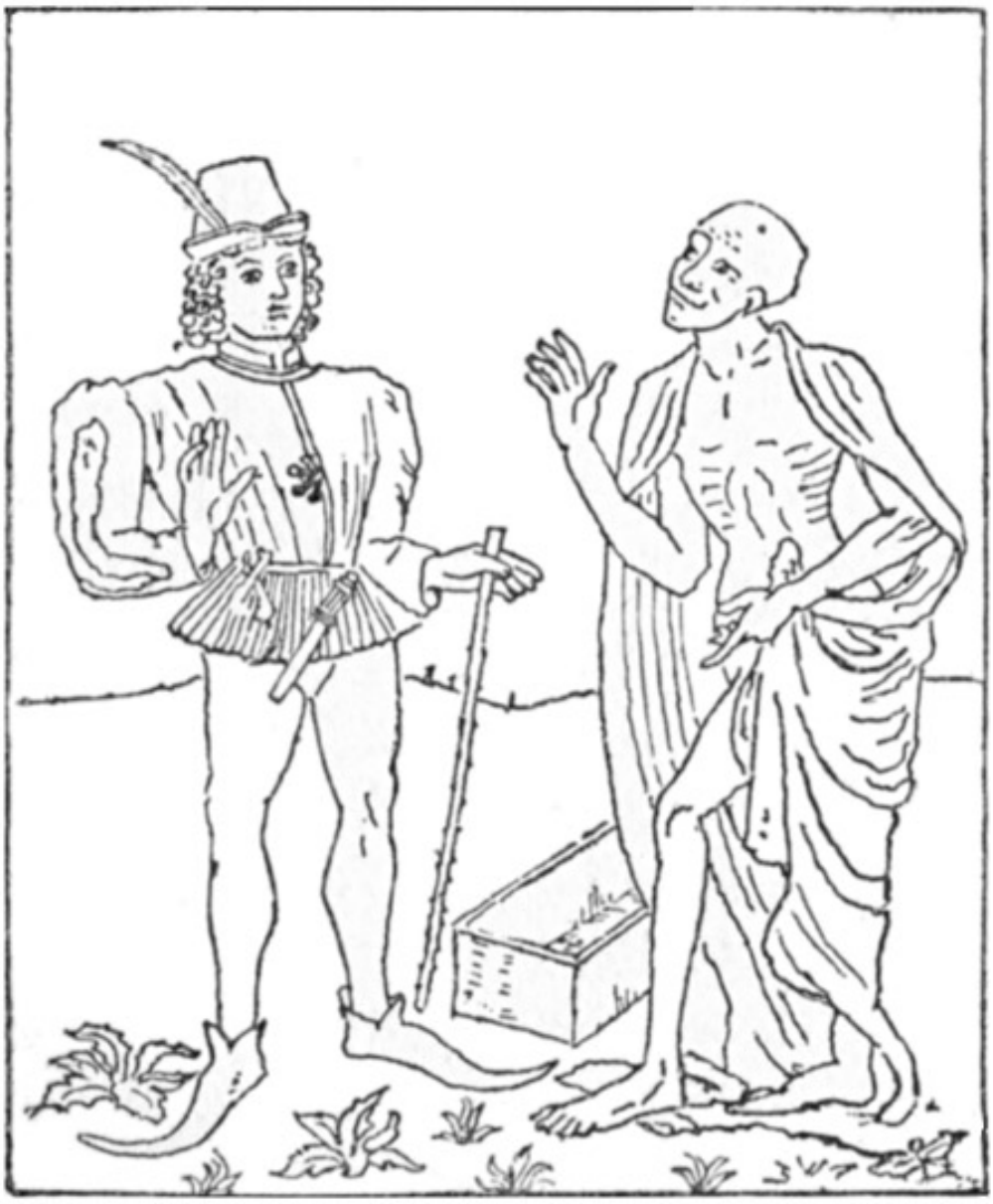


Figure 4: Gough's engraving of Death and the Galaunt as was housed at The Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral. The engraving is included as a plate in: Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain.*

The costume features described by Gough tally with the account of the galaunt's sartorial extravagancies that is given in the corpus. The details of the young man's dress mirror exactly those of the galaunt as described in the poetic accounts of the period. In the description from *DIMEV* 6831 that was given in the introduction to this study as typical of the figure's outfit, the author describes 'prowd galonttes' as sporting 'hyghe cappis witlesse', 'schort gownys thriftlesse', 'longe peked schone' and 'long here' that hangs into their eyes.[48] The fact that these particular styles are common to *DIMEV* 6831 and to the Hungerford image is perhaps to be expected as they were the most fashionable modes of dress at the time of composition. There were, however, other high fashion styles available for comment at the time, including long, voluminous robes that strike a very different silhouette to the tightly waisted and artificially broadened figure associated with the galaunt.[49] This particular style of dress must have been chosen for a reason and the answer to this lies in their close association with Wayward Youth as evidenced by the sartorial discourses exercised in the written corpus.

The embellishments and decorative motifs of the sort worn by the Hungerford galaunt are described in the corpus within a framework of associations that emphasise the galaunt's immorality and align the figure with sin. Peter Idley, for example, describes a galaunt-knight as wearing a cote: 'to-Iagged with poisies on every side, / And bottoned with siluere to the harde throte'.[50] Throughout the period covered by this study buttons were used as another platform for sartorial display and were often made of valuable metals, set with precious stones or enamelled.[51] They were so treasured that they are even listed amongst the jewels in

[48] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, p. 251, ll. 1-5.

[49] Mark Chambers, 'Surcote/surcoat', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Elizabeth Coatsworth and Maria Hayward (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2012), pp. 566-567; Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, pp. 170-229.

[50] *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn (Boston, MA; London: Modern Language Association of America; Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 159-204, ll. 184-185.

[51] Elisabeth Crowfoot, Frances Pritchard and Kay Staniland, *Textiles and Clothing c.1150-c.1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 4 (London: HMSO, 1992), p. 168; Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories 1150-1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 3 (London: HMSO, 1991), pp. 272-280; Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of The Black Prince*, p. 4; Geoff Egan and Maria Hayward, 'Button', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker *et al*., pp. 106-107; Brian Read, *Metal Buttons c.900 BC-c.AD 1700* (Langport: Portcullis Publishing, 2010).

some royal inventories.[52] The fact that the buttons are silver is significant as it draws a parallel between the galaunt-knight and Judas Iscariot, who was paid for betraying Christ with thirty pieces of silver. Given the didactic nature of the text from which this excerpt is taken, and the frequency with which Idley draws on biblical material as the basis for his points, this is an association that was likely to have been made. Even something as seemingly innocuous as a button can thus be read as a sign of the duplicitous and sinful nature of those who are portrayed as wearing them.

The phrase 'to-Iagged' (l. 184) is a reference to dagging; a tailoring practice that involved either cutting the edges of a garment into intricate patterns, or attaching decorative scraps of material to the hem.[53] This labour-intensive technique had been used in court fashions since the mid-fourteenth century and was commonly criticised from the time of its introduction.[54] With reference to the galaunt, it is first mentioned in the mid-fifteenth-century satiric verse *DIMEV* 3084, in which the galaunt's cote is described as being 'shredde all in lystes'.[55] Complaints of this nature survive right to the end of the period examined by this study and are repeated with a striking degree of similarity in the mid-sixteenth-century text *The Iewel of Ioye*, in which the galaunts are criticsed for wearing 'dublets and hoses, which for the moste parte are so minsed cutte, and iagged, that shortlye after they become boeth torne & ragged'.[56]

The practice was, however, already the subject of negative comment long before *DIMEV* 4853 was composed. The *Brut*, for example, contains an account of the 1342 tournament at Dunstable in which the '3ong bachelrye' there attendant are chastised for

[52] Ronald W. Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery: With a catalogue of the collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1992); Tessa Murdoch, *Treasures and Trinkets: Jewellery in London from pre-Roman times to the 1930s* (London: Museum of London, 1991).

[53]Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, pp. 490-491; Gale R. Owen-Crocker, 'Dagging', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker *et al*., p. 167.

[54] John B. Friedman, 'The Iconography of Dagged Clothing and its Reception by Moralist Writers', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 9 (2013), pp. 121-138; Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Costume: The Secular Pilgrims in the General Prologue* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), p. 62; Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the late Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993).

[55] *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt (London: John Russell Smith, 1866), pp. 147-160, l. 186.

[56] Thomas Becon, *The iewel of ioye*, EEBO (London: John Day and W. Seres, 1550). The text dates from *c*.1550. Becon was a Protestant reformer and ordained cleric. The copy of the text that is referenced here is from the British Library.

appearing 'more liche to turmentours & deuels' than men on account of their 'schorte clofis [...] dagged & ket'.[57] The galaunt's clothing is thus being presented to the audience at Hungerford through the lens of a wider iconographical tradition that associated dagging with exile from the godly community and alignment with the non-human.[58] This association of the well dressed with the demonic is capitalised on in the corpus, more than a century after the events described in the *Brut*, in *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, which dates from the same period as the Hungerford painting. In this nightmare vision, the eponymous dreamer is tormented by a company of devils dressed as galaunts, whose fashions are described as emulating 'þe shapus of þer maister, þe develle of helle'.[59] This association of dagging with ungodliness is a connection that remained active within the corpus to the end of the fifteenth century, appearing next in the *Boke of Kervyng and Nortur* in which the author bemoans the proliferation of 'these Cuttid galauntes' and condemns their fashions as 'an ungoodly gise'.[60]

The link between sartorial display and moral disposition is not limited to discussions of dagging, as it is a feature that recurs throughout the corpus and is applied to all of the galaunt's items of clothing. The author of *DIMEV* 6850, for example, explains how Idleness encourages galaunts to: 'Pyke her naylles, wernays take / And al travaylle to forsake'.[61] In

[57] *The Brut, or, the Chronicles of England*, ed. by Friedrich W. D. Brie, EETS OS 131 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), Vol. II, p. 297.

[58] For further examples see: Andrea Denny-Brown, 'Rips and Slits: The Torn Garment and the Medieval Self', in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. by Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 223-237.

[59] *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis, p. 113. *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge* survives in a single manuscript: London, BL, MS Additional 34193. There is one further critical edition of the text: 'The Vision of Edmund Leversedge', ed. by E. Margaret Thompson, *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, 9 (1905), pp. 19-35. The text dates from *c*.1470.

[60] *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, revised ed. (London: Trübner, 1973), pp. 117-199, ll. 305-306. John Russell's *Boke of Kervyng and Nortur*, sometimes referred to as the 'Book of Nurture', is entered in *DIMEV* as number 2556. It survives whole in three manuscripts: London, BL, MS Harley 4011, fols 171-189; London, BL, MS Sloane 2027, fol. 37; and Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 8009 [Mun. A 6 31], fols 337-355. Two editions of the text, both by Frederick J. Furnivall, have been published: the first in 1867 for the Roxburghe Club and the second in 1876 for the Early English Text Society. The latter of these editions was revised and reprinted in 1973 under the new title *Early English Meals and Manners*. It is this later, revised version that is referenced by this study.

[61] *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1973 reprint as one vol.), ll. 11665-11666. *DIMEV* 6850 is John Lydgate's translation of Deguileville's *Pélerinage de la vie humaine*, commonly known as 'The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man'. It survives in four manuscripts: London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A VII, fols 39-106 [fragment]; London, BL, MS Cotton Vitellius C XIII, fols 2-309; London,

this example the physical appearance of the pikes carries numerous connotations. The impractical nature of such footwear causes, and acts as a visual reminder of, the galaunts' indolence, while the claw-like appearance of pikes, as highlighted by the association with 'naylles' and 'wernays' (l. 11665), simultaneously conjures images of demons and serpents that are reminiscent of the hellscapes that were common to church walls throughout the country prior to the Reformation.[62] These intersections between the written corpus and church art offer further proof of the interconnectedness of the figure's employment in the two media. Such loaded descriptions of the galaunt's footwear draw clear parallels between the fashionably dressed and the damned and even go so far as to mark the wearers of such garments as devilish. Indeed, in the aforementioned *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge* the devils that torment Edmund actually wear 'a similitude and shappis of þe facion of my [Edmund's] pykis'.[63] These shoes, which are earlier described as being 'of a foot in length and more' (ll. 155-156), offer a physical manifestation of the sins of those who wear them.

Gough's account of the figure does not make any of these connections and he instead interprets the costume features of the Hungerford galaunt as representative of the figure's amorous associations. He remarks that the young man must be a depiction of:

> The amorous esquire; for he is dressed in the pink of the mode of that age; his smart cap and feather, black collar or cravat, both trimmed with gold, silver cross pendant, rings on his left hand, and above all his slashed sleeves and pantaloons were enough to engage the heart of almost any fair lady of that day, as it marked him at once for a man of fashion and gallantry.[64]

Gough's comments say more about the shift in meaning of the term *gallant* by the eighteenth century than they offer insights into the messages carried by the figure. Gough misses the

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BL, MS Stowe 952, fol. 1; and Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS C i 8 [fragment]. Furnivall produced two editions of the text, the first was co-edited by Katharine B. Locock and published by the Roxburghe Club in 1905, and the second published by EETS in three volumes: *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, 3 vols, EETS ES 77 83 92 (London: Trübner, 1899, 1901, 1904; reprint as one vol., 1973). The 1973 reprint as one volume is the version referenced in this thesis. The text dates from *c*.1430.

[62] *MED* headword *nail* (n): 1c.

[63] *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis, ll. 373-374.

[64] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, p. 188.

significance of the finer details of the portrait, such as the fact that the figure's clothing was shown as coloured by expensive black dye and trimmed with precious metals.[65] Instead of marking the figure as an instance of romantic gallantry, these features serve to inform the moral message of the portrait by highlighting the vanity and profligacy of the outfit, and link these traits to the demonic associations explored in the wider corpus. The meanings that accrue around the sartorial splendour and arrogant stance of the galaunt of the Hungerford Chapel enable the figure's function as an embodiment of the Pride of Life to be quickly identified by the audience.

At Hungerford one has two strands of investigation to explore with regard to the relationship between the image and the wider corpus. Two stanzas of text, which were given in large speech rolls, accompanied the picture. The text records the conversation in which the young man and the cadaver were engaged. Both Gough and Hoare report that the galaunt's speech-scroll contained the following exclamation of woe:

> Alasse, Dethe, alasse, a blesful thyng yo were,
> Yf thow wolldyst spare us in oure lustynesse;
> And cu to wretches þt bethe of hevy chere,
> Whan thay ye clepe to slake there dystresse.
> But owte, alasse, thyne owne sely selfe wyldnesse
> Crewelly werieth them that seyghe, wayle, and wepe
> To close their yen, þt after ye doth clepe.[66]

The galaunt is speaking here not as an individual but in its role as a universal emblem for Wayward Youth. The plural phrasing of his request that Death 'spare us in oure lustynesse' (l. 2) reveals the galaunt's function as an Everyman figure that speaks to youth.[67] The galaunt's usage of the first person plural also draws the reader into being a part of the encounter. This simple detail, taken together with the fact that the galaunt's role as Youth was well established by the mid-fifteenth century, greatly enhances the cautionary effect of the piece.

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[65] Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Caroline Beamish (London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 14-19.

[66] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, p. 187; Richard Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 542.

[67] Mary D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery*, pp. 78-79.

Death's reply to his young companion is recorded as follows:

Grasles galante, in all thy luste and pryde,
Reme'byr that thu onys shalte dye;
Deth shold fro thy body thy sowle devyde;
Thou mayst him not ascape certaynly;
To ye dede bodyes cast downe thyne ye,
Behold thayme well, consydere and see
For such as thay ar, such shalt yow be.[68]

Death's description of the youth that he has accosted contains several features that relate to the wider written corpus. The reference to the galaunt's 'luste and pryde' (l. 1) echoes the attitudes about the lasciviousness of youth that were established in early medico-philosophical writings and found expression in the period through the galaunt. Whilst these are features that were widely applied to youth, and also feature in the treatments of the Seven Deadly Sins that will be explored in the next chapter, the fact that the figure is referred to by name enables the audience of the Hungerford mural to also link this example to the warnings and criticisms given in the corpus as a whole. The moral message of the image is thus informed by multiple didactic sources. Indeed, Death's parting call for the galaunt, and thus the audience, to consider the dead and think about the fact that you are destined to join them is directly borrowed from the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, in which the cadavers part from the living with the same message.[69] The line had already appeared in visual art as the mural of the Legend at Wensley in North Yorkshire records the verbal exchange alongside the image.

The Hungerford galaunt adds further clarity to the nature of the accusations by self-determining as someone whose main trait is 'lustynesse' (l. 2). In addition to the lecherous connotations of the term, *lustynesse* can also mean: 'courtly joy, merriment; happiness, esp. youthful happiness'.[70] As the galaunt is the embodiment of courtly dissipation, the figure acts as a semiotic handbook for the correct interpretation of the relationship between the sartorial extravagances depicted in the image and the negative character traits highlighted in the

[68] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, p. 187; Richard Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 542.

[69] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, p. 79.

[70] *MED* headword lustīnes(se) (n): a.

inscription. The mural at Hungerford does not simply depict a young man being confronted by Death; it portrays a certain type of youth on his encounter with the hereafter, a youth who is so full of worldly concerns that he is completely unprepared for, and even unaware of, his mortality. This was a common *memento mori* theme, particularly in renditions of the *danse macabre*, which was perhaps the most popular and widespread expression of the *memento mori* subject.[71] Whilst the elucidating role that the galaunt plays in the Hungerford example is of significance, the image should be understood as belonging to this much broader didactic framework. The overpowering message of the piece is to remember that 'thu onys shalte dye' (l. 10).[72] This is another trope that features in the written corpus, in which warnings about the advancement of time are frequently given in an attempt to make the youths represented by the galaunt adhere to the moral messages conveyed by the figure. In *DIMEV* 3084 the author warns the galaunts that 'for all thy gloryous goynge age gnaweth fast'.[73] This essentially functions as a Middle English gloss of *memento mori*. The terminology of the *memento mori* tradition thus also informs the didactic function of the literary figure.

Gough recognises the significance of the *danse macabre* to the image of Death and the Galaunt in his account of the painting, which also offers a potted history of the tradition:

> Many conjectures have been formed what it should mean; the common people call it Death and the Cobler, some writers describe it as Death and a Traveller; while some others have thought it meant the extravagant heir of the house of Hungerford; but the coffin in the back ground interspersed with thorns and thistles clearly marks it as a moral tale, or a morality, as it was called in ancient time, and such the inscription over it in old English letter clearly proves. I think it was probably copied from the painting in the cloysters of Old St. Paul's in London, called "The Dance of Death," a sort of spiritual masquerade, performed in churches, originally written in German rhymes, by one Machabree, translated into Latin about 1460, by Peter Desrey, orator, and into French much earlier; and painted on the walls of St Innocent's cloister at Paris, where it seems to have been often performed, and from whence they

[71] Karen Smyth, 'Pestilence and Poetry', pp. 39-56.

[72] For a discussion of the significance of this message to the *danse* and its recitation in other *memento mori* schemata see: Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Food for worms – food for thought', pp. 39-73.

[73] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 68.

were translated into English verse by John Lydgate, monk of Bury, a disciple of Geoffrey Chaucer.[74]

The *danse macabre* is an account of people from all stations and stages of life being called by Death to join him in his "dance", and so depart the earthly realm and be called to eternal judgement. The *danse* is thus an allegory for the unpredictability and universality of death. Oosterwijk reports that the earliest known usage of the term '*danse macabre*' is found in the 1376 poem *Respit de la Mort* by Jehan Le Fèvre,[75] whereas Hellmut Rosenfeld traces the origins of the *danse* to a mid-fourteenth-century Latin text.[76] The *danse* became a widespread motif in the late medieval period and found expression in church art, including murals and stained-glass windows, manuscript illuminations, literature and sculpture.[77] The earliest extant English example is Lydgate's *Dawnce of Makabre*, which dates from *c*.1430.[78] The author himself reports that his work is a translation 'owte of the frensshe' of the 1425 Parisian version at the Cimetière des Innocents, which is the earliest visual example to have survived.[79] Lydgate's text, which survives in fifteen manuscript copies, adds six additional dancers to the French original, but the youth figures of the Squyer and the Amerous Squyre are common to both versions.[80]

The Squyer is the first of Lydgate's courtly youth figures to take part in the dance with Death, in an exchange that focuses on his freshness, fashionable attire and feats of arms:

Death speaketh to the Squyer:
Commeth forth Syr Squyer, right fresh of your araye,
That conne of daunces al the new[e] guise,
Thoghe ye bare armes, fresshe horsed yesterday,
With spere & shielde at your vncouth deuise,

[74] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, p. 187.

[75] Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Of Corpses, Constables and Kings', p. 62.

[76] Hellmut Rosenfeld, *Der Mittelalterliche Totentanz* (Cologne: Bohlau, 1968), p. 120.

[77] For an account of the various deployments of the *danse macabre* see: Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 1-18.

[78] Nigel Mortimer, *John Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes': Narrative Tragedy in its Literary and Political Contexts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), pp. 46-47.

[79] John Lydgate, 'The Daunce of Machabree', in *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen, 4 vols, EETS ES 121-124 (London: Trübner, 1923-1927), vol. 3, pp. 1025-1044, l. 24

[80] Karen Smyth, 'Pestilence and Poetry', p. 40.

And toke on you so many high emprise,
Daunseth with vs; it wyl no better be;
There is no succour in no maner wyse:
For no man may fro Deathes stroke flee.

The Squyer maketh aunswere:
Sithens that Death me holdeth in his lase,
Yet shal I speake oo worde or that I passe:
Adue al myrth, adue now al solace,
Adue my ladies whilom so freshe of face,
Adue beautie, pleasaunce, and al solace!
Of Deathes chaunge euery day is prime,
Thinke on your soules or that Death manace;
For all shal rot, and no man wot what time.[81]

Lydgate's Squyer thus shares many of the key features of the galaunt, including his preoccupation with young women. Indeed, Lydgate's second squire, who joins the dance two-hundred-and-one lines after the end of the first Squyre's speech, is actually named the 'Amerous Squyre':

Death speaketh to the Amerous Squyre:
Ye that be gentle, so fresh & amerous,
Of yeres yong flouring in your grene age,
Lusty [and] fre, of hert eke desirous,
Ful of deuises & chaunge in your courage,
Pleasaunt of port, of loke and of visage:
But al shal turne into ashes dead;
For al beautie is but a faynt ymage,
Which stealeth away or folkes can take hede.

The Squyer maketh aunswer:
Alas , alas, I can nowe no succour

[81] John Lydgate, 'The Daunce of Machabree', ll. 217-232. The bold headings and insertions in brackets are as given in Bergen's edition of the text.

Agaynes Death[e] for myselfe prouide!
A-due of youth the lusty fresh[e] flower,
Adue vainglory of beautie and of pride,
Adue all seruice of the god Cupide,
Adue my Ladies, so fresh so wel beseyn:
For agayn[s] Death nothyng may abyde,
And windes great gon doun with litle rein.

(ll. 433-488)

The Amerous Squyre's first exclamation of 'allas allas I can now no socoure agenys dethe for my selfe provyde' (ll. 441-442) is closely echoed in the Hungerford scene in the galaunt's opening cry of 'Alasse, Dethe, alasse'.[82] Given the concordances between the Hungerford mural and the other *memento mori* depictions explored here, the image of Death and the Galaunt must also be considered in its physical context, and in relation to what Binski has termed 'the sense of order' within the church space, in order to unravel the significance of the galaunt's inclusion therein and its place in the wider shemata to find expression in the chapel.[83]

The Hungerford image of Death and the Galaunt is reported to have been flanked by other illustrations of didactic subjects. Hoare reports that on the wall to the left of the painting there could be found a large figure of Saint Christopher, carrying the infant Christ in his arms, near to which was a depiction of the Salutation.[84] Contemplation of these images was designed to offer the cure for the vices represented by the galaunt. In turn, the moral failings particular to youth that are personified by the galaunt were supplemented for other sections of the audience by a further *danse macabre* image located towards the west end of the south wall. Only traces of this image were still extant when Gough made his survey of the chapel:

> At the West end on the left hand of the door was another painting of a Man and Death, only the first figure remaining, and one imperfect line of a long inscription, ~ ~ ~ ~ f ~ ~ ~ forgete hym yt we ~ ~ This picture is of the same moral kind, though probably of a different character; the two feet of Death

[82] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, p. 187; Richard Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 542.

[83] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death*, p.37.

[84] Richard Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 542.

> were visible, and one of his hands extended towards a man in a different dress from the other, having small shoes of moderate size, a crucifix at his belt, slashed sleeves, pantaloons, one hand on the crucifix, the other lifted up as expostulating; the head and shoulders were not visible it is therefore difficult to ascertain what character is here meant, the verses being also worn out. I should think it represented either a baron or a pilgrim.[85]

As Pamela Graves has eruditely observed, every church is distinctive and has a unique 'field of discourse' in operation within its confines.[86] At Hungerford this discourse is informed by a variety of exempla. The positive models of behaviour are offered by Saint Christopher, who Sherlock notes was a talisman for death, and the holy family.[87] The need to heed these is reinforced by the images of Death coming to people from different stations at all times of life. The particular audience for the galaunt's messages within this wider framework is the young, for whom the figure offers a template of the lifestyles and excesses from which they must turn if they are to be awarded salvation.

Youth escorted by Death at the Church of Saint Cadoc, Llancarfan, Wales

The first of the other two images in which the galaunt can be said to feature, despite there being no accompanying text, is housed in a thirteenth-century church dedicated to Saint Cadoc in the small village of Llancarfan, which is nestled in the Vale of Glamorgan, Wales. The image, which is included on page 102 as Figure 5, was finally rescued from the lime wash of the Reformation in 2011. The entire church has been revealed to be adorned by colourful examples of medieval wall art. On the back wall of the church there is a depiction of the Seven Deadly Sins, and the south wall of the church is dominated by a large image of Saint George and the Dragon, to the bottom left of which can be found the life-size image of a young man being escorted out of the church to the graveyard beyond through a window by a cadaver. The image of the young man, which dates from the fifteenth century, matches closely Gough and Hoare's reports of the image of Death and the Galaunt that was once visible in the Hungerford Chapel. The youth wears a tall hat over long hair, which of course

[85] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, p. 189. The tildes have been reproduced from Gough's transcription of the text, in which they indicate illegible lettering.

[86] Pamela Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief: An Archaeology of the Lay Experience of Religion in Medieval Norfolk and Devon* (Michigan, MI: Archaeopress, 2000), p. 74.

[87] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, p. 79.

serves to mark him out as Youth, and carries a long sword. His padded jacket is broad in the shoulders and girded at the waist. The jacket is short and reveals his slim legs. The poor state of the image, having endured being cocooned in lime wash for so long, means that his shoes are too faded to be able to make them out. This is not so significant a loss of detail, however, as to disable his identification as a galaunt figure, as the other costume features match exactly those that are described in the corpus.

Despite the fact that this version of the Death and the Galaunt artistic tradition is not accompanied by other images on the same subject, the treatment continues to match the *danse macabre* in many key respects. The ingenious method of presentation, in which the galaunt figure is being led around the window casement by the cadaver to his grave, makes the terminal quality of the scene for the young man clear. The galaunt figure looks wistfully back into the church in what is ostensibly a last attempt at reverence but actually serves the purpose of drawing the observer into the image. The cadaver of the image is dressed in a shroud, which is a common treatment.[88] This feature, taken together with the manner in which the cadaver attempts to pull the young galaunt in closer to its putrefying body, acts as a macabre reminder of the figure's traditional role as lover and seducer. It is now the galaunt that is being courted and he is being wooed by Death.

In this respect, the image directly engages with the depiction of the Seven Deadly Sins at the Church of Saint Cadoc. These are included on a separate but simultaneously viewable wall, which enables the two images to reciprocate messages. The full rendition of the Sins is in the process of being uncovered but it looks to be arrayed all of the way round the window in the west wall. The male figure of Lust is already visible and he is also rendered as a fashionably dressed young galaunt, as can be seen on page 103 in Figure 6. The male youth is held in an impassioned embrace with a female counterpart, for which the couple are standing and are flanked by demons. At Llancarfan the devil that is encouraging the couple has hold of the young man's hat in a stance that is reminiscent of the depiction of Pride in London, BL, MS Additional 37049, which is given on page 104 as Figure 7. Even in the depiction of Lust, the significance of the galaunt's fashions to his moral message is thus emphasised.

[88] Julian Luxford, 'The Sparham Corpse Panels: Unique Revelations of Death from Late Fifteenth-Century England', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 90 (2010), pp. 1-42 (see pp. 12-13).



Figure 5: Photograph taken at the Church of Saint Cadoc, Llancarfan, Wales of a wall painting depicting a young man being lead to his grave by a shrouded cadaver. The mural dates from the fifteenth century.



Figure 6: Detail of a couple representing Lust from the depiction of the Seven Deadly Sins at the Church of Saint Cadoc in Llancarfan, Wales. The mural dates from the fifteenth century and is by an unknown artist.



Figure 7: Miniature of Pride, in London, BL, MS Additional 37049, fol. 47*v*. The manuscript was produced at a Carthusian monastery in northern England between 1460 and 1500.[89]

[89] © The British Library Board, Add.37049, fol.47v. Image and information taken from: *Digitised Manuscripts*, BL, online ed. <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/> [last accessed 13 May 2016]. Permission to reproduce the image was kindly granted by the Permissions office at the BL.

The dual aspect of the manner in which the murals are viewed in the church allows for the youth figure being escorted from the building by Death to look back at the congregation as they view the moral message of the Sins. Llancarfan thus constitutes a complex semantic field in which the murals of the galaunt operate in binary with the depictions of Sin. In this regard, the findings of this study contradict Michel Pastoureau's assertion that for a figure to represent Youth it must be situated in relation to pictorial representations of different ages.[90] Whilst it is true that the pictorial versions of the figure are informed by the other images with which they appear, these are depictions of vice rather than of age. The figure gains its meaning from its correlation to these personifications of the Sins. It does not matter that all of these vice figures are young, as is the case in the version of the Sins schema that is housed at St Ethelbert's Church in Hessett, Suffolk. What matters is that the personified Vices offer a means of correctly identifying the moral messages carried by the young galaunt who is being dragged around the door.

Recourse to the written corpus can help to elucidate further the meanings carried by the youth figures at Llancarfan, particularly in regard to their hats. The sartorial reference is in keeping with contemporary fashions as tall hats were popular in the latter half of the fifteenth century.[91] This particular style of headgear attracts condemnation in the mid- to late-fifteenth-century text *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, in which 'hyghe bonettes' are catalogued among the dreamer's, and his fellow galaunts', sartorial vices.[92] These are used in the piece as evidence against him at the judgement of his soul. This particular style of headwear is also referred to in another of the late-fifteenth-century texts, *DIMEV* 6831, in which these accessories are labelled 'hyghe cappis witlesse' (l. 2).[93] The term 'witlesse' not only portrays the item of clothing as ridiculous, but also causes the galaunt to be associated with a diminished mental capacity. This aspersion is reinforced by the fact that the item under scrutiny is worn upon the head and was therefore to be associated with intelligence.[94]

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[90] Michel Pastoureau, 'Emblems of Youth: Young People in Medieval Imagery', pp. 222-239.

[91] Kirstie Buckland, 'Hat', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker *et al*., p. 263; Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, pp. 531-532.

[92] *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis, l. 156 and again at l. 375.

[93] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, p. 251.

[94] Jacques le Goff, 'Head or Heart: Political Uses of the Body Metaphor in the Middle Ages', in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. by Michael Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi, 3 vols (New York, NY: Zone, 1989), Vol. III, pp. 13-26; *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. by Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

The description of the galaunt's headgear that is given in *DIMEV* 206 is similarly tainted, in this instance by the fact that the figure's cap is detailed as being 'a-wry'.[95] In addition to conveying the jaunty manner in which the galaunts wear their hats, this term also intimates deviance and behaviour that is amiss.[96] This is a nuance that was in use at the time of composition and can be found in other late-fifteenth-century texts, including *The Pilgrimage of the Soul* in which a pernicious character is described as 'right foule disfigured with a foule mouth, whi[ch] þat sat a wrye in a ful dishonest wise'.[97] Such vocabulary, through its broader connotations and connections, influences the audience's perception of the clothing associated with the galaunt and those he represents. Indeed, this particular style of headwear is also the fashion associated with Pride in the image from London, BL, MS Additional 37049 that was included above. The significance of the feature to the moral message of these images is highlighted by the fact that it is the hat that the demons that flank the youths are staring at and in each rendition they are even adjusting its position on the head. The same style of hat also features in the illuminations accompanying *The Dawnce of Makabre* in London, BL, MS Additional 37049, on folio 31*v*. of which Death is represented by a grinning cadaver who is naked apart from an extremely high hat that matches the Hungerford galaunt's. As such, the figure's headwear, like his hairstyle, allows the moral messages inherent to the galaunt to be understood and accessed by the reader through the visual parallels that it draws with didactic images. The corpus, in turn, offers a gloss to the sartorial semiotics of the images of Death and the Galaunt, and of the figure's parallels in the Seven Deadly Sins and other visual accounts of the *danse macabre* in which well-dressed youth features.

[95] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 134-137, l. 12. *DIMEV* 206, which was entitled 'Money, Money!' by Robbins, survives in a single manuscript: London, BL, MS Royal 17 B xlvii, fols 160-162. It is the last item in the manuscript. Other editions of the text include: *The Early English Carols*, ed. by Richard L. Greene (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935; reprint 1977), pp. 231-232; and *Middle English Lyrics*, ed. by Maxwell S. Luria and Richard L. Hoffman (New York, NY: Norton, 1974), pp. 116-118. The poem, which is anonymous, has commonly been dated to the end of the fifteenth century.

[96] *OED* headword *awry* (adv.).

[97] *The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle: Translated from the French of Guillaume de Guileville, and printed by William Caxton an. 1483 with illuminations taken from the MS. copy in the British Museum*, ed. by Katherine I. Cust (London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 1859), 4.40.84a.

Death and Youth at the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene, Newark-on-Trent

The second candidate for an unnamed Death and the Galaunt image can still be viewed at the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire. This image is a later production, dating from *c*.1520. It is not a mural, but rather is painted on the stone of a sepulchre. The layout of the monument would suggest that there were some twelve panels in total but this is the only one that survives. The image, which can be seen on the next page as Figure 8, is again of a young male being confronted by a grinning cadaver. The image has survived in remarkable detail and the full luxuriousness of the young man's outfit can be well observed. He wears the fashions that allow him to be clearly identified as a galaunt: a plumed hat, a padded jacket with slit sleeves, tight hose and a metal chain. This image engages with the same theme of the youth's amorous nature as did the version at Llancarfan that was given above. In the Newark image the cadaver, whose mouth is open in speech, proffers the luxuriantly dressed young man a flower in a mock tableau of courtship. The galaunt of this image also appears to be attempting to reach into his purse in, perhaps, a last desperate attempt to evade death by paying the cadaver off. This is an appropriate reaction for the spendthrift but it also, as Anderson has previously suggested, references a common theme of morality drama in which sinners attempt to buy more time in this life.[98]

The raised leg of the cadaver and of the young man echo the *danse macabre* and it seems likely, given the fact that this is painted onto one of twelve panels, that a full *danse* was once visible at Newark.[99] The fact that there are twelve panels also suggests a possible link with the Ages of Man schema that matched the stages of the life cycle to the months of the year. Given the universality of the *danse macabre* this would offer an apt organising principle as it would enable the image to engage with the *memento mori* tradition and the Ages of Man schema simultaneously. As each of these have been found to be integral to the galaunt's field of discourse as it operates in visual media, the Newark image can be inducted into the corpus of material in which the figure acts as a vehicle for youth discourse with a fair sense of certainty.

[98] Mary D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery*, pp. 78-79.

[99] Ibid.



Figure 8: Photograph of a panel painting of a young man being handed a flower by a grinning cadaver. The image can be found at the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene, Newark-on-Trent and dates from the early-sixteenth century.

Tormentor, tempter and irreverent: the galaunt's didactic iconography

The figure's role as a stock vice figure in didactic art is further supplemented by the association of the figure with personifications of vice and the demonic in the written corpus. In *DIMEV* 3084 the poet describes the galaunts as 'Lucyfers progeny' which 'amonge us doth appere'.[100] As this poem is quoted in a sermon given by John Alcock in the 1490s, it offers an intriguing insight into the didactic applications of the galaunt outside of written and visual art.[101] Alcock must have felt that the figure was famous enough for the reference to be widely understood and thus of instructional merit. The galaunt is again associated with Lucifer in a stage direction at the start of scene two of *A Morality of Wisdom*, which states that: 'aftyr þe songe entreth Lucyfer in a dewylls [a]ray, with-owt & with-in as a prowde galonte'.[102] The Devil is to be dressed as a 'prowde galonte' 'with-/owt' because he will later disguise himself as a galaunt, during a costume change that is performed on stage, in an attempt to trick the virtuous characters into sin. Obviously the audience did not have access to this stage direction and the devil does not declare himself to be disguised as a galaunt, though it is likely that the character also entered to the galaunt's catchphrase of *Huff!* as there is another marginal gloss in the manuscript to denote this.[103] Even with the verbal trigger, the references around, rather than in, the play confirm that the term was sufficiently understood so as to enable it to act as a concise stage and costume direction. The key role played by the galaunt in Lucifer's disguise, and to the many layers of moral meaning that this carries as a result of the conflation, suggests that the audience must have been able to identify a galaunt and to interpret what that meant didactically on the basis of appearance alone. Indeed, the figure's infamy is confirmed

[100] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 13.

[101] John Alcock, *Sermo Iohannis Alcok episcopi Eliensis*, EEBO (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496-1497).

[102] *The Macro Plays: A facsimile edition with facing transcriptions*, ed. by David Bevington (New York, NY; Washington, DC: Johnson; Folger Shakespeare Library, 1972). *A Morality of Wisdom* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 2429. The play survives in two manuscripts: Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS 5031 [*olim* Macro 5, *olim* Gurney 170], fols 1-13; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 133 (SC 1734), fols 158-169; though the latter contains only the first 754 lines. The version referenced here is a facsimile of the Washington manuscript. Both manuscript versions form the basis of three scholarly editions of the play: *The Macro Plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, Mankind*, ed. by Mark Eccles, EETS OS 262 (London: Trübner, 1969); *The Digby Mysteries*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1882), pp. 139-166; and Thomas Sharp, *Ancient Mysteries from the Digby Manuscripts* (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1835), pp. 165-200. The play is commonly thought to date from *c.*1475. The author is not known.

[103] Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', p. 121.

by the fact that Mind mentions at a later point in the play that 'galontis now be in most fame' (ll. 600-601).

The galaunt continues to be employed as a dramatic tool for the representation of sinfulness to the end of the period of study. In *Respublica*, which dates from *c*.1553, the characters Insolence, Oppression and Adulation are all described as galaunts in the front matter of the play.[104] The figure thus continues to offer a means of understanding the mannerisms and constitution of vice for those working in the theatre, just as it did in *A Morality of Wisdom*. The galaunt also continues to be aligned with the demonic in literature of this period, with Thomas Becon declaring in 'Dauids Harpe', which was composed in 1542, that:

> The Synagoge of Antechrist huntethe after temporall promocions, worldly honours, fleshly dignities, easy lyuinges, carnall pleasures, galant pastimes, sumptuous fare, gorgious apparell. &c'.[105]

The galaunt's vices are included here in Lucifer's array of weapons in a reference that has clear resonances in the didactic images explored above, particularly the examples in which the galaunt comes to act as a personification of sin such as his casting as Lust at Llancarfan. These close ties between the galaunt and other vice figures allow the galaunt to become an expedient tool for describing what constitutes immorality that is deployed in the visual fora of the church and stage, and serves an elucidating function for both the audience and the artist.

