

King Edward IV of England's Collection of Flemish Manuscripts
How a collection of illuminated manuscripts came about through emulation of
Burgundian magnificence



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Introduction

Today, King Edward IV (1442-1483) is considered the founder of the Royal Library in England.¹ The manuscript collection this king started has survived time remarkably well. At least 47 manuscripts have been connected with Edward IV in the past years; all these surviving manuscripts except one have remained part of the Royal Collection in the British Library.² Edward IV's collection forms the object of study in this paper. First, I will give a short overview of his collection of manuscripts before I will give a detailed introduction of the main object of study: the interconnectedness of Edward's manuscript collection and emulation.

The manuscripts Edward IV acquired are all about 450 x 340 mm. Their large size makes them difficult to handle and requires reading from a lectern. Such grand-scale deluxe library books were not acquired for personal use. They are likely to have been intended for use in the royal residences as Janet Backhouse suggested.³ None of the manuscripts originated in England; all were made in the Burgundian Netherlands, in the area of Bruges in Flanders to be precise. The texts are written in French in the *bâtarde* script that was common at the Burgundian court. All manuscripts are illuminated, some texts contain more miniatures than others do, but in style and quality the manuscripts are similar to one another. The books contain large, page-filling miniatures, one-column miniatures, and lavish border decorations, giving the collection an opulent appearance. These miniatures and decorations suggest that the manuscripts were intended as collectors' items rather than as containers of knowledge. All were presumably acquired in the same time-span, as next to the visual cohesion of the collection, five of the manuscripts are dated 1479, one 1480 and another 1482.

In twenty of the manuscripts shields with Edward IV's arms, sometimes accompanied by two shields with those of his sons, are incorporated in the original designs of the border decorations. Besides these shields other Yorkist banners also appear in the border designs, and some manuscripts contain colophons stating the copy

¹ See Backhouse 1987, 1999 and Stratford 1999 on Edward as the English king who created the first royal library in England.

² See appendix 1 for a list of the manuscripts owned by Edward IV.

³ Backhouse 1987, p. 23.

was an adaption made for Edward IV. Surely, it appears that Edward IV deliberately commissioned his books in Flanders.

Edward IV was apparently most interested in classical histories. For example, *La Grande histoire Cesar* and Julius Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* focused on the history of an ancient ruler with an exemplary status. Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* formed a compilation of anecdotes that gave an idea of how the ancient Romans lived. And Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, although essentially more a political romance than a history, contained the biography of the ancient king Cyrus the Great, who formed an



Fig. 1 Unknown artist, Charles the Bold enthroned receiving his copy of the *Cyropaedia* from Vasco da Lucena, c. 1470-1483, London, British Library, Royal MS 16 G IX, f. 7r.

example of the ideal ruler.⁴ This emphasis on ancient history has parallels in the Burgundian library, specifically in the additions made to that library by Duke Charles the Bold, for whom Vasco da Lucena translated the *Cyropaedia*. Edward IV's copy of the book even opens with a presentation miniature showing Charles the Bold receiving the manuscript from the translator (fig. 1).

⁴ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993 (accessed online at 21 October 2016); the *Cyropaedia* also became a model for later mirrors for princes such as Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

Many of the other manuscripts in Edward IV's collection were also translations of ancient texts written by Burgundian authors. For example, Edward further owned Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troyes* and very likely also possessed his *Histoire de Jason*, which were both dedicated to Philip the Good. Edward's copy of this last book did not survive. However, in 1477, in the prologue to his English translation of the *Jason*, William Caxton mentions his not dedicating the book to Edward IV, as he believed he already owned a French copy of the text.⁵ Another noteworthy Burgundian book Edward IV possessed is the *Romuléon* translated by Jean Miélot. This version is a French translation from an originally Latin compilation by Roberto della Porta written in the 1360s, and relates the history of Rome from its foundation to the reign of Constantine. Miélot wrote this translation in 1463, in service of Philip the Good. Correspondingly, other copies of this text are only traceable to libraries of Burgundian bibliophiles: Duke Philip the Good himself, Anthony of Burgundy, Louis of Gruuthuse and Jean de Wavrin all owned similar copies.⁶

Other than being interested in old histories, Edward IV apparently also had an interest in near-contemporary historical narratives, possessing widespread library texts such as Froissart's *Chroniques* and the *History of the Crusades* by William of Tyre, and newer texts like Jean Mansel's *La fleur des histoires* and Jean de Wavrin's *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre* (also called *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre*) which were again both written by Burgundian courtiers. The latter was dedicated to King Edward IV and covers the history of England. Oddly, the text not only focuses on English history, since Burgundian affairs are also included in these chronicles. In addition, Wavrin stresses the links between the house of York and the Burgundian dukes throughout the text. The chronicles and classical works stood side-by-side with texts by Christine de Pisan, Boccaccio's *Des Cas des nobles hommes et femmes* and *Decameron*, Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* and Guyart des Moulins' *Bible Historiale*. Essentially, none of Edward's books obtained from Flanders contained copies of popular English literature, but constituted texts that were fashionable in Burgundian court circles.

⁵ Crotch 1928, p. 34.

⁶ Philip the Good's copy is probably identifiable as Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Med. Pal. 156.1 and 156.2 (2 volumes) dated 1464, another version by the author Sebastien Mamerot was bought by him in 1467 and is now in Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 850; Anthony of Burgundy's copy is dated 1468 and is held in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9055; Louis of Gruuthuse's copy is Turin, Biblioteca nazionale Universitaria, MS LI 41 and MS LI 42; Jean de Wavrin's is in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10173 and MS 10174.

In short, the most remarkable thing about this collection is the Flemish origin of the books. Studying the survey above raises the question why Edward created a library filled with foreign books. This question has been dealt with in previous studies by connecting Edward's collecting to his period of exile in Burgundy, in the winter of 1470-1471. It has been generally assumed that the literary culture he became acquainted with during this time inspired Edward to start collecting Flemish manuscripts. The greatest role has been attributed to Louis of Gruuthuse (1427-1492), a well-known bibliophile who hosted Edward in The Hague and Bruges during the exile. Gruuthuse's role is still much debated nowadays, and will be further explored in chapter two.

However, Edward stayed in Bruges between 1470-1471, while his collecting started around 1479. This leaves a gap of eight years in which other factors could have influenced Edward IV's passion for Flemish manuscripts. Lacking knowledge of possible other influences, it is by no means certain that Edward IV's Flemish collection was solely the result of his Burgundian exile and his stay with Louis of Gruuthuse.

In this paper, I propose to look into the question of how Edward IV came to collect Flemish manuscripts by focusing on Edward IV's known interest in Burgundian culture. I would like to argue that Edward IV's collecting of Flemish manuscripts was an expression of his emulation of one of the most magnificent princes in Europe at the time: the Duke of Burgundy. My choice to specifically connect the collecting of Burgundian manuscripts to the process of emulation of Burgundian magnificence has been inspired by reading Marina Belozerskaya's thorough study of the Burgundian arts entitled *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe*.⁷ Central to her book is the understanding that the Burgundian court was a model for other princely courts in Europe during the fifteenth century. Belozerskaya introduces for this the term 'Burgundian mode', with which she describes the fashion for collecting Burgundian artworks together with the tendency for emulation by European princes to reach a similar level of magnificence as the Burgundian dukes Philip the Good (1396-1467) and Charles the Bold (1433-1477). This inspired me to look further into this idea of emulation by European rulers. When studying literature on this subject it occurred to me that Edward IV's court is an early example of Burgundian emulation that has not yet been thoroughly studied. Reading about Edward IV's art patronage, I understood this

⁷ Belozerskaya 2002.

king's manuscript collection was not the only thing Burgundian at his court. He had, for example, also acquired Burgundian tapestries with themes similar to those of the Burgundian dukes, and had shown interest in Charles the Bold's household regulations when he had William Hastings inquire with Olivier de la Marche for the *État de la Maison du duc Charles*, which contained an extensive description of the Burgundian household and court.⁸ Similarly, besides the surviving manuscripts themselves, documentary references of Edward's acquisitions suggest the purchase of Flemish manuscripts was part of a planned scheme with which Edward IV incorporated Burgundian luxury culture at the English court.

If we keep focusing on the Burgundian exile as the main cause for Edward IV's manuscript collecting, we fail to grasp the real story of cultural and artistic transfer between England and Burgundy that is hidden in this collection. Hence, in this thesis it will be described how Edward IV's collecting of Flemish manuscripts is connected to his emulation of Burgundian magnificence. In the first chapter I will examine how Edward IV came to see Burgundian court culture as a model for his own court. The second chapter questions how Edward IV's desire for Flemish manuscripts was incited. The focus here lies with the period after the Burgundian exile, and it will be shown that Edward IV was influenced through different channels, obtaining his knowledge of Flemish manuscripts not only through personal experience, but mainly through second-hand experience. Finally, the last chapter focuses on the importance of the illumination in Edward IV's collecting. What was the role of the aesthetics of the Flemish manuscripts?

As may already have been noticed in reading this introduction, the terms 'Burgundian' and 'Flemish' have been used alternately in this paper. The main reason for that is that the place of origin for the manuscripts in Edward IV's possession was the region of Flanders, part of the Burgundian Netherlands that belonged to the Burgundian state ruled by the Duke of Burgundy. The books were Flemish artefacts, but were mostly produced within the sphere of influence from the Burgundian court. The Burgundian court, moreover, did not reside in the duchy of Burgundy, but often settled in cities such as Bruges. Consequently, when I mention Burgundian court culture, what is meant is the culture that emanated around the Duke of Burgundy, wherever he chose to reside.

⁸ For Edward IV's Burgundian tapestries see McKendrick 1987, for the *État* see Armstrong 1983, p. 415.

1 A Burgundian model for the English court

Introduction: Edward IV's reign

At the time of Edward's accession to the English throne, the country was divided by the Wars of the Roses – a struggle for power that had started in 1455 between the houses of Lancaster and York, two branches of the royal House of Plantagenet with rivalling claims to the throne of England. Edward of York (as he was called before his coronation)⁹ defeated the Lancastrian forces of the previous king Henry VI (1421-1471) in a decisive battle at Towton in March 1461, and was crowned as King Edward IV three months later. As such, he ruled over England during two periods, from 1461 until October 1470, and from April 1471 until April 1483. In 1464, he secretly married Elizabeth Woodville (c.1437-1492), daughter of Richard Woodville, Baron Rivers (1405-1469), and Jacquetta of Luxembourg (c.1415-1472). The marriage is known to history as love match that created enmity amongst the English nobility, since it caused a sudden rise of the Woodville family. It also generated hostility between Edward IV and Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (1428-1471), nicknamed 'the kingmaker', who had been arranging a French marriage on Edward's behalf.¹⁰

The first years of Edward's reign were troubled, not much was left of the crown's treasure and supporters of the deposed predecessor Henry VI troubled the tranquillity of the realm. In 1469, Edward's brother George, Duke of Clarence (1449-1478) and his former ally Warwick openly rebelled against him. Edward defeated their rebellion, but Warwick managed to flee to France and became an ally of Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou (1430-1482). With the aid of the French king Louis XI (1423-1483), Warwick attacked Edward IV in September 1470 and caused Edward to flee to the Burgundian Netherlands, where he first stayed in The Hague and then in Bruges, two cities in the territory of his brother-in-law Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who had married Edward's sister Margaret two years before.

With Edward in exile, Henry VI was restored to the throne, albeit not for long. After six months, Edward returned to England with a small force and defeated the

⁹ Before Edward was king he bore the title Earl of March, when his father Richard of York died in 1460 at Wakefield he took over his father's title Duke of York.

¹⁰ Warwick had negotiated with King Louis XI of France for Edward to marry either Louis' daughter Anne or his sister-in-law Bona of Savoy.

Lancastrian party. During the second part of his rule, Edward brought tranquillity and prosperity to England for over a decade, until his sudden death in 1483.

During this troubled reign, Edward IV changed the outlook of the English court and intentionally started to introduce aspects of Burgundian culture at the Yorkist court. This chapter therefore begins by briefly comparing the courts of Henry VI and Edward IV, to show that Edward IV did indeed do things differently.

Henry VI and Edward IV: a comparison

Compared to Edward IV, Henry VI had maintained a much less magnificent persona and court. As neither Henry IV nor Henry V had achieved financial stability, on his ascension to the throne Henry VI found the royal treasury in a bad condition. According to the king's treasurer, Lord Cromwell, the crown's finances had only got worse during Henry's minority.¹¹ Lack of funds was a constant element in Henry VI's rule and it prevented the late-Lancastrian court to develop like the Yorkist and Tudor courts that came after.¹²

In the summer of 1445, French diplomats were actually impressed when they described the opulence, formality and the noble company at Henry VI's court, but this was just a few months after the Lancastrian household had been reformed by the household ordinances of February 1445, which did not hold ground for very long.¹³ In the 1450s, one anonymous chronicler wrote that Henry even "helde no householde" as the debts were so high.¹⁴ When Henry regained the throne in 1470, any sign of splendour was lacking. For instance, the author of the *Great Chronicle of London* – probably written by Robert Fabyan, an Alderman of London who is also known from the *New Chronicles of England and France* – wrote disapprovingly of the appearances of Henry on procession when he stated that Henry VI would not win men's hearts for his cause, as he was ever "shewid in a long blew goune of velvet as thowth he had noo moo to change with".¹⁵ Consequently, the Lancastrian court of Henry VI at its peak was magnificent in a degree similar to that of other European rulers, while it was not at all

¹¹ For Cromwell's statement see the Rotuli Parliamentorum of 1433, IV, p. 433-438; Myers 1959, p. 5.

¹² Alec Myers, in his study of Edward IV's household ordinances, pointed out that during Henry VI's reign monetary problems with the king's household remained an issue, as Henry's household was not able to pay off its debts and at the same time sustain an impressive court. Myers 1959, p. 10; see also Myers 1954 on Household ordinances of Henry VI.

¹³ See Stevenson 1861, p. 103 for the report by the French envoys; Griffiths 1991, p. 49.

¹⁴ Marx 2003, p. 78.

¹⁵ Thomas, Thornley 1938, p. 215; Myers 1959, p. 5.

efficient, as the central household run up large and increasing debts throughout Henry's rule.¹⁶

Contemporary accounts of visitors portray Edward IV's court as one that is open and magnificent, often bringing forth the characteristics of regal splendour, wealth, and noble company, as did for example Gabriel Tetzl, a Bohemian nobleman who visited the court in the early years of Edward's rule.¹⁷ Tetzl, who was invited for queen Elizabeth's churching in 1466, described with admiration the many musicians and nobles that filled the church and escorted the queen on her procession. He also narrated with amazement how the queen dined afterwards in "an unbelievably costly apartment" for three hours, supplied with the costliest of foods.¹⁸ Although Edward IV's funds, like Henry's, were not affluent at this point in his reign, this king did create a splendid court that expressed royal wealth and brought awe to its visitors.

Royal display

Even though Edward IV's court was set apart from that of his predecessor by its extravaganza, accounts of Henry VI's great wardrobe and exchequer show that the latter must also have been aware of the need to invest in royal display in order to maintain a kingly status. The accounts suggest that Henry VI and Edward IV spent their money on similar artefacts. For instance, in 1444, Henry VI bought Arras (i.e. tapestry of the highest quality) from Robert Worsley, an English merchant who imported tapestry from Bruges, one piece showing the *History of St. George* and another the *Virtues and Vices*.¹⁹ Together these pieces cost Henry £413, a significantly smaller amount than the roughly £2500 spent by Edward IV on Flemish tapestry sets in 1467-68.²⁰ The fact that Henry VI acquired tapestries with continental origins suggests he was aware of the superb quality of these artefacts that would fittingly embellish his royal residences. Yet the expenses he made seem to suggest he was not as keen on collecting tapestry as Edward IV, whose expenditure on tapestry far exceeded his.

Comparisons can also be made between their celebrations of grand political events. As there is not enough space in this paper for a thorough comparison, I will only mention that while Henry VI celebrated on a grand scale only the most important events

¹⁶ See Myers 1954, p. 451 for more on these debts; see also Rotuli Parliamentorum iv 397-463.

¹⁷ Griffiths 1991, pp. 49-50.

¹⁸ Tetzl 1957, p. 46-47.

¹⁹ McKendrick 1987, p. 521; see also Public Record Office E101/409/12, f. 22.

²⁰ McKendrick 1995, p. 49; McKendrick 1987, p. 521-522.

such as coronations and his wedding, Edward took on any suitable occasion to arrange a grand feast with which to express his greatness.

As a last act, Edward IV had planned to create a grand memorial tomb for himself. For his last resting place he had chosen St. George's chapel at Windsor, instead of Westminster Abbey where the previous kings of England lay buried. Edward had started rebuilding the chapel in the 1470s and gave it a new role as a royal mausoleum for the York dynasty. In his will of 1475 he had decided he wanted to be buried deep in the ground beneath a *transi* effigy, showing a "figure of Death" with his shield and writings remembering his death. Above this a vault had to be raised, and placed upon it a chapel with an altar and a tomb, showing a figure of the king, preferably made of silver and gilded.²¹ Although there are several other cadaver tombs in England dating from between 1465 and 1480, Pamela King pointed out these tombs were often chosen by people with continental cultural tastes.²² Testimonies of several witnesses recorded during Henry VII's reign describe Henry VI preferred to be buried in Westminster Abbey, where his father Henry V also "lieth lyke a nobyll prince".²³ No mention was ever made about a cadaver tomb for this king. Though both their wishes were never executed and they now lie ironically at Windsor in similar graves with simple black marble slabs, Edward tried to remove himself from his Lancastrian predecessors with his tomb and the splendid Yorkist mausoleum in St. George's. Even more so, the design for his chapel may have been inspired by Burgundian examples. The oratory Edward built here is similar to the one built by Louis of Gruuthuse in the church of Our Lady in Bruges. Both were placed on the first floor, from which one would look down on the high altar. Nothing similar existed in England when Edward had his oratory built.²⁴ Also, Edward IV hired several Flemish artists to make the decorations for the chapel.²⁵

However, even more valuable for this study is an inquiry into both kings' libraries. In the introduction I described Edward IV's collection. The books Henry VI owned were mostly Latin texts such as Roger of Waltham's *Compendium Morale*, works

²¹ See Hope 1913, vol II, pp. 376-377 for the part of Edward IV's will describing his wishes.

²² King 1983, pp. 49, 54.

²³ See appendix II in Stanley 1868, pp. 577-578, according to a witness Henry VI said these words when visiting Westminster Abbey.

²⁴ It is still debated, however, if Edward's design was truly based on Gruuthuse's oratory since Gruuthuse's oratory was not yet finished when Edward IV was his guest. See Saul 2006, pp. 132-133.

²⁵ See Hope 1913 vol. II p. 378, 379 for the Flemish artists working on the chapel.

of Gregory the Great, multiple bibles and legal works.²⁶ Henry VI's books were for the greater part inherited from his predecessor, others had been acquired by gift, as was for example the case with the *Bedford Hours* given to him as a Christmas present by the Duchess of Bedford in 1431; only a few manuscripts are thought to have been made for him.²⁷ Henry VI also gave many of his books away, as in 1440, when he donated 77 of the 140 books that he had inherited from his father to the King's Hall Library in Cambridge. In her study of the early royal collections and the Royal Library, Jenny Stratford pointed out that his bestowing of many learned books to Cambridge and Oxford presented Henry as a patron of learning. All in all, Henry VI does not seem to have been an avid collector of books.²⁸ He owned no more than a small collection of liturgical books for his personal use; he was not interested in books from Flemish origin, nor did he express a preference for the French language or show any interest in ancient histories and chronicles as Edward IV did. Edward truly broke with his predecessor's tradition when he created the versatile library that has already been described in the introduction.

In short, during his rule Edward IV created a higher standard of luxury at the English court and wanted to be remembered for it. That this was not only the result of an increase in funds, but had everything to do with the king's personal interest in Burgundian luxury culture, will be dealt with in the following paragraph.

Edward IV's incorporation of the Burgundian model at his court

In 1470-71, the period of Henry VI's failed retaking of the crown, Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench during the rule of Henry VI, wrote it was generally expected of the king to have a large treasure that he could spend "for his pleasure and magnificence" on building works, rich clothes, hangings for his houses, dishes for his chapel and expensive horses, "ffor if a kyng did not so, nor might do, he lyved then not like his estate, but rather in miserie, and in more subgeccion than doth a private person."²⁹ Edward IV seems to have shared Fortescue's ideas of princely magnificence, as accounts show he spent much money on the articles mentioned above.³⁰ In the later

²⁶ Stratford 1999, pp. 264-265.

²⁷ These books were mostly liturgical such as a primer and a breviary mentioned in Public Record Office E101/409/12, f. 55.

²⁸ Stratford 1999, p. 265.

²⁹ Fortescue 1885, p. 125

³⁰ The wardrobe accounts of 1480 and exchequer accounts mention great expenses made by Edward on tapestry, horses, cloths and dishes.

years of his reign, Edward had become ‘an extremely wealthy prince’ by his efforts to form a treasury befitting his position as king. The author of the third continuation of the *Croyland Chronicle* (also *Crowland Chronicle*) – the chronicle of the Benedictine Abbey of Croyland, of which the part covering the years 1459-1486 was written more like a political memoir than a chronicle³¹ – mentions that by 1476 Edward had managed to increase his income substantially.³² This financial stability enabled him, especially towards the end of his reign, to surround himself with more splendour than his predecessor had ever been able to. The author of the *Croyland Chronicle* also remarked this as he wrote in retrospective of Edward IV and his court:

“...for collecting vessels of gold and silver, tapestries, and decorations of the most precious nature, both for his palaces and for various churches, and for building castles, (...) not one of his predecessors was at all able to equal his remarkable achievements.”³³

Edward IV attained the princely magnificence expressed in these two sources through the incorporation of Burgundian visual culture at the English court. To prove himself a worthy king (while being a relatively unknown person setting up a new Yorkist royal dynasty) Edward IV began a process of increasing the grandeur of his court, thus underlining his own power. In doing so, he was above all inspired by Burgundian court organisation. Edward IV had gained knowledge thereof through Olivier de la Marche’s *État de la maison du duc Charles de Bourgogne dict le Hardy* (1474), which was written on Edward’s request.³⁴ The treatise contained an extensive description of the Burgundian household organisation under Duke Charles the Bold. La Marche’s text had effect in Edward IV’s household ordinance of 1478, in which etiquette and ceremony are described according to Burgundian practice, for instance when it defines the reorganised regulations for banquets.³⁵ Nevertheless, the *Black Book*, Edward’s

³¹ There is much speculation about the identity of the second continuator. Some historians believe the author to be a clerical administrator who acted also as councillor of Edward IV, such as John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln. See Gransden 1982, pp. 265-271.

³² The author describes how Edward regained the royal estates to form the basic sources of income for the crown, invested in his own merchant ships and put together regulations concerning commercial imports and the possession of estates, *Crowland Chronicle* part VI, online edition of the Richard III society, <http://www.r3.org/on-line-library-text-essays/crowland-chronicle/part-vi/> accessed 14-11-2016.

³³ *Crowland Chronicle*, part VI, VII online edition of the Richard III society; Ross 1974, p. 277.

³⁴ The king’s chamberlain William Hastings had requested on the king’s behalf – and through the Chief Victualler of Calais – for this description of Charles the Bold’s household. See Armstrong 1983, p. 415.

³⁵ Myers 1959, p. 4.

household ordinance of 1471, also tends towards sumptuous Burgundian ceremonial and seems to have been inspired by his contacts with Burgundian culture the year before.³⁶ Marina Belozerskaya suggested Edward IV might also have been influenced by another Burgundian text: *La Toison d'or* (c.1470) by Guillaume Fillastre, chancellor of the order of the Golden Fleece in which Edward was induced in 1468. In this treatise that Fillastre began for Philip the Good and finished for Charles the Bold, magnificence and liberality are addressed as princely virtues, and in both of Edward's ordinances these features are addressed in the same manner.³⁷ Moreover, magnificence and liberality are not only virtues quoted in texts on Edward's household and court, but are also qualities Edward IV expressed with the many feasts and events he organised.

During great events the court was adorned with lavish scenes of display for which no costs were spared, and that may have been inspired by Burgundian splendour; an example being the coronation of his queen, Elizabeth Woodville. As Elizabeth was the daughter of Jacquetta of Luxembourg she brought Burgundian connections to the Yorkist court through her family: at her coronation several Burgundian knights were among the guests, and Jacques of Luxembourg, Jacquetta's brother, attended the coronation as the representative of the Duke of Burgundy, demonstrating the queen's Burgundian relations from her mother's side.³⁸ The international character of the guests probably made Edward incline even more towards splendour on a Burgundian scale.

When in 1477 their son, Richard, Duke of York, was married to Anne Mowbray, the wedding festivities were accompanied by the very first romantic chivalric tournament in England. Before, English tournaments were events during which knights practised their skills in different combats. Now, Anthony Woodville, who had participated in the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, marking the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in 1468, introduced the Burgundian tournament style in England. In the *Pas* knights had served the *Lady of the Hidden Isle* and had subscribed by hanging their shields in a golden tree; they had entered the tournament in pageant cars; and all participants had enacted a role from popular romances.³⁹ In 1477, a similar procedure

³⁶ Myers 1959, p. 4; Belozerskaya 2002, p. 151.

³⁷ Belozerskaya 2002, p. 151.

³⁸ Kipling 1977, p. 12; Gregory, Baldwin, Jones 2011, p. 127.

³⁹ Kipling 1977, p. 117.

was employed at Edward's court when the participants had to subscribe their names under a heraldic symbol, and pageant cars were introduced at the tournament.⁴⁰

With the incorporation of Burgundian culture came the introduction of Flemish artworks such as tapestries, which were popular objects of art patronage in the Burgundian Netherlands. In his choice for tapestry, Edward IV very much imitated the fashion set by the Burgundians. In the period 1467-1468, he bought tapestries from Pasquier Grenier, a Flemish merchant who also supplied the dukes of Burgundy with tapestries. The subjects of the tapestries Edward bought included the *History of Alexander*, the *History of Nebuchadnezzar*, the *Passion* and the *Judgment*, all of which, except the *Nebuchadnezzar*, were also supplied by Grenier for Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy.⁴¹ In 1475, when Edward arrived at Calais, his sister Margaret of York presented him with tapestries from Brussels⁴², and between 1478 and 1482 Edward acquired tapestries from merchants bringing in their supplies from the Burgundian Netherlands. One of these merchants was Edmund Rigon, a London draper with connections on the continent, who obtained for Edward the *History of Tullus Hostilius* and *Publius Horatius* in 1480. A second merchant was John Pickering, governor of English merchants in the Burgundian Netherlands, who bought tapestries representing the *History of Noah* in 1478 and a *History of Thebes* set at the Antwerp Easter market in 1482 for Edward.

At the time of the first purchase, frequent contact was maintained between England and Burgundy; on October 1466, a secret Anglo-Burgundian treaty had been signed, a year later it had been revealed and in 1468 the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York sealed it. A lot of diplomatic travelling took place between the two courts in these years. Also, in 1467, Duke Philip the Good's bastard son Anthony *le grand bâtard* of Burgundy (1421-1504) stayed as Edward's guest at the English court. Likely, Edward became known with Burgundian taste in tapestry through the Burgundian contacts that were established during this period. Contact was made with Grenier probably because of his connections with the Burgundian duke, and his supplies would surely express Burgundian taste. Accordingly, Edward IV's collection of tapestry should

⁴⁰ See College of Arms, MS M. 3 for the tournament proclamation of 1477; Kipling 1977, p. 124.

⁴¹ There is no knowledge of any inventory mentioning a *Nebuchadnezzar* tapestry in the Burgundian collection, yet in 1454 Alfonso V of Aragon, who was also interested in the Duke of Burgundy's art patronage as an example for his own collecting, bought a similar set in Flanders; McKendrick 1987, pp. 521-522.

⁴² McKendrick 1987, p. 523, note 35.

be considered one of the first collections with which he expressed his fondness for Burgundian culture.