The irreverence of youth

The necessity of the didactic bluntness of the stark warnings about death that the galaunt engages with in visual art is ratified in the written corpus through repeated references to the irreverent nature of the young. The galaunt is accused of impiety from the first text under consideration to the last. In the first extant English text to make reference to the galaunt, *DIMEV* 4853, the author links the figure's long-toed shoes and tight hose to the tendency of young men to stand nonchalantly during times of prayer, an act that the author accuses of disrupting the service:

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[104] *Respublica: An Interlude for Christmas 1553 Attributed to Nicholas Udall*, ed. by Walter W. Greg, EETS 226 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952); Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', p. 121.

[105] Thomas Becon, *Dauids harpe ful of moost delectable armony, newely strynged and set in tune by Theadore Basille*, EEBO (London: Johan Mayler, 1542).

They may nott, I suppose,
curvare genu sine cura: [to bend the knee without care]
When other men kneles
pia Christo vota ferentes, [saying pious vows to Christ]
Thay stondyn at here helys,
se non curvare valentes; [unable themselves to bend their {knees}]
For hurtyng of herre hose
non inclinare laborant.[106] [they take pains not to bend]

A seemingly simple physical attribute is thus used as a medium through which to examine and describe the negative character traits of the galaunt. The galaunt's garments do not merely reflect the sartorial inclinations of the wearer; they are also used to represent the moral laxity of those who sport them, offering a vehicle through which to malign the figure as one who places the concerns of fashion above the observation of his spiritual duties. The author uses the hose, which are described as being so tight that they impair movement, to examine the galaunt's irreverent and proud nature and the figure is described as one who places the concerns of fashion above the observation of his spiritual duties. Through his dress the galaunt is thus neatly described as both sartorially extravagant and sinful, and the two aspects are presented as mutually intrinsic.

Connotations of irreverence and pride continue to be specifically associated with the galaunt's hose in the late-fifteenth century, with the author of *DIMEV* 1488 declaring how: 'Galawntt, with thy curtesy, / Thow brekyst thy hose at kne'.[107] The tightness of the hose, which are subsequently described as being 'ful close' (l. 29), is thus again represented as being detrimental to the galaunt's ability to express an appropriate level of obeisance. This concern is also expressed in the *Book of Curtesye*, in which the galaunt is described as wearing hose so tight that whenever he tries to 'bowe or knele' he is forced to 'goth by compace round as doth a whele' on account of the fact that he is 'braced so strayt that he may not plye / But gaderith it by maner of a wyndelas'.[108] In both of these instances, as was also

[106] Dean, *Medieval English Political Writings*, pp. 140–46, ll. 147–54.

[107] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, ll. 5-6.

[108] *Caxton's Book of Curtesye*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS ES 3 (London: Trübner 1868; reprint 1973), l. 468, l. 469, ll. 470-471. The mid- to late-fifteenth-century *Book of Curtesye* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 3133. It survives in two manuscripts and two early prints. The manuscripts, which are Oxford, Balliol College Library, MS 354, fols 160-165 and Oxford, Oriel College Library, MS 79, fols 88-89 & 78, are used together

the case in *DIMEV* 4853, not only is the galaunt physically impeded by the impractical nature of his clothing, but it also acts as a material barrier to his spiritual development. Although these descriptions are comedic and depict the young galaunts as ridiculous, the socio-spiritual concerns for which they act as vehicle are serious and mark out the youths satirised through the figure as at risk of damnation. This anxiety feeds into the specific attacks that are made in the corpus on the figure's penchant for expensive jewellery over religious mnemonics. In the mid-fifteenth century, the author of *DIMEV* 3084 laments that there are 'so many bedes borne / and so lytell devocyon', and from the end of the century *DIMEV* 3765 contains the complaint that there are 'many beades and fewe prayers'.[109] In the expression of these concerns about impiety, the galaunt's sartorial characteristics again act as the visible marker of the spiritual deficiencies of youth.

The despair voiced by the author of *DIMEV* 4853 at the fact that amongst the galaunts 'Dred of God ys went' continues to be echoed approximately one hundred and seventy years later in the polemical ballad *Little John Nobody*, in which the protagonist complains that amongst the galaunts 'prayer [...] is but prating'.[110] As was established in the previous chapter, there are several other points of intersection between the galaunt corpus and the ballad. The figure's negative associations are brought together to accuse the young reformers of being motivated in their support of the Protestant regime, not by religious conviction, but by self interest. Little John Nobody complains that the galaunts 'currishly carp and not care / According to their foolish fantasy' (ll. 49-50) and of their eschewal of 'Both Alms-Deeds and holiness', which 'they hate [...] in their thought' (l. 52). Such allegations were common at the time of the ballad's composition, finding embodiment in the figure of the carnal gospeller, which was a stereotype of reformers whose enthusiasm for the break with traditional religion was based on self-aggrandizement and financial gain, rather than on devotion to a theological ideal.[111] Edmund Bonner, who was a vocal opponent to many aspects of the Reformation, is

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with *STC* 3304 by Furnivall to form his edition of the text. The other early print, *STC* 3303, is available as a facsimile: *Book of Curtesye*, ed. by Francis Jenkinson (Cambridge: University Press, 1907).

[109] *DIMEV* 3084: *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 128; *DIMEV* 3765: *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, pp. 252-3, l. 15.

[110] *DIMEV* 4853: *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 29; *Little John Nobody*: London, BL, MS Harley 372, fol. 114, l. 51.

[111] Catharine Davies, *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.204.

reported to have commented on the proliferation of carnal gospellers in one of his sermons, complaining that:

> Now charity is waxen so cold that very few men come to church at all, and if they do come to church, they come to walk, to hear some news, and to meet with their friends and not to pray.[112]

The particular moral failings of the carnal gospellers make the galaunt an apt vehicle for their criticism. Bonner's complaints about their gossiping and irreverence echo the concerns expressed about the galaunts at the start of the late medieval tradition in *DIMEV* 4853. In each instance, it is the particular foibles of youth that are the cause for concern and as such John Nobody's recourse to the galaunt draws not only on the immorality of the figure but also on the established attributes of Youth on which the corpus is built.

The concerns expressed at the end of the period of study about the decline in religious observance replicate the concerns expressed in the Death and the Galaunt murals. There are, however, some developments in the types of frailties with which the figure was associated. In the earlier examples, the galaunt's spiritual development was hindered by his love of fashion and the figure primarily served as an embodiment of the Pride of Life. In *Little John Nobody* the irreverence of the galaunt-reformers is blamed on the move away from established religion and on the lack of spiritual guidance that young people received as a result. The galaunt is thus transformed from lascivious clothes horse to harbinger of socio-religious decay. Indeed, the galaunt's attire is not commented on at all in *Little John Nobody*, which is a trait-change in his semiotic makeup that marks a distinct departure from the older tradition. The galaunt's youth does, however, remain a constant feature. Despite the long timeframe between *Little John Nobody* and the earliest of the visual schemata explored above, the concerns expressed here about the irreverence of youth and their spiritual ignorance also inform the didactic images in which the galaunt features. The desire to educate youth in spiritual matters thus finds expression through the figure in a variety of media and over an extended period.

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[112] This account of Bonner's sermon was sent to Somerset (London, BL, MS 485/52, Vol. 198, fols 34*r*.-46*r*.). The reference has been taken from: Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 449. For details of Bonner's life see: *Voices of the English Reformation: A Sourcebook*, ed. by John N. King (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p. 373.

The corruption of the clergy

Youth is not left entirely to blame for its own spiritual ill health as there are numerous references in the corpus that ascribe the galaunt's irreverence to the failings of the clergy. The abuse of priests is itself a popular literary trope at this time, as is evidenced by the large collection of examples on the topic that have been surveyed by John Scattergood.[113] In the galaunt corpus the application correlates to the concerns about youth autonomy and education that accrue around the figure. In *DIMEV* 3765, for example, the galaunt's moral failings are reported to be the result of the failures of the church to educate the laity: 'The cause is for lak of light, / That shud be in the church of right'.[114] A great many of the criticisms also accuse the clergy of being morally reprehensible themselves, such as Barclay's assertion in *The Ship of Fools* that: 'The clenlynes of Clergye is nere also decayed'.[115] The galaunt, in its well-established role as Youth, is perhaps an unlikely choice for a vehicle for clerical abuse. It is therefore necessary to examine these references to the extravagances of the clergy in order to explore how they interact with, and perhaps draw on, the figure's function as Wayward Youth.

The most extended attack on the corruption of the clergy occurs in *DIMEV* 6831, which dedicates twice as many verses to the weaknesses of priests as it does to criticising the galaunt. After the first two verses that establish the galaunt's key features, which were referenced in the introduction to this study as typical of the figure's appearance and are reiterated above, follows a retort:

> Ye poopeholy prestis fulle of presomcioun,
> With your wyde furryd hodes voyd of discrecioun,
> Unto your own prechyng of contary condicioun,
> Wheche causithe the people to have lesse devocioun.
> Avauncid by symony in cetees and townys,
> Make shorter youre taylis and broder your crounys;
> Leve your schort stuffide dowbelettes and your pleytid gownys,
> And kepe your owyn howsyng and passe not your boundis.

[113] John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Blandford Press, 1971). See also: Wendy Scase, 'Proud Gallants and Popeholy Priests: The Context and Function of a Fifteenth-Century Satirical Poem', *Medium Aevum*, 63 (1994), pp. 275-286.

[114] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, pp. 252-3, ll. 27-28.

[115] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, 2 vols (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1966), p. 36.

Repreve non other men, I schalle telle you whye,
Ye be so lewyd youer selfe, there settithe no man you bye,
It is not but a schame ye wold be callyd holly,
And worse dysposed people levythe not undir the skye.

Ffirst make fre your selfe, that now to syne be bounde,
Leve syne, and drede it, than may ye take on hand
Othir to repreve, and that I undirstonde,
Ye may amende alle other and bryng pese to londe.[116]

As Wendy Scase has observed in her analysis of the poem, the fashions that the priests are accused of abusing reflect the clothing styles that are linked to the galaunt.[117] The piece also mirrors the Hungerford example as both allow the galaunt to speak. Indeed, these are the only two examples from the corpus in which this occurs. The voice is, of course, ventriloquised at Hungerford and is, according to Scase's analysis of the debate poetry of the period, likely to be a clerical construct again here.[118] Despite being a literary exercise, the verses from *DIMEV* 6831 that pull the focus from the galaunts onto their greatest critics do offer an interesting window onto late medieval attitudes to appropriate behaviour. There is a sense in the poem that sartorial frivolities are to be expected of the young men that the figure represents, even if they are not to be excused. For the clergy to be indulging in the same fripperies is not only presented as hypocritical but also as more morally culpable.

The galaunt is also used to criticise clerical dress and dissipations in the majority of the mid-sixteenth-century religious treatises from the corpus. In *The Epistles and Gospelles*, which dates from 1540, Richard Taverner uses the term to describe, and deride, Catholic priests:

> And so here ye may iudge whether the byshop of Rome with his galant prelates which ryde lyke princes vpo~ theyr moyles & neuer preach one worde but rather stoppe the mouthes of true preachers, ought to be called Apostolyke persons or no.[119]

[116] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, p. 251, ll. 9-24.

[117] Wendy Scase, 'Proud Gallants and Popeholy Priests', p. 280.

[118] Ibid., p. 286.

[119] Richard Taverner, *The Epistles and Gospelles with a brief postil vpon the same*, EEBO (London: Richarde Bankes, 1540).

The term is similarly applied by Thomas Becon three years later in *A pleasaunt newe nosegaye* (1543):

> The galant Bysshops, the huffe nosed prestes, the lusty lawers, ye sawsy Scribes, with all the glisteryng sorte of Hypocrites, whiche lyued at that tyme, coulde not attayne vnto this science of the diuine misteries, whan not withestandynge they chalenged to them selues alone the knowlege of Gods lawe, and ye true vnderstandynge of the same? Was not theyr pryde & arrogancy the cause of this theyr blyndenes?[120]

The piece attacks Catholicism for excluding the laity from the scriptures and storing up the knowledge of God, which Becon is quick to point out the galaunt clergy are too stupid to understand anyway. The inclusion of the galaunt's earlier catchphrase of *Huff!* is an interesting point of intersection with the fifteenth-century corpus that might suggest some knowledge of the subject on the part of Becon. The reference to the older tradition allows for the clergy to be tarred by the galaunt's failings and to be associated with the frivolity and imprudence of youth.

Hugh Latimer's employment of the term demonstrates a developed understanding of the galaunt figure. In his 'Sermon of the Plough' he complains that some members of the clergy: 'Thei hauke, thei hunt, thei card, they dyce, they pastyme in theyr prelacies with galaunte gentlemen'.[121] Gambling and hawking are vices that are commonly associated with the galaunt, who is here further defined as being a member of the gentry. The image of hawking also brings to mind the symbolism that it accrues from its inclusion in the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead as discussed above. These features create an image of venality and temporality that are ill fitting for the sobriety expected of the clergy. Latimer makes a similar complaint in his ninth sermon, in which he complains of:

[120] Thomas Becon, *A pleasaunt newe nosegaye full of many godly and swete floures, lately gathered by Theodore Basill*e, EEBO (London: Johan Mayler, 1543).

[121] *Sermon on the Ploughers 18 January, 1549 by Master Hugh Latimer*, ed. by Edward Arber (London: Alex Murray and Son, 1868), p. 25.

> Oure cleargye menne, whiche goe so gallauntlye nowe adayes. I heare saye, that somme of theym weare veluette shooes, and veluet: such felowes are more meete to daunce the morrice daunce, then to bee admitted to preache. I praye God amende suche worldelye felowes, for they bee not meete to be preachers.[122]

The particular alarm expressed here about the velvet slippers of the clergy is a less subtle interaction with contemporary clothing culture than the nuanced messages of the earlier examples, though no doubt sumptuary legislation also plays a part in informing this example. The reference to dancing also has parallels in the wider corpus as the galaunt, in his role as Youth, is typified by revelry and song. Whilst these examples mark a departure from the usual application of the galaunt to describe courtly youth, they continue to engage with the same concerns about the Pride of Life that have been found to inform the figure's youth iconography.

Conclusion

The concordances between the depiction of Youth in the Ages of Man schema and the visual treatments of the galaunt help to align the latter figure with the demographic that it represents and for whom its deployment is intended to be of particular educational benefit. The galaunt works within the discursive context of each of the church spaces in which it is employed to offer a warning against the vanities of youth and to encourage young men to look to their eternal futures. The figure functions in these spaces as an instance of man's propensity to sin and works in conjunction with the representations of the other types of human frailty that are included in the schemata at work in the location. The church space as a whole presents various models for behaviour, within which the galaunt is used to target the vices that were associated with youth in the Ages of Man schema.

The parallels between the Hungerford scene and the fashion discourses exercised in the corpus, when taken together with the notoriety enjoyed by the figure at the time at which the image was produced, suggest that the painting was executed in the context of an awareness of the galaunt tradition. On the one hand it is a composition in which text and image form a complete unit: the image showing Death and a galaunt in conversation with one

[122] Hugh Latimer, *27 sermons preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God*, EEBO (London: John Day, 1562), Vol. II, p. 148.

another, the dialogue for which is displayed overhead. On the other hand, the manner by which the image reinforces the ideas being expressed in the specific language of the text is through recourse to the descriptions of the galaunt offered in the wider written corpus. There is no explicit criticism of finery or of fashionable attire in the dialogue, which instead relies upon inclusion of the term *galaunt* to convey the moral implications of the sartorial features included in the image. The galaunt thus acts as an interpretive tool, allowing the viewer to interact with, and understand the full *memento mori* implications of, the Hungerford scene.

There are many possible reasons for the galaunt being afforded space in the Hungerford Chapel, first amongst which must be the fact that the image belongs to the pan-European and extremely well-known *danse macabre* tradition. Whilst the image is by no means a unique inclusion in the Hungerford Chapel, as ratified by the remnants of another dancer on a facing wall, Youth is chosen as one of the stages of the life cycle to depict as taking part in the dance in a space that affords a limited number of spots for such scenes. According to testimony given to Gough by the final curator of the Hungerford Chapel, who is named as 'Mr Wansey of Salisbury', the subject of the painting was believed to have been chosen to represent the son that Margaret Hungerford had lost seven years before the building was finished. This son was famed as being, in the words of the curator, 'the extravagant heir of the house of Hungerford' and so the choice of the galaunt figure as the vehicle for his memorial is an apt one.[123]

The galaunt was put to a similarly familial purpose in Peter Idley's *Instructions to his Son*. The galaunt's role in the text, like it is at Hungerford, is again as an exemplar of the types of behaviour to be eschewed. Idley voices familiar complaints about the galaunts' short jackets and the codpieces that these leave on show, and accuses the galaunts of using these to seduce women. He also makes reference to the belligerent nature of the galaunts, asking his reader to vow that he will not emulate their violence. Idley addresses his work, as the title would suggest, '*te filium meum*', who is named as Thomas.[124] The fact that the text survives, to varying degrees of completion, in eight manuscripts confirms that it was never intended for Idley's own son's sole use. That said, this does not dictate that the *envoy* is merely a literary construct, as much as it does match the application thereof in other conduct literature and is taken, barring the son's name, from Albertano de Brescia.[125] It is, however, very likely that

[123] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, p. 187.

[124] *Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, p. 81.

[125] Juanita F. Ruys, 'Peter Abelard's *Carmen ad Astralabium* and Medieval Parent-Child Didactic Texts: The Evidence for Parent-Child Relationships in the Middle Ages', in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the*

Idley did have a son whom he wanted to advise. Charlotte D'Evelyn has made a convincing case for the author of the work being an esquire by the name of Peter Idley who was working as a public servant in Oxfordshire at the time of composition.[126] Multiple records prove that this man was father to a son by the name of Thomas.[127] The public life of the text therefore need not totally disqualify Idley's own account of the purpose of the work as being to help his son to live an '*honeste vite*'.[128] The galaunt is therefore once again used as a vehicle for youth reform but, in the case of the Hungerford Chapel and the advisory text, the discourse is both public and personal.

In each of the contexts explored here, the figure has offered a double warning. Not only does the galaunt add to the general *memento mori* message of the *danse macabre*; it also acts as a personification of the Pride of Life and as a warning against the excesses of fashion and lifestyle that were associated with the figure. All of these roles are informed by, and gain their meaning from, the galaunt's primary function as an emblem of Wayward Youth. Within this emblematic role, the galaunt becomes conflated with a host of moral failings. The figure is presented as proud, irreverent, lascivious and intemperate, and is used in the moral treatises presented in the chapter to warn of the dangers posed to the soul by these faults. Even in the examples in which the figure is used in attacks on the excesses of the clergy its function still centres on atypical youthful failings as it is for these weaknesses, and the fact that they should know better, that the priests are criticised. The proliferation of this sort of reference to the galaunt in religious writings of the mid-sixteenth century can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that these texts were produced at a time when the visual examples had been obscured by the Iconoclasm; a removal that may have enabled a shift in focus from the original target of the youthful dandy to using the figure to attack the extravagances of the clergy. The galaunt's traits offer a catalogue of vice that allows the figure to function as an emblem of any of the Seven Deadly Sins. How the figure's identity as Wayward Youth plays out in this conflation is the question that the next chapter will turn to consider.

Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 203-228 (see p. 207).

[126] *Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, pp. 1-5.

[127] Ibid., p. 4. D'Evelyn uses a petition of 1475 and another of 1481 in which both Peter and his son are named as her evidence.

[128] Prologue in ibid., p. 81, l. 7.

‘O LUSTY GAYLAUNTES IN YOURE ADOLESCENS, RESTREYNED YOUR-SELF’:[1] THE GALAUNT AND THE (IM)MORALITY OF YOUTH

Introduction

In the quotation from *DIMEV* 1538 that heads this chapter, Lydgate stresses that the young galaunts must overcome their lascivious natures and he goes on to encourage them to contemplate the example set by Solomon to bolster their attempts at self-edification. This example highlights the fact that although the moral failings of the galaunt as expressed by commentators are to be expected of a Youth figure, they are not excused on the grounds of nature. The chapter will argue that the galaunt serves a similar educational function to Solomon, offering a counterpart to the templates of good behaviour by instead providing a negative model of the types of behaviours to be avoided. The study thus builds on the work undertaken by Fiona Dunlop in her analysis of similar concerns about the correct formation of masculine identity as expressed in late medieval drama.[2] The chapter’s findings will be placed within the context of other hortatory traditions that were influential during the period; comparison with which, it will be argued, offers a framework for understanding the discourses at play in the corpus and the concerns conveyed by the galaunt.

The entry in the *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company* for the twenty-second of November 1479 decrees that:

> Where as Robert Careswell by licens was suffurd to occupie as a Shop holder & not so entred & sworne, It is nowe condescended & agreed that the said Robert to be entred & sworn so that he sadly dispose hym and manerly both in his arreye & also in Cuttynge of his here, and not to go lyke a gallaunt or a man of Courte, And hereunto the said Robert is agreed &c.[3]

[1] *Lydgate’s Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. by Otto Glauning, EETS ES 80 (London: Trübner, 1900; reprint 1987), pp. 2-15.

[2] Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2007).

[3] *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527*, ed. by Laetitia Lyell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936; reprint 2011), p. 121. The passage is also discussed in Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Robert's entry into the Mercers' Company is an instructional rite of passage that is intended to mark a cessation of engagement with youthful follies and instead cultivate a demeanour deemed appropriate to manhood. In order to pass this threshold Robert must stop imitating the fashions and deportment of the galaunts of the court and instead adopt a sombre visage that will be indicative of his new-found restraint. This chapter establishes the mannerisms that are being alluded to through the Act's reference to the galaunt, by charting the behaviours most commonly associated with the figure in the corpus.

The galaunt continues to operate, first and foremost, as a warning against youthful exuberance and vanity in these discourses. The figure satirises the same follies that had already been established as the intrinsic attributes of Youth by earlier discourses on the life cycle. The passage to which the quote from *DIMEV* 1538 that heads this chapter belongs is a patent example of the galaunt's grounding in such treatises. The full passage reads:

> O lusty gaylauntes in youre adolescens,
> Let not this oure of prime fro you desever!
> When ye be sterede to wanton in-solence,
> Restreyne your-self & in your herte thenk euer
> How Salomon sayde; he cowde perceyve neuer
> The waunton weyes & dyuers of your youth,
> For all the prudent wisdom that he kowthe![4]

Lydgate's description of youth as a period defined by the tendency to be 'sterede to wanton in-solence' (l. 269) is a clear echo of the attitudes expressed in the medico-moral literature that was explored in chapter one. The way in which youth is presented in this passage also mirrors the approach that is taken in the rest of the corpus, in which the galaunt's behaviours continue to be informed by pre-established parameters for the depiction of Youth.

This grounding in youth discourse does not mean, however, that socio-political concerns do not also contribute to the motivating factors behind the criticisms expressed in the corpus. Much of the material discussed in this chapter was composed during periods of minority rule and this is a contextual factor that can be seen to shape the negative attitudes to youth that are expressed in the galaunt corpus. Three monarchs from the period in question were child-kings: King Richard II, who became monarch age ten; King Henry VI, who

[4] *Lydgate's Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. by Otto Glauning, pp. 2-15, ll. 267-273.

succeeded to the throne as a nine-month-old infant; and King Edward VI, who was crowned in his ninth year.[5] King Henry VIII's youth at the time of ascending the throne, which he did before the age of eighteen, also plays a significant role in the formation of the galaunt in the material composed during his reign.

An investigation of the galaunt's employment to express concern about the ramifications of the follies of youth during a minority rule not only illuminates the function of the figure but can also further our understanding of the impact that youth had on the representation of masculine status. This is a line of enquiry that furthers Christopher Fletcher's gendered and age-led analysis of the politics of King Richard II's abortive reign.[6] Fletcher has already recognised the role that conventional attitudes to youth played in the rhetoric of Richard's opponents but his findings can be supplemented by consideration of the contribution that the galaunt made to such discourses. The approach also engages with Katherine Lewis's recent monograph on the subject of kingship and masculinity in late medieval England, which builds on the lines of enquiry instigated by Fletcher. Lewis's work contrasts the positive legacy of King Edward III with the negative attitudes expressed about the juvenile King Henry VI. Lewis argues that the late medieval model for kingship was inextricably linked to concepts of ideal manhood to the point that 'ideal kingship was predicated on ideal masculinity'.[7] The galaunt's catalogue of moral failings can be used to explore this theme of problematic authority, particularly in regard to the impact that the figure's negative character traits have on the representation of kingship in the corpus and what this can tell us about attitudes to autonomous youth in the period more broadly.

[5] William M. Ormrod, 'Coming to Kingship: boy kings and the passage to power in fourteenth-century England', in *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Nicola F. McDonald and William M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2004), pp. 31-49.

[6] Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[7] Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Abingdon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), p. 2.

Satirising the follies of youth: the galaunt's many vices

In his translation of the *Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, which was published in 1484, William Caxton warns the reader that:

> The armes with whiche lecherye warreth Chastyte, ben yongthe, beaulte, moche drynke, & moche mete, queynt vestures and galaunt Falshede, Treason Iniurye, and despysyng of God, and of his glorye. [8]

This offers a succinct overview of the corruptive influences thought to be of particular threat to the young. Youth is listed first in Lechery's armaments, thereby inextricably linking the two traits. Excessive appetites in terms of both victuals and fashionable attire are also mentioned as part of Lechery's weaponry for its assault on the spiritual health of the young. Finally, a deceitful and irreligious nature informed by hubris completes the arsenal. These categories offer useful parameters for understanding the negative character traits associated with the galaunt and how these develop over the period in question.

Lust

From the foundation of the tradition galaunts are associated with sexual desire, as can be seen in the following ribald excerpt from *DIMEV* 4853:

> Huffe o galant ther a towche,
> *unguentum stillat amoris.* [she drips the balm of love]
> I wolde fulle were there powche
> *tanti dulcedine roris!* [with the sweetness of such great dew]
> Lo! this fore a grete nede,
> *sua miscent ora libenter.* [they freely mix their mouths]
> Whoo so ever takes hede
> *manat liquor irreverenter.*[9] [liquid irreverently flows]

[8] *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry / translated and printed by William Caxton from a French version of Ramón Lull's "Le libre del orde de cauayleria", together with Adam Loutfut's Scottish transcript (Harleian ms. 6149)*, ed. by Alfred T. Byles, EETS OS 168 (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 98, ll. 4-9.

[9] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), pp. 140-146, ll. 181-188.

The description of bodily fluids and the reference to a woman's 'powche' (l. 183) are graphic details of the galaunts' sexual escapades. More subtle are the connotations carried by the reference in line 181 to 'Huffe', which as has already been noted in the first chapter was an expression that originated as a falconer's cry. This is an association that reinforces the galaunt's role as lover as falconry was, on account of the fact that it was a sport that men and women could enjoy together, a commonly used metaphor for courtship in the period.[10] The widespread circulation of such iconography is attested to by its application in visual art; an example of which that is contemporaneous with the galaunt's first appearance in *DIMEV* 4853 is included on the next page as Figure 9.

The connotations of debauchery carried by the galaunt's catchphrase of *huff* are solidified in *DIMEV* 4853 by the assertion eight lines later that '"Vye velabel!" they [the galaunts] kry'.[11] This phrase celebrates physical beauty and expresses the youthful desire for the carousing enjoyed by the galaunts never to end. The figure is again depicted as making this verbal ejaculation at the end of the fifteenth century in the refrain of *DIMEV* 1488, which is 'Huff! a galawnt, vylabele!'.[12] The replication of the pairing confirms that the figure repeatedly functioned as an emblem of the amorous and exuberant nature of youth. This is a role that is universally informed by negative connotations as the descriptions of the galaunt all focus on the prominent role that lust, rather than love, plays in the character of youth. The author of *DIMEV* 4853 makes repeated references to the lustful preoccupations of the galaunts and this is a character trait that comes to dominate the behaviours ascribed to the figure over the course of the written corpus.[13]

[10] John Cummings, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), p. 233; Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', in *Aspects of Early English Drama*, ed. by Paula Neuss (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 111-128 (see p. 114); Diane Wolfthal, 'Picturing Same-Sex Desire: The Falconer and his Lover in Images by Petrus Christus and the Housebook Master', in *Troubled Vision: Gender, Sexuality and Sight in Medieval Text and Image*, ed. by Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (New York, NY; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 17-46.

[11] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 189.

[12] *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 138-139.

[13] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, ll. 9, 51, and 57-58.



Figure 9: Ivory mirror back depicting a hawking scene. The mirror is French and was produced in Paris in the late-fourteenth century. The item is part of the collection at the British Museum, London. The photograph is publicly available thanks to the generosity of the Trustees of the British Museum and the British Museum's image service.[14]

[14] Image taken from: *Collection Online*, The British Museum, online ed. <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online> [last accessed 15 April 2016].

The galaunt continues to be primarily associated with carnal desires in the mid-fifteenth-century *DIMEV* 1538, which is the first of Lydgate's poems on the theme of 'the nightingale as a symbol of Christ'. When dedicating the poem to the Duchess of Buckingham Lydgate declares the work to be for the benefit of:

> Suche of hyre peple, that are in lustynesse Fresschly encoragyt, as galantus in prime-tens, Desyrous for to here the amerouse sentensce.[15]

Lust is here presented as the natural companion to the prime of life; an allusion that draws on the concept of youth established in medico-moral discourses that considered the stages of the life cycle. Bede's commentary on the Proverbs, for example, emphasises to the young that they should not allow their physical prime to be squandered in lasciviousness.[16] The belief that the young were particularly prone to lecherous desires was primarily based on the afore-mentioned theory that they were most strongly influenced physically by their blood and astrologically by the planet Venus.[17] As one fifteenth-century sermon bemoans, young men 'renne to here lechery with a like desire as a bere reneþ to ete hony'.[18] Lydgate is again careful, as he was in the passage from *DIMEV* 1538 that is given above, to advise that an antidote to this predisposition needs to be sought if the moral wellbeing of the young is to be ensured. The solution that he provides in this instance is for the youths to meditate on the moral messages of his work and to use these to turn their attentions away from *eros* and towards the spiritual love of god. Those who do so successfully 'fauoure moste schall fynd in loues grace'.[19] The didactic aims of the text are thus clearly established as being the instruction of the young galaunts in the Duchess's retinue whose time of life means that they are particularly prone to carnal desires.

The influence of Venus on the galaunts is also referenced in another of the mid-fifteenth-century texts: *Amoryus and Cleopes*. In this example the galaunt is used to represent

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[15] *Lydgate's Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. by Otto Glauning, pp. 2-15, ll. 10-12.

[16] *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede: Commentaries on the Scriptures*, ed. by John A. Giles (London: Whittaker, 1844), Vol. 9, p. 79.

[17] Stephen H. Rigby, *Chaucer in Context: Society, Allegory and Gender* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 8.

[18] *Middle English Sermons*, ed. by Woodburn O. Ross, EETS OS 209 (London: Humphrey Milford, 1940), p. 236, l. 21.

[19] *Lydgate's Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. by Otto Glauning, pp. 2-15, l. 14.

the archetypal follower of Venus in the form of the young lover who burns in 'lovys fyre'.[20] These 'lusty fresch galaunts' (l. 613) apply to the Goddess of Love so that they may have 'ther lyking dysyre' (l. 613). The connection between the galaunt and Classical personifications of *eros* is so strong by the last quarter of the fifteenth century that the figure is cast as Cupid in *The Assembly of Gods*, who is introduced in the dream vision as being 'all fresshe and galaunt'.[21] Cupid later attempts to seduce Ceres: 'The goddesse Ceres he lookyd in the face / And with oon arme he hyr did enbrace' (ll. 300-301). The sexual innuendo is heightened by the fact that Ceres is the goddess of the harvest; a role that carries connotations of sexual ripening and fertility. The language in which the references to the galaunt in *Amoryus and Cleopes* and *The Assembly of Gods* are couched resounds with allusions to lust and desire that highlight the dangers of replicating the figure's carnal appetites.

The galaunts' lascivious natures also attract comment from Peter Idley at the end of the section on the Ten Commandments in his *Instructions to his Son*:

> When a woman liste tabide and hire
> As somme doo that be gentil and meeke,
> When a galaunt woll rowne in hir eere
> And suffre hym to kysse bothe chynne and cheke,
> Hym nedith no lenger on hir to seeke;
> For she is conquerid when she wol abide
> He may when hym liste take his iorney and ride.[22]

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[20] *Amoryus and Cleopes*, ed. by Stephen F. Page, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), l. 615. *Amoryus and Cleopes* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 5231. It survives in a single manuscript: Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 141, fols 18-57. The poem was first edited by Hardin Craig: *The Works of John Metham*, EETS OS 132 (London: Oxford University Press, 1916; reprint 1973), pp. 1-81. For a discussion of Metham's sources see: Stephen Page, 'John Metham's *Amoryus and Cleopes*: Intertextuality and Innovation in a Chaucerian Poem', *The Chaucer Review*, 33 (1998), pp. 201-208. The text dates from 1449.

[21] *The Assembly of Gods*, ed. by Jane Chance, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), l. 296. *The Assembly of Gods* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 4005. It survives in two manuscripts: Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R 3 19 (599), fols 67-97; and London, BL, MS Royal 18 D ii, fols 167-180. Other editions of the dream vision include: *The Assembly of Gods: or The Accord of Reason and Sensuality in the Fear of Death, by John Lydgate, edited from the MSS. with Introduction, Notes, Index of Persons and Places, and Glossary*, ed. by Oscar L. Triggs, EETS ES 69 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1896; reprint London: Oxford University Press, 1976). The anonymous text is widely accepted as dating from *c*.1475.

[22] *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn (Boston, MA; London: Modern Language Association of America; Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 156, ll. 2981-2987.

Idley pays particular attention in this passage to the figure's reputation for leading women into fornication and adultery. Whilst the excerpt would therefore appear to be more to the benefit of daughters than sons, offering as it does a stark warning about the inconsistency of the galaunt's attentions, Idley, like Lydgate, is careful also to warn the young men typified by the galaunt that they should endeavour to resist their physical urges so that they 'loose not thy soule for no fleissheli desire' (p. 136, l. 1727). These examples thus highlight the galaunt's lasciviousness with the purpose of remedying the same tendencies in contemporary youth.

The galaunt is again cast as adulterer in *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, in which the figure is employed in a story about a knight and his three, consecutive, wives. On the death of his first wife it transpires that her love of fine clothing had irrevocably poisoned her soul:

> Seint Michell and the devell that had her in a balance, and all her good dedes in the same balaunce, and a devell and all her evell dedes in that other balaunce. And the most thinge that greuid her was her good and gay clothing, and furres of gray menivere and letuse; and the devell cried and sayde, "Seint Michel, this woman had tenne diverse gownes and as mani cotes; and thou wost well lesse myght have suffised her after the lawe of God; and with the valu of one of her cotes or gownez there might have be clothed .l. poure men and kept from colde in gownes of white or Russet. And also, with that that was wasted of her clothes, she might have clothes .ij. or .iij., the whiche deied for colde." And whanne the devell sawe her clothes, he ranne and toke hem, and caste hem in the balaunce with her evell dedes. And he toke all her iuellys and rynges that was geuen her by galauntys forto haue had her to do foly.[23]

[23] *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry: Compiled for the instruction of his daughters / translated from the original French into English in the reign of Henry VI*, ed. by Thomas Wright, EETS OS 33 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1868; revised ed. 1906, reprint 1973), p. 65. The English *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry* is a translation of the French instructional text *Livre pour l'enseignement de ses filles du Chevalier de La Tour Landry* that was written by Geoffroy de La Tour Landry in 1371-1372. The popularity of the text, which survives in numerous manuscript versions, suggests that it was widely read. The English translation referenced here survives in two early copies: a fifteenth-century anonymous version included in London, BL, MS Harley 1764; and an early printed edition by William Caxton: *Here Begynneth the Book Whiche the Knyght of the Toure Made: And Speketh of Many Fayre Ensamples and Thensygnementys and Techyng of His Doughters*, EEBO (London: William Caxton, 1484).

The sartorial excesses universally associated with the galaunt in the verse satires are here instead used to condemn the knight's first wife to an eternity in hell. The galaunt, instead of being the target of the sartorial criticism, is consigned to the role of seducer. This should be understood, however, in the context of the exploration of the figure's deployment in visual art that was undertaken in the previous chapter, which established that the two functions are inextricably linked as it is the sartorial politics of the figure that informs its personification of temptation and sin.

The account of the first wife's judgement mirrors many of the clothing discourses explored in the galaunt corpus. The criticisms about her voluminous garments being wasted on one person for the sake of vanity, when they could have clothed many poor people and protected them from the cold, echo the attack on the galaunts' 'schort gownys thriftlesse' introduced at the commencement of this study.[24] The love of finery is also presented in *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, as it is in many of the verse satires, as a damnable trait. Indeed, it is the wife's clothing that physically tips the balance weighing her soul out of her favour. Her dalliances with the galaunts are mentioned almost as an aside, in the relation of which it is the jewellery that she gained from these assignations that is weighed against her. The knight's second wife also predeceases him and after her death it is revealed that she too had committed adultery. There are, however, no items of fashionable clothing at her judgement and as a direct result of this sartorial restraint she is sent to purgatory rather than consigned to the eternal torments of hell. The author emphasises the import of this for the instructional benefit of his daughters, asking that they take special heed of the fact that the first wife was 'loste and damped for her array'.[25] The galaunt's selection as the seducer of the knight's wives is therefore based not only on his role as lustful Youth but also in his embodiment of sartorial extravagance.

The prevalence of the association of the figure with love and carnal appetites allows the term *galaunt* to become an epithet for amorous young men in common parlance. Writing to her husband in 1448, Margaret Paston refers to the prospective bridegroom of a family acquaintance purely as 'the galaunte with the grete chene'.[26] The coded nature of this report suggests that the Pastons were accustomed to referring to the man in question, with a certain

[24] *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1861), Vol. II, p. 251, ll. 1-8.

[25] *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, ed. by Thomas Wright, p. 67.

[26] *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Norman Davis, EETS SS 21, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, 1976), Vol I, p. 128, ll. 50-51.

sense of ridicule, as a galaunt. The letter illustrates that the literary figure was not cocooned from reality as it is an instance of a real person being identified as sharing the markers of galaunt culture. In this respect the letter uses the figure in a manner similar to the extract from the *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company* that was given at the start of the chapter. In each example the galaunt is used to enliven the description of the character traits of a specific individual and in each some understanding of the literary figure is evident. In this regard, the discourses at play in the various applications of the figure could be interpreted as an English instance of what Christian Kuhn has argued lies behind German treatments of the subject of youth instruction.[27] Kuhn examines intergenerational discourse in the private letters of the Nuremberg Tucher family and makes the case for negative images of youth being used in these letters to justify authority figures in maintaining strict supervisory rights over young men. Whilst the Paston letters are not employing the galaunt in this manner, the figure's employment in instructional literature and the reference made to it by the committee that headed the Mercers' Company should be understood in these terms.