Edward IV's chasing after artefacts that expressed Burgundian taste is also and above all clearly visible in his collecting of Flemish manuscripts. Likely, Edward started collecting in 1479, as most of the dated manuscripts bear this year. One of these manuscripts is *La Grande histoire Caesar*, with a colophon stating that the manuscript was adapted in Bruges for Edward in 1479.⁴³ Others are, for instance, *La Bible Historiale* by Guyard des Moulins, made in Bruges for Edward and again carrying an inscription with the date⁴⁴ and Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* translated in French by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse.⁴⁵ All the other manuscripts Edward owned are very close in their execution to the ones dated and must therefore have been purchased around the same time. Additionally, manuscripts such as Boccaccio's *Des cas des ruynes des nobles hommes et femmes*⁴⁶, Jehan de Wavrin's *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre*⁴⁷, Petrus de Crescentiis' *Rustican des ruraux prouffiz du labour des champs*⁴⁸, Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* translated by Raoul des Presles⁴⁹ and *Le chemin de Vaillance*⁵⁰ could also have been purchased in 1479-1480 as there is a record dating 1479 of £80 being paid to "Philip Maisertuell merchant stranger in partee paiement of £240 for certaine boks by the said Philip to be provided to the kyngs use in the partees beyond the see".⁵¹ Scot McKendrick first suggested this Maisertuell may very well have been Philippe de Mazerolles, an illuminator from Bruges who was also a merchant, and further research has supported this claim.⁵²

⁴³ The text from the colophon: 'Icy fine la grande histoire / cesar tiree de pluseurs ac / teurs comme lucan suetonie oro / se saluste iulius celsus et autres / laquelle a este faite a bruges du / commandement de treshault tres / excellent et tres victorieux prince / le roy Edouard quatrieme de ce / nom lan de grace mil cccc lxxix', London, British Library, Royal MS 17 F II, f. 353v.

⁴⁴ The inscription: 'Cy fine le cinquieme et / dernier livre de salomon / filz david intitule Ec / clesiasticus / Escript a[nn]o 1479', London, British Library, Royal MS 18 D X, f. 341. Another part of the Bible Historiale, Royal MS 15 D I, was originally written in 1470 but adapted for Edward in 1479 to form a set together with Royal MS 18 D IX and X.

⁴⁵ Date provided in a miniature: 'De anno / 1479', London, British Library, Royal MS 18 E III, f. 24.

⁴⁶ London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E V.

⁴⁷ London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E IV.

⁴⁸ London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E VI.

⁴⁹ London, British Library, Royal MS 17 F III.

⁵⁰ London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E II, the volume also contains other texts: Christine de Pisan, Lepistre Othea; Alain Chartier, Le breviaire des nobles; Les complaintes des IX malheureux et des IX malheureuses; Ramón Lull, Libre del Orde de cavayleria.

⁵¹ Citation of the payment record as included in Backhouse 1999, p. 269 and McKendrick 2011, p. 56.

⁵² McKendrick 2011, p. 56.

Again, the choice for the merchant was a conscious one – just like the choice for Grenier was – since one of Mazerolles’ patrons was Charles the Bold. His know-how of the Duke of Burgundy’s literary and artistic tastes may have resulted in some copies in Edward’s library resembling manuscripts in the Burgundian Library. As mentioned in my introduction, several of Edward’s manuscripts were translations originally commissioned by the Burgundian dukes. For example, Duke John the Fearless ordered Laurent de Premierfait’s translation of the *Decameron*,⁵³ and Vasco da Lucena, when in service of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, translated Quintus Curtius Ruffus’ *Histoire d’Alexandre*.⁵⁴ The Burgundian origins of almost all the manuscripts in Edward’s collection clearly show Edward IV saw the fashions of the court of Burgundy as a model for his own.

Why Burgundy?

Why did the court of Burgundy form such an attractive example for Edward IV? As shown above, already before ever setting foot in the Burgundian Netherlands, Edward seems to have been inspired by what he knew of Burgundian fashion. His focus on Burgundy above any other European great power can well be explained by the cultural position Burgundy had in fifteenth-century Europe. Hence, a short survey of Burgundy’s culturally leading position in fifteenth-century Europe will be given in the following paragraph, which owes a great deal to the study by Belozerskaya mentioned earlier.

The Burgundian dynasty started in 1363 when Philip the Bold, son of King John the Good of France, received the duchy of Burgundy from his father. Through his marriage with heiress Margaret of Male in 1369, Duke Philip the Bold managed to increase his territory by bringing Flanders, Franche-Comté, Artois, Nevers and Rethel under Burgundian influence.⁵⁵ The Burgundian dukes aspired to expand their territories through political marriages and the acquisition of land, and by these means they eventually managed to obtain great parts of what are now Belgium and The Netherlands. This expansion reached its height in the mid-fifteenth century under Duke Philip the Good. His son, Charles the Bold had even bigger ambitions, endeavouring to create a Burgundian kingdom.⁵⁶ Formally, the Duke of Burgundy was a peer of France, but due to

⁵³ London, British Library, Royal MS 19 E I.

⁵⁴ London, British Library, Royal MS 17 F I.

⁵⁵ Stein 2014, pp. 30, 31.

⁵⁶ Vaughan 1973, p. 147.

familial feuds the dukes had separated themselves from France and became rival princes to the French kings, outdoing them with their fortune and the brilliance of their court.

Both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold had renown as the richest princes of fifteenth-century Europe, a reputation they owed to their projection of wealth and magnificence. It was during the rules of these two great dukes that the Burgundian court became a model for the rest of Europe. But what distinguished the Burgundian court from the other fifteenth-century courts? Paravicini pioneered in trying to explain what was specifically Burgundian. He concluded, nevertheless, that there is not one specifically Burgundian feature.⁵⁷ The court distinguished itself mainly by its organisation, its discipline, its focus on chivalry, the prevalence of knights, and the splendour and ceremony that accompanied great events.

The sheer size and splendour of the Burgundian court played a big part in the admiration it inspired in visitors. The grandness of events and banquets, the rich decorations of the residences, the amount of courtiers provided for by the duke, the regulations and ceremonial, all this was wondered about in contemporary reports. Not for nothing were Charles the Bold's nuptials of 1468 dubbed 'the wedding of the century', as the festivities organised expressed a maximum of wealth and splendour, instilling on other rulers the awareness of how such lavishness could increase one's magnificence and prestige.⁵⁸ In the years following the wedding, many travellers visited the court of Charles the Bold. In 1469, the marquis of Mantua, Ludovico Gonzaga, even sent his son Rodolfo here, "so that he may learn the art of war and the manners of the court".⁵⁹ This gives us an indication of the prestige Duke Charles had won and the politically and culturally powerful centre his court had become by 1470; the incident furthermore signals the appreciation of his military and chivalrous reputation abroad.⁶⁰

Various foreign rulers started emulating the luxury of the Burgundian court, which expressed itself mostly in patronage of Burgundian, or actually, Flemish arts: foreign rulers hired the same or similar artists as the ones employed at the Burgundian court, and luxury arts such as tapestries and manuscripts with similar contents as those in Burgundian collections were bought from the same production centres as where the Duke of Burgundy bought his. For example, in Italy Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of

⁵⁷ Paravicini 1991, p. 87.

⁵⁸ Belozerskaya 2002, p. 135; Paravicini 1991, p. 90.

⁵⁹ A letter dated 19 July 1469 from Ludovico Gonzaga to Charles the Bold gives this explanation why he sent his son to Burgundy; Savy 2002, p. 350.

⁶⁰ Armstrong 1977, p. 61; Savy 2002, p. 351.

Urbino, acquired Flemish tapestry sets of the *Trojan War*, hunting scenes and the *Annunciation*. His biographer Vespasiano further noted: “he also brought in Flemish tapestry weavers who wrought a noble set for an apartment”.⁶¹ Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, bought tapestries such as the *History of Alexander the Great* – a set originally designed for Philip the Good – from the Grenier family, and in 1460 sent his court painter Zanetto Bugatto to Brussels to study with Rogier van der Weyden. When living in Spain, Alfonso V of Aragon acquired Flemish deluxe manuscripts, tapestries and paintings, and when he moved to Italy he still had agents in Flanders seeking out these luxury goods for him. The Spanish monarchs Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile hired Flemish architects and sculptors like Hanequin de Bruselas to work in Toledo on the church of San Juan de los Reyes, and Isabella also owned a considerable number of Flemish paintings, illuminated manuscripts and tapestries.⁶²

The examples mentioned above show that collecting Flemish art became fashionable in the fifteenth century. Yet fashion was not the only reason for foreign rulers amassing Burgundian artefacts. For most collectors, it brought a Burgundian-like magnificence to their courts. Most of the rulers listed above reached power between 1450 and 1474, i.e. the timespan during which the Burgundian court became the most illustrious court of Europe. For this new generation of rulers – to which Edward IV also belonged – Burgundian court culture became the ultimate example of how to express majesty, wealth, and splendour.

Some final remarks

However much the culturally leading position of Burgundy triggered admiration, emulation such as described above was often paired with personal or familial contacts between the Burgundian and the imitating court. For example, Alfonso of Aragon was the first foreign ruler to be member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and he and Philip the Good personally exchanged presents at least once.⁶³ Many also had family members living at the Burgundian court, as had the Gonzaga family mentioned before. With Edward IV, personal and familial relations with the Duke of Burgundy also played a role. As mentioned, Margaret of York – Edward’s sister – became Charles the Bold’s wife, and thus Duchess of Burgundy; this Burgundian alliance established intensive contacts

⁶¹ Vespasiano 1997, p. 295.

⁶² Belozerskaya 2002, pp. 160-197.

⁶³ Belozerskaya 2002, p. 182.

between the two courts. Finally, the combination of Burgundy's leading position, together with personal and family relations between Edward IV and the Duke of Burgundy and his court, ensured that Edward IV would emulate of Burgundian magnificence.

2 Creating desirability for Flemish manuscripts at Edward IV's court

The introduction of a library of Flemish origin suggests that Edward IV's incorporation of Burgundian luxury culture at the Yorkist court was an on-going business. While he had begun his Flemish tapestry collection a decade earlier, Edward started collecting Flemish manuscripts in 1479, nearly twenty years into his reign and eight years after his return from Flanders. Before that, he had not expressed any interest in Flemish books. What then provoked Edward IV's new desire for Flemish manuscripts? Although no comprehensive study has focused on this question as such, different scholars have paid attention to Edward IV's sudden interest in manuscript collecting. One of Edward IV's first biographers, C. L. Scofield, saw his collecting of manuscripts as a result of a general increase in his art patronage after the improvement of his financial position after 1475.⁶⁴ In 1987, Janet Backhouse tried to answer the question by stressing the dynastic ties between the York dynasty and the dukes of Burgundy, specifically aiming at Margaret of York's influence as Duchess of Burgundy.⁶⁵ More recently, Marina Belozerskaya added that there was also, because of the political ties and commercial contacts, a 'steady cultural and artistic exchange' between England and the Burgundian lands.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, as mentioned in the introduction, almost all authors writing on the subject have brought up Edward's exile in the Burgundian Netherlands as the main cause for his sudden interest. Specifically Louis of Gruuthuse is thought of as the initiator of Edward's fondness for Flemish manuscripts. As this idea has been much debated in the past decades, we will shortly examine Gruuthuse's possible role in the following paragraph.

Louis of Gruuthuse as initiator?

Louis of Gruuthuse was a bibliophile and patron of the arts and is still well known for his library, which is considered the greatest achievement of his patronage. Because of Gruuthuse's famous position as library owner, Armstrong assumed Edward IV had

⁶⁴ Scofield 1923, vol. II, pp. 451-455.

⁶⁵ Backhouse 1987, p. 26.

⁶⁶ Belozerskaya 2002, pp. 146-147.

become familiar with his library in 1470-71 when the latter acted as his host.⁶⁷ Parallels between the contents of Edward IV's and Gruuthuse's collections were recognised by Margaret Kekewich and Malcolm Vale and interpreted by them as evidence for Edward IV's dependence on Gruuthuse's exemplary collection.⁶⁸ However, different scholars pointed out that Gruuthuse's library was by no means completed in 1470-71, but was still at a very early stage of its development.⁶⁹ In other words, when Edward stayed with Gruuthuse the latter did not as yet own the many manuscripts he later became famous for; his library at the time was still quite small. In 2002, Belozerskaya further noted that Gruuthuse was, in his turn, following the Burgundian norm with the literature he amassed in his library.⁷⁰ In the last decade, Scot McKendrick published several articles on Edward IV's manuscripts and his collecting, and concluded that we can no longer consider Louis of Gruuthuse as the sole initiator of Edward IV's collection of Flemish manuscripts.⁷¹

Yet, Gruuthuse's position remains disputed in the debate on the establishment of Edward IV's library. The idea suggested by Margaret Kekewich that Gruuthuse introduced Flemish manuscripts to Edward IV during his exile is not completely to be dismissed since Gruuthuse did own some lavish deluxe manuscripts at that time. One manuscript Gruuthuse acquired in 1470 is the *Histoire de Jason*, which relates the mythological story of the hero Jason, who was patron of the Order of the Golden Fleece established in 1430 by Philip the Good. This story became widely popular at the Burgundian court and beyond, due to Philip the Good's patronage of its author, Raoul Lefèvre. In the 1470s, the history was a popular prequel to another well-liked story: that of the Trojan War.⁷² Gruuthuse's copy of the *Histoire de Jason* was a lavishly illustrated deluxe manuscript for which Lieven van Lathem, a celebrated miniaturist at the time, painted many of the miniatures. Accounts of ducal payments indicate that in 1469, the year before Gruuthuse acquired his *Jason* copy, Van Lathem had worked in The Hague on some miniatures for a prayer book for Duke Charles the Bold. Hence, Gruuthuse may not have had a big library with which to fascinate his guest, but the few richly illustrated volumes he probably did possess at that time must surely have impressed his royal

⁶⁷ Armstrong 1983, p. 411.

⁶⁸ Kekewich 1971, Vale 1995, pp. 116-117.

⁶⁹ Backhouse 1987, Belozerskaya 2002, p. 147.

⁷⁰ Belozerskaya 2002, p. 147.

⁷¹ McKendrick 1992, p. 154.

⁷² Kren, McKendrick 2003, p. 243.

guest. This way, I believe we must not necessarily seek Louis of Gruuthuse's influence on the exiled king in the textual contents of Edward IV's Flemish manuscripts. Gruuthuse may have played a bigger role as the initiator of Edward's fondness for Flemish manuscripts by way of their appealing aesthetics, as he presumably introduced to Edward and his retinue his deluxe manuscripts of the highest quality.

In the years after the exile, Louis of Gruuthuse may also have played a part as an intermediary who brought Flemish manuscripts to Edward's attention. The best evidence we have for this assumption is that two manuscripts in Edward IV's collection bear both Gruuthuse's and Edward's arms or emblems. First discovered by E. G. Millar, in MS 1 in the Sir John Soane Museum, a copy of Josephus' *Antiquites et guerre des Juifs*, two bombards of the Gruuthuse emblem can still be distinguished, and Gruuthuse's motto '*plus est en vous*', although painted over with white paint, is still readable.⁷³ Additionally, there are two pages in the book with the English royal arms, which are painted over erasures, while on three pages the shields were left blank.⁷⁴ In British Library Royal MS 17 F II, containing *La Grande Histoire Cesar*, an underdrawing of Gruuthuse's arms is present under the royal arms of England.⁷⁵ Backhouse interpreted such links with Louis of Gruuthuse as proof of the exemplary status that his library had for Edward when she suggested the Josephus manuscript had passed either by gift or purchase from Gruuthuse's library to Edward's.⁷⁶ Yet the small amount of Gruuthuse emblems and arms in the two manuscripts made Scot McKendrick conclude otherwise. McKendrick suggested these works were never part of Gruuthuse's library, but more likely were begun for Gruuthuse in 1479-1480, but when Edward IV started buying many manuscripts at that same moment, Gruuthuse must have cancelled the order in favour of the king.⁷⁷ I am inclined to follow McKendrick's suggestion. If these books were part of the Gruuthuse library before Gruuthuse gave or sold them to Edward, the underdrawing in MS 17 F II would likely have been coloured, and the shields left blank

⁷³ London, Sir John Soane Museum, MS 1, f. 145, also on this folio as well as f. 11 are the arms of England painted over erased arms. See Millar 1914, pp. 89-94; Kekewich 1971, p. 482.

⁷⁴ London, Sir John Soane Museum, MS 1, f. 11, f. 145 contain the English arms; f. 48, f. 75, f. 108 have empty shields.

⁷⁵ London, British Library, MS 17 F II, f. 9.

⁷⁶ Backhouse 1987, p. 25

⁷⁷ McKendrick 1992, p. 154.

in Soane MS 1 would probably have been filled in.⁷⁸ Besides, MS 17 F II contains a colophon stating the text was made for Edward. In this line of thought, Edward IV and Gruuthuse are understood to have commissioned their manuscripts from the same workshops. Was this a coincidence, since they both looked for the best workshops in Flanders? Or was it Gruuthuse who promoted these workshops to Edward? Edward had made Louis of Gruuthuse Earl of Winchester in 1472 out of gratitude for his hospitality in 1470-1471. After this event the latter travelled much between the two courts, and may have acted as cultural advisor in 1472 for Edward's chapel at Windsor.⁷⁹ In the same manner, Gruuthuse may have promoted the Flemish workshops where he acquired his books with Edward, resulting in him cancelling his commissioned Josephus in favour of the king, while he himself ordered another copy in Ghent.⁸⁰

Although Louis of Gruuthuse may have been of some influence in the creation of Edward IV's fondness for Flemish manuscripts, he was not the only influence on the king. Most remarkable is the fact that it took Edward eight years after his exile before he started collecting Flemish manuscripts, and both the Soane manuscript and MS 17 F II also date only from the end of these eight years. I believe this eight-year gap between Edward IV's acquaintance with Flemish manuscripts and the moment he starts collecting is not due to the manufacturing of the manuscripts. Indeed, the manufacturing of manuscripts is a lengthy process, but, since there were several artists working on Edward's manuscripts to speed up the process (as will be explained in the following chapter), eight years is an overlong period. Consequently, what other factors may have influenced Edward during this period needs to be the focus of attention. The central theme in the following section will therefore be the investigation of how desirability for Flemish manuscripts was created at Edward IV's court between 1471, the year of Edward IV's return to England, and 1479, the year he started acquiring Flemish manuscripts.

Flemish book production for the English market

By 1470 the Flemish cities of Bruges and Ghent had become great production centres of illuminated manuscripts. As Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick showed in *Illuminating*

⁷⁸ Edward IV did not have his royal arms added throughout his manuscripts, but often they were only added on one folio. In the Soane manuscript it seems the king was sufficiently satisfied with his arms covering those of the previous owner to leave the other shields blank.

⁷⁹ Armstrong 1983, p. 410.

⁸⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS fr. 11-16.

the Renaissance, this was mainly due to the Burgundianisation of Flanders in the first half of the century, and the growing presence of the Burgundian dukes and their courtiers as patrons for deluxe manuscripts.⁸¹ During the 1470s, Flemish illumination developed in quality and style, and, following the Burgundian duke's example, foreign collectors expressed a growing interest for Flemish illuminated manuscripts.⁸² The Bruges manuscript production partly came to focus on the export market; illuminated books of hours were exported to surrounding lands such as France, Germany, and England and even further away to Portugal, Spain and Italy.⁸³

Many surviving 15th-century Flemish manuscripts can be found in British collections. Hanno Wijsman asserted that the largest part of the manuscripts produced for export in 15th-century Flanders was made for or purchased by English clients.⁸⁴ Standardized books made for the English market were mostly devotional, for which the contents were specifically altered '*ad usum anglie*'. The longstanding Anglo-Burgundian relations due to the trade in wool probably played an important role in the early development of the manuscript export to England. One early example is a book of hours in Durham, Ushaw College MS 10, which dates from 1408-1409 and has a colophon stating the book was made in Bruges. The book was at one point owned by of Sir Brian Roucliffe, baron of the Exchequer (*d.*1494).⁸⁵ Another Flemish book of hours made for an English patron is Harley MS 2846, held in the British Library in London, and dating from the 1430s. Many such devotional books are described in Nicholas Rogers's article on the original owners of Flemish books of hours produced for the English market.⁸⁶ The examples given in his study point out to us that, already from the beginning of the fifteenth century, devotional books were produced in Flanders for the English market. In other words, Edward IV was neither the first foreign buyer of Flemish manuscripts, nor were his manuscripts the first Flemish books that reached an English owner.

⁸¹ Kren, McKendrick 2003, p. 3.

⁸² For example the Spanish nobility imported many Flemish luxury arts such as tapestry, manuscripts and paintings as the splendour of the Burgundian court was also here a model to be emulated. Queen Isabella of Castile owned also some devotional Flemish illuminated manuscripts. Another example can be found in Alfonso V of Aragon who collected Flemish arts like paintings, tapestries and illuminated manuscripts. See Belozerskaya 2002, pp. 146-220.

⁸³ Wijsman 2003, p. 119.

⁸⁴ In Hanno Wijsman's study of Flemish manuscripts created in the fifteenth century, 90% of the corpus of manuscripts appeared to be made for the English market. Wijsman 2003, pp. 138-140.

⁸⁵ See Rogers 2002, p. 1169 for more information on the provenance of this book.

⁸⁶ Rogers 2002.

In spite of this, Edward IV's importing of Burgundian literature in the late 1470s is quite remarkable, since the Flemish book export was focused on devotional manuscripts. Books of hours and prayer books must have been owned by Edward IV, but were likely held separate from his Flemish literature, as – for example – his will mentions that the books of his chapel were to be left to his queen, while nothing is stated about his collection of Flemish books.⁸⁷ It seems Edward IV created a new, but short-lived, fashion by importing on a grand scale non-devotional Flemish manuscripts.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, Edward IV is not known for his love of learning, and he seems to have owned no more than two books before he was king – a Latin book with legal formulas and another Latin book with medical treatises – datable before or in 1460, as was suggested by Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, and nothing like the literature he acquired when he was King of England.⁸⁹

Echoing Burgundian luxury

The transition from two instructive Latin texts towards a collection of Burgundian literature in French is a curious occurrence in the life of Edward IV. Something must have stimulated Edward's desire for specifically Flemish manuscripts. If the king was simply interested in the Burgundian 'humanistic-chivalric' genre of literature, he could have acquired printed English translations of Burgundian literature, or could have commissioned French copies from scribes in Calais. But Edward acquired all his surviving manuscripts in Flanders. Essentially, in the years Edward ruled over England, the Burgundian library formed the most glorious library in Europe. Its glory derived both from the splendour of the manuscripts and the texts they contained. As Edward IV had shown a fondness for Burgundian luxury culture before, it comes as no surprise that he also started imitating this collection once he had gained knowledge of it.

In my opinion, Edward IV must also have focused on aesthetics next to the textual contents of the manuscripts. This is where it becomes clear that the library he founded

⁸⁷ See Thompson 1939, p. 407 on books in Edward IV's will. Also, there are no Flemish books of hours in the surviving royal library that can be connected to Edward IV.

⁸⁸ Short-lived as after Edward's death, the good relations he had established between England and Burgundy were not continued and the importation of Burgundian literature in England ceased. Henry VII did not express interest in Burgundian literature, but did have his manuscripts illuminated in a style similar to that of Flemish manuscripts and even imported Flemish illuminators to get that fashionable quality. For more on this see Wijsman 2003, p. 119.

⁸⁹ London, British Library, Harleian MS 3352, dated 1460-1461; London, British Library, Royal MS 12 E XV, datable before 1461; Sutton, Visser-Fuchs 1995, p. 86.

was part of his emulation: collecting Burgundian literature in the form of deluxe manuscripts produced in Flemish workshops, where the illumination was done according to ducal standards, suggests Edward tried to imitate Burgundian practices. Consequently, in the period before 1479 Edward IV must have come in contact with Flemish manuscripts that had in his eyes both interesting contents and appealing aesthetics, thus convincing him of the value of Flemish manuscripts in his echoing of Burgundian luxury culture.

The role of intermediaries

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, Louis of Gruuthuse is often thought of as a great influence on Edward IV during his exile. Nevertheless, both before and after Edward's acquaintance with Gruuthuse there were other persons in his direct environment who could have acted as intermediaries as they brought Flemish manuscripts and art under his attention.

Intermediating kin

Charles Armstrong, for instance, suggested the Woodvilles might very well have played a role in bringing Burgundian culture into the life of Edward IV.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, not much information on the patronage of Edward's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, has survived. Two books bearing her name are known to us today, one of the books being William Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* and the other a large manuscript containing texts from the Lancelot-Grail Prose Cycle dating from the fourteenth century.⁹¹ This last manuscript was not Flemish but French. It originated from the library of the French king Charles V and was bought after his successor Charles VI's death by John, Duke of Bedford and regent of France, the first husband of Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Elizabeth's mother. Jacquetta was an amateur collector herself, and although the books she inherited from her first husband were predominately French, she also had a fondness for Burgundian art as she expressed in an incident in 1468 when she seized a very expensive Burgundian tapestry from the wealthy London merchant Thomas Cook during his imprisonment.⁹² Jacquetta would pass her love for the luxury arts and manuscripts

⁹⁰ As we saw in chapter one, Edward's queen Elizabeth Woodville had Burgundian connections through her mother; Armstrong 1983, p. 407.

⁹¹ San Marino, The Huntington Library, MS RB 62222; British Library, Royal MS 14 E III.

⁹² McKendrick 1987, p. 522, note 10.

to her children, and she also gave another royal French manuscript, a copy containing various works of Christine de Pisan, to her son Anthony Woodville.⁹³ Despite their age, the manuscripts Jacquetta gave to her children were still very prestigious books and Anthony's copy contained texts of an author who was still very much appreciated in the Burgundian literary climate. Eventually Anthony either sold or gave the manuscript to Louis of Gruuthuse, whose autograph this manuscript also contains. The fact that the book went from the hands of someone very close to Edward IV to Louis of Gruuthuse proves that book exchanges did occur between the English court and Gruuthuse. In fact, Gruuthuse's library contained several other manuscripts deriving from English collections.⁹⁴ Although these manuscripts went from England to Burgundy, later examples will show that it was usually the other way round.

Anthony Woodville was also an agent inspiring Edward IV with a love for books and Burgundian culture. After his sister's marriage to Edward, Anthony was made a knight of the Garter and became close to the king, being one of the few to join Edward in exile. He was a celebrated tournament champion in both England and Burgundy and expressed the Burgundian ideal of learned chivalry by acting as a patron to William Caxton, who published his translations such as the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* in 1477 in England.⁹⁵ Anthony's writings seem connected to his appointment as the Prince of Wales' tutor, as the *Dictes*, *Moral Proverbs* and *Cordiale* are works appropriate for a prince and befitting Edward IV's wishes concerning his son's education.⁹⁶

Next to the Woodvilles, his Yorkist kin was also familiar with Burgundian literature. When his sister Margaret of York became Duchess of Burgundy she soon developed an interest for books. In a 2005 article, Anne-Marie Legaré investigated what could be retraced of the duchess' library and concluded that Margaret seems to have commissioned mostly religious or devotional works for her own collection. For example, she commissioned Pierre de Vaux to write for her the *Vita of the holy Coletta of Corbie*.⁹⁷ In addition, she commissioned historical works and may have supplied Edward IV with

⁹³ British Library MS Harley 4431, the manuscript was made for the French queen Isabeau of Bavaria around 1414. The book contains the autographs of Jacquetta, Anthony Woodville and Louis of Gruuthuse all on folio 1; see also Vale 1995, p. 121.

⁹⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 1, MS fr. 403, MS fr. 1586, MS fr. 4976, MS lat. 6049.

⁹⁵ Armstrong 1983, p. 414.

⁹⁶ The *Cordiale*, or *Four last things*, Earl Rivers' translation of Jean Miélot, was published in 1475; *Moral Proverbs* was another translation of a text by Christine Pisan published in 1478. For Edward's wishes concerning his son's education see the citation of a letter from the king to Anthony Woodville further in this chapter.