The galaunt's popularity in this period is also attested to by the figure's frequent inclusion in drama of the mid- to late-fifteenth century. Tony Davenport has already catalogued the frequency with which Youth was criticised in late-medieval drama, neatly summarising the portrayal as:

> To be young in the medieval drama is to be weak, wayward and wrong, usually in that order. In both mystery and morality plays the emphasis is on man's fallen nature and suspicion and censure are directed towards enjoyment of the pleasures of the body and of the merely temporal. The treatment of human life in the allegorical plays particularly tends towards the generalized and patterned. Youth is seen as a time of mistaken confidence in natural life.[28]

In the plays in which the galaunt is referred to by name it is in the already well-established role as insalubrious lover that the figure is most commonly cast. In *Ludus Coventriae* the figure does not even need to be present in order to be accused of seduction as Mary's virginal pregnancy is libelled by Bakbytere as being the result of a dalliance with 'sum fresch 3onge

[27] Christian Kuhn, 'Generational Discourse and Images of Urban Youth in Private Letters: The Nuremberg Tucher Family around 1550', in *Medieval Lifecycles: Continuities and Change*, ed. by Isabelle Cochelin and Karen Smyth (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 211-238.

[28] Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', pp. 111-128.

galaunt she loveth wel more, þat his leggys to here hath leyd'.[29] The figure's youth is again emphasised in this line as fundamental to his dramatic function as philanderer.

The figure serves a similar narrative function in *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene*, in which the galaunt Curiosity attempts to seduce the heroine of the piece on meeting her at a tavern. Curiosity plies Mary with drink and then makes his proposition:

> Now, derlyng dere, wol yow do be my rede?
> We haue dronkyn and ete lytyl brede
> Wyll we walk to another stede?[30]

Mary acquiesces and she exits with her galaunt suitor. Susannah Milner has already highlighted the significance of food and drink in the seduction of Mary but the fact that these liberal libations are applied by a galaunt is also worthy of attention.[31] As the discussion of the figure's intemperance that follows in the next section of this chapter will establish, the tavern is the galaunt's natural habitat and the figure is repeatedly associated with gluttony and inebriation. *The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene* thus offers an example of the intersections in the corpus between the various incarnations of the figure and the interplay of the galaunt's manifest vices in the moralising applications thereof.

Curiosity's request that Mary be his 'rede' (l. 340) matches Idley's comment on the fact that the galaunts lose interest in their paramours on being able to 'ride' them whenever

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[29] *The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D.8*, ed. by Stephen Spector, EETS SS 11-12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 125, l. 54. *Ludus Coventriae*, which is entered in *DIMEV* as number 3744 and alternatively known as the *N-Town Plays*, is a mystery cycle of forty-two plays that most likely dates from the late-fourteenth century. It survives in: London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian D VIII, fols 1-225*v*. Numerous editions of the play have been made, including: *Ludus Coventriae*, ed. by James O. Halliwell-Phillipps (London: for the Shakespeare Society, 1841); *Ludus Coventriae, or, The Plaie called Corpus Christi, Cotton MS. Vespesian D.viii*, ed. by Katherine S. Block, EETS ES 120 (London: Trübner,1922; reprint 1961); *The N-Town Plays*, ed. by Douglas Sugano and Victor I. Scherb, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2007).

[30] *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and E Museo 160*, ed. by Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy and Louis B. Hall Jr., EETS OS 283 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 24-95, ll. 340-342.

[31] Susannah Milner, 'Flesh and Food: The Function of Female Asceticism in the Digby Mary Magdalene', *Philological Quarterly*, 73, 4 (Fall, 1994), pp. 385-401 (material discussed on p. 391).

they like.[32] The association of sex with equestrianism is also made in *The Bowge of Courte*, in which Ryotte boasts of:

> How ofte he hadde hit Jenet on the tayle,
> Of Felyce fetewse and lytell prety Cate,
> How ofte he knocked at her klycked gate.[33]

Jenet could refer either to a lady or a small horse and so Ryotte's amorousness is imbued with a sense of base gratification.[34] The inference here is that the galaunt is reduced to an animal state by his indulgence of his fleshly desires. This is a notion that builds on earlier treatments of the figure, such as *DIMEV* 3084's complaint that 'our galauntes lyve / in lustes as beestes'.[35] It also engages with broader concerns about the corruptive influence of sexual abandonment as expressed by moral commentators such as Thomas Aquinas, who warned that unabashed sexual activity caused man to become nothing but a brute animal.[36]

The description of the impact of Ryotte's night-time activities also engages with earlier youth stereotypes. Ryotte is described as suffering from exhaustion thanks to his sexual exploits: 'His hede was hevy for watchynge overnyghte / His eyen blereed, his face shone lyke a glas' (ll. 352-353). The trope of the sleep-deprived lover was well established by the time that *The Bowge of Courte* was composed, as evidenced by the description in *The Canterbury Tales* of the Squire's romantic ardour causing him to sleep 'namore than doth a nightingale' that was discussed in chapter one.[37] The causes of Ryotte's tiredness are, however, more overtly lascivious than the general sense of youthful amorousness that keeps Geoffrey Chaucer's Squire from sleep. Ryotte openly brags of his dalliances with prostituted women, which leads the narrator to conclude that Ryotte 'had no pleasure but in harlotrye'.[38] Through the emphasis on Ryotte's cavalier attitude to his conquests and the bestial nature of

[32] *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, p. 156, l. 2987.

[33] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions: An Anthology*, ed. by Julia Boffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 232-265, ll. 369-374.

[34] Boffey glosses *jenet* as meaning 'small horse' on p. 256 of ibid.

[35] *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt (London: John Russell Smith, 1866), pp. 147-160, l. 162.

[36] Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 1994), p. 62.

[37] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 24, l. 80.

[38] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions*, ed. by Julia Boffey, pp. 232-265, l. 374.

his sexual appetites, the galaunt is associated not just with love but with unbridled and unsavoury sexual activity in a combination that enhances the figure's admonitory effectiveness.[39]

The image of the galaunt as a slave to lust and carnal desires becomes so strong that the caption to the woodcut at the start of the section entitled 'The objection of lust blamynge vertue' in *The Ship of Fools*, which was released in 1509, has the personification of Lust sing:

> Lo gorgays galantis: lo galantis here am I
> Lo here fayre lust: full enmy to vertue
> Clothyd in laurer: in sygne of victory.[40]

The caption presents Lust in a markedly similar fashion to the description of Lechery in the excerpt from *Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*. These sexual vices are presented in both texts as enemies of virtue and are deemed to pose a particular threat to youth in each instance.

Alexander Barclay again singles out young galaunts as particularly guilty of lust in his address to the fools at the start of the section of *The Ship of Fools* on the subject of 'disordred loue and veneryous':

> The graceles galantes, and the aprentyce pore
> Though they nought haue, themselfe they set nought by
> Without they be acquaynted with some hore
> Of westmynster or some other place of rybawdry
> Than fall they to murder theft and robery.
> For were nat proude clothynge, and also flesshely lust
> All the feters and gyues of Englonde shulde rust.[41]

Barclay expresses several concerns in this passage that have resonances in the wider corpus: the galaunts are visiting prostituted women, frequenting ribald locations, and turning to theft and violence to fund their lifestyle. The excerpt also, like *The Assembly of Gods* and *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry* before it, draws a direct link between

[39] For a discussion of late medieval attitudes to prostitution see: Ruth M. Karras, 'The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England', *Signs*, 14, 2, (Winter, 1989), pp. 399-433.

[40] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, 2 vols (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1966), Vol. II, p. 289.

[41] Ibid., p. 308.

the galaunt's obsession with fine array and his lustful nature. Indeed, Barclay had earlier explicitly accused the galaunts of wearing the most revealing fashions in order 'to tempt chast Damsels and turne them to your mynde'.[42] The moral ramifications of the combination in the galaunt of lasciviousness and sartorial splendour are also explored in *DIMEV* 3084, in which the author blames the galaunts' efforts to make themselves 'fresshe and gay', which is an exertion that the author states is undertaken 'to purchace womens pleasaunce', for the fact that women's 'vertuous vyrgynyte is deed and layde bere'.[43] Sartorial extravagance and lust are thus mutually intrinsic and co-dependent aspects of the galaunt's, and through him youth's, moral failings.

Also dating to the year 1509 is *The Fyftene Joyes of Maryage*, which is another example in which the galaunt is cast in the role of seducer. This is an English translation, printed by Wynkyn de Worde and possibly the work of Robert Copland, of an anonymous late-fourteenth- or early-fifteenth-century French text entitled *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage.*[44] The text, which parodies the fifteen joys of the mother of Christ, has as its subject the 'joys', which is used sardonically, of marriage.[45] Indeed, as Alison Williams has observed, the text instead attempts to convince the reader of the unrelenting misery of marriage.[46] The galaunt appears in two of the joys. In his first entrance, which is in the eighth joy, he is described as a member of the family's retinue that accompanies a married woman on pilgrimage:

> And peraduenture in that company
> A gentyll galaunt is the whiche shall do
> With ryght good wyll some seruyce her vnto.[47]

[42] Ibid., p. 37.

[43] *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 96, ll. 157-158.

[44] *The Fifteen Joys of Marriage*, poss. trans. by Robert Copland, EEBO (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1509). The original can be read in: *Les XV Joies de Mariage*, ed. by Jean Rychner (Geneva: Droz, 1967).

[45] The parallels between the French version of the text and the joys of the Virgin Mary are discussed by: Katharina M. Wilson and Elizabeth M. Makowski, *Wykked Wyves and the Woes of Marriage: Misogamous Literature from Juvenal to Chaucer* (New York, NY: The State University of New York Press, 1990), p. 144.

[46] Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters: Roguery in French and German Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).

[47] *The Fifteen Joys of Marriage*, poss. trans. by Robert Copland, p. 52.

Pilgrimages had long been considered occasions that were rife for adultery, particularly when a married woman undertook one without her husband, and so the galaunt is a natural companion for such an endeavour.[48] In "servicing" the wife the galaunt fulfils his, by now typical, role as fornicator and adulterer.[49] The tables are turned, however, in the eleventh joy, in which the 'yonge lusty man and gaye' (p. 58) that is the main subject of the tale, who is described as 'a gentyll ioly galaunt' (p. 58), is the victim of a cuckolding plot through which he is entrapped into marrying a young woman who is already pregnant by somebody else. Whilst the young man is not the seducer in this example, he is morally culpable as his difficulties are the direct result of extramarital fornication and of giving in to his lecherous nature. This is a pastime with which he had been keeping himself occupied for some time as, prior to his ensnarement, he frequently rode about the countryside in search of 'ladyes and the gentylwomen' (p. 58) with whom he could start a relationship.

The galaunt's association with lust remains strong to the end of the period examined by this study. In Nicholas Udall's translation of the 'Apothegms of Socrates', the Greek philosopher is recorded as:

> When he sawe a young ruffleer trymmyng hymselfe after ye moste galaunte and mynion facion: If that trymmyng bee for mene, saied he, it will not bee: if for women, it should not bee [...] thou failest of thy purpose, and thou dooest plain iniurie. For it is in vaine for one mane to trymme hymselfe for an other, sens that betwene theim can bee no maryage: And a weked deede dooeth any young manne, if by settyng foorth of his beautie, he dooe laye abayte to be guile ye frail sexe of womankind, wheras a wife ought to bee woonne, not wt the lure of wantonnesse, but with honest maners & behaueour.[50]

[48] Leigh A. Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women As Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 21-78; Suan S. Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private Piety as Public Performance* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 114.

[49] For a discussion of the realities of non-marital liaisons in the period see: Ruth M. Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing unto others* (New York, NY; London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 120-122.

[50] Desiderius Erasmus, *Apophthegmes that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie and sentencious saiynges, of certain emperours, kynges, capitaines, philosophiers and oratours, aswell Grekes, as Romaines, bothe veraye pleasaunt [et] profitable to reade, partely for all maner of persones, [et] especially gentlemen. First gathered and compiled in Latine by the ryght famous clerke Maister Erasmus of Roterodame. And now translated into Englyshe by Nicolas Vdall*, trans. by Nicholas Udall, EEBO (London: Richard Grafton, 1542), p. 132.

The commentator ascribes only two possible motives for the young galaunt to be so bedecked in finery and both are grounded in seduction. Either the galaunt is attempting to attract other men with his finery, which the author concludes is an unachievable goal, or he seeks to corrupt the frail sex of womankind and lure them into fornication. As the galaunt is exclusively associated with heterosexual desire in the rest of the corpus the rapidity with which the author dismisses the first candidate is probably not only based in homophobia but also in the knowledge that the galaunts are womanisers. The piece passes direct comment on the wickedness of the galaunt's manipulation of physical beauty in order that he might feed his lasciviousness and the two aspects of the figure's semiotics are again presented as interrelated.

The last text from the period of study to consider the galaunts' lustful appetites is the mid-sixteenth-century ballad entitled *Little John Nobody*, in which the young reformers that are the target of the piece are attacked for their tendency to 'live in lust, in lechery to leyke'.[51] Instead of dedicating their energies to the Gospels, they 'move mischiefe in their mind both to maid and wife / To bring them in adoutry' (ll. 44-45). This accusation draws on the galaunt's portrayal as an adulterer that has been found to be common to a number of the aforementioned earlier examples from the corpus, including: *Instructions to his Son*, *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, *DIMEV* 3084 and *The Fyftene Joyes of Maryage*. This tendency to present the galaunt as a corruptive influence is also apparent in *DIMEV* 3765b, in which the figure is defined by 'lecehery & adouwetrye'.[52] The association of the galaunt with infidelity is so strong that it endures for centuries after the end of the timeframe of this study, as is explored in David Turner's monograph on early modern attitudes to adultery. It needs to be noted, however, that these late medieval examples lay the groundwork for the 'new language of adultery' that Turner argues was associated with the galaunt for the first time in the Jacobean and Restoration examples on which his work focuses.[53]

[51] Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Broadsides, Vol. 1, pp.19-21, l. 22.

[52] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 149-150, l. 21.

[53] David Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex, and Civility in England, 1660-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 38.

Intemperance

From the first extant mention of the figure, the galaunt is located in the context of the tavern and depicted as an inebriated wastrel:

> They drynke tyl thay be dry,
> *lingua sensuque carentes*, [lacking tongue and sense]
> They kry, "Ful the bolles!"
> "*Bonus est liquor, hic maneamus*; [The liquor is good; let's stay here]
> For alle Crystyn soles,
> *dum durant vasa, bibamus*!"[54] [while the bottles last, let's drink]

The scene described here is one of abandoned conviviality, coloured by irreverent language and excess. The galaunt's gluttonous appetites in the piece are manifold. Throughout the poem the figure is aligned with the *bon vivant* and depicted as incapable of exercising restraint. The galaunts '*pascuntur deliciose* [they dine deliciously]' (l. 128) and are '*fragrantia vina bibentes* [drinking fragrant wines]' (l. 190). As wine was an expensive commodity, the galaunt's taste in beverages is, like his sartorial preferences, a sign of his decadence.[55] The figure thus acts as a conduit for expressing established preconceptions about the hedonism of youth. In reality, excessive drinking was not solely a youth issue during the period covered by this study: Joyce O'Connor's analysis of the social and cultural influences on twentieth-century juvenile alcoholism has found that overindulgence in alcohol was a wide-spread activity in which young and old indulged alike during the medieval period; and James Nicholls reached a similar conclusion about early modern drinking culture following his wide-reaching investigation of the history of alcohol consumption in England.[56] In the galaunt corpus, however, drunkenness is an integral aspect of the figure's role as Wayward Youth that serves as further evidence of the tradition's interaction with established discourses on the life cycle.

There are also socio-political factors behind the galaunt's positioning in the tavern. The author of the mid-fifteenth-century *DIMEV* 3084 takes pains to point out that the

[54] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, ll. 191-196.

[55] Margery K. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 30.

[56] Joyce O'Connor, *The Young Drinkers: A Cross-National Study of Social and Cultural Influences* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1978), pp. 35-37; James Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A history of the drink question in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 6-8.

galaunts are not solely to blame for their misbehaviour. Instead, the suggestion is that they are corrupted by the acquaintances that they make during their engagement with the seedy world of the late medieval tavern.[57] The galaunt's fellows include 'trygetours & tryflours that tavernes haunte' who 'trouth and temperaunce troden under foote'.[58] On the surface the *trygetours* and *tryflours* with whom the galaunt is conversing are simply entertainers, illusionists or storytellers.[59] On looking deeper, however, the company has a decidedly insalubrious quality as such performers were often maligned for being dissemblers, liars, criminals, practitioners of dark magic and even traitorous heretics.[60] In *The Assembly of Gods*, for example, 'tregetours' and 'tryphelers' are grouped together with 'feyners of tales, Lastyuyous lurdeyns, & pykers of males' as members of the criminal classes.[61]

The veracity of this depiction of the tavern as the breeding ground of vice can be confirmed through recourse to the many complaints that were made about such premises in legal cases and civic ordinances. A proclamation of 1393, which is roughly the period to which the first galaunt text dates, declared that a nine-o'clock curfew was to be enforced on account of the fact that:

> Many and divers affrays, broils, and dissensions, have arisen in times past, and many men have been slain and murdered, by reason of the frequent resort of, and consorting with, common harlots, at taverns, brewhouses of *huksters*, and other places of ill-fame, within the said city, and the suburbs thereof.[62]

Taverns, together with the lascivious individuals that frequented them, were held to be a cause of riot and civil unrest. The fact that the galaunt is a member of this perfidious community has been used by Davenport to argue that the figure is of the 'stews' rather than of the court, but this misses the crux of the discourse as the concerns expressed in the corpus

[57] Barbara A. Hanawalt, *'Of Good and Ill Repute': Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 109-110.

[58] *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, ll. 106-108.

[59] *MED* headword *treğetŏur* (n): a; headword *trufler* (n): b.

[60] *MED* headword *treğetŏur* (n): b, c; headword *trufler* (n): a.

[61] *The Assembly of Gods*, ed. by Jane Chance, l. 685.

[62] *Memorials of London and London Life: In the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. and trans. by Henry T. Riley (London: Longman, 1868), p. 535. This is Riley's translation of the original French version. The italicised text appears in his edition.

focus on the corruptive influences that threaten the spiritual and physical health of the young men of the courtly classes.[63] The galaunt is dangerous because he is the antithesis of the sombre attitude that must be attained if one is to be successfully inducted into the adult spheres of this echelon of society.

In *The Bowge of Courte* the galaunt himself declares, in the guise of Ryotte, that revelry is his *raison d'etre*: 'This worlde is nothynge but ete, drynke and slepe, / And thus with us good company to kepe'.[64] Free from responsibility, the galaunt indulges in a life of excess and depravity. His energies are focused on the carnal pleasures of food, drink and sex to a profane degree. Ryotte is described as being able to 'counter *O lux* upon a potte' (l. 365). The pollution of the hymn *Et principalis Unitas* caused by its being sung over a drinking vessel emphasises the fact that the galaunt's excesses of lifestyle cause direct harm to his relationship with God. Ryotte's heretical talent thus ties in with the accusations of irreverence that were shown in the previous chapter to link the sartorial discourses at play in the corpus with wider didactic traditions that aimed to warn the young about the temporal nature of life and urged them to consider the impending judgement of their souls.

Song is another recurring feature of the galaunt that can be used to identify the figure's semiotic function as an emblem of Youth. The feature links the figure to the ribald ballads from the period that are purported to be the work of young students, such as the large body of Latin examples accumulated by John Symonds.[65] In this regard, the figure perhaps satirises the young scholars that Ruth Karras describes in her analysis of the role that homo-social activities involving alcohol, fraternisation with women and singing played in the development of masculine identity at medieval universities.[66] The foregoing survey has already unearthed several references in the corpus to the galaunts singing snatches from drinking songs: in the late-fourteenth-century *DIMEV* 4853 and the late-fifteenth-century *DIMEV* 1488. Between these two examples, in terms of chronology, the galaunt is also described as a singer by John Russell in the *Boke of Kervyng and Nortur*, which dates from *c*.1475:

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[63] Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', p. 117.

[64] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions*, ed. by Julia Boffey, pp. 232-265, ll. 384-385.

[65] *Wine Women and Song: Medieval Latin students' songs now first translated into English verse with an essay*, ed. and trans. by John A. Symonds (London: Chatto and Windus, 1925).

[66] Ruth M. Karras, 'Sharing Wine, Women, and Song: Masculine Identity Formation in the Medieval European Universities', in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, NY: Garland, 2000), pp. 187-202.

A galaunt yonge man, a wanton wight,
pypynge & syngynge, lovynge & lyght,
Standynge on a clowd, Sanguineus he hight,
þe begynnynge of þe seson þat cleped is ver.[67]

Russell's galaunt is the epitome of youthful vitality and exuberance. The text even directly quotes the humoural and seasonal theories that were established in chapter one as a significant contributor to the origins of the figure, such as Aristotle's theory that youths 'are sanguine; nature warms their blood as though excess of wine' causing them to 'think they know everything, and are always quite sure about it'.[68] The image of youthful energy and joviality is thus tainted by a tendency towards ill governance and recalcitrance in both the Classical tradition and the corpus. Russell qualifies the description of the 'pypynge & syngynge' galaunt with the phrase 'a wanton wight'.[69] *Wanton* confers a host of negative attributes, including recklessness, rebelliousness, extravagance and lasciviousness.[70] As a result of these associations, even the figure's musicality is framed as a negative quality that highlights his raucousness and lack of sobriety.

The galaunt is associated with the production of music so closely by the mid-sixteenth century that the figure is awarded its own tune, reference to which is made in the transcript of an elegiac song that was composed to mark the passing of Elisabeth Parr. The ballad sheet remarks that the song is to be accompanied by 'the tune of New lusty gallant'.[71] The score is sadly not included with the text, which perhaps suggests that the tune was relatively well known or at least that the name 'new lusty gallant' conjured a particular sort of melody. The type of 'lusty' tune brought to mind is markedly at odds with the tone of the piece that it was

[67] *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, revised ed. (London: Trübner, 1973), pp. 117-199, ll. 727-730.

[68] Aristotle, 'Rhetoric II', Book 12, ll. 12-14, in: John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 192-193.

[69] *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, pp. 117-199, l. 728, l. 727.

[70] *MED* headword wantoun (adj.).

[71] William Elderton, *A proper new balad in praise of my ladie marques, whose death is bewailed, to the tune of new lusty gallant* (London: In Fletestreat beneath the Conduit, at the signe of S. Iohn Euangelist, by Thomas Colwell, *c.*1569). The dedication of the ballad is discussed by: Helen Graham-Matheson, 'Petticoats and Politics: Elisabeth Parr and Female Agency at the Early Elizabethan Court', in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-waiting across Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 31-50 (see p. 32).

meant to accompany, but the description fits perfectly with the lecherous qualities of the figure and the phase of the life cycle that it represents. Indeed, it is at this time that the coupling of the figure with young, revelling courtiers makes a full transition from the world of representation to accounts of the realities of court life. King Edward VI's *Chronicle* for 1551 records that in July of that year a sweating sickness struck London and that it was commonly referred to as '"Stop Gallant", for there were some dancing in the court at nine o'clock who were dead by eleven o'clock'.[72] The account given in the *Chronicle* uses the galaunt to describe the exuberance of the court in a non-fictional context. Not only does this show that the figure was famous enough to be chosen as a pseudonym for youthful vigour; it also offers a tantalising glimpse of the culture of dance and song at the court that 'ye London Galantes' described in the prologue to *The Ship of Fools* are used to satirise.[73]

Gambling

Sartorial display and womanising are not the only expensive hobbies to which the galaunts are presented in the corpus as being prone. Another of the key behavioural traits associated with the figure is gambling, which was a popular pastime with young courtiers during the period in question.[74] Andrea Denny-Brown has already discussed the figure's role as a pawn of Chance but the references to gambling that appear in the corpus are yet to have been fully catalogued.[75] The vice first enters the galaunt repertoire in the mid-fifteenth century, to which period *DIMEV* 3084 dates. This text devotes a great deal of attention to lambasting 'thou

[72] *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. by Wilbur K. Jordan (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), p. 71. Details of the sickness are given in: Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain: With additional material by D. E. C. Eversley, E. Ashworth Underwood and Lynda Ovenall*, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1965), pp. 259-265.

[73] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, p. 308. For a discussion of the significance of London as a location in Barclay's text see: Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 79. Information on court music tastes taken from: Regula H. Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-making* (Amsterdam; New York, NY: Rodopi, 2008), p. 14.

[74] Lawrence M. Clopper, *Drama, Play, and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 25; Mavis E. Mate, 'Work and Leisure', in *A Social History of England*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and William M. Ormrod, pp. 376-392 (see p. 377); Kate Mertes, 'Aristocracy', p. 43.

[75] Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change*, pp. 171-177.

ruskyn galaunt / that poverte doth menace'.[76] The first definition of the verb *rusken* given in the *MED* is to start a game.[77] As such, the galaunt is menaced by poverty in the text due to his penchant for gambling. Also dating to this period is Lydgate's *Dietary*, in which the galaunt is included as part of a rogues' gallery of 'dronkelew, lyers, and lecchours, Gallauntes, disepleyers, and hasardours'.[78] This nefarious cohort essentially outlines the same behaviours as have been found to accrue around the figure in the corpus as a whole. Gambling is granted particular prominence in the line up as both dice players and hazarders, or compulsive gamblers, are singled out for attention.[79]

Lydgate's reference to the galaunt is economical, which suggests that the satiric figure was well-enough known to be able to supplement the brief account. As Derek Pearsall has previously observed, much of Lydgate's poetry uses other literary traditions as its basis.[80] The *Dietary* draws, for example, on the same medico-philosophical treatises as were shown in the first chapter to inform the galaunt's function as Youth.[81] Knowledge of the particular nuances carried by the galaunt, particularly the figure's recalcitrance and sartorial hubris (as these faults are not listed separately in the catalogue of vices given by Lydgate), enhances the didactic range of the account. As such, the effectiveness of Lydgate's reference to the galaunt needs to be subsidised by a familiarity with the satiric figure on the part of his audience. It is important to note, however, that not all variants of the *Dietary* include a reference to galaunts. The figure is included in the preferred manuscript of the *MED*, which is the copy in London, BL, MS Sloane 3534, fol. 1.[82] The copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 86 (SC 11951), fols 61-62, for example however, does not make reference to the galaunt.[83] The

[76] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, ll. 113-114.

[77] *MED* headword *rusken* (v.): a.

[78] Max Förster, 'Kleinere mittelenglische texte', *Anglia*, 42 (1918), pp. 145-224, l. 56. John Lydgate's *Dietary* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 1356. It survives in almost sixty manuscripts and early prints, a selection of which are listed in Appendix 1 and full details given in *DIMEV*.

[79] *MED* headword *hasardŏur* (n): a.

[80] Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 83.

[81] Claire Sponsler, 'Eating Lessons: Lydgate's "Dietary" and Consumer Conduct', in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. Clark (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. 1-22.

[82] It is for this reason that Max Förster's edition of this manuscript is the version referenced by this thesis: Max Förster, 'Kleinere mittelenglische texte', pp. 145-224.

[83] *Secular Lyrics of the XIV and XV Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 73-76.

figure is also absent from the version in London, BL, MS Lansdowne 699, fols 85-88.[84] As the remainder of the passage given above is included in these variants it is of note that the galaunt is not also present. It is possible that the figure was added by the scribe who copied the text, but as Lydgate contributes five texts to the corpus he was certainly aware of the galaunt and the messages that it carried.

Gambling is next referred to at the end of the fifteenth century in *The Bowge of Courte*, in which Ryotte makes his entrance by casting his dice upon the table: 'on the borde he whyrled a payre of bones'.[85] Ryotte is by no means a capable raconteur as he makes a rash wager on 'a brydelynge caste for that is in thy male!' (l. 390), the outcome of which causes him to exclaim: 'Fye on this dyce, they be not worth a turde!' (l. 392). As befits the compulsive gambler, Ryotte then asks his dicing counterpart to play another bout, speaking of his losing-streak in desperate tones:

> Now wolde to God thou wolde leye money downe!
> Lorde, how that I wolde caste it full rounde!
> Ay, in my pouche a buckell I have founde;
> The armes of Calyce, I have no coyne nor crosse!
> I am not happy, I renne ay on the losse!
>
> (ll. 395-399)

Even in the midst of this account of Ryotte's gambling losses, the fact that his purse is devoid of coinage and yet contains a sartorial item in the form of a 'buckell' (l. 397) serves as a reminder of the direct link made in the corpus between extravagance in dress and impoverishment. The two aspects are thus presented as co-conspirators in the draining of the galaunt's finances.

[84] *John Lydgate: The Minor Poems, Vol. II: Secular Poems*, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, EETS OS 192 (London: Trübner,1934; reprint 1961), pp. 702-707.

[85] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions*, ed. by Julia Boffey, pp. 232-265, l. 346.

The description of Ryotte's empty purse shares many features with the portrayal of the same item in the roughly contemporary *DIMEV* 1488:

> Galaunt, by thy gyrdyl ther hangyth a purss;
> Ther-in ys neyther peny ner crosse,
> Butt iij dysse, and crystys curse.[86]

This example, like *The Bowge of Courte*, emphasises the ungodly nature of gambling and uses the depletion of the galaunt's funds as a metaphor for the erosion of his morality. Similar warnings about the damming consequences of gambling appear in another of the late-fifteenth century texts, *DIMEV* 206, in which the author counsels that to play 'at cardes and dyce yt bereth the pryce'.[87] The levy referred to here is both financial and spiritual and the warning to the galaunts is that they are risking more than their money when they sit down at the gaming table.

There are interesting links between the didactic function of the figure in these examples and its place in church wall paintings of the period. In Saint Ethelbert's Church in Hessett, Suffolk there is an intriguing mural of the Instruments of the Passion that sits immediately below a tree diagram of the Seven Deadly Sins in which the galaunt features heavily, as will be discussed below. Sadly the image is in a very poor state of repair and has only survived the whitewash of the Iconoclasm in very feint hues.[88] One can still discern, however, the outline of Christ in the centre of the image and many of the implements of torture by which he is encircled. One of the most striking of these is a playing card depicting the six of diamonds, which can be seen in the top left of the image included on the next page as Figure 10. It is also possible that the item is an over-sized die, included to represent the soldiers who gambled for Christ's clothes. The iconographical connection with morality art reinforces the galaunt's efficacy as an admonitory tool against the excesses inherent to youth. The dialogue between such visual examples and the written corpus creates a two-fold warning to young men that they must not squander their wealth or wager their souls on the galaunt's insalubrious pursuits.

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[86] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, ll. 33-35.

[87] Ibid., pp. 134-137, l. 21.

[88] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1992).



Figure 10: Photograph of a mural at Saint Ethelbert's Church, Hessett, Suffolk depicting the Implements of the Passion. The mural dates from the fifteenth century and is by an unknown artist.

The viewer of the mural at Hessett is reminded that committing sins such as gambling causes injury to Christ. As Chaucer's Pardoner sermonises in *The Canterbury Tales*:

> Hasard is verray mooder of lesynges,
> And of deceite, and cursed forswerynges,
> Blaspheme of Crist, manslaught, and wast also
> Of catel and of tyme; and furthermo,
> It is repreeve and contrarie of honour
> For to ben holde a commune hasardour.[89]

Gambling is presented by the Pardoner as a vice that is particularly damaging to the nobility in that they have the more to lose: 'And ever the hyer he is of estaat, / The moore is he yholden desolaat' (ll. 597-598). This is an attitude that has clear resonances in the corpus, in which the significance of the moral failings of the galaunts is informed by their failure to adhere to the strictures of aristocratic masculinity as set out in the medico-moral treatises on which the corpus is built.

Belligerence

A more sinister aspect of the galaunt's character is his violent nature. Returning again to the beginning of the tradition, the aforementioned passage in *DIMEV* 4853 that detailed the galaunts' revelries continues:

> Qwen men rest takes,
> *noctis sompno recreati,* [renewed by a night's sleep]
> Seche felows awakes
> *ad dampna patranda parati* [having prepared for wreaking havoc]
> "Armes, sydes, and blode!"
> *horum quidam recitauit;* [one of them swears]
> Yit when he ys most wode.[90]

[89] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, p. 198, ll. 591-596.

[90] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, ll. 198-204.

This fear of belligerent youths stalking the streets at night is also a feature of *DIMEV* 5428, in which the galaunts are accused of being 'nyht riotours that wil no wareyn spare'.[91] The figure is thus simultaneously described as dissolute in his habits and in his financing of them. Just as his wardrobe features the most expensive and fashionably excessive examples of contemporary clothing, so too his revelries are carried out with no consideration for their fiscal and social ramifications.

The figure's dissipation, if one takes the term *riotours* at face value, could also point to more sinister connections.[92] Contemporary legal cases are awash with references to rioters in the context of breaching the peace or, more seriously, being actively involved in rebellion.[93] Whilst there is nothing to suggest that the galaunt fits into the second category, he certainly represents those who pushed against the boundaries set by circumscriptive authority. The galaunt, with his anti-social behaviour and disrespectful nature, is thus the embodiment of delinquency. This role is perhaps best illustrated in *The Bowge of Courte*, as in this text the galaunt character is actually named *Ryotte*. As the following definitions from the *MED* show, this appellation engages with all of the behavioural traits that this study has found to have been fundamental to the makeup of the galaunt:

1a) Riotous living, dissipation, debauchery; extravagance;
1b) An instance of loose living, debauchery, or extravagance; a riotous assembly or feast;
1c) A lecherous disposition.
2) Revels, celebrations; A company, crowd.[94]

Violence and disturbance of the social order thus intermix in Ryotte with concerns about unwarranted sartorial display and intrusion into authoritative roles. This combination creates in the galaunt a composite of vanity and villainy that reflected and disparaged all of the negative behaviours associated with youth.

[91] *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, EETS OS 192, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press,1934; reprint 1961), Vol. II, pp. 449-455, l. 118.

[92] *MED* headword *riotour* (n): b.

[93] For example, the term is included in the *Statutes of the Realm*, the *Complaint of John Brome of Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire*, John Fortescue's *The Governance of England* and *The Chronicle of John Hardying*.

[94] *MED* headword *riot(e)* (n).

Peter Idley's *Instructions to his Son* is another fifteenth-century example in which the figure serves as an exemplar of the types of behaviour to be eschewed. Idley asks his reader to vow that he will not emulate the belligerent nature of the galaunt:

> Make a vowe to [not] do ony folie,
> As to slee a man or grevouslye to bete,
> As theise galantis doith that beith lusty and Iolye,
> That in hir pride wol manace and threte
> They swere he shall dye, if they may hym gete,
> Or they woll have his lyffelode or his goode
> They swere by armes, sides, and blode.[95]

The juxtaposition in the passage of the galaunt's extreme aggression with their joviality serves as a potent reminder for Idley's audience of the figure's duplicitous nature, and of the fact that the glamorous exterior hides a rotten underbelly of criminality and sin. The concerns surrounding the extent to which the figure's appearance matches his status are thus informed not by questions of class but of morality.

Idley's casting of the galaunt in the role of a blasphemer who swears on the passions of Christ in line 2805 of the afore-quoted passage is another feature with resonances in other parts of the corpus. The galaunt's earliest act of blasphemy, which occurs in *DIMEV* 4853, takes a remarkably similar form to the swearing reported by Idley as one of the riotous galaunts described in the earlier example also curses by '"Armes, sydes, and blode!"'.[96] This shared wording indicates that *DIMEV* 4853's detailed description of the galaunt may have been a source of inspiration for Idley's multiple references to the figure. The fact that *DIMEV* 4853 survives intact in three miscellanies produced in the fifteenth century suggests that it was still in circulation at the time that Idley was writing his *Instruction to His Son*.[97] The

[95] *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, p. 153, ll. 2799-2805.

[96] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 202.

[97] London, BL, MS Harley 536, fols 34-35; London, BL, MS Harley 941, fols 21-23; and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 516, fols 108-110.

poem can therefore perhaps be added as a specific example of the 'contemporary literary fashion' that Matthew Giancarlo argues Idley responds to in his work.[98]

The problem of felonious youth is presented as endemic in the fifteenth-century examples from the corpus. In *DIMEV* 3084 the author complains how 'to wyldenes & wrathe the worlde taketh moost kepe', laying the blame for this widespread violence firmly on the galaunts who act as the 'maynteynours of quarelles'.[99] The figure's clothing accessories are used in these accounts of affray as a physical manifestation of his belligerent nature. In *DIMEV* 3084 the quarrels are maintained by the galaunts' 'daggers of vengeaunce redy to make frayes' (l. 136). The dagger is also an essential part of the galaunt's outfit in *DIMEV* 1488 and in *The Bowge of Courte*.[100] These repeated references to weaponry and antagonism in the corpus reveal a shared and enduring fear of the danger posed by unrestrained youth.[101]

The question of whether the concerns about the belligerent tendencies of the young that find expression through the galaunt were influenced by real events warrants an extended study of its own. The suspicion with which the young were viewed in the period could be due, as Catharine Davies and Susan Brigden have previously suggested, to their dominance in the ratio of the population, but there is little evidence to suggest that this demographic banded together in any great numbers.[102] While a good deal of evidence pertaining to youth gangs on the Continent survives, far less has been revealed that would prove the existence of the same in England.[103] Previous scholarship on the subject has concluded that large, organised gangs

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[98] Matthew Giancarlo, 'Dressing up a "Galaunt": Traditional Piety and Fashionable Politics in Peter Idley's "Translacions" of Mannyng and Lydgate', in Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh eds, *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 429-447 (quote on p. 439).

[99] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 94; l. 163.

[100] *DIMEV* 1488: *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, l. 37; *The Bowge of Courte*: *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions*, ed. by Julia Boffey, pp. 232-265, l. 363.

[101] The expression of similar concerns in other literature is explored in: *Fifteenth-Century Studies Volume 27: A special issue on violence in fifteenth-century text and image*, ed. by Edelgard E. DuBruck and Yael Even (Woodbridge; Rochester, NY: Camden House; Boydell, 2002).

[102] Catharine Davies, *A Religion of the Word: the Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 3-4; Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 207.

[103] Serggio Bertelli, *The King's Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, trans. by R. Burr Litchfield (Pennsylvania, PA: Penn State Press, 2003), pp. 249-250; Natalie Z. Davis, 'The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth–Century France', *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), pp. 41-75; Katja Gvozdeva, 'Hobbyhorse Performance: A Ritual Attribute of Carnivalesque Traditions and its Literary Appropriation in Sottie Theatre', in *Genre and Ritual: The Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals*, ed. by Eyolf

of the sort seen in the *abbayes de jeunesse* of France, Germany and Switzerland, do not appear to have had an English counterpart.[104] Deborah Youngs's monograph *The Life Cycle in Western Europe c.1300-c.1500* presents important evidence about late medieval youth groups and the sense of a shared identity that such organisations allowed to flourish.[105] Youngs is cautious to emphasise, however, that the extent to which this evidence 'suggests that a youth sub-culture existed in the Middle Ages is debateable'.[106] This conclusion engages with Ilana Ben-Amos's earlier work on the subject of *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*, in which she devotes an entire chapter to the question of whether there was a youth culture in early modern England.[107] After examining the evidence for youth-centric forms of spirituality and expressions of sexual awakening that are analogous to the discourses surrounding the galaunt, she concludes that 'few, if any, of the features we tend to associate with a cohesive subculture can be attributed to young people in early modern English society'.[108]

Records have been found, however, of young men engaging in *ad hoc* riotous behaviour, particularly the members of the various London guilds.[109] The concerns expressed in the corpus corroborate this small-scale approach as they focus on localised and spontaneous violence that is perpetrated by a particular social group and fuelled by a toxic combination of alcohol and the intemperance of youth. There is some English documentary evidence from this period that alludes to criminal activity of the sort associated with the

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Østrem (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2005), pp. 65-86; Ruth M. Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formation of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 148-149.