⁹⁷ Legaré 2005, p. 209.

books such as David Aubert's deluxe manuscript of the *Romuléon*. In a miniature on folio 367 of this last manuscript Margaret is represented as the female figure mediating between two other male figures who are accompanied by the date 1480 and Edward IV's device 'Gy tens' (fig. 2).⁹⁸ Wim Blockmans argued this manuscript was probably a gift of Margaret on visiting her brother in 1480 as part of a diplomatic mission for Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Habsburg, trying to move Edward into a renewed alliance with Burgundy.⁹⁹



Fig. 2 The Master of the White Incriptions, Trajan adopting Hadrian who is presented by Plotina, 1480, London, British Library, Royal MS 19 E V, f. 367v (detail).

In the 1470s, Margaret of York acted as patron for William Caxton. Under her patronage Caxton started translating and printing Burgundian texts in England, which facilitated the spread in England of literature popular in the Burgundian lands. She even helped Caxton with the translation of the *Recueil des Histoires de Troie*, the first book he printed in English. In the prologue, Caxton made it clear that the book was made under patronage of the Duchess of Burgundy and that the text was originally written for Duke Philip the Good, thus stressing the Burgundian origin of the text. Caxton's publications must also have reached Edward IV in this period, as his queen, Elizabeth Woodville,

⁹⁸ British Library, Royal MS 19 E V, miniature f. 367v.

⁹⁹ Blockmans 1992, p. 32.

owned a copy dated 1475¹⁰⁰, and in that same year the king's brother George, Duke of Clarence had also acted as a patron for Caxton's *The Game and Play of Chesse*.

Nevertheless, Margaret Kekewich warned us in her article on literary patronage in Yorkist England not to exaggerate Edward IV and Caxton's personal link, as Edward's library contains none of his works.¹⁰¹ Yet, in 1479 Edward paid Caxton £20 for a service rendered, and Caxton's *The Book of Tulle of Old Age* was dedicated to Edward IV. Thus, Edward IV must have known Caxton's works, and the printer's translations may have interested him for their literary contents. Yet these printed books may have induced Edward towards a library of original, French written manuscripts appropriate for a royal household. He did for example acquire a copy of Lefèvre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troie*, but one that was a deluxe manuscript in French and produced in Bruges. The manuscript would have added more to his status than a cheaper printed version would have done, and moreover it proves Edward was not only interested in Burgundian texts, but also their execution.

Intermediating courtiers

As was suggested by Vale, other courtiers who were not of Edward's kin also acted as influential intermediaries. William, Lord Hastings was a close friend and supporter of Edward and the King's Chamberlain. He had accompanied Edward during his exile and was Captain of Calais from 1471 until 1483. Hastings acted as councillor to Edward and was one of the king's most trusted friends; contemporary reports by both the Paston family and Philippe de Commynes described him as the person most influential with the king.¹⁰²

Three manuscripts can be connected to Hastings. One is a large deluxe manuscript of 480 x 340 mm made in Bruges in the accustomed style also found in Edward's collection, which contains the second volume of Froissart's *Chroniques*.¹⁰³ Since the book is not mentioned in his lengthy will and only contains an unfinished crayon drawing of Hastings' arms, Hastings probably acquired the manuscript after 1481, and possibly near to his death in June 1483 what caused the coat of arms to be left unfinished. With this Froissart Hastings followed the trend set by his friend and master

¹⁰⁰ The book is now in San Marino, The Huntington Library, MS RB 62222.

¹⁰¹ Kekewich 1971, p. 487.

¹⁰² Ross 1974, p. 73; Commynes vol. 1, p. 201; Gairdner 1904, vol. IV, p. 61.

¹⁰³ London, British Library Royal MS 18 E I, arms Hastings on f. 12r.

Edward IV. But with the two other Flemish manuscripts Hastings did not follow Edward's example. Both were books of hours of smaller size, illuminated in the circle of the Master of Mary of Burgundy in the Ghent-Bruges style (which will be described in the next chapter).¹⁰⁴ Based on the illumination, Anne van Buren dated the Madrid Hastings Hours c.1470-1477; the London Hastings Hours has been dated c.1480.¹⁰⁵ However, whether the London Hastings Hours was begun for William Hastings is much debated.¹⁰⁶ On folio 184, Hastings' arms seem to be painted over finished arms that could have been the English royal arms. The royal arms together with the inclusion of Saint David of Wales has led to Tudor-Craig's hypothesis that the original owner may have been Edward IV's son, the Prince of Wales.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, in the late 1470s, Hastings may have introduced the Ghent-Bruges style of illumination at the English court with the Madrid hours, influencing Edward IV to commission presumably a similar book of hours for his heir, and literature for his own collection that was illuminated in the same style.¹⁰⁸

A second book-buying courtier is Thomas Thwaytes, Chancellor of the Exchequer, treasurer of Calais, member of the royal council and ambassador at several occasions. The manuscripts he commissioned in Flanders were the *Chroniques de Brut et de St. Albans*, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* bound together with Vegetius' *De re militari*, and Froissart's *Chroniques* spread over no less than five volumes.¹⁰⁹ The Froissart and the Xenophon-Vegetius were added to the Royal Library. How these manuscripts were added is not known, they may have been given to Edward IV, but Edward's arms were never inserted. More likely, Thwaytes manuscripts were confiscated with his arrest in 1494. However, Thwaytes' manuscripts may have been exemplary for Edward. The Xenophon-Vegetius dates from the 1470s, and Edward's copy of Xenophon's text is in

¹⁰⁴ London, British Library add. MS 54782; Madrid, Lazaro-Galdiano MS 15503; see Armstrong 1983, p. 415.

¹⁰⁵ Van Buren 1975, p. 307; catalogue of the British Library, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_54782, accessed 20-10-2016.

¹⁰⁶ See Turner 1983, p. 115-119; Tudor-Craig 1987, pp. 351-369; Backhouse 1996, pp. 43-54; Kren, McKendrick 2003, pp. 192-194.

¹⁰⁷ Tudor-Craig 1987, pp. 351-369.

¹⁰⁸ One manuscript in Edward IV's collection is illuminated in the Ghent-Bruges style: London, British Library Royal MS 16 F II. It bears the Yorkist badge of the rose en soleil on f. 1r and the royal arms supported by the Lions of March on f. 73r. This book was made in 1483 for Edward IV but left unfinished after his death. Between 1492 and 1500 it was finished for Henry VII, both his arms and those of his wife Elizabeth of York, Edward IV's daughter, were added.

¹⁰⁹ London, Lambeth Palace, MS 6; London, British Library, Royal MS 17 E V; London, British Library, Royal MS 14 D II-VI

the catalogue of the British Library dated between 1470 and 1483.¹¹⁰ Presumably, Thwaytes owned his version of the *Cyropaedia* before Edward acquired his, since he easily could have commissioned it during one of his travels to the continent.

The third book-buying courtier, Sir John Donne of Kidwelly also made a career in Edward's service.¹¹¹ This service brought Donne into contact with Burgundian culture several times. The first occasion was the wedding of Edward's sister, as he was one of the nobles bringing the bride to Burgundy.¹¹² He also was present in Calais for a meeting between Edward IV and Duke Charles the Bold in 1475, and in 1477 he went as ambassador to Ghent for negotiation about Mary of Burgundy's marriage. From 1468 onwards Donne held different positions in Calais, and eventually became Hastings' deputy.¹¹³ His travels brought him into contact with Burgundian luxury arts as we see expressed in his patronage of Memling – the famous Donne triptych was commissioned by this man – and in his commissions of luxury manuscripts – he had for example commissioned a personalised book of hours illuminated by the celebrated illuminator Simon Marmion, which he had decorated with his arms and name-saints.¹¹⁴

Three manuscripts owned by Donne were previously – because of their similarity to Edward IV's manuscripts and their presence in today's royal collection – incorporated in Backhouse's list of manuscripts presumably owned by Edward IV.¹¹⁵ The finest is Vasco da Lucena's *Histoire d'Alexandre*, decorated with 49 miniatures and border decorations with foliage.¹¹⁶ It was long thought this book was given to Edward because of his sister's inscription "forget not her that is one of your true friends Margaret of York".¹¹⁷ However, on folio 219 John Donne's arms of a wolf rampant (although erased) are discernible. Donne had stayed at the Burgundian court in 1477 as English

¹¹⁰ Edward's *Cyropaedia* London, British Library, Royal MS 16 G IX.

¹¹¹ Starting in the service of Richard Duke of York, Edward's father, at an early age. After Richard's death he became loyal supporter of Edward. In 1462 he became Edward's Usher of the Chamber and in 1465 he became an Esquire of the Body, while he also married Hastings' sister. He possibly was one of the men Edward took with him in exile. In 1471 Edward knighted him at Tewkesbury. See 'The Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant' in Kingsford 1913, p. 385; Backhouse 1994, p. 49; Rogers 2002, p. 1166.

¹¹² Olivier de la Marche mentioned he was part of Margaret's entourage in his *mémoires*.

¹¹³ Mcfarlane 1971, p. 9; Backhouse 1994, pp. 49-50.

¹¹⁴ Ms. A 2, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve; the manuscript also had a personalized contents as the saints that are present in the prayers were mostly those who were popular at the court of Edward IV, and the book starts with Donne's name-saints.

¹¹⁵ See Backhouse 1987, p. 39-41.

¹¹⁶ London, British Library, Royal MS 15 D IV.

¹¹⁷ 'for yet not har that/ys on of yor treu frendes/Margarete of Yorke', London, British Library Royal MS 15 D IV, f. 219r.

ambassador; the book was probably given to him during this period.¹¹⁸ Back in England, the manuscript might have caught the king's attention for his sister's message and his relatively close acquaintance with Donne. Again, there is a copy of the same title in Edward IV's collection which cannot be dated with certainty earlier than Donne's manuscript; this probably indicates that Donne may have acted as an agent who brought to Edward IV's attention a Flemish, beautifully illuminated, deluxe manuscript containing ancient history. The two other manuscripts with Donne's arms are small manuscripts that contained the *Romance of Sydrac and Boctus* and *Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins*, illuminated in the Ghent-Bruges style but containing only two miniatures, and the *Assumption of the Virgin* and *Saints' Lives*, illuminated with three large miniatures.¹¹⁹

Conclusively, these three manuscript-collecting courtiers were not merely following their king's example of collecting Flemish manuscripts, but may have been actors in a process of cultural transfer. Their positions in Calais brought them in the first place closer to Burgundian culture, as they often travelled to the continent. Besides, Janet Backhouse pointed out the last two of Donne's manuscripts may even have been copied by a scribe in Calais and only illuminated in Flanders.¹²⁰ As the king's diplomats, all three men visited the Burgundian territories more often than Edward himself, who had only visited twice – during his exile in 1470-1471 and in 1475 for a meeting with Charles the Bold. Subsequently, Edward probably gained his knowledge of the Burgundian library through the agency of others. As several of Hastings', Thwaytes' and Donne's Flemish manuscripts could have been acquired before Edward obtained his copies, these courtiers are likely to have stimulated Edward IV's interest in Flemish manuscripts. In short, both Edward IV's kinfolk and his courtiers brought knowledge to the English court that made Edward aware of the superb quality of Burgundian books, both textually and aesthetically.

A dynastic library

We are left with one last question. If Edward IV's love for Burgundian luxury culture on one side, and his kin and courtiers on the other side, invoked desirability for Flemish

¹¹⁸ The book may eventually have become part of the Royal Library not during Edward's rule but during the rule of Henry VIII, who possibly received it as a marriage gift since a miniature with his and Catherine of Aragon's arms was added to the manuscript, see London, British Library Royal MS 15 D IV, f. 219r.

¹¹⁹ London, British Library Royal MS 16 F V and Royal MS 20 B II.

¹²⁰ Backhouse 1994, pp. 49-55.

manuscripts at the English court during the 1470s, why did Edward acquire most of his manuscripts around 1479? Clues can be found in some of the surviving manuscripts. Ten of them carry both Edward's royal arms together with those of his sons Edward, Prince of Wales, and Richard, Duke of York.¹²¹ These manuscripts include several titles, for example *La Grande histoire César*; *Le Chemin de Vaillance*; Christine de Pisan's *Lepistre Othea*, which were common in princely libraries of the day. Edward must have bought some of these books especially for his sons' education, as Backhouse and Sutton and Visser-fuchs also noticed in their studies of Edward IV's library.¹²² Edward IV cared much for his sons' education. Notably, when in 1473 his heir Edward was established at Ludlow Castle to start his own household as Prince of Wales, the king sent a letter to the boy's supervisor Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, in which he gave strict orders:

*"We will that our said first-begotten son shall arise every morning at a convenient hour, (...) have his breakfast immediately after his mass, and between that and his meat, to be occupied in such virtuous learning as his age shall suffer to receive. (...) and that then be read before him such noble stories as behoveth to a prince to understand and know (...). After his meat (...) he be occupied about his learning."*¹²³

In 1479, the year Edward acquired most of his books, his first son, Edward, was nine years old – an appropriate age for a prince to expand his studies and a better moment to introduce literature in French than when his household was established in 1473. This way, Edward IV may have started forming a princely library for the York dynasty. Thus, Edward IV founded the royal library as much for his own image as that of his sons. The Renaissance ideal ruler had to portray himself as a pious, strong and most of all erudite leader, an image Edward IV surely had in mind for his heir as the above-mentioned letter sent to Anthony Woodville in 1473 stressed these three aspects. The manuscripts Edward acquired provided material for his son's education, while they also expressed his own interests in literature.

¹²¹ See appendix 1 for a list of manuscripts containing both Edward IV and his sons' arms.

¹²² Backhouse 1987, p. 24-27; Sutton, Visser-Fuchs 1995, p. 81.

¹²³ Citation from a letter of Edward IV to Earl Rivers and the Bishop of Rochester dated 1473 as published in: Morgan, Litt 1923, pp. 205-208.

To conclude

For Edward IV the Burgundian library, the grandest princely library in 15th-century Europe, formed the ultimate example for his own collection, enchanted as he was with Burgundian luxury culture. In the years after his exile, Edward's knowledge of the Burgundian literary culture had increased through the intermediary of various agents. The novelty of Burgundian literature at the English court would only have increased desirability for Edward, who had already, as was explained in chapter one, incorporated various other aspects of Burgundian culture at his court. Consequently, Edward IV imitated within his own collection the Burgundian focus on ancient history and chronicles, while the contents of the books also represented his princely interests. However, the books were not exceptional at the English court for their texts only, the illumination, giving these books a splendid foreign appearance, was also an important factor.