[104] Samuel K. Cohn, Jr, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval English Towns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 69-72; Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p. 128.

[105] Deborah Youngs, *The Life Cycle in Western Europe c.1300-c.1500* (Manchester; New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 116-119.

[106] Ibid., p. 119.

[107] Ilana K. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 183-207. Edward George has asked similar questions about the early medieval period: 'Childhood and Youth in the Early Middle Ages', in *Youth in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Peter J. Goldberg and Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2004), pp. 11-24.

[108] Ibid., p. 205.

[109] Samuel K. Cohn, Jr, *Popular Protest*, pp. 72-73; Peter J. Goldberg, 'Masters and Men in Later Medieval England', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999); Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300-1348* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 7-8; pp.81-83.

galaunt. The Act of Apparel enacted by Henry VIII in the first year of his reign opens by stating that the legislation is necessary because 'divers of the Kings Sugiects' have been 'provoked meny of them to robbe and to doo extorcon and other unlawfull Dedes to maynteyne therby ther costly arrey'.[110] This concern about the criminalising effect of excessive expenditure is reflected in the galaunt corpus. From his first incarnation in *DIMEV* 4853 the galaunt is described as resorting to 'manslaught and thefte' in an attempt to fund his lavish lifestyle.[111] This theme continues in *DIMEV* 3084, in which the sartorial extravagances of the galaunt are accused of leading to widespread 'extorcyon' and 'robbery'.[112] *The Order of Fools* gives a similar report, complaining that 'sume for money lye by the wey / a-nother mannes purse to gett'.[113] So too does *DIMEV* 1488, in which the galaunts' profligacy is presented as leading them to be 'ful abyl to stele a horse'.[114] A link continues to be made between the figure's sartorial tastes and his criminality in *DIMEV* 3765a, in which the galaunts are described as 'wele besene, and strong thevys'.[115] Finally, the causational relationship between sartorial excess and theft continues to be explored into the sixteenth century, with Barclay stating in *The Ship of Fools* that the young members of the court are induced by their desire to emulate the fashions sported by their masters to 'stele [...] or Rubbe'.[116]

These accounts of the galaunts' criminal activities serve an admonitory purpose in that the passions and pastimes associated with the figure are consistently presented as leading

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[110] *The Statutes of the Realm / Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts*, 9 vols (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1810), Vol. 3, p. 8.

[111] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 81.

[112] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 165.

[113] *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, Vol. II, pp. 449-455, ll. 61-62. *The Order of Fools* is entered in *DIMEV* as number 5428. It survives intact in six manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 638 (SC 2078), fol. 219; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 648 (SC 2291), fols 19-21; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 683 (SC 798), fols 56-60; London, BL, MS Additional 34360 [*olim* Phillipps 9053], fols 24-26; London, BL, MS Cotton Nero A VI, fols 194-195; and London, BL, MS Harley 2251, fols 274-276. MacCracken's edition is of the second of these manuscript versions. The Harlean example has also been published: *A Selection from the Minor Poems of Don John Lydgate*, ed. by James Halliwell-Phillipps (London: T. Richard, 1840), p. 164. MacCracken and the *MED* date the text to the mid-fifteenth century.

[114] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, l. 39.

[115] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, pp. 252-253, ll. 14-15. Definition 5b (a) in the *MED* entry for *bisēn* is applicable here: equipped, furnished, dressed.

[116] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, p. 37.

directly to imprisonment and execution. In *DIMEV* 4853 the author quips that, due to their high-collared jackets, the galaunts' '*gladio sunt colla parata*' [necks are prepared for the sword] and warns that these singing revellers will one day become 'a cowntur-tenur at Newgat'.[117] The *Book of Curtesye* also describes the gallows as the galaunt's destination, describing the figure as 'Lyke to a prysoner of seynt malowis / A sonny busshe able to go to the galowis'.[118] It is the impudence of youth that receives particular comment in the piece, with Caxton describing the galaunt as a young man that has no respect for authority and who is 'For euery word gyuivnig his maister tweyne' (l. 458). This insolent demographic is again threatened with imprisonment and execution in *The Bowge of Courte*, as it is for them that 'Tyborne groneth both daye and nyghte'.[119] Tyburn is also referred to in the early-sixteenth-century interlude *Hick Scorner* through the quip: 'For that rock of Tyburn is so perilous a place / Young gallants dare not venture into Kent'.[120] The hangman's noose threatens again in *DIMEV* 206, in which the author warns that those who turn to highway robbery to fund a galaunt lifestyle will 'ben hangyd by the neke'.[121] The latest example in which the scaffold is used as a warning to the galaunts is *The Ship of Fools*, in which Barclay advises his reader:

> To thynke on the Galows that is a careful payne.
> But be it payne or nat: there many suche ende.
> At Newgate theyr garmentis ar offred to be solde.
> Theyr bodyes to the Jebet solemly ascende.
> Wavynge with the wether whyle theyr necke wyl holde.[122]

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[117] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 138; l. 207.

[118] *Caxton's Book of Curtesye*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS ES 3 (London: Trübner 1868; reprint 1973), ll. 456-462.

[119] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions*, ed. by Julia Boffey, pp. 232-265, l. 417.

[120] *Two Tudor Interludes: The Interlude of Youth; Hick Scorner*, ed. by Ian Lancashire (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), ll. 831-832. *Hick Scorner* survives complete in two sixteenth-century printed editions: *STC* 14039 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1515); and *STC* 14040 (William Copland, 1550). Other editions of the text include: *The Origins of the English Drama*, ed. by Thomas Hawkins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1773), Vol. I, pp. 69-111; *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, 4th ed., 15 vols (London: Reeves and Turner, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 143-195; *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, ed. by John M. Manly (Boston, MA: Ginn & Co., 1897), pp. 386-420; and *Six Anonymous Plays: First Series*, ed. by John S. Farmer (London: s.n., 1905), pp. 123-160. The interlude was composed in *c*.1514 and is anonymous.

[121] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 134-137, l. 64.

[122] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, p. 37.

There is a beautiful symmetry in this final example as Barclay's parting warning to the youthful courtier is that the galaunts, having been brought to the point of utter ruin by their love of sartorial finery and their profligate lifestyle, die naked.

Political ramifications: minority kingship

Whilst it must always be remembered that the galaunt gains his meaning from his association with established youth tropes, socio-political factors can also be seen to influence individual deployments of the figure. The uncertainty that a child monarch bred can be used to account for some of the antagonism towards youth that is expressed in the corpus. In *Little John Nobody*, for example, it is likely that the criticisms about the young galaunt-reformers also constitute an attack on the young king who was, at least nominally, behind the reforms. It was a common argument amongst Catholic conservatives that the new Protestant regime was exploiting and controlling King Edward VI, who was just nine years old when he came to the throne and died before entering his majority.[123] This is an opinion that Hugh Latimer ventriloquises in his second sermon, mimicking the opinions of those who were opposed to the Reformation as being that: 'thys geare wyll not tarye, it is but my Lorde Protectours, and my Lord of Canterburyes doynge. The Kynge is a chyld, he knoweth not of it'.[124] The fact that drastic changes were being made to the religious and social fabric of the nation at a time when the divinely sanctioned rule of the monarch had to be channelled through multiple politicians, fed the sort of feelings of dissatisfaction, mistrust and unease that are articulated in *Little John Nobody*.[125]

The importance of emphasising that the young king was behind the Reformation was keenly felt by its arbitrators, as is evidenced by the great pains that the Protestant regime took to depict Edward as having a controlling hand in the reforms.[126] The Protestant manifesto for Edward's reign was clearly set out by Archbishop Cranmer in his coronation speech, in which he declared that the child king should oversee 'the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome

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[123] John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, NJ; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 163.

[124] Hugh Latimer, *27 sermons preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God and constant matir [sic] of Iesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer etc.*, EEBO (London: John Day, 1562), p. 34.

[125] Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 3.

[126] John N. King, *English Reformation Literature*, p. 162.

banished from [his] subjects, and images removed'.[127] The idealised image of Edward as a precociously pious young king was perpetuated by Foxe in his *Actes and Monuments*, in which the author gushes that if he 'should seek with whom to match this noble Edward, I find not with whom to make my match more aptly, than with good Josias'.[128] The allusion to the Judaic monarch Josiah was also drawn by Thomas Becon in his eulogy for Edward, lamenting the loss of:

> That true Josias, that earnest destroyer of false religion, that fervent setter up of Gods true honor, that mooste bounteous Patrone of the godly learned, that moste worthy mayntayner of good letters and vertue, and that perfecte & livelye myrrour of true nobilitie and syncere godlines.[129]

As Margaret Aston's work on Reformation iconography has shown, whilst this repeated association of Edward with Josiah was ostensibly based on the fact that both rulers attempted to rid their peoples of idolatry, it in fact set a useful precedent for a child king who was actively involved in religious reform.[130]

The need to qualify Edward's youth permeates all aspects of his representation, as is evident in the painting of the young king that is included on the next page as Figure 11. Jennifer Loach's seminal work *Edward VI* has persuasively argued that Edward, though 'pious and well versed in religious matters' was not a 'godly imp' but instead a 'typical aristocratic youth of the sixteenth century', concerned with sartorial display and the inadequacy of his personal funds.[131] Loach uses such portraits of Edward to support her reinterpretation of the young monarch. In this portrait Edward is presented as his father's son: richly dressed and brimming with masculine virility and pride.

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[127] Henry Jenkyns, *The Remains of Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833), p. 119.

[128] *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: With a life and defence of the martyrologist by the late Rev. George Townsend,* ed. by Josiah Pratt, 8 vols (London: George Seeley, 1870), Vol. 5, pt 2, p. 698.

[129] Thomas Becon, *A confortable [sic] Epistle, too Goddes faythfull people in Englande wherein is declared the cause of takynge awaye the true Christen religion from them, & howe it maye be recouered and obtayned agayne*, EEBO (London: Johan Mayler, 1554), p. 5.

[130] Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 29.

[131] Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 135; p. 181.



Figure 11: Oil painting of King Edward VI produced *c.*1547, now held at the National Portrait Gallery, London. The artist is unknown but the painting is attributed to the workshop of Master John.[132]

[132] This image is © National Portrait Gallery, London and reproduced courtesy of their image licensing for academic purposes scheme. Image taken from: *Collections*, National Portrait Gallery, online ed. <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections> [last accessed 15 April 2016].

Whilst it must be remembered that royal portraits are as much exercises in propaganda as were the works that endeavoured to cast Edward as a young Josiah; the existence of images in which Edward is defined by his sumptuous attire makes the use of the galaunt in *Little John Nobody* all the more politically charged. The parallels between the sartorially extravagant figure of the galaunt and the sumptuously attired young king as presented in the portrait included above as Figure 11 are hard to miss. The level of similarity lends credence to the supposition that John Nobody's reference to the galaunt actually constitutes a thinly veiled allusion to Edward himself, particularly as the text dates from the same period as the royal portrait. The fact that Thomas Lever felt the need to sermonise at this time that Edward ought to concentrate on the scriptures, rather than on earthly pursuits, certainly suggests that the young king was guilty of some aspects of a galauntesque lifestyle.[133]

Alison Shell has previously observed that: 'Few ideological battles have fore grounded linguistic concerns so much as the Reformation, or been fought in such a rhetorically self-conscious manner'.[134] The decision by the author of *Little John Nobody* to use the galaunt as the vehicle through which to criticise the reformers should be read as an example of this self-conscious rhetoric. It is a decision that allows the full force of the galaunt corpus to play a part in John Nobody's critique of the supporters of the Protestant Reformation and, in particular, in the defamation of the young Josiah who acted as their figurehead. The mixture of reformer and *bon vivant* in Edward makes the galaunt the perfect admonitory tool through which to attack the young king for sharing the dangerous concoction of engagement and venality that John Nobody so bewails in the galaunt-reformers.

It is not only in *Little John Nobody* that the juvenility of the king has an effect on the galaunt's satiric function, as several of the earlier texts also engage with concerns about the problems of minority kingship. In contrast to the covert aspersions made against Edward VI by the author of *Little John Nobody*, however, the child-kings of the other examples are explicitly excused from having played any part in the proliferation of the ills that the authors describe as besetting society. In the first extant galaunt text, *DIMEV* 4853, the author makes reference to the powerlessness and ignorance of King Richard II and prays that he will be able to change society for the better on entering his majority:

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[133] Thomas Lever, *A Sermon Preached the Thyrd Sondaye in Lent before the Kynges Maiestie, and his Honorable Counsel* (London: John Day, 1550), p. 5.

[134] Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 10.

In age as he grows
sua crescat gratia fructu; [may his grace flourish in fruit]
Fulle lytelle he knowes
quanto dolet Anglia luctu.[135] [with how much sorrow England suffers]

The text asserts that Richard II is blameless on account of the fact that he 'knows nott alle' (l. 95) because '*non sunt qui vere loquuntur*' [there are none who speak the truth] (l. 96). The poem thus engages with other Ricardian texts, such as *Richard the Redeless*, that absolved the young king of culpability and instead placed the blame for society's ills on his deceitful advisors.[136]

It is worth noting, however, that the Parliamentary Rolls recording the charges made against King Richard II at his deposition show that he was held personally accountable and that a clear link was made between his failings as king and the sartorial excesses of his court.[137] As such, *DIMEV* 4853's repeated declarations of Richard's innocence are somewhat dubious, particularly when paired with the duplicitous nature of the envoy to the poem: '*O rex, si rex es, rege te, et eris sine re rex* / *Nomen habes sine re, te nisi recte regas*' [O King, if you are a king, rule yourself, and you will be a king though you have nothing. / You have the name without the thing, unless you, King, rightly rule yourself].[138] Whilst this appears to be a recitation of the earlier calls for the king to enter his majority with expediency for the good of the country, the lines also hazard a warning to the young monarch to 'rightly rule himself'. Interestingly, the scribe who copied the C-Text omitted the 'not' from line ninety-five and it had to be inserted as a later amendment, though it is impossible to tell if this was an intentional act of rebellion or merely a genuine mistake.[139] Either way, *DIMEV* 4853 can be read as another example in which the galaunt is used to criticise a court at which the young

[135] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, ll. 238-241.

[136] *Richard the Redeless and Mum and the Sothsegger*, ed. by James M. Dean, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), pp. 23-48.

[137] For an account of the proceedings see: *English Historical Documents IV: 1327-1485*, ed. by Alec R. Myers (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1969), pp. 407-414. Richard's kingship is discussed by: Nigel Saul, 'The Kingship of Richard II', in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, ed. by Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 37-58.

[138] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, p. 146.

[139] Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 516, fols 108-110 (see fol. 110*v*.).

are at the forefront of politics. Indeed, the galaunts are described in the text as 'Rowners and flatereres' who whisper in the King's ear.[140]

The proliferation of galaunts in Richard's retinue is attested to by images of the young king, such as the manuscript miniature that is included on the next page as Figure 12 in which he is closely surrounded by a number of fashionably dressed young men. These figures all sport the galaunt's outfit. Of particular note is the young man in the foreground whose back is turned to the viewer in a rather provocative stance that emphasises the shapely nature of his buttocks, which are revealed by the combination of tight hose and short, pleated jacket girded at the waist that is the cause of much negative comment in the corpus. Richard's apparel is, in comparison, rather sober and affords him a certain sense of majestic dignity. It can also be observed that the artist took some pains to depict Richard with the shadow of facial hair. The image thus casts those surrounding the king as galaunts but stops short of presenting the monarch in the same light.

Similar concerns about the unsuitable nature of those surrounding the young monarch were also expressed during the reign of King Henry VI.[141] The courtiers that the galaunt is used to defame in *DIMEV* 3084 are accused of creating an atmosphere 'Of fraude and dysceyte' at the court that the young king, who would have been in his early twenties at the time of composition, would find hard to navigate alone.[142] The galaunt is accused of being a liar and a fraud, spawned by guile and jealousy: 'With gabbynge & glosynge getest that thou hast / Gyle was thy fader and Jalousye thy dame' (ll. 65-66). As the galaunt acts as a negative youth stereotype, these concerns are again grounded in a mistrust of the youths that would naturally surround a young king. As Dunlop concludes in her study of the representation of aristocratic masculinity in late medieval drama: 'The young man exemplifies a threatening and dangerous masculinity, and that threat becomes multiplied when the young man is placed in a position of social and political authority'.[143] The galaunt of verse satire is wrought of this 'dangerous masculinity', particularly during periods of minority rule when the young were able to exercise power and influence at the court.

[140] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 33.

[141] Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 2.

[142] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 9.

[143] Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude*, p. 53.



Figure 12: Miniature of Jean Froissart presenting his *Chronicles* to King Richard II from London, BL, MS Harley 4380, fol. 23*v*.[144]

[144] Image taken from: *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, BL, online ed. <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm> [last accessed 15 April 2016].

King Henry VIII was also a young man when he came to the throne. Interestingly, however, the adolescent Henry is held up as a paradigm of virtue in the text that was produced during his youth. In his *envoy* to the section of *The Ship of Fools* that deals with fashion, Barclay advises the galaunts to follow the good example set by their young prince:

> But ye proude Galaundes that thus yourselfe disgise
> Be ye asshamed. beholde unto your Prynce.
> Consyder his sadnes: His honestye devyse
> His clothynge expresseth his imwarde prudence
> Ye se no Example of suche Inconuenyence
> In his hyghnes: but godly wyt and gravyte.
> Ensue hym: and sorowe for your enormyte.[145]

This depiction of Henry as a serious and soberly attired young man is at odds with the active and lusty youth described by those who met him. George Cavendish, for example, thought the young Henry 'disposed all to myrthe and pleasure and to followe his desier & appetyte'.[146] Given the scathing satire of *The Ship of Fools* and the repeated criticisms therein of the galaunts of court, Barclay's gushing praise of the young Henry could be taken as a deliberate over-exaggeration designed to cast doubt on the veracity of what was being said. The galaunts could therefore represent not just the prodigal courtiers but also the young king. This interpretation is corroborated by the portrait of Henry painted in *c*.1513 that is included on the next page as Figure 13, which depicts a long-haired and elegantly dressed young man. The young Henry is holding a flower in a pose that is reminiscent of the image of Death and the Galaunt at the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Newark-on-Trent as discussed in the previous chapter. Whilst on one level the rose is a heraldic motif included to represent the Tudor dynasty, the device can also be interpreted as aligning the young king with similar contemporary depictions of youthful romantic ardour.[147]

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[145] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, Vol. 1, p. 39.

[146] *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish*, ed. by Richard S. Sylvester, EETS 243 (London: Oxford University Press for EETS, 1959), p. 12.

[147] Charles Boutell, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, 11th edn, rev. by Arthus C. Fox-Davies (London: Reeves & Turner, 1914), p. 307; Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. by Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 83-104 (see p. 101).



Figure 13: Oil painting of King Henry VIII produced in *c*.1513 by an unknown artist. The portrait is part of the Berger Collection at the Denver Art Museum, Colorado.[148]

[148] This image is © Berger Collection Educational Trust and reproduced courtesy of their image licensing for academic purposes scheme. Image taken from: *The Berger Collection*, Denver Art Museum, online ed. <http://www.bergercollection.org> [last accessed 15 April 2016].

Engagement with other traditions: the Vices conflated in the galaunt

The galaunt's behavioural attributes are dictated by the figure's function as an emblem of Wayward Youth, but the traits explored above also speak to wider discourses on man's propensity to sin that found expression in homiletic traditions such as the Seven Deadly Sins. Like the aspects of youth, man's primary vices were schematised and personified in the medieval period in an attempt to enhance their didactic effectiveness. The most famous of these schemata focuses on seven capital vices: lust, wrath, sloth, envy, greed, gluttony and, above all else, pride. A significant early contributor to the topic of the Seven Deadly Sins was Morton Bloomfield, who catalogued a substantial body of material pertaining to the tradition.[149] Bloomfield posits that, while the concept of sin is eternal, the late medieval tradition of presenting seven capital vices has parallels in the septet of demons that accost the soul in early Hellenistic Gnostic dramas.[150] Whatever the origins of the tradition, its application increased tangentially after the Fourth Lateran Council, which was called by Pope Innocent III in 1215-1216, required confession to be made by the entire populace at least once a year.[151] For Roger Rosewell, the subsequent burgeoning of pictorial models of the Sins that is evident across Europe was a direct attempt to improve the spiritual self-awareness of the laity through the provision of 'contrasting pictures of sin and salvation, good and evil, with potentially didactic, or self-teaching, implications for the rigours of confession'.[152] This is an approach that is corroborated by Roberto Rusconi's analysis of the role that knowledge of the Sins played in the practice of confession in medieval France.[153]

[149] Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1952).

[150] Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 1-30. See also: John A. Yunck, 'Satire in Piers Plowman', in *A Companion to Piers Plowman*, ed. by John A. Alford (Berkley, CA; London: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 135-154 (see p. 138).

[151] Lee W. Patterson, 'The Parson's Tale and The Quitting of The Canterbury Tales', *Traditio*, 34 (1978), pp. 331-380 (see p. 334); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), p. 37.

[152] Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), p. 85.

[153] Roberto Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati: la confessione tra Medioevo ed etá moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001). The role of church art in religious education has also been discussed by: Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002).

The Sins come to feature in a wide variety of media deployed across Europe, including morality plays, sermons, poetry and visual art.[154] A rather fine late-fifteenth-century example of the latter category can still be seen in all of its colourful glory at the Cathédrale Sainte-Cécile in Albi, France. In England, a good number of examples of the schema as depicted in church art have survived, despite the best efforts of the Iconoclasm of the Reformation and Civil War to ensure that they did not. As a result of these purges many of the examples are only partially visible and little information about the appearance of the individual Vices can be gleaned, but the strongest images will be discussed below in a survey that owes much to the work of Anne Marshall's online database of extant murals from English parish churches.[155] This body of visual evidence is supplemented by numerous accounts of the Sins given in English literature, the many examples of which are charted by Bloomfield in his aforementioned study of the tradition. The most influential of the examples that date to the start of the period of study include: Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*; Chaucer's 'Parson's Tale' in *The Canterbury Tales*, which is examined below; and Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*.[156]

Direct reference is also made to the Sins in the corpus. Given the fact that Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* forms the basis of part of Idley's *Instructions to his Son*, it is unsurprising that the latter text explores the theme of the Sins. Idley's treatise 'On the Seven Deadly Sins' forms the majority of Book II of his text and the schema provides the structure for his musings on contemporary fashions and conditions, over the course of which the galaunt features repeatedly. The Sins also provide an organising principle in *DIMEV* 3084, the author of which attempts to match the letters of *galaunt* to the Sins:

[154] Daniel R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 414.

[155] Anne Marshall, 'Medieval Wall Painting in the Parish Church' <http://www.paintedchurch.org> [last accessed 12 October 2015].

[156] Matthew Giancarlo, 'Dressing up a "Galaunt"', pp. 429-447; *A Companion to Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. by Laura C. Lambdin and Robert T. Lambdin (Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 2002), p. 290.

For in this name Galaunt ye maye expresse.
Seven letters for some cause in especyall
That fygureth the vij deedly synnes and theyr wretchednes.
By whome man is made to the deuyll thrall.[157]

The poem then proceeds to explore the particular vice that corresponds to each letter: gluttony (ll. 64-70); avarice (ll. 71-77); lechery (ll. 78-84); *accidia* (ll. 85-91); wrath (ll. 92-98); new fangles (ll. 99-1050), which represents envy; and vain-glory, which is a subset of pride (ll. 106-112). The acrostic is not wholly successful but the author uses the broad categories offered by the Sins to establish the multiple moral failings of the galaunt that accrue around each Sin. The order is incorrect in the version of the text in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R 3 21, fols 247-248*v.* and the verses become muddled to instead spell *galanut*.[158] The Sins are still given as a framework for understanding the vices conflated by the galaunt, which shows that the figure is located in wider moral discourses as explored in other literature and visual art in which vices were personified.

Recent work on the Sins, such as the essays that are collected in *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*, builds on the lines of enquiry instigated by Bloomfield to offer fresh insights into how the interplay of visual art and literature in the tradition aided the didactic function of the schema.[159] Of most significance to the current study is the fact that these approaches locate the Sins in the context of their socio-cultural milieu in order to identify the particular behaviours that each application of the schema sought to address. This has been the approach taken to the galaunt in the foregoing analysis of the corpus and it can also help to elucidate the meanings carried by the figure when set in the broader cultural context of the widespread depiction of the Sins.

The role that fashion plays in the representation of vice has also received some prior attention. Adolf Katzenellenbogen interpreted the employment of high fashion in the depictions of the Sins as acting as: ‘an immediate deterring effect on the observer, since they

[157] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, ll. 57-59.

[158] Julia Boffey, ‘The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print’, *The Library*, 15, 3 (1993), pp. 175-186 (see p. 179).

[159] *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. by Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard (York: University of York Press, 2012).

are men like himself and not remote personifications'.[160] This interpretation is not without its problems, however, as the likelihood of the courtiers that wore the styles of dress depicted in the Sins schema actually being present to view the murals in the parish churches in which the majority of examples reside is not very great.[161] They are not the primary audience of the images and so the performance of attire in the depictions needs to be considered carefully. A more cautious, and more recent, contribution to the topic is Hilaire Kallendorf's analysis of the sartorial politics of Spanish Baroque treatments of the Vices. Kallendorf notes in the conclusion to her study that 'the Seven Deadly Sins have always made fashion statements but we have never been fully sure how to interpret them'.[162] Knowledge of the galaunt can help to illuminate the fashion discourses at play in late-medieval English treatments of the Sins as the figure both gains meaning from, and gives meaning to, the schematic representation of vice deployed in the visual treatments of the Seven Deadly Sins.

The Seven Deadly Sins in English church art

An early English example of a pictorial representation of the sins that damn man's soul can be found at Saint Peter and Saint Paul's Church in Chaldon, Surrey. The mural, which Ernest Tristram dates to the twelfth century, represents the vices to which man is prone using a ladder layout that echoes treatments of the Doom.[163] This layout is not replicated in the later examples, which instead employ alternative organisational methods. Several array the Sins around a central figure that represents the cardinal sin of Pride. Examples of this schema in which the hub is a crowned female include: a fourteenth-century example at the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin in Alveley, Shropshire; and a fifteenth-century version at Saint Peter's

[160] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to The Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Alan J. Crick (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1964), p. 44.

[161] Frank Kendon, *Moral Paintings in English Churches during the Middle Ages* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1923); Philip G. Lindley, 'The Black Death and English Art. A Debate and Some Assumptions', in *The Black Death in England*, ed. by William M. Ormrod and Philip G. Lindley (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 1996), pp. 125-146.

[162] Hilaire Kallendorf, 'Dressed to the Sevens, or Sin in Style: Fashion Statements by the Deadly Vices in Spanish Baroque', in *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. by Richard Newhauser (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 145-182 (quote on p. 182).

[163] Ernest Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The 12th Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 108.

Church in Raunds, Northamptonshire.[164] There are also examples in which a naked male figure is cast as Pride at the centre of the image, such as: a fourteenth-century image at Saint George's Church in Trotton, Sussex; and a fifteenth-century instance at Saint Nicholas Church in Little Horwood, Buckinghamshire.[165] Another popular method of representation was to use a tree diagram in which the Sins are ordered by severity, with Pride again taking the most prominent position at the apex. This formula can be seen in: the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Hoxne, Suffolk, the example at which dates from *c*.1390 and so is coeval with the first extant appearance of the galaunt in English literature; another fourteenth-century example at the church of Saint Mary and Saint Bartholomew in Cranborne, Dorset; a late-fourteenth-century version at All Saints' Church in Crostwight, Norfolk, though this example is in such a poor state of repair that analysis of it is impossible; and a splendid fifteenth-century rendering at Saint Ethelbert's Church in Hessett, Suffolk.[166]

Tree diagrams are also used in literature as a means of understanding the Sins. Chaucer's Parson begins his exposition on the subject with tree imagery, thereby linking his discourse to the murals in which this organising principal is also employed:

> Now is it bithovely thyng to telle whiche been the sevene deedly synnes, this is to seyn, chieftaynes of synnes. All they renne in o lees, but in diverse manneres. Now been they cleped chieftaynes, for as muche as they been chief and spryng of alle othere synnes. / Of the roote of thise sevene synnes, thanne, is Pride the general roote of all harmes. For of this roote spryngen certein braunches, as Ire, Envye, Accidie or Slewthe, Avarice or Coveitise (to commune understondynge), Glotonye, and Lecherye. / And everich if thise chief synnes hath his braunches and his twigges.[167]

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[164] Ernest Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The 14th Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 133; John Goodall, *Parish Church Treasures: The Nation's Greatest Art Collection* (London; New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 117.

[165] Ernest Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The 14th Century*, p. 259; *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Buckinghamshire*, Royal Commission On Historical Monuments (England), 2 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1913), Vol. 2, p. 47. The art at Trotton is also discussed by: John Edwards, 'Trotton's "Abbreviated' Doom"', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 123 (1985), pp. 115-125.

[166] Ernest Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The 14th Century*, p. 183; Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches*, p. 244; Ibid., p. 91; Ibid., p. 86.

[167] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, p. 299, ll. 387-389.

The Parson's attitude to pride, which he identifies as the root of all other harms, echoes the prominence that the feature is granted in visual art. He goes on to explain that pride takes two forms: inner arrogance and the outward expression of hubris (p. 300, l. 408). He is careful to point out, however, that the one is a reflection of the other: 'natheles that oon of thise speces of Pride is signe of that oother, right as the gaye leefsel ate taverne is signe of the wyn that is in the celer' (p. 300, l. 410). The sign that he identifies as the advertisement of pride is 'outrageous array of clothyng' (p. 300, l. 411), which is a judgement that it is also made in the galaunt corpus. The aspects of fashionable attire that are repeatedly criticised in relation to the figure, such as long-toed shoes, tight hose, dagged hems, wide sleeves and the short jacket, are specifically targeted by the Parson as signifiers of the pride of the wearer. They also, as the chapter will now turn to consider, typify the representation of Pride in the Sins schema.

Pride

The best English examples of the visual treatment of Pride can be found at Hoxne and at Hessett. The first of these is in the worse state of repair but the figure's costume features can still be just about discerned. These consist of a jacket of the galaunt style that is tightly girded at the waist and has wide sleeves. These features led Tristram to conclude that the figure is a 'richly clad gallant', which is an appraisal that holds up to scrutiny of the same costume features in the corpus.[168] The figure is, however, carrying items that also signify other associations. In his left hand Pride holds a mirror, the inclusion of which not only denotes Pride's concordant vice of vanity but also draws parallels with the visual representations of Youth that were discussed in the previous chapter. This rendering of Pride thus engages with the corpus on two levels: firstly in its condemnation of sartorial display and secondly in its alignment of these traits with the young. It is therefore interesting to note that the item that Pride holds in his right hand is a sceptre, which serves to denote both the eminence of hubris in the order of the sins and the section of society that was deemed to have a proclivity for the sin.[169] Such associations add further credence to the argument that it is elite youth that is the particular target of galaunt satire. In both traditions sartorial features functioned both as a symptom of Pride and as a metaphor for it. Engagement with fashion is a symptom because

[168] Ernest Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The 14th Century*, p. 183.

[169] Laura D. Gelfand, 'Social Structures and Sin: Reading Bosch's Prado Seven Deadly Sins and Four Last Things Painting', in *The Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. by Richard Newhauser.

those who wore fine clothing were necessarily proud, or else they would not have presented themselves in such finery. It is a metaphor because, as was the point made by Chaucer's Parson, it offers a powerful visual link between the outer and inner states of man.

The depiction of Pride at Hessett is in a fine state of repair, as can be seen in the photograph that is included on the next page as Figure 14. In this depiction the personification of Pride is again situated at the apex of the tree diagram and is represented by an extravagantly dressed young man. The costume features ensure that the figure and the message it carries cannot be mistaken. The figure is dressed, through his colorful and tight-fitting clothing, so as to draw maximum attention to his body and his elaborately plumed hat exudes a sense of pomp that can only be judged as arrogance. In case there remained any ambiguities about the manner in which these sartorial features were to be interpreted, the figure stands over the gaping jaws of a hell-mouth, which acts as a clear indicator of the damning consequences of indulging in galaunt apparel. The figure's tight hose, short and long-sleeved tunic, and elaborately plumed hat are all items of clothing that are associated with the galaunt in the corpus. As is the long hair, which again signifies the youth of the figure and targets this phase of the life cycle as the demographic that is in particular need of the warning. Whilst the figure is well dressed, it is worth noting that he is not necessarily fashionably dressed as mi-parti hose had fallen out of fashion by the end of the previous century.[170] Their inclusion in the piece instead references earlier depictions of the Vices in which the feature tended to dominate.[171] An image of the full tree diagram is included on page 170 as Figure 15.

[170] Maria Hayward, 'Mi-parti', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles of the British Isles c. 450-1450*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Elizabeth Coatsworth and Maria Hayward (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 368.

[171] Michel Pastoureau, *The Devil's Cloth: A History of Stripes and Striped Fabrics*, trans. by Jody Gladding (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001).



Figure 14: Detail from the tree of the Seven Deadly Sins at Saint Ethelbert's Church in Hessett, Suffolk. The mural is fifteenth century and by an unknown artist.

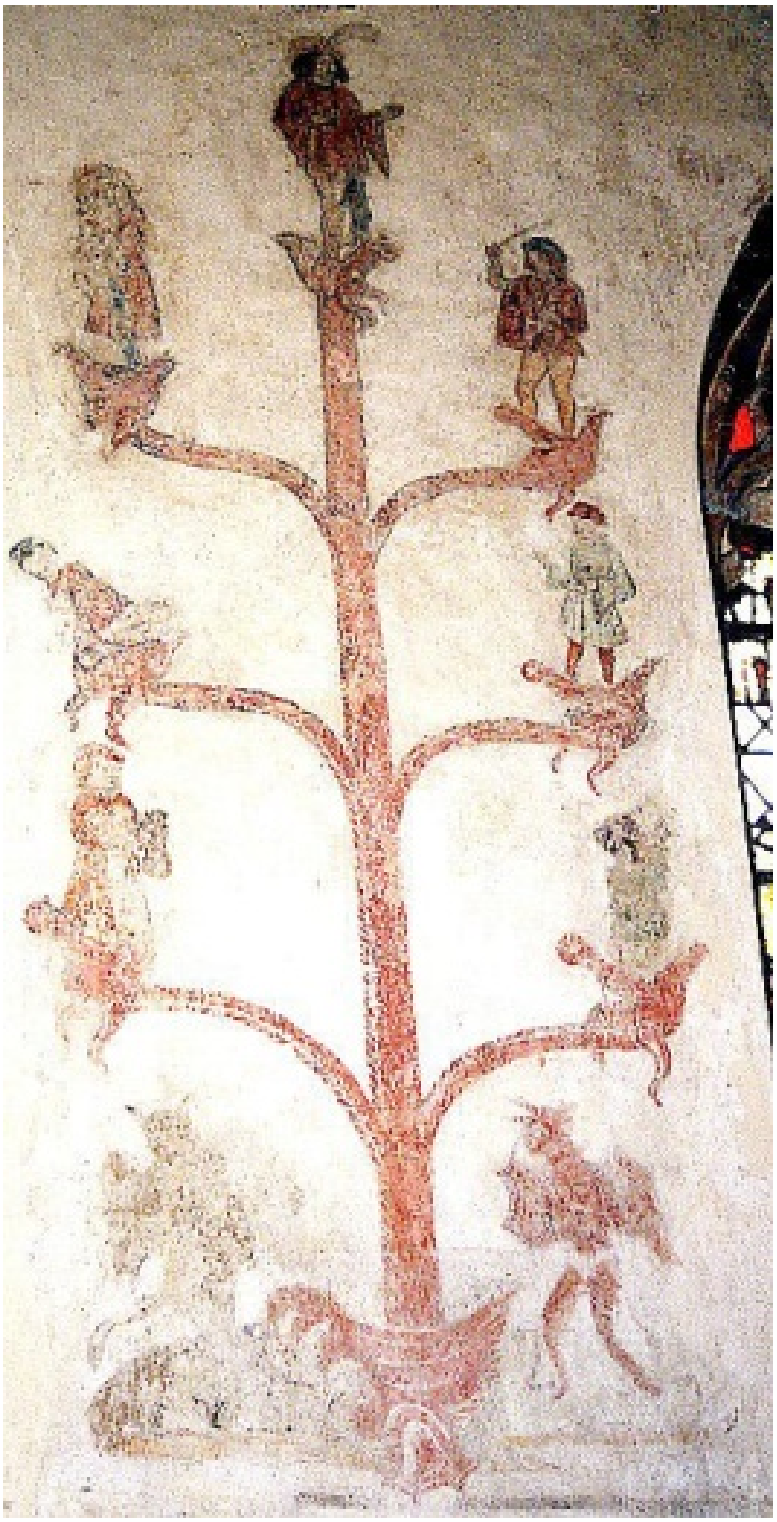


Figure 15: Photograph of the full tree of the Seven Deadly Sins at Saint Ethelbert's Church in Hessett, Suffolk.

The strong visual parallels between Pride and the galaunt are supplemented by the fact that the vice is repeatedly associated with the latter figure in the written corpus. The figure is described as proud in the first two examples from the corpus: *DIMEV* 4853 and Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.[172] It is in *DIMEV* 3084's tirade about the manifold vices of the figure, which are acrostically linked to all of the Sins, that pride is given room to dominate the depiction.[173] The term is used ten times in the text and is given as the root cause of the full panoply of the galaunt's faults, including his: deceitful nature (l. 11); his profligacy (l. 28); his 'Proude araye' (l. 115); and his shameful urges (l. 200).[174] The author reminds the reader that it was 'Pryde hath founde waye to exclude man fro blys' (l. 22) in a reference that is reminiscent of the embodied nature of the vices as presented in visual treatments of the Sins. The alignment with the iconography employed in these visual schemata is cemented by the reminder that: 'Was not pryde cause of Lucyfers fall / Pryde is in hell and galauntes nygheth them nere' (ll. 61-62). The reference to Lucifer engages with the same demonic imagery as is featured in the visual schema. In the version of the Sins that is housed at Cranborne, for example, several of the personifications are being physically manipulated by a beast of hell. The same is true of the tree diagram at Hessett, in which each figure is issuing from a demonic hell-mouth and the base of the tree is flanked by monstrous devils. The stark warning of the damnation that awaits those who indulge in the vices represented by the galaunt that is given in *DIMEV* 3084 is reinforced by these visual triggers about the consequences of pride and vanity.

The subsequent treatments of the subject of the galaunt's pride are more economical but the sin continues to be afforded prominence in later descriptions of the figure. Two of the late-fifteenth-century examples open with an accusation of the figure's hubris. In *DIMEV* 6831 the lyric begins 'ye prowd galonttes hertlesse', before moving on to catalogue the sartorial expression of this immorality.[175] Also dating to this period is *DIMEV* 1488, which opens with the accusation that:

[172] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 9; *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS ES 121-4, 4 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1924-1927; reprint 1967), l. 290.

[173] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160.

[174] The full list of instances is: l. 6, l. 11, l. 22, l. 28, ll. 61-62, l. 115, ll. 176-177, l. 200, l. 218.

[175] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, p. 251, l. 1.

> Galawnt pride, thy father ys dede;
> Thow hast hym robbyd, as y rede,
> And clothyd the in galawntes wede.[176]

The galaunt's name is here coupled with pride to emphasise the alignment of the two vice figures. The passage also engages with the concerns explored above about the fact that the galaunts are driven by their lust for sartorial splendour to criminal activities. The accusation is more nuanced than many of the previously discussed instances, however, as the pairing of patricide and theft indicates that the young galaunt has wasted his inheritance on his array. This is a concern that is echoed at the end of the century in *DIMEV* 3765b, in which the author again couples pride and murder.[177] The galaunt's disregard for the wellbeing of his family and the reputation of his rank also finds expression in the early-sixteenth century in *The Ship of Fools*, in which Barclay complains that the galaunt's 'Pryde expelleth his lynage from his mynde'.[178] This reflects a general sense of concern about the demise of the nobility that found expression in the period and that can also be read as informing the depiction of Pride in the Sins schema.

The final references to pride in the corpus occur in Becon's *The Iewel of Ioye*, which was composed in the mid-sixteenth century and so marks the end of the period in question. The text is an account of an imagined conversation between Philemon, Eusebius, Theophile, and Christofer: each of whom were founding fathers of the Christian Church.[179] A good deal of the conversation between the Christian Fathers is devoted to the issue of 'galaunt apparell', in the course of which Eusebius asks Philemon what he thinks of the fashions in which the galaunts take so much pride:

> But what sai you vnto galaunt apparell, where of so many brag and boaste nowe adayes? Is it not a thynge, where in we maye worthely reioice?[180]

[176] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, ll. 1-3.

[177] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 149-150, l. 24.

[178] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, p. 36.

[179] The letters of Paul to Philemon constitute one of the books of the New Testament. Eusebius was a leading polemicist in the early Christian Church. *Theophile* is likely to be Theophilus, who is the named person to whom the Gospel of Luke is dedicated (Luke 1:3). *Christofer* may be a reference to Saint Christopher.

[180] Thomas Becon, *The iewel of ioye*, EEBO (London: John Day and W. Seres, 1550), p. 59.

Philemon replies that:

> Nothing lesse, for the wyse manne sayeth, Glory not in thyne apparaile at any tyme. Uestures were geuen vs of God to couer oure filthye nakednes, & not that we shoulde glorye in them, & make them instrumentes of pride. We ought rather when we put on our garments to lament our mischaunce our mortalitie and vncleannes, then to reioyce in theym.
>
> (p. 59)

This rather dour response serves the didactic purpose of the piece by educating the reader as to the spiritual ramifications of indulging in fashionable attire, and urging them to instead contemplate the Fall and man's propensity to sin. The fact that galaunt apparel is taken to be a gauge of the pride of the wearer is another instance of interaction between the written corpus and visual treatments of the Sins. Having already established that intemperance, belligerence and lust are the other behaviours most commonly associated with the galaunt, the chapter will end by giving some brief consideration to the depiction of these vices in church art.

Gluttony

In the medieval period gluttony referred as much to excessive drinking as it did to uncontrolled eating.[181] Indeed, church images of Gluttony tend to focus on alcoholism rather than on over eating.[182] At Trotton, Gluttony is guzzling from a very large bottle and at Chaldon he can be seen clasping a magnum of wine to his side. The image at Raunds is more difficult to decipher as the figure is depicted curled over a bowl and vomiting. Whilst it is possible that this last image is a reference to gorging on food, it could equally be the ravages of a hangover to which the depiction refers. The association of gluttony with a liking for strong wine offers a useful parameter for understanding the focus on alcoholism in the treatment of the galaunt's intemperance, as the figure's hedonism matches these established notions about the cardinal sin.

[181] Elizabeth M. Biebel, 'Pilgrims to Table: Food Consumption in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*' in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (London; Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1998), pp. 15-26 (see p. 21).

[182] This is attested to by the collection of examples available via: Anne Marshall, 'Medieval Wall Painting in the Parish Church'.

Wrath

There are two particularly well-preserved visual examples of Wrath, one at Hessett and another at Trotton. In the Hessett image, Wrath appears on the branch immediately below Pride to the right of the image, as can be seen on page 170 in Figure 15. The Vice, like Pride before him, is again depicted as a young and strikingly dressed man who sports the galaunt's typical fashions. He clasps a dagger in his left hand that is reminiscent of the 'daggers of vengeaunce / redy to make frayes' described in *DIMEV* 3084.[183] More subtle are the connotations of Wrath's slit sleeves, which offer the same nuances as the references in the corpus to dagged items of clothing that were discussed in the previous chapter. The torn garment represents the rending of the soul caused by the sin.[184] Indeed, Wrath is holding a whip above his head at an angle that suggests that the damage will be done to himself rather than by an opponent. This self harm is also a feature of the depiction at Trotton as Wrath, who is again dressed in the figure-hugging attire of the galaunt, is also depicted there as holding a weapon to his temple.[185] These depictions are informed by medico-religious treatises that define the emotion of anger as a debilitating ailment that, in addition to corrupting the soul, cripples the reason and causes physical harm to the body.[186] In both the galaunt corpus and the depictions of the Sins, these discourses on the physical manifestations of anger interact with the sanguine nature of youth, which in turn dictates that wrath is a sin to which the galaunts are naturally prone.

Lust

The final Sin conflated by the galaunt is lust, the numerous references to which in the corpus are discussed in detail above. In art, Lust is often personified by a couple in the act of sexual intercourse, as is the case at both Hessett and Raunds. The image of Lust at Trotton is rendered even more salacious by its position in the schema. This example arranges the Vices

[183] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 136.

[184] Andrea Denny-Brown, 'Rips and Slits: The Torn Garment and the Medieval Self', in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. by Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 223-238.

[185] Anne Marshall, 'Medieval Wall Painting in the Parish Church'.

[186] Virginia Langum, 'Medicine, Passion and Sin in Gower', in *Medieval and Early Modern Literature, Science and Medicine*, ed. by Rachel Falconer and Denis Renevey (Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2013), pp. 117-130. See also: *Vengeance in Medieval Europe: A Reader*, ed. by Daniel L. Smail and Kelly Gibson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

around a central figure of a naked man who, Tristram reports, was originally 'phallic'.[187] On manoeuvring past the coyness of Tristram's report one is left to assume that the figure's genitalia were clearly visible and the man was, perhaps, even depicted as having an erection. This would certainly have enhanced the depiction of Lust in the schema as the vice issues out from the central figure's body at about groin level. As each of the vices is located at the point of the body to which it primarily responds, with Pride at the head, Gluttony at the mouth, Sloth at the foot, Envy or possibly Vanity at the face, and Avarice and Wrath at either hand, close proximity to an exposed penis offers the perfect locale for Lust.

Location also plays a significant role in the positioning of the tree diagram at Hessett as this sits immediately above the aforementioned image of the Instruments of the Passion that is also at this church. Just like the examples that were discussed in the previous chapter, these images work together within the church space to create and exchange meaning.[188] The juxtaposition of the Sins with the Instruments emphasises the harm that is caused to a Christian soul, and through that soul to Christ himself, by indulgence in the types of behaviours that the Sins personify. The allusions to the galaunt that are made within these schemata are thus informed by the interactive nature of the images that create the moral discourse of the space.

Conclusion

On close examination of the behavioural traits described in the corpus of galaunt texts, three fundamental aspects of the figure's semiotic makeup can be identified as key to its satiric and didactic function as a negative youth stereotype. These are: his extravagance; his licentiousness; and his delinquent behaviour. The vices that become core aspects of the moral discourses surrounding the figure are thus indissolubly connected with the figure's identity as Youth. The galaunt's behaviours mark him out as an emblem of lasciviousness, guilty of drunkenness, deception, debauchery and ire. The galaunt is thus an amalgam of the Vices that personify the Seven Deadly Sins: Lust, Wrath, Sloth, Envy, Greed, Gluttony and, above all else, Pride. Through these associations, the galaunt taints the image of Youth with the failings of an immoral lifestyle. These concerns engage with the earlier discourses on *adolescentia* that were explored in chapter one, in which youth was frequently presented as a hedonistic

[187] Ernest Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The 14th Century*, p. 259.

[188] Paul Binski, 'The English Parish Church and its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem', *Studies in Iconography*, 20 (1999), pp. 1-25.

and unstable phase of the life cycle. The corpus of texts and images pertaining to the galaunt constitutes a coherent tradition that draws upon and perpetuates these well-established tropes. Throughout the corpus the galaunt engages with concerns that relate to youth behaviours, or more accurately to stereotypical perceptions thereof, and the majority of the material is directly aimed at the young; whether as the intended recipients of the advice being given, or the victims of the satire.

The galaunt's role in this youth discourse is twofold: in his casting as a drunkard, liar, spendthrift and fraudster, the galaunt acts as a stereotype that was used to complain, at length, about the recalcitrance and hubris of contemporary youth. In supplementation to this, the figure also serves as an exemplary tool that provides a cautionary model of bad behaviour designed to enable the audiences for these works to identify both the faults that they should eschew in themselves and the sort of insalubrious company that they should avoid. The galaunt lifestyle is flagged as a dangerous and intoxicating mode of behaviour, and in a large proportion of the corpus the figure fulfils the role of seducer by tempting others into lust and perfidy. Conversely, the renunciation of galauntness is presented in the literary and visual traditions as an important developmental phase; one that enables those who recant to navigate safely the precarious and temptation-strewn path from youth to adulthood.

To return to the quotation from The *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company* with which this chapter began; the account of Robert's induction into the Company is an external piece of evidence that proves that an actual person was described as a devotee of galaunt culture. Robert is here accused of emulating the fashions and hairstyle that were currently in vogue among the galaunts of the court. Robert is told to cut his hair 'so that he sadly dispose hym and manerly'.[189] The cutting of his hair is not simply a self sacrifice designed to give a visual marker of his new sobriety but a transformative act that will allow him to become more serious. The account thus shares with the literary tradition the belief that outward appearance could actively change inner nature, not merely act as a mirror or mask of it. The reference to sadness, which today probably best translates as seriousness, being the antithesis to the galaunt's folly is a feature with resonances in the wider corpus.[190] Having described the misbehaviour of the galaunts in his *Boke of Kervyng and Nortur*, Russell concludes that 'every sovereyne of sadnes alle suche sort shalle dispise'.[191] This judgment matches the

[189] *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527*, ed. by Laetitia Lyell, p. 121.

[190] *MED* headword sădnes(se) (n): 2b.

[191] *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, pp. 117-199, l. 308.

general condemnation of the figure as seen in the examples explored above. In *DIMEV* 3084, which also dates from the fifteenth century, the author begs 'O englonde remembre thyne olde sadnes' in a plea for his readership to eschew the galaunt lifestyle.[192] Similarly, *The Ship of Fools* bemoans the fact that, because of the galaunt plague, 'al sadness is decayde' and ends its discussion of galaunt sartorial culture by praising the young Henry VIII for his 'gravyte'.[193] The discourses around the figure thus habitually contrast youthful excess, as personified by the galaunt, with the sobriety demanded of maturity to create a prescriptive and formulaic model of what constitutes proper manhood.

The desired regenerative effects do not appear to have been wrought, however, as Robert does not mend his ways and is, ten years after being entered and sworn, again brought before the council for the debt of 20s.[194] As Claire Sponsler has previously observed, the audience of didactic discourses, such as are exercised in the galaunt tradition, 'need not have acquiesced to the lessons taught by' them.[195] The attempts that are made at an intergenerational transmission of cultural mores would appear, on the basis of the repetitious nature of the galaunt corpus, to have been repeatedly unsuccessful. As Miles Coverdale's mid-sixteenth-century translation of Otto Werdmüller's *A Spyrytuall and moost precyouse pearle* laments, even those who are perilously ill remain fond of 'eatyng, drynckyng, galaunt apparell, dansyng, toyeng, playnge and gamynge or vpon any maner of worldly felicyte'.[196] If those who are at the end of life cannot be made to heed the warnings of the moralists then there is little hope of convincing those who are in the pride of life to do so. What the corpus does manage to bequeath, however, is an evocative framework for the formulaic discussion of the wayward tendencies of youth that is employed far beyond the period discussed here. Given the tradition's interaction with much older complaints of a similar nature, this desire to criticise and counsel youth would appear to be an eternal impulse.

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[192] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 217.

[193] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, p. 35, p. 39.

[194] *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527*, ed. by Laetitia Lyell, p. 191.

[195] Claire Sponsler, 'Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws', *Clio: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Literature, History, and the Philosophy of History*, 21, 3 (1992), pp. 265-282 (quote on p. 163).

[196] *A spyrytuall and moost precyouse pearle. Teachyng all men to loue and imbrace the crosse, as a mooste swete and necessary thyng, vnto the sowle, and what comfort is to be taken thereof, and also where and howe, both consolacyon and ayde in all maner of afflyccyons is to be soughte, and agayne, how all men should behaue them selues therein, accordynge to the word of God. Sett forth by the moste honorable lorde, the duke hys grace of Somerset, as appeareth by hys epystle set before the same*, trans. by Miles Coverdale, EEBO (London: S. Mierdman for Gwalter Lynne, 1550), p. 45. The copy is held in the BL: *STC* 25255.

‘GALANT APPARAYLE OF THE BODY’: SARTORIAL SPLENDOUR AND MANIPULATED MASCULINITY IN THE GALAUNT TRADITION

Introduction

This chapter will begin by exploring the concept of the performance of attire in the late medieval period and the attitudes expressed to such sartorial display in the galaunt tradition. The investigation will focus on the tensions in the corpus between courtly conspicuous consumption and impoverishment, and ask what this discursive strain adds to our understanding of the galaunt’s function. The primacy of wastefulness and impracticality in these discourses on sartorial display will also be drawn out. The chapter will then turn to consider what these material concerns can tell us about attitudes to youth and masculinity in the late medieval period. This section of the chapter will pay particular attention to the implications of the transformative effects of the galaunt’s fashions on the figure’s role as Youth. It will be argued that the figure’s clothing was consistently presented as being both physically and spiritually distortive. Through its investigation of these criticisms about the manipulative effects of the figure’s clothing, the chapter will bring to light the anxieties about forged masculine authority and effeminacy that inform the sartorial discourses exercised in the corpus. The chapter will end by establishing the relationship in these fashion discourses between reaction to concurrent material culture and recitation of established tropes.

The quotation that heads the chapter is taken from John Fisher’s 1508 *Treatyse Concernynge the Fruytfull Saynges of Dauyd*, in which he complains of ‘wanton lokes, galant apparayle of the body’.[1] The figure’s dress acts as one of the most important aspects of its semiotic makeup, allowing both it and those it represents to be easily identified by the audience. More than this, each item of clothing is emblematic. The various fashions associated with the figure act as a screen for the projection of a variety of social discourses, the effectiveness of which depends on a familiarity with the material culture described if the concerns expressed are to be correctly understood. This is especially important when the figure is depicted visually: in images and on the stage. It is therefore essential that this study of the galaunt examine the role that fashion discourse plays throughout the corpus if it is to unravel the semiotic function of the figure.

[1] *The English Works of John Fisher: Bishop of Rochester*, ed. by John E. Mayor, EETS ES 27 (London: Trübner, 1876), pp. 1-267, l. 203.

The clothing discourse associated with the galaunt remains a relatively untouched subject. Whilst John Scattergood's article on 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages' does offer a concise summary of the main objections made against fashionable dress in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it does not discuss the impact that questions of masculinity and status have on the sartorial politics of the galaunt.[2] Similarly, Andrea Denny-Brown's recent chapter on the galaunt concentrates on the overarching theme of the association of the figure with *varietas vestium*.[3] Whilst novelty and transience are important aspects of the sartorial discourse surrounding the figure, there are many other avenues of investigation that remain unexplored. Indeed, the importance of "reading" material culture as a key interpretative factor in medieval literature has only come to be properly appreciated in recent decades. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass's *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* sets the precedent for the method that is employed here of drawing upon sources that provide evidence of actual fashions to interpret better their representation in contemporary literature.[4] The wider significance of undertaking such an endeavour has been neatly summarised by Barbara Burman in the abstract of *Material Strategies: Dress, and Gender in Historical Perspective*: 'integration of close object and textual analysis can enrich our understanding of wider historical factors and illuminate otherwise obscure facets of gendered historical experience'.[5] Whilst the gendered experience to which Burman refers is the female, this method is equally valid when used to elucidate the male experience of sartorial politics during the period in question and is an approach that can help to explicate the meanings carried by the galaunt. The application of this integrative approach to the analysis of the fashions described in the corpus constitutes a fresh analytical method for interpreting the function of the figure.

[2] John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. 255-272.

[3] Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change: The Trope of Clothing in High- and Late medieval England* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2012), pp. 148-178.

[4] *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, ed. by Ann R. Jones and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[5] *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, ed. by Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003).

The performance of attire

Fashion does not simply refer to the wearing of clothing, or even to an interest in personal adornment and finery. Instead, fashion is the creation of, and adherence to, a codified approach to sartorial display in which there is an established, and yet constantly changing, popular concept of what constitutes stylish dress.[6] Fashion is thus a unifying force, in that its followers must adhere to the sartorial aesthetic in vogue at the time, which is based on a consistent desire for constant and systematic change.[7] It is in this context that the "performance of attire" should be understood. Thorstein Veblen first coined the phrase 'conspicuous consumption' in *The Theory of the Leisure Class,*[8] but the terminology employed in this study is grounded in Susan Crane's work on the formation of personal identity during the Hundred Years' War, in which she explores court fashions as 'a sort of synchronic performance'.[9] Crane's study explores the opportunities for sartorial display afforded to the nobility by public events such as tournaments and festivals, at which members of the court circle were expected to present themselves in full fashionable regalia in order to cement their position at the pinnacle of society.[10] Extant evidence confirms that the court circle was quick to take on this sartorial challenge as the wardrobe accounts attest to the fact that expenditure on dress increased significantly around such festivities.[11] Knowledge of, and adherence to, the fashion system could thus confirm an individual's place at the apex of the social order and formed an integral aspect of aristocratic identity in the medieval period.

This attitude to sartorial splendour is echoed in romance literature, in which the hero's opulent attire receives gushing praise. In the late-twelfth-century Anglo-Norman *Ipomadon*,

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[6] Emily J. Rozier, 'Fashion', in *The Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Albrecht Classen, 3 vols (Berlin, Boston and München: DeGruyter, 2015), Vol I, pp. 415-430 (see p. 415).

[7] Sarah-Grace Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 8-10.

[8] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1899; reprint London: Allen and Unwin, 1970).

[9] Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, clothing and identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 3.

[10] Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 2. This opinion is also expressed by: Malcolm R. Smuts, 'Material Culture, Metropolitan Influences and Moral Authority in Early Modern England', in *Material Culture and Cultural Materialisms in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Curtis Perry (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 203-224 (see p. 212).

[11] Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of The Black Prince: A Study of The Years 1340-1365* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1980).

for example, the expensive materials used in the manufacture of the hero's attire are lingered on, including the red velvet used to make his doublet and the gold for his buttons.[12] There is no explicit moral censure attached to the description, which instead concludes that the outfit became him well.[13] The authors of romance literature take fashionable modes of dress and imbue them with a chivalric identity. Instead of viewing the figure-hugging new fashion as lascivious, the author of *Ipomadon* uses it to represent virility. Even dagging, which is greatly maligned in the galaunt corpus and was frequently legislated against in the Acts of Apparel, is used to represent sartorially the wounds won in battle.[14] As a result of these attitudes, it has frequently been argued that the nobility were duty bound in the medieval period to maintain an appearance of opulence, and that their engagement with luxurious sartorial display was deemed to be a fitting and necessary aspect of aristocratic culture.[15]

Throughout the corpus the galaunt is presented as a conspicuous consumer. The figure is associated with ornamentation and ostentation so strongly that in *The Assembly of Gods* it is Cupid's expensive attire that causes him to be referred to as a galaunt:

> Then was there set the god Cupido,
> All fresshe and galaunt and cotlew in aray.
> With ouches and rynges he was beset so,
> The paleys therof shone as though hit had be day.[16]

Theresa Tinkle has already observed that this passage presents Cupid in all of the trappings of aristocratic sartorial opulence and wealth.[17] If Cupid's *ouches* were similar to contemporary

[12] Hue de Rotelande, *Ipomédon: poème*, ed. by Anthony J. Holden (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), ll. 8630-8635.

[13] Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of The Black Prince*, p. 40.

[14] Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change*, p. 237.

[15] This point has been made by, amongst others: Kate Mertes, 'Aristocracy', in *Fifteenth Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 42-60 (see pp. 50-51); Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Caroline Beamish (London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 154-155; Malcolm R. Smuts, 'Material Culture', p. 34; Philippa Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (London: Elek, 1976), p. 37.

[16] *The Assembly of Gods*, ed. by Jane Chance, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), ll. 295-298.

[17] Theresa Tinkle, *Medieval Venuses and Cupids: Sexuality, Hermeneutics, and English Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 132.

examples, such as the brooch worth 500 marks that was given to Sir John Fastolf by Richard, Duke of York, then they were certainly a very conspicuous sign of that wealth.[18] The description of Cupid's galaunt and costly array is not without critical comment and the figure's role in the text is to act as a conduit for satirising the dissipation of aristocratic youth. As the following exploration will show, this is a primary function of the figure's sartorial features as deployed throughout the corpus and in each incarnation the galaunt's performance of attire is inextricably linked to anxieties about excess.

The galaunt therefore presents an interesting dichotomy in late-medieval discourses on clothing culture. Michael Camille has investigated the conflicted attitudes to fashionable clothing that are evident in the *Luttrell Psalter*. Camille uses the illustrations contained in the manuscript to explore the predicament faced by women who had 'to strike a delicate balance between dressing with enough richness to identify her status and allure her spouse but not so richly that it put her in the wanton category'.[19] The following exploration of the fashion discourses for which the galaunt acts as vehicle will show that the figure offers a similarly problematic account when considering the attitudes expressed about young male members of the fashionable classes. Despite the relationship between sartorial display and the maintenance of rank, the adoption of fashionable attire, particularly the most innovative and *a la mode* of contemporary trends, was criticised indiscriminately by the didactic authors and social commentators who contributed to the corpus.

It should also be noted that a negative attitude to the impoverishing effect of adhering to the changing whims of high fashion is not unique to treatments of the galaunt as these warnings find expression in a large body of late medieval literature. The financially ruinous ramifications of indulging in fashionable attire were presented as a predicament commonly faced by the elite and much anti-sartorial comment was directed at that section of society. An example of such chastisement can be found in a sermon preserved in London, BL, MS Additional 41321:

> Also thei that ben in estaat of kny3thode, thoru this foule synne of pride, stieth faste and passeth hili hir estaat in al maner aparile that longeth unto hem

[18] Christopher M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Medieval England* (New Haven, CN; London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 175.

[19] Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), p. 110.

> above hire auncestres that weren bifore hem, whiche hadden myche more lifelode than their have now.[20]

This excerpt is typical of the misgivings commonly expressed about the disparity between the fortunes of the knightly classes and the affluence demanded to finance the superfluous splendour demanded of high fashion.[21] The decline in the prosperity of the nobility that took place in the late medieval period meant that it was possible for the upper classes to be guilty of wearing clothing that was deemed too luxurious for their situation.

The theme of the impoverished noble continues to inform social opinion through to the end of the period of study. As Edward VI harangues in his *Chronicle*:

> True gentlemen (I mean not these farming gentlemen, nor clerking knights) have little or nothing increased their rents; yet their housekeeping is dearer, their meat is dearer, their liveries dearer, their wages greater, which thing at length, if speedy remedy be not had, will bring that state into utter ruin [...] The gentleman, constrained by necessity and poverty, becomes a farmer, a grazier, or a sheepmaster; the grazier, the farmer, the merchant become landed men and call themselves gentlemen, though they be churls.[22]

Despite the universal application of these themes to all members of the nobility, regardless of age, the tendency to profligacy is presented in the corpus as a particular vice of youth. This is, of course, to be expected of the figure and relates commentary on contemporary clothing culture to the philosophies of Youth on which so much of the galaunt's semiotics draws. These preconceptions can be traced all the way back to Aristotle's writings on rhetoric, in which he explains the likelihood of bankruptcy in youth through recourse to the fact that 'youths have not yet learnt what it means to be without money and so spend it

[20] Transcribed in: *Lollard Sermons: British Library MS Additional 41321, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C 751, John Rylands MS Eng 412*, ed. by Gloria Cigman, EETS 294 (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 301.

[21] John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Blandford Press, 1971), p. 309.

[22] *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. by Wilbur K. Jordan (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), pp. 163-164.

irresponsibly'.[23] The immaturity of the galaunts is thus once again the crux to understanding the moral discourses of the corpus.

Complaints that are similar to those with which the galaunt engages are also apparent in poetry, featuring, for example, in Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*:

> In dayes olde, whan smal apparaille
> Souffysid unto hy estat or mene,
> Was greet houshold wel stuffid of vitaille;
> But now housholdes been ful sclendre and lene,
> For al the good that men may repe or glene
> Waastid is in outrageous array,
> So that housholdes men nat holde may.[24]

Hoccleve is here concerned with the financially ruinous effects that the performance of attire wreaks on great households and appears to be suggesting that no one should attempt to maintain an image of sartorial splendour, even those who belong to the echelons of whom such opulence was supposedly expected. A full-scale reappraisal of the sartorial politics of the period is therefore called for if we are to navigate the complexity of the issues addressed in the depiction of high fashion in late medieval literature.

Profligate sartorial display

The first extant galaunt text begins with the lamentation:

> Syng I wolde, butt, alas!
> *decendunt prospera grata.* [good times are fading away]
> Ynglond sum tyme was
> *regnorum gemma vocata,* [called the jewel of realms]
> Of manhod the flowre,

[23] Aristotle, 'Rhetoric II', Book 12, trans. by John A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 192-193, ll. 12-14.

[24] *Thomas Hoccleve: The Regiment of Princes*, ed. by Charles R. Blyth, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), ll. 491-497. Scattergood also comments on this extract in relation to the extravagances of the fifteenth-century nobility: John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 309-310.

ibi quondam floruit omnis; [where once all flourished]
Now gone ys that oure-
traduntur talia sompnis.[25] [such things are fading into dreams]

The decaying state of England's manhood is blamed in *DIMEV* 4853 on the fact that 'onthryfty pley ys worght, / *in eis regnat manifeste* [openly rules these days]' (ll. 55-56). Splendour is given as a significant contributing factor to the spiritual, economic and political decline of the nation in the poem, in which the 'ryche' (l. 41), who are contrasted in the next line with the *vulgus*, are the demographic that serves as the target of the satire. The decadence of the galaunts of court is outlined in detail throughout the piece, with the author complaining of the 'unthryft and wombes joyse' (l. 57) of 'gentyles, gromes and boyse' (l. 59) at some length. The author warns the reader to 'be warre of ylle sponon weft; / *quia pravi prave locuntur* [since corruption haunts the corrupt]' (ll. 83-84). This couplet, while ostensibly offering sensible advice about the purchasing of good-quality fabrics, is an example of the polysemy of material culture in the satire. The galaunt's clothing is later described as being of luxury materials and so the ill-spun weft referred to here is a metaphor for the poor foundations for the social fabric of a nation that is built on profligate youths such as those who form King Richard II's inner circle of galaunts.

As Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane have previously observed, the literary construct of the 'abused at court' was an accurate reflection of the realities of contemporary clothing culture, which caused many young men to bankrupt themselves in an attempt to stay *en vogue*.[26] Richard II's expenditure on dress in 1383, for example, was £128 13s. 2d.[27] This is almost twenty-six times the contemporary annual income of an averagely successful merchant.[28] Whilst the king's accounts are likely to represent the most extreme of cases, the high cost of luxury garments confirms that the fears about impoverishment expressed by the

[25] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), pp. 140-146, ll. 1-8.

[26] Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, p. 82.

[27] 'A Wardrobe Account of 16–17 Richard II', ed. by William P. Baildon, *Archaeologia*, 62 (1911), pp. 497–514 (information on p. 514).

[28] Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 29–32. These figures have been previously presented in, and were brought to my attention through, Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender & History*, 19 (2007), pp. 22-42 (see p. 22).

writers of galaunt satire were not unfounded.[29] Despite the risk of bankruptcy, the pressure on the elites to dress ostentatiously remained high throughout the late medieval period and the upper classes continued to operate in a world in which sartorial display acted as an integral reinforcement of social status. The galaunt is, in these instances, therefore an expression of the fear that the nobility had become more concerned with appearing wealthy than with protecting the means that could substantiate such claims.[30]

Many of the concerns that are expressed in *DIMEV* 4853 are also articulated in the mid-fifteenth-century *DIMEV* 3084, which was again composed during a period of minority rule. Both texts contrast the poverty endured by the majority of the population with the excessive luxury enjoyed by the few, and in each it is the galaunt's profligate tendencies that are cited as the cause of the nation's bankruptcy, both pecuniary and moral. In the later text this sense of alarm is heightened and reinforced at the end of every verse through the refrain 'England may wayle that ever it [the galaunt] came here'.[31] The figure is aligned with the spendthrift so closely in this example that his very name is described as 'unthryfty' (l. 64). *DIMEV* 4853 and 3084 also share identification of the figure's lifestyle as the cause of his poverty, with the latter admonishing the galaunt for 'in jettynge in janglynge thy dayes ben past' (l. 67). The galaunt's penchant for ostentatious garb is here paired with *janglen*, which translates as a tendency to gossip or chatter idly and serves to highlight the inanity of youth, and the action to *jet*, which means: 'to behave or dress ostentatiously; strut, swagger; be pompous, be foppish'.[32] The latter term engages directly with the notion of performance of attire, in that it describes the qualities of excess, show and display that are inherent to the concept.

The galaunts are again portrayed as jetting at the end of the fifteenth century in *DIMEV* 206, in which the author blames money for the sartorial lunacy that they perceive to be corrupting the court:

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[29] Kay Staniland, 'The Great Wardrobe Accounts as a Source for Historians of Fourteenth-Century Clothing and Textiles', *Textile History*, 20 (1989), pp. 275–281.

[30] For further discussion of the nobility's desire to project an image of wealth despite the financial barriers to doing so, see: Peter J. Goldberg, *Medieval England: A Social History 1250-1550* (London: Arnold, 2004), p. 5; Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', p. 23; John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 310.

[31] *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt (London: John Russell Smith, 1866), pp. 147-160.

[32] *MED* headword ȝ*etten* (v.): 1(a).

In kynges corte, wher money dothe route,
yt makyth the galandes to Iett,
and for to were gorgeouse ther gere.[33]

The feature also carries over into drama. In *Ralph Roister Doister*, which dates from the end of the period of study, the parasitical Merrygeek tells the eponymous Ralph to strut about the stage like 'a lusty gallant, jetting up and down'.[34] This reference can be further supplemented by consideration of the role that jetting plays in *The Interlude of Youth*, which despite offering the perfect platform for the galaunt does not actually make any direct reference to the figure. The reason for this is perhaps that the galaunt and Youth are so conflated that direct application of the label is unnecessary. In the plays in which it does feature, references to the figure tend to instead be used to highlight the youthful exuberances of characters that are not of themselves an embodiment of Youth in the exemplary sense. Knowledge of the figure does, however, add nuance to the interlude. Eleanor Rycroft discusses the significance of jetting in *The Interlude of Youth* in her article on the relationship between morality, performance and masculinity in the play.[35] Rycroft rightly identifies the line 'to jet here in this place' (l. 202) as aligning Youth with the performance of attire represented by the galaunt, which is an association that in turn situates the character 'within specifically aristocratic or courtly settings' (p. 5).

The close association of the galaunt with display and the performance of attire also informs the treatment of the figure in *Fulgens and Lucrece*, in which an actor in the guise of an audience member complains that:

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[33] *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 134-137, ll. 9-11.

[34] *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt (London: Reeves and Turner, 1874), Act III, Scene III, ll. 127-131. The play dates from *c*.1553 and is the work of Nicholas Udall. Hazlitt based his edition on *STC* 24508 (Henry Denham, 1566). Other editions of the play include: *Ralph Roister Doister: A Comedy by Nicholas Udall*, ed. by William D. Cooper (London: Shakespeare Society, 1847); *Ralph Roister Doister: The First Regular English Comedy*, ed. by Percy A. Robin and William H. Williams (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1901); and *Medieval and Tudor Drama: Twenty-Four Plays*, ed. by John Gassner (New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1963), pp. 266-345.

[35] Eleanor Rycroft, 'Morality, Theatricality, and Masculinity in *The Interlude of Youth* and *Hick Scorner*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 465-481.

Ther is so myche nyce aray
Amonges these galandis nowaday
That a man shall not lightly
Know a player from another man.[36]

The galaunt is referred to in the play on account of the figure's close association with display and the performance of attire but the reference raises some interesting questions about the identity of the figure. As Fiona Dunlop has previously observed of the play, much of its narrative concerns a 'renegotiation of what noble masculinity means'.[37] Clothing was meant to reflect status but it could equally act as a driver or mask of it. This is a facet of sartorial politics that is exacerbated by the inherency of the themes of disguise and representation to drama.[38] The playful yet intricate swapping of identities and roles in the reference to the galaunt in *Fulgens and Lucrece* mirrors the sorts of festivities that Crane explores in her aforementioned research on court culture during the Hundred Years' War, at which revelries the nobility found points of expression through disguise, doubling and other sartorial games.[39] In the conflation of the galaunt with the cast, the figure acts as a platform for the exploration of the formative and transformative qualities of fashionable display.

The galaunt's frivolous and jetting nature should not be understood as evidence of the figure's triviality, as these behaviours are consistently presented in the corpus as posing a severe threat to national security. Far from being harmless wastrels, the galaunts are described in *DIMEV* 3084 as a disease that 'blyndeth and consumeth our Englysshe nacyon'.[40] Both the galaunt and the social group that he stereotypes were perceived by social commentators to have enough of an impact to be harmful, and the "galaunt craze"

[36] *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer), Part I, ll. 53-56. *Fulgens and Lucrece* is a late-fifteenth-century interlude by Henry Medwall. The first printed edition was produced by John Rastell in the first decades of the sixteenth century (California: Henry E. Huntington Library). Fragments also survive in: London, BL, MS Harley 5919, fol. 20.

[37] Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2007), p. 41.

[38] Peter Hyland, *Disguise on the Early Modern English Stage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 37-52.

[39] Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self*, pp. 140-174.

[40] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 12.

constructed by the satirists was consistently presented as a pernicious and pervasive cultural fad.[41]

The legitimacy of the concerns expressed in the corpus about the negative impact of the galaunt on contemporary culture can be partially ratified by external evidence. The *Rotuli Parliamentorum* for 1450 contains an account of a petition to the Commons brought by 'the poure peple inhabitant within the Ile of Wyght', in which they accuse the previous steward of the island, John Newport, of exploiting his position in order to fund his galaunt lifestyle:

> The said John Newport, hath at this day no lyvelode to mentayne his gret countenaunce, but bi the opressing of the peple in the Contray that he fitte in, thorw the whiche he hath gretli enpovred and hurt the poure Ilond redy; for what time he was Steward of the Ile, he had but x marcs of fee, and kepte an houshold and a countenance like a Lord, with as rich Wynys as couthe be ymagened, namyng himsilf Newport the Galaunt, otherwise called Newport the riche, wham the Contray courson dayly that evir he com ther.[42]

If the account given by the islanders is to be believed then Newport was a self-styled galaunt and bankrupted the Isle in his attempts to live the type of lifestyle associated with the figure. Even if Newport did not actually self-identify as a galaunt, the islanders' association of his reckless expenditure with galauntness proves that the figure was popularly held to be the embodiment of profligacy in the mid-fifteenth century.

When the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight petitioned the Commons Newport had already been replaced by Harri Bruyn; an individual whose virtues the plaintiffs are eager to extol. As such, the main thrust of the appeal is to ask for Bruyn to retain his office and for the Isle's defences to be reinforced on account of the fact that it was 'undirtake by a certayn of wariours of oure enemyes of France, to be conquerid into here hondis bi shorte time' (l. 204). Whilst France did indeed pose a threat to the British Isles at this time, what is of most significance in the account is that it is Newport's pursuit of luxurious goods that is blamed for the Isle's vulnerable state. To the islanders the galauntification of the ruling classes at a 'time

[41] For a discussion of the negative impact that the upper-classes' penchant for luxury goods was believed to have on national security in this period see: Frances Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926), p. 9.

[42] 28 Henry VI LII (1449), *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et petitiones, et placita in Parliamento tempore Edwardi R. I. [ad finem Henrici VII.]*, 6 vols (London: s.n., 1767-1777), Vol. V, pp. 204-205.

of Werr' (l. 205) posed a serious threat to the sovereignty of the realm. It is this combined fear of extraneous threats and the softening of the ruling classes that is brought about by their lavish expenditure that plays out in the material from the corpus already explored above.

The damage caused by the galaunt's profligacy continues to cause concern over the second half of the fifteenth century. *DIMEV* 3237 opens with a disparaging attack on the improvidence of contemporary society of a style that has, by this point in the corpus, become extremely familiar:

> Lord God, what ys this wordys fare
> But ryal revel and gret aray?
> Evyr spend and nothyng spare
> Sone wyl hyt wast and were way.[43]

The remainder of the poem continues in a similar vein, with the author warning against 'mekyl wast and letyll wynne' (l. 26) and 'gret spendyng' (l. 28) as it soon makes 'an howsolde bare' (l. 27). To be 'set on galantnesse' (l. 66) is again presented as a destructive and impoverishing lifestyle choice, one that 'the end therof wyl turn to hevynesse' (l. 71). The figure thus continues to be used as a warning against overindulgence and as the go-to cautionary tool in conservative pleas for parsimony.

DIMEV 3237's complaint about the 'mekyl wast and letyll wynne' (l. 26) to which the galaunts are prone also interplays with a much earlier text on the same theme entitled *Wynnere and Wastoure*. This mid- to late-fourteenth-century dream vision pitches the profligate nobility, as represented by Wastoure, in a verbal battle against those who accumulate wealth, embodied by Wynnere.[44] It should be noted, however, that although similar attacks to those found in the galaunt corpus are made against the dissolute nobility in the earlier text, *Wynnere and Wastoure* is a debate poem and as such arguments are also put forward in the piece for it being the duty of the rich to spend their wealth in order to share it with the lower orders.[45] Whilst Wastoure is not entirely successful in his argument and his

[43] *Reliquiae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English Literature and the English Language*, ed. by Thomas Wright and James O. Halliwell, 2 vols (London: William Pickering, 1841-1843), Vol. 1, pp. 73-75, ll. 1-3.

[44] *Wynnere and Wastoure and The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. by Warren Ginsberg, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992). Ginsberg dates the poem to 1352-1370.

[45] See lines 382-383 and 384-388.

points are countered by Wynnere, the case for conspicuous consumption is nonetheless made and Wynnere's response need not be taken as a successful rebuttal of Wynnere's stance.[46] As the poem ends before the king reaches a decision as to who is in the right, the audience is left to decide for themselves. In the galaunt corpus there is no such sense of debate regarding the possible virtues of expenditure, and the figure's profligacy is instead presented as politically and socially dangerous without exception. The explanation for this rigidity lies in the figure's function as a stock vice figure representative of Wayward Youth, as an expression of which there is no cause for positivity.