3 Appealing aesthetics: illumination in Edward IV's Flemish manuscripts

The Flemish books Edward IV collected all share one specific characteristic: their illumination. In the introduction I already mentioned the visual cohesion of this collection, from which it has been concluded that Edward's manuscripts were all made within the same time-span. However, supplementary assessments of the illumination have not been included before in studies of Edward IV's collection. Yet it is my belief that the illumination plays a major part in the history of its creation. Therefore, I will see into this understudied aspect of Edward IV's manuscript collection in this chapter.

Flemish luxury arts had become very popular throughout 15th-century Europe because of their aesthetics. The high quality and stylishness of the illumination was very often – together with their association with the Burgundian court – the reason foreign nobles purchased their manuscripts in Flanders. For Edward IV the aesthetics must also have played an important role in his acquisition of Flemish manuscripts, even though he did not commission all his manuscripts from the very best illuminators nor had them all filled up with a large quantity of miniatures. These last facts made Sutton and Visser-Fuchs suggest that, as Edward's manuscripts were not of the highest quality, he only cared for their textual contents. Nonetheless, I disagree with their statement that Edward bought these books purely for reading.¹²⁴ It is worth repeating that if this was his intention, Edward could easily have procured his books without the bother of commissioning them as far away as Bruges. For this reason I have chosen to devote this chapter to the illumination of the manuscripts, in order to show that the aesthetics of the manuscripts may also have been reasons for the king to acquire his books in Bruges.

The illumination

Edward IV's collection is too large to comment on all the illumination in this section. For this reason, I will only bring up some more or less noticeable aspects of the illumination in the following paragraph. I will do this by aid of examples from the work of two masters whose styles are representative for Edward's collection. But before I do this, let me sketch an overall picture.

¹²⁴ Sutton, Visser-Fuchs 1995, pp. 80-81.

In general, the illumination in Edward's collection is of a consistent character. All the artists that worked on it were active in Bruges at the time the manuscripts were made. Although there are variations in quality, the hands in the manuscripts actually seem to be related. As a whole, the illumination in this collection forms a showpiece of a young and transitional generation, whose style already showed features of what is now called the Ghent-Bruges style. This new style had developed from 1470 onwards, a period in which illumination was left to specialized artists. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick mention that from that moment on, the painterly achievements of the works of Van Eyck and Van der Weyden such as texture, light, and space became incorporated in miniatures, transforming these images into small paintings.¹²⁵ Maurits Smeyers also described the narrative character, individualised depiction of scenes, and naturalistic border decorations as features distinctive for this Ghent-Bruges style.¹²⁶ In general, the illumination in Edward IV's collection tends towards traditional Flemish motifs and only shows new developments that became characteristic for the Ghent-Bruges style incidentally.

Two masters whose illustrations adorn many of Edward's manuscripts are the Master of Edward IV and the Master of the White Inscriptions. Friedrich Winkler named the first after the king as he identified this artist based on the illumination in Edward IV's *Bible Historiale*.¹²⁷ This master's contributions to Edward's manuscripts represent his early career, during which he used a rather constrained palette: the colours green-lake, salmon, grey-blue and azure predominate.¹²⁸ The Master of Edward IV also used this palette in Edward's copy of *Les faits des Romains*¹²⁹, in which the pastels give his landscapes a more realistic character.

In this last manuscript, the Master of Edward IV depicted *the battle of Pharsalia* (fig. 3). Although this miniature contains a rather traditional representation of two fighting armies, the artist was resourceful in his composition when he placed an island in the middle of the landscape, and used this to create depth of field. Behind the island, the two vast armies disappear in the fading landscape. On folio 219 of the same copy, the master again painted a battle scene. This time it is depicted with great narrative force

¹²⁵ Kren, McKendrick 2003, p. 1; McKendrick 2011, p. 58.

¹²⁶ Smeyers 1996, pp. 189-191.

¹²⁷ Five miniatures in London, British Library, MS Royal 18 D IX are ascribed to the master of Edward IV by Winkler: ff. 109, 173, 196, 275, 291. See Winkler 1925, p. 137, 179.

¹²⁸ Kren, McKendrick 2003, p. 295.

¹²⁹ London, British Library, Royal MS 17 F II.

and it is set in a detailed landscape in which the artist used an atmospheric perspective receding into bluish tones (fig. 4).



Fig. 3 The Master of Edward IV, the battle of Pharsalia, 1479, London, British Library, Royal MS 17 F II, f. 251r (detail).



Fig. 4 The Master of Edward IV, battle in Libya, 1479, London, British Library, Royal MS 17 F II, f. 219r (detail).



Fig. 5 The Master of 1482, trompe l'oeil border with birds and flowers, 1482, London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E III, f. 11r.



Fig. 6 The Master of the White Inscriptions, birth of the Virgin with annunciation to Joachim and Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate, c.1475-1483, London, British Library, Royal MS 18 E VI, f.8r (detail).

These examples show that although the Master of Edward IV's miniatures do not seem renewing at first, a second glance elucidates the original character of his work. This artist's miniatures demonstrate the subtlety with which the above-mentioned features of the Ghent-Bruges style are generally introduced in Edward's collection. One exception is to be found in the *Livre des proprieté des choses*.¹³⁰ Here, the Master of 1482 incorporated on one folio a lavish new type *trompe l'oeil* border with birds and flowers (fig. 5). However, though this copy is of a later date than the other manuscripts (it is dated 1482) and the Ghent-Bruges style flourished at this time, this border is the only illustration in the new style that this manuscript contains. The illumination in Edward IV's collection never developed fully into the Ghent-Bruges style, possibly since it did not match the king's taste.

The second master who worked often on Edward's manuscripts is the Master of the White Inscriptions. This artist was named in 1921 by Paul Durrieu, who recognised his style in Edward IV's copies of *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* and *Romuléon*. His palette contains mainly green, orange or salmon, grey and black, and his compositions often show one event, depicted with great simplicity. In addition to the Master of Edward IV's original designs, the Master of the White Inscriptions also drew upon older pictorial traditions. For instance, on folio 8 of the *Fleur des Histoires*¹³¹ (fig. 6) we see through a niche in the foreground the birth of the Virgin. The miniature, however, represents more than one scene. The annunciation to Joachim, and Joachim and Anna meeting at the Golden Gate are also illustrated. A similar representation of these scenes is shown in Duke Philip the Good's copy of the *Fleur des Histoires*¹³² (fig. 7). Hence, the Master of the White Inscriptions adapted his style for the pictorial tradition that was introduced by his predecessors for this particular text. Again, this is a feature also found in several other manuscripts owned by Edward IV. We will see later that in the *Ruralia Commoda*¹³³ the up to now unidentified master also adapted a Burgundian model for several of his designs. Most remarkably, in the copies with illustrations alike traditional motifs, only a few scenes are depicted according to tradition, while on the remaining folios these miniatures are supplemented with more original designs.

¹³⁰ London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E III.

¹³¹ London, British Library, Royal MS 18 E VI.

¹³² Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 9231.

¹³³ London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E VI.

There is thus no dividing the collection in manuscripts with original, new designs in illumination and manuscripts for which the artists used existing models. Both types of miniatures appear next to each other in the same volumes. This brings us the most remarkable aspect of the illumination in Edward IV's collection: the collaboration of several hands within the manuscripts, which was until this time apparently unusual in Flanders.¹³⁴ In 15 of Edward's manuscripts the hands of various masters are discernible, as the miniatures show variations in style and quality. For instance, the Master of Edward IV and the Master of the White Inscriptions collaborated on the *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre*.¹³⁵ As it happens, both depicted a joust in this copy. Comparing the two scenes clearly shows a difference in quality (fig. 8, 9). The Master of the White Inscriptions' style was further developed; in this particular composition he made better use of light and space. These two masters are not the only collaborators; in the *Recueil* the Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen Toison d'Or also added to the illumination.

Analysis of the illumination in Edward's collection shows that at least 16 different masters and several assistants have worked on the manuscripts.¹³⁶ Since the styles of most of these artists seem related – for example, the Master of Edward IV was probably a student of the Master of the Soane Josephus, who also worked on multiple of Edward's manuscripts, and the style of the Master of the White Inscriptions seems derived from that of the Master of Edward IV – these artists may have worked in the same workshop. However, as there is a large group of collaborating masters that contributed to Edward's manuscripts, it is also possible that a network of artists, or even workshops, was active here.

¹³⁴ Wijsman 2008, pp. 57, 66-71.

¹³⁵ London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E IV.

¹³⁶ See appendix 2 for a list with names of the masters who worked on Edward IV manuscripts.



Fig. 7 Master of Mansel, Birth of the Virgin with the conception, Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate and the upbringing of Mary, c.1450-1458, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek België, MS 9231, f. 179r.



Fig. 8 Master of the White Inscriptions, joust between Nicholas Clifford and a Frenchman, c.1470-1480, London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E IV, f. 81r (detail).



Fig. 9 Master of Edward IV, joust between John de Holand and Regnault de Roie, c.1470-1480, London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E IV, f. 293v (detail).

Edward IV's manuscripts and the practice of manuscript illumination in Bruges

The manuscripts containing the work of multiple hands are part of a group of manuscripts produced in Bruges in the period 1470-1490 by several collaborating masters. Similar manuscripts are for example Louis of Gruuthuse's copy of Jean de Wavrin's *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre*, illustrated by the Master of the Chroniques d'Angleterre, the Master of the Flemish Boethius, the Master of the Gospel book of Tournai and a student of the Bruges Master of 1482; and Philip of Cleves' copy of the *Decameron*, illustrated by the Master of 1482, the Master of the Chattering Hands and several assistants.¹³⁷

The collaboration of several masters is an exceptional feature in the production of manuscript illumination in Bruges in this period. Hanno Wijsman has begun exploring this collaboration. In an article from 2008, this author brought to light that there is one firm group of miniaturists that often collaborated in the abovementioned period.¹³⁸ This group includes the Master of the Harley Froissart, the Master of the London Wavrin, the Master of the Chattering Hands, the Bruges Master of 1482, the Master of the Chroniques d'Angleterre, the Master of the Soane Josephus, the Master of the Getty Froissart, the Master of the White inscriptions, the Master of Edward IV, and the Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen Toison d'Or.¹³⁹ These names correspond with the hands that are recognised in Edward IV's manuscripts.¹⁴⁰

The quality of the work of the artists of the collaborating group diverged greatly, as in the books procured by Edward IV. Now Edward IV was of course not compelled to go to this group for his illumination by lack of availability of better artists. Bruges was, as was mentioned before, the biggest centre for the production of illuminated manuscripts in Europe by the 1470s. Accordingly, several large workshops had established in this city. Wijsman has listed the fourteen most important masters and their workshops still known today, including Loyset Liédet, the Master of Margaret of York, and Willem Vrelant – all masters loved by the Burgundian court.¹⁴¹ Miniaturists like these, however, did not work at court. For instance, during Charles the Bold's rule, Loyset Liédet did not have many commissions from the duke and also worked for other

¹³⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 74-85; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133 A 5.

¹³⁸ Wijsman 2008, pp. 69-71.

¹³⁹ See Wijsman 2008, 2010 pp. 65-68, 2011 p. 339 for this group.

¹⁴⁰ See also appendix 2.

¹⁴¹ See Wijsman 2010 pp. 62-67 for the complete list.

clients in Bruges, like Louis of Gruuthuse. As Céline van Hoorebeeck mentioned in her study of Flemish miniaturists and their patrons, miniaturists favoured by the Duke of Burgundy frequently acted as his official suppliers, but were not always in his service.¹⁴² Very often they stood at the head of large workshops producing illuminated manuscripts for a varied and international clientele. Besides, commissions from the Burgundian court had substantially reduced in the troublesome years after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477.

Edward IV probably turned to the Bruges collaborators with his commissions as they worked most efficiently and speedily. This group had a practical organisation of the production process, as the work was divided over different miniaturists. The exact organisation of this group is still unknown to us, but analyses of the work of several of the masters who belonged to the group have shown that the artists were flexible in their employment. For instance, the Master of the Flemish Boethius executed thirteen miniatures in British Library, MS Royal 15 E I, while in British Library, MS Royal 18 E IV he painted only the opening miniature. This way, the masters could work on several manuscripts at the same time, efficiently speeding up the production process. This speeding up of the production process was likely influenced by the development of the printed book. Jan van Westfalen's famous quote "in one day is printed what would otherwise have been copied in a year" sums up why there was need for an efficient production process in the manuscript production.¹⁴³

Recently, Philippe de Mazerolles has been recognised as an agent who organised this production process whereby various masters would collaborate. Since we know of a payment to Mazerolles by Edward for several books, he could have been the main supplier of the king's books. Mass acquisitions by Edward IV may thus have been an important reason why his books were produced in Bruges but lack the hands of the famous artists who enchanted the Burgundian court. But this does not mean the king did not care for the illumination. Besides, the collaboration of masters on his manuscripts caused variety in style and gave his manuscripts a unique appearance in comparison with standardised editions of the books he collected.

Edward IV and the Burgundian fashion for illuminated manuscripts

Above, I observed that the illumination in Edward's collection tends to be traditional in

¹⁴² Van Hoorebeeck 2011, p. 83.

¹⁴³ Translation by author from "imprimit illa dies quantum vix scribitur anno".

style. Edward IV does not seem interested in the newest stylistic developments. I suggest this remarkable behaviour for a king who was so focused on Burgundian culture and the collecting of Burgundian artefacts – and who had enough means to buy manuscripts of the highest quality – actually proceeded from his fondness for the Burgundian aesthetic in illumination. This *Burgundian* aesthetic is in essence the aesthetic of Flemish illumination, yet in Edward's collection the illumination represented the taste and style that was also displayed with the Burgundian library.