The galaunt continues to function as an emblem of unrestrained sartorial consumption in William Caxton's conduct manual entitled the *Book of Curtesye*. Fiona Dunlop has described the text as being 'particularly anxious that the aspirant young man might imitate the manners of the gallant, believing them to represent noble behaviour. It warns that the gallant represents a crude, fake and distorted image of gentility'.[47] The passage to which this comment refers is as follows:

> This mene I my childe yt ye shal haunte
> The guyse of them that do most manerly
> But beware of unthryft ruskyn galante
> Counterfeter of unconnyng curtoisye
> His tacchis ben enfecte with vilonye
> Ungyrte, unblyssed, servyng atte table
> Me semeth hym a servant nothing able.[48]

This passage presents the figure as crude and slovenly, but one should be careful not to misread this as equating to socially presumptuous. In the light of the foregoing survey of the expression of similar concerns throughout the corpus, the passage should instead be understood as condemning the 'unthryft' (l. 451) of the galaunt's sartorial splendour. The galaunt acts as a subversive authority figure whose model of counterfeit courtesy is the antithesis to proper courtly masculinity. The fear expressed in the piece is that a newly

[46] Lois Roney, 'Winner and Waster's "Wyse Wordes": Teaching Economics and Nationalism in Fourteenth-Century England', *Speculum*, 69, 4 (October, 1994), pp. 1070-1100.

[47] Fiona S. Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude*, p. 41.

[48] *Caxton's Book of Curtesye*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS ES 3 (London: Trübner 1868; reprint 1973), ll. 449-455.

inducted, impressionable young page might be tempted by the allure of the galaunt style to the point of financial and spiritual ruin.

Clothing continues to act as a vehicle for the galaunt's prodigality in *DIMEV* 6831, in which the figure's 'schort gownys' are described as 'thriftlesse'.[49] The pecuniary admonishment inherent in this phrase is a fair observation of the costly nature of the gowns popular amongst the fashion conscious in the fifteenth century. Despite covering less of the body than a long gown, the short style needed a higher degree of workmanship and just as much cloth to create.[50] This inefficiency resulted from the practice of gathering the material together to form pleats, creating a fan-like effect on the front and back.[51] There was an attempt in 1463 to restrict this style of jacket on the basis of class through sumptuary legislation, which decreed that no one under the rank of Lord was to wear:

> Ascun govne Jaket ou cloche, sil ne soit de tiel longeure come cell, celuy esteant toutdroit, cova sez privez membres & buttoks [any gown, jacket or coat unless it be of such length that the same may cover his privy members and buttocks].[52]

The attempts at legislating the length of garments appear to have had little effect as the scantiness of the galaunt's jacket is again subjected to criticism in *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, which dates from *c*.1470.[53]

A fashionably cut jacket is also an aspect of the galaunt's costume in Henry Medwall's play *Nature*, which was produced in *c*.1486. In the course of corrupting Man, Pride declares that he will obtain for him:

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[49] *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1861), Vol. II, p. 251, l. 3.

[50] Kay Staniland, 'The Great Wardrobe Accounts', pp. 275-281.

[51] Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England: a history of dress from the earliest period until the close of the eighteenth century; to which is appended an illustrated glossary of terms for all articles of use or ornament worn about the person* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846), p. 197; Sarah Thursfield, 'Methods', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Elizabeth Coatsworth and Maria Hayward (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2012), pp. 504-508.

[52] 3 Edward IV C5 (1463), *The Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. II, p. 401.

[53] *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge: A 15th-Century Account of a Visit to the Otherworld Edited from BL MS Additional 34,193 with an Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis (Nijmegen: Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, Katholieke Universitet Nijmegen, 1991), l. 154.

A doublet of the new make:
Close byfore and open on the bak –
No sleve upon hys arme.[54]

Not only is the item introduced as a means through which to engineer man's fall, it is also described using details that emphasise the impractical and ridiculous nature of fashionable clothing. The new style of doublet has to be tied at the back and as such cannot be donned without assistance, and it fails in its primary function of covering and protecting the body. Indeed, the doublet is so ineffectual that another layer is needed 'to keep the carcas warm' (ll. 1067-1069). The reference here to a dead body is terminology that leaves little doubt as to the nefarious intentions of the procurer of these garments or of the final destination awaiting man in all his vanity.

The association of the galaunt with a short, pleated gown continues to be made in *DIMEV* 1488, which dates from the end of the fifteenth century. This is another example in which the intrinsically useless nature of the short style of jacket is emphasised through description of its failure, despite the many pleats, to protect the wearer's knees: 'Theyre gownys be sett with plytys fele / To schortt theyre kneys to hele'.[55] As such, the galaunt is again presented as both frivolous and fatuous in his sartorial choices as his clothing is functionally inadequate. Given the considerable level of expenditure that the procurement of a pleated jacket entailed, it is unsurprising that the barrenness of the figure's purse is repeatedly remarked upon throughout the corpus. As is observed by the author of the late-fifteenth-century *DIMEV* 1488, the galaunt's purse must have been 'well y-sought' by his creditors and suppliers.[56] The empty-purse trope enables the galaunt to be used to satirise those who have exhausted their financial means and as such constitutes an attack on fashion as a cultural phenomenon. The satirical target lampooned through the figure is thus the foolhardy young fashionista who reaches for a sartorial splendour that he cannot yet afford.

The financially draining and prodigal nature of the clothing culture of the galaunts of court remains a significant point of comment into the sixteenth century, with Alexander Barclay repeatedly complaining in *The Ship of Fools* that 'of Thryft they [the galaunts] take

[54] *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson, ll. 1064-1066.

[55] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 149-150, l. 19.

[56] Ibid., pp. 138-139, l. 22.

no hede […] theyr goode by suche wastefulnes is loste'.[57] Barclay launches an extended diatribe on the subject:

> Fewe kepeth mesure, but excesse and great outrage
> In theyr aparayle. And so therin they procede
> That theyr goode is spent: theyr Londe layde to morgage.
> Or solde out right: of Thryft they take no hede.
> Hauinge no Peny them to socour at theyr nede.
> So whan theyr goode by suche wastefulnes is loste.
> They sel agayne theyr Clothes for half that they coste.
>
> (p. 36)

What is most striking in Barclay's account is the entirely ruinous nature of the unmeasured spending exercised by the galaunts. These courtiers are willing to sacrifice their acreage in order to maintain an opulent facade; a rash decision that is entirely self-sabotaging. As the upper classes were defined in terms of their landownership, in selling off their estates to cover the debts occasioned by their indulgence in fine fashions the courtiers are in danger of losing their social standing entirely.[58] The fact that they then had to sell the very items that they risked their entire social worth on is a beautifully fitting comeuppance.

The Ship of Fools also engages with the pre-established tradition of mocking the galaunt's fashions on account of their impracticality, describing the figure's stylish jacket as leaving the neck 'naked: almoste unto the raynes'.[59] Complaints about the impractical nature of the galaunt's fashions are present in the corpus from the first extant example, but the attacks that focus on the lack of protection provided by the garments are most often a feature of the mid- to late-fifteenth-century examples, being also common to *Instructions to His Son*, *Nature*, *DIMEV* 3084 and *DIMEV* 1488, as discussed above. Fashionable clothing was thus ridiculed for failing in its principal function of protecting the wearer from the elements throughout the latter part of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth. This stereotype also

[57] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, 2 vols (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1966), Vol. I, p. 36. Barcaly had already complained about the galaunts wastefulness on page 35, does so for a second time on page 36 and repeats the lamentation again on page 38.

[58] Alan Hunt, *Governance of The Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), pp. 156-157.

[59] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, Vol. I, p. 36.

finds expression in Thomas Becon's *The Iewel of Ioye*, which was composed in the mid-sixteenth century and so dates from the very end of the time frame considered in this study. In the section on galaunt apparel, Philemon concludes by declaring that people should wear clothing, as did Adam and Eve before them, merely to 'couer theyr wretched nakednes, and to defende theim from the cruell stormes & fearce tempestes of wynde, raine, snow hayle. &c.'.[60] The fact that the fashions that are associated with the galaunt even fail in this purpose is a further damning indictment of those who sport them. The aspects of the figure's wardrobe are thus deployed as a physical manifestation of the sinful, ridiculous and incompetent nature of the youths that the galaunt represents.

Waste and the impoverishment of the people

A primary concern in the descriptions of the galaunt's fashions is the wasteful and impractical nature of their designs. The impact that this has on the populace at large is highlighted in the earliest example from the corpus. *DIMEV* 4853 depicts a realm in which:

> The ryche make merry,
> *sed vulgus collachrimatur*; [but the common people weep]
> The pepul ys weri,
> *quia ferme depopulatur*.[61] [since (the land) is nearly laid waste]

Similar lamentations continue to feature in the mid-fifteenth century in *DIMEV* 3084, in which the unparalleled misery of the times is repeatedly blamed on the fact that there is 'so moche rychesse in araye and so moche nede'.[62] The blame for this suffering is always placed firmly on the artificially broadened shoulders of the galaunt and the decline is attributed to the excessive expenditure of the youths that the figure represents.

These concerns about the excessive luxury of court fashions are also informed by socio-environmental considerations that relate to the method by which these fanciful designs were manufactured. The author of *DIMEV* 3084 uses the galaunt's penchant for dagged garments to express concern at the increased volume of discarded remnants of cloth that such tailoring techniques necessarily produced:

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[60] Thomas Becon, *The iewel of ioye*, EEBO (London: John Day and W. Seres, 1550), p. 60.

[61] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, ll. 41-44.

[62] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 127 and again at l. 157.

Our wastynge wretchednes yt hath waded so depe
In our wanton werynge of clothes to torne
To wyldenes and wrathe the worlde taketh moost kepe
For in wastynge and vanyte men rechen not what is lorne.

(ll. 92-95)

Decorative practices such as dagging carry a host of connotations in the corpus. The iconographical links between cut clothing and the rendering of the soul by the Vices associated with the figure have already been established, but to this function can be added the fact that such practices offer a visual reminder of the socio-political ramifications of indulging in high fashion. Just as the figure's clothing is rent so too is the nation and his place in it. The fanciful hems also act as the physical manifestation of the ridiculous nature of the wearer and of his ill-formed masculinity.

Dagging also receives negative comment in Peter Idley's *Instructions to his Son*, which recounts the tale of a galaunt-knight who is killed during an altercation with a clerk in the forest. After his death, his clothing is shared amongst the 'poore men the contree aboute'.[63] In the case of his dagged cote, which was his most-prized possession, 'ther was no poore man wolde it resceyue' (l. 216) and wisely so as it is revealed to be cursed by God fifteen lines later. The cote displeases God because it is 'so disgysed, Iagged, and torn' (l. 233) that it can serve no practical purpose, instead being 'spilt and lorn' (l. 235). The garment is thus rendered entirely useless and constitutes a shameful waste of material that could have been used to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. Complaints of this nature survive right to the end of the period examined by this study. The account given by Idley is repeated with a striking degree of similarity in the mid-sixteenth-century text *The Iewel of Ioye*, in which the galaunts are criticised for wearing 'dublets and hoses, which for the moste parte are so minsed cutte, and iagged, that shortlye after they become boeth torne & ragged'.[64] These attacks on the frivolous and impractical nature of the galaunt's dagged doublet highlight the vanity, in all senses of the word, of sartorial display.

The primacy of wastefulness as a concern in the sartorial discourse surrounding the figure at the end of the fifteenth century is evidenced further by the slight difference in the

[63] *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn (London; Boston, MA: Oxford University Press; Modern Language Association of America, 1935), pp. 159-204, l. 212.

[64] Thomas Becon, *The iewel of ioye*, p. 60.

wording of the two variations of *DIMEV* 3765. They are listed together in *DIMEV* because they are essentially the same poem copied into two different manuscripts. The 'a' text is in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 237, fol. 243 and the 'b' text is in Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh 2 6, fol. 58. Little can be said as to which was produced first. They differ slightly in the exact wording of most lines and both contain entire sections that are unique to each manuscript. In version 'a' lines five, six, nine and ten are unique to that version of the text and in 'b' everything from line thirteen to the end of the poem at line twenty-eight is not present in 'a'. More subtle, however, are the differences in how each text describes the galaunt's gown, which is a feature that is common to both witnesses. Text 'a' has 'wyde gownys, and large slevys', whereas text 'b' reads 'short gownys and slyt sleuys'.[65] Though the two descriptions vary in their particulars they both emphasise the wasteful use of material in making the highest fashions of the time and use this penchant for excess to defame the character of those who sport such garments.

Similar anxieties about the self-indulgent luxury of court fashions are also voiced in *The Ship of Fools*. The amount of material used to manufacture fashionable garments is again subject to criticism, with the emphasis focusing on voluminous sleeves that are described as 'blasinge lyke to a Cranys wynges'.[66] Tailoring techniques such as slits and dagging are also commented upon, with Barclay complaining about: 'Shertes brodered and displayed. / In fourme of Surplys' (p. 38). The criticisms thus remain focused on the inefficiency of such designs and sartorial discourse in the early-sixteenth century continues to centre on the wasteful nature of fashionable styles. The contrast between the opulence enjoyed by the galaunts and the poverty endured by the poor is another feature that is carried over from the earlier texts, with Barclay observing that: 'Wyde without mesure: theyr [the galaunts'] stuffe to wast thus gothe / But other some they suffer to dye for lacke of clothe' (p. 38).

There are also legal concerns at play in the account of the voluminous nature of the galaunt's clothing given in *The Ship of Fools*, as at the time of composition the amount of material to be used in garments was restricted through sumptuary legislation. 1 Henry VIII (1509-1510) contains detailed instructions on the quantity of material to be used in any one item, limiting long gowns to between three and four yards of cloth and riding jackets to between two-and-a-half and three yards. These restrictions are justified through recourse to

[65] A: *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. II, pp. 252-253, l. 13; B: *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 149-150, l. 9.

[66] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, Vol. I, p. 38.

the 'grete impovisshing of divers of the Kings Subjects' caused by such excesses.[67] This reasoning is in keeping with the complaints found throughout the galaunt corpus and suggests several nuances to the socio-economic messages inherent to the sartorial vocabulary of the figure. In addition to being founded on concerns about the financial strain that keeping abreast of high fashion caused to the individual, the socio-economic criticisms of the galaunt's wardrobe can also be read as an indictment of the fact that such sartorial luxuries deprived the poor of cloth.

The concerns about the damage that is caused to the poor by the sartorial indulgences of the elites that are repeatedly expressed in the corpus are also grounded in established literary themes. Chaucer's Parson, for example, warns that 'the moore that clooth is wasted, the moore moot it coste to the peple for the scarsnesse' over a century prior to the completion of Barclay's version of *The Ship of Fools*.[68] A direct link between the profligate sartorial tastes of the elite and the impoverishment of the deprived is actually made as early as the first decade of the fourteenth century, with one of the Auchinleck poems containing the lament that because 'pride hath sleve, the lond is almusles'.[69] As such, the concerns about the wellbeing of the poor that are expressed through the galaunt can be seen as an interaction with the established nuances of sartorial discourse.

The negative impact that galaunt culture has on society as a whole continues to feature in applications of the figure into the mid-sixteenth century. Writing in 1542, Theodore Basille complains that:

> The galant pompe & lasciuious pleasures of Gentyll menne mayntened, but the poore fermers are greatly empouerished, hospitalite is decayed, releuynge of the poore people is vtterly layd asyde, the common wealth is miserably oppressed, penury, scarsenes & dearth of all thinges is brought into y Realme.[70]

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[67] 1 Henry VIII C14 (1509-1510), *The Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. III, p. 8.

[68] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 300, l. 419.

[69] *The Political Songs of England: From the Reign of John to that of Edward II*, ed. by Thomas Wright (London: Printed for the Camden Society by John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1839), pp. 253-258, l. 56.

[70] Thomas Becon, *The new pollecye of warre wherin is declared not only how [ye]mooste cruell tyraunt the great Turke may be ouer come, but also all other enemies of the Christen publique weale, lately deuised by Theodore Basille*, EEBO (London: Johan Mayler, 1542).

This passage presents contemporary conditions in a manner that directly contrasts the account given in Edward VI's *Chronicle* that was cited above.[71] For Edward the concern was that the nobility had become impoverished while the lesser orders prospered. For Basille the opposite is true in that gentlemen continue to maintain their galaunt pomp and lascivious pleasures in the face of the increasing penury of the populace. This tension perhaps helps to elucidate the contradictory attitudes to dress that the foregoing study has found to have been expressed in different literary fora of the period. In the galaunt corpus, however, there is little variance and the sartorial culture engaged with by the section of society satirised through the figure is a consistent cause for concern. The figure is thus used by Basille as a screen onto which the moral failings of the ruling classes can be projected.

By the end of the period of study, an unflinchingly scathing attitude towards the selfishness of the elites finds expression in social discourse:

> Noblenesse of birth, or dignitee & other sembleable enhauncementes of fortune, *Diogenes* affermed to bee none other thyng els but ye clokes or couertes of myschief & vngratiousnesse. For richemenne, wher as thei bee not one iote better then others, yet thei dooen amysse and perpetrate muche vnhappynesse, with lesse restreint of correccion.[72]

What is most clear from the analysis of these examples is that it is not the possibility of social presumption that is feared by the authors of galaunt satire, but rather the damage that excessive expenditure could cause the elite and through them the nation as a whole. As the passage cited above highlights, it is the fact that this section of society is afforded freedom from the restraint of correction that causes particular concern. This concept is key to the galaunt's function in these discourses as he is the embodiment of unrestrained and profligate Wayward Youth. The engagement with this concern in the corpus is evidenced by the dictate contained in 'The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye' that: 'A yong man shold haue in a yer

[71] *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. by Wilbur K. Jordan, pp. 163-164.

[72] Desiderius Erasmus, *Apophthegmes that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie and sentencious saiynges, of certain emperours, kynges, capitaines, philosophiers and oratours, aswell Grekes, as Romaines, bothe veraye pleasaunt [et] profitable to reade, partely for all maner of persones, [et] especially gentlemen. First gathered and compiled in Latine by the ryght famous clerke Maister Erasmus of Roterodame. And now translated into Englyshe by Nicolas Vdall*, trans. by Nicholas Udall, EEBO (London: Richard Grafton, 1542), p. 213.

but oon gowne / and that oon man shold not be more galant ner queynte than an other'.[73] Fashion discourse as exercised in the galaunt corpus thus seeks to limit the excesses of youth and encourage young men to eschew the model of bad behaviour embodied by the figure. It is also, as the chapter will now turn to consider, a body of work that consistently engages with the problem of unmonitored youth using clothing to manipulate the body in order to project an image of fully realised masculinity that it is yet to have earned.

Manipulated masculinity

The figure's function as an emblem of Youth has already been well established in the foregoing chapters of this study and it is this role that informs the galaunt's sartorial politics. A fundamental aspect of this discourse is the impact that the figure's engagement with sartorial splendour has on his masculine status. Scattergood has already observed that the galaunt was used to criticise late medieval knights for having 'the appearance of nobility without the necessary substance to go with it', but the 'substance' to which he referred was financial.[74] The remainder of this chapter seeks to develop our understanding of the galaunt by instead examining how the figure was used to malign those who lacked *physical* substance and so sought to fake knightly prowess by altering the male form through their clothing. Through their wearing of garments that appeared to change the very structure of the body, the galaunts altered not only their physical appearance but also their physiognomies, and came to be identified as "non-male" as a result. This concern engages with the broader questions of masculinity and status for which the writers of satiric and didactic literature in the late medieval period used the galaunt's dress as a vehicle.

Interest in Masculinity Studies has increased amongst medievalists over recent decades, resulting in a number of monographs that undertake a gendered approach to questions of male authority and representation.[75] The subject of how adult masculine identity

[73] Raoul Lefèvre, *hEre begynneth the volume intituled and named the recuyell of the historyes of Troye, composed and drawen out of dyuerce bookes of latyn in to frensshe by the ryght venerable persone and worshipfull man*, trans. by William Caxton, EEBO (Bruges: William Caxton, 1473), p. 123.

[74] John Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 309.

[75] These include (in chronological order): Ruth M. Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formation of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Isabel Davis, *Writing Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Christina M. Fitzgerald, *The Drama of Masculinity in Medieval English Guild Culture* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Ian McAdam, *Magic and Masculinity in Early Modern English Drama* (Pittsburgh, KS: Duquesne University Press, 2009); Rachel E. Moss, *Fatherhood and its Representation in Middle English Texts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013).

was shaped in the late medieval period has been a recurring theme of the recent contributions to the field. Ruth Karras's 2002 monograph *From Boys to Men: Formation of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* is of particular significance to the current study, especially her argument that a process of institutionalised socialisation based on a combination of education and affiliation helped to forge masculine identity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[76] Similarly, Isabel Davis's *Writing Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages* has examined the emphasis in medieval discourses on masculinity that is placed upon the need for young men to make a contribution to society through engagement with productive pursuits.[77] This chapter contributes to these themes by presenting the galaunt as representative of those who sought to use clothing to subvert the role that productivity was meant to play in the formation of masculine identity and as such failed to meet the social expectations placed upon them.

The semiotics of masculinity has also recently become the subject of scholarly attention, particularly the intersection in discourses on what constitutes proper masculinity between the physical parameters of the male body and the stages of personal development. The questions about late medieval attitudes to the male body that are explored in this chapter have counterparts in Derek Neal's *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, which was published in 2008.[78] Neal makes the salient point that in the medieval period 'physical manhood involved for the individual not only social selfhood, but a sense of the body's evolving capacities, especially strength and sexuality'.[79] The importance placed upon physical maturity in the formation of masculine identity and the attainment of adult authority is another ideal that the galaunt undermines.

A number of essay collections were published on the formation and representation of masculinity prior to the spate of monographs discussed here. These include: *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Clare A. Lees (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999); and *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. by Jacqueline Murray (New York, NY: Garland, 1999). See also Christopher Fletcher, 'Manhood, Kingship and the Public in Late Medieval England', *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 13 (2012), pp. 123–142.

[76] Ruth M. Karras, *From Boys to Men*.

[77] Isabel Davis, *Writing Masculinity*.

[78] Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

[79] Ibid., p. 141.

Deformation of the male body

In the first extant example from the corpus the galaunts are accused of making themselves:

> Brodder then ever God made
> *humeris sunt arte tumentes;* [they puff out {their} shoulders artificially]
> Narow they bene, thay seme brod,
> *nova sunt haec respice gentes* [they are a "new fashion" of gents]
> They bere a newe facoun,
> *humeris in pectore tergo;* [with shoulders in the back of the chest]
> Goddes plasmacoun
> *non illis complacet ergo.*[80] [therefore is not pleasing to them]

'Plasmacoun' (l. 135) here means 'a forming or fashioning, creation' and as such the galaunts are portrayed in *DIMEV* 4853 as being so presumptuous that they would seek to improve upon God's design of the male form, changing its composition by wearing clothing that remodels the very structure of the body.[81] Those who indulge in fashionable attire are thus depicted, through the galaunt, as sartorially blasphemous. Further than this, by changing their appearance, the galaunts also change their very nature, becoming, as the line '*nova sunt haec respice gentes*' (l. 132) denotes, a new race of people as a result. While Dean translates *gentes* as 'gents', the Latin *gentes* means races, peoples, or nations and so this chapter takes the approach of interpreting the line as a reference to a new group of people or separate nation. The consequence of indulging in fashionable attire is thus presented in the corpus as to be made "other" by one's clothing and subsequently to be excluded from the Christian community.

Adulteration of the human form continues to be an issue in the mid-fifteenth-century lyric *DIMEV* 3084, in which the author complains that the galaunts are 'dysfygurynge nature by this newe araye'.[82] This phrasing once again emphasises the removal from the natural state that is produced by the galaunt's attire. In this instance the remodelling of the body is detailed as being accomplished through a combination of binding, which allows for 'small gyrdynge in the waste' (l. 143) and padding in the form of 'cloutes at theyr brest lyke a pye'

[80] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, ll. 129–136.

[81] *MED* headword *plasmāciŏun* (n): a.

[82] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147–160, l. 23.

(l. 149). The manipulation and debasement of the male form caused by such padded garments, together with the spiritual implications of this, is also a key concern in *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*. In this *c*.1470 example, the galaunts are directly accused of using their fashionable garb, including 'stuffid dowblettes', to interfere with God's design of the male form: 'þe aray þat þees galantes, þes proud peeple, nowondayes usune, transposing þe shapus þat God first mad them of'.[83] This criticism is directly echoed in *DIMEV* 6850, another mid- to late-fifteenth-century example, in which the galaunts are again described as trying to 'hem dysguyse in ther array'.[84] Such concerns about the tendency of fashionable garb, and those who adopt it, to adapt God's design are thus common to a variety of different examples from the corpus.

The embellishments and decorative motifs described within the corpus are another aspect of fashionable clothing that is framed so as to emphasise the galaunt's removal from the natural state and from the God-fearing community. This symbolic link between ornamentation and sin is clearly drawn in Idley's tale about 'a knyght that loued nyce array' that is used as the *narracio* for the sin of pride in the account '*de septem peccatis mortalibus*' [of the seven deadly sins] that forms part of Book Two of the *Instructions to His Son*.[85] The knight, who is later referred to as 'this galaunt' (l. 190), is obsessed with fashion:

> New shappis his fantasie was to devise.
> He wolde that non were so galaunt and gay
> As he, and that in all maner of wyse:
> Twoo or thre shappes might not suffise,
> Suche was his appetite and his hertis desire,
> To be arraied giselie and of straunge atire.
>
> (ll. 177-182)

Fashion is here depicted as perpetuating a state of flux that undermines the stability of creation and hinders personal growth. The galaunt-knight pursues new innovations in dress with an avaricious 'appetite' (l. 181) that can never be sated and as a result he is lost to productivity and virtue. Instead of attending to his spiritual health, the galaunt-knight focuses

[83] *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis, l. 374, ll. 141–143.

[84] *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1973 reprint as one vol.), l. 11670.

[85] *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, pp. 159-204, l. 176.

his creative energies on devising new styles of dress and such material goods are all that constitutes his 'hertis desire' (l. 181). Presented as more troublesome than this, however, is the mutation of the human form that these new styles of dress produce. The vocabulary chosen to describe the knight's sartorial tastes, such as 'fantasie' (l. 177) 'giselie' and 'straunge' (l. 182), is heavily loaded with a sense of otherworldliness, thereby emphasising the removal from the natural state engineered by such apparel. Throughout the galaunt corpus emphasis is thus placed upon any sartorial feature that manipulates the human form.

The fact that the galaunt's fashions bastardise God's creation continues to attract criticism into the sixteenth century. In *The Ship of Fools* the author complains that the galaunts 'by this devysinge suche counterfayted thinges / They dysfourme that figure that god hymselfe hath made'.[86] This issue was clearly of eminent concern to Barclay as he twice repeats this phrase in the section that deals with 'new fassions and disgised garments', the very title of which conveys the same message.[87] Indeed, the section opens with the call:

> Drawe nere ye Courters and Galants disgised
> Ye counterfayt Caytifs that ar nat content
> As god hath you made.
>
> (Vol. I, p. 35)

Debasement of the human form and the physical, spiritual and social implications of this is thus one of the key issues to be continually examined through the clothing choices of the galaunt.

Forged masculinity

In addition to accusing the galaunts of corrupting the divine image, many of the complaints outlined above also intimate forged machismo on the part of the figure, as his clothing is used to hide his physical deficiencies. The artificial broadening of the shoulders described above in *DIMEV* 4853, for example, enables the wearer to emulate the ideal masculine physique promoted in chivalric literature without partaking of the pursuits necessary to develop such musculature naturally.[88] In a period when physical presence was closely associated with

[86] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, Vol. I, p. 36.

[87] Ibid., pp. 34-40.

[88] The ideal is discussed by: Clare R. Kinney, 'The (Dis)Embodied Hero and the Signs of Manhood in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in *Medieval Masculinities*, ed. by Clare A. Lees, pp. 47-60; and Mathew

masculine authority, this was a serious issue. The fact that men were given a superior physical form to women was often used to prove their ordination by God as the ruling sex.[89] Bodily strength also played an important role in separating the man from the boy and therefore acted as a marker of personal autonomy.[90] As such, the galaunt's counterfeiting of a more virile physique can in many respects be equated to a woman's cross-dressing; by emulating the visual markers of maturity, the youths represented by the figure fraudulently acquire adult male ascendancy.[91]

The concerns about counterfeited authority that are expressed in the galaunt corpus may have been exacerbated by the fact that the style of jacket described in *DIMEV* 4853 was originally designed to be worn under armour and was only adopted into civilian costume in the 1330s.[92] The galaunts are therefore adapting a garment to a purpose for which it was not intended, much as they then use such articles of clothing to manipulate their physical form to match an ideal of male beauty to which they have no just claim.[93] The special regard in which military apparel was held can be discerned from the fact that the Act of Apparel enacted by Edward IV's government in 1463 explicitly states that the legislation can pass only:

> Purveu auxi q cest ordenance en null man extende au ascun mane darraie destre necessarement usez, en guerre ou en feetes del mesme [provided also

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Gervase, 'Ideals of Knighthood in Late Fourteenth-Century England', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. by Richard W. Hunt, William A. Pantin and Richard W. Southern (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 354-362.

[89] Vern L. Bullough, 'On Being a Male in the Middle Ages', in *Medieval Masculinities*, ed. by Clare A. Lees, pp. 31–46.

[90] Deborah Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300–c.1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 126–162.

[91] Female cross-dressing in the period has been discussed by: Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe*, The New Middle Ages 1 (New York, NY: Garland, 1996). Male transvestites are discussed by: Ad Putter, 'Transvestite Knights in Medieval Life and Literature', in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, NY: Garland, 2000), pp. 279-302.

[92] Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, pp. 490–491, p. 550; Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Costume: The Secular Pilgrims in the General Prologue* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), p. 231; Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, pp. 63–65.

[93] For a discussion of how the representation of positive youth stereotypes differs from that of the negative in the literature and visual art of the late medieval period, see: Philippa Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death*, pp. 20–61.

that this ordinance be in no way extended to any manner of array properly and necessarily used in war or similar feats].[94]

Those engaged in military activities were thus protected from the sumptuary legislation, an exemption that is likely to have been made on the grounds that some of the garments deemed inappropriate for everyday attire were in fact essential in serving the practical purposes for which they had been originally designed. Kim M. Phillips has already established that a desire to regulate masculinity can be discerned behind the late medieval clothing laws.[95] The fact that military apparel was exempted from the legislation can be taken as further proof that the restrictions placed on dress were informed by a desire to protect, and indeed mould, the acceptable forms of masculine expression.

The criticisms heaped upon the bulwark in the galaunt tradition are another anomaly that may be partially based on the fact that some fashionable articles of dress were adapted from military raiment. Whilst the term *bulwark*, which in Middle English is also *bulwerk*, is most commonly used to describe a fortification, in clothing it referred to a kneepad.[96] Bulwarks were originally makeshift wads of material used by a knight 'to put aboute his kneys for chawfynge of his lighernes'.[97] They first appear in the galaunt tradition in *DIMEV* 3084, which describes them as 'these newe bulwarkes they [the galaunts] were at theyr knees'.[98] This phrasing suggests that the item was novel in the mid-fifteenth century when *DIMEV* 3084 was composed. Indeed, outside of the galaunt tradition, only one written reference to bulwarks being used as a fashion accessory has been found. This occurs in a late-fifteenth-century sarcastic "love letter" to a female recipient in which the subject's 'bolwerkys, pectorellys, and al your nyce aray' are mocked.[99] Much of our knowledge of the

[94] 3 Edward 4 (1463), 505b–506a, in: *The Statutes of the Realm / Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts*, 9 vols (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1810), Vol. 2, p. 402. Thanks go to Monica Wright for her assistance with the translation.

[95] Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', pp. 22–42.

[96] *MED* headword *bulwerk* (n): 1(a).

[97] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 775, transcribed in: Harold Arthur, 'On a MS Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry of the Fifteenth Century, belonging to Lord Hastings', *Archaeologia*, 57 (January, 1900), pp. 29–70, l. 43.

[98] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147–160, l. 197.

[99] *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), pp. 220–222, l. 46.

adoption of this item of military apparel into civilian costume in the mid- to late-fifteenth century is therefore dependent on the four references to bulwarks found in the galaunt corpus, especially as these constitute the earliest examples of the term being used to describe fashionable garb. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that none of these examples are included in the *MED* or 'The Lexis of Cloth and Clothing'.[100] The paucity of the hitherto-identified examples perhaps also explains why bulwarks have not previously been the subject of discussion in medieval clothing studies.

The bulwark, like the galaunt's other costume features, attracts scorn and is bemoaned by the writers of verse satires such as *DIMEV* 1488, in which the author describes the galaunt's 'whytte bulwerk abowtt þe kne' as 'a schrewe syȝt ytt ys to se'.[101] Between this example and the earlier one in *DIMEV* 3084, given above, comes what could be a third reference to bulwarks in *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*. Leversedge reports that the devils that tormented him in his dream vision showed him:

> A similitude and shappis of þe facion of my pykis, bolstirs, stuffid dowblettes, schort gownes, hygh bonettes, long heere and al þe inordinat aray þat ever I usyd.[102]

Although the item is here referred to as a *bolstir* and not as a *bulwark*, its place in the catalogue of the offensive outfit, being immediately after the shoes and before the doublet, makes it physiologically likely that a leg-covering is being described. Further than this, a *bolster* is a wad of padding, and as the doublet is itself described as stuffed, it is logical that the term is being used to describe a distinct article of padded clothing, rather than as a duplicate description of the doublet.[103] Indeed, the fact that the term is plural makes its relationship to the bulwark even more likely, as one normally has two legs but only one torso. This reference can therefore be taken as further evidence of the popularity of bulwarks amongst the fashionably dressed in the mid- to late-fifteenth century and as another example of such items receiving a negative reaction from the writers of galaunt literature.

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[100] *MED* headword *bulwerk* (n): 2; 'The Lexis of Cloth and Clothing' headword *bulwerk*.

[101] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 149–150, ll. 30–31.

[102] *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis, ll. 373–376.

[103] *MED* headword *bolster* (n): 2(a).

The final allusion to bulwarks occurs at the end of the fifteenth century in the play *Nature*.[104] In this instance, the item is explicitly linked to armour, thereby referencing the original function of the garment, through the description: 'corselettys of fyne velvet slyped / Down to the hard kne'.[105] The galaunt is thus described as exploiting two military-style items of dress: the bulwark, here described as a 'hard knee' (l. 172); and a corselet, a term used in official documents, including the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, to refer to a piece of armour.[106] Further reference is also made in the play to the military origins of this aspect of the galaunt's attire in the lines following the one given above:

> And whan he is in suche aray,
> "Ther goth a rutter!" men wyll say.
> "A rutter? Huf, a galand!"[107]

The context for the account of the fashions favoured by the galaunts that is given in *Nature* is, as always, one of criticism and consternation. It is the play's personification of Pride who describes the fashions, which he intends to use as a sartorial trap through which to lure Man into sin. The fact that it is Pride who is extolling the virtues of such garments makes the moral censure attached thereto unmistakable.

When one compares the treatment of the galaunt's fashions to the first reference to a bulwark given above, in which a knight was described as using such an item to protect his knees, the difference in tone and attitude is clear. The knight suffers none of the opprobrium that is heaped upon the galaunt precisely because the item is not enjoyed as a faddish article of fashion, but rather made use of as a practical solution to the problem of being chafed when wearing leg armour. The galaunts, and by extension the fashionably dressed, use such paraphernalia for purely aesthetic purposes and as such become the target of conservative

[104] The full title of the play is: *A goodly interlude of nature co[m]pylyd by mayster Henry Medwall chapleyn to the ryght reuerent father in god Iohan Morton somtyme cardynall and archebyshop of Canterbury*. The interlude is entered in *DIMEV* as number 5189. It survives in an early print produced in London by William Rastell, between 1529 and 1535. Editions include: *Henry Medwall's Nature*, ed. by John S. Farmer, Tudor Facsimile Texts (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1908); and *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1980). The more recent of these is referenced by this study. The text is thought to have been composed in the final decades of the fifteenth century.

[105] *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson, ll. 171–172.

[106] *MED* headword *corset* (n): 2; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

[107] *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson, ll. 176-178.

vitriol. Further than this, the adaptation of military raiment for frivolous purposes, for use by those who had no just claim to it, emphasises the galaunt's affectation of a manliness that is not his to possess and the danger to society that was felt to be inherent therein. This tension relates to the aforementioned dichotomy in literary descriptions of youth from this period. The galaunt's physical form is exclusively portrayed in negative terms but the description of the same in relation to his counterpart in romance, the heroic young knight, is consistently positive. This is a disparity that can be successfully resolved through consideration of the galaunt's bastardisation of military raiment for effete ends.

In case the reader were in any doubt of the galaunts', and in a wider sense the foppish courtiers', unworthiness of such apparel, the author of *DIMEV* 3084 witheringly observes that in a court in which there are many, one assumes highly wrought, stirrups, there are few able horsemen: 'So many styroppes and so few good chyvallers'.[108] The author later goes on to pun that despite the high number of decorative points, that is, laces for tying clothing, on display, a good point amongst those who wear them is hard to find: 'Howe many poyntes were they nowe a dayes / And yet a good poynte amonge them were to fynde' (ll. 134–135). The galaunt's ornaments are juxtaposed with his ineptitude to derisive effect by the satirist. This practice is not limited to the one text, but recurs, in one incarnation or another, throughout the corpus. At the end of the fifteenth century, for example, the author of the satiric verse *DIMEV* 3765 complains that whilst there are many self-styled knights at the court, they are 'lytyl of myght'.[109] The galaunt is thus associated with those who would seek to fake their prowess in order to claim greater social standing than warranted.

These discourses also provide a useful avenue through which to lambaste the knightly classes more generally. As Hoccleve warns in his *Regiment of Princes*:

> The skynner unto the feeld moot also
> His hous in Londoun is to streit and scars
> To doon his craft; sumtyme it was nat so.
> O lordes, geve unto your men hir pars
> That so doon, and aqweynte hem bet with Mars,
> God of bataille; he loveth noon array
> That hurtith manhode at preef or assay.

[108] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147–60, l. 122.

[109] *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. 2, pp. 252–253, l. 3.

> Who now moost may bere on his bak at ones
> Of clooth and furrour hath a fressh renoun;
> He is a lusty man clept, for the nones.
> But drapers and eek skynners in the toun
> For swich folk han a special orisoun,
> That droppid is with curses heer and there,
> And ay shal til they paied be for hir gere.[110]

The passage criticises the fashions popular at the court on the same grounds of their wastefulness as have already been found to be a core aspect of the approach taken to conspicuous consumption in the galaunt corpus. Hoccleve's humorous account of the cursing tailors who have to make the pleated garments so beloved by these spendthrifts reminds the reader of the impoverishing repercussions of this craze for voluminous apparel. The impractical nature of the styles of dress associated with the galaunt is also a primary driver of the anxiety expressed in the passage. The fashions are despised by Mars because they hinder the wearer's freedom of movement and so 'hurtith manhode at preef or assay' (l. 483). This handicap when at tournament is aggravated by the fact that these fashions are being worn by the segment of society that was supposed to provide the nation's great warriors.

The most obviously virility-enhancing item of late medieval clothing is, of course, the codpiece, which is described by Maria Hayward as follows:

> An integral part of men's hose in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century the term codpiece referred to the front flap at the front of long, joined hose. The word *cod* means bag, and contemporary description referred to 'a kodpese like a pokett'. The word *cod* also signifies the scrotum. The codpiece was usually secured to the waistband of the hose with points. It was often padded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries so drawing attention to the wearer's genitals.[111]

[110] *Thomas Hoccleve: The Regiment of Princes*, ed. by Charles R. Blyth, pp. 477–491.

[111] Maria Hayward, 'Codpiece', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale Owen-Crocker *et al*., p. 135.

There are only two texts in the galaunt tradition that mention this article of clothing: the mid-fifteenth-century *Instructions to his Son* and the late-fifteenth-century *Boke of Kervyng and Nortur*. In the first of these two examples, the item is closely associated with the temptations of the flesh:

> Sum set þeir myndes galantes to asspye,
> Beholdyng þe schort garmentes round all abouȝt
> And how þe stuffyng off þe codpece berys ouȝt.[112]

This excerpt comes from the section of the *Instructions to his Son* that deals with the question of what constitutes sacrilege. Whilst on a simple level the galaunt's codpiece is, in that it draws attention to the genitals, a very obvious physical representation of lust and sexual temptation, for Idley the galaunt is guilty of more than mere seduction. Instead the figure is also accused of disrupting church services through his outlandish and arresting apparel.

It is not difficult to imagine why the codpiece was deemed profane, given its obvious links to the carnal sins of lechery and lust. Medical research has uncovered, however, another possible reason for the mistrust that the article garnered. Writing in 1989, Grace Vicary made the case for the development in *c.*1500 of the codpiece from a simple flap to a prominent, padded attachment as being spurred by the concurrent outbreak of syphilis that plagued Europe.[113] This argument found support from C. S. Reed in a 2004 article in the *Internal Medicine Journal*.[114] Syphilis causes 'large volumes of mixed pus and blood to be discharged from the genital organs', and the codpiece was therefore developed, according to the syphilitic theory, to allow for padding to be worn on the groin that would trap such fluids.[115] If this were true, then the galaunt, through the codpiece, is being associated not only with lust and sexual activity, but also with disease and infection. If the codpiece were directly related to the management of syphilis, then it would act as a physical sign of both sexual activity and of God's punishment for indulging therein.

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[112] *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, p. 210, ll. 418–420.

[113] Grace Q. Vicary, 'Visual Art as Social Data: The Renaissance Codpiece', *Cultural Anthropology*, 4, 1 (February, 1989), pp. 3–25. Vicary traces the syphilis epidemic to infected sailors who returned with Columbus to Spain in 1493 (see pp. 10–11).

[114] C. S. Reed, 'The Codpiece: Social Fashion or Medical Need?', *Internal Medicine Journal*, 34, 12 (December, 2004), pp. 684–686.

[115] Ibid., p. 684.

The codpiece continues to be framed as a sacrilegious appendage in John Russell's *Boke of Kervyng and Nortur*, in which the galaunts are accused of corrupting others through their sartorial display and of again indulging in clothing that is intrinsically sinful. The galaunt first appears in the advice manual in the section entitled 'Symple Condicyons', which is essentially a guide to behaviour when serving at table. The advice given by Russell includes some rather comedic, though no-less-sensible, warnings. He cautions, for example, that when serving his master a young man ought to always 'be ware of þy hyndur part from gunnes blastynge'.[116] The galaunts are placed firmly in this corporeal context, with the author going on to complain about how their codpieces flop upon the table while they are serving their masters:

> These Cuttid galauntes with theire codware; þat is an vngoodly gise;
> Other tacches as towchynge y spare not to mysprave aftur myne avise,
> When he shalle serve his mastir, before hym on þe table hit lyes
>
> (ll. 305-307)

The reference here to 'tacches' (l. 306), which can be translated as spots, could be taken to support the syphilitic theory for the reason that the codpiece was developed.[117] Indeed, a further reference in support of the theory has already been explored in the example taken from the *Book of Curtesye* that is given above, in which the figure was described as having 'tacchis ben enfecte with vilonye' (l. 453). The likely association with a communicable disease is even stronger in this instance as, although the *Book of Curtesye* does not mention the codpiece, it does describe the galaunt's spots as having been infected by his villainy.

Effeminacy

Sartorial extravagance and dependency on material refinements were often portrayed as a sign of growing feminisation amongst the elites during the period in question, as indeed they had been for many centuries by this point. Chapter one presented a range of examples in which the love of finery, amongst young, aristocratic men in particular, was used to accuse that demographic of effeminacy. In descriptions of the galaunt it is often the figure's

[116] *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1876, revised ed., 1973), pp. 117-199, l. 304.

[117] *MED* headword *tach(e)* (n): 2(b).

preoccupation with clothing that renders the character effeminate. In *DIMEV* 1488, for example, even the figure's shoes are used to mark those who wear them as precious and foppish, with the author quipping that without their 'pykyd schone, þou were forlorne'.[118] The mid-fifteenth-century author of *DIMEV* 3084 echoes this attitude, complaining that amongst the galaunts 'the noble course of nature nycete hath devoured'.[119] The *MED* offers four key definitions for the term *nicete*, all of which could be applied to this quotation. The first three of these can be summarised as being: 'foolishness', or 'nonsense'; 'indolence', or 'timidity'; and 'cunning', or more specifically 'a clever device'.[120] It is, however, the fourth definition that is of most interest in this instance: 'extravagance or excessive refinement in clothing, habits, or manner of living; also, a delicacy, a luxury'.[121] If one interprets 'nycete' as carrying this meaning in *DIMEV* 3084, then the implication is that the galaunt's pursuit of sartorial pleasures interferes with the "natural" development of his masculinity.

This is certainly the sense that is conveyed near the end of the fifteenth century in the *Book of Curtesye*, in which the reader is warned against repeating the sartorial excesses of 'unthryft ruskyn galante' and instead advised to ensure:

> That your araye be manerly resonable
> Not apysshe on to mocken ne to mowe
> To nyce araye that is not commendable
> Fetis newe founden by foolis vnprouffitable
> That make þe world so plainly transformate,
> That men semen almoste enfemynate.[122]

Proper, 'manerly' (l. 485) array to which one ought to aspire is contrasted with the transformative 'nyce araye' (l. 487) that causes the galaunts to 'semen almoste enfemynate' (l. 490). The galaunt is thus portrayed as one who wears the most excessive of fashions, to the detraction of his social and spiritual duties, exhibiting a taste in dress that was thought to be inappropriate for a man. This attitude continues to find expression into the sixteenth century,

[118] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, l. 11.

[119] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147–160, l. 99.

[120] *MED* headword *nīcetē* (n): 1(a, b); 2(a, b); and 3(b, c). As 3(a) is dependent upon 'nicete' being used in conjunction with 'after the' it is not appropriate to the quotation in question.

[121] *MED* headword *nīcetē* (n): 4(a).

[122] *Caxton's Book of Curtesye*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, l. 451, ll. 485–490.

with Barclay also using the figure's tendency to prioritise style over substance to engage with broader questions of what constitutes correct masculinity in his *The Ship of Fools*, in which he condemns the galaunt's attire for being 'moche unmanerly'.[123]

The galaunt's penchant for fashionable attire is more than a manifestation of his effeminacy: it is its root cause. As Amanda Bailey has observed in her investigation of the representation of masculinity in early modern drama, the fop loses his manly status on account of his 'obsessive attention to the sartorial'.[124] This concern engages with a wider view that a dependency on material refinements could actually breed effeminacy. This is an opinion that Matthew Bennett has shown to be of acute concern to social commentators of the late-eleventh to the early-twelfth century. Bennett's analysis focuses on the subversion of appropriate notions of knightly military masculinity in the commentaries from the period and uncovers attitudes that bear a striking resemblance to those that are expressed in the corpus. Bennett observes that:

> Some [commentators] believed that the fine warrior fashions indicated the virility of the wearer. However, when these fashions were associated with, for example, the court of William Rufus, the second Norman king of England (1087-99), in combination with accusations that he ran a court where homosexuality flourished, then their significance changes. Long hair might be understood to indicate effeminacy or even homosexuality.[125]

The indictment of effeminacy that is articulated in the galaunt corpus is not coupled with accusations of homosexuality, indeed the figure's sexual dalliances and the extended contact with members of the opposite sex that this necessarily occasioned is instead framed as a contributing factor to the feminising of the figure. What Bennett's findings do offer though is a framework for understanding the impact that the frequent periods of minority rule over the period in question had on the attitudes to sartorial extravagance that are expressed through the galaunt. The figure's effeminacy is thus best understood not as an exploration of issues of transgendered identity but rather as a further expression of the un-manliness of youth. The

[123] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, Vol. I, p. 36.

[124] Amanda Bailey, *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 133.

[125] Matthew Bennett, 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France *c*.1050-*c*.1225', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley, pp. 71-88 (quote on p. 80).

galaunt's masculinity is located in this discourse as belonging to a further spectrum of gendered identity, in which the ideal for proto-manly virtue, as typified by romantic notions of active young knights with perfect bodies, marks the other end of the spectrum to the slum inhabited by the inactive and physically distorted galaunts.

This concern about the feminising effect of taking an interest in material refinements is not limited in the corpus to discussions of clothing, as the galaunt's hairstyle is also used as a vehicle for the expression of such concerns. Chapter two considered the role that this feature plays in enabling the galaunt to be identified as Youth but it is also worth considering the moral messages carried by the characteristic in the three texts that make mention of the figure's coiffure. All of the examples date to the latter part of the fifteenth century and they all focus on the length of the galaunt's hair. The earliest of these is *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, in which the galaunt is used to mock the dreamer's own tendency to have 'longe heere upon here browes'.[126] In the second reference, the author of *DIMEV* 6831 satirises the galaunt for having 'long here into your eyen', the connotation of which being that the galaunt is blinded by his love of display.[127] The third and final reference to the figure's hairstyle can be found in *DIMEV* 1488, in which the actual length of the hair is measured: 'All a-bak he castys hys here, / ffowre enchys by-neth hys ere'.[128] These examples can all be read as markers of the galaunt's stupidity, as the trope of long hair ties into what Bartlett Whiting has established to be an earlier tradition of associating the feature with short wit.[129]

Whilst being generally hairy was often associated with strength, for example in depictions of "wild men" such as the Giant Herdsman in *Ywain and Gawain*, this is not the same as having fashionably styled long hair.[130] Indeed, in treatises on masculinity it is body hair, and most importantly facial hair, that act as markers of virility, not the hair of the head. As Joan Cadden states in her study of sex difference in the Middle Ages:

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[126] *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis, l. 155.

[127] *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Vol. 2, p. 251, l. 7.

[128] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138–139, ll. 25–26.

[129] Bartlett J. Whiting with Helen W. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500* (London; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 259.

[130] *Ywain and Gawain*, ed. by Albert B. Friedman and Norman T. Harrington, EETS OS 254 (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), ll. 251-254.

> Many of the differences perceived between males and females [. . .] had to do with hair, and these too had a place in the characterization of the feminine and the masculine. Prominent body hair not only marked the male among humans but also signified masculinity. In remarks about beards and body hair, the contrast is not simply between males and females but rather between the masculine and the nonmasculine, including children of both sexes and castrati as well as women.[131]

The visual similarity between the sexes that resulted from men having long and well-groomed hair was also considered to lead to spiritual and physiological similarities. The main concern was that as a result of this blurring of gender lines, men would be led not by the masculine qualities of rational thinking and temperance, but by the female traits of eroticism and carnal desires.[132] The result of this association is that the galaunt's long hair can be read as branding the figure as a non-masculine male, as to appear womanish was tantamount to being so.[133]

There are also spiritual concerns at play in these descriptions of the galaunt's hairstyle as there was a theological precedent for condemning men who indulged in this particular fashion. Long hair is chastised in the translation of *Corinthians* included in an early version of the *Wycliffite Bible*, which declares that: 'If a man norische long heer, it is yuel fame, or sclaundre, to him' (1.11.14).[134] As a result of this Christian doctrine, which is reinforced by the depictions of youth given in early medieval treatments of the Ages of Man schema, long hair was frequently used to mark insalubrious characters in the late medieval period. Church murals, such as the late-fifteenth-century wall painting of the Seven Deadly Sins housed at Saint Ethelbert's Church in Hessett, Suffolk that was discussed in the previous chapter, frequently depict youth's particular vices as having long hair. The feature aligns the figure

[131] Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 181.

[132] Joyce E. Salisbury, 'Gendered Sexuality', in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. by Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York, NY: Garland, 1996), pp. 81–102.

[133] Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self*, pp. 140–145.

[134] *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers*, ed. by Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, 4 vols (Oxford: University Press, 1850), Vol. IV, p. 358.

with these instructional personifications and the association informs the discourses at play in the corpus.

Perhaps the greatest slur on the figure's manliness occurs in *The Bowge of Courte*, in which the galaunt is described as wearing 'An eestryche fedder of a capons tayle / set up fresshely upon his hat alofte'.[135] Exotic feathers were used to adorn hats in the late-fifteenth century and acted as a mark of social standing, as they were available only to the more affluent members of society.[136] Ostrich feathers were particularly prized due to their association with royalty since Edward III's inclusion of them in one of his seals.[137] Again, however, there is more to this sartorial detail than a mere account of courtly costume. The feather is not actually an ostrich feather but rather it is taken from a capon's tail. One could infer from this rather contradictory description that the galaunt sporting this particular feather was duped into believing it to be a high-quality ostrich feather, when in fact it is merely that of a cockerel. This hypothesis is certainly in keeping with the portrayal of a foolish fashionista uncovered in the descriptions of the galaunt examined above. Further than this, a capon is not merely a cockerel, but a castrated cockerel, and as such the description ties in with the slurs on the galaunt's masculinity that are key to the fashion discourse surrounding the figure. Indeed, the term *capon* was actually used in some instances to refer directly to a eunuch, a nuance that makes the defamation of the galaunt's masculinity inherent in this sartorial feature all the more clear.[138]

Sartorial discourse: a reflection of concurrent trends or inflexible polemic?

The foregoing exploration of the sartorial features of the galaunt has found that the authors who contribute to the corpus do show an interest in, and some quite detailed knowledge of, the realities of contemporary clothing culture. Each item of clothing with which the galaunt is associated is only commented upon, in the majority of cases, at times when contemporary designs had reached an extreme. This correlation between the fashions described in the corpus and contemporary material culture is especially apparent in the references to the

[135] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions: An Anthology*, ed. by Julia Boffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 232–265, ll. 366–367.

[136] Steven A. Epstein, *Wage Labour and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), p. 145.

[137] Charles Boutell, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, 11th ed., rev. by Arthur C. Fox-Davies (London: Reeves & Turner, 1914), p. 262.

[138] *MED* headword cāpŏun (n): 2(a).

figure's shoes. The galaunt's footwear is included in six descriptions of the figure that span a timeframe of approximately one hundred years: from *DIMEV* 4853 (*c*.1380) to *DIMEV* 1488 (*c*.1500). The style of footwear associated with the galaunt over this period is always the long-toed shoe known as a 'pike'.[139] Fortunately a good amount of evidence relating to fashionable footwear in this period has survived, including a large collection of shoes recovered from archaeological excavations at Baynard's Castle in London, an example from which can be seen below in Figure 16.[140]



Figure 16: Photograph of a mid-fourteenth-century shoe. The shoe was found at Baynard's Castle, Baynard House, Queen Victoria Street, EC4, City of London, and is currently housed at the Museum of London, London.[141]

[139] The long-toes on such shoes are also referred to as *poulaines* and *crakowes* during the period in question. As the Acts of Apparel, the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* and the *Promptorium Parvulorum* all describe this particular style of toe as a *pike*, however, this term is more appropriate for use in this study. For a discussion of such linguistic issues see: Louise M. Sylvester and Mark Chambers, 'Multilingualism in the Vocabulary of Dress and Textiles in late Medieval Britain: Some Issues for Historical Lexicology', in *English Historical Linguistics 2010*, ed. by Iren Hegedus and Alexandra Fodor (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012), pp. 313-326.

[140] For further details of the excavation see: Francis Grew, Margrethe de Neergard and Susan Mitford, *Shoes and Pattens: Finds from medieval excavations in London*, 2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1988), pp. 28-36.

[141] This image is © Museum of London and reproduced courtesy of their image licensing for academic purposes scheme. Image taken from: *Collections Online*, Museum of London, online ed. <http://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/index.php> [last accessed 15 April 2016].

Fashion historians who have aggregated this evidence report that the long-toed shoe was popular amongst fashionable society in England from *c.*1360 to *c.*1410 and again from *c.*1460 to *c.*1490, which means that the references to the item in the corpus are in keeping with contemporary modes of dress.[142] Indeed, the texts that mention pikes tend to date to periods at which this particular item of clothing was at its most accentuated. The first text to mention this style of footwear as a feature of the galaunt's wardrobe dates from *c.*1380, a period during which pikes were so long that they had to be stuffed with substances such as bone so as to retain their shape.[143] The next four texts to describe the galaunt's shoes date to the latter half of the fifteenth century, when long toes made such resurgence that they became the subject of sumptuary legislation, as can be seen in the excerpt translated below:

> No Knight under the State of a Lord, Esquire, Gentleman, nor other Person, shall use nor wear [...] any Shoes or Boots having Pikes passing the Length of Two Inches; upon Pain to forfeit to the King for every Default Three Shillings and Four-pence.[144]

The last text dates from the very end of the period to which fashion historians have ascribed the pikes' popularity, suggesting that for as long as they remained popular amongst the well dressed they also retained their notoriety amongst writers of galaunt literature.

Hose are another sartorial feature that is satirised for approximately one hundred years, within roughly the same timeframe as the long-toed shoes: from *DIMEV* 4853 (*c.*1380) to *The Bowge of Courte* (1498). The feature again appears in only six texts, four of which also mention pikes, and is an accurate reflection of contemporary designs. *DIMEV* 4853, for example, describes how: 'A strayt bende have the hose / *laqueantur ad corpora crura*'.[145] The author thus not only details the physical appearance of the hose in the first line, but also outlines their mechanics by describing how 'the legs are haltered to the torso' in the second.

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[142] C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, rev. ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), p. 85; Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, pp. 449-451; Mark Chambers, 'Crakow', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker *et al.*, pp. 155-156; and Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, p. 70.

[143] William P. Baildon, 'A Wardrobe Account of 16-17 Richard II (1393-4)', *Archaeologia*, 62, 1 (1911), pp. 497-514; Francis Grew, Margrethe de Neergard and Susan Mitford, *Shoes and Pattens*, p. 88.

[144] 3 Edward IV C5 (1463), *The Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. II, p. 401.

[145] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, ll. 145-146.

At the time that this text was written the hose had been joined together at the top to form leg-coverings not entirely dissimilar to modern tights, though of a more substantial material.[146] These were attached to, and thus held up by, the jacket through a system of eyelet holes and 'points', or strings.[147] The description in *DIMEV* 4853 is therefore an accurate one, showing an interest in, and detailed knowledge of, the specifics of contemporary fashion.

Hose continue to be a feature of the galaunt's flamboyant sartorial tastes in the didactic play *Nature*, in which Pride describes the type of hose associated with the most fashionable galaunts as 'fro the kne downward [...] freshely gard / Wyth colours two or thre'.[148] The fact that it is Pride who is extolling the virtues of such garments makes the moral censure attached thereto unmistakable but close examination of the actual design being described raises some interesting additional questions. Striped and multicoloured garments were extremely fashionable in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and, due to the expense involved in producing them, marked those who wore them as belonging to the highest echelons of society.[149] By the time of the play's composition, however, such styles had long passed out of favour.[150] Whilst striped garments do continue to feature in wall paintings and manuscript illuminations in the fifteenth century, they are exclusively used in depictions of Vices and the morally culpable, and their inclusion does not accurately reflect concurrent fashion trends.[151] As such, one must assume that striped hose are included in the description of galaunt fashions given in *Nature* on account of their semiotic allusions and not as a means of lampooning contemporary sartorial tastes. The costume features allocated to the galaunt are thus not always in keeping with the heights of contemporary fashion, especially when another style has previously been established as representative of the moral failing for which the figure is acting as vehicle.

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[146] Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, pp. 548-549; Maria Hayward, 'Hose', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker *et al*., pp. 280-281; Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, p. 67.

[147] C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, p. 108; Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, pp. 603-604; Maria Hayward and George Egan, 'Points', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker *et al*., pp. 421-422; and Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, p. 67.

[148] *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson, ll. 1070-1075.

[149] Elizabeth Coatsworth, 'Colour and weave effects (check, stripes and mottling)', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker *et al*., pp. 138-140.

[150] Maria Hayward, 'Mi-parti', in *EMDT*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker *et al*., p. 368.

[151] Michel Pastoureau, *The Devil's Cloth: A History of Stripes and Striped Fabrics*, trans. by Jody Gladding (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001).

The short and pleated style of jacket is another aspect of the galaunt's wardrobe that continues to be included in descriptions of the figure long past the point at which it would have been thought of as new or innovative. The garment, which was introduced into English fashions before the first extant galaunt text was penned, features in descriptions of the figure from throughout the fifteenth century.[152] In *The Bowge of Courte*, which dates from the end of the century, Skelton describes his galaunt character as wearing a 'gowne so shorte that it ne cover myghte / His rumpe'.[153] Here the objection is a moral, rather than a monetary one, as it is the impropriety of the short design that is emphasised. This is an aspect of the short jacket that had received negative comment since the garment's debut in the fourteenth century.[154] It also attracts the scorn of Chaucer's Parson, who gives a long treatise on this subject in his 'Tale':

> To speken of the horrible disordinat scantnesse of clothyng, as been thise kutted sloppes, or haynselyns, that thurgh hire shortnesse ne covere nat the shameful membres of man, to wikked entente.[155]

From its inception, the short style of jacket was commonly perceived to be indecent and deserving of censure by conservative writers and those, such as Chaucer, who wished to mimic their style. The galaunt, however, becomes the most easily recognisable vehicle for such criticisms. In turn, the short jacket becomes an intrinsic sartorial feature of the figure, allowing understanding of it to be informed by a tradition of associating scant clothing with an exiguous moral code. This relationship survives for much longer than the changing tides of fashion and the figure is kept in the short style of jacket even once the garment stops being as *de rigueur* as it had initially been.[156]

Another opportunity to test the balance in the corpus between trope and fashion is afforded by the aforementioned reference in *DIMEV* 4853 to '*humeris in pectore tergo*'.[157] Identifying a particular sartorial innovation that could cause the deformity described here is

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[152] For some of the earliest examples see: Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of The Black Prince*, pp. 6-13.

[153] *Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions*, ed. by Julia Boffey, pp. 232–265, ll. 354-355.

[154] Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of The Black Prince*, p. 30.

[155] *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, p. 421.

[156] This extended use of a sartorial feature because of its established association with a particular moral message is not unique to the short jacket. See, for example: Robin Netherton, 'The Tippet: Accessory after the Fact?', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 1 (2005), pp. 115-132.

[157] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 133.

difficult as the reference to having shoulders in the back of the chest is somewhat cryptic. The use of padding on the chest of the doublet to create the look of *pectus carinatum* had been introduced to English fashion in the 1360s.[158] This practice gave the appearance of a rounded upper torso and caused the shoulders to be forced backwards. The visual effect of this trend can be seen on the next page in Figure 17. The author could, however, equally be alluding to the practice of attaching the sleeves to the doublet through a *grande assiette*, such as was used in the manufacture of the pourpoint depicted on page 224 in Figure 18. This involved cutting armholes that engulfed the entire shoulder to the neck and a large part of the breast, side and back.[159] The reference would therefore be to the relocation of the seam between the sleeve of the garment and the body that arose from this tailoring method. Instead of the sleeve stopping where the arm naturally meets the shoulder, it was instead extended to where the two shoulder-blades meet the back. As such the shoulders could be described as having moved to behind the chest.

It is important to note that neither of these tailoring innovations was new at the point of *DIMEV* 4853's composition. Both the practice of padding the chest of the doublet, and of using a *grande assiette* to attach the arms, had already been in use for more than thirty years by the 1380s.[160] The poem itself offers an answer to this conundrum as the author later goes on to complain that the galaunt's fashions are as changeable as the wind: 'Now schort and now longe, / *ventus velud ecce vacillant*' (ll. 167-168). One need not assume, therefore, that something that is described as being a "new fashion" necessarily relates to a great stylistic shift. Instead of being aggravated by a particular innovation, the criticisms of the galaunts' wardrobe are, in this instance, in reaction to the inherently changing nature of fashion as a phenomenon. It does not particularly matter to the author of *DIMEV* 4853 whether the trend is for a long gown or a short one; what irks them is the vacillation between the two and the uncertainty that this induces and more broadly, in socio-political terms, represents.

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[158] Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, p. 108.

[159] Penelope Byrde, *The Male Image: Men's Fashion in Britain, 1300-1970* (London: Batsford, 1979), p 56. For a guide to reconstructing medieval garments, see: Sarah Thursfield, *The Medieval Tailor's Assistant: Making Common Garments 1200-1500* (London: Costume and Fashion Press, 2001); and for sixteenth-century fashions: Jane Malcolm-Davies and Ninya Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor: Reconstructing 16th-Century Dress*, with additional research by Caroline Johnson and illustrations by Michael Perry (London: Batsford, 2006).

[160] Stella M. Newton, *Fashion in The Age of The Black* Prince, p. 108.



Figure 17: Photograph of the pourpoint of Charles de Blois, which is currently housed at the Musée des Tissus et des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon, France. Permission to reproduce the image kindly granted by the museum. The pourpoint was made in *c*.1360.[161]

[161] The image is © Lyon, MTMAD – Pierre Verrier. Image taken from: *Portail des collections des musées de France*, Joconde, online ed. <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde> [last accessed 15 April 2016].



Figure 18: Miniature depicting a dialogue between a clerk and a knight from London, BL, MS Royal 19 C IV, fol. 6. The manuscript was produced in France in 1378 and the illuminations are attributed to the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy.[162]

[162] Image taken from: *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, BL, online ed. <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm> [last accessed 15 April 2016].

The condemnation of novelty continues to be a defining feature of the sartorial discourses surrounding the figure into the sixteenth century. In *The Ship of Fools*, any indulgence in fashion is enough to attract censure as no matter what style the galaunt wears the very act of exhibiting sartorial pride is itself deemed inappropriate. Barclay complains that the figure's hemline is either 'to lowe or else to hye' (p. 36); alternatives that leave very little room for manoeuvre. This general condemnation of all contemporary styles is a reiteration of exactly the same sentiment as is expressed in *DIMEV* 4853. Fashionable display is thus lambasted on account of the mutability that is essential to its very nature. This is a state of affairs that cannot and does not change over the entire period in question.

In her monograph *Fashion in Medieval France* Sarah-Grace Heller sets out a ten-step matrix by which to define and identify a fashion system at work within a given society that can be used to better understand the representation of fashion in the corpus.[163] Half of the criteria equate fashion to a constantly changing mode of sartorial representation. To paraphrase Heller, this transience takes the form of:

1. Disregarding the clothing practices of the past in preference for something new.
2. Having a desire for constant and systematic change.
3. Changing superficial details frequently, but changing the constituent parts only rarely.
4. Following 'a theatrical logic of excess and exaggeration'.[164]
5. Suffering criticism and continuing to create new modes of sartorial expression in reaction to this.

One such alteration to an already established garment that is described in the corpus is *DIMEV* 3084's account of the galaunt sporting 'the newe broched doublettes open at the brestes / Stuffed with pectoll' (ll. 184-185). Doublets had been adopted into civilian costume in the 1330s, but the fashion for wearing them open at the front and laced over a stomacher, which is what is being described in this example, only became popular in the mid-fifteenth

[163] Sarah-Grace Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, pp. 8-10.

[164] Ibid., p. 9.

century.[165] As such, the description in *DIMEV* 3084 is an accurate reflection of evolving trends. The fact that this text was written approximately sixty years after *DIMEV* 4853 and yet still labels padding the chest as a new fashion confirms that the term *new*, when applied to the galaunt's fashions, should be interpreted as meaning *altered* rather than *original*.

Whilst for the most part the figure's costume does tend to mirror closely the heights of contemporary fashion, certain aspects, such as the short jacket and mi-parti hose, remained a feature of the sartorial discourse surrounding the figure regardless of their popularity at the time of writing. These "inaccurate constants" were caused by such features developing into widespread tropes that allowed the concerns for which the galaunt acted as conduit to be easily recognised and correctly understood. The galaunt's sartorial vocabulary is best understood as operating in these instances as a written form of what Margaret Goehring has identified to be true of the depiction of clothing in manuscript illuminations, the incongruous aspects of which she concludes were most likely part of an 'inherited repertoire'.[166] The most frequent of these inaccurate constants is the labelling of the galaunt's fashions as new when the same styles of clothing had in fact already been a feature of the corpus's repertoire for decades or even, by the end of the period, centuries. The effectiveness of the galaunt as an emblem of Wayward Youth relies, to a certain degree, on the fact that the same concerns and their visual markers are replicated throughout the corpus as a whole.

When it comes to deciphering the messages conveyed by the galaunt figure, it is his clothing that forms a readable and transferable vocabulary. The ability to analyse fashion as an expression of cultural and social identity has long been appreciated, from the publication of Johann Carl Flügel's *The Psychology of Clothes* in 1930, to, for example, Diane Crane's more recent monograph *Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing*.[167] Numerous studies have considered the nuances of dress, such as Alison Lurie's *The Language of Clothes* and Roland Barthes's *The Fashion System*, in which he identifies

[165] Mark Chambers, '"Hys surcote was ouert": The "Open Surcoat" in late Medieval British texts', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 7 (2011), pp. 87-110; Frederick W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, pp. 490-491; Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Costume*, p. 231; Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, p. 64.

[166] Margaret L. Goehring, 'The Representation and Meaning of Luxurious Textiles in Franco-Flemish Manuscript Illumination', in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by Kathryn M. Ruby and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 121-155 (quote on p. 129).

[167] Johann C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930); Diane Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

clothing as an extra-linguistic but analytical code of social expression.[168] Anne Hollander's *Seeing Through Clothes* even goes so far as to describe fashion as itself 'a form of visual art, a creation of images with the visible self as its medium'.[169] Though these studies do not contain any detailed analysis of the cultural significance of lay, male fashions in the medieval period, they do set important precedents for serious consideration of the semiotics of dress. This is an area of scholarship to which this study's analysis of the galaunt's sartorial inferences makes a significant contribution.

Despite the fact that similar anxieties about the fashions sported by the young are expressed in other forms of complaint literature, both from the period of study and before it, the consistency of the galaunt corpus allows for these complaints to be drawn together and solidified into a translatable sartorial discourse that can be applied to other treatments of Youth. Clothing as presented in the galaunt corpus is thus not extra-linguistic, as Barthes has argued fashion to be, but supra-linguistic in that the written descriptions directly relate to, and interact with, both the fluctuating sartorial culture exercised at the time of composition and the static depictions thereof found in contemporary visual art.[170] Further than this, the sartorial discourse surrounding the galaunt actually adds nuance and significance to these non-verbal means of communication. This is only possible because the sartorial discourse of 'galawnted wede' forms a readable and transferable vocabulary that allows for the smallest details to carry a host of connotations and associations.[171] Key to understanding the significance of these nuances is the fact that the galaunt's clothing is criticised for two different, but related, types of perpetual change: firstly in terms of the structure and appearance of the actual garments; and secondly in how this effectively alters the human body itself.

[168] Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1983); Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (London: Cape, 1985).

[169] Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1978), p. 311.

[170] Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, p. x.

[171] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, l. 3.

Conclusion

The galaunt was consistently portrayed, throughout the late medieval period, as one who indulged in the most excessive of fashions, to the detraction of his social and spiritual duties. Whilst a genuine interest in the specifics of contemporary designs can be unearthed in the galaunt corpus, it is the distaste for fashion itself, as a cultural phenomenon, which offers the clearest overarching theme. As the cut, fit, style, and taste for embellishment changed over the period in question, each innovation offered the writers of galaunt literature fresh opportunities to criticise those who indulged in fashionable clothing, and any interest in matters of dress was always presented as intrinsically sinful and fundamentally inappropriate. Due to the perpetually changing nature of fashion, the figure acted as a metaphor for the perceived instability of contemporary society. He was also consistently used as a vehicle for declaring the character faults of those who shared his sartorial tastes.

The high cost of the figure's clothing lies behind many of the concerns expressed in the corpus. The figure has previously been interpreted as a vehicle for discussing social mobility in the period, with his 'purs penyles' acting as a metaphor for his social presumption.[172] The material outlined in this chapter has countered this reading and instead confirmed that the galaunt was considered thriftless rather than overambitious. The sartorial discourses surrounding the figure focus on the inordinate financial strain caused by indulging in ostentatious and fundamentally wasteful garb. As such, the figure was predominantly used to accuse the fashionable sect of being profligate and financially irresponsible, to the point of impoverishing the realm and destabilising society.

Whilst the galaunt can offer a fascinating window into the realities of late medieval *couture*, there is more to the descriptions of the figure's fashions than a mere documentation of contemporary sartorial tastes. Nor do the accounts simply criticise the garments on the basis of the extreme and impractical nature of their design. Instead, the figure's clothing is used as a medium through which to examine and describe his moral failings. In addition to being presented as vapid slaves to fashion, the galaunts were also frequently associated with the sartorially profane and the spiritually dangerous. They were accused of disfiguring their God-given appearance by wearing padded and tightened clothing that enhanced and manipulated the male form, and they came to be iconographically coupled with the demonic as a result.

[172] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, pp. 140-146, l. 117.

The charge of bastardising God's creation relates to the broader question of what constitutes "proper" masculinity that informs the figure in the tradition as a whole. Neal's analysis of the role that high fashion plays in the formation of masculine identity in the period has asked why extravagant styles of male dress were so popular and how these sartorial choices were perceived to affect the desirability of the wearer; in terms of both sexual attractiveness and homosocial appeal. Neal concludes that the virile nature of late medieval fashionable display was intended to impress other men by 'appearing masculine' as much as it was designed to attract women.[173] This chapter's inclusion of the galaunt in such an examination of male physical identity has been of immense value, as much of the discourse surrounding the figure hinges on these issues. The galaunt was accused of using his clothing to hide his physical deficiencies and, in so doing, of presuming to display a level of masculine authority that was beyond his years and abilities. The military origins of many of the galaunt's fashions enhance the concern that his outer appearance was not a just representation of his true nature. One of the primary concerns for which the figure's fashions act as vehicle is thus the fear of external appearances that do not offer a reliable indicator of inner nature. The galaunt is presented as 'a lyer in goodnes in thyne araye' and accused of using his opulent and beautiful costume to mask his deficiencies, both physical and spiritual.[174]

Fashion took on different meanings for different agendas. The nobility used sartorial finery as a platform from which to present itself as a ruling caste, depending on luxury and ceremony to retain their air of supremacy. For their critics, however, fashion was used as evidence of the morally corrupt and decadent nature of the court and the nation that they ruled. The galaunts are depicted as using clothing to mould their outward appearance, in the hope that this will in turn have a positive impact on how others gauge their virility and social position. They, and to an extent even their fashions, are, however, literary creations that have been constructed by the writers of galaunt literature, who are actually using the figure's sartorial choices as a vehicle for social discourse. The galaunt is thus a creature of multiple constructions from which we can learn a great deal about late medieval attitudes to a broad spectrum of social issues, significant amongst which is the role of sartorial display in the formation of masculine identity.

[173] Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, p. 187.

[174] *Remains*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, pp. 147-160, l. 76.

CONCLUSION

Key findings of this study

This study has presented an unprecedentedly expansive investigation of the late medieval galaunt tradition in England that has found the figure to be a lively and adaptable stereotype that was used to explore issues pertaining to youth in a variety of fora and for an extended timeframe. The study's examination of the social and moral discourses that pervade the iconography of the galaunt has uncovered three fundamental aspects of the figure's semiotic makeup: lasciviousness, sartorial excess and problematic masculinity. These features are unified by the figure's key function as Wayward Youth. In its investigation of the prevalent references to the galaunt in youth discourse, the study has shed light on a previously ignored subject and reclaimed the figure as a widespread and popular youth motif.

Form and function of the galaunt figure

The galaunt's role as an emblem of youth is informed by earlier traditions that engage with questions of age and the life cycle. Of the candidates for the root of the figure that were explored in the etymological survey carried out in the first chapter, the Latin *gallantis*, which refers to young revellers associated with the cult of Bacchus, offers the best candidate for both the etymological and ideological roots of the late medieval tradition. The key attributes of Youth established in these discourses are intemperance, a love of finery that is characterised as effeminacy, recalcitrance and hubris. These early attributes inform the key features of the galaunt throughout the period considered by this study. The figure's links with the Ages of Man schema are a particularly useful framework for considering the galaunt's inclusion, or probable inclusion, in late medieval visual art, in which the figure has been found to have featured heavily. The galaunt appears in *memento mori* art, with a particular density of application in treatments of the *danse macabre*. The figure can also be used to illuminate the semiotics of visual treatments of the Seven Deadly Sins, particularly the depictions that personify the galaunt's proclivities: lust, wrath, gluttony and pride. In all instances, the figure acts as an embodiment of the Pride of Life, which is a function that is inextricably linked to the galaunt's youth identity.

Of primary concern to the fashion discourses exercised in the corpus is the impact that profligate sartorial display had on the nobility, both in terms of financial health and the physical and spiritual development of the young. These concerns may have been informed by the realities of clothing culture as the wardrobe accounts of the court do show that young

nobles, particularly young males, tended to spend more on clothing than their elders.[1] These findings constitute considerable evidence for the need to revaluate the section of society that was satirised through the figure. As was outlined in chapter one, scholarship on the corpus has traditionally interpreted the galaunt as a vehicle for the expression of concern about issues of social mobility. The majority of the material included in the corpus has instead been shown to engage with issues relating to over expenditure and excesses of lifestyle. Where accusations of social presumption have been found, these have been reappraised through the lens of youth discourse and the case has been made that the galaunt was primarily used to criticise the hubris and sartorial precociousness of the young. Whilst this study is not the first to have identified the galaunt as a youth figure, this point having already been made by both Tony Davenport and Fiona Dunlop, the full-scale application of an age-focused reading to the tradition has been a novel approach to the subject; one that has raised some fresh questions about the interplay of age, masculinity and authority in the corpus.

The galaunt of verse satire is the archetypal duplicitous courtier, operating in a world that runs on, in the words of *DIMEV* 3765b, 'fals couetyse', 'ffayned frenship & ypocrisye' and 'gyle'.[2] From the first incarnation of the figure, he is presented as the bed fellow of 'rowners and flatreres', and his sartorial splendour revealed to be simply a mask for a morally and financially bankrupt core.[3] This constant association with pretence and falsification need not be universally interpreted as indicative of usurped social position. Instead, much of the social criticism for which the galaunt acts as vehicle centres on the financially ruinous effects of a court culture in which, as both extant versions of *DIMEV* 3765 observe, the appearance of magnificence is funded by but meagre incomes.[4] The study has shown that the excessive expenditure perceived to be endemic amongst the upper echelons of society was of particular concern to the writers of galaunt satire, regardless of whether the perpetrator was trespassing across class lines in so doing.