That the king sincerely focused on this Burgundian aesthetic for his collection becomes clear from the fact that he did not commission manuscripts in England. For some reason, Edward IV must have considered English illumination as inferior to Flemish illumination. Remarkably, Edward owned but one illuminated manuscript produced in England, predating his Flemish manuscripts by just a few years. This manuscript is a copy of Anthony Woodville's the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, dedicated to Edward IV. The manuscript is dated 24 December 1477, one month later than the printed edition.¹⁴⁴ The existence of this manuscript suggests that a printed book was pondered insignificant as a presentation copy for a king, as Backhouse also mentioned before.¹⁴⁵ The illumination of this special copy must give us a good idea of the English aesthetics in illuminated manuscripts. A short analysis may further elucidate why Edward was only interested in Flemish illumination

The manuscript of the *Dictes* opens with a presentation miniature, which is also the only miniature the copy contains (fig. 10). The picture shows Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, and a tonsured man, possibly the scribe, presenting the book to Edward IV. Under the royal baldachin, on the king's left, stand the Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and his son and heir Edward. On the king's right a group of courtiers witness the presentation of the book, and through an opening on the left another group of courtiers is shown. The figures show rather similar features and are placed in similar positions quite close behind each other, so that space is lacking in this composition. The presentation miniature is accompanied by one column of text including the dedication to Edward IV, with no border decorations added. The following folio only contains an illuminated initial for decoration, as have most of the other folios. Folios 2 and 60, though, are decorated with partial borders, but of simple design (fig. 11). As a whole, the

¹⁴⁴ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 265; the first edition of this book was printed in November 1477.

¹⁴⁵ Backhouse 1999, p. 270.

manuscript looks rather plain. This particular manuscript presents the English aesthetic in illumination as one that was rather sombre of nature and very different from the more lavishly produced Flemish books.

In the manuscripts that he acquired only two years later, more attention is paid to the decoration, and the illumination is of a higher standard. For example, Edward's Flemish presentation copy of the *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre* contains 29 miniatures and full border decorations with foliage, Edward's arms, grotesques and animals. The miniature showing the author Wavrin presenting his book to Edward has a better use of perspective, and space is created by the placement of the three different groups of figures (fig. 12).¹⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, all Edward IV's Flemish manuscripts are of higher quality and more opulent in their appearance than his English manuscript. In short, the illumination of the king's Flemish manuscripts speaks a different artistic language. It presents an exuberance that is lacking in the English manuscript, but which was a common feature in manuscripts created for the Burgundian nobility.

And so, while he introduced Burgundian etiquette at his court, and hung the walls of his palaces with Flemish tapestries, Edward also began to fill his library according to Burgundian fashions. In his emulation he chose not manuscripts of English production like the *Dictes*, nor Flemish manuscripts in which the illumination represented the newest style developments. Instead, he chose manuscripts that were like traditional Burgundian examples, both in their contents and most of all their appearances.



Fig. 10 Unknown artist, King Edward IV enthroned receiving the book from the author Anthony Woodville, 1477, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 265, f. VIv (detail).

¹⁴⁶ London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E IV, f.14r.

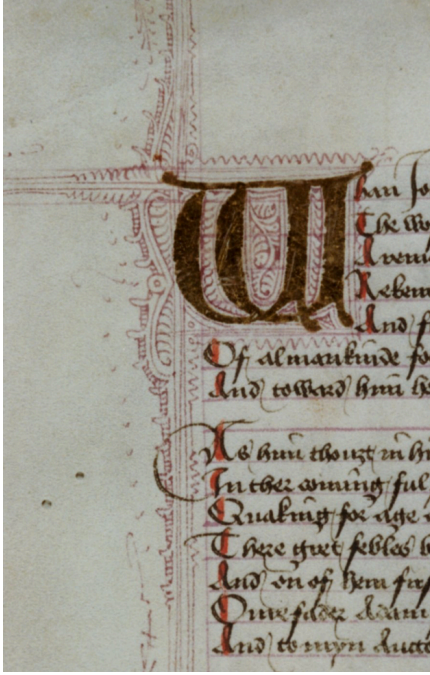


Fig. 11 Unknown artist, border decoration and initial, 1477, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 265, f. 2v (detail).



Fig. 12 Master of the London Wavrin, Edward IV enthroned receiving the manuscript from the author Jean Wavrin, c.1471-1483, London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E IV, f. 14r (detail).

Edward IV's *Ruralia Commoda* and its Burgundian counterpart

A comparison between one of Edward IV's exuberant Flemish manuscripts and its Burgundian counterpart may reveal how close the king came to Burgundian fashion with the manuscripts he obtained. A good exemplary manuscript is the *Ruralia Commoda* (or *Rustican des ruraulx prouffiz du labour des champs*) by Petrus de Crescentius.¹⁴⁷ The *Ruralia* contains Crescentius' treatise on agriculture. This treatise comprises twelve books, two of which focus on hunting and falconry, the typical pastimes of the 15th-century aristocracy. In this section I will discuss Edward's copy of this text and that of Anthony of Burgundy's, in order to show that the king's manuscripts are indeed similar to the manuscripts produced for the Burgundian nobility. Anthony of Burgundy was Charles the Bold's half-brother and a bibliophile and fervent book collector. His manuscript, therefore, can be considered as an example of the standard of illuminated manuscripts at the Burgundian court about the period of Edward IV's collecting.¹⁴⁸

In the first place, Edward's copy (dated 1478-1480) is of the same type large-sized deluxe library book as that of Anthony (dated 1470-1475). Their dimensions are similar: Edward's copy measures 475 x 335 mm, Anthony's 425 x 320 mm. The first contains 310 folios and 12 miniatures, of which one is associated with the Master of the Getty Froissart; the second has 305 folios and 14 miniatures that are associated with the Master of Margaret of York.

The miniatures in the older copy are set up according to a conventional pictorial tradition; all miniatures in this book show an image of the blue-robed author on the left, who is explaining to a nobleman next to him what occurs on the right side of the miniature (fig. 13). McKendrick pointed out this was a standard formula used in Burgundian copies of this text, and for instance in Ms. M.232 of the Morgan library in New York, dated c.1470, the Master of Fitzwilliam 268 used this exact same formula (fig. 14).¹⁴⁹ The manuscript in the Morgan library was also made for a Burgundian courtier of similar status as Anthony. Although artists from a new generation illuminated Edward's *Ruralia* and introduced original compositions to this standard text, the master who

¹⁴⁷ London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E VI.

¹⁴⁸ In my choice to compare a manuscript owned by Edward IV to one owned by Anthony of Burgundy, and not one owned by Charles the Bold, I was also dependent on the manuscripts that have survived time and which were fully digitally covered and accessible so that I could make a thorough comparison.

¹⁴⁹ Kren, McKendrick 2003, pp. 254-255.

Painted the miniatures on folios 110, 157, 215 and 288 nevertheless referred to the same pictorial tradition. In these miniatures the author is still depicted teaching other figures (fig. 15). Edward's copy accordingly shows features of a pictorial tradition that was in the previous years particularly popular at the Burgundian court.



Fig. 13 Attributed to the Master of Margaret of York, Crescentius teaching a nobleman, c.1470-1475, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms-5064 réserve f. 105r.



Fig. 14 Attributed to the Master of Fitzwilliam MS 268, Pietro de' Crescenzi teaching a nobleman, c. 1470, New York, The Morgan Library, MS M.232, f. 157r.



Fig. 15 Unknown artist, the author, Crescentius, teaching a man in an orchard, c.1478-1480, London, British Library, MS Royal 14 E VI, f. 110r.

Another feature in Edward's copy resembling Burgundian practices is the border decoration. The full border accompanying the presentation miniature and the half borders on the folios with one-column miniatures are similar to those in Anthony's copy, showing acanthus leaves, flowers and berries (fig. 16, 13). The full borders on folios 110, 215 and 288 again diverge with a more original design showing thick, tree-like branches that originate at the bottom of the border and rise upwards enclosing the miniatures and text (fig. 15, 17). Additionally, all the full borders contain one or two angels holding banners with Edward IV's arms, a lozenge with the white rose of York, a shield with Edward's arms mantled with a crowned helm and enclosed by the chain of the Order of the Garter, with next to it the shields of Edward's sons. Although this repetition of the owner's arms is lacking in Anthony's *Ruralia*, it is a common feature in the decoration of manuscripts made for Burgundian patrons. In another of Anthony of Burgundy's books, containing *Les Croniques de Pise*, the border illumination similarly repeats the owner's arms and emblems, and the frontispiece of Philip the Good's *Chroniques de Hainaut* also has a border filled with the duke's arms and emblems (fig. 18, 19).¹⁵⁰ Accordingly,

¹⁵⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Français 9041, ff. 5, 6; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 9242, f. 1.

Edward's border imitates the Burgundian self-aggrandizement of repeatedly showing the owner's arms in border decorations.

The resembling features in the two manuscripts show that Edward's manuscript is not that far removed from a similar copy made for a member of the Burgundian dynasty. As all his other Flemish manuscripts are of similar appearance, we can conclude that the illumination of Edward IV's manuscript collection has derived from the fashions of the Burgundian court. Subsequently, assessment of the illumination makes us better understand that Edward commissioned his manuscripts in Bruges in order to increase the prestige of his collection with its clearly visible Burgundian origins.



Fig. 16 Associated with the Master of the Getty Froissart, presentation miniature with full border containing Edward IV's arms and those of his sons, c. 1478-1480, London, British Library, MS Royal 14 E VI, f. 10r (detail).



Fig. 17 Unknown artist, the author discussing with two men with full border decoration containing Edward IV's arms and those of his sons, c. 1478-1480, London, British Library, MS Royal 14 E VI, f. 215r (detail).

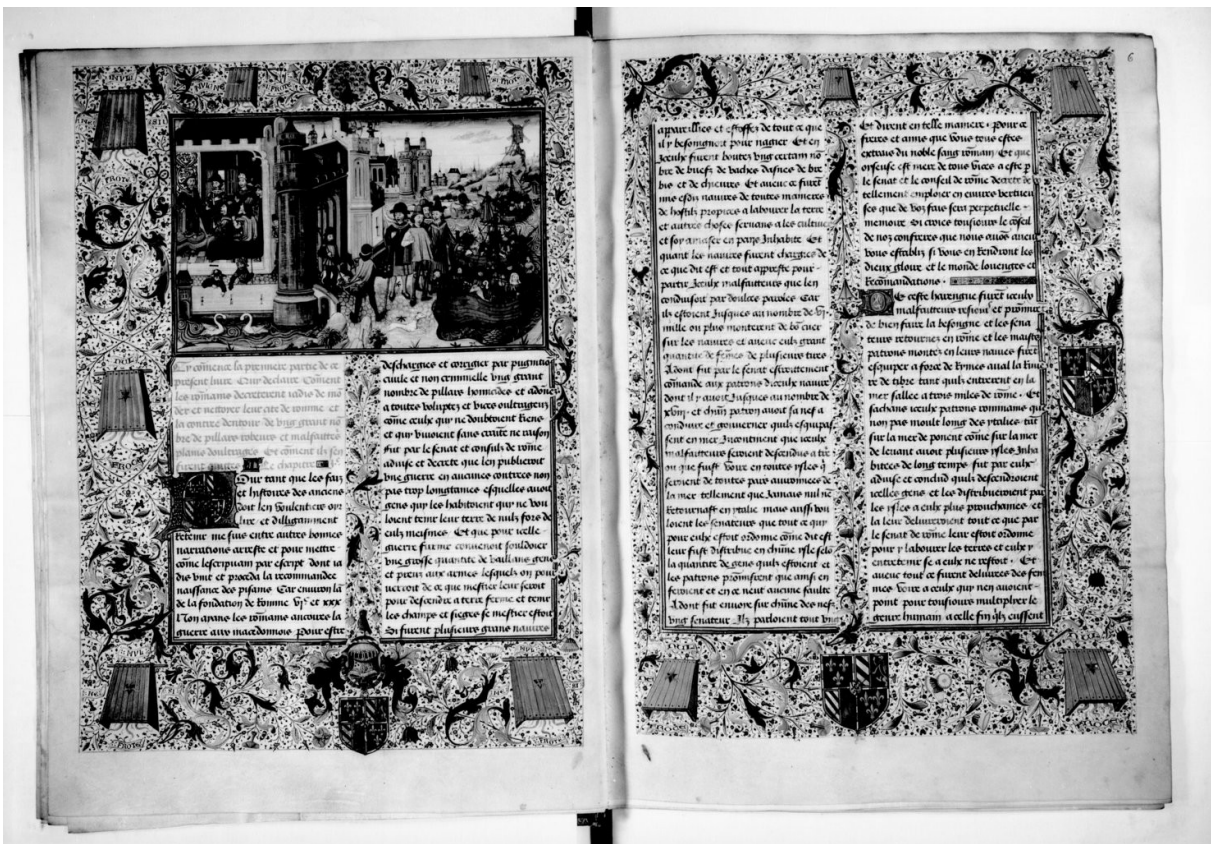


Fig. 18 Follower of Willem Vrelant, two folios with full borders filled with Anthony of Burgundy's arms and emblems, 2nd half of the 15th century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Français 9041, ff. 5v, 6r.



Fig. 19 Rogier van der Weyden, frontispiece of the Chroniques de Hainault with full border showing Philip the Good's arms and emblems, c.1446-1453, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 9242, f.1r.

Concluding remarks

Analysis of the illumination in Edward's IV's collection has revealed to us that an interesting production process lay behind the manuscripts the king collected. These manuscripts exemplify a rationalized manner of illumination that was practiced in the city of Bruges. This rapid production process is one reason Edward commissioned his manuscripts in Bruges. But of even greater importance was the aesthetic of the illumination. The illumination gave his books their Burgundian appearance, and expressed the owner's taste. This collection of illuminated manuscripts helped Edward IV in his quest for Burgundian magnificence, as he made sure his library was alike to that of the greatest dynasty in Europe in its glory days. As a result, the collection stood out at the English court for its Burgundian contents, both visually and textually, and increased Edward IV's magnificence as it formed a splendid royal library introduced at the English court by the first Yorkist king.