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[1] Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Caroline Beamish (London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 107.

[2] *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 149-150, ll. 20, 22 and 23.

[3] *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), pp. 140-146, l. 33.

[4] *DIMEV* 3765a: *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1861), Vol. II, pp. 252-253, l. 11; *DIMEV* 3765b: *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 149-150, l. 7.

This study has thus built an image of the galaunt as a satiric representation of reprobate youth used to criticise the extravagancies of court culture. For Davenport 'it is in the company of tavern-haunters and scruffy hangers-on aping the manners of the nobility that gallants often appear', but this has not been borne out by the full-scale reappraisal of the figure contributed by this study.[5] The galaunt, despite frequently being associated with the tavern, has instead been found to have been maligned on account of the fact that he failed to live up to the modes of behaviour and sobriety expected of someone of an elevated social position.[6] As the author of *DIMEV* 1488 laments:

> Galawnt pride thy father ys dede
> Thow hast hym robbyd as y rede
> And clothyd the in galawntes wede.[7]

The accusations of patricide and theft given in this excerpt reflect the general sense of concern at the fact that the galaunts, and thus the young courtiers, were squandering their money on fashionable garb and, through this foolishness, destroying the security and good name of their families and rank.

The galaunt of the satiric tradition is therefore perhaps best imagined in the same light as that which Ira Clark has cast on the figure of Youth as presented on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage.[8] Clark's monograph *Comedy, Youth, Manhood in Early Modern England* argues that the concerns expressed in early modern drama about the waywardness of young men are often specifically aimed at the younger sons of the nobility: the "spares" that will not inherent an estate and so lack both independent means and purpose. In the course of her study, Clark presents examples in which these young men are portrayed as having to

[5] Tony Davenport, 'Lusty Fresch Galaunts', in *Aspects of Early English Drama*, ed. by Paula Neuss (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 111-128 (quote on p. 112).

[6] The ideals of knighthood are outlined in: Mathew Gervase, 'Ideals of Knighthood in Late Fourteenth-Century England', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. by Richard W. Hunt, William A. Pantin and Richard W. Southern (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 354-362.

[7] *Historical Poems*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins, pp. 138-139, ll. 1-3.

[8] Ira Clark, *Comedy, Youth, Manhood in Early Modern England* (Newark, OH: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2003).

undertake a 'widow hunt' in order to solve their financial difficulties.[9] This is another aspect of the early modern treatment of youth to have antecedents in the galaunt tradition as John Lydgate's *The Order of Fools*, which was composed in the mid-fifteenth century, contains an account of 'a lusty galaunt that weddit an old wicche, / For great tresour, because his purs is bare'.[10] *The Ship of Fools* also makes reference to 'yonge folys that take olde wymen to theyr wyues, for theyr ryches', dedicating an entire section of the treatise to the subject.

This is not to say, however, that the figure was exclusively deployed in the defamation of the courtly classes, nor that galaunt culture did not seep into other fora and come to be associated with members of other social groups. Indeed, as the references to the figure in the *Acts of Court of the Mercers Company* and the Paston letters have shown, the figure was used to a number of different purposes and to describe people from a variety of backgrounds across the different genres that form the corpus. The satiric tradition that has been the basis of the previous scholarship on the figure can, however, be said to place the galaunt consistently in a court setting and to use the figure in a concerted attack on privileged, and prodigal, youth. Even the texts that do not explicitly label the galaunt as a member of the court still address politically informed concerns that were relevant to that group. The topics include: the financially ruinous nature of court life; matters of foreign policy; warring factions at the court; attempts to protect domestic trade arrangements; and the problem of minority kingship. Although the physical reality of the court, by which is meant its structure, makeup and mode of operation, changed over the period in question, these core concerns remain constant companions to court life throughout the corpus and for the duration of the period examined here.[11]

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[9] Ira Clark, *Comedy, Youth, Manhood*, p. 15. For a discussion of the motivators for marriage in the late medieval period see: Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 17-21.

[10] *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, Vol. II, pp. 449-455, ll. 111-112.

[11] John Adamson, 'The Kingdoms of England and Great Britain: The Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509–1714', in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime, 1500-1750*, ed. by John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolsom, 1999), pp. 95-118; *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650*, ed. by Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Richard Barber, 'Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* and Court Culture under Edward IV', *Arthurian Literature*, 12 (1993), pp. 133-155; *Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Linda Clark and Christine Carpenter (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004); Patricia J. Eberle, 'The Politics of Courtly Style at the Court of Richard II', in *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society*, ed. by Glyn S. Burgess and Robert A. Taylor (Cambridge: D. S.

This study has presented evidence that supports the fluid concept of the court as held together by a shared cultural identity that has been put forward by Malcolm Vale in his recent monograph *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380*. Although Vale's work does not extend into the period examined in this study, it does offer a suitable framework for understanding the court of galaunt literature, particularly the premise that the court:

> Provided a context in which [...] modes of behaviour were both acquired and perpetuated. Thus court culture is here seen from a broad viewpoint, in which, for example, habits of consumption, religious beliefs, devotional practices, modes of dress, and other markers or tokens of status and function [...] are integral to its nature'.[12]

Jon Denton has taken a similar approach to late medieval concepts of gentility, arguing that the aristocracy was defined by a shared cultural system.[13] It is from these broad viewpoints that the court as described in the galaunt corpus needs to be understood. The function that this space served in the corpus is to highlight the fact that the young men represented by the galaunt fail to live up to the expectations placed upon them by their class. This most

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Brewer, 1983); Rosemary Horrox, 'Caterpillars of the commonwealth? Courtiers in late medieval England', in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays presented to Gerald Harriss*, ed. by Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker (London: Hambledon Continuum, 1995), pp. 1-15; Jill Mann, 'Courtly Aesthetics and Courtly Ethics in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 31 (2009), pp. 231-265; Gervase Matthew, *The Court of Richard II* (London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, 1968); Kate Mertes, 'Aristocracy', in *Fifteenth Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 42-60; *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by John Scattergood and James W. Sherborne (London: Duckworth, 1983), pp. 63-87; John Scattergood, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Richard II', in *Reading the Past: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1996), pp. 114-127; James W. Sherborne, 'Aspects of English Court Culture in the Later Fourteenth Century', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by John Scattergood and James W. Sherborne (London: Duckworth, 1983), pp. 1-28; *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by David Starkey (London; New York, NY: Longman, 1987).

[12] Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 1.

[13] Jon Denton, 'Image, Identity and Gentility: The Woodford Experience', in *Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Linda Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 1-15 (see p. 1).

commonly finds expression in the corpus in discourses on the manipulation of the male body afforded by the figure's fashions and the impact that this has on the correct formation of masculine identity.

Change and continuity in the corpus

The study has mapped the frequency with which key features of the galaunt reoccur with the research aim of establishing the balance in the corpus between continuity and change, and what this means for the figure's role as a youth trope. The main findings of the study in this regard have been that the galaunt corpus draws on medico-philosophies on youth to highlight the aesthetically unstable nature of the years between childhood and adult ascendency. This is a period that is repeatedly associated with a certain set of problems and concerns, all of which inform the figure's identity as Wayward Youth as outlined above. This is not to say that there is not innovation in the corpus; each author used the galaunt to explore whichever socio-political concerns were the most pertinent to them, whether the economic impacts of importing foreign fashions or the spiritual decline of the nation. The galaunt was consistently used within these different discourses, however, to ridicule the follies of youth.

The consistency of presentation apparent in the corpus allows the targets of galaunt satire to be easily recognised and the reaction thereto that is expected of the audience to be quickly understood. This continuity enables the galaunt to serve as an admonitory device that offered a model of bad behaviour that was to be eschewed by the young target of the moral guidance and instruction. Key to the effectiveness of this messaging is the consistency with which the figure was associated with the same, visually striking styles of dress even when they were no longer the highest fashion available at the time of composition. The importance of this established sartorial vocabulary was shown to have been particularly crucial to the figure's successful deployment in church art, in which the moral messages for which the galaunt acted as vehicle needed to be independently interpreted by the viewer with ease and accuracy. The visual features all relate back to the corpus and to the established attitudes to youth as set out in the Ages of Man schema and philosophies on which the late medieval tradition draws. These images ask the viewer to condemn the extravagances of the vice depicted, and so share the disdain for the group vilified by the figure, while also expecting them to use the image to recognise the galaunt's faults in themselves. Even in the written corpus it is, however, the galaunt's sartorial profligacy that offers the greatest opportunity for comment. Indeed, each item of clothing has been found to present a complex interweaving of significances with each garment referencing a different aspect of the figure's moral failings.

Précis of the galaunt tradition

The study has also sought to establish whether the development of the figure can be said to amount to a tradition, by uncovering the extent to which the various and disparate references to the figure are in fact inter-referencing. The foregoing study has found that the figure is a significant cultural stereotype that was widely employed as an enduring youth trope. The cultural significance of the figure has been further supported by exploration of the fact that the galaunt enters into the wider cultural vocabulary as a synonym for prodigal youth. As to whether this infamy equates to a self-aware tradition, there are some points of evidence to support the case. A number of authors engaged with the figure repeatedly and composed more than one item from the corpus, an act that itself helps to build a tradition. The youth tropes established in earlier discourses on the Ages of Man get repeated throughout the corpus. These can be treated with originality by individual authors, as is the case when considering the mechanics of contemporary dress, but the overarching themes remain the same throughout the period of study and across the different media considered here.

Within the confines of these set parameters for presenting Youth it is perhaps to be expected that a high degree of shared imagery is apparent across the corpus. The similarity of phrasing in different treatments of the figure can be used, however, to point to knowledge of earlier examples amongst later contributors to the corpus. The frequency with which the galaunt was associated with the same exclamations as are given in the earliest example of the figure's application in English literature, offers strong evidence in support of the afore-stated hypothesis that this text acted as source material for subsequent compositions. The poem survives in three fifteenth-century miscellanies, the dates of which suggest that earlier copies must have been lost: London, BL, MS Harley 536, fols 34-35; London, BL, MS Harley 941, fols 21-23; and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 516, fols 108-110. This is a relatively high level of survival for miscellaneous satire of the period and as such this study posits that *DIMEV* 4853 would have been accessible to later authors. This proposition is further supported by the fact that the exclamations *Huff!* and *Vyv la belle* from this poem are repeated in verse and drama alike.

The manner in which the more doggerel of the verse satires have survived, many of which are preserved in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century miscellanies, points to a community of interest for galaunt literature that sought to collect and preserve examples from the corpus. As was outlined in the first chapter of this study, Julia Boffey's research on *DIMEV* 3084 has established the existence of a community that took an interest in the preservation of that

particular text.[14] There are also other examples from the corpus that appear to have been preserved by someone with a particular interest in the subject matter. London, BL, MS Harley 372, for example, is witness to two galaunt texts: *DIMEV* 6831 and the sixteenth-century ballad *Little John Nobody*. The manuscript is described in the *Catalogus Liborum MSS, Bibliotecae Harlienae* as dating from the fifteenth century and being formed of two books bound together with some additions.[15] The copy of *DIMEV* 6831 that survives therein is preserved as the penultimate item in the manuscript, on the *verso* side of folio 113. *Little John Nobody*, which was composed in *c.*1550, is a later addition pasted into the back of the manuscript as folio 114. This method of inserting texts written on loose sheets into miscellanies is by no means unusual, but the fact that the manuscript-separate containing the ballad has been added to follow immediately on from another example in which the galaunt features is worth attention.[16] Other than their engagement with the literary figure, the two texts share no other points of style or substance; the one being a squib on the follies of contemporary fashion and the other a piece of Catholic complaint literature. One could therefore surmise that the impetus for pasting both of these examples into the manuscript was an enthusiasm for the galaunt figure, or at least conclude that an understanding of the galaunt operating as a literary trope was the primary organising principle behind the double inclusion.

On consideration of all of the evidence, this study concludes that the corpus of work that references the galaunt constitutes a literary tradition, but one that is a late medieval instance of a much older tradition of representing the wayward tendencies of Youth. These early discourses are codified and personified in the galaunt to offer a well-known and easily identifiable trope for engaging with recurring inter-generational anxieties. Study of the galaunt tradition can tell us about contemporary attitudes to, and concerns about, male youth. In its use of the galaunt to explore this satiric treatment of youth in the period, the study has offered an important contribution to our understanding of the medieval life cycle. The study has also established the impact that age has on the relationship between masculinity and authority in the period. This not only makes an important contribution to our understanding of the galaunt, but is also of wider significance to the interpretation of medieval masculinity.

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[14] Julia Boffey, 'The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print', *The Library*, 15, 3 (1993), pp. 175-186.

[15] Edward Harley, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, in the British Museum: With indexes, of persons, places and matters*, 2 vols (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1808), Vol. I, p. 217.

[16] For a guide to medieval miscellanies see: *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996); and *The Idea of the Book*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

As such, study of the galaunt tradition affords fresh insights into a variety of interdisciplinary fields.

Further avenues of research

The method of reading the socio-political resonances of the verse satires as exercises in youth discourse that has been established by this study can also help to elucidate late medieval attitudes to dress more broadly. The Acts of Apparel have long been approached as indicative of the importance placed upon social position in the cultural mind of the period. Whilst this was an important motivational factor behind the implementation of the laws, age-related issues also inform the legislation and are worthy of further attention.[17] Such research would also build on the work previously undertaken by Kim Phillips, whose stated research aim was 'to displace class as the dominant category of analysis in considering the broader cultural implications of the laws, replacing it with masculinity'.[18] Phillips's study focused on the different attitudes to male and female dress that are expressed in the legislation, but her findings are equally applicable to the experience of the young men that the galaunt represents. Young males, even noble ones, were also a disenfranchised group, one that the social strictures of the day sought to shape and control. Phillips's observation that, to the legislators, 'it was not being "a Man" which mattered so much as expressing legitimate claims to a place in the hierarchy of men' (p. 33) resonates in the galaunt corpus. Although Phillips is here discussing the difficulties posed by women who trespassed into masculine roles, the galaunt similarly acts as a figure of social transgression. The examination of the fashion discourses at work in the corpus that was undertaken in chapter four uncovered numerous instances in which the key concern expressed through the figure was that young men were moulding their physical appearances in an attempt to lay claim to a greater degree of authority than their age warranted. The young galaunts are dangerous because they refuse to show due humility, instead donning the trappings of manhood and authority in a flagrant display of arrogant hubris. Unlike women, however, these young men would one day be inducted into the elite circle of adult male power, but until that day they were subject to the same accusations of usurped authority and ungodliness as were the women discussed by

[17] Susan Stuard has made a similar point about the Italian regulation of dress: Susan M. Stuard, 'Gravitas and Consumption', in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. by Jacqueline Murray (New York, NY; London: Garland), pp. 215-242.

[18] Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender & History*, 19 (2007), pp. 22-42 (quote on p. 23).

Phillips. This thesis presents a useful analytical tool that can be used to elucidate discourses on age and masculinity as exercised outside of the corpus.

The lived experience behind the repeated attacks on the galaunt's youth identity also warrants further research. Much could be made, for example, of personal accounts of a misspent youth like that which is given by Richard Hatton in his will, in which he repents the follies of an adolescence spent carousing instead of studying.[19] Knowledge of the expression of similar concerns and attitudes in English private letters, such as the Paston collection, could be usefully developed. An investigation of the large body of primary material pertaining to university students in the period, an abundant source that includes sumptuary legislation, poetry and diaries, warrants a research project of its own. As John Symonds asks in the introduction to his collection of student songs from the period:

> Who were these Wandering Students [...] As their name implies, they were men, and for the most part young men, travelling from university to university in search of knowledge. Far from their homes, without responsibilities, light of purse and light of heart, careless and pleasure-seeking, they ran a free, disreputable course, frequenting taverns at least as much as lecture-rooms, more capable of pronouncing judgment upon wine or women than upon a problem of divinity or logic.[20]

Any such project would need to be careful not to project modern conceptions of student life onto the past. Analysis of the documentary evidence afforded by England's medieval universities can be used to continue the field of enquiry instigated in this study's examination of the complex relationship in the medieval attitude to youth between trope and reality.

It is only by locating the discourses for which the galaunt acts as vehicle in the context of young people's own testimony that the question of whether the galaunt represents a youth identity at work in the period can be examined. This study has established that the literary construct represents elite youth and that the approach taken thereto is grounded in established notions as to the nature of this phase of the life cycle. There is a recurring sense in this literature that youth is a dangerous phase during which man is particularly prone to sin on

[19] Virginia R. Bainbridge, *Guilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Changes in Cambridgeshire c. 1350-1558* (London: Woodbridge, 1996), p. 85.

[20] *Wine Women and Song: Medieval Latin students' songs now first translated into English verse with an essay*, ed. and trans. by John A. Symonds (London: Chatto and Windus, 1925), p. 16.

account of their having the leisure to indulge their lascivious natures. As Alexander Barclay concludes of the galaunt:

> No charge hathe he of ony other thynge
> So that he may contynue his lyuynge
> In pleasures whiche by nyghtes and by dayes
> Ryght many profres maketh and assayes.[21]

This anxiety is also apparent in the visual treatments of the figure, in which the Pride of Life topos has been found to feature heavily in the moral discourses of the depictions. These findings tie into the work of Paul Griffiths, which has offered a means by which to understand an early modern concept of youth culture based on 'an alleged preference for play and leisure' that was specifically attributed to the young.[22] This is how the named individuals that are associated with the figure are presented.

Amanda Bailey's monograph *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* offers some interesting parameters for considering this question. She argues that early modern drama spurred a 'subculture of style, whose members identified themselves by their sartorial extravagance and social impudence'.[23] The galaunt represents an early concept of youth culture but the question of whether or not this found expression in reality remains to be substantiated. The few examples that this study has unearthed in which young men were referred to as a devotee of the galaunt lifestyle suffer from the same problems of reportage as does the literary construct. It may be that these discourses were interacting with the realities of court life but further research is needed before an answer on this can be reached. What the study can conclude, however, is that the galaunt is primarily a stereotype of youth and that the socio-political concerns expressed in the corpus pertain to that role. Further than this, on the basis of the proliferation of references to the figure, the study posits that in England the galaunt is the most significant Youth figure of the late medieval period and as such we must interact with the tradition if we are to illuminate the dynamics of youth and masculinity in late medieval society.

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[21] *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, 2 vols (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1966), p. 58.

[22] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 121-122.

[23] Amanda Bailey, *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 133.

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APPENDIX 1: DETAILS OF TEXTS IN THE GALAUNT CORPUS COMPOSED BETWEEN *c.*1380 AND *c.*1550

Date	**Title in thesis**	**Alternative title**	**Author**	**Witnesses (selective)**	**Edition referenced**
*c.*1380	*DIMEV* 4853	'On the Times'	Anonymous	London, BL, MS Harley 536, fols 34-35; London, BL, MS Harley 941, fols 21-23; Dublin, Trinity College, MS 516, fols 108-110.	*Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), pp. 140-146.
*c.*1430	*DIMEV* 6850	*The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (trans. of *Pélerinage de la vie humaine*)	John Lydgate (trans. of Deguileville)	London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A VII, fols 39-106 [fragment]; London, BL, MS Cotton Vitellius C XIII, fols 2-309; London, BL, MS Stowe 952, fol. 1; Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS C i 8 [fragment].	*The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1973 reprint as one vol.).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
*c.*1439	*Fall of Princes*	*DIMEV* 1904	John Lydgate	London, BL, MS Additional 21410, fols 1-168; London, BL, MS Harley 1245, fols 1-184; London, BL, MS Harley 1766, fols 1-184; London, BL, MS Harley 3486, fols 1-177*v.*; London, BL, MS Harley 4197, fols 1-163; London, BL, MS Harley 4203, fols 1-181; London, BL, MS Royal 18 B 31, fols 1-216; London, BL, MS Royal 18 D 4, fols 1-168; London, BL, MS Royal 18 D 5, fols 1-217; London, BL, MS Sloane 4031, fols 1-190; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 263, pp. 1-447; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C 448, fols 1-186.	*Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS ES 121-124, 4 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1924-1927; reprint 1967).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
c.1440	*Promptorium Parvulorum et Clericorum*	n/a	Galfridus Grammaticus	London, BL, MS Additional 22556; London, BL, MS Additional 37789 (*olim* Amherst 46, *olim* Phillipps 8306); London, BL, MS Harley 221; London, BL, MS Harley 2274, Winchester, Chapter Library (*olim* Sylkstede).	*The Promptorium Parvulorum: The first English-Latin Dictionary / edited from the Manuscript in the Chapter Library at Winchester*, ed. by Anthony L. Mayhew, EETS ES 102 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908).
1448	'Letter from Margaret to her husband'	*Paston Letters*	Margaret Paston (unkown hand)	London, BL, MS Additional 34888, fol. 18.	*Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Norman Davis, EETS SS 21, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, 1976), Vol I, p. 128.
1449	*Amoryus and Cleopes*	*DIMEV* 5231	John Metham	Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 141, fols 18-57.	*Amoryus and Cleopes*, ed. by Stephen F. Page, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
1449	28 Henry VI LII	*Rotuli Parliamentorum*	Petition from the people of the Isle of Wight (unknown hand)	PRO SC 8/28/1352	*Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et petitiones, et placita in Parliamento tempore Edwardi R. I. [ad finem Henrici VII.]*, 6 vols (London: s.n., 1767-1777), Vol. V, pp. 204-205.
c.1450	*Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*	Trans. of *Livre pour l'enseignement de ses filles du Chevalier de La Tour Landry*	Anonymous trans. of Geoffroy de La Tour Landry	London, BL, MS Harley 1764	*The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry: Compiled for the instruction of his daughters / translated from the original French into English in the reign of Henry VI,* ed. by Thomas Wright, EETS OS 33 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1868; revised ed. 1906, reprint 1973).
c.1450	*Dietary*	*DIMEV* 1356	John Lydgate	London, BL, MS Lansdowne 699, fols 85-88; London, BL, MS Sloane 3534, fol. 1; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 86, fols 61-62.	Max Förster, ‘Kleinere mittelenglische texte’, *Anglia* 42 (1918), pp. 145-224.

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
*c.*1450	*DIMEV* 1538	'The Nightingale as a symbol of Christ'	John Lydgate	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Misc. c 66 [*olim* Capesthorne], fols 107-111; Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 203, fols 1-21; London, BL, MS Cotton Caligula A II, fols 59-64.	*Lydgate's Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. by Otto Glauning, EETS ES 80 (London: Trübner, 1900; reprint 1987), pp. 2-15.
*c.*1450	*DIMEV* 3084	'The Treatise of a Galaunt'	Anonymous	Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R 3 21 (601), fols 247-8; Rome, English College, MS A 347, fol. 78-81; New Haven, Beinecke Library, Takamiya Deposit 94 (*olim* Astor A 2), fols 210-213.	*Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt (London: John Russell Smith, 1866), pp. 147-160.
*c.*1450	Hungerford 'Death and the Galaunt'	n/a	Anonymous	Destroyed (*olim* Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire).	Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain: Applied to Illustrate the History of Families, Manners, Habits and Arts, at the Different Periods from the Norman Conquest to the Seventeenth Century* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1786).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
*c.*1450	*Instructions to his Son*	*DIMEV* 2954	Peter Idley	Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2030; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee 4 37; Dublin, Trinity College, MS 160 (D 2 7); London, BL, MS Arundel 20, fols 43-70*v.* (begins imperfectly); London, BL, MS Harley 172; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 181; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 416.	*Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn (London; Boston, MA: Oxford University Press; Modern Language Association of America, 1935), pp. 81-210.
*c.*1450	*The Order of Fools*	*DIMEV* 5428	John Lydgate	London, BL, MS Cotton Nero A vi, fols 194-195; London, BL, MS Additional 34360 [*olim* Phillipps 9053], fols 24-26; London, BL, MS Harley 2251, fols 274-276; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 638, fol. 219; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 648, fols 19-21; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 683, fols 56-60.	*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, EETS OS 192, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press,1934; reprint 1961), Vol. II, pp. 449-455.

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
*c.*1460	'Chronicle of Ihon Hardyng'	*The chronicle of Ihon Hardyng in metre […] ye affaires of Englande*	John Harding	London, BL, MS Lansdowne 204; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B 10, fols 1-199; *STC* (2nd ed.) 12766.7 (Richard Grafton, 1543).	*The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng: Containing an account of public transactions from the earliest period of English history to the beginning of the reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1812).
*c.*1470	*The Vision of Edmund Leversedge*	n/a	Edmund Leversedge	London, BL, MS Additional 34193.	*The Vision of Edmund Leversedge: A 15th-Century Account of a Visit to the Otherworld Edited from BL MS Additional 34,193 with an Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, ed. by W. F. Nijenhuis (Nijmegen: Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, Katholieke Universitet Nijmegen, 1991).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
1471	'The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye'	*Here begynneth the volume intituled and named the recuyell of the historyes of Troye […] a thousand foure honderd sixty and enleuen*	William Caxton (trans. of Raoul Lefèvre)	*STC* (2nd ed.) 15375 (William Caxton, 1473).	Raoul Lefèvre, *Here begynneth the volume intituled and named the recuyell of the historyes of Troye…*, trans. by William Caxton, EEBO (Bruges: William Caxton, 1473).
*c.*1475	*Boke of Kervyng and Nortur*	*DIMEV* 2556; 'Book of Nurture'	John Russell	London, BL, MS Harley 4011, fols 171-189; London, BL, MS Sloane 2027, fol. 37; Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 8009 [Mun. A 6 31], fols 337-355.	*Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1876, revised ed., 1973), pp. 117-199.

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
*c.*1475	*DIMEV* 3237	'Good Rule Is Out of Remembrance'	Anonymous	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 36 (SC 14530), fols 2-3; London, BL, MS Additional 60577, fols 65-66; London, BL, MS Harley 5396, fols 290-91.	*Reliquiae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English Literature and the English Language*, ed. by Thomas Wright and James O. Halliwell, 2 vols (London: William Pickering, 1841-1843), Vol. 1, pp. 73-75.
*c.*1475	*DIMEV* 6831	'On the Corruption of Public Manners'	Anonymous	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O 2 53 (1157), fol. 27; London, BL, MS Harley 372, fol. 113.	*Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1861), Vol. II, p. 251.
*c.*1475	*Gregory's Chronicle*	'Gregory's Chronicle of London'	William Gregory	London, BL, MS Egerton 1995.	*The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by James Gairdner (Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1876).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
c.1475	*Ludus Coventriae*	*DIMEV* 3744; *N-Town Plays*	Anonymous	London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian D VIII, fols 1-225*v*.	*The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D.8*, ed. by Stephen Spector, EETS SS 11-12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
c.1475	*A Morality of Wisdom*	*DIMEV* 2429	Anonymous	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 133, fols 158-169; Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS 5031 [*olim* Macro 5, *olim* Gurney 170], fols 1-13.	*The Macro Plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, Mankind*, ed. by Mark Eccles, EETS OS 262 (London: Trübner, 1969).
c.1475	*The Assembly of Gods*	*DIMEV* 4005	Anonymous	Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R 3 19 (599), fols 67-97; London, BL, MS Royal 18 D ii, fols 167-180.	*The Assembly of Gods*, ed. by Jane Chance, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS Medieval Institute Publications, 1999).
c.1477	*Book of Curtesye*	*DIMEV* 3133; 'The Book of Courtesy'	William Caxton	Oxford, Balliol College Library, MS 354, fols 160-165; Oxford, Oriel College Library, MS 79, fols 88, 89, 78; *STC* 3303 (William Caxton, 1477-1478); *STC* 3304 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1492).	*Caxton's Book of Curtesye*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS ES 3 (London: Trübner 1868; reprint 1973).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
1479	*Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company*	n/a	William Newbolde (compiler)	London, Mercers' Hall, MSS entitled 'Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company' (22 November, 1479), fol. 46.	*Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527*, intro. by Laetitia Lyell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936; reprint 2011).
1484	'Aesop's Fables'	*Here begynneth the book of the subtyl historyes and fables of Esope […] CCCC. Xxxiij*	William Caxton (trans.)	*STC* (2nd ed.) 175 (William Caxton, 1484); *STC* (2nd ed.) 177.7 (R. Pynson, 1525).	Aesop, *Here begynneth the book of the subtyl historyes and fables of Esope…*, trans. by William Caxton, EEBO (London: William Caxton, 1484).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
1484	*Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*	*Le libre del orde de cauayleria*	William Caxton (trans. of Ramón Lull)	*STC* 3356.7 (William Caxton, 1484).	*The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry / translated and printed by William Caxton from a French version of Ramón Lull's 'Le libre del orde de cauayleria', together with Adam Loutfut's Scottish transcript (Harleian ms. 6149)*, ed. by Alfred T. Byles, EETS OS 168 (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926).
c.1486	*Nature*	*DIMEV* 5189	Henry Medwall	*STC* 17779 (William Rastell, 1529-1535).	*The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1980), pp. 55-94.
c.1490	'John Alcock's Sermon'	*Sermo Iohanis Alcok episcopi Eliensis*	John Alcock	*STC* (2nd ed.) 284 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1496-1497).	John Alcock, *Sermo Iohannis Alcok episcopi Eliensis*, EEBO (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496-1497).

Date	Title in thesis	Alternative title	Author	Witnesses (selective)	Edition referenced
1495	*The Digby Play of Mary Magdalene*	*DIMEV* 2151	Anonymous	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 133 (SC 1734), fols 94-145.	*The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and E Museo 160*, ed. by Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy and Louis B. Hall Jr, EETS OS 283 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 24-95.
1497	*Fulgens and Lucrece*	n/a	Henry Medwall	London, BL, MS Harley 5919, fol. 20 [fragment]; *STC* 17778 (John Rastell, 1512-1516).	*The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. by Alan H. Nelson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).
1498	*The Bowge of Courte*	*DIMEV* 2477	John Skelton	*STC* (2nd ed.) 22597 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1499); *STC* (2nd ed.) 22597.5 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1510).	*Fifteenth-century English Dream Visions: An Anthology*, ed. by Julia Boffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 232-265.
c.1499	*DIMEV* 206	'Money, Money!'	Anonymous	London, BL, MS Royal 17 B xlvii, fols 160-162.	*Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 134-137.

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c.1499	*DIMEV* 1488	'Huff! A Galaunt'	Anonymous	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 34 (SC 14528), fol. 4.	*Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 138-139.
c.1499	*DIMEV* 3147	'Lo here is a lad light'	Anonymous	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 407 (SC 10234), fols 43*v*.-44.	*Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, ed. by Norman Davis, EETS SS 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1970), pp. 121-122.
c.1499	*DIMEV* 3765a	'On the Times'	Anonymous	Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 237, fol. 243*v*.	*Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. by Thomas Wright, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1861), Vol. II, pp. 252-253.
c.1499	*DIMEV* 3765b	'Now Is England Perished'	Anonymous	Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh 2 6, fol. 58*r*.	*Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. by Rossell H. Robbins (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 149-150.

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1508	*Treatyse Concernynge the Fruytfull Saynges of Dauyd*	n/a	John Fisher	*STC* (2nd ed.) 10902 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1508); *STC* (2nd ed.) 10903 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1509); *STC* (2nd ed.) 10906 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1525); *STC* (2nd ed.) 10907 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1529); *STC* (2nd ed.) 10908 (Thomas Marshe, 1555).	*The English Works of John Fisher: Bishop of Rochester*, ed. by John E. Mayor, EETS ES 27 (London: Trübner, 1876), pp. 1-267.
1509	*The Fyftene Joyes of Maryage*	Trans. of *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*	Poss. Robert Copland (trans. of Antoine de La Sale)	*STC* (2nd ed.) 15258 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1509).	*The Fifteen Joys of Marriage*, poss. trans. by Robert Copland, EEBO (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1509).
1509	*The Ship of Fools*	Trans. of *Das Narrenschiff*	Alexander Barclay (trans. of Sebastian Brant with additions)	*STC* 3545 (Richard Pynson, 1509).	*The Ship of Fools*, trans. by Alexander Barclay, 2 vols (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1966).

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1514	*Against Garnesche*	n/a	John Skelton	London, BL, MS Harley 367, fol. 101.	*John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. by John Scattergood (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 121-134.
c.1514	*Hick Scorner*	n/a	Anonymous	*STC* 14039 (Wynkyn de Worde, 1515); *STC* 14040 (William Copland, 1550).	*Two Tudor Interludes: The Interlude of Youth; Hick Scorner*, ed. by Ian Lancashire (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), pp. 153-238.
c.1514	*The Interlude of Youth*	n/a	Anonymous	*STC* 14111 (John Waley, 1557?); *STC* 14112 (William Copland, 1562?).	*Two Tudor Interludes: The Interlude of Youth; Hick Scorner*, ed. by Ian Lancashire (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), pp. 99-152.
1516	*Magnyfycence*	*Magnyfycence, a goodly interlude […] deceasyd*	John Skelton	*STC* 22607 (J. Rastell, 1533).	John Skelton, *Magnyfycence, a goodly interlude and a mery…*, EEBO (London: J. Rastell, 1533).

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1529	‘Supplycacyon of Soulys’	*The supplycacyon of soulys […] Agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars*	Thomas More	*STC* (2nd ed.) 18092 (W. Rastell, 1529).	Thomas More, *The supplycacyon of soulys…*, EEBO (London: W. Rastell, 1529).
1534	*The Booke of Marchauntes*	*The boke of marchauntes […] Pantagrule; The booke of marchauntes […] Reade and profite*	Antoine de Marcourt	*STC* (2nd ed.) 17313.3 (Thomas Godfraye, 1534); *STC* (2nd ed.) 17313.7 (John Day?, 1547).	Antoine de Marcourt, *The booke of marchauntes very profitable to all folkes…*, EEBO (London: John Day?, 1547).
1540	‘Epistles and Gospelles’	*The Epistles and Gospelles with a brief postil vpon the same […] of prestes and curates*	Richard Taverner	*STC* (2nd ed.) 2968 (Richarde Bankes, 1540); *STC* (2nd ed.) 2968.7 (Richarde Bankes, 1547).	Richard Taverner, *The Epistles and Gospelles with a brief postil vpon the same…*, EEBO (London: Richarde Bankes, 1540).

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1542	‘Apothegms of Socrates’	*Apophthegmes that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie and sentencious saiynges, […] translated into Englyshe by Nicolas Vdall*	Nicholas Udall (trans. of Desiderius Erasmus)	*STC* (2nd ed.) 10443 (Richard Grafton, 1542).	Desiderius Erasmus, *Apophthegmes that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie and sentencious saiynges…*, trans. by Nicholas Udall, EEBO (London: Richard Grafton, 1542).
1542	*Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis Librarie*	n/a	Thomas Elyot	*STC* (2nd ed.) 7659.5 (Thomas Berthelet, 1542); *STC* (2nd ed.) 7660 (Thomas Berthelet, 1545); *STC* (2nd ed.) 7661 (Thomas Berthelet, 1548).	Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis Librarie*, EEBO (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1542).
1542	‘Dauids Harpe’	*Dauids harpe ful […] set in tune by Theadore Basille*	Thomas Becon	*STC* (2nd ed.) 1717 (Johan Mayler, 1542).	Thomas Becon, *Dauids harpe ful of moost delectable armony, newely strynged and set in tune by Theadore Basille*, EEBO (London: Johan Mayler, 1542).

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1542	‘Pleasaunt Newe Nosegaye’	*A pleasaunt newe nosegaye full of many godly and swete floures, lately gathered by Theodore Basille*	Thomas Becon	*STC* (2nd ed.) 1742 (Johan Mayler, 1542); *STC* (2nd ed.) 1743 (Johan Mayler, 1543).	Thomas Becon, *A pleasaunt newe nosegaye full of many godly and swete floures, lately gathered by Theodore Basille*, EEBO (London: Johan Mayler, 1543).
1542	‘Pollecye of Warre’	*The new pollecye of warre […] lately deuised by Theodore Basille*	Thomas Becon	*STC* (2nd ed.) 1735 (Johan Mayler, 1542).	Thomas Becon, *The new pollecye of warre…*, EEBO (London: Johan Mayler, 1542).
1547	‘Declaration of the Masse’	*A declaration of the masse […] tra[n]slated newly out of French into Englishe*	Antoine de Marcourt	*STC* (2nd ed.) 17314 (J. Day, 1547); *STC* (2nd ed.) 17314a (John Day, 1547); *STC* (2nd ed.) 17315 (John Oswen, 1548); *STC* (2nd ed.) 17316 (John Oswen, 1548).	Antoine de Marcourt, *A declaration of the masse the fruite thereof, the cause and the meane, wherefore and howe it ought to be maynteyned…*, EEBO (London: John Day, 1547).

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1547	'The Union of Lancaster and York'	*The vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies…the sayd linages*	Edward Hall	*STC* (2nd ed.) 12722 (Richard Grafton, 1548); *STC* (2nd ed.) 12723a (Richard Grafton, 1550); *STC* (2nd ed.) 12723 (Richard Grafton, 1550).	Edward Hall, *The vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke…*, EEBO (London: Richard Grafton, 1548).
c.1548	*The Iewel of Ioye*	*The Jewel of Joy*	Thomas Becon	*STC* (2nd ed.) 1733 (John Day and W. Seres, 1550).	Thomas Becon, *The iewel of ioye*, EEBO (London: John Day and W. Seres, 1550).
1548	'Sermon on the Plowers'	'Sermon of the Plough'	Hugh Latimer	*STC* 15291 (London: John Day, 1548).	*Sermon on the Ploughers 18 January, 1549 by Master Hugh Latimer*, ed. by Edward Arber (London: Alex Murray and Son, 1868).

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1549	'Paraphrases of Erasmus' (Vol. II)	*The seconde tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus […] the reuelacion of S. John*	Desiderius Erasmus	*STC* (2nd ed.) 2854.7 (Edwarde Whitchurche, 1549).	Desiderius Erasmus, *The seconde tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus…*, EEBO (London, Edwarde Whitchurche, 1549).
1550	*A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle*	Trans. of *Ein Kleintot, von trost und hilff*	Miles Coverdale (trans. of Otto Werdmüller)	*STC* (2nd ed.) 25255 (S. Mierdman for Gwalter Lynne, 1550); *STC* (2nd ed.) 25256 (H. Singleton?, 1555).	*A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle…*, trans. by Miles Coverdale, EEBO (London: S. Mierdman for Gwalter Lynne, 1550).
*c.*1550	*Little John Nobody*	'The Ballad of Little John Nobody'	Anonymous	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Broadsides Vol. 1, pp.19-21; London, BL, MS Harley 372, fol. 114.	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Broadsides Vol. 1, pp. 19-21.

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1552	'Latimer's ninth sermon'	*27 sermons preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God […] Gospels and Epistles*	Hugh Latimer	*STC* (2nd ed.) 15276 (John Day, 1562).	Hugh Latimer, *27 sermons preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God…*, EEBO (London: John Day, 1562).
*c.*1553	*Ralph Roister Doister*	*What creature is in health, eyther yong or olde*	Nicholas Udall	*STC* 24508 (Henry Denham, 1566).	*A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, ed. by William C. Hazlitt, 15 vols (London: Reeves and Turner, 1874), Vol. III, pp. 53-161.
*c.*1553	*Respublica*	n/a	Poss. Nicholas Udall	Austin, TX, Library of Carl H. Pforzheimer, MS 40 A.	*Respublica: An Interlude for Christmas 1553 Attributed to Nicholas Udall*, ed. by W. W. Greg, EETS 226 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952).