Conclusion

I have studied Edward IV's collection of Flemish manuscripts in order to answer the question how this English king came to own a collection of foreign books. In the literature about this collection the general belief is that Edward IV had started collecting Flemish manuscripts after the example of Louis of Gruuthuse, who he had met during his exile in Burgundy. My discontent with the attribution of the role of initiator to Louis of Gruuthuse, however, led to my hypothesis that Edward IV's collecting of Flemish manuscripts and his emulation of Burgundian magnificence are closely intertwined.

Through investigation of Edward IV's court and comparison with that of his predecessor, I could ascertain that Edward exhibited a particular interest in Burgundian court culture right from the beginning of his rule. By means of literature and art he acquainted himself with the splendour of the Burgundian court. The standards of the Burgundian duke became his source of inspiration. This way, Edward tried to raise his profile as a magnificent ruler.

Edward IV's desire for Flemish manuscripts had for a large part emanated from his personal interest in Burgundian luxury culture. However, his personal liking was not decisive, as he started collecting manuscripts late in his reign. For the other part, the manuscript collection was also the product of cultural transfer. I found that various go-betweens brought the king knowledge of Flemish manuscripts and of the Burgundian library. As a result, I propose that Louis of Gruuthuse's role might be much smaller than was formerly suggested.

More significantly, however, this thesis brought to attention the importance of art historical research in the study of this collection. The focus on the illumination in the last chapter underlined that Edward IV's collecting of Flemish manuscripts was based on Burgundian example. By having all his manuscripts illuminated in the city of Bruges, the capital of manuscript production, Edward gave his manuscripts a splendid and most of all Burgundian appearance. The aesthetics of his collection would have expressed Edward IV's style and taste before his courtiers and guests, and thus the appearance of the manuscripts is one of the most important aspects in the explanation as to why Edward IV chose to collect Flemish books.

While this paper has shown that focus on the illumination was necessary to answer the main question, this focus also asks for further research. It brought to light

that the manuscripts in Edward IV's collection are all illuminated by one large group of collaborating artists. Although several authors have recognised this network before, a thorough study of this collaboration of Bruges masters is still asked for. Also, a comprehensive study of the illumination in Edward IV's manuscripts may provide further insight into how this network of artists was organised. This last aspect may also be of importance for the study of Edward IV's manuscript collection; such a comprehensive investigation could be crucial for an answer to the question where, or with whom, Edward IV exactly commissioned his manuscripts.

With the study described above I have tried to pinpoint Edward IV's principal motive for forming a collection of Flemish manuscripts. It seems that what counted most was the Burgundian prestige this collection displayed. Hence, we can conclude that Edward IV's manuscript collection was indeed one of the results of the king's emulation of Burgundian magnificence. Paradoxically, the collection of manuscripts that is considered the starting point of the Royal Library in England today, seems to have come forth from King Edward IV's explicitly Burgundian interests.

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Provenance of illustrations

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Fig. 1: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8313>

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Fig. 3:
<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=43723>

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<http://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/luna/servlet/view/search?QuickSearchA=QuickSearchA&q=dictes+and+sayings&sort=creator%2Ctype%2Cdate%2Ctitle&search=Search>

Fig. 11:
<http://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/luna/servlet/view/search?QuickSearchA=QuickSearchA&q=dictes+and+sayings&sort=creator%2Ctype%2Cdate%2Ctitle&search=Search>

Fig. 12:
<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=48837>

Fig. 13: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7100618w/f233.item.r=Ms-5064>

Fig. 14: <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/7/112400>

Fig. 15: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7790>

Fig. 16: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7790>

Fig. 17:

<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=34359>

Fig. 18: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90608474/f7.item>

Fig. 19:

https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Librije_van_Bourgondië#/media/File:Jacques_de_Guise,_Chroniques_de_Hainaut,_frontispiece,_KBR_9242.jpg

Appendix 1: The Flemish manuscripts of Edward IV

Title	Author	Collection Number
<i>Books containing Edward IV's arms</i>		
Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre	Jean de Wavrin	British Library, Royal 14 E IV
Des Cas des nobles hommes et femmes	Giovanni Boccaccio, translated by Laurent de Premierfait	British Library, Royal 14 E V
La Bible Historiale (part 4)	Guyart des Moulins	British Library, Royal 15 D I
Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum	William of Tyre	British Library, Royal 15 E I
Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre	Jean de Wavrin	British Library, Royal 15 E IV
Poems: Art d'amour, Les demandes d'amour, Le livre dit grace entiere sur le fait du gouvernement d'un prince	Charles, duke of Orléans, Pseudo-Heloise	British Library, Royal 16 F II
Cyropédie (Cyropaedia)	Xenophon, translated by Vasco da Lucena	British Library, Royal 16 G IX
Chroniques	Jean Froissart	British Library, Royal 18 E II
Les Faits et les Dits des Romains (Facta et dicta memorabilia)	Valerius Maximus, translated by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse	British Library, Royal 18 E III
Fleur des histoires	Jean Mansel	British Library, Royal 18 E VI
<i>Books containing Edward IV and his sons' arms</i>		
Le miroir historial	Vincent of Beauvais, translated by Jean de Vignay	British Library, Royal 14 E I
Le chemin de Vaillance with: Lepistre Othea, Le breviaire des nobles, Les complaintes des IX malheureux et des IX malheureuses, Libre del Orde de cavayleria	Jean de Courcy, Christine de Pisan, Alain Chartier, Ramón Lull	British Library, Royal 14 E II
Rustican des ruraulx	Petrus de Crescentiis,	British Library, Royal 14 E

prouffiz du labour des champs (Ruralia commode)	probably translated by Jean Corbechon	VI
La grant hystoire Cesar (or, Les faits des Romains) with: a history of Augustus a summary history of emperors from Augustus to Frederic II	Anonymous	British Library, Royal 17 F II
La cité de Dieu	Augustine, translated by Raoul des Presles	British Library, Royal 17 F III
La Bible Historiale (part 1)	Guyart des Moulins	British Library, Royal 18 D IX
La Bible Historiale (part 2)	Guyart des Moulins	British Library, Royal 18 D X
Decameron	Giovanni Boccaccio, translated by Laurent de Premierfait	British Library, Royal 19 E I
Romuléon	Benvenuto d'Imola, translated by Jean Miélot	British Library, Royal 19 E V
Les Faits et les Dits des Romains (Facta et dicta memorabilia)	Valerius Maximus, translated by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas Gonesse	British Library, Royal 18 E IV
<i>Books containing only the Royal arms</i>		
Antiquites et guerre des Juifs	Titus Flavius Josephus	Sir John Soane's Museum, MS 1
Les Omelies Saint Grégoire pape With: La Fleur des Histoires, Exemples Moraux	Pierre de Hangest, Jehan Mansell, Arnold of Liège	British Library, Royal 15 D V
Livre des proprietiez des choses (De proprietatibus rerum) vol. 1	Bartholomaeus Anglicus, translated by Jean Corbechon	British Library, Royal 15 E II
Livre des proprietiez des choses (De proprietatibus rerum) vol. 2	Bartholomaeus Anglicus, translated by Jean Corbechon	British Library, Royal 15 E III
Le recoeil des histoires de Troyes (Le livre nomme Hercules)	Raoul Lefèvre	British Library, Royal 17 E II
<i>Books probably owned by Edward IV with empty spaces for arms</i>		
Chroniques de Pise	Anonymous	British Library, Royal 16 G I
Les commentaires de Cesar	Caesar, translated by Jean	British Library, Royal 16 G

(Bellum Gallicum)	du Quesne	VIII
Ovide moralisé (Metamorphoses) With: L'Epistre Othea, L'epistre de S. Bernard de la regle et maniere comment le mensange d'un bon hostel doit estre prouffitablement gouverné, Le bréviaire des nobles, Les complaints des ix malheureux et des ix malheureuses	Publius Ovidius Naso translated by anonymous translator, Christine de Pisan, Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux translated by Jean Miélot, Alain Chartier	British Library, Royal 17 E IV
Quinte Curse Ruffe des faiz du grant Alexandre (Historia Alexandri)	Quintus Curtius Rufus, translated by Vasco da Lucena	British Library, Royal 17 F I
La forteresse de la foy (Fortalitiu fidei)	Alphonsus de Spina, translated by Pierre Richard	British Library, Royal 17 F VI
Chronique de Baudouin d'Avesnes	Anonymous	British Library, Royal 18 EV
Cleriadus et Meliadice With: La cronique et histoire des mervilleuses aventures de Appolin roy de Thir (Historia Apollonii regis Tyri)	Anonymous	British Library, Royal 20 C II
Grandes Chroniques de France	Jean Chartier	British Library, Royal 20 C IX
<i>Books without marks of ownership nor with empty spaces for arms</i>		
La vie de notre seigneur Jhesucrist With: La Vengeance de la mort Jhesu Christ	Jean Aubert	British Library, Royal 16 G III
Le livre de Valerius Maximus or Les Faits et les Dits des Romains (Facta et Dicta Memorabilia)	Valerius Maximus, translated by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse	British Library, Royal 17 F IV
<i>Books with the arms of courtiers, previously connected to the collection</i>		

<i>of Edward IV</i>		
Chroniques, vol. 1	Jean Froissart	British Library, Royal 14 D II Arms of Thomas Thwaytes
Chroniques, vol. 2	Jean Froissart	British Library, Royal 14 D III Arms of Thomas Thwaytes
Chroniques, vol. 3	Jean Froissart	British Library, Royal 14 D IV Arms of Thomas Thwaytes
Chroniques, vol. 4	Jean Froissart	British Library, Royal 14 D V Arms of Thomas Thwaytes
Chroniques, vol. 4	Jean Froissart	British Library, Royal 14 D VI Arms of Thomas Thwaytes
Quinte Curse Ruffe des faiz du grant Alexandre (Historia Alexandri)	Quintus Curtius Rufus, translated by Vasco da Lucena	British Library, Royal 15 D IV Arms of Sir John Donne
Romance de Sydrac et Boctus With: A treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins	Anonymous	British Library, Royal 16 F V Arms of Sir John Donne
Cyropedie (Cyropaedia) With: Lart de chevalerie (De re militari)	Xenophon translated by Vasco de Lucena, Vegatius probably translated by Jean de Vignai	British Library, Royal 17 E V Arms of Thomas Thwaytes
Chroniques	Jean Froissart	British Library, Royal 18 E I Arms of William, 1 st Baron Hastings
Assumption of the Virgin With: The Lives of Saints	Anonymous	British Library, Royal 20 B II Arms of sir John Donne
La cite de Dieu (De civitate Dei)	Augustine, translated by Raoul de Presles	British Library, Royal 14 D I Arms unknown

Appendix 2: List of illuminators

Collection Number	Illuminators
British Library, Royal 14 D I*	Unidentified artist
British Library, Royal 14 D II*	Master of the Harley Froissart
British Library, Royal 14 D III*	Master of the Harley Froissart
British Library, Royal 14 D IV*	Master of the Harley Froissart
British Library, Royal 14 D V*	Master of the Harley Froissart
British Library, Royal 14 D VI*	Master of the London Wavrin, Master of the Harley Froissart
British Library, Royal 14 E I	Master of Edward IV, Master of the White Inscriptions
British Library, Royal 14 E II	Master of the White Inscriptions
British Library, Royal 14 E IV	Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen Toison d'Or, Master of the White Inscriptions, Master of Edward IV
British Library, Royal 14 E V	Master of the White Inscriptions, Master of the Getty Froissart
British Library, Royal 14 E VI	Master of the Getty Froissart (associated with)
British Library, Royal 15 D I	Master of the Soane Josephus, Master of Edward IV, Master of the Harley Froissart, Follower of Loyset Liédet, Master of the Vienna Chroniques d'Angleterre Unidentified artist who also made the frontispiece in Royal 17 F II, f. 9r.
British Library, Royal 15 D IV*	Rambures Master
British Library, Royal 15 D V	Master of Edward IV, Artist of St Omer 421
British Library, Royal 15 E I	Master of the Flemish Boethius with assistants, Master of Edward IV, An illuminator of Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 82
British Library, Royal 15 E II	Master of 1482, Assistant of the Master of the Flemish Boethius
British Library, Royal 15 E III	Master of Edward IV, Assistant of the Master of the Flemish Boethius Master of 1482
British Library, Royal 15 E IV	Master of the London Wavrin
British Library, Royal 16 F II	Unidentified artist (illumination first campaign) Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500 (second campaign)

British Library, Royal 16 F V*	Unidentified artist
British Library, Royal 16 G I	Unidentified artist
British Library, Royal 16 G III	Master of the Flemish Boethius
British Library, Royal 16 G VIII	Master of the London Wavrin
British Library, Royal 16 G IX	Unidentified artist
British Library, Royal 17 E II	Master of the White Inscriptions
British Library, Royal 17 E IV	Unidentified artist
British Library, Royal 17 E V*	Master of the Harley Froissart
British Library, Royal 17 F I	Unidentified artist
British Library, Royal 17 F II	Master of Edward IV Unidentified artist who also made a miniature in Royal 15 D I, f. 66v.
British Library, Royal 17 F III	Master of the White Inscriptions
British Library, Royal 17 F IV	Rambures Master, Follower of Willem Vrelant
British Library, Royal 17 F VI	Follower of Loyset Liédet
British Library, Royal 18 D IX	Master of Edward IV, Master of the Harley Froissart or his follower
British Library, Royal 18 D X	Master of Edward IV
British Library, Royal 18 E I*	Master of the Chattering Hands, Master of the Harley Froissart
British Library, Royal 18 E II	Master of the Getty Froissart, Master of the Chattering Hands, Master of the Harley Froissart
British Library, Royal 18 E III	Master of the White Inscriptions
British Library, Royal 18 E IV	Master of the White Inscriptions, Master of the Flemish Boethius
British Library, Royal 18 E V	Master of the Soane Josephus, Follower of Loyset Liédet
British Library, Royal 18 E VI	Master of the White Inscriptions
British Library, Royal 19 E I	Unidentified artist
British Library, Royal 19 E V	Master of the White Inscriptions
British Library, Royal 20 B II*	Master of the Dresden Prayerbook
British Library, Royal 20 C II	Unidentified artist
British Library, Royal 20 C IX	Unidentified artist
Sir John Soane's Museum, MS 1	Master of the Soane Josephus and assistants

* These are the manuscripts that bear the arms of English courtiers